Registre de la Paroisse de Jamestown 1770-1833

Introduction: This is the vestry book of the parish of St James, Jamestown. The vestry was the meeting of the island's ratepayers. With no town council on St Helena, it served as the local authority for civil and church matters, much like an English vestry with the difference that it could act only with the approval of the Governor and Council, who answered to the East India Company's Court of Directors in London. The Company also paid for much that an English parish funded itself, including the town church and most of the roads.

The book began as the ledger of the poor's fund, which lent money at interest to the island's planters. It later took in the churchwardens' accounts, the poll tax rolls and the vestry minutes. The poll tax charged each household a fixed sum for every 'head' living in it, family, servants and slaves alike, so it fell hardest on the largest slaveholders. Income from loans, communion collections, the poll tax and taxes on sheep and dogs went mainly on poor relief, salaries such as the fish market clerk's, keeping prisoners in gaol and compensating owners for slaves executed or transported. Only part went on the church. From 1825 the poll tax gave way to taxes on houses, horses, carriages and carts, part of which paid for the roads. The volume holds a valuation of every house on the island.

The minutes cover rate-setting, free places at the Company's school, public health, livestock, the fish market, the roads and the yearly choice of parish officers. They trace the gradual end of slavery and the cost of supporting freed people who could no longer work. The vestry's petitions and the government's replies show how closely the government controlled parish affairs.

The volume's French title, "Registre de la Paroisse de Jamestown", dates from the late 1990s or early 2000s, when Michel Dancoisne-Martineau, Director of the French National Domains on St Helena, obtained funding from the French Ministry of Culture for a copy to be made and presented to the St Helena Government Archives. The title therefore reflects that copying project rather than the original parish administration or to the small French population during the period of Napoleon's exile 1815-1821.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-11-3.

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

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

To mitigate these difficulties, a strict protocol was applied to each image, requiring the AI to rely solely on clearly visible ink strokes and to flag any uncertain reading, thereby reducing the risk of inferred or invented text. Two conventions are used. [...] marks text that could not be read with confidence; this may represent

a single unreadable word, a full sentence, or occasionally an entire paragraph. Square brackets around letters or words indicate a conjectural reading supplied by the transcriber: brackets around a wStain word, for example [Bazett], mean the entire word was unclear and a probable reading has been supplied, while brackets around individual letters within an otherwise readable word, for example B[a]z[e]tt, mean only those specific letters were unclear in the source and the unbracketed letters were legibly present.

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

Text Loss: The early pages show severe text loss, with several torn or badly damaged.

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

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The churchwardens' accounts, poor's stock ledgers, head money and poll tax rolls, vestry minutes and government letters of St Helena survive from 27 March 1760 to 6 March 1834, with gaps in the 1780s and with pages bound out of sequence. The vestry began as a church meeting of planters that managed communion money and a charity fund lent at interest. By the 1790s it taxed slaves, dogs and sheep, relieved the poor, compensated owners of executed slaves, policed livestock and held orphans' capital. From 1800 it took on the fish market, public health, streets, roads, porterage and fire protection, and in 1825 it replaced taxes on slaves and heads with taxes on houses, carts, carriages, hired horses and dogs. Throughout, the Governor and Council approved its proceedings, issued warrants to its officers, settled its disputes and increasingly audited and directed it, until the Company withdrew its support as its rule ended in 1834. [Film No. 10–698]

Governance and Administration

In the 1760s the parish was a church fund that lent its poor's stock to planters. On 11 July 1770 the outgoing churchwardens, Samuel Alexander and a colleague whose name is lost, handed the parish bonds and notes of hand to their successors. Later handovers renewed one warden at a time. Solomon St Maurice and Matthew Bazett passed the balance to Bazett and Orlando Bagley in about 1771. On 1 June 1772 Bazett and Bagley handed over to Bagley and Richard Beale, and in about 1773 Bagley served again with Charles Stewart. Bazett was also secretary to the Council, so the same few men ran parish and civil government. Running costs were 5s to Ferris for publishing each vestry in 1773, the secretary's fees and £1 1s 0d for balancing the books. [Film No. 10–13, 19, 25, 111–113, 160–209]

Churchwardens came from the leading planter and officer families and served about a year. The account closed on 20 February 1775 passed £22 4s 5¼d to Charles Ross Stewart, but another closed on 12 August 1775 passed £1 13s 8¼d to Jonathan Doveton and Thomas Bazett, so the accounting year was not yet fixed. In April 1777 the balance went to William Young and Samuel Desfountain. From 1779 handovers settled in March, April or May, with Watkin Greentree, Nathaniel Kennedy, Thomas Statham, Francis Seale, George Bird and James Colgrave among the wardens. Bird paid £38 15s 7d to Colgrave and John Desfountain in 1785. Colgrave passed the next balance to Desfountain and Onesiphorus Beale in 1786, and Lieutenant Beale and Captain Thomas Bazett received £48 19s 3d that year. Bazett took the balance alone on 30 April 1788, Lieutenant Broadway on 30 April 1789, Captain Lieutenant Watkin Greentree on 5 April 1790 and Thomas Lester in 1791. [Film No. 111–113, 119, 125, 129, 131, 141, 143, 147, 151, 163, 169, 171, 179, 183, 185, 187, 189]

Clerical work was bought piecemeal. The clerk of the peace, Nathaniel Kennedy in 1782 and John Doveton in 1783, kept the dog register and received the sheep inspectors' returns. In 1785 Thomas Langley repaired the church books for £4 16s 0d and Mr Ailesworth received 5s for ringing the bell for a vestry. Between 1785 and 1791 Doveton drew up the dog lists at 5s a quarter. Godding was paid for writing in 1788 and

1789, and Whaley and Beale for summoning a vestry on 3 March 1789. [Film No. 129, 131, 169, 175, 177, 179, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191]

By the 1790s the vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley and decided by majority or unanimous vote under the supervision of the Governor and Council. On 8 August 1791 it heard the Governor's request for three informed men to examine plans for improving the Company's common lands, and chose Lieutenant William Seale, Samuel Knipe and Thomas Bagley by ballot. On 9 August 1791 the Board approved one proposal outright, accepted a second only where it agreed with the new laws and sent a third to the quarter sessions. Matthew Greentree and Thomas Lester signed as churchwardens in 1791. On 18 May 1792 the vestry sent an address thanking the Court of Directors and the Governor and Council. It promised to carry out the Company's wishes, encourage industry, religion and obedience to the law and suppress vice, idleness and immorality. It agreed unanimously to pay surgeons' bills for paupers as the Directors had instructed. A majority chose Lieutenant Thomas Greentree, Thomas Bagley and Orlando Bagley to oversee the improvement of the island, and William Currie signed as churchwarden. [Film No. 27, 35, 60–108, 115–116, 176]

Henry Neve was paid for attending vestries, recording their minutes and drawing up the dog tax list between 1792 and July 1793, though one struck-out draft gave a vestry fee to Henry Wade. By about January 1794 Neve settled the balance between Captain William Currie and Lieutenant Charles Smith, the incoming churchwarden. On 1 September 1794 the vestry, lacking anyone to record its proceedings properly, appointed Neve vestry clerk at £10 0s 0d a year, and by 1 July 1795 he drew £2 10s 0d a quarter. On 4 September 1795 the vestry fixed £10 0s 0d a year for writing at vestries and keeping the parish books and appointed Nathaniel Smith sexton. The account to 6 April 1801 paid the clerk £10 0s 0d and the sexton £15 0s 0d. [Film No. 31, 33, 35, 39, 41, 243, 245, 259]

The vestry of 25 February 1793 complained that many inhabitants stayed away. On 1 April 1793 a far larger vestry, probably drawn by the militia business of February, approved the previous minutes and heard a paragraph from the Directors' general letter. It asked the Board to thank the Directors and assure them the inhabitants would work to improve the island. [Film No. 66–67]

A list of 17 April 1797 named three sheriffs, a constable and three churchwardens. Each of the East, West and South divisions had overseers of the highways, inspectors of sheep and goats and a wormer of cattle. These unpaid posts went to the Knipe, Bagley, Alexander, Doveton, Seale and Young families. The list of 22 March 1798 kept Martin Alexander Harper and Samuel Knipe senior as sheriffs and named George Scott and William Young senior churchwardens. Almost all divisional posts changed hands, and the cattle officers became inspectors of worming. On 9 April 1798, meeting by order of the Governor and Council, the vestry excused Major Seale as churchwarden for ill health, provided he served the next year or paid a substitute, and Lieutenant Frazer served instead. East and South overseers not yet called on were held over. [Film No. 28, 29, 80]

The Governor and Council answered the vestry of 17 June 1799 point by point. They approved the hiring out of Fanny and repairs to church and school with slave labour. They refused to endorse the vestry's rejection of surgeons' charges and sent the dispute to arbitration, the deputy secretary G. Doveton asking the churchwarden Simon Frazer whether the inhabitants would agree. The Board warned churchwardens not to sign firm opinions affecting anyone's interests or reputation before hearing them. It left the parish its own money but kept rulings on private rights for itself and the courts. [Film No. 89–90]

On 14 April 1800 the vestry chose three sheriffs, a constable, three churchwardens and, for each division, overseers of the highways, inspectors of sheep and goats and wormers of sheep and cattle. The Council approved the same day, signed by R. Brooke, F. Robson and W. W. Doveton, but named only John Alexander senior as sheriff, Mills and John Shortley as churchwardens and three overseers instead of six. The wormers became inspectors of cattle worming. Its warrants gave officers power to enter land and enforce rules. The same vestry complained that few inhabitants came even for the most important business and asked the Board to fine absentees 40s for the parish, unless excused by emergency, sickness or a reason reported to the churchwardens. On 6 April 1801 it chose Captain A. Mills, John Desfountain junior and George Leech as churchwardens. [Film No. 252–253, 256]

On 19 April 1802 the vestry chose its officers and named Wrangham's estate a wormer of cattle, as Worrall's estate had been made a highway overseer in 1801, so trustees had to supply a man. It set up a standing committee of seven, among them David Kay, Major Greentree, Robert Doveton and Samuel Knipe senior, for the fish market complaints and all parish business for the year. On 20 April 1802 Governor Robert Patton overturned Richard Leech's election as sheriff because Leech held no land. He cited Tomlins's edition of Jacob's Law Dictionary and statutes from 9 Edward II to 13 and 14 Charles II requiring a sheriff to hold land so that anyone wronged could recover damages from his estate. In a postscript he allowed that a house might suffice on the island. A second vestry on 25 April 1802 chose Thomas Bagley. [Film No. 265–268]

Joseph Tout petitioned against his election as constable in April 1802. He had left the garrison four months before, long-settled householders had never served and he was already clerk of the market. The vestry re-elected him. On 31 May 1802 the committee replaced the yearly vote with a rota of sheriffs, churchwardens, overseers, constables, inspectors and wormers, some names dated as far ahead as 1808. An index to the register after 1801 records the move of vestry meetings from the church to the sessions house, a voting qualification and a vestry committee to nominate officers on the Thursday before Easter Monday. [Film No. 250–251, 266, 270]

Outgoing churchwardens handed over the parish's books, bonds and indentures on 15 May 1805 and 3 October 1805. On 7 January 1806 the accounts of the parish and the country church were shown to the public before unanimous approval, a step not recorded before. On 6 April 1807 the vestry chose three sheriffs, three churchwardens, a constable and divisional overseers and wormers. Saul Solomon, a merchant rated on nine heads in 1805, became constable, fitting Tout's complaint that the post fell on newcomers. [Film No. 285, 287, 296, 315]

On 18 April 1808 the vestry ruled that every estate would supply an overseer of the highways in turn, starting with the largest. On 29 August 1808 a proclamation summoned the inhabitants to nominate inspectors of cattle, sheep, goats and fences. On 5 September 1808 the vestry named inspectors of sheep and goats for each division and made the wormers of cattle serve as inspectors, reporting to the secretary's office. It asked the Governor and Council to appoint the inspectors of fences, perhaps because they could rule against any planter on the vestry. [Film No. 320, 322]

The rotation took effect in 1809 from a list of estates ranked by acreage, with margin marks for those who had served. On 3 April 1809 the overseers were the estates of John Goodwin, Richard Mason and Martin A. Harper, and William Pierce also served that year. In April 1810 Colonel Cocks's estate, Mrs Forbes's estate, Captain Sampson and John Doveton's estate served. In May 1811 Major William Seale, John Robinson and the proprietors of the Deadwood lands served. The order was not strictly by size, since the Dead Wood Society with 303½ acres waited until 1811. The list included Botley's Society with 140 acres, the free blacks Susan, James George and Billy with four acres each and newer holders such as Saul Solomon, William Balcombe and Thomas Henry Brooke. A copy recorded service from 1809 to 1820 and changes of owner, such as John Mason's land passing to Joseph Cole. On 18 November 1811 the vestry excused Charles Scott as wormer because he had served in 1809, elected Onesiphorus Beale and replaced the dead Captain John Alexander with Captain John Barnes as an inspector of sheep and goats, and the Council approved both. [Film No. 165, 329, 337, 344, 349, 350]

The vestry of 30 March 1812 broke down. The outgoing churchwardens, T. J. Cole and J. A. Wright, told the Governor and Council that several officers had been chosen improperly and proposed a committee to classify the inhabitants. A letter of 3 April 1812 from 22 inhabitants, including the government secretary Thomas H. Brooke, both Kays and several former churchwardens, disowned the proceedings, and the Reverend Mr Jones appealed strongly. On 6 April 1812 the Governor and Council ruled that a committee of seven or nine Company servants, landholders and respectable merchants chosen by the parishioners would elect all parish officers. On 13 April 1812 the vestry elected nine, among them David Kay senior, William Seale senior, John Legg senior, Gabriel Doveton and Thomas O'Connor, and the Council approved the same day. It asked them to consider making free blacks or other poor people wormers of cattle at 3d or more a worm, charged as a fine on the owner. [Film No. 357–359]

On 11 April 1814 the vestry chose John Kay as sheriff, George Blenkins and Lieutenant Henry Broadway as churchwardens and constables, bailiffs, inspectors, overseers of the high roads and wormers. On 15 August 1814 Brooke answered a poll tax voted on 8 August for the country church by noting that money had often been voted for the same purposes. The Governor and Council required a committee to report on the parish fund before approving it. On 22 August 1814 the vestry chose Thomas Greentree, Major Kinnaird and R. H. Leech, and the Council approved committee and tax together. [Film No. 365, 370–371]

On 27 March 1815 Brooke revived the old custom for sheriffs: the vestry nominated three and the Governor and Council chose one. The Council chose William Brabazon in 1815 and Thomas Greentree on 19 April 1816. On 16 April 1816 sheriffs were chosen by vote and all other officers by rotation, and the vestry listed by name 27 inhabitants who stayed away. Captain Henry Cole, head churchwarden, asked to decline because of military duties. On 19 April 1816 the Council ruled that he must serve or provide an approved substitute. On 23 March 1818 David Kay senior, Major C. R. G. Hodson, Major William Seale, John Legg, John Bagley and James and Richard Torbett were chosen to class the inhabitants for parish duties, and bailiffs were elected by the sheriff. [Film No. 375, 377, 383–384, 398]

A list approved on 12 April 1819 recorded the churchwardens from 1808 and the constables from 1814, with years entered as far ahead as 1829, and noted that H. W. Pritchard had declined. The government chose Henry Seale as sheriff in April 1820 and Charles Blake in April 1822. Early in 1820 the Board split the joint post of clerk and sexton, which had paid £30 0s 0d, and proposed a sexton at £15 0s 0d, half from the Company. On 17 January 1820 the vestry offered £50 0s 0d for both posts. The Board rejected the only candidate, John Singleton, recently dismissed as clerk, but raised no objection when the vestry paid him £10 0s 0d as sexton on 3 April 1820. [Film No. 411–414, 422, 424, 425, 433, 455, 456]

The government's letter of 17 April 1820 recalled a by-law made jointly by the Governor, Council and vestry allowing a committee to act for the whole vestry. Ruling on the absentees listed on 3 April 1820, it held that men with neither land nor a house had no vote and could not be fined. Qualified absentees could be fined under an approved vestry law and prosecuted before the acting magistrate. On 24 May 1821 the Board approved the vestry's decisions of 30 April 1821 except its appointment of a fish market clerk, since island law proposed by the churchwardens required a committee to make it. On 27 August 1821 the vestry made its committee permanent, with four members replaced each Easter. On 8 April 1822 Thomas O'Connor, William Carroll, Andrew Eyre and Lieutenant Colonel Hodson replaced the four longest serving. On 5 September 1822 the committee named Orlando Bagley wormer of cattle in place of Charles Oswald, who had left the island. [Film No. 422–425, 436, 438, 443, 455, 469]

In February 1823 parishioners had to ask the churchwardens to seek the Council's leave before a vestry could meet. On 31 March 1823 William Fowler, Captain Francis Seale, Thomas Baker and William Janisch joined the committee. On 19 April 1824 Thomas O'Connor, Joseph Cole, Lieutenant James Bennett and Lieutenant Daniel O'Connor joined. The committee drew up a rota of constables, mostly small householders on one to nine heads, with service years from 1823 to 1830. [Film No. 472, 485, 495, 497]

On 4 April 1825 the vestry chose Thomas Baker, John Bagley and A. A. Seale as sheriffs and Captain Francis Seale as churchwarden with Captain Charles Sampson. James Andrews, George Lambe, R. Barker and John Le Breton joined the committee. The vestry found the constables' rota faulty and asked for a list of everyone qualified. On 11 April 1825 the committee, meeting in the library in James Valley, named constables and the wormers William Blueman, Valentia Isaac and Thomas Wills. The senior chaplain, the Reverend Richard Boys, sat on the committee and assessed houses. On 18 July 1825 the Governor and Council reproved eight inhabitants for signing papers as a committee of the inhabitants, since no meeting other than a vestry was permitted, but overlooked the lapse. The vestry and government then moved parish revenue from slaves and heads onto houses, carts, carriages, hired horses and dogs. In October 1825 the government praised the vestry's fitness to assist in local administration but rejected its criticism of carriage owners who had petitioned against its rates. [Film No. 510–514, 518, 525, 532, 544, 545]

On 27 March 1826 the vestry chose T. W. Leech, W. H. Seale and G. V. Lambe as sheriffs and rotated Saul Solomon, Mr Eyre, Mr Janisch and Mr Adamson onto the committee. On Mr Janisch's motion it set aside

the churchwardens' list of 1819, resolved to elect churchwardens annually and elected George William Alexander. On 12 April 1827 the committee fixed a standing meeting at 11 o'clock on the Thursday before Easter Monday to prepare the vestry's business and pass the parish and county accounts. W. Fowler, J. Bagley, Colonel Hodson and Mr Darling joined in April 1827, and Mr Carroll, Mr Lambe, Mr Gideon and Mr J. Young in April 1828. On 16 April 1827 the vestry passed a secretary's letter to the committee of slave owners chosen in 1815. On 19 April 1827 the churchwardens asked the government to approve and publish the committee's tax rate and ticket law before either took effect. [Film No. 557, 575–578, 599]

On 24 April 1827 the Board answered the vestry's question on the franchise. Only freeholders had voted at first, leaseholders had been admitted under Governor Roberts and from May 1812 a committee had elected officers. It ruled that only a householder taxed on a house valued at £300 0s 0d or more could vote, excluding most house-tax payers, including freed people and owners of small town tenements. On 7 April 1828 the vestry elected Captain Thorn churchwarden, chose its sheriff nominees by ballot and sent a deputation with an address to the Governor. Seven of its 11 places went to the two councillors, two senior civil servants, two senior officers, the senior chaplain and the senior medical officer. The other four went to the landholders R. Torbett, J. Legg, J. Bagley and R. Barker. [Film No. 580, 581, 599, 600]

On 13 April 1830 the vestry voted, on the two chaplains' motion, to meet in the town hall instead of the church. It also voted £100 0s 0d of the county treasurers' £240 0s 0d for the Jamestown streets and asked the government to do the work. On 15 April 1830 the government rejected Mr Baker's claim that service as sheriff exempted him from the committee. On 4 April 1831 the leading candidates for sheriff received eight votes. On 21 July 1831 a meeting called by the Governor for a fire tank created a fire committee chosen yearly from the vestry committee. On 25 July 1831 it elected Captain Younge, Saul Solomon and William Fowler, who asked the government for instructions on 22 August 1831 but received none. [Film No. 621, 622, 629, 634, 637, 638, 640]

By 1832 the vestry met in the sessions house, and its committee referred each step to the Governor and Council. On 14 May 1832 it proposed an appeals committee on house valuations, and after the Board's approval it appointed Captain Charles Sampson, Mr Darling and Mr Gideon on 28 May 1832. On 8 April 1833 the vestry met in the sessions hall, passed the audited accounts and balloted for sheriffs. Robert Brooke received 26 votes, William Brabazon five and T. Baker four, and the Council appointed Brooke. D. O'Connor became churchwarden and committee members received terms of one or two years. Collectors, a fire committee, district trustees of roads and constables were chosen, and the vestry thanked Stephen Pritchard, the outgoing churchwarden. On 15 April 1833 the committee demanded that Samuel Clements apologise for complaining to the justices of his capricious choice as constable. On 1 May 1833 it excused John Adams as collector for age, after the Board supported him, and appointed Lieutenant D. Lester. [Film No. 622, 660, 662–663, 679–681]

Finance and Taxation

The poor's stock was opened in 1760 as a lending fund, its ledger a book of debtors indexed by folio, with names struck through when debts were settled. On 27 March 1760 it held £212 11s 2¾d, of which only £37 5s 1¾d was cash from the churchwardens Thomas Greentree and O. Beale. The rest was notes and bonds from planters including Thomas Colgrave's estate, James Torbett, Francis Wrangham junior, William Moore, Orlando Bagley junior and John Jacks, whose loan was on mortgage. Every loan but one bore interest at 5%, the ceiling under English usury law. On 3 June 1760 the fund lent Captain Onesiphorus Beale £40 0s 0d on bond. [Film No. 192, 193, 195, 197, 213–214]

Loans ran for years, with interest due on the anniversary of the note. William Moore borrowed £44 14s 5d on 27 March 1758 and paid £2 4s 8½d every 27 March until he repaid the principal in 1768. Thomas Colgrave's note of 17 February 1757 outlived him, and James Colgrave cleared it with £30 13s 7½d on 16 March 1771. Orlando Bagley junior held £30 16s 9d from 12 January 1760 and £50 0s 0d from 13 August 1768, and asked to pay a year's interest early. Richard Goodwin took notes of £40 0s 0d in 1761 and 1766 and £25 0s 0d in 1768. He paid £2 0s 0d interest each August from 1762 to 1765, and on 9 August 1766 his £40 0s 0d was rolled into a new account rather than called in. Richard Beale senior borrowed £40 0s 0d on 1 July 1762 and repaid it with a quarter's interest on 1 October 1767. Matthew Bazett senior borrowed £43 0s 0d on 1 June 1763 and repaid it with interest on 1 June 1765 to the churchwardens Orlando Bagley

senior and Jonathan Doveton. William Wrangham borrowed £60 0s 0d on 1 June 1764, paid £3 0s 0d interest each June from 1765 to 1769 and repaid the principal on 16 July 1771. Loans ranged from £3 10s 6d, lent to William Digby Beale on 28 September 1768, to £70 0s 0d, lent to Lieutenant St Morris on 17 August 1765. [Film No. 193–207, 212, 219–224]

Repaid capital was relent at once, so no interest was lost. Beale's estate repaid in 1761 and James Torbett £20 0s 0d on 26 February 1762, and the money went to Goodwin for £40 0s 0d and to James Greentree, who borrowed £30 0s 0d on 12 April 1762 and repaid it in April 1764. A repaid note was returned to the borrower and entered as a debit, serving as his receipt. The stock stood at £250 15s 10d on 27 March 1761, when Richard Bagley and James Greentree took it over, acknowledging receipt of the books from R. Goodwin and Henry Bazett on 21 April 1761. It reached £281 16s 5¾d on 12 April 1762, £308 9s 10¾d in 1763 with under 4s in cash, £339 14s 0¾d in 1764 and £398 19s 1d by 1767. Each change of wardens was a formal handover of securities, and the incoming men became answerable for the interest. [Film No. 195–202, 204–207, 215–225]

The fund twice departed from its commercial terms. In March 1760 it lent Mrs Sarah Fudge £12 0s 0d without interest. John Jacks left three years' interest unpaid, and on 17 July 1766 the Governor and Council paid the £3 0s 0d arrears for him, probably from money the Company owed him. [Film No. 203–206, 213–214]

The stock's other income was small. Sacrament collections at Whitsun, Christmas, the Sunday after Christmas and Easter, monthly charity Sundays, fines on straying hogs and gaming and fines such as William Hayes's £1 2s 6d of 1762 added a few pounds a year. In 1765 the whole year's communion money, £14 14s 7½d, came as one sum from Mr Thackeray, probably the chaplain. From that year the clergyman, not the wardens, held the alms and accounted for them annually. [Film No. 10, 98, 214, 218, 220, 222, 224]

Ordinary parish costs were met by head money, a poll tax on every person in a household, including family, servants and slaves. The roll of 4 April 1763 charged 1s a head on 945 heads, raising £47 5s 0d. A second count of 613, probably of slaves alone, was charged at 1s 1¾d and raised £35 2s 4¾d, almost exactly the £35 0s 0d paid for three executed slaves. Stephen Young's 19 heads included none in the second count, so he paid nothing towards it. In 1764 head money at 1s 2¾d on 968 heads raised £59 9s 10d. With £2 17s 5¾d carried in, income was £62 7s 4d, and £3 5s 10d passed to John Desfountain and Francis Wrangham. In 1765 sums no longer followed heads: George Alexander paid 9s 9¼d and Orlando Bagley junior 11s 8¼d, each on 10 heads. The clerk probably merged a head charge and a slave charge into one figure. [Film No. 226, 228–230, 232, 234–238]

In 1770 and early 1771 the poor's stock called in almost every loan. Isaac Knipe repaid £31 10s 0d on 29 February 1770, Orlando Bagley junior £32 14s 0d on 20 April 1770 and Goodwin £42 0s 0d on 9 August 1770. Nathan Sampell cleared £42 0s 0d on 14 September 1770, Goodwin's other note was settled on 6 January 1771 and John Jacks paid £20 12s 6d on 31 March 1771, with interest only to that date. Sarah Fudge repaid her £12 0s 0d on 30 April 1771, probably the note entered as Sarah Ferry's note of hand without interest. The parish chest received £1,013 18s 8½d between July 1770 and April 1771, mostly these repayments from men such as William Wrangham, Richard Goodwin, John Price and Orlando Bagley. A second account valued a house at £730 0s 0d, perhaps bought with the recalled money, and advanced £20 0s 0d to Mr Congreve for house rent. [Film No. 10, 193, 194, 196, 201–206]

The churchwardens set the head rate each year to meet expected costs. A roll for the year ending July 1770 charged 1s 8d, its first page counting 546 heads for £45 10s 0d, led by Matthew Bazett on 38, Orlando Bagley senior on 32 and Richard Bagley and John Desfountain senior on 31 each. That account closed in July 1770 with £10 14s 2d paid to Solomon St Maurice and Matthew Bazett as the new churchwardens. A roll of April, probably 1771, charged 2s on 1,104 heads and raised £110 8s 0d of an account totalling £121 2s 2d. A roll of June 1772 charged 1s 3d, and a roll signed by Charles Stewart, probably of about 1773, charged 1s 8d. Matthew Bazett paid on 41 and 42 heads, Richard Bagley on 34 and 36 and William Wrangham on 33 and 34. Matthew Purling was charged on 56 heads at 2s but on 33 at 1s 8d. [Film No. 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 208, 209]

The same small households defaulted from roll to roll. Charles Gissing's three heads went unpaid in 1770. Sarah Lake and Margaret Payne were unpaid at both 1s 8d and 2s, and Gissing and Lake again in June 1772. The parish wrote off their shares, £2 6s 0d in one year and £1 6s 0d in another, rather than suing. [Film No. 14, 15, 18, 21, 24, 208, 209]

Between about 1,135 and 1,210 heads were rated each year from 1773 to 1777. The rate was 1s 6d in 1773 and 1774, 10½d in 1775 and 1s in 1776. In 1773 it raised £85 8s 6d against payments of £97 1s 11¾d. The low rate of 1775 left £1 13s 8¼d in hand, and the parish held no general reserve before the 1780s. The roll for 1777 is recorded at 1s 6d and also at 2s on 1,178 heads, of which 21 heads worth £2 2s 0d could not pay. With £11 10s 0¾d carried in, receipts reached £127 3s 0¾d. The rate was set to clear £118 16s 1¼d of earlier building costs, leaving £8 6s 11½d for William Young and Samuel Desfountain in April 1777. Matthew Bazett on 54 heads led Richard Goodwin on 32 and Henry Bazett on 30. A few households were excused each year, 16 heads in 1776 and 28 in 1777, and collection cost only 5s. [Film No. 119–124, 130, 131, 136, 151, 152, 158, 160–163, 166]

The poor's stock was spent down from about 1775. In a year of about 1775 collections brought £22 19s 6d, including £5 18s 6d received by Mr Doveton on Christmas Day, on a reserve of £83 17s. Receipts from 26 May 1776 came to about £21 10s, as did those of 1777, when hog fines rose to nearly £4 0s 0d. They fell below £9 0s 0d in 1778 and recovered to about £15 0s 0d between 30 May 1779 and 26 March 1780. In 1781 nothing was entered beyond the balance from Dr Walter Greentree. In 1777 the stock and the general account were kept strictly apart, old Bellar's relief being entered in the general account at nothing and paid from the stock. [Film No. 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 167]

The stock passed from each outgoing warden to the incoming pair, one warden usually staying on with a new colleague. It stood at £79 3s 0d, handed to William Young and Samuel Desfountain, in 1776 and £67 10s 0½d in 1777. It fell to £53 16s 9d, handed to William Webber and Doveton, in 1778 and £52 15s 1½d, handed to Walter Greentree and Nathaniel Kennedy, in March 1780. Kennedy continued with Thomas Statham and Statham with Francis Seale in 1780 and 1781. The stock sank to £42 5s 1½d, £30 4s 1½d, £21 2s 1½d in 1783 and £4 11s 1½d, paid to George Bird and James Colgrave, in 1784. An account of about 1785 received only £4 11s 6d and 4s 6d in hog fines, spent £26 18s 2d and left the stock £22 2s 2d in debt. The parish charged the deficit to the general account, so relief came in effect from the general rate. Hog fines went into the general account by 1786. The Reverend Mr Wilson's gift of £60 0s 0d revived the stock in 1787. [Film No. 95–96, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107–108, 111, 113, 179, 182]

Head money fell to a token in 1779 as the dog tax became the chief revenue. The roll following payments for destroying dogs of 31 March 1778 charged 2d a head, raising about £10 0s 0d. Its carried total of £41 0s 9½d equals an opening balance of £36 0s 1½d plus 604 heads at 2d, although one reading gives a rate of 3s 2d. The account closed on 27 March 1780 recorded no head money. Collecting dog and sheep charges cost £2 10s 0d to £3 0s 0d a year against more than £63 0s 0d raised. General balances rose from £56 0s 3d in 1779 to £91 0s 3½d in 1781, £108 6s 5½d on 1 April 1782 and £199 9s 8½d on 23 April 1783, when the year's spending had been only £27 1s 5d. Heavy spending in 1783 reduced the balance handed to George Bird and James Colgrave to £150 3s. [Film No. 110–113, 137–147]

The parish pursued small debts closely between 1783 and 1789. Lieutenant Statham, churchwarden in 1781 and 1782, owed £5 13s 10d from 1783, carried forward until the vestry wrote it off in 1786. The clerk entered it on both sides of the 1787 account so the books balanced. Sergeant John McPherson paid £5 0s 0d in 1787 for an unstated reason. In 1788 and 1789 Mr Jacks paid the parish £20 14s 0d, perhaps recovering relief spent on Mrs Jacks. On 30 April 1789 the £15 10s 0d left from the smallpox tax was folded into the general account rather than refunded, although soldiers and Company slaves had paid it. [Film No. 168, 182, 185–190]

By 1785 a combined sheep and dog tax had replaced the household poll tax. In 1787 a tax on blacks appeared at 4½d a head, raising £20 0s 3d from about 1,070 people. In 1788 the rate fell to 3d and raised £13 9s 3d from about 1,075. The churchwardens set this rate each year to close the gap between income and spending. In the year to April 1790 blacks yielded £39 15s 0d. Head money returned at 2s 9d, voted on

24 January 1791, and raised £204 3s 6d on about 1,480 heads. From 1791 free blacks were exempted, so the main burden fell on slave ownership. [Film No. 50, 56, 170, 172, 178, 182, 186, 188, 190]

By April 1792 the parish taxed blacks, sheep and dogs, raising £97 12s 8¼d. With £88 14s 2¾d carried from Captain Greentree, income was £186 6s 11d, and William Currie received a balance of £71 6s 0d from Thomas Lester. On 30 June 1792 the parish, called "the country", owed two bonds worth £76 1s 5½d with interest, one to the estate of James Preston's widow. Both were cleared by 31 March 1793, one through Mr Cole. The other was paid to Charles Gunnell for his wife Patty Preston, since English law gave a husband control of his wife's property. [Film No. 30–32, 34, 35]

The churchwardens' year began in August. An account of about 1793 credited £120 8s 5d from dog and sheep taxes collected by E. C. Smith, and on 4 August 1794 Thomas Cole signed for £4 0s 4½d from Smith as the balance due. On 1 September 1794 the wardens held 2s against costs of nearly £80 0s 0d a year. That day the vestry levied 1s 3d a head on whites and blacks alike, payable by 15 September, with 2s 3d added for each demand on a defaulter. Spending reached £56 16s 6d by 31 October 1794, £96 8s 7d by February 1795 and £123 13s 9d by May 1795. Head money for 1794 came to £83 14s 0d but was collected only by 31 January 1795. The warden probably paid early bills himself and repaid himself as the tax came in, and 8s 0½d was due to Thomas Cole in 1795. On 4 September 1795 the vestry reverted to a tax on slaves alone, assessed on that year's list, and left the cost of poor relief as entered in the parish book. [Film No. 63–64, 67, 69–72, 243, 245]

On 18 February 1796 receipts of £239 4s 7d came three-quarters from a tax of 3s 6d on 1,028 slaves, which raised £179 18s 0d. That year the parish spent £44 12s 0⅜d on the country church, £3 10s 3¾d on the schoolhouse, £3 12s 2d on the lower burial ground and £111 15s 4½d from the poor rate. The balance of £75 14s 8¾d passed from James Pritchard to Richard Torbett on 15 August 1796. Officers drew fixed sums. Henry Neve, vestry clerk, received £2 10s 0d a quarter from 4 November 1794, and a half-year's £5 0s 0d on 1 October 1796 kept his salary at £10 0s 0d a year. The sexton Smith received £3 15s 0d a quarter and 8s 0d on 1 July 1796 for copying a list of free blacks and writing at two vestries. The secretary's fees to September 1794 were £3 2s 6d, and adding up the parish books cost £1 0s 0d in 1796. [Film No. 50, 56, 61, 63, 65, 71, 73, 75, 245]

The vestry adjusted the slave rate to its balance. It cut the rate to 6d on 17 April 1797 to spend down the surplus and raised it to 1s 6d on 9 April 1798 when funds ran low. On 18 June 1798 it added 1s for a new schoolhouse kitchen. On 17 June 1799 it levied one rupee a slave, worth about 2s 6d, but took it as slaves' labour credited at 1s 6d a day as for highway work, because hired labourers were scarce. Sterling remained the unit of account while Indian coin circulated, and on 17 December 1801 the churchwardens paid 27 rupees to Sergeant Hillman. On 6 April 1801 a further tax on all slaves was agreed at a rate now illegible. [Film No. 77, 80, 82, 83, 89–90, 256]

The slave tax carried the larger burden in the 1800s. At 2s 6d a head it raised £128 5s 0d in 1801–02 on about 1,026 slaves, and at 2s 3d on 7 January 1804 it raised £116 15s 6d on about 1,038. When the tax had not come in during the first half of 1803, the churchwarden John Shortley was left £2 15s 11d out of pocket until his successor repaid him. [Film No. 264, 272, 276]

The rebuilding of the country church forced the parish onto general poll taxes. A head tax of 2s 3d, voted in April 1804, raised £169 6s 0d by April 1805 on about 1,505 heads. A tax on families of 2s 6d a person from 30 September 1805 was assessed at £214 10s 0d on 1,716 persons and came in through five instalments to about £202 7s 6d. On 21 April 1806 the vestry doubled the rate to 5s, the highest in the book, assessed at £424 5s 0d. Unpaid sums lay almost entirely with single white men without land or slaves, several gone from the island. [Film No. 278, 280, 291, 293, 298, 301, 304–307]

The parish raised its largest single sum by selling the parish house in James's Valley, its workhouse. Parishioners petitioned on 4 November 1805, and Frederick Roach bought the house at auction on 18 November 1805 for £280 0s 0d, paying £70 0s 0d down. The ground was free of quit-rent to the Company, which raised its value. Roach paid the remaining £210 0s 0d in cash in January 1806 for a discount of £9 0s 0d, accepted because the parish needed ready money for the church. The account of 16 April 1806 still

set £798 0s 11d of spending against £522 7s 6d of receipts. The churchwarden Henry Porteous had paid the £275 13s 5d deficit himself and was repaid by William Seale only on 3 November 1806, probably from the 5s tax. The half-yearly account totals £809 17s 9d where the summary gives £798 0s 11d, a difference left unexplained. [Film No. 294, 295, 297, 298, 303, 304]

From 1808 the parish relied on yearly poll taxes. The roll of 18 April 1808, at one rupee or 2s 3d a head, came to £164 16s 3d. It listed serving soldiers and free blacks but charged them nothing, and excused poor households such as those of the widow Jane De Lemore, Margaret McPike, Mary Scott and Martha Jacks. The roll of 3 April 1809 at 2s 3d counted 1,751 heads and raised £196 19s 9d. The vestry cut the rate to 1s 6d on 23 April 1810 while in surplus, raising £122 17s 0d on 1,850 heads. It restored 2s 3d in July 1811, raising £183 14s 3d on 1,633 heads, a roll with two carrying errors of seven heads and 7s. Balances reached £138 8s 6d in April 1809, £119 4s 7½d in April 1810, £54 19s 2½d in April 1811 and £163 16s 8½d on 30 April 1812. [Film No. 323–325, 332–334, 336, 337, 339–343, 346, 351, 352, 354–356]

Collectors were paid fixed fees until 1810, such as £9 0s 0d to Mr Burnham for the tax on families in 1806, £3 0s 0d for the slave tax in 1808 and £9 17s 0d for the poll tax in 1809. From 1810 John Singleton took 5% of what he collected, £6 2s 9d on £122 17s 0d and £9 3s 6d on £183 14s 3d. Payment by results gave him reason to chase every household, since defaulters and departures had cut every roll since 1805. [Film No. 313, 327, 335, 343, 351]

The poll tax, charged on every person in a household including slaves, orphans and estates of the dead, was the parish's chief income from 1813. The roll of 19 April 1813 charged 2s 6d a head on 1,698 heads for £212 5s 0d. The collector, J. Singleton, received 5% or £10 12s 3d. It arrived in at least eight instalments from 13 August 1813 to 1 July 1814. The 1812 to 1813 account left £150 18s 2½d, passed from J. A. Wright to W. Brabazon on 3 May 1813, and that of 1813 to 1814 left £79 15s 11d, passed to Blenkins. [Film No. 360, 362–364, 366, 368]

The vestry varied the rate with need. The roll of 1814 at 2s 6d counted 1,775 heads for £221 12s 6d, though one page brought forward 1,218 heads where the previous page had carried 1,145. In 1815 the rate fell to 1s 6d on 1,913 heads, the highest count recorded, against 1,633 in 1811, and yielded £143 9s 6d. The rise came from private households, since soldiers were excluded and free blacks did not pay. The roll ordered on 16 April 1816 at 2s 6d counted 1,806 heads for £225 15s 0d, with a carrying error of 5s. The roll of 7 April 1817 at 1s 6d produced only £135 3s 0d. William Balcombe was assessed on 36 heads that year and Daniel Caldwell, the former parish orphan, on five. On 23 March 1818 the vestry restored 2s 6d, which yielded £222 7s 6d on 1,773 heads. [Film No. 371–373, 376–379, 387–390, 393–398, 406–408]

The building of the steeple left the parish owing Blenkins £113 1s 6d in 1815. It repaid £78 3s 8d in 1815 to 1816 and the final £34 17s 10d on 1 July 1818. Henry Cole received the books and plate from Broadway with no balance in hand. [Film No. 368, 374, 380, 409]

Collection grew harder from 1816. The collector's commission rose from 5% to 7½% for the 1816 tax, or £16 18s 7½d. The parish paid 10s 0d for summonses against defaulters, and part of the tax remained uncollected in Singleton's hands. The 1816 to 1817 account left £74 3s 1½d due from Captain Henry S. Cole. The 1817 to 1818 account counted that debt as income to show a balance of £86 12s 3½d. On 20 April 1818 James Torbett received only £5 9s 8d in cash with the books and plate. [Film No. 391–392, 397, 400, 409]

Cole paid his £74 3s 1½d in the account closed on 31 March 1819. It cleared Sergeant Croft's arrears of £27 10s 0d for 1816 and 1817 and left £45 12s 11½d in hand. The roll of 12 April 1819 at 2s 6d raised only £198 2s 6d on about 1,585 heads, as fewer heads were declared. The collector took 7½%, £16 13s 6d in 1818 and £14 17s 0d in 1819. The balance rose to £97 18s 2½d by April 1820, so on 3 April 1820 the vestry cut the rate to 2s, raising £180 1s 9d. Dog tax arrears of £74 2s 6d arrived through T. H. Brooke and the gaoler Weston on 17 July 1820. The balance reached £199 6s 10½d on 30 April 1821, chiefly from those arrears. [Film No. 410, 413, 416–418, 420, 422, 425, 433, 434, 453, 454]

On 30 April 1821 and again on 8 April 1822 the vestry set 1s a head, payable at the July sessions in the vestry room. The roll of 1821 charged 1,600 persons for £80 0s 0d. A second list of 244 persons totalling £12 4s 0d was the defaulters' account handed to the police. The police office handed over £7 2s 0d of it in March 1823, and payments against it were still being noted during 1823. A further £64 10s 0d of dog tax arrears came through Anthony Beale as treasurer of the police fund in April 1822. The balance fell to £145 2s 0d on 30 April 1822 after the rate was halved. [Film No. 422, 428–431, 435, 448–452, 454, 455, 482–484]

The roll for 1822 charged 1s a head on 1,741 heads and raised £87 1s 0d, with 136 heads worth £6 16s 0d in arrears. By 31 March 1823 relief grants and the return of the organist's salary had cut the balance to £25 7s 7d. The vestry therefore set 3s 6d, the highest rate recorded, which raised £277 16s 6d on 1,559 heads. Arrears rose to £52 13s 6d on 301 heads, including William Seale senior on 33 heads. The commission of 7½% cost £6 10s 6d in 1823. In about 1823 the parish held £122 18s 7d from the estates of Lieutenant and Sergeant Broadway for the family's heir. It paid Mary Broadway the odd 18s 7d and lent £122 0s 0d to the Governor and Council on a bond. [Film No. 479–485, 487, 488, 490–494]

On 19 April 1824 the vestry cut the rate to 3s, and the 1824 roll raised £225 0s 0d. The commission was cut to 5%, which cost £13 17s 9d on that larger yield. In April 1824 the police office paid £7 17s 0d of the 1822 arrears. In 1824 the clerk began marking payments beside each name on the roll instead of listing defaulters separately. The parish lost £10 2s 9d in 1824 when the island's official value of the Spanish dollar was cut to 5s. It held £277 14s 0d in coin, nearly a year's poll tax, when the change took effect. On 5 January 1824 A. Beale's dog tax payment of £27 10s 0d was credited at only £24 19s 6d. [Film No. 493, 494, 495, 505–509]

The 1824 to 1825 account closed in debt. On 31 March 1825 Sampson signed for the books and plate from Anthony Beale, who had paid out £50 11s 4d more than he received. Poll tax yielded £242 0s 0d, of which £17 0s 0d came through the police office. The police office also recovered £19 19s 0d of arrears and collected the dog tax of £25 15s 0d. Spending of about £190 16s 11d on the country church caused the deficit. [Film No. 510]

On 4 April 1825 the vestry declared the poll tax unfair, since it charged the same sum for every head regardless of wealth or land. It referred the replacement to the committee. To repay the churchwarden the same meeting raised a final poll tax of 1s a head, the balance due being given as £50 17s 4d. Its roll was headed by R. Barker on 35 heads and David Kay on 31. The tavern's owners were charged as a household of three heads. Beale paid 17s towards his own repayment. [Film No. 511–512, 551–554]

On 29 April 1825 the committee adopted Mr Janisch's proposal for a house tax. Three assessors, Captain Sampson, Joseph Cole and the Reverend R. Boys, would sort houses into 12 classes to raise £150 0s 0d. Company houses other than the Castle and Plantation House were to be charged to the officials who occupied them. A flat 7s on every free man aged 21 to 60 would raise a further £100 0s 0d, and each payer would gain a vote on parish spending. The scheme dropped slaves from taxation as their numbers fell under the abolition measure of 1818. It drew no line by colour, so a free black man paying 7s could have voted. On 2 May 1825 the vestry replaced the fixed 7s with an equal share of whatever sum the house tax left uncovered. [Film No. 514–515]

The Governor and Council answered on 18 July 1825 in a minute signed by Charles Blake. They promised to replace any measure they overruled and approved a house tax in principle. They refused to tax occupants of Company houses, since the Company owned the island, paid its officers and gave generously to the parish. They rejected the charge on free men as an unjust poll tax by the vestry's own reasoning and that of political economists. Their decisive objection was that votes for day labourers and paupers came close to universal suffrage. The government noted that the vote, once confined to freeholders, had been extended to leaseholders and householders and that shop workers and apprentices had voted improperly. Free men of colour already outnumbered white men of working age in 1825, so a vote for every free man paying the tax would soon have given them a majority. The government instead proposed funding the parish wholly from property. [Film No. 516, 517, 521, 523–524]

On 25 July 1825 the vestry resolved to class every house except Plantation House and the Castle into 12 classes to raise £140 0s 0d. It elected Janisch to the committee in place of the Reverend B. J. Vernon, who had left the island. On 28 July 1825 the government approved taxing houses not owned by the Company but doubted that 12 classes would work. It made the tax on horses for hire law and fixed parish taxes to fall due on 1 May. [Film No. 525, 527, 539]

On 15 August 1825 the committee defended the vestry, and a large majority adopted its report the same day. It denied any intention to tax the Company itself. It cited the *Parish Officer's Complete Guide*, page 119, which exempted royal palaces but rated individuals occupying apartments within them. The vote would cover only spending, not the choice of officers. The committee proposed a rate on assessed value, entered as £3 on every £100, to raise £190 0s 0d. With about £75 0s 0d from horses for hire and dogs, that would meet average spending of £263 0s 0d and free the carriage tax for the roads. On 24 October 1825 the vestry fixed the house tax at 3s on every £100, so the August figure was probably a slip. [Film No. 527–529, 532, 545]

Blake sent a draft proclamation on 3 November 1825. On 7 November the vestry objected to exempting houses worth under £100 0s 0d and chose Andrew Eyre and Lewis Gideon as collectors. On 14 November 1825 the government dropped the exemption. Many owners held several cheap houses, the extra charge would never exceed 1s 6d on every £100 and poor tenants paid their Company rents more promptly than the rich. It reserved a right to help poor householders pressed too hard. [Film No. 546–547]

The proclamation of 14 November 1825 abolished the poll tax and the tax on male slaves aged 16 to 60. Parish costs would come from half the dog tax, 40s on each horse for hire and 3s on every £100 of house value. Any shortfall would be met by adding 3d, 6d or more to the house tax. Three collectors chosen by the vestry, always including the senior churchwarden, would collect in the first week of February after notice by mid-January. Defaulters would be reported to the magistrate for seizure and sale of their goods. [Film No. 548–550]

The new taxes fell short in their first full year. The police office had paid only half the parish's share of the dog tax for 1825 to 1826 by 31 March 1826. On 20 November 1826 the committee added 3s on every £100 to the original 3s, giving 1s to the parish and 2s to the roads, and the government proclaimed it on 24 November 1826. The Court of Directors' letter of 3 January 1827 called the poll tax unfair and oppressive. It approved paying parish costs from taxes on houses, horses, carts, carriages and dogs. [Film No. 560, 571, 572]

The balance fell to £1 19s 6d in April 1827, on spending of £224 4s 4d. On 19 April 1827 the house rate was fixed at 4s 6d on every £100, 3s for the parish and 1s 6d for the county. The vestry asked that month for the valuation to be revised. The committee gave the work to the Reverend R. Boys and Captain Sampson, with the senior churchwarden as a standing member. From 30 April 1827 no horse for hire, carriage, cart or dray could be used without a free, non-transferable printed ticket showing its tax was paid, on pain of a £5 0s 0d fine to the parish. Horses kept for hire paid £2 each and numbered 18 in 1826 to 1827, 23 in 1827 to 1828 and 24 in 1828 to 1829. [Film No. 573, 574, 576–578, 596, 606]

From 7 April 1828 the three collectors were to revise the scale every year. A surplus allowed a cut to 3s 6d on 24 April 1828, two-thirds to the parish. On 18 May 1829 the same rate was split 3s to the parish and 6d to the roads. The first collection yielded £233 1s 3d, and the parish's share stayed near £233 0s 0d in 1827 to 1828 and 1828 to 1829, perhaps from revised values. After the committee complained to the government, £25 0s 0d each of dog tax for 1825 and 1826 arrived in 1826 to 1827. A further £30 18s 8d for 1827 and £32 5s 0d for 1828 arrived by July 1828. The balance recovered to £74 3s 2d on 7 April 1828 and £135 7s 8d on 1 April 1829. A clerical slip carried £229 8s 9d forward in 1828 as £229 8s 2d. By 1828 to 1829 the account was set out under salaries, relief, hospital, burials and incidental costs. [Film No. 574, 577, 596, 597, 600, 601, 605, 606, 609]

The parish's 3s share of the house tax brought £230 5s 10d in 1829, £233 16s 5d in 1830 and £231 3s 2d in 1831. Half the dog tax added £31 10s 0d, £31 15s 0d and £36 5s 0d. The hire tax added £48 0s 0d on 24 horses in 1829 and 1830 and £42 0s 0d on 21 in 1831. The balance rose from £135 18s 8d in April 1829,

11s different from the sum handed over, to £244 1s 11d in 1830 and £311 1s 8d in 1831, the highest recorded. It fell to £292 6s 0d in 1832. In the year to April 1831 the parish lost £17 17s 6d, 7½% of its cash of £238 10s 0d, through another change in the currency. [Film No. 619, 620, 627, 628, 657, 658]

On 13 April 1830 Janisch moved that the horse tax go to parish costs instead of the Company's widows' fund, but a majority defeated him. The Court of Directors' letter of 19 January 1831 refused to abolish the tax but found paying it into a fund for Company servants objectionable. It ordered the proceeds into the Company's treasury instead. The parish still received the horse tax in 1831. [Film No. 622, 632, 658]

On 14 May 1832 the committee minuted a house tax of 3s 6d on every £100, 2s to the parish and 1s 6d to the county. The Board's reply of 17 May 1832 approved a cut from 3s 6d to 2s 6d. Owners had evaded the hire tax by hiring out between collections and giving up their animals before the tax fell due. The Board therefore approved a licence for carts and horses let for hire but cut the proposed fee from 20s to 10s. [Film No. 660, 662]

In 1832 to 1833 the house tax brought £202 1s 3d and the hire tax only £22 0s 0d on 11 horses. On 9 January 1833 the committee sent defaulters to the magistrate under the 1825 power to seize and sell goods, and the Board approved on 14 January. On 7 February 1833 the committee referred a draft proclamation to strengthen collection to the annual vestry rather than grant the government more power over parish taxes. The account opened with £292 6s 0d and took receipts of £546 12s 3d, including £30 5s 0d as half the dog tax. Spending of £580 3s 9d, chiefly on church works and relief, left £33 11s 6d owed to the churchwarden. The account was found correct on 8 April 1833, and the vestry raised the rate to 3s on every £100. On 13 June 1833 the committee refused to excuse Mr Coutts from cart and hire taxes for the year of his bankruptcy, since he had kept a cart and a hire horse at work throughout. [Film No. 671–672, 675–679, 681]

On 18 November 1833 the government ruled on the Longwood lessees, represented by W. H. Seale for the Longwood society. They argued that the house tax on Longwood Old House fell on the Company as landlord. Tenants holding from the Company by grant, lease or at will had always paid, and the lessees held at a rack rent won at public auction. Because the lease set no condition about the tax, the Board exempted them for the rest of their term. [Film No. 683–684]

On 2 December 1833 the committee complained that many people well able to pay were exempt while the whole burden fell on householders. It added that costs were rising partly because of emancipation. It asked for a meeting at which all inhabitants could vote and for population lists from the census rolls. The government called a full meeting for 13 January 1834. [Film No. 684]

The committee's plan, put to a very full meeting on 13 January 1834, found that many wealthy and salaried inhabitants paid nothing because they owned no houses. House owners would pay the house rate, perhaps 3s 6d, and everyone else ¼% of yearly income or salary, each paying whichever was higher. Both would rise in proportion if more were needed. Freed slaves and free men of colour over 16 who owned no house and lived as labourers or mechanics would pay 1s a year. On 27 January 1834 the inhabitants preferred an amendment taxing tenants' rents, and the meeting sent both to the committee. Owners in their own houses would be excused if they paid the equivalent of £15 a year rent. Landlords would report tenants and rents, and mechanics and young men over 16 living rent-free would be charged as if they paid £12 a year for a room. Raising £75 0s 0d might need 6d in the pound, paid in two instalments. [Film No. 686–688]

On 6 February 1834 the committee received plans from Mr Thomson and Mr Baker but held to its own. It reported the year's funds spent and sought a £70 0s 0d loan for two months. On 10 February the government refused because of the coming change in the Company's affairs under the Charter Act of 1833. On 17 February 1834 a very thin meeting adopted the committee's plan by eight votes to two. The 1833 to 1834 account received £335 18s 6d against spending of £375 7s 8½d, leaving £39 9s 2½d owed to O'Connor, who signed on 31 March 1834. [Film No. 689–694]

On 6 March 1834 the Board rejected any tax on working mechanics and labourers, exempt in every civilised country, and doubted that an income tax would work. It would not oppose a measure generally agreed at

the Easter vestry. It pointed the parish to *Burn's Justice*, which allowed rating of stock in trade, personal property, public billiard tables and barrack canteens. It also suggested a toll gate on the Ladder Hill road. Notes for the Easter vestry of 1834 by J. B., probably the former churchwarden James Bennett, listed unequal taxes and rotation of the county collectors among the parish's grievances. [Film No. 690, 698]

Land and Livestock

Fines for straying hogs went to the poor's stock from at least 23 April 1760 and to the parish in 1770 and 1771. From 3 August 1795 strays were impounded until their owners paid a release fee. Four impounded hogs brought 10s in 1795 and three brought 7s 6d on 18 February 1796. On 28 March 1796 the vestry asked the Board to remove the hogs roaming the streets. [Film No. 10, 14, 52, 56, 214, 247]

The parish spent £5 14s 1½d on killing rats and mice in 1771 and £8 11s 7d in the year to June 1772. The constable James Pritchard was paid for rats in 1773. Bounties ran at about £11 0s 0d a year in 1774 and 1775, more than the sexton's salary. Each kill earned a payment, so the bounty probably gave slaves and poor inhabitants a small income. [Film No. 10, 14, 21, 113, 116, 119, 125]

In 1783 the parish paid for driving 544 and 529 sheep at about 1d a head to be counted. Planters were paid at the same rate to drive in and mark the flocks from 1785 to 1789. In the account closing in 1785 four planters brought in 2,829 sheep, Thomas Bagley alone driving 1,038, and a further list of that year counted 2,165. Paint and oil were bought for marking in 1785. The counts were 2,147 in 1786, 2,095 in 1787 and 2,279 in 1789, when Orlando Bagley drove 1,056. [Film No. 131, 145, 177, 181, 185, 187, 189]

The parish destroyed dogs alongside taxing them. It paid for a dog register in 1783. Edward Hayes and John Hayes were paid for killing dogs in 1786, Statham and Hayes in 1788 and Gray, the constable, for four dogs in 1789. In 1791 the parish paid 1s each for killing 39 dogs, with a bailiff in attendance and further work by Charles Seale. It paid for hanging five dogs in 1792 and paid William Seale for destroying dogs by March 1793. Charles Seale, the parish bailiff, received 11s by April 1794 for two days spent hanging dogs. Further hangings were paid for in 1796. [Film No. 31, 33, 41, 66, 131, 145, 183, 185, 189, 191]

In 1786 the sexton published a notice about blacks fetching wood, probably to limit slaves cutting firewood on the island's scarce woodland. On 8 August 1791 the Governor sought the vestry's advice on improving the Company's commons. In 1792 the parish paid for copying proposals about the waste lands. [Film No. 31, 147, 183]

From 1792 the sheep tax was charged at 1d a head on counted and marked sheep. Its inspectors were paid for 2,119 sheep in the year to March 1792. In 1793 Nathan Sampell counted 518 and J. Young 287 in the South division. Samuel Knipe was paid for marking sheep on 22 July 1793. In March 1794 John Bagley marked 653 and Richard Bagley 245. In January 1795 the tax on 1,798 sheep raised £7 9s 10d, exactly the inspectors' fee for marking them. Frederick Alexander was separately paid £2 2s 0d for 516 sheep on 1 February 1795. On 15 January 1796 the inspectors were paid for 1,624 sheep against 1,634 charged on the credit side, perhaps through a slip. On 9 April 1798 the vestry gave the sheep tax to the dog-tax collector. On 14 April 1800 inspectors of sheep and goats were chosen for each division. [Film No. 31, 35, 37, 39, 53, 56, 74, 75, 80, 252]

On 1 April 1793 the vestry blamed the dogs multiplying in the valley on a tax set too low and asked for an extra 5s a dog. On 16 July 1793 it required every keeper to declare his dogs from the January sessions and pay 5s a dog. An undeclared dog cost 40s and its destruction, with a quarter of the fine to the informer and the rest to the poor. An owner who refused to destroy a dog seen killing sheep or goats paid 40s for each offence. Informers had to swear on oath. A notice signed by Thomas Cole in about 1793 required declarations and payment for 1 January 1794 to 1 January 1795. The tax yielded £34 5s 0d by 31 January 1795 and £5 0s 0d more by 28 February, for collection fees of £2 12s 0d. It raised more than £50 0s 0d in 1796. Owners evaded payment and failed to return their numbers, so on 17 April 1797 the vestry appointed a collector at £5 0s 0d a year. On 14 April 1800 it asked for the fine for a false return to rise to £5 0s 0d, with 20s to the informer. On 26 May 1800 the churchwardens warned that dogs disturbing divine service would be dealt with under island law. The account to 6 April 1801 paid John Seale junior £5 0s 0d for collecting the dog and sheep tax. On 6 April 1801 the vestry banned slaves from keeping dogs at outlying

houses, on pain of the dogs being killed and the slaves punished. It recommended that free blacks keep no dogs at all. [Film No. 66, 73–75, 77, 241–242, 252–254, 256, 259]

In about July 1793 the vestry acknowledged kind and timely rains but said the land was too impoverished to cultivate usefully. The rats were also returning. It asked the Board to recommend the inhabitants to the Court of Directors and excuse them further from the Company's rents. [Film No. 242]

On 14 November 1793 a vestry met to fight the fly whose larvae, the worm, ate into the hide and flesh of cattle. Every owner was to destroy the worm by all available means. Inspectors were named for each division: John Worrall in the East, L. Knipe in the West and Lieutenant William Seale in the South. Inspections ran from 1 October to 31 March, when the flies bred, with monthly reports and an annual report to the Board on the January sessions day. The Council approved and issued warrants, which gave inspectors a legal right of entry. The wormer or inspector of cattle worming appeared in the officer lists of 1797 and 1798. On 14 April 1800 wormers of sheep and cattle were chosen for each division. [Film No. 68, 252]

On 2 February 1795 the vestry proposed game rules modelled on the English game laws. No one could shoot or carry a gun off his own land without a licence costing a guinea a year. The licence did not allow shooting on another's ground or killing pheasants, peacocks or other game not customarily shot. Landholders could let unlicensed men shoot rabbits only. Shooting was allowed from 1 March to 31 May, and shooting at a roost was banned so that birds could breed. Offenders would pay £20 0s 0d, against a labourer's wage of 1s 6d a day. Half the fine would go to the informer and half to the widows' fund, which would also take licence money if the Directors approved. The Company's rights as lord of the manor were reserved. [Film No. 244]

On 28 March 1796 the vestry banned killing or catching Java sparrows for one year. These finches from Java and Bali came as cage birds on Company ships and had begun breeding wild, so the ban probably protected a new colony from trappers. [Film No. 247]

In April 1812 the Council proposed giving cattle worming to free blacks or other poor men skilled with livestock, paid by the worm. The wormers were Joseph Mittens, Billy George and Jacob Rich junior on 11 April 1814. On 27 March 1815 they were Scipio, Michel Samuel and Dick Harry. James George, chosen on 16 April 1816, held four acres as a free man. On 12 April 1819 each of three planters was paired with a free black assistant, Sam, James and William, who received a fee for every worm removed. The assistants in April 1820 included Michael and Jemmy, both free blacks. By 8 April 1822 the wormers were listed by southern, western and eastern divisions with no assistants named. [Film No. 365, 375, 383, 412, 421, 455]

The dog tax for 1812 brought £57 9s 9d through the clerk of the peace. That for 1813 and 1814 brought £102 10s 0d and half that for 1815 £48 15s 0d. The tax fell to £27 10s 0d in 1816 to 1817, probably through poor collection rather than fewer dogs. On 17 March 1817 the vestry asked the government to enforce the dog regulations strictly because dogs were increasing. The tax rose to £44 1s 6d in 1817 to 1818. [Film No. 360, 374, 380, 385, 392, 397]

In 1815 the landholders complained that for eight or nine years free blacks and slaves had cut rushes on the commons without permission, every day including Sundays. The rushes had been planted with highway labour supplied by the inhabitants, though free blacks had supplied none of it. They were sold for thatch at 1s 6d a girth of 4½ feet. The cutters charged 1s for a girth of 3½ feet and cut them too young to be fit. The Governor and Council sent the question to the grand jury at the next sessions. [Film No. 376–377]

Governor Lowe's letter of 17 April 1820 told the inhabitants to feed themselves from the island's own resources. Some landholders had planted trees or grown green crops. Most had cleared brambles only to sell hay to the government contractor. Few vegetables, fruit or animals reached market beyond a few bushels of potatoes. Lowe wanted the plough used ten times more widely. He announced that government hay purchases would go to those who made the greatest efforts at tillage and increased their livestock. [Film No. 425–427]

Roads, Streets and Public Works

In 1775 the parish repaired the wall along the run, the stream down James Valley, for £5 14s 3½d. In 1783 it spent £37 14s 10½d on labour and masonry at "the ruins" in James Valley under the overseers Henry Wingfield and Edward Hayes, perhaps after a flood or rockfall. It also bought 10 wheelbarrows and poles for a bridge from Mary Doveton. [Film No. 113, 131]

The account of 1776 spent £118 16s 1¼d on an unnamed building, against receipts of only £57 4s 8¼d, so the page perhaps belongs to another year. It bought teak for £4 4s 0d and Riga timber for £2 13s 8d through Company shipping. Island rafters, laths, binders and rushes went into the roof. Several hundred days of slave labour and masonry were hired from planters and officers. [Film No. 158, 159]

Until about 1813 to 1815 the inhabitants kept the highways by labour: six days a year for every male slave aged 16 to 60 and four days for every cart. The Company kept only the roads from Jamestown to Ladder Hill and from Hutt's Gate to Longwood. Overseers paid £20 0s 0d each for substitutes from the garrison's non-commissioned officers, funded by a land and house tax. Under Governor Lowe a money payment replaced slave and cart labour. [Film No. 518–519]

In April 1819 the duty of providing highway overseers fell on named estates, among them those of Anthony Beale, Elizabeth De Fountain and David Kay senior. On 3 April 1820 Beale complained of providing an overseer for a whole estate of which he owned a third. The vestry sought a fairer charge by acreage. On 24 April 1820 it chose a committee of large holders: John Legg, Captain C. Sampson, John Bagley, Richard Barker, Colonel Wright, Richard Knipe senior and Richard Torbett. [Film No. 412, 422, 427]

The government approved a general tax of about £60 0s 0d a year in place of the overseers. On 30 April 1821 David Kinnaird costed two plans from a rent roll of 2,125¾ acres freehold and 3,604½ acres leasehold. A flat 2½d an acre would raise about £59 13s 9d. Alternatively 2d an acre plus 2d in the shilling on 2,071s of ground rent would raise £65 0s 0d. On 2 May 1821 the committee chose the second, adding 5s on houses paying no ground rent and sending any surplus to the parish. Company leaseholders thus paid on both acres and rent. The Council confirmed it on 24 May 1821. [Film No. 435–438]

On 30 August 1824, after a grand jury presentment, the government sent survey reports on the Jamestown streets and the country roads. It offered half the cost of the streets if the inhabitants paid the rest and elected two inspectors. It noted the lack of good paving stone and suggested lighting the town at night. Landholders were to elect district committees of three to inspect the surveyor's road gangs. Landowners were to clear furze and blackberry from the highway beside their land, and a road serving one farm was ruled private. On 6 September 1824 the vestry chose to rebuild only the main street from the Parade towards Ladder Hill and Colonel Wright's and to patch the rest. A poll tax of 1s 6d a head paid for it, so country estates helped pave Jamestown. Saul Solomon and Mr Adamson became inspectors of streets. The vestry recommended Mr Blake's lighting plan and named three volunteer road inspectors per division. [Film No. 498–502]

In the year to 30 April 1825 the roads cost £1,322 14s 0d, of which the inhabitants paid £324 6s 0d, £86 0s 0d less than three years before. By May 1825 the vestry planned to raise the government's figure of about £410 0s 0d. First-class carriages would pay £5 0s 0d or £6 0s 0d and second-class £3 0s 0d or £4 0s 0d, so the 15 carriages would yield £65 0s 0d and 43 carts £117 0s 0d. It counted 670 men aged 16 to 60: 182 whites, about 200 people of colour and 288 slaves. Each would owe 3½ days' work or 7s, for £234 10s 0d. A second copy assumed 650 men, for £409 10s 0d. [Film No. 516, 518–519, 526]

The government's minute of 18 July 1825 blamed the falling yield on shrinking resources or understated returns of slaves and carts. A slave tax suited only times when slaves did all the labour. Owners without slaves used the roads untaxed, and a land tax could not be evaded and would not shrink with emancipation. It proposed quadrupling the land and ground rent tax for overseers from £72 0s 0d to £288 0s 0d. The minute charged 37 carts £3 0s 0d instead of £4 0s 0d and about six extra carts £1 0s 0d each, for £405 0s 0d in all. Carts were to be numbered with owners' names, undeclared carts to pay at once and future defaulters to be fined twice the tax. It thought the vestry's carriage rates would deter buyers of a new light carriage at £40 0s 0d to £50 0s 0d. It proposed £3 0s 0d and £4 0s 0d for the first class and £1 0s 0d and

£2 0s 0d for the second, defined by what one horse could draw to Bates Branch or Longwood. Mr Solomon's caravan and Captain Statham's kite cart were examples. Owners such as Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, Mr De Fountain, Captain Sampson and Saul Solomon would yield £34 0s 0d. [Film No. 519–520, 522–523]

On 18 July 1825 the vestry objected to a land tax in place of road labour. On 28 July the government made road taxes due on 30 September. On 15 August 1825 the committee warned that a land tax would fall on farmers, the class least able to pay, and that £330 0s 0d had long sufficed. It urged higher carriage rates on the wealthiest islanders and on hirers. Any balance would come from labour by every man aged 21 to 60, so the rich would pay for their servants. It blamed the Company's rising costs on Chinese day labourers and proposed contracting the roads to employ free blacks and slaves. [Film No. 524, 525, 529–531]

On 7 November 1825 the vestry chose trustees of roads: Captain Sampson in the west, Captain Seale in the south, G. W. Janisch in the east and Saul Solomon for the town. It asked that contracts not need government approval. On 14 November 1825 the government refused, citing its control of roads to military positions. Its proclamation that day abolished the slave tax and the land and ground rent tax for overseers. The Company took over the roads from Jamestown to Plantation House and to Longwood. The rest stayed with the inhabitants under the surveyor, paid by carts at £3 0s 0d and carriages at £3 0s 0d or £4 0s 0d, with £1 0s 0d for each extra vehicle. Carts had to bear owners' initials and numbers 3 inches high, on pain of 40s, half to the informer. Any shortfall would be met by adding 3d, 6d or more to the house tax. District trustees and the surveyor would advertise work for contract. All trustees would meet the county treasurer to keep districts in balance, with disputes going to the Governor and Council. Contractors were paid on orders signed by the surveyor and countersigned by the trustees, who were to inspect often. [Film No. 531, 546–550]

On 18 May 1826 Janisch tendered to repair 16 roads at 1d to 2½d a yard, with smooth surfaces, side ditches and covered drains. He asked for monthly payment and a three-year term. The committee accepted, subject to security and government approval, and replaced him as eastern trustee with Henry Seale. On 12 July 1826 the surveyor, Brevet Captain G. A. Dentaffe, priced the tender at £417 10s 0d, more than needed. He estimated £267 0s 0d to make the roads safe, £70 0s 0d for eight roads Janisch had omitted and £20 0s 0d to £30 0s 0d a year after. He advised small district contracts, expecting free inhabitants to bid prices down. Only widening six main roads to 12 feet, among them part of the road to Janisch's house, would justify the full tender. [Film No. 561–566]

On 17 July 1826 the committee offered the roads back to the government for £337 0s 0d in the first year and £300 0s 0d after. The Board refused that day, noting that inhabitants had paid over £400 0s 0d a year under the old system. On 24 July 1826 Charles Blake, the deputy secretary, listed men taking sections at the surveyor's prices: Barker, Seale, Hodson, Sampson, Knipe, Doveton, Isaacke and Blake, each probably nearest his own land. The road from the Sandy Bay guard to the bridge was classed military and kept by the government, though the committee placed that stretch from the ridge to the guard. The contracts ran for 12 months from 9 August 1826, with more for roads found missing. [Film No. 567–570]

On 9 August 1827 Captain Sampson reported that J. Doveton had neglected both his western contracts. Janisch had paid Samuel Legg only £7 10s 0d of £20 0s 0d for poor work, but the vestry paid Legg in full because fair repair was undefined. It barred trustees from contracting and required quarterly reports from the trustees Henry Seale, Captain Sampson, Major Hunter and G. W. Alexander. On 27 August 1827 a written form bound contractors to proper width, a cambered surface with drains, the best materials within 50 yards and upkeep in all weathers. The penalty was half the yearly sum. New tenders that August were higher, and two-year terms at lower yearly rates were accepted. Blake offered one stretch free and J. De Fountain took the road behind his house. Poplar Lawrence, probably a freed man, took Frenches Gut to Swanley Valley at £15 0s 0d, the only contractor outside the landholding families. [Film No. 583–585, 587, 588]

Anthony Beale tendered £70 0s 0d for the road from Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, which had cost £15 0s 0d in 1826. On 3 September 1827 the Board judged it too heavy for a road serving few. On 10 September the committee replied that the £15 0s 0d had bought almost no work and that the road was

much used. On 27 September 1827 the government cited clause 6 of the proclamation, requiring inspection, advertisement and a meeting of all trustees first. By 26 November 1827 Beale was summoned for his own unpaid taxes. [Film No. 587, 589–593]

On 31 March 1826 Janisch proposed reforming wharf porterage with fixed rates, but the government did not act. S. Solomon revived it on 20 April 1829. On 25 May 1829 the vestry licensed 12 porters aged 18 or over at 10s a year, each wearing a numbered badge on the left arm. A porter refusing a load was fined 20s, then 10s. He could charge half as much again outside fixed hours and take a Jamestown assistant in busy times. Fines of 10s to 40s for breaches were shared between parish and informer. On 28 May 1829 the government confined the monopoly to goods to and from the wharf in James Valley. On 11 July 1831 its draft raised the number to 18, allowed work island-wide, barred slaves and dropped fines on unlicensed carriers. No applicants came on 18 July 1831. [Film No. 560, 561, 608–614, 633–636]

In April 1827 the committee reported the streets of upper Jamestown and opposite Dr Kay's dangerous. Responsibility passed between Board and vestry until 13 September 1827, when the government named Charles Blake and Lieutenant Pritchard to meet Major Hunter and Mr Adamson. By April 1832 little of £100 0s 0d voted for the streets was spent. On 28 May 1832 Major Hunter, George V. Lambe, Lieutenant Mellis, Solomon and A. Darling were named to supervise. On 28 June 1832 they sought £100 0s 0d from the government beside £75 0s 0d from the parish, using blue stone from Ladder Hill, garrison labour and paupers to break stone. [Film No. 578, 580, 582, 584, 588–591, 660–661, 663, 665, 667]

On 13 August 1832 a vestry of 24 voted £75 0s 0d more and a covered drain along the lower street to the Company's houses. The Board agreed on 16 August to lend about £150 0s 0d. Company work on its share began on 1 May 1833. On 12 December 1833, having received £105 0s 0d from collectors, the committee borrowed £150 0s 0d more from the paymaster on the churchwardens' bond, repayable at £50 0s 0d a year. [Film No. 669–670, 680, 684–685]

On 9 January 1833 A. Beale proposed a further sluice and deeper channel near the bridge, and the committee paid Joseph Galway £20 0s 0d for a road near Captain Bennett's garden. On 8 April 1833 the vestry ordered strict observance of the 1825 proclamation on road trustees. On 6 January 1834 Beale warned of flood from the blocked run, which the parish, its funds almost exhausted, referred to the Board. On 13 January 1834 inhabitants opened a subscription for the Governor's new road behind Mr J. Doveton's country house. [Film No. 671, 679, 685, 687]

Supply and Provisioning
Between 1785 and 1791 the parish bought paint, oil, deals, lime, cordage and nails from the Company's stores and hired a Company cart for £2 0s 0d in 1785. Workmen received imported arrack, 10 gallons in 1785 and four in 1791, and still in 1796. In November 1793 the parish bought nankeen, a Chinese cotton from Canton, probably for a pauper. [Film No. 37, 55, 57, 173, 177, 179, 189]

The Directors' letter of 5 January 1796, read on 9 May 1796, held competition the only proper way to lower prices. The inhabitants merely thanked the Board. On 17 April 1797 mackerel cost 1s 6d a dozen against the 5d fixed by Council order, and albacore 3s to 3s 6d a quarter. On 24 April 1797 the vestry elected David Kay senior, Captain F. Seale, Robert Leech, Captain E. C. Smith and Benjamin Mason senior to draft a plan. On 25 June 1798 the Council answered renewed complaints that no plan could cure dear fish until peace returned. [Film No. 76–78, 83–84, 248–249]

On 30 March 1801 the secretary John Goodwin reported the Council's concern at the fishermen's exorbitant prices. On 6 April 1801 the vestry chose Major Thomas Greentree, Captain E. C. Smith, Doctor D. Kay, Doctor Dunn, T. Bagley, S. Knipe and John Legg to propose rules. A fish market opened that year at parish cost, with a beam and weights by the armourer Reed and 159 lb of lead for scales. Its attendant drew £40 0s 0d a year, and Charles Scott and Roach held the post in 1801 and 1802. [Film No. 251, 255, 263, 271, 275]

On 17 April 1802 D. Kinnaird of the Ladder Hill guard complained that fishermen refused his soldier but sold freely to William Gahagan. On 26 April 1802 Governor Patton called this shameful and illegal and asked the vestry for a new manager or rules. [Film No. 267, 268]

On 15 April 1805 the vestry objected to the clerk's salary, and the Council gave the work to the quartermaster sergeant at £10 0s 0d a year. Matthew Reid declined on 24 April 1805 and recommended Sergeant Lowe of the garrison's fishing boats, approved on 29 April 1805. On 26 June 1809 the Council proposed reviving Colonel Patton's market laws and asked the vestry to fix tradesmen's wages. William Roberts, beach master, drew £40 0s 0d a year as clerk from 1 February 1810. On 18 May 1811 the Council stopped premiums to fishing boats as useless. [Film No. 281, 282, 284, 313, 330, 335, 341]

By 21 April 1812 the clerk, Joseph Chaplain, drew £20 0s 0d a year. James McCoy resigned on 11 April 1814, and £40 0s 0d was restored in 1815. The vestry then discontinued the salary in 1815. [Film No. 344, 351, 360, 365–366, 374, 376]

Fishing came under naval control after Napoleon arrived in October 1815. On 23 March 1818 inhabitants, including Samuel Knipe, William Seale senior, Daniel Caldwell and the former clerk J. Steward, petitioned Governor Lowe for access to the old grounds. On 13 April 1818 Anthony Beale replied that any numbered boat could fish there with a man from the flagship and the Governor's permit. He asked the vestry to revive the clerk, paid £40 0s 0d a year from 1818–19. The parish bought scales and weights by 1 June 1818. [Film No. 399, 401, 409, 410, 419]

On 3 April 1820 the vestry found fish sold outside the market to Chinese residents and others at raised prices. It forbade fish to leave the market before a fixed morning hour. On 12 October 1820 the government rebuked a grand jury for raising the ban on sails at the quarter sessions. Sails were then allowed by day if landed each sunset. [Film No. 421, 424, 431, 432]

On 24 May 1821 the Board overturned the vestry's appointment of Joseph Jacks because a committee had not made it. On 24 September 1821 the committee kept John Ryan, also called Regan, until Easter and required clerks to swear to enforce the rules. Jacks succeeded in April 1822. [Film No. 435, 438, 444, 453, 456]

On 30 September 1822 the committee raised albacore from 1½d to 2d a pound and cut mackerel from 10d to 8d a dozen, leaving other fish at the prices of 23 October 1809. It ordered catches shared equally among boat and crew. [Film No. 471, 483, 493]

On 30 August 1824 the government proposed ending fish price controls. On 13 September 1824 the vestry kept controls on mackerel, albacore and bull's eyes and cut Jacks's salary to £33 0s 0d. The Board confirmed this but warned that the rule of 30 March 1812 required a committee decision. [Film No. 500–503, 509]

On 20 April 1829 Jacks was reprimanded for drunkenness and neglect. On 17 August 1829 he was dismissed but kept as assistant to James Youd at £13 0s 0d a year. On 15 April 1833 the committee kept Youd at £24 0s 0d a year from 1 November 1833 to stop ships buying fish in bulk. [Film No. 607, 612, 613, 619, 675, 679–681, 691]

Public Health

Smallpox reached the island in about March 1789. The Governor and Council adopted the vestry's proposals to move the hospital to Lemon Valley, clean the old one and rent a house there for the sick. Everyone except attendants was kept from the sick, and officers who had survived smallpox covered for those who had not. The Council moved its weekly meetings to Plantation House. The surgeon Mr Dunn attended the sick and was barred from the Fort. The account spent £156 10s 0d, including £52 10s 0d to Dunn, £32 11s 0d for a house, £11 17s 4d for destroyed clothing and £3 7s 6d for 1,350 lb of bread. Six men crewed a quarantine boat. A 2s head tax of 30 April 1789 raised £172 0s 0d, including £21 14s 0d from 44 soldiers and 217 Company slaves. [Film No. 42, 47, 48]

On 27 August 1821 the vestry considered Dr Thomas Shortt's proposals of 6 August 1821 for a vaccine institution, modelled on the Cape of Good Hope. Matter had to be passed from infant to infant. The Governor was patron, Thomas H. Brooke president, David Kay director and Matthew Livingstone vaccinating surgeon. Vaccination was compulsory, with district lists, monthly births from parish clerks, weekly summons and fines. The surgeon vaccinated each Monday at noon at the police office or general hospital. The vestry gave the work to its committee of seven rather than 13. [Film No. 439–443]

On 10 February 1823 a special vestry, sought by 10 parishioners including Saul Solomon and William Carroll, complained that the Company's salaried surgeons had raised fees without warning. On 17 February 1823 a committee set a scale: 4s for a town day visit, 10s to £1 0s 0d in the country, night visits half as much again and 2s 6d a prescription. On 22 February 1823 the apothecary T. Harrington asked for a share of the prescription fee. On 24 February 1823 the vestry rejected the scale and resolved to petition. Owners had already been granted a hospital doctor for their slaves. [Film No. 472–478]

Poor Relief

On 3 June 1760 the poor's stock gave the sick infant Joshua Jason £1 5s 0d. In 1761 it helped Joseph Long, Thomas Clew, Mary Moyce and a free child. Mary Newland received £1 12s 0d in 1762 for her lying-in, the midwife and her child's coffin. Mr Barclay kept the sick William Oakman at 7d a day for 133 days to 4 April 1763. Oakman then lay in the hospital until his death on 4 January 1764, and his last illness, with a coffin from J. Robinson, cost the fund more than £12 0s 0d. [Film No. 213, 217, 219, 221]

In 1763 Mary Newland's cure by Mr Bradley, surgeon, with a nurse for 95 days at 2s a day, necessities and a rented room, cost more than £18 0s 0d. This was nearly a third of that year's spending. Mrs Pledger received £6 0s 0d for a year's board of Mrs Langhorn, entered by 3 April 1765 as Margaret Langhorn, a parish child. Pledger also boarded Elizabeth Willoughby for £5 0s 0d. John Hayes received £6 0s 0d for boarding Catherine Lee, and John Jacks boarded the sick John Hayes senior. Susan Twaites was carried to the country with her necessities. The parish thus kept a workhouse while boarding others with householders. [Film No. 231, 239]

Between 1763 and 1767 relief aimed to keep households afloat. Elizabeth Willoughby received chintz, while John Hayes and Henry Beale received necessities when too sick to work. In 1765 Mrs Jacks's children, John Hayes's family and Mr Watts, whose wife had a long illness, received cash. In 1766 to 1767 Mrs Hayes received rice and £5 0s 0d, Mrs Fudge and Isabel Clough were helped in sickness, and William Clough and Henry Beale were clothed. [Film No. 221, 223, 225]

In about 1771 the parish paid £9 8s 9d for Elizabeth Willoughby and £14 0s 6d for John Hayes, and £11 7s 6d for Hayes in the year to June 1772. John Whaley received £3 0s 0d for half a year's board of William Peplow, a parish boy, and £6 0s 0d to £8 1s 0d a year in the 1770s. Priscilla Watts received £13 0s 0d a year for house rent. In 1773 the parish paid two rents and then Mrs Watts's funeral, and Thomas Watts's orphans defaulted on their head money in 1774. Goods went to John Hayes, Samuel Bowers and Mary Gissing, and Susannah Twaites received sugar and tea in 1774. [Film No. 14, 21, 119, 125, 130, 131, 145, 147, 153, 225]

William Beale, churchwarden in June 1772, received £10 0s 0d from the poor stock in about 1773, as £7 10s 0d given and £2 10s 0d advanced, perhaps to repay sums laid out in office. He was excused his rate in 1774 though still rated on nine heads. Charles Gissing fell to a single unpaid head in 1773 and 1774. William Sisson was a household of one in 1774. Deaths turned householders into orphans on the roll, with Roderick Merchant and James Greentree by 1774 and John Price, John Preston, John Shirtley and Nathan Sampell by 1778. Their estates went on paying under trustees. [Film No. 11–13, 119, 122, 126, 128, 130, 134]

Benjamin Pledger, rated on three heads, could not pay in 1774 and 1775. One account of 1775 paid for Mrs Pledger's lying-in, a midwife and her child's funeral. Another records £5 1s 6d for Pledger "deceased" on 9 July 1775, Mrs McAllister's fee for delivering his widow on 16 July and a child's funeral, perhaps the same sequence entered twice. Pledger stayed on the roll of 1776 and appeared through his orphans by 1778. The parish buried Abigail the midwife in 1775 for £2 12s 0d and Mrs McAllister in 1776, whose husband John was excused his single-head rate. [Film No. 130, 131, 134, 150, 153, 156, 159]

Old Bellar cost £4 7s 6d for Mr Kay's medicines and attendance in 1776, £17 12s 8d for support and nursing in 1777 and £6 8s 6d for care and burial in 1778. In 1777 and 1778 Mary Gissing was nursed and the Gissing family supported. Mrs Preston's family, Susannah Twaites and Mary Pledger were helped, and Mrs Thomas Leech received £5 0s 0d to bury her son in 1777. Sisson's children received £13 0s 0d a year in 1778 and 1779, a pension of 5s a week. A Molly's illness and funeral were charged in 1778. By 1780 the parish gave half pieces of Indian longcloth to Smith's children and S. Twaites and a blanket and cot to Isabella. Susannah Twaites was buried at parish cost in January or February 1781. [Film No. 99, 101, 103, 105, 130, 134, 153]

In 1781 the parish rented a room for Mrs Bunting at £3 0s 0d rather than house her in the parish house. Sarah Bunting received 3s 6d a week for all 52 weeks in 1782 to 1783, the standard keep of a single adult for two decades, and £9 11s 0d in the year to 1784. Mrs Smith and her children, Mrs Banks and Jack, a free black, were relieved by 1784. The account of about 1785 paid £10 8s 0d for Jack Trips and £7 1s 0d for the support and funeral of Mrs Bunton, probably Sarah Bunting. It also paid for Betty Moore and her child, Sarah Carpenter and the funeral of Molly, a free black. [Film No. 95, 103, 105, 107, 153]

In 1785 Sarah Holloway's illness cost more than £18 0s 0d for doctors, a nurse, firing, light and attendance for 24 weeks, 10 bottles of port wine, sago, sugar and 13 fowls. From 1785 the parish paid £6 0s 0d a year for Margaret (Peggy) Torbett, an orphan. Mrs Jacks received £8 11s 0d in 1787 and more in 1788 and 1789, and Mrs Wiggins £5 8s 0d in 1787. Widow Smith and Mrs Jenkins received £1 0s 0d each in 1787, and a female slave was bought for Mrs Jenkins to end her charge. The support and funeral of F. Wiggins cost £11 11s 0d in 1788. Cloth for Mrs Worrall cost £2 4s 8d in 1789. [Film No. 45, 46, 80–81, 181, 185, 187, 189]

The parish supported Mrs Caldwell from 15 September 1788 and kept her children. By March 1789 William Caldwell's children were boarded with Corporal Winterton. Daniel Caldwell, entered as an orphan in 1789, drew £3 5s 0d a quarter, paid through Winterton by March 1791. [Film No. 171, 189, 191]

From 1789 to 1791 Mrs Ringrose and her children, Betty Wade, Mrs Holloway, Mrs Ailesworth, Daniel Caldwell and Peggy Torbett drew fixed quarterly pensions totalling more than £20 0s 0d. Mrs Holloway and Mrs Ailesworth were probably widows of the sextons Charles Holloway and Thomas Ailesworth. Caroline Lisson, kept by Mr Kay at about £6 18s 0d a quarter, was the costliest case, and in 1790 the parish paid the Company £3 5s 0d on her account. Kay received £7 4s 0d for treating and keeping Henry Hayes in the quarter to March 1790. In that quarter the parish paid £1 19s 9d for the funeral of Pompey, Mrs Ailesworth's slave. [Film No. 169, 171, 189, 191]

In 1791 Mrs Sisson's support and funeral cost £4 17s 0d, and Sarah Jarrard's funeral in July cost £2 2s 0d. Mrs Newman, Mrs Worrall and Mrs Kinwood joined the list by December 1791. By 31 March 1792 standing quarterly allowances went to Mrs Holloway, Daniel Caldwell, Betty Wade, Peggy Torbett, Mrs Worrall and Mrs Kinwood. The parish paid Mr Dunn to treat Mrs Holloway and Caroline Lisson and paid the Company £8 8s 0d for Lisson. Mrs Holloway's funeral of £5 10s 0d was met by 30 June 1792. [Film No. 31, 33, 35, 39, 175]

On 1 April 1793 the vestry called the parish house ruinous and badly placed and proposed selling it to build elsewhere. In about July 1793 it judged repair less inconvenient than a more distant site and asked a mason and a carpenter to inspect and estimate. Molly and her child were sent to the poor house in 1800 to 1801 by order of William Doveton as justice of the peace. A woman whose name is illegible died there by 1801 and was buried in a coffin from Gabriel Isaacs costing £1 5s 0d. [Film No. 66, 242, 259, 261, 263]

In 1793 the vestry agreed £5 5s 0d to Kay and Dunn for treating Betty Moore, and in February 1794 relieved her lying-in. Moyce received 10s 0d for Betty Moore's child on 12 February 1795. The parish also paid for removing Betty Wade's child and for Jarrard's boy sent to Mr Kay. [Film No. 31, 33, 35, 39, 73–75]

From July 1793 dependants moved onto weekly or monthly payments. Betty Wade received 3s 6d a week, paid to Jenny by September 1794 and rising to 4s by May 1795. John Burnham, whose household had paid head money on five heads in the 1770s, received 10s a week for his family from 26 August 1793. From 21

October 1793 the 10s went to Mrs Burnham, perhaps on John's death, and by February 1794 it fell to 5s. From 1 April 1794 Charlotte Kinwood, Daniel Caldwell and Pamela Ringrose drew £1 0s 0d a month, Caldwell's going to Mrs Ringrose by September 1794. On 1 September 1794 the vestry ordered money found at once for the poor's immediate needs. On 1 September 1795 Mrs Kinwood was paid for her child's support while Charlotte Kinwood kept her own allowance. [Film No. 16, 22, 35, 37, 39, 41, 51, 53, 66, 71, 73, 243]

On 13 January 1795 the surgeons Kay and Dunn gave £7 10s 0d for the poor. In May 1795 the parish fitted out one household with tea and sugar from the Company's stores, nankeen, baftas, chintz, three children's hats and a pair of shoes. [Film No. 73–75]

On 17 April 1797 Elizabeth Price petitioned that she had kept Betty Wade, the island's most helpless pauper, for nine years, at 3s 6d a week for seven and 4s for two. The parish had never paid for clothing, which Wade now wholly lacked. The vestry granted 1s a day for the time being but sought cheaper fish rather than higher allowances for all. Price was probably the Jenny of 1794. [Film No. 66, 71, 73, 76–77]

From 12 November 1797 Lieutenant James Pritchard, the garrison adjutant, collected a subscription for Mary Broadway, orphan of the late Lieutenant Caleb Broadway. It reached £21 14s 0d by 16 February 1798, and the Governor and Council placed it with the churchwardens to pay her 6s a week. Payments to 26 February 1798 came to £5 0s 0d, including 10s 0d at Christmas. The balance passed from Torbett to George Scott on 27 February 1798 and to William Young senior on 21 March 1800. After payments to 31 March 1799 the remaining £7 11s 9d was counted within £122 0s 0d of the orphans' money held by the Governor and Council at 10%. [Film No. 79, 87]

On 10 January 1799 the churchwarden F. Frazer received the Council's bond for £122 0s 0d and £55 0s 0d of prize money. Of the prize money £5 0s 0d went to Lieutenant George Broadway for his sister and £50 0s 0d was lent at 7% to Richard Knipe on a bond of 15 July 1800. On 9 October 1800 the Council's bond was cancelled and £128 2s 0d, including £6 2s 0d interest, lent at 7% to the planter John Seale senior. The churchwarden William Seale arranged both loans. Interest of £3 10s 0d and £8 19s 3d a year supported Mary Broadway, paid in 1801 through her brother. The bonds passed from A. Mills to John Shortley and remained owed in 1803. On 1 July 1804 A. Young received both bonds from the churchwarden John Desfountain for his wife, formerly Mary Broadway, in full settlement. [Film No. 85–87, 91–94]

On 6 March 1798 George Scott received £21 0s 0d from Messrs Cole and James Congreve for the orphans of the late Sergeant John Price, with £9 5s 1½d of prize money added. Sergeant Hillman, probably their guardian, drew £3 0s 0d for clothing in 1798 and each December from 1799 to 1801. The fund passed almost yearly between churchwardens and reached Shortley at £15 4s 4d in November 1802. Between 3 December 1803 and 15 April 1805 Charlotte Price received £3 0s 0d twice, once for her mother, and £3 0s 0d was paid for Sarah Price on leaving the island. W. Seward took over the remaining £6 4s 4d. [Film No. 81–82]

On 9 April 1798 Daniel Caldwell, aged about 10, wished to be apprenticed to a tailor. The vestry agreed to pay a premium to any master who would keep him until 21. By 1 May 1798 the tailor Gunnell had accepted and withdrawn. The shopkeeper Thomas O'Connor then took the boy without premium and gave the £16 0s 0d to the parish, which recorded the gift as an example. [Film No. 80–81, 171]

In 1801 the parish kept William Wonnell for 33 days at 1s a day. In 1802 it paid Betty Rodgers 3s 6d a week for nine weeks, a bottle of wine and her funeral of £4 13s 6d. It paid for Tom Corey's keep from 2 February 1803 into 1804 by order of W. W. Doveton. [Film No. 261, 263, 271, 275]

Between 1806 and 1810 the parish paid 15s to £1 5s 0d each for the funerals of Sarah Gerrard, J. Hayes, Peg Tom and Peg Thompson. In the year from April 1806 it paid £4 10s 0d for the funeral of a William Seale, probably the man taxed on a single head in 1805, while Major William Seale signed as churchwarden. [Film No. 313, 317, 327, 341]

From February 1809 the parish kept George Moran's child, paying women for nursing in February and March 1809. From April 1809 it paid 1s a day without a break, including £18 5s 0d in the year to 31 March 1811 and £13 15s 0d for 275 days to 31 March 1812. The total exceeded £50 0s 0d, the largest relief charge in the accounts. [Film No. 327, 335, 341, 351]

The parish kept Moran's child from 1 April 1812 to 4 March 1813 for £16 18s 0d and George and Daniel Moran for £12 1s 7d in 1815. In 1812 to 1813 it bought a dozen bottles of Madeira for old Mary, a midwife, continuing the practice of giving wine as a tonic. In 1815 it buried Eliza Scavell and Fanny Clarke. [Film No. 360, 374, 397]

Daniel Caldwell, kept by the parish from 1788 and apprenticed to Thomas O'Connor in 1798, was chosen constable on 16 April 1816, when O'Connor was churchwarden. He paid poll tax as a householder in 1817 and signed the fish petition of 1818 and the abolition letter of 1819. [Film No. 383, 393, 399, 404]

Parish funerals at 15s 0d each were frequent from 1816 to 1818, many for children. They included the children of Mary Lewis, Rachael Hillman, Charlotte Lawrence, Margaret Seale and Hannah Franks, and Hayes, Stanford, George Scott, Mary Thomas, Eliza Fisher and Catherine Plato. In 1818 the parish buried two children of Mary Fernando and a man named Toby, paying 5s 0d for coolies, probably Chinese labourers brought by the Company. [Film No. 374, 391, 397, 409]

Martha Seville's care in September 1817 included a blanket, candles, wine, nursing by Mrs Clarke and supplies from Mr Torbett. Coffin nails bought for her on 22 September 1817 imply her death, yet on 1 July 1818 the parish bought chintz, cloth for shifts, a blanket and handkerchiefs in her name; perhaps the nails served another purpose. She received 1s a day until 7 December 1818 and 6d a day until her death. She was buried on 28 January 1819 with a coffin, fees, carriers and laying out. [Film No. 397, 409, 410, 419]

In 1817 to 1818 Louis Cesar received 7s a week for 51 weeks to 31 March 1818, for an unrecorded reason. Caesar, perhaps the same man, received 1s a day from 25 March 1818. On 30 June 1819 the parish paid for his wine, nursing, coffin and burial. Old Lucy was paid 20s a month in 1820 and £12 12s 0d for 1821 to 1822, the only standing pension in that year. She drew about £1 1s 0d a month until her death on 29 February 1824. [Film No. 397, 410, 419, 433, 453, 483, 486, 493, 509]

On 28 February 1822 the committee granted Margaret Pipple, whose husband was in the debtors' gaol, 30s a month towards rent and 2s a day for her and four children while he remained in prison. The Pipples had paid poll tax on five or six persons, so the allowance of about £54 a year matched their former standing. The Board allowed it only if a full vestry approved. On 8 April 1822 the vestry gave its committee standing discretion to relieve hardship without waiting for a meeting. [Film No. 447, 455]

In May 1822 John Chambers agreed to keep two infirm free blacks, Chesterfield and Fanny, at 6d a day each. He asked for more on 6 August 1822, and on 8 August the committee raised the rate to 8d each. Chesterfield's allowance ended on 15 October 1822 and the parish paid £2 0s 0d for his burial. Fanny stayed with Chambers at about £12 0s 0d a year to April 1825. Chambers received £11 0s 0d for her keep for the 11 months to 7 March 1826 and 20s a month from March 1826. [Film No. 461, 483, 493, 509, 555, 560, 571, 573, 575, 593]

Clara Roberts, widow of William Roberts, asked the committee on 8 August 1822 for help for herself and four children. Examined in person, she disclosed a claim on the estate of the late Henry Hammond that her letter had omitted. The committee granted her only 1s 6d a day until the claim was settled and stopped it on 16 September 1822 after paying £2 17s 0d. [Film No. 460, 470, 483]

On 8 August 1822 Elizabeth Stewart told the committee that she had kept herself and two children for more than eight years without help from her husband, Joseph Stewart. Illness had left her unable to do so, and the committee granted her 2s a day. It proposed sending Stewart, healthy but little better than a vagrant, to the Sandy Bay lime kilns with two-thirds of his pay going to his family. On 19 August 1822 the Board doubted the propriety of forcing a free man who had committed no crime to labour. The parish paid Mrs Stewart £21 10s 0d to 28 February 1823, £39 14s 0d for the next 13 months, £35 2s 0d in the year to April

1825, £25 18s 0d to 15 December 1825 and £4 13s 9d to 1 March 1826. Her allowance was cut to 20s a month on 20 November 1826 and stopped on 12 April 1827. [Film No. 462, 465, 483, 493, 509, 555, 560, 571, 573, 575, 593]

After the poll tax rate rose in 1823 the committee granted new relief at lower rates and in kind. On 20 May 1823 Mrs Wager, a householder on seven heads in 1817 and 1819, received 8d a day for herself and two children after an illness. The allowance became a daily loaf, costing £8 14s 0d to 31 March 1824, and the parish bought six pieces of shalloon, probably to clothe her children. In the year to 7 March 1826 she received rent, temporary relief and a funeral. Smaller grants went to Sarah Rinne, Jacob Pierie and Dray's children, who received £10 12s 0d by April 1825. [Film No. 483, 486, 493, 509, 555]

From 1822 to 1825 the parish paid for the burials of Abraham Child, Clara Jones, Phillis Nanne, Lucy and Antonia, Essex and a Pierie, mostly at 15s to £2 5s 0d each. [Film No. 483, 493, 509]

In the year to 7 March 1826 Dray's children received £16 14s 0d and Emily James £8 14s 6d for her late sister's three children from 6 September 1825. The parish also paid for Singleton's funeral, coffins for three free persons and the gaoler's bill. From March 1826 Dray's children were boarded through Mrs Wheatley at 30s a month and Emily James's nieces and nephews at 22s 6d. The committee judged claims by means and personal hearing. It refused Mrs Green on 31 March 1826 and Mrs Gunnell on 31 December 1827, the latter because she had written rather than appeared. [Film No. 555, 560, 571, 573, 575, 593]

On 26 November 1827 Ann Edwards, aged 59 and crippled by elephantiasis, was granted 20s a month until her death about May 1828. Thomas Smith, with five children and a broken leg, received food weekly, including meat, 32 lb of rice, 4 lb of sugar and 1 lb of tea, until 31 December 1827. Diana Richards received 20s a month for her dead sister's daughters, Sophia and Mary Robinson. Mary Ann Thomas, known as Nanny Hercules and supposed to be about 55, probably a former slave, received 6d a day backdated to 15 January 1828, the day she applied. [Film No. 593–595]

Relief cost £88 17s 9d in 1828 to 1829, against salaries of £113 0s 0d. John Caulis and Jack Pancake received 6d a day and J. Marlborough 9d from 24 September 1828. Hospital bills for paupers included £3 15s 9d for Thomas Sam's 101 days in 1827 to 1828 and £6 7s 6d in 1828 to 1829, with £17 12s 6d in burial bills. In July 1828 the churchwardens asked whether Mrs Johnson, wife of a gunner who had sailed for England, had leave to stay, and the Board produced a security protecting the parish from her keep. On 18 May 1829 the committee called every pauper before it and continued all their allowances. [Film No. 595, 602, 603, 605, 609, 611, 619]

Relief cost £98 8s 3d in the year to April 1830. Ann Hercules, John Caulis and Jack Pancake, most of the pensioners being former slaves, drew 15s a month and Marlborough 9d a day. Harlequin and Jack Wells joined on 1 November 1829 at 6d a day. Fanny drew 20s a month, Dray's children 1s a day and James's orphans 22s 6d a month. On 2 November 1829 the government ruled that Mary George's claim on the benefit society for free blacks, set up in 1821, to which she had paid, should come before any parish payment. On 30 November 1829 it sent Margaret Gough's petition both to the committee and to the benevolent society. [Film No. 611, 616, 617, 619]

On 2 November 1829 the government told the churchwardens of Sarah, a slave of James Unsworth, a convict unable to support her. Because of her bouts of insanity she had been kept in a cell at Sandy Bay on a Company ration of meat and rice and had no clothing or bedding. The government asked the parish and the benevolent society to help. [Film No. 616]

After reviewing each case in person in May 1830, the committee paid most pensioners a standard 15s a month, including Caulis, Harlequin, Marlborough, Wells, Frances and Bedwell. Green's children received 10s a month and Bengal occasional sums. Relief rose to £117 18s 11d in the year to April 1831. [Film No. 623, 627]

On 5 May 1831 the committee refused the gaoler's bills for keeping Letitia Mills and John Gloff as they were not parish paupers. On 12 May 1831 the Board ruled that the parish must pay for Gloff, an idiot

whose mother was already on relief. On 16 May 1831 the justices found Letitia Mills often of unsound mind, so the parish had to keep her as well. [Film No. 630, 632, 633]

On 18 August 1831 Samuel Robinson petitioned Governor Dallas. He had served 10 years in the St Helena Artillery and stayed at the Governor's wish under Colonel Patton as carter, coachman and farm worker until his discharge in 1823. He was worn out, with six young children. On 22 August 1831 the churchwardens granted him 6d a day while out of work and asked the government to add to it, which it refused. On 2 September 1831 the committee advised him to petition again for help from the volunteer fund, citing the case of Rivers. [Film No. 639, 640, 643, 657]

On 5 September 1831 the churchwardens asked for hospital wards for paupers with contagious or incurable diseases and for sick poor unable to manage as outpatients, whose home relief cost more than hospital care. On 15 September 1831 the Board refused, the medical officers holding that people not needing treatment would disrupt the hospital. It offered instead part of the Company's former brewery as an infirmary and workhouse. It also rebuked the senior churchwarden, Captain Bennett, for pressing through an irregular channel to have two insane women admitted to hospital. [Film No. 641, 642, 648]

On 22 September 1831 Bennett replied that his only instruction had been a hospital discharge note for Sarah, handed to him by the gaoler in the street on 25 July 1831 and endorsed by the secretary that the parish was responsible for her at Sandy Bay. On 31 August 1831 the officer at Sandy Bay reported receiving two women on the Governor's order without food, clothes or bedding. Within an hour Bennett sent blankets, clothing and weekly rations of bread, rice, sugar and tea. Rations left with the women were eaten raw or wasted, and men amused themselves by throwing them raw fish. He had therefore appealed on 5 September 1831 to Mrs Dallas, the Governor's wife. The government answered on 22 September 1831, in a reply misdated 1832 in the manuscript, that the magistrate and the hospital's medical officer had told Bennett plainly that the cells were only a stopgap until the parish found a place. [Film No. 649–652]

Relief reached £178 12s 8d in the year to April 1832, the highest in the book, and spending exceeded income for the first time since the property taxes began. Rates ranged from 3d a day for Smith, also called Abel, to 20s a month for Chambers's charge Fanny, a blind woman. Marlborough and Wade were cut to 10s a month. G. V. Lambe received 9d a day for keeping Cornelius Robinson, and a family in distress in Jamestown received £2 18s 10d. Keeping Sarah Jones and Letitia at Sandy Bay cost £28 0s 0d, and no conversion of the brewery appears in the accounts. [Film No. 652, 657, 658]

In May 1832 the committee reported that soldiers and Chinese labourers often left the island without provision for illegitimate children, mostly of mixed parentage and born free. It proposed monthly deductions from soldiers' pay for each child through their commanding officers, with the superintendent applying the same rule to the Chinese and the money going to the benefit society. The Board agreed only to consider it. [Film No. 661–662]

On 10 June 1832 the churchwardens bound John Dray, one of Dray's children supported since 1825, apprentice to the Company's master cooper, continuing his 1s a day until he earned apprentice pay, in line with government advice of 1830 to avoid overcrowded trades. On 11 August 1832 the government had the churchwardens provide for the safety of Mrs Michael Watson, perhaps insane, whose husband gave up property worth £18 16s 0d a year for her keep with W. Easton's family. On 13 August 1832 a vestry accepted part of the Union brewery as a building but left its use to the annual vestry. On 8 April 1833 the vestry kept the existing system of allowances. [Film No. 664, 669–670, 679]

Sarah and Letitia were kept at Sandy Bay for £26 4s 4d in 1832 to 1833 and £33 7s 6d in 1833 to 1834, the largest single relief charges. Other recipients included Fanny through Chesterfield, Dray's children, Smith's blind child, John Gloff and his mother, Antonio's lame child and Alfred, a man with elephantiasis. The parish also paid for fresh meat and port wine for the sick poor, hospital charges and many pauper funerals and coffins. [Film No. 675, 677, 691, 693]

On 29 July 1833 the coroner, Anthony Beale, reported on Matilda Diamond, a free black woman found dead in revolting circumstances after avoiding the parish officers, the second such verdict within weeks.

Citing the bad example to the town's young girls and the growing free population, he urged an asylum for the destitute and a house of correction. The Board replied on 29 July 1833 that the vestry had declined ground and buildings fit for a poorhouse and workhouse. Whenever venereal disease was suspected among the women Beale described, all were taken up and medically examined. On 6 August 1833 the committee said it could accept only if the government lent money for buildings, repayable yearly. [Film No. 682, 683]

Slavery and Free Blacks

The poor's stock held and traded slaves from its first years. On 13 March 1761 it sold Flora, a slave woman, at public auction for £7 6s 0d, probably after acquiring her through a forfeited estate or a debt paid in kind. The marshal received 1s 6d for crying the sale. In October 1766 the fund gave £1 5s 0d towards buying a black girl for a poor household so that her labour might support the family. In 1787 it gave Mrs Jenkins £10 0s 0d to buy a female slave, 10 times her ordinary £1 0s 0d allowance, since a slave woman could be hired out or set to work. [Film No. 45, 213–214, 225]

From about 1771 the parish paid rewards for runaway slaves. These came to £10 12s 6d in about 1771 and £8 15s 0d in the year to June 1772, charged on every household through the head money. [Film No. 14, 21]

Slave labour hired from planters built and repaired parish property. Toby, slave of John Alexander, was paid directly for cutting rushes in 1773 and 1776, probably in his own time with his owner's consent. In 1776 Jonathan Doveton, Major Bazett, Lieutenant Garling and Lieutenant Stewart were paid 1s 6d a day for their labourers and 3s for masons, with Mr Bagley overseeing at 2s 6d. The labourers' rate was still 1s 6d in 1782. By 1783 owners received 2s 3d for labourers and 3s 6d for masons. Slaves made up most of the heads on the rolls, so the head money fell chiefly on slaveholders. [Film No. 111, 113, 119, 159]

The parish itself owned Betty Moore, "a slave woman", and paid a surgeon £2 0s 0d to treat her in 1781. How it acquired her is not recorded. On 8 August 1791 the vestry unanimously proposed selling her and her four children at public auction and paying Mrs Twyman, perhaps their keeper. The Board referred the sale to the quarter sessions, probably because the parish's title had to be proved. On 16 July 1793 the vestry resolved to sell Betty Wade and her children and pay Mr Kay's debt, perhaps the same family under another name. Neither sale took place. Betty Wade had been entered as a free black in 1789 and was kept through Elizabeth Price in 1797 as wholly helpless. Betty Moore appears in 1806 among free people treated in April 1802 for a fracture of two leg bones. [Film No. 115, 116, 147, 241, 302]

Free blacks worked for the parish on ordinary terms. In 1785 June, a free man, was paid 2s 6d for attending a vestry. Jack, another free man, received £1 5s 0d as a thatcher on the country church that year. In 1791 free Tiller worked 60 days at the labourers' rate of 1s 6d beside the slave gangs and was paid directly. In about 1809 Susan and James George, both free, held four acres each and owed highway duty like other owners. [Film No. 165, 173, 177, 191]

The parish began listing free blacks in 1787, when Corporal Winterton drew up a list in the year the tax on blacks began. Godding wrote another in 1789 and Moyce collected one in July 1791. The lists let collectors charge slaves and omit free blacks, perhaps exempting them in practice before the vestry voted their exemption from head money on 24 January 1791. By March 1793 the parish had paid James Moyce for taking their names and Corporal Clark for a list. Moyce made further returns on 11 November 1793 and 7 September 1795, and received 6s 9d for each return of September 1794 and September 1796. The register guarded the slave tax against false claims of freedom and gave planters a record of every free black. [Film No. 26, 31, 33, 35, 37, 53, 61, 65, 71, 73, 75, 175, 187, 189]

The rebuilding of 1791 relied on hired slaves. Mr Wrangham's Frank worked 64 days as a mason and 12 as a thatcher, and Mr Shirtley's Domas 19 days as a mason. Jasmin and Burtenah also worked as masons or thatchers. Owners received 3s 6d a day for masons, 5s for thatchers and 1s 6d for labourers. Planters' gangs supplied more than 460 labouring days, entered as days of an owner's people. Shirtley returned Domas's earnings of £3 6s 6d as a donation. [Film No. 173]

The vestry sought tighter control of blacks and of freeing. On 8 August 1791 it complained of blacks roaming the streets at night and asked the Board to forbid any black to be away from home after 9 o'clock. On 1 April 1793 it complained that many blacks were freed in breach of the 37th article of the slave laws so that they might fall on the parish. It sought enforcement of that article and asked that fines under the slave laws and the horse tax go to the depleted widows' fund. In about July 1793 it proposed putting free blacks, who paid no parish tax but drew relief, to work on the Company's works. [Film No. 66, 147, 242]

On 18 June 1798 Sarah, formerly the slave of Mrs Merriott, showed the churchwardens a deed of freedom signed by Benjamin Mason senior as her mistress's attorney. She had probably bought her freedom with her own earnings. The vestry asked whether Mason should give security that she would not become a charge on the parish. On 25 June 1798 the Council noted a conflict between one slave law giving slaves full use of property acquired with their master's consent and another requiring security on freeing. It undertook to seek revision of the laws and observed that the parish had so far lost nothing. [Film No. 83–84]

On 17 June 1799 the vestry pushed claims for slaves back onto owners and estates. Lucky, still the slave of David Twyman, who was believed to be in England, was to be kept from property he had left with his trustees Page and Elliott. The Council referred her case to the clerk of the peace and churchwardens. Fanny, slave of the soldier Ogleby Cole, admitted she could live by needlework and was to be hired to a family that would pay for her care once the doctor passed her fit. From a doctor's bill of £24 3s 0d the vestry refused £3 3s 0d for Tom, formerly Mr Yates's man, who had died with ample property after his creditors were publicly invited to claim. It also refused £5 5s 0d for Toney, who had caught his complaint in Mr John Tibbett's service, had already cost £10 10s 0d and could now earn his living. No such bill was in future to be paid without the churchwardens' prior consent. [Film No. 88–90]

Wages had risen sharply by 1801. On 14 April 1800 church and school repairs were to use labourers found under the previous year's rules. The account to 6 April 1801 paid thatchers and painters 5s a day, masons 3s 6d and labourers 1s 6d or 2s, with 2½ gallons of rum for the labourers. Mr Lester's Bob, a slave painter, was hired at 5s a day, the rate paid to Smithers, a free painter. In 1803 Free Billy earned 5s a day at the country churchyard, the overseer's rate. In 1804 Mr Goodwin's Tony and Jack Harry and Lieutenant Mason's August were paid for at 5s a day as stonemasons, while Johnson and Solomon received 1s 6d. The summary to 1806 paid carpenters at 8s, 5s or 1s 6d and labourers at 2s 3d or 1s. Its largest charge, £121 8s 0d for 2,428 days at 1s, was probably credit to owners for slave labour owed under the highway arrangement. The church was built chiefly by slaves. [Film No. 252, 259, 277, 279, 303]

On 6 April 1801 the churchwardens complained that soldiers and others bought slaves and freed them against the slave laws, leaving them to the parish. They also asked that blacks left sick by passing ships be sent home, such as Hampshire, put ashore from the *Earl Howe* in 1796. The vestry asked the Board that day to require a bond under the 37th article from whoever freed a slave, given to the parish officers. A freed person without a bond would be sold at public auction, with the proceeds held by the churchwardens for the former owner or heirs. It also asked for a committee to check the practice. [Film No. 255, 256, 259]

The registers continued after 1801. Samuel Moyce received 6s 9d for collecting the list in the account to 6 April 1801 and was paid for another on 31 August 1801, with further lists in 1803–04 and 1804–05. On 15 April 1805 the Governor asked the vestry for a committee on the state of the free blacks. It chose 15 inhabitants, including the surgeons Kay and Dunn and the leading planters, but no free black. Secretary Thomas H. Brooke sent a police list of free blacks with their circumstances and way of life, asking the committee to name proper subjects for inquiry, probably those without visible means. No outcome is recorded. Free blacks remained exempt from the poll tax in 1808. On 1 October 1809 George Moran received £3 0s 0d for attendance and a list of free blacks, and a further £3 0s 0d on 2 October for summoning them before the churchwardens. In 1811 or 1812 the sexton John Singleton made the return for £3 0s 0d. [Film No. 259, 263, 271, 275, 277, 279, 281–283, 297, 317, 323, 324, 327, 335, 341, 351]

From 1812 to 1813 J. Singleton was paid £3 0s 0d a year for a descriptive roll of free blacks, recording their appearance as well as their names so that constables could check identity under the police measures of 1809 against idle persons and runaway blacks. The parish paid £21 0s 0d a year for medical attendance on free blacks in 1815 and 1816. Susan, a free woman, appears without charge on the poll roll of 1814, consistent

with free blacks' exemption. The sexton received £3 0s 0d for a return of free blacks in 1816–17. Cesar, a free black, was paid by order of the Council and for work on 7 April 1817. In 1817–18 the parish bought paper for the list and paid Joseph Goodman and William Williamson £1 15s 0d for summoning free blacks. Singleton received £10 0s 0d a year in 1818–19 for summoning free blacks and other work, and paper for two books of free blacks was bought in 1819. The poll roll of 1820 entered Mary Barnes, Mary Green and Polly Henry each as a black, so free black householders paid the tax but were marked apart. E. Fowler was paid £2 10s 0d in 1821–22 to register free blacks and copy the list for the Council. George and Coates received £3 0s 0d in 1824 for collecting the names of free blacks in town and country, and Free George and Coates £2 5s 0d in 1825; Free George was probably himself a free black. [Film No. 360, 366, 373, 374, 380, 391, 397, 400, 410, 419, 428, 429, 433, 453, 493, 509]

Slaves cut and sold rushes alongside free blacks in 1817–18. Mrs Weager was paid a fixed charge for slaves in September 1817. Balcombe's holding fell from 36 heads in 1817 to 27 in 1818, while Balcombe, Cole and Company was assessed separately on four, perhaps through sale or inheritance. [Film No. 376, 393, 397, 406]

In August 1818 Governor Lowe proposed that children born to slaves after 25 December 1818 be free, and the inhabitants adopted the measure unanimously. In early 1819 they met in vestry to answer the *Morning Chronicle* of 12 November 1818, which alleged a shameful slave trade at St Helena, Mauritius and Bourbon. They replied that slave imports had been banned since 1792 and few had come in before then. The only trade was sale or transfer between inhabitants, which must continue while slavery lasted. They denied that the senior chaplain, the Reverend Richard Boys, had any part in the abolition measure, which they said the Governor and Council had framed without instructions. Women including Harriot Paige, Martha Jacks, Mary Knipe and Susannah Chamberlain signed as slaveholders in their own right. The inhabitants asked that the Court of Directors publish the facts, and on 25 March 1819 Anthony Beale replied that the letter would be forwarded. [Film No. 402–405]

On 27 August 1821 the vestry asked for the botanical garden ground in James Valley as the site for a hospital and a house of correction, citing the abolition of slavery on the island. A letter of 6 December 1821 from the provisional government argued that slaves must decline each year as a free population replaced them. Lowe and the Council had sent wider proposals to the Court of Directors, but hospital charges for free blacks made one urgent: a subscription fund raised from free blacks for sickness and old age. On 10 December 1821 the vestry approved it with the provisional government as trustees. Its committee comprised the Reverend R. Boys, George Mead, acting principal medical officer, Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, the churchwardens and William Carroll. The subscribers had no part in its management. In March 1823 the parish refunded Susan David's poll tax because she paid into the fund. [Film No. 443, 445–447, 483]

On 13 May 1822 John Chambers sought parish support for two infirm free blacks he had kept for more than 10 months. The man had bought his freedom from Mr Henshaw. The woman had been bought by a man named Blake, who freed her on leaving the island. [Film No. 457, 458]

On 8 August 1822 the Reverend B. J. Vernon told the committee that Mrs Robert Leech had freed Kitty Hamlet without giving the bond required by the slave laws to keep a freed person off the public. Kitty had five children, the youngest born the week before, and her husband remained a slave. The committee asked the Board to make the Leech estate give the bond. On 19 August 1822 the Board reviewed the Court of Directors' rule of 21 April 1819. Under it an owner could free a slave without bond on certifying faithful service, three years' good character and ability to earn a living. The slave also had to be under 40 and passed fit to work by the chief surgeon. The Leech family had freed its slaves before the Court approved and without that examination, so the Board held the Court's authority to override the earlier acceptance of the freedoms. It ordered that Mrs Leech keep Kitty and her children born before 25 December 1818, or that her agent give the bond. Children born after that date had been free from birth. On 29 August 1822 D. K. Pritchard, churchwarden, asked G. Blenkins, agent for the estate, to give the bond for Kitty and four children; as acting secretary Blenkins had also signed the order requiring it. In March 1823 Blenkins repaid the parish £2 2s 9d spent on Kitty in illness. [Film No. 462, 463, 465, 466, 469, 483, 484]

On 8 August 1822 the chaplains R. Boys and B. J. Vernon asked the committee to seek a law ending public sales of slaves and printed notices of them, so that sales would be private. The committee urged the Board to consider it. On 19 August 1822 the Board refused to act without a full vestry, citing the Court's praise of the owners' wise, humane and liberal measures. On 16 September 1822 about 80 slave owners met and all but three voted to keep public sales. [Film No. 464, 466, 470]

The road plan of 1825 counted about 200 men of colour against 182 white men of working age and 288 male slaves. In about March 1826 Mr Janisch proposed licensing porters, a plan referred to the committee on 27 March 1826. He complained that country labourers left their masters for easy money in town. He feared Jamestown would absorb the island's labour as slaves dwindled and free labour grew. He doubted that farmers could find enough workers unless the government induced free men of colour to seek country work. [Film No. 516, 557–559]

On 28 May 1827 the government asked whether E. Leech might free Charles and Polly without the usual bond. On 4 June 1827 the committee examined Charles, found Polly too ill to attend and refused without a bond. It also suggested that freed people be made to join the benefit society. Dring was paid in 1827–28 for posting notices about slaves. In August 1828 the committee waived the bond for Phil, Major Seale's slave, aged over 55, who was buying his own freedom, on condition that his free wife and daughters answered for his keep. [Film No. 573, 581, 582, 595, 597, 603]

In March 1830 Captain Dentaffe, registrar of emancipations, sent the government a list of free people of colour whose means of support were doubtful. The government asked the vestry to examine them, to spare the parish expense and keep the rising generation from idleness. On 18 March 1830 the vestry chose Colonel Hodson, Dentaffe and W. H. Carroll. On 29 May 1830 the government dropped the committee and told the churchwardens to work with Dentaffe to identify idle or dissolute people and propose remedies. On 25 November 1830 it told them to list people wishing to enter service or apprenticeship, the list to be kept at the police office for employers. Apprenticeship to tailors and shoemakers, trades already crowded, was to be discouraged. Apprentices were wanted for plastering, slating, painting, glazing, saddlery and smithing, and above all as farm labourers. [Film No. 617, 618, 624, 625]

On 25 June 1832 the government called a special vestry to consider freeing all slaves aged 55 and over, and the slaves were told to attend. On 2 July 1832 G. V. Lambe and Lieutenant Colonel Wright moved, and the meeting agreed, that the 72 slaves on the list be freed. No bond was recorded. The vestry proposed that after general emancipation employers' contracts should require monthly deductions from freed slaves' wages for the benefit society. On 5 July 1832 the government refused. It argued that many freed people would work by the week or day or as fishermen and small farmers, and that taking wages without consent was of doubtful legality. It would only encourage voluntary membership. On 9 January 1833 Margaret Plato, freed by the Company, petitioned for relief. The committee sent her to the benefit society, holding her entitled because she had subscribed since it began as the black fund and had stopped only when need overtook her. The Board approved on 14 January 1833. [Film No. 665–666, 668, 671–672, 675]

Crime and Punishment

The parish compensated owners of executed slaves. In 1763 it paid £35 0s 0d for three executed blacks. On 3 April 1765 it paid £15 0s 0d for Lewis and £1 5s 0d to the armourer George Wright for his gibbet chains. John Alexander received £15 0s 0d in 1775, and Elisha Isaacs and Priscilla Watts the same, Isaacs on 4 January 1781. [Film No. 124, 131, 140, 145, 229, 239]

The workhouse doubled as a prison by 1765. On 26 June 1763 the parish paid £1 6s 0d to confine Joanna Twaites there. In 1763 to 1764 the poor's stock helped Peter Eglestone, a white prisoner under sentence of death. On 8 April 1765 Roderick Merchant received 4s 6d for six days' confinement of Susannah Twaites, and the parish bought a padlock, bars and rice. [Film No. 221, 231, 239]

On 8 August 1791 the vestry offered informers 2s 6d for each slave thief caught, payable by the owner. The Board appears to have approved on 9 August 1791. [Film No. 115, 116]

From August to October 1794 the gaoler received 3s 6d a week for Sam, condemned slave of B. A. Wright. In October 1794 Wright received £15 0s 0d and Mr Kennedy £10 0s 0d for Ben. On 1 September 1794 the vestry agreed £25 0s 0d for two condemned slaves by valuation and £3 0s 0d for their keep. Mason received £7 0s 0d for September in August 1795, and two owners £12 0s 0d each in March 1796. [Film No. 71, 75, 243]

Free blacks in custody cost 3s 6d a week, Patty Kyloch from 23 March 1795 and Pat Sibell from 27 September 1796. Caesar received 4s 0d on 26 July 1796. [Film No. 61, 65, 75]

On 17 June 1799 the vestry found that Sam had never been executed. It resolved that the 25th article allowed reclaiming the £15 0s 0d. The Council faulted the churchwardens for not consulting their predecessors. J. A. Wright, heir of Britannicus Alexander Wright, offered to repay if a mistake were proved. [Film No. 89–90, 145]

Captain John Desfountain received £15 0s 0d for Jobe by 6 April 1801. The parish paid for Jackie Sophia in gaol in 1802. Mrs Ann Young received £30 0s 0d for an executed slave in 1809. [Film No. 259, 261–263, 380]

On 26 June 1809 the Governor and Council demanded a strict police against theft, blaming idle free blacks and slaves. They ordered lists of people without honest means so they could be compelled into service. A committee of nine under David Kay senior advised. [Film No. 330, 331]

The parish buried two suicides in January 1814, J. Bull, a soldier, and William Rice. [Film No. 362, 366]

In 1815 to 1816 Mr J. Robinson received £20 0s 0d for George. On 1 June 1818 the parish paid £15 0s 0d for Massey as awarded by the grand jury. [Film No. 380, 409]

In 1815 to 1816 the parish kept David, Harry and Clara for 37, 25 and 74 days awaiting trial. Collins's white family cost £21 11s 3d in gaol in 1816 to 1817. Mr Withers billed £28 17s 9d for free blacks in 1817–18. [Film No. 380, 391, 397, 400, 409]

The gaoler Mr Weston billed monthly from 1819, reaching £41 8s 6d in 1820–21. In 1821–22 John Legg and John Robinson received £15 0s 0d for slaves' lost working days. The bills fell to 19s 6d in 1827–28. [Film No. 410, 419, 433, 453, 560, 573, 575, 595]

Military Affairs and Defence
In 1773 James Tippet, the Company's engineer and captain of artillery, was rated on four heads. Lieutenants Garling, Gurling and Stewart, Major Bazett and Captain Beale hired out slaves to the parish. The accounts of 1775 to 1783 say nothing of Britain's war with America, France, Spain and the Dutch. [Film No. 113, 119, 124, 143, 144, 159]

On 25 February 1793 the vestry proposed calling out the militia to drill monthly beside the country church from 2 March. It asked for Sergeant Major Hilman and Sergeant Ambler as instructors and for the alarm houses to be rebuilt. In about July 1793 the blacks were on the Company's works. [Film No. 67, 242]

On 27 November 1794 Moyce received 4s 6d for calling out free blacks to alarms. Most regulars left in 1795 to take the Cape. On 9 May 1796 the Directors' letter of 5 January 1796 praised the militia, and the inhabitants pledged to defend the island. On 17 April 1797 the Council thanked inhabitants for sending slaves to the fortifications. [Film No. 73, 76, 248–249]

By 1798 the Price orphans held £9 5s 1½d of their father's prize money. On 10 January 1799 the Broadway orphans received £55 0s 0d of their father's share for captured Dutch ships. [Film No. 82, 86]

From 1803 Sergeant Stewart ran the fish market, Sergeant Salmon played the organ and Corporal Singleton was sexton. Sergeant Hilman collected the free black list. Soldiers were exempt from the poll tax from 1808. [Film No. 266, 268, 271, 279, 289, 297, 391]

On 8 August 1814 Sergeant Abraham Millington became clerk of the country church at £15 0s 0d a year. On 31 January 1816 military duties removed him, and Sergeant Croft replaced him. Sergeant Price received £1 10s 0d for writing for the parish, and Sergeant Thompson's funeral cost 15s 0d in 1816 to 1817. [Film No. 365, 370, 376, 382, 391, 397]

Religion and the Church
In 1763 the parish thatched the country church for £9 17s 6d with 69 days of labour, 90 loads of rushes, a thatcher for six days, eight loads of binders and cordage. It also paid for glazing and mowing. On 3 April 1765 John Price, the sexton, was paid for two surplices, a key and window glass. Butcher mended the thatch, John Desfountain repaired the churchyard walls and tied down the ridging and Orlando Bagley mended the churchyard gate. [Film No. 231, 239]

Surplice fees fixed on 8 September 1769 gave the clergyman 10s, the clerk 2s 6d and the sexton 2s 6d for a marriage, and 6s, 1s 6d and 7s 6d for a burial. Churching cost 5s to the clergyman and a christening only 1s 6d to the sexton. The fees went to the officiants, not the parish. The scale was copied into the vestry book, probably for its revision in 1826 and 1827. [Film No. 697]

From about 1771 the parish paid John Price as sexton £10 0s 0d a year and £2 0s 0d for making two surplices. Thomas Yates held the post at £10 0s 0d a year from 1773 to 1776, with £2 0s 0d for surplices in 1777, and at £11 0s 0d by 1778, paid quarterly at £2 15s 0d in 1780. Charles Holloway served for nine months of 1781 before Thomas Ailesworth succeeded him, at £15 0s 0d a year by 1783 and still in 1785. J. Harper drew £3 15s 0d a quarter in 1789 and 1790. Smaller outlays covered surplices at £2 0s 0d a pair, communion linen, repairs to the pall and the font and looking glasses for the vestry room in 1775 and the church in 1780. [Film No. 14, 111, 119, 125, 131, 137, 143, 145, 147, 153, 167, 169, 181, 185, 187, 191]

The country church needed rethatching every few years from 1777, when repairs cost £5 18s 4d. In 1785 the parish spent £39 16s 5d on it, including 200 girths of rushes and labour hired from planters, with a further £24 8s 0d in another account. Hamburg lines, a strong hemp cord from the Baltic trade, tied down the thatch. Gates, hinges and a padlock were added in 1788 and 1789. In 1791 the country church, the schoolhouse and the town churchyard were repaired together for £98 12s 11d, nearly a full year's relief. [Film No. 167, 171, 173, 177, 181, 189, 191]

In 1786 the sexton cleared samphire from the burial ground. On 7 April 1787 Legg was paid £8 5s 9d for repairing it and trees were planted there. The pall was lined with cloth, thread and silk on 1 August 1789. In the quarter to March 1790 masons and labourers rebuilt the burial ground wall with 14 bushels of lime. [Film No. 169, 185, 187, 191]

From 1792 the sexton drew £3 15s 0d a quarter, paid in April 1794 to the Reverend Mr Wilson and on 28 September 1795 to Nathaniel Smith. Mr Harper was paid 6s as sexton in November 1793. New surplices were made in 1792 and 1795. [Film No. 31, 37, 41, 53]

Between September and October 1794 repairs to the churchyard wall and the schoolhouse cost £7 4s 6d. The parish bought six panes for the country church and one for the Fort chapel in the Castle. The country church thatch was repaired in November 1794 and November 1796, when osnaburg, a broom and a scrubbing brush were also bought. The country churchyard gate and wall were repaired and fitted with a padlock in August 1795. On 4 September 1795 the vestry ordered repairs to the country church and its wall, a new velvet pall, a new gate for the lower churchyard in James's Valley and repair of the wall beside the stream. The lower burial ground was cleaned in December 1795. In 1796 Mr Legg made and hung a new pair of gates for it, perhaps against roaming hogs, and took old country church timber in barter. [Film No. 51, 53, 59, 61, 65, 71, 73, 245]

In 1796 the parish rebuilt the country church roof for £44 12s 0¾d. Thatchers worked 48 days at 5s a day, the costliest item at £12 0s 0d, and labourers 97 days at 1s 6d. The frame used cabbage tree rafters and laths, nine loads of bamboo binders and 179 girths of rushes. Deal boards at 5s 10d each and some nails

came from the Company's stores. The carpenter, thatchers and stonemason shared 10 gallons of arrack and the labourers two. The vestry also gave the carpenter John Hayes £1 10s 0d for extra work. [Film No. 57]

On 17 June 1799 the church needed new thatch and its yard wall was ruinous. On 14 April 1800 the vestry ordered the country church wall repaired. [Film No. 89, 252]

Hilman served as sexton at £3 15s 0d a quarter from 1801, and Corporal Singleton at £7 10s 0d a half-year by September 1805. In 1800 to 1801 the parish paid £5 17s 6d for a pall of black cloth, lining, ribbon and silk made up by a tailor, and Sergeant Perkins made another in 1804. The first organist, Sergeant Salmon, was paid £8 2s 6d in 1804 on an official letter from the government. On 26 August 1805 the vestry fixed his salary at £15 0s 0d. [Film No. 261, 263, 279, 286, 297]

A vestry of 9 April 1804 resolved to replace the country church's yearly thatch with shingles, since rushes had become hard to obtain. It agreed to enlarge the church at the west end, add a gallery and build a vestry room and belfry outside, because the church was far too small for its congregation. The Reverend Dr Wilkinson undertook to pay for carrying materials from town, and the Board approved. [Film No. 274]

Work in 1804 cost £225 14s 9d in the corrected account. This included £72 19s 3d repaid to Dr Wilkinson for masons at 3s 6d a day, labourers at 2s 3d and bullocks at 5s a day to haul stone and timber, and 54 gallons of spirits at 4s 5d. The first version of the account, crossed through, showed a surplus of £25 0s 2d, probably because it was closed before all bills came in. The recopy added days of work, liquor and new charges and closed on 27 April 1805 with £4 2s 5d owed to the churchwarden. [Film No. 277–280]

On 17 February 1805 the carpenters found the old roof and ceiling, left in place in 1804, broken and needing removal at once. They called for 200 double deals and six pieces of Riga timber. A vestry of 26 August 1805 named a survey committee and levied 2s 6d on every inhabitant. It declared the church to serve the inhabitants generally, so townspeople and garrison families could be charged. [Film No. 283, 286]

In October 1805 heavy wind and rain brought part of the old front wall down inwards, though 3 feet of new masonry raised on it from 4 October stood firm. The supervisor, citing his experience of Plantation House and other Company buildings, and William Young, who surveyed the church on 15 October 1805, agreed that the whole front had to come down to its foundation. Young advised plain arches over the windows in place of costlier cut stone heads. He sent a sketch to the Governor on 28 October 1805. [Film No. 287, 288]

On 20 October 1805 Henry Porteous asked for more hands, and the Governor sent a working party from High Knoll. On 21 October 1805 the Council ordered 13 named carpenters to give two days each to framing the roof, counted as one sixth of the labour they owed on the highways. On 3 December 1805 it granted a further sixth to carry roof timber up from the valley. Porteous reported the walls and roof finished on 17 February 1806, and John Legg senior was appointed to direct the carpenters fitting the interior. [Film No. 289, 290, 295, 296]

In April and May 1806 seats, pews, the ceiling, shingles and roof ironwork were paid by measurement for £59 0s 11d, each bill countersigned by John Legg senior. Henry Porteous, churchwarden and superintendent of the works, had advanced £275 13s 5d on his own credit by April 1806. Major William Seale repaid him the whole £334 14s 4d on 3 November 1806, once the 5s tax on families had come in. [Film No. 309, 310, 311, 314]

The summary of costs to 1806 gave £724 3s 11d for the church alone. Lime, 1,080 bushels carted from Sandy Bay, cost £62 17s 0d, with cart hire of £70 15s 0d and spirits of £68 4s 9d. The Company met a store bill of £307 1s 8d without charge to the parish, so the total exceeded £1,030 0s 0d. The full rebuilding, from October 1805 to December 1806, cost £1,396 2s 1d, with goods worth £406 18s 5d from the Company's stores. Monthly wages for mechanics and labourers peaked at £164 10s 5d in December 1805. More than a dozen carpenters were paid, with a plasterer, sawyers and carters, and cart hire from Wrangham's estate alone cost £14 7s 6d. Samuel Cooper made a pair of iron gates for £5 15s 0d, and 30 gallons of spirits were bought. Mr Roach received a discount of £9 0s 0d on £210 0s 0d paid to him in

advance. A further 100 days of highway labour given under warrants carried no money value. [Film No. 279, 297, 303, 311, 313]

The Company agreed in 1806 to pay half the cost, reckoned at £698 1s 0½d. Its paymaster handed over £588 18s 6d, and the remaining £109 2s 6½d arrived in 1807. The inhabitants' half came from a tax of 5s on families, a tax of 2s 6d raising £202 7s 6d, dog taxes of £48 5s 0d and £40 0s 0d and the sale of the parish house for £280 0s 0d in January. The 5s tax raised £405 5s 0d of £424 5s 0d assessed, the shortfall falling mainly on households that had left the island. The account would not balance in 1806 because only cash received was entered. William Seale, churchwarden, noted an error and declared that the account stood as signed by Porteous. He showed a balance of £34 5s 11d due from himself and paid it over in July 1807, which with the Company's last instalment closed the account. [Film No. 312, 313, 314, 318, 328]

From April 1806 the parish paid an organist and a sexton £15 0s 0d a year each. From 1807 Edward Suwel as organist and John Singleton as sexton drew £7 10s 0d between them each quarter, and Joseph Stewart was paid as sexton in April 1807. Washing the chaplain's surplices cost £5 0s 0d for 1810. Charles Scavell served as organist for 2½ months to 17 July 1811, and the pall was trimmed with white silk in 1811 or 1812. [Film No. 313, 317, 327, 335, 343, 351]

The church was usable by 1807 but unfinished. Mr J. Legg was paid £19 10s 10d for work there on 31 August 1807, and small sums for glass, hinges and nails followed into January 1808. On 7 March 1808 the chaplain, the Reverend Dr J. T. Wilkinson, asked the Governor and Council why the church and the walling of the burial ground had stalled when the Company had advanced money for them. On 18 April 1808 the churchwardens blamed a lack of labour and materials. They asked for labourers from High Knoll to fetch lime from Sandy Bay, a stone blaster, two masons and 100 bags of lime. [Film No. 317, 320, 321, 327]

Work resumed in August 1808, when Barker carried 59 bushels of lime. Colonel Smith billed £41 5s 0d for masonry, cart hire and an overseer, and store bills of £17 5s 10d for 1807 and £10 6s 6d for 1808 were settled by April 1809. On 3 April 1809 the vestry voted a poll tax of 2s 3d to finish the church, repair the churchyard wall and clear blackberry from the churchyard, the first record of that introduced plant as a pest. On 1 January 1810 Dewdney received £100 0s 0d for materials and painting. In 1811 and 1812 Thomas Doherty painted the roof, windows, door and gates for £14 0s 0d. [Film No. 327, 329, 335, 351]

In a general letter of 11 January 1811 the Court of Directors appointed the Reverend Richard Boys second chaplain and schoolmaster, to come out in the *Marchioness of Exeter*. [Film No. 345–347]

Charles Scavell, organist, drew £3 15s 0d a quarter from 1812 and was paid £21 0s 0d for repairing the organ in 1814. The Company's contribution of £14 8s 8½d, entered as half the cost, implies a larger total than the recorded payments. On 17 March 1817 the Governor and Council proposed raising the organist's salary from £30 0s 0d to £50 0s 0d to attract a qualified man from England, since the Directors had paid the whole cost of the organ. The vestry agreed to pay half the extra £20 0s 0d. On 31 March 1817 it left the post vacant rather than reappoint Scavell. On Richard Boys's proposal it gave the parish's share to the military band, which received £15 0s 0d to 1 January 1818. [Film No. 360, 366, 368, 385–386, 397]

The country church was rebuilt again in 1813 and 1814. The parish bought three pieces of Riga timber for the steeple for £41 13s 9d, paid weekly pay lists from 10 December 1813 to 26 March 1814 and hired men, oxen and carts from Mr Harper, R. Beam and John Bagley. It bought powder from the commissary for blasting, compensated a mason for a loss and paid Dr Smith £10 0s 0d to superintend, where Porteous had served unpaid in 1805. It also bought a padlock for the church. [Film No. 360, 366]

Between 1813 and 1818 Molly Stowe and her successor Mary Williams washed surplices for £5 0s 0d a year, and the sexton was paid £15 0s 0d a year. Charles Witton cleaned the lower churchyard for £3 0s 0d in 1813. In 1816 to 1817 Mr Boys was paid for repairing the chapel yard. In 1818 the parish bought communion cloths, a table and cleaning tools for the country church and planks for graves. [Film No. 360, 366, 374, 391, 409]

The steeple and shed cost about £385 0s 0d in 1815, three-quarters of that year's spending of £516 19s 11d. The work needed a sheer mast at £55 0s 0d and two spars at £15 0s 0d each, almost certainly from ships' stores. More than 5,500 staves were bought for shingles. Carpenters were paid £134 13s 8d, labourers £49 13s 9d and masons £21 10s 10d, with 94 days of cart hire. In 1815 to 1816 the parish paid for hanging the bell, an ornament for the steeple and mending the church plate. [Film No. 374, 380]

Government instructions of 24 April, probably 1815 given the churchwardens named, set the town church's seating. Visiting governors and councillors, members of the Select Committee in China and supercargoes were to sit in the Governor and Council's pew, and councillors' wives and daughters in the ladies' pew. A churchwarden, the sexton and a constable with his staff were to enforce this. A committee of the churchwardens, the senior chaplain, two senior civil servants and two senior officers was to allot the other pews. The Reverend S. Jones, who had opposed the vestry elections of 1812, did not attend and disapproved of its report. [Film No. 381]

On 31 January 1816 Brooke wrote that a Council member had found the steeple work badly done, unfinished and at risk from the coming rains. The Governor and Council would consider Company help only if a vestry showed its funds had been properly collected and wisely spent. On 16 April 1816 the churchwardens presented an estimate of £121 0s 0d to finish and repair the church, and a poll tax was voted. In 1816 to 1817 the parish paid more to carpenters and masons and £40 0s 0d to Duncan. On 1 October 1817 Mr Burgoyne received £35 19s 0d for work there. [Film No. 382–383, 391, 397]

Sergeant Croft served as clerk and sexton of the country church at £30 0s 0d a year from 1819 to 1822. In 1818 to 1819 the parish paid for laundering the surplice and communion cloths, a box for the church plate and a band at £15 0s 0d. In January 1820 it paid a printer £4 0s 0d for marriage, baptism and burial certificates but stopped the practice on 3 April 1820. When the churchwardens asked to enlarge the burial grounds, the government decided on 12 October 1820 to extend the ground beside the hospital at the Company's cost, since only soldiers and sailors lay there. The inhabitants paid for the lower ground, whose walls were repaired in 1821 to 1822. [Film No. 410, 419, 422, 432, 433, 453]

In 1819 the vestry asked the government to take charge of repairing the country church, which was in very poor condition. The parish would bear the cost but could not hire workmen, because the Company had first call on the island's skilled men. It bought two Windsor chairs and stores for the church in 1820. In 1821 to 1822 it spent £43 0s 8½d on the steeple, roof, a gallery door, a roof over the belfry steps, a railed horse shed and the churchyard wall. [Film No. 413, 433, 453]

In May 1822 D. K. Pritchard asked the President and Council for leave even to call the committee about repairs to the still unsafe country church. On 27 July 1822 John Croft reported that he, Metcalfe and Thompson had found the building very dangerous, with General Coffin's pew full of water, and urged a survey committee. Metcalfe was examining the whole ceiling. Pritchard assured the government that Metcalfe had been sent only to repair the gallery seats used by the schoolchildren, leaving any larger decision and its cost with the Council. [Film No. 458, 459]

In August 1822 the government issued seating rules for both churches. In the town church Company servants sat first, followed by inhabitants of the first class, those eligible to be churchwarden and the second class, each with separate pews for wives and daughters. Free women shared one pew with soldiers' wives, and the troops sat in the gallery. In the country church the Governor's family, the Council and senior Company servants came first. The upper and European liveried servants of Plantation House had their own pews ahead of the clerk's family. Respectable black women and children had two pews, and men of colour sat under the gallery opposite soldiers in uniform. [Film No. 467, 468]

The parish spent £25 10s 0d on the country church in the year to March 1823 and £12 12s 2d in the year following, with deal planks and wall repairs for the burial grounds. In the year to April 1825 repairing and painting the church cost £390 16s 11d, audited by the vestry committee. By 4 April 1825 the Governor and Council had granted £200 0s 0d, leaving the parish £190 16s 11d. The vestry and its committee thanked the government and the churchwardens for their personal supervision and economy. The organist's salary returned to the parish at £25 0s 0d a year, half the 1817 rate. In 1825 to 1826 the parish paid for paint,

William Knipe's painting, surplice cloth, cleaning tools and nine months' salary for the church clerk, and the organist drew £22 18s 4d. [Film No. 483, 493, 509, 510, 512–513, 555]

From May 1826 the Reverend R. Boys pressed for revision of the church fees, which he dated to 1767 and, in April 1827, to 1769. On 4 June 1827, after repeated postponements, the committee proposed a new scale. It raised the clergyman's marriage fee from 10s to 13s 6d and added 5s for a christening, previously free to the clergyman. The clerk's marriage fee doubled to 5s and the sexton's fell to 1s 6d. Burial fees, the one charge the parish paid for its paupers, stayed unchanged, the sexton's 7s 6d covering the grave. Most of the increase went to the Company's chaplains. [Film No. 561, 576, 582]

The burial grounds of Jamestown were full by 1826. Richard Torbett reported the lower churchyard wall in poor repair in March 1826, and the government ordered a survey on 24 November 1826. On 28 July 1828 the churchwardens reported trespass and rubbish in the middle churchyard and barely decayed bodies uncovered in new graves, and asked for fresh earth on both grounds. The Board agreed to repay half the cost for the middle churchyard and confirmed that the upper churchyard belonged to the hospital and would be improved by the Company. The committee planned a terrace on the hillside to enlarge the churchyard. After paying unpaid burial bills for free people such as Mary Barnes and Ann Edwards, it ruled that no grave would be dug until the fees were paid. [Film No. 560, 572, 601–604]

The organist's salary rose from £25 0s 0d to £50 0s 0d a year after the committee learned on 12 April 1827 that the government would quadruple its own contribution. Mr Deare and his successor Mr Hoare were paid at the new rate. A. Pierie, a former organist who had lost the use of his arm and was given to drink, asked in April 1828 for help to go home. On 28 July 1828 the Board resolved to send him as a charter-party passenger in a place the Company had already contracted for, and the parish paid £4 5s 10d towards his departure. The country church was painted in 1827 to 1828. [Film No. 575, 595, 601–603, 605]

On 20 April 1829 the vestry voted for an iron chest from England to keep the country church registers and asked the government for one for the town church. Since 1818 a child's freedom had depended on birth after Christmas Day of that year, so baptism records had become proof of status. The vestry also objected to the country church being used as a girls' day school. On 18 May 1829 Boys reported that the plan had been dropped. [Film No. 607–609]

By 1829 the organist, Mr Hoare, was often absent, and his salary stopped in June 1829. On 13 April 1830 the vestry granted the clerk, Mr Thompson, £20 0s 0d for leading the singing, half the sum saved, and on 4 April 1831 it granted him £12 12s 0d while Hoare was still absent. On 2 February 1832 the Governor and Council suspended Hoare, who held a Company appointment, until the Court of Directors' wishes were known, and the parish learned of it only through the secretary. Hoare was paid to May 1832, after which the clerk led the singing. On 7 February 1833 the committee recorded that Mrs Henry Kay was serving as organist. The Governor and Council paid her the Company salary of her predecessor and the parish added the allowance it had given Hoare. She drew £63 15s 0d from 22 December 1832 to 31 March 1834 without any reduction for her sex. Croft remained clerk of the country church at £30 0s 0d a year to 1834. [Film No. 619, 621, 627, 629, 653, 657, 672–673, 675, 691]

On 5 May 1831 the committee proposed spending part of the surplus on more room at the country church. On 2 September 1831 it voted eight to two for a plan to replace two aisles with one and make the pews uniform. This would raise seating from 180 to 276 for under £100 0s 0d and keep the 52 places under the gallery where men of colour sat. Uniform pews would have blurred the graded seating of 1822. The committee also gave £10 0s 0d to Captain Younge and Saul Solomon to clear the town churchyards, the upper one being used as a rubbish dump. [Film No. 630, 634, 641–643, 648]

On 5 September 1831 seven residents of the eastern district, among them the Reverend B. J. Vernon, asked for a vestry to consider a chapel near Hutt's Gate, an early step towards St Matthew's Church. They listed 47 dwellings near the site, estimated five people to each and proposed a church for 240 to 400, paid for by the house tax, subscriptions and Company help. On 12 September 1831 the vestry chose a committee of Vernon, Lieutenant Mellis, W. H. Seale, Colonel Hodson and G. V. Lambe, three of whom had signed the petition. It also gave the committee the country church alteration to review. [Film No. 645, 646, 648, 649]

On 20 February 1832 the committee recommended both the chapel and more seating at the country church. Mellis designed a chapel costing £1,200 0s 0d, with open benches instead of pews and room for a later gallery, on about two acres of Richard Torbett's land below Hutt's Gate. Rearranging the country church pews would cause dispute, so the committee proposed a light gallery of about 60 seats instead. The vestry voted for the gallery at once, while Lambe and Vernon themselves moved to defer the chapel. Torbett gave the parish 12 months to decide on his land. [Film No. 654–656]

On 23 April 1832 the vestry chose Mr Patterson's gallery plan at £90 0s 0d under Colonel Hodson's supervision. After a long debate during which many left, it rejected by 12 votes to seven Vernon's motion to set aside £300 0s 0d in the Company's treasury for the eastern chapel. The sum was more than the whole balance of £292 6s 0d. The sheriff's ballot that day drew 27 votes for J. Young, so fewer men decided the chapel than chose the sheriff. [Film No. 659]

The country church absorbed £273 3s 2d in 1832 to 1833, more than the year's house tax. The gallery contracted at £90 0s 0d grew to £122 16s 6d with extra work and materials, and monuments of island families were removed to make room. A new pulpit cost £55 16s 2d. Steeple repairs cost £74 2s 7d, after the vestry voted £30 0s 0d for the steeple under Colonel Hodson on 2 July 1832 and more on 13 August 1832. The parish also repaired the churchyard fence and gates and whitewashed the interior. On 1 May 1833 the committee ordered £9 9s 0d for painting the roof, cornice and portico. [Film No. 666–667, 670, 677, 681, 693]

Education

The inhabitants built a schoolhouse in 1770. In 1770 and 1771 the parish advanced the schoolmaster John Congreve £20 0s 0d for house rent and bought books for parish children at school. It bought a gate and paint in 1775. Congreve was rated on his household in 1776 but appears as "John Congreve's orphans" in 1777, so he had died. Repairs of £19 1s 6d on 31 March 1778 probably readied the house for a successor. In April 1779 the vestry reserved the house solely as a school. The master paid no rent but taught eight poor children chosen by the churchwardens to read, write and do arithmetic. He could not expel them, alter or build, lead water into the yard or make the playground a garden without the wardens' consent. Repairs stayed in the wardens' hands. A new master signed these rules on taking possession in August 1790, so each master accepted the same terms instead of a lease. [Film No. 10, 14, 43, 113, 131, 132, 137, 143, 147, 154]

Repairs followed on 20 May 1779 and in 1781, and rethatching with rushes cost £14 11s 9d in 1783. In 1785 repairs cost £40 7s 6d, using paint, oil, deals and lime from the stores and Wrangham and 121 days of Mr Bird's labour. Flour and indigo were bought, probably to tint limewash, and earth was brought for the schoolyard or floor. In 1786 the school was first fitted as a classroom, with four rooms floored, a small room boarded and two desks and 10 forms made. Mr Tewell, perhaps the Mr Sewell of 1787, was paid £15 0s 0d for six months in 1786, probably as a salaried schoolmaster contrary to the 1779 terms. Sewell's executors received £10 14s 6d in 1787, so he died in office. Glass, locks and wall repairs followed in 1788 and 1789 and Company lime and tiles in 1790. In 1791 the schoolhouse, country church and town churchyard were repaired together for £98 12s 11d. [Film No. 113, 131, 132, 137, 143, 147, 154, 167, 169, 171, 173, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191]

In 1792 John Torbett was paid £1 9s 0d for schoolhouse repairs and glass was bought. By March 1793 rushes and thatching had cost £6 14s 9d and window repairs 8s, and hinges, cord and carpentry followed in 1793. From 1792 to 1796 the garrison armourer mended locks and hinges, probably at the island's only suitable forge. In September and October 1794 the parish paid for materials, lime from A. Burchell, glazing, painting by Edward Perry and rehanging the blown-down schoolyard door. Repairs to the schoolhouse and churchyard wall then cost £7 4s 6d. On 4 September 1795 the vestry ordered a schoolyard gate and new thatch. In 1796 repairs cost £3 10s 3¾d, including plastering, work on the frontispiece and a batten door by Mr Legg. Legg also bartered wood for the school gate against old country church timber in 1796. [Film No. 31, 33, 35, 37, 59, 61, 65, 71, 73, 245]

On 9 April 1798 Mr Wilkinson offered lime and payment for raising the schoolhouse front if the parish found labour. On 18 June 1798 the vestry ordered a new kitchen on the old site. By 17 June 1799 the schoolhouse needed new thatch and the schoolyard wall was ruinous, and the rupee tax in labour was raised to repair them. On 14 April 1800 the vestry ordered the schoolhouse repaired. By April 1801 William Wrangham had billed £15 17s 0d for thatching, 24 days of masons' work and 107 days of labour, and Jonas thatched nine more days. Painting materials, including white lead, red lead, turpentine, lamp black and 40 panes, cost £11 16s 6½d. Rushes of 81 girths cost £9 10s 6d. The account carried forward £104 3s 6½d. [Film No. 80, 83, 89, 252, 259]

J. Hayes repaired the schoolhouse on 27 October 1801, followed by masonry and lime in March 1802 and new deals in 1803. Dr Wilkinson was repaid £4 7s 9d in July 1803. Rushes were stripped from the school in 1804, probably for reroofing, and it was rethatched on 6 January 1806. Thomas Hayes received £2 0s 6d for repairs in 1806 and £8 14s 0d by April 1809 for desks and forms, some bought at auction. [Film No. 263, 271, 275, 279, 297, 313, 327]

The vestry approved Mr Burchall's repair bill in 1810 without an amount and on 24 April 1810 paid him £95 18s 6d while he was churchwarden. He also paid £30 0s 0d rent for the schoolhouse, so he was its tenant and probably its master. On 24 September 1810 work included 76 panes of glass, desk repairs and carpentry for Mr Kay. [Film No. 313, 327, 338, 341–343]

On 11 January 1811 the Court of Directors appointed the Reverend Richard Boys second chaplain and schoolmaster at £100 0s 0d a year, to come out in the *Marchioness of Exeter*. On 1 July 1811 the Governor and Council, on a suggestion of Edward Parry, a former chairman of the Court, asked the vestry to transfer the schoolhouse free or at valuation to spare the parish new buildings. On 8 July 1811 the vestry unanimously gave the house, valued at £1,500 0s 0d, free. It asked that the house remain a school and the master's home, that 12 parish children be taught free and that the parish set fees. [Film No. 345–347]

On 15 July 1811 the secretary allowed four free places in the upper school and eight in the lower and denied the master's power to set fees. He invited the vestry to alter its letter before it entered the record. The vestry struck out the 12 places that day but kept its objection to fees as too high for younger upper-school pupils. The Governor and Council approved John Young, George Broadway, Henry Pritchard and Henry Chamberlain for free places at Mr Boys's school. [Film No. 347, 348]

On 16 April 1827 the vestry noticed it had neglected its nominations. On 19 April 1827 the Board found only John Torbett in a parish place at the head school. It approved the churchwardens' nominee James Seale and filled the rest with David and George Chadwick and Captain Torbett's sons James and Henry. The Court had funded four further places, preferring children of deceased Company servants. On 20 August 1827 the churchwardens nominated William Broadway, son of Captain Broadway, arguing that this preference covered only the Company-funded places. On 27 August 1827 the Board conceded four parish places by custom but warned it would fill any left empty. No vacancy existed because David Chadwick had not left. [Film No. 576, 579, 580, 586, 588]

On 17 September 1829 the churchwardens nominated Sophia Eliza Banks to the upper school. Her father had once paid for three children there but could no longer afford one. The Board approved and ordered the master to report vacancies at once, since places had lapsed through ignorance in 1827. The committee chose Mr Charlett's daughter by ballot on 14 February 1831 and Benjamin Bagley on 5 May 1831. On 12 May 1831 the Board warned that one balloted candidate would have led parents to withdraw their daughters. It added that the regulations of July 1811 defined the upper school's class of children and gave the Governor and Council control. The objection was probably colour or low birth. [Film No. 615, 625, 630, 632]

On 10 August 1831 the master, John N. Firmin, billed the parish £28 7s 0d for teaching Sophia Banks and Agnes Charlett at £3 3s 0d a quarter. Regulations of 1824 limited free places to fatherless children, and only one orphan, John Shortis, held one. On 2 September 1831 the committee, on which Firmin sat, found that the 1811 agreement set no such limit. It refused the bill but referred it to the Board. It also resolved to prefer children of dead parishioners, which the Board approved. [Film No. 641, 643, 644, 648]

Population and Settlement
In 1802 Gunnell collected lists of families and inhabitants for the government, and Farrell copied them. [Film No. 261–263]

The family tax roll of September 1805 first counted whites and blacks separately, with 519 white and 1,063 black among the first 1,582 persons. William Webber Doveton held 31 slaves and John Charles Dunn 30. Many single white men, probably discharged soldiers and craftsmen, appeared with the newly arrived merchant Saul Solomon. [Film No. 291–293]

The rolls of 1819 to 1821 counted about 1,585 to 1,850 persons in private households, slaves included. David Kay senior headed the largest at 43 to 45, followed by Richard Barker with 31 and William Balcombe with 30. [Film No. 416–418, 428–431, 448–451]

The valuation of 13 October 1825, signed by Boys, Sampson and Cole, set Jamestown's private houses at £96,835 0s 0d and the country's at £61,520 0s 0d. J. Solomon's tavern led at £3,000 0s 0d, followed by the Union brewery at £2,000 0s 0d and Baker and Cole's naval agency at £1,800 0s 0d. Company official residences, such as those of T. H. Brooke and the Reverend R. Boys, carried no value. Company country houses let privately were valued. [Film No. 534–535, 537–542, 544]

Ownership in 1825 was concentrated. Saul Solomon owned at least four Jamestown properties, the Seales at least 13 country houses and T. Baker the Briars at £1,800 0s 0d. James Truebody owned 16 tenements valued at £225 0s 0d. Dr Mead held at least seven properties. Sergeants Bates, Matheson, Bell, Hubbard and Rich let rooms to soldiers' families. Mrs D. Smith and Elliston let houses to Chinese men. [Film No. 534–541, 543–544]

Free blacks owned houses in 1825. In Jamestown Polly Henry, Mary Barnes, Lydia Henry, Nelly Plato, Martha London, Dolly Richards, Hester and Rose Underwood held houses worth £50 0s 0d to £250 0s 0d. In the country Free Sophy, Free Michael, Free Sam, Scipio, Nancy May and Sukey Moyse held small houses on the estates' edges. [Film No. 535–536, 539–542, 544]

In 1833 and 1834 G. W. Alexander built at least five cottages at £50 0s 0d each in Sandy Bay and Lemon Tree Gut, let to freed workers and Chinese men. Mrs G. Doveton owned five Chinese huts, and Hudson, a Chinese man, owned a house near the Red Quarry. Sergeants built outside Ladder Hill fort and under High Knoll. Half Tree Hollow filled with £50 0s 0d houses. Thomas Rose's tavern was valued at £800 0s 0d. [Film No. 695–696]

Personalities
The roll of about 1771 charged both an Orlando Bagley on 14 heads and Orlando Bagley's orphans on 27, so two men of the name, perhaps father and son, appear in the records. Matthew Purling's household reached 60 heads in 1773, the largest in the parish, yet he was absent from the roll of 1775. Richard Bagley, rated on 40 heads in 1775, was entered as deceased and uncharged in 1776, his people probably passing to Edward and Martin Bagley. Betty Wade drew relief without a break from March 1792 to May 1796, the longest unbroken run of any pauper in those accounts. [Film No. 10, 12, 13, 16, 122, 138, 150, 154]

Saul Solomon rose from constable in 1807 to wormer of cattle in 1810, his household growing from nine heads in 1805 to 21 in 1811 and 25 in 1823. David Kay senior, head surgeon, tied with Samuel Knipe as the largest ratepayer on 40 heads in 1811 and led the vestry committees of 1809 and 1811. W. J. Burchall was at once churchwarden, schoolhouse tenant and paid contractor in 1810. T. Harrington, the apothecary rated on six or seven heads, spoke in 1823 for those who lost by the doctors' new tariff. [Film No. 310, 314, 315, 331, 337, 341, 342, 355, 356, 359, 484, 491, 501]

G. W. Janisch was the most active figure of 1825 to 1830, combining authorship of the house tax, porterage and road schemes with a road contract, a trusteeship, committee membership and the churchwardenship, so his private interests repeatedly overlapped with his public roles. Charles Blake, deputy secretary, took a road contract and inspected the streets while conveying the government's doubts about others' tenders. [Film No. 511, 514, 561, 568, 575, 577, 591–593, 613, 614]

Conclusion

Between 1760 and 1834 the vestry's responsibilities widened from church money and poor relief to the management of Jamestown and the island's roads, markets, health and freed population. Its revenue moved from interest on charity loans and communion collections to head money on households including slaves, then to slave, dog and sheep taxes, and finally to property taxes on houses and vehicles, while spending shifted from occasional relief to salaries, building, policing and a growing pauper roll after emancipation. At every stage the vestry proposed and the Governor and Council disposed: the government's approval, warrants, loans and grants sustained the parish, and the end of Company rule left it to rely on its own ratepayers. [Film No. 10–698]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena§ §Document Name and Date§ §1770-1833§ §REGISTRE DE LA PAROSSE DE JAMESTOWN§ §Photographer§ §RADKA HENRY§ §Date photographed§ §01 AUGUST 2023.§ §Additional comments§	
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10	1	[Upper right corner of the page damaged and partly lost, affecting the ends of the first entries and the top of the money columns.] Per Contra§ §1770 July 11 By Bonds Notes of Hand &c. Recd. of§ §Messrs. Samuel Alexander & Solomon [...]§ §Church Warden§ §1450§ §By Cash recd. the Balance from Do.§ §[...] 12 [...]§ §1771 April 1 By Cash recd. Sundry times at the Communion§ §[...]§ §By do. recd. of Mr. Wm. Wrangham his principal & Interest§ §[...]§ §By do. recd. of Mr. Richd. Goodwin his Do.§ §68 17§ §By do. recd. of Mr. Gabl. Alexr. Harper his Do. & Do.§ §84§ §By do. recd. of Mr. John Price his Do. & Do.§ §84§ §By do. recd. of Mr. Nathan Sampsel his Do. & Do.§ §42§ §By do. recd. of Isaac Knipes Executor Do. & Do.§ §31 10§ §By do. recd. of Mr. James Colgrave Do. & Do.§ §30 13 7½§ §By do. recd. of Sarah Fenge a Note of Hand without Int.§ §12§ §By do. recd. of John Jacks his principal & Interest§ §21 12 6§ §By do. recd. of Mr. Orlando Bagley his Do. & Do.§ §32 14§ §By do. recd. Fines for Hogs§ §1 9 7½§ §By do. recd. Do. for Gaming§ §3 1 7§ §£ 1013 18 8½§ §1771 Per Contra Cr.§	The credit side of the Jamestown parish account, kept by the churchwardens, recorded the following receipts. Bonds, notes of hand and other securities received on 11 July 1770 from Samuel Alexander and [...], the former churchwardens, £[...] Cash received in April 1771, the balance from the same, £88 [...] Cash received at various times at the communion, [...] Received from William Wrangham, his principal and interest, [...] Received from Richard Goodwin, his principal and interest, £68 1[...] Received from Gabriel Alexander Harper, his principal and interest, £84 0s 0d Received from John Price, his principal and interest, £84 0s 0d Received from Nathan Campbell, his principal and interest, £42 0s 0d Received from Isaac Knipe's executors, principal and interest, £31 10s 0d Received from James Colgrave, his principal and interest, £30 13s 7½d Received from Sarah Ferry, on a note of hand without interest, £12 0s 0d Received from John Jacks, his principal and interest, £21 12s 6d Received from Orlando Bagley, his principal and interest, £32 14s 0d Fines received for straying hogs, £1 9s 7½d Fines received for gaming, £3 1s 7d Total, £1,013 18s 8½d A second account on the same page recorded the following. Cash advanced to Mr Congreve for house rent, £20 0s 0d A house, £730 0s 0d Total, £750 0s 0d **Interpretations** The parish of Jamestown served as a savings bank and moneylender for the town and the island beyond

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§By Cash Advanced Mr. Congreve for House Rent§ §£ 20§ §By a House§ §730§ §£ 750§	it. Its funds came from communion collections, fines and bequests, and the churchwardens lent them to inhabitants on bonds and notes of hand at interest. The outgoing churchwardens handed the securities to their successors in July 1770. Over the following year the borrowers repaid principal and interest. Leading planters and officials, among them Wrangham, Harper and Orlando Bagley, borrowed from the church just as they borrowed from one another. The island had no bank and little coin, so the parish chest was one of the few sources of credit. The fines for straying hogs and for gaming went to the parish rather than the Company. This meant the trespass laws and the rules against gambling were enforced locally, with the money going to the church and the poor. The £20 0s 0d advanced to Mr Congreve for house rent was probably his allowance as schoolmaster. The house valued at £730 0s 0d was perhaps the parish's own property. It may have been the new school built on the ground the churchwardens bought from the Company in September 1770.
11	2	[Upper left corner of the page damaged and partly lost, affecting the start of the heading and the first entry.] [...] Poor Stock Dr.§ §[...] Messrs. Orlando Bagley and§ §[...] Beale Church Wardens§ §£ 29 12 9§ §Bazett§ §Orlando Bagley§	On the debit side of the poor stock account, the churchwardens recorded a single entry. Paid to Orlando Bagley and [...] Beale, churchwardens, £29 12s 9d The account was signed by Matthew Bazett and Orlando Bagley. **Interpretations** The poor stock was a separate fund for relief of the island's poor, kept apart from the general parish account of loans, fines and property. Its balance of £29 12s 9d was paid over to Orlando Bagley and Beale as the churchwardens then in office. Bagley signed as one of the recipients, with Bazett beside him, so the accounts were passed from one set of officers to the next with each side witnessing the transfer.
12	3	[Upper right corner of the page damaged and partly lost, affecting the money columns of the first five entries.] Per Contra§ §1771 May 19th. By Cash received at the Communion§ §[...]§ §Decr. 25th. By Do. Do.§ §[...]§ §29th. By Do. Do.§ §[...] 9§ §1772 March 29th. By Do. Do.§ §[...]§ §April 19th. By Do. Do.§ §[...] 17§ §£ 29 12 [...]§ §1772 June 1st. By Cash received the Balance from Messrs.§ §Matthew Bazett & Orlando Bagley§ §Church Wardens§ §£ 29 12 9§	On the credit side of the poor stock account, the churchwardens recorded the following. 19 May 1771, cash collected at the communion, £[...] 25 December 1771, cash collected at the communion, £[...] 29 December 1771, cash collected at the communion, £[...] 29 March 1772, cash collected at the communion, £[...] 19 April 1772, cash collected at the communion, £[...] Total, £[...] 1 June 1772, cash received as the balance from Matthew Bazett and Orlando Bagley, churchwardens, £29 12s 9d **Interpretations** The poor stock relied on the collections taken at communion, which was celebrated only a handful of times a year at Easter, Whitsun and Christmas. The balance of £29 12s 9d received on 1 June 1772 matched the sum that Bazett and Bagley signed over to Bagley and Beale on the debit side. Bazett therefore left office in June 1772, while Bagley stayed on as churchwarden with Beale as his new colleague. That carried one experienced officer from year to year. Bazett was also the Council's secretary, so the parish offices were held by the same small group of Company servants and leading inhabitants who ran the island's civil government.
13	4	[Upper left corner of the page damaged and partly lost, affecting the start of the heading and the first entries.] [...] Poors Stock Dr.§ §[...] paid to Messrs. Orlando Bagley and§ §[...] Ross Stewart Church Wardens§ §34 6 9§ §3 8 9§	On the debit side of the poor stock account, the churchwardens recorded the following. Paid to Orlando Bagley and [...] Stewart, churchwardens, £34 6s 9d [...], £3 8s 9d Total, £37 15s 6d Cash in hand for the use of the poor, £19 14s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§£ 37 15 6§ §To Cash in Hand for the poors use§ §19 14 6§ §57 10§ §To Cash deducted and given to Wm. Beale§ §10§ §47 10§ §Orlando Bagley§	Total, £57 10s 0d Cash deducted and given to William Beale, £10 0s 0d Total, £47 10s 0d Orlando Bagley signed the account. **Interpretations** Orlando Bagley remained churchwarden for another year, this time with Stewart in place of Beale, who had served alongside him in June 1772. Bagley was the one officer to stay through each change, which kept knowledge of the parish funds in the same hands. The £10 0s 0d deducted and paid to William Beale came out of the cash held for the poor. It was perhaps relief granted to Beale himself, or more probably the repayment of money he had advanced while in office. If it was relief, the poor fund made no distinction for a man who had recently served as one of its officers.
14	5	[Stains and damage at the head of the page, affecting the heading and the first three entries.] [...] Dr.§ §To [...] Church§ §£ 27 3 3§ §To Cash paid [...] runaway Blacks§ §10 12 6§ §To do. paid for [...] the Pall§ §2 13 1½§ §To do. paid Mr. [...] on Account of Lessing a Parish [...]§ §3 5 8§ §To do. paid for Books for Parish Children at School§ §7 6§ §To do. paid on Account of Elizabeth Willoughby§ §9 8 9§ §To do. paid on Account of John Hayes§ §14 6§ §To do. paid for repairs to the Parish House§ §11 2 2§ §To do. paid Priscilla Watts for House Rent§ §13§ §To do. paid for killing Rats & Mice§ §5 14 1½§ §To do. paid John Price Sexton his Salary§ §10§ §To do. paid Do. for making 2 Surplices§ §2§ §To do. paid Secretary's Fees§ §1§ §To do. paid Samuel Knipe for Collecting Head Money§ §2 2§ §To Sundry Persons whose Names are marked that§ §could not pay their Head Money§ §2 6§ §Carried over £ 114 15 7§	On the debit side of the parish account, the churchwardens recorded the following payments. [...] the church, £27 3s 3d Cash paid for [...] runaway slaves, £10 12s 6d Cash paid for [...] the pall, £2 13s 1½d Cash paid to Mr [...] for [...] a parish [...], £3 5s 8d Cash paid for books for the parish children at school, £0 7s 6d Cash paid for Elizabeth Willoughby, £9 8s 9d Cash paid for John Hayes, £14 0s 6d Cash paid for repairs to the parish house, £11 2s 2d Cash paid to Priscilla Watts for house rent, £13 0s 0d Cash paid for killing rats and mice, £5 14s 1½d Cash paid to John Price, sexton, for his salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid to John Price for making 2 surplices, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Samuel Knipe for collecting the head money, £2 2s 0d Head money written off for various persons, marked by name, who could not pay, £2 6s 0d Carried over, £114 15s 7d **Interpretations** The head money was a poll tax levied on the inhabitants to support the parish, and Samuel Knipe was paid to go round and collect it. The churchwardens wrote off the shares of those who could not pay and marked their names on the roll. In this way the parish tax doubled as a record of which households were too poor to contribute. The parish took on public duties that in England fell to the county or the Crown. It paid rewards for catching runaway slaves, a bounty for killing rats and mice, and the rent and repairs of a parish house. Payments for Elizabeth Willoughby and John Hayes were probably relief for named paupers, kept as individual accounts rather than paid out of a general dole. The books bought for the parish children show that the church also paid for poor children to attend the school.
15	6	[Head of the page damaged and partly lost, affecting the heading and the figures of the first entries; edges of the page also damaged throughout.] Per Contra§ §Brot. over§ §[...]§ §Gabriel Harper§ §[...]§ §William Hayes§ §[...]§ §nt. pd. Benj. Harper§ §[...] 8§ §Henry Howell§ §[...] 3§	The credit side of the parish account continued the head money roll, listing each householder with the number of persons charged and the sum due. The figure beside each name counted the heads taxed, each assessed at 1s 8d. Brought over, £[...] Gabriel Harper, [...] heads, £[...] William Hayes, [...] heads, £[...] Henry Harper, [...] heads, £[...], unpaid Henry Hewett, [...] heads, £[...] Elisha Isaac, [...] heads, £[...] Elizabeth Jacobs, [...] heads, £[...] Martha Jacks, [...] heads, £[...] Gabriel Isaac, [...] heads, £[...]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Elisha Isaac§ §1 3§ §Elizabeth Jacobs§ §[...]§ §Martha Jacks§ §6 3§ §Gabriel Isaac§ §[...]§ §Isaac Knipe§ §1 5 4§ §Elizabeth Kennedy§ §11 8§ §Elizabeth Lamb§ §16 8§ §Thomas Leech§ §11 8§ §nt. pd. Isaiah Lake§ §5§ §Robt. Leech§ §[...]§ §Benj. Mason§ §[...]§ §Robert Merchant§ §13 [...]§ §Mathew Purling§ §33 [...]§ §James Powell§ §22 1 10§ §John Price§ §10 16 8§ §Benj. Pledger§ §3 5§ §John Pritchard§ §15 5§ §nt. pd. Margt. Payne§ §3 5§ §John Preston§ §3 5§ §James Parfett§ §10 16 8§ §John Robinson§ §10 16 8§ §John Robins§ §4 6 8§ §Thomas Statham§ §2 3 4§ §John Shirtley§ §11 18 4§ §Sol. St. Maurice§ §5 8 4§ §Willm. Seale Junr.§ §2 3 4§ §Mary Seale§ §9 15§ §Benj. Seale§ §18 10§ §John Seale§ §11 18 4§ §Willm. Seale Senr.§ §10 16 8§ §Jerem. Smith§ §3 5§ §Martha Scott§ §3 5 4§ §nt. pd. John Scott§ §2 3 4§ §Nathan Sampsell§ §7 11 8§ §John Swaites Orph.§ §16 1 6 8§ §James Sorbells do.§ §4 6 8§ §nt. pd. Thomas Watts do.§ §10 16 8§ §William Wrangham§ §33 2 15§	Isaac Knipe, [...] heads, £1 [...] Elizabeth Kennedy, [...] heads, £0 11s 8d Elizabeth Lamb, [...] heads, £0 16s 8d Thomas Leech, [...] heads, £0 11s 8d Sarah Lake, [...] heads, £0 5s 0d, unpaid Robert Leech, [...] heads, £[...] Benjamin Mason, [...] heads, £[...] Robert Merchant, 18 heads, £1 10s 0d Matthew Purling, 33 heads, £2 15s 0d James Powell, 22 heads, £1 16s 8d John Price, 10 heads, £0 16s 8d Benjamin Pledger, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d John Pritchard, 15 heads, £1 5s 0d Margaret Payne, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d, unpaid John Prior, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d James Pasfield, 10 heads, £0 16s 8d John Robinson, 10 heads, £0 16s 8d John Robins, 4 heads, £0 6s 8d Thomas Statham, 2 heads, £0 3s 4d John Shirtley, 11 heads, £0 18s 4d Solomon St Maurice, 5 heads, £0 8s 4d William Seale junior, 2 heads, £0 3s 4d Mary Seale, 9 heads, £0 15s 0d Benjamin Seale, 18 heads, £1 10s 0d John Seale, 11 heads, £0 18s 4d William Seale senior, 10 heads, £0 16s 8d Jeremiah Smith, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d Martha Scott, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d John Scott, 2 heads, £0 3s 4d, unpaid Nathan Sampell, 7 heads, £0 11s 8d Peter Twaites's orphans, 16 heads, £1 6s 8d James Torbett's orphans, 4 heads, £0 6s 8d Thomas Watts's orphans, 10 heads, £0 16s 8d, unpaid William Wrangham, 33 heads, £2 15s 0d John Worrall, 11 heads, £0 18s 4d John Witchurch, 5 heads, £0 8s 4d Simon Whaley, 8 heads, £0 13s 4d James Whaley, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d, unpaid John Worrall's orphans, [...] heads, £1 [...] Margaret Young, [...] heads, £[...] William Young, [...] heads, £[...] Stephen Young, [...] heads, £[...] Total, [...] heads, £[...] Balance of the previous year's account, £[...] Total, £[...] The account was signed by Charles Stewart and William [...]. **Interpretations** The head money was charged on each household according to the number of people in it, so the counts included family members, servants and slaves. Large landholders such as Matthew Purling and William Wrangham, each assessed on 33 heads, therefore paid the most. The tax followed the size of a household's labour force rather than the value of its land. Orphans' estates were charged in the same way, which shows that the property and slaves of minors stayed liable while their trustees managed them. The unpaid entries matched the sum written off on the debit side for persons who could not pay their head money. Several of those exempted were women or small households, among them Sarah Lake and Margaret Payne. The parish gave up these sums instead of pursuing them, which shows that relief worked partly by excusing the poorest from the tax that paid for it.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§John Worrall§ §11 18 4§ §John Whitchurch§ §5 8 4§ §Simon Whaley§ §8 13 4§ §nt. pd. James Whaley§ §3 [...]§ §John Worralls Orp.§ §[...]§ §Margt. Young§ §[...]§ §Willm. Young§ §[...]§ §Steph. Young§ §[...]§ §222 [...]§ §To the Ball. of last Years Acct.§ §[...]§ §£ [...]§ §Chas. [...] Stewart§ §Wm. [...]§	
16	7	[Head of the page damaged and partly lost, affecting the heading and the ends of the first two entries; right-hand edge also damaged.] Per Contra Cr.§ §[...] 31st. By Balance [...]§ §[...] 10 [...]§ §Apl. 7 By Cash received from the fol[...]§ §Money the Tax being 2/. [...]§ §Heads £ s d§ §Samuel Alexander§ §14§ §1 8§ §John Alexander§ §21§ §2 2§ §George Alexander§ §10§ §1 6§ §Margaret Alcock§ §24§ §2 8§ §Josh. Beales Orphans§ §13§ §1 6§ §Martha Beale§ §6§ §12§ §Richard Beale§ §8§ §16§ §William Bearcroft§ §8§ §16§ §John Bagley Senr.§ §7§ §14§ §Richard Bagley§ §34§ §3 8§ §Orlando Bagleys Orps.§ §27§ §2 14§ §Orlando Bagley§ §14§ §1 8§ §Edward Bagley§ §1§ §2§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §11§ §1 2§	The credit side of the parish account opened with the balance carried forward and the head money received, at a rate of 2s for each head. [...] 31, balance [...], £[...] 10[...] [...] 7, cash received from the following persons for head money at 2s a head, £[...] Samuel Alexander, 14 heads, £1 8s 0d John Alexander, 21 heads, £2 2s 0d George Alexander, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d Margaret Alcock, 24 heads, £2 8s 0d Andrew Beale's orphans, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d Martha Beale, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Richard Beale, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d William Bearcroft, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d John Bagley junior, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Richard Bagley, 34 heads, £3 8s 0d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 27 heads, £2 14s 0d Orlando Bagley, 14 heads, £1 8s 0d Edward Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 0d John Bagley senior, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d Matthew Bazett, 41 heads, £4 2s 0d Henry Bazett, 26 heads, £2 12s 0d John Bazett, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Thomas Bazett, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d George Bird, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Mary Burnham, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Thomas Burnham, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Robert Barclay, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Robert Ballard, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d William Beale, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Ruth Colgrave, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d James Colgrave, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d William Caldwell, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 18 heads, £1 16s 0d Jonathan Doveton, 23 heads, £2 6s 0d Isaac Doveton, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Samuel Desfountain, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d John Desfountain's orphans, 24 heads, £2 8s 0d John Desfountain, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Elizabeth Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Carried over, 447 heads, £44 [...] **Interpretations** The head money was charged here at 2s a head. The roll on the previous page worked out at 1s 8d, so the two rolls belonged to different years and the parish had raised the rate between them. Each household's bill stayed tied to the number of people it held. A higher rate therefore fell hardest on the largest establishments, chief among them Matthew Bazett with 41 heads and Richard Bagley with 34.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Matthew Bazett§ §41§ §4 2§ §b Henry Bazett§ §26§ §2 12§ §John Bazett§ §6§ §12§ §Thomas Bazett§ §7§ §14§ §George Bird§ §4§ §8§ §Mary Burnham§ §4§ §8§ §Thomas Burnham§ §5§ §10§ §Robert Barclay§ §4§ §8§ §Robert Ballard§ §7§ §14§ §William Beale§ §12§ §1 4§ §Ruth Colgrave§ §8§ §16§ §James Colgrave§ §3§ §6§ §William Caldwell§ §2§ §4§ §Joseph Chamberlain§ §9§ §18§ §John Droxtons Orphans§ §18§ §1 16§ §Jonathan Droxton§ §23§ §2 6§ §Isaac Droxton§ §15§ §1 10§ §Samuel Desfountain§ §7§ §14§ §John Desfountains Orphans§ §24§ §2 8§ §John Desfountain§ §8§ §16§ §Elizabeth Desfountain§ §9§ §18§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §4§ §8§ §Carried over§ §447 44 [...]§	The roll also shows how a few families dominated the parish. The Bagleys, Bazetts, Dovetons and Desfountains each appeared several times, under separate entries for fathers, sons, widows and orphans' estates. The churchwardens and the leading ratepayers came from the same handful of households, which meant those who set the tax were also those who paid most of it.
17	8	[Upper left of the page damaged and partly lost, affecting the heading and the start of the first entry.] [...] Dr.§ §[...] Brought over§ §£ 114 15 [...]§	The debit side of the parish account continued with the total carried forward from the previous page. Brought over, £114 15s [...]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
18	9	[Upper right of the page damaged and partly lost, affecting the heading, the Brought over figures and the heads column for the first entries; right-hand edge and foot also damaged.] Per Contra [...]§ §1771 April 7 Brought over§ §[...] 10 14§ §Henry Easthope§ §[...] 4§ §James Easthope§ §[...] 10§ §Michael Frost§ §1§ §2§ §Sarah Fenge§ §5§ §10§ §Jules Fabiano§ §6§ §12§ §Richard Goodwin§ §31§ §3 2§ §John Goodwin§ §11§ §1 2§ §James Greentree§ §32§ §3 4§ §not paid Charles Lessing§ §3§ §6§ §Robert Gosling§ §2§ §4§ §James Grady§ §2§ §4§ §John Howard§ §1§ §2§ §George Hayes§ §3§ §6§ §Thomas Harper§ §7§ §14§ §Margaret Harper§ §8§ §16§ §Gabriel Harper§ §7§ §14§ §William Hayes§ §13§ §1 6§ §Mary Harper§ §5§ §10§ §Henry Howell§ §7§ §14§ §William Jenkins§ §1§ §2§ §Elisha Jacks§ §18§ §1 16§ §Gabriel Jacks§ §12§ §1 4§ §not paid Martha Jacks§ §4§ §8§	The head money roll continued on the credit side of the parish account, with each household charged 2s a head. 1 April 177[...] Brought over, £[...] Henry Easthope, [...] heads, £[...] 4s 0d James Easthope, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Michael Frost, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Sarah Fudge, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Jules Fabiano, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Richard Goodwin, 31 heads, £3 2s 0d John Goodwin, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d James Greentree, 32 heads, £3 4s 0d Charles Gissing, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d, unpaid Robert Garling, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d James Gordy, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d John Howard, 1 head, £0 2s 0d George Hayes, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Harper, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Margaret Harper, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Gabriel Harper, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d William Hayes, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d Mary Harper, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Henry Howell, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d William Jenkins, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Elisha Jacks, 18 heads, £1 16s 0d Gabriel Jacks, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Martha Jacks, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d, unpaid Isaac Knipe's orphans, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Elizabeth Lambe, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Thomas Leech, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Sarah Lake, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d, unpaid Robert Leech, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Thomas Lambert, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Benjamin Mason, 29 heads, £2 18s 0d Roderick Merchant, 18 heads, £1 16s 0d Matthew Purling, 56 heads, £5 12s 0d James Powell, 25 heads, £2 10s 0d John Price, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d Benjamin Pledger, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d John Pritchard, 20 heads, £2 0s 0d Margaret Payne, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d, unpaid John Preston, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d James Pasfield, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d Carried over, £[...] **Interpretations** Every household marked as unpaid was small, with three or four heads. They were those of Charles Gissing, Martha Jacks, Sarah Lake and Margaret Payne. Sarah Lake and Margaret Payne had also failed to pay on the earlier roll at 1s 8d a head. The default therefore fell on the same few poor households year after year, and the parish wrote off their shares rather than taking them to court. Matthew Purling's assessment rose from 33 heads on the earlier roll to 56 on this one, while most other households changed only slightly. As a member of the Council, Purling was well placed to add land and labour, and the jump probably reflected a large purchase of slaves or the taking on of another estate. Because the tax was charged by head, it recorded the growth of his establishment more directly than any land register could.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Isaac Knipes Orphans§ §15§ §1 10§ §Elizabeth Kennedy§ §7§ §14§ §Elizabeth Lambe§ §12§ §1 4§ §Thomas Leech§ §6§ §12§ §not paid Sarah Lake§ §3§ §6§ §Robert Leech§ §2§ §4§ §Thomas Lambert§ §1§ §2§ §Benjamin Mason§ §29§ §2 18§ §Roderick Merchant§ §18§ §1 16§ §Matthew Purling§ §56§ §5 12§ §James Powell§ §25§ §2 10§ §John Price§ §10§ §1§ §Benjamin Pledger§ §3§ §6§ §John Pritchard§ §20§ §2§ §not paid Margaret Payne§ §4§ §8§ §John Preston§ §5§ §10§ §James Parfit§ §9§ §18§ §Carried over [...]§ §358 [...]§	
19	10	[Stain in the page at the head, affecting the heading; left-hand edge also damaged.] [...] Dr.§ §Brought over§ §£ 114 15 7§ §£ 114 15 7§ §To Cash paid the Balance to Messrs. Matthew Bazett§ §& Orlando Bagley Church Wardens§ §6 6 7§ §£ 121 2 2§ §Sol. St. Maurice§ §Bazett§	The debit side of the parish account closed with the balance paid over to the incoming churchwardens. Brought over, £114 15s 7d Total, £114 15s 7d Cash paid as the balance to Matthew Bazett and Orlando Bagley, churchwardens, £6 6s 7d Total, £121 2s 2d Solomon St Maurice and Matthew Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** Solomon St Maurice and Matthew Bazett signed as the outgoing churchwardens and handed the balance of £6 6s 7d to Bazett and Orlando Bagley. Bazett therefore stayed in office while his colleague changed, as Bagley did a year later when Beale and then Stewart joined him. The parish appears to have made a habit of renewing only one warden at a time. That kept someone in office who already knew the loans, the poor's accounts and the head money roll, which was useful because the funds were spread across many small debts and unpaid shares.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
20	11	[Stain in the page at the head, affecting the heading and the figures of the first entries; right-hand edge also damaged.] Per Contra [...]§ §1771 April 7 Brought over§ §[...] 10 14§ §John Robinson§ §[...] 1 4§ §John Robins§ §[...] 8§ §Thomas Statham§ §3§ §6§ §Charles Ross Stuart§ §6§ §12§ §John Shirtley§ §15§ §1 10§ §Solomon St. Maurice§ §6§ §12§ §William Seale Junr.§ §2§ §4§ §Mary Seale§ §8§ §16§ §Benjamin Seale§ §19§ §1 18§ §John Seale§ §15§ §1 10§ §William Seale Senr.§ §8§ §16§ §Jeremiah Smith§ §4§ §8§ §Martha Scott§ §4§ §8§ §John Scott§ §5§ §10§ §Nathan Sampsell§ §7§ §14§ §James Sorbett§ §4§ §8§ §not paid Thomas Watts Orphans§ §9§ §18§ §William Wrangham§ §34§ §3 8§ §John Worrall§ §9§ §18§ §John Whitchurch§ §6§ §12§ §Simon Whaley§ §9§ §18§ §John Worralls Orphans§ §7§ §18§ §Jane Wilson§ §1§ §2§ §Margaret Young§ §1§ §2§	The head money roll continued on the credit side of the parish account and closed with the year's totals. 9 April 177[...] Brought over, £[...] John Robinson, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d John Robins, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Thomas Statham, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Charles Ross Stuart, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d John Shirtley, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d William Seale junior, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Mary Seale, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Benjamin Seale, 19 heads, £1 18s 0d John Seale, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d William Seale senior, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Jeremiah Smith, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Martha Scott, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d John Scott, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Nathan Sampell, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d James Torbett, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Thomas Watts's orphans, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d, unpaid William Wrangham, 34 heads, £3 8s 0d John Worrall, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d John Witchurch, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Simon Whaley, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d John Worrall's orphans, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d Jane Wilson, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Margaret Young, 1 head, £0 2s 0d William Young, 27 heads, £2 14s 0d Stephen Young, 19 heads, £1 18s 0d Total head money, 1,104 heads, £110 8s 0d Total of the account, £121 2s 2d **Interpretations** The roll counted 1,104 heads across the parish, every one charged at the same rate. That figure counted slaves, servants and family members alike, so it was effectively a census of the households liable to the parish. The parish thus had a running record of the island's settled population and how it was divided among the planters, built up for tax rather than for government. The credit total of £121 2s 2d matched the debit side, where the balance of £6 6s 7d went to Matthew Bazett and Orlando Bagley. Head money supplied nearly all of it. In this year the parish's ordinary costs, from the sexton's salary to rat-catching and rewards for runaway slaves, were met almost entirely by the poll tax on households.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§William Young§ §27§ §2 14§ §Stephen Young§ §19§ §1 18§ §Total 1104§ §110 8§ §£ 121 2 2§	
21	12	[Stain in the page at the head, affecting the heading and the first three entries; left-hand edge also damaged.] [...] Dr.§ §To [...] Account of John Hayes§ §£ 11 7 6§ §To Do. [...] Runaway Blacks§ §8 15§ §To Do. paid for [...] Rats & Mice§ §8 11 7§ §To Do. paid for the Country Church School House§ §& Sticks for a Bridge§ §1 4 9§ §To Do. paid Priscilla Watts for House Rent§ §13§ §To Do. paid Do. for her Slave Man Executed§ §15§ §To Do. paid John Price Sexton his Salary§ §10§ §To Do. paid Secretary's Fees§ §1§ §To Do. paid John Whaley half a Years Board &c.§ §for William Peplow a Parish Child§ §3§ §To Do. given Mrs. Lessing in her Sickness§ §19 6§ §To Sundry Persons whose Names are Marked§ §that could not pay their Head Money§ §1 6§ §Carried over £ 74 4 7§	The debit side of the parish account recorded the following payments for the year. Cash paid for John Hayes, £11 7s 6d Cash paid for [...] runaway slaves, £8 15s 0d Cash paid for [...] rats and mice, £8 11s 7d Cash paid for the country church schoolhouse and for poles for a bridge, £1 4s 9d Cash paid to Priscilla Watts for house rent, £13 0s 0d Cash paid to Priscilla Watts for her male slave who was executed, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to John Price, sexton, for his salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to John Whaley for half a year's board and keep of William Peplow, a parish child, £3 0s 0d Cash given to Mrs Gissing during her illness, £0 19s 6d Head money written off for various persons, marked by name, who could not pay, £1 6s 0d Carried over, £74 4s 7d **Interpretations** The parish paid Priscilla Watts £15 0s 0d for her male slave who had been executed. Compensating owners in this way meant that a slaveholder did not lose a slave's value when the courts put him to death, and so had no reason to hide offences or shield the accused from justice. The cost fell on the wStain body of householders through the head money rather than on the owner alone. The same fund paid the rewards for catching runaways, so the parish effectively served as a common insurance scheme supporting the island's system of slave control. The relief of £0 19s 6d given to Mrs Gissing during her illness matched the roll of 1 April, where Charles Gissing's household was marked as unpaid. The parish both excused the family's tax and gave it direct help, which shows that the unpaid marks on the roll were a working list of households in distress. The board paid to John Whaley for William Peplow shows that orphaned or destitute children were placed with families at the parish's cost instead of being kept in an institution.
22	13	[Stain in the page at the head, affecting the heading and the first two entries; right-hand edge also damaged.] Per Contra [...]§ §1771 [...] By Balance [...]§ §[...] 6 [...]§ §1772 [...] By Cash received [...]§ §2 19 [...]§ §9 6 [...]§ §[...] Cash received from the following Persons for§ §Head Money the Tax being 1/6 p Head vizt.§ §Heads £ s d§ §Samuel Alexander§ §13§ §18 9§ §John Alexander§ §25§ §1 11 3§ §George Alexander§ §11§ §13 9§	The credit side of the parish account opened with the balance carried forward and the head money received, at a rate of 1s 3d for each head. [...] 177[...], balance [...], £6 [...] [...] 1, cash received [...], £2 19s [...] Total, £9 6s 1d Cash received from the following persons for head money at 1s 3d a head: Samuel Alexander, 15 heads, £0 18s 9d John Alexander, 25 heads, £1 11s 3d George Alexander, 11 heads, £0 13s 9d Margaret Alcock, 23 heads, £1 8s 9d Andrew Beale's orphans, 14 heads, £0 17s 6d Martha Beale, 6 heads, £0 7s 6d Richard Beale, 9 heads, £0 11s 3d William Bearcroft, 7 heads, £0 8s 9d John Bagley senior, 8 heads, £0 10s 0d Richard Bagley, 36 heads, £2 5s 0d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 25 heads, £1 11s 3d Orlando Bagley, 14 heads, £0 17s 6d Edward Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 3d John Bagley junior, 11 heads, £0 13s 9d

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		§Margaret Alcock§ §23§ §1 8 9§ §Andw. Beales Orps.§ §14§ §17 6§ §Martha Beale§ §6§ §7 6§ §Richard Beale§ §9§ §11 3§ §William Bearcroft§ §7§ §8 9§ §John Bagley Senr.§ §8§ §10§ §Richard Bagley§ §36§ §2 5§ §Orlando Bagleys Orps.§ §25§ §1 11 3§ §Orlando Bagley§ §14§ §17 6§ §Edward Bagley§ §1§ §1 3§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §11§ §13 9§ §Matthew Bazett§ §42§ §2 12 6§ §Henry Bazett§ §27§ §1 13 9§ §John Bazett§ §6§ §7 6§ §Thomas Bazett§ §7§ §8 9§ §George Bird§ §4§ §5§ §Thomas Burnham§ §5§ §6 3§ §Robert Barclay§ §3§ §3 9§ §Robert Ballard§ §7§ §8 9§ §William Beale§ §12§ §15§ §Ruth Colgrave§ §9§ §11 3§ §James Colgrave§ §3§ §3 9§ §William Caldwell§ §3§ §3 9§ §John Congreve§ §2§ §2 6§ §Joseph Chamberlains Orps.§ §8§ §10§	Matthew Bazett, 42 heads, £2 12s 6d Henry Bazett, 27 heads, £1 13s 9d John Bazett, 6 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Bazett, 7 heads, £0 8s 9d George Bird, 4 heads, £0 5s 0d Thomas Burnham, 5 heads, £0 6s 3d Robert Barclay, 3 heads, £0 3s 9d Robert Ballard, 7 heads, £0 8s 9d William Beale, 12 heads, £0 15s 0d Ruth Colgrave, 9 heads, £0 11s 3d James Colgrave, 3 heads, £0 3s 9d William Caldwell, 3 heads, £0 3s 9d John Congreve, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d Joseph Chamberlain's orphans, 8 heads, £0 10s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 18 heads, £1 2s 6d Jonathan Doveton, 21 heads, £1 6s 3d Isaac Doveton, 14 heads, £0 17s 6d Samuel Desfountain, 7 heads, £0 8s 9d Head money carried over, 400 heads, £25 [...] Carried over, £9 6s 1d **Interpretations** The rate on this roll was 1s 3d a head, compared with 2s on the roll of 7 April and 1s 8d on the earlier one. The households and their counts stayed much the same from year to year, so the churchwardens must have set the rate each year to cover the expected costs rather than keeping a fixed charge. The small balance carried in suggests the previous year's higher rate had left the parish in funds, and the lower rate in this year handed some of that back to the ratepayers. Joseph Chamberlain had appeared in person on the roll at 2s a head, but here his eight heads were charged to his orphans. His death in the meantime left his estate and slaves under trustees who still answered for the parish tax. John Congreve, assessed on two heads, was probably the Mr Congreve whose house rent the parish had paid. A schoolmaster on a parish allowance still paid the poll tax on his own small household.

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		§John Droxtons Orps.§ §18§ §1 2 6§ §Jonathan Droxton§ §21§ §1 6 3§ §Isaac Droxton§ §14§ §17 6§ §Samuel Desfountain§ §7§ §8 9§ §Head Money Carried over§ §400 25 [...]§ §Carried over [...]§ §£ 9 6 [...]§	
23	14	[Stain in the page at the head, affecting the heading and the start of the first entry; left-hand edge also damaged.] [...] Dr.§ §[...] Brought over§ §£ 74 4 7§	The debit side of the parish account continued with the total carried forward from the previous page. Brought over, £74 4s 7d
24	15	[Stain in the page at the head, affecting the heading and the heads column for the first entries; edges of the page also damaged.] Per Contra [...]§ §1772 June 1 Heads Brought over§ §[...] 9 6 1§ §John Desfountain Orps.§ §[...] 1 11 3§ §John Desfountain§ §[...] 11 3§ §Elizabeth Desfountain§ §[...] 11 3§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §[...] 5§ §Edward Daniels§ §3§ §3 9§ §Henry Easthope§ §2§ §2 6§ §James Easthope§ §5§ §6 3§ §Michael Frost§ §1§ §1 3§ §Sarah Fenge§ §4§ §5§ §Julia Fabiano§ §6§ §7 6§ §Richard Goodwin§ §32§ §2§ §John Goodwin§ §10§ §12 6§ §James Greentree§ §33§ §2 1 3§ §not paid Charles Lessing§ §2§ §2 6§ §Robert Gosling§ §2§ §2 6§ §Mary Griffith§ §2§ §2 6§ §James Grady§ §2§ §2 6§	The head money roll continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s 3d a head. June 1772 Brought over, £9 6s 1d John Desfountain's orphans, 25 heads, £1 11s 3d John Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 11s 3d Elizabeth Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 11s 3d Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 5s 0d Edward Daniels, 3 heads, £0 3s 9d Henry Easthope, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d James Easthope, 5 heads, £0 6s 3d Michael Frost, 1 head, £0 1s 3d Sarah Fudge, 4 heads, £0 5s 0d Julia Fabiano, 6 heads, £0 7s 6d Richard Goodwin, 32 heads, £2 0s 0d John Goodwin, 10 heads, £0 12s 6d James Greentree, 33 heads, £2 1s 3d Charles Gissing, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d, unpaid Robert Garling, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d Mary Griffith, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d James Gordy, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d John Howard, 1 head, £0 1s 3d George Hayes, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d William Hayes junior, 3 heads, £0 3s 9d Thomas Harper, 7 heads, £0 8s 9d Margaret Harper, 8 heads, £0 10s 0d Gabriel Harper, 8 heads, £0 10s 0d William Hayes senior, 13 heads, £0 16s 3d Mary Harper, 3 heads, £0 3s 9d Henry Howell, 6 heads, £0 7s 6d William Jenkins, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d Elisha Jacks, 18 heads, £1 2s 6d Gabriel Jacks senior, 13 heads, £0 16s 3d Gabriel Jacks junior, 2 heads, £0 2s 6d Martha Jacks, 4 heads, £0 5s 0d Isaac Knipe's orphans, 16 heads, £1 0s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, 7 heads, £0 8s 9d Elizabeth Lambe, 12 heads, £0 15s 0d Thomas Leech, 6 heads, £0 7s 6d Sarah Lake, 3 heads, £0 3s 9d, unpaid Robert Leech, 5 heads, £0 6s 3d Benjamin Mason, 25 heads, £1 11s 3d Head money carried over, £[...] **Interpretations** Charles Gissing and Sarah Lake were marked unpaid again, as they had been on the roll of 1 April at 2s a head. Even with the rate cut to 1s 3d, the same households still could not pay. The Gissing household fell from three heads to two, in the same period that the parish was paying Mrs Gissing relief during her illness. The record therefore follows one family's decline through the tax roll and the relief account together.

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		§John Howard§ §1§ §1 3§ §George Hayes§ §2§ §2 6§ §William Hayes Junr.§ §3§ §3 9§ §Thomas Harper§ §7§ §8 9§ §Margaret Harper§ §8§ §10§ §Gabriel Harper§ §8§ §10§ §William Hayes Senr.§ §13§ §16 3§ §Mary Harper§ §3§ §3 9§ §Henry Howell§ §6§ §7 6§ §William Jenkins§ §2§ §2 6§ §Elisha Jacks§ §18§ §1 2 6§ §Gabriel Jacks Senr.§ §13§ §16 3§ §Gabriel Jacks Junr.§ §2§ §2 6§ §[...] Martha Jacks§ §4§ §5§ §Isaac Knipes Orps.§ §16§ §1§ §Elizabeth Kennedy§ §7§ §8 9§ §Elizabeth Lambe§ §12§ §15§ §Thomas Leech§ §6§ §7 6§ §not paid Sarah Lake§ §3§ §3 9§ §Robert Leech§ §5§ §6 3§ §Benjamin Mason§ §25§ §1 11 3§ §Heads Money Carried over [...]§	
25	16	[Stain in the page at the head, affecting the heading and the start of the first entry; edges and foot of the page also damaged.] [...] Dr.§ §[...] Brought over§ §£ 74 4 7§ §74 4 7§ §To Cash paid the Balance to Messrs. Orlando Bagley§ §& Richard Beale Church Wardens§ §4 14§ §£ 78 18 [...]§	The debit side of the parish account closed with the balance paid over to the incoming churchwardens. Brought over, £74 4s 7d Total, £74 4s 7d Cash paid as the balance to Orlando Bagley and Richard Beale, churchwardens, £4 14s [...] Total, £78 18s [...] Matthew Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The balance passed to Orlando Bagley and Richard Beale matched the poor stock account, where

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		§Bazett§	the same two men took over from Bazett and Bagley on 1 June 1772. Bazett signed this account alone as the departing warden, so his term ended as Beale's began. The general fund carried forward was only a few pounds, a long way below the £29 12s 9d held in the poor stock. That reflected the cut in the head money rate to 1s 3d, which left the parish with little in hand once the year's costs were met.
26	17	Per Contra Cr.§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in St.§ §James Valley this 24th. Day of January 1791§ §Resolved by a Majority that the§ §Expences attending the repairs of the Country§ §Church, School House, and the Poor, should§ §be defrayed by a general Tax on Heads§ §amounting to two Shillings & 9 p Head.§ §Free Blacks are to be exempted.§ §sign'd§ §Wat. Greentree Church Wardens§ §Thos. Lester§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in St.§ §James's Valley Feby. 14th. 1791§ §Resolved unanimously that Mr. Kays§ §Bill of Thirty five Pounds 3/. would not§ §be paid by the Country nor any Bill§ §of that nature in future.§ §Wat. Greentree Church Wardens§ §Thos. Lester§	A meeting of the parish vestry was held at the chapel in St James's Valley on 24 January 1791. A majority voted that the costs of repairing the country church and the schoolhouse, together with relief of the poor, should be met by a general tax of 2s 9d on every head. Free black inhabitants were to be excused from paying it. Matthew Greentree and Thomas Lester signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The default under the head money system was to charge every person in a household, and the rolls of the 1770s made no exception. The vestry passed over that course and exempted free black inhabitants by name. Free blacks were mostly poor smallholders and labourers whose households would have been taxed at the same rate as those of the planters. Charging them would have brought in little and probably added to the number of defaulters already written off each year. The vote was by majority rather than unanimous, so at least some of the vestry opposed either the exemption or the level of the tax. The rate of 2s 9d a head was higher than any recorded in the 1770s, when the charge varied between 1s 3d and 2s. A single tax now had to cover the repair of the country church and the schoolhouse as well as the poor. That combined the building costs that the earlier accounts had paid in small sums with the regular relief. A second vestry met at the chapel in St James's Valley on 11 February 1791. It voted unanimously that the parish would not pay Mr Kay's bill of £35 2s 0d, and that no bill of that kind would be paid in future. Matthew Greentree and Thomas Lester again signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The obvious course with a tradesman's bill was to pay it from the head money just raised. The vestry refused instead and bound itself against any similar claim. The record does not say what Kay had supplied, but the words "of that nature" show that the objection was to the kind of expense rather than to its amount. Having just imposed the heaviest head tax yet, the ratepayers had reason to limit the charges the churchwardens could pass on to them. The unanimity of this second vote, set against the split over the tax itself, suggests the vestry agreed more readily on cutting spending than on raising money.
27	18	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in§ §James's Valley the 9th. day of April 1792 the§ §following persons were Chosen by a Majority to fill§ §the undermentioned Stations for the Ensuing Year§ §Resolved by a Majority that the Country Expences§ §for the last Year be defrayed by a general Tax on Heads.§ §Church Wardens§ §Wm. Currie§	A meeting of the parish vestry was held in the chapel in St James's Valley on 9 April 1792. A majority chose officers to fill the parish posts for the coming year, though no names were entered beneath the heading. A majority also voted that the parish's expenses for the past year should be met by a general tax on heads. William Currie signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The vestry of 24 January 1791 had fixed the rate in advance at 2s 9d a head, before any of the year's money was spent. In April 1792 the vestry did the reverse, voting a head tax to pay for expenses already incurred and naming no rate. The churchwardens had evidently spent first and come to the ratepayers afterwards, leaving the vestry to approve debts it had not authorised in advance. The refusal of Mr Kay's bill in February 1791 shows the ratepayers were already uneasy about charges passed on to them. A tax

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			approved only by a majority, with its rate left open, suggests that unease had not gone away.
28	19	Island of St. Helena§ §April 17th. 1797 Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §Martin Alexander Harper§ §Samuel Knipe Senior§ §John Alexander Junior§ §Constable§ §William Jules§ §Church Wardens§ §George Scott§ §William Young Senior§ §Captain F. Seale§ §Overseers of the High Ways§ §East Division§ §Frederick Young§ §Elisha Isaacks§ §West§ §Henry Perkins§ §E. C. Smith§ §South§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §John Scott§ §Inspectors of Sheep§ §East§ §John Robinson§ §West§ §John Knipe Senior§ §South§ §Charles Scott§ §Inspectors of Goats§ §East§ §Richard Knipe§ §West§ §N. Sampsell§ §South§ §Fredk. Alexander§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §East§ §Math. Doveton§ §West§ §Benj. Bagley§ §South§ §Aaron Lamb§	The list of parish officers for the island of St Helena, dated 17 April 1797, named the following. Sheriffs: Martin Alexander Harper Samuel Knipe senior John Alexander junior Constable: William Jules Churchwardens: George Scott William Young senior Captain J. Seale Overseers of the highways, East division: Frederick Young Elisha Isaacs Overseers of the highways, West division: Henry Porteous E. C. Smith Overseers of the highways, South division: John Bagley junior John Scott Inspector of sheep, East division: John Robinson Inspector of sheep, West division: John Knipe senior Inspector of sheep, South division: Charles Scott Inspector of goats, East division: Richard Knipe Inspector of goats, West division: N. Sampell Inspector of goats, South division: Frederick Alexander Wormer of cattle, East division: Matthew Doveton Wormer of cattle, West division: Benjamin Bagley Wormer of cattle, South division: Aaron Lamb **Interpretations** By 1797 the parish had become the island's main body of local government, filling posts that went well beyond the church. It chose sheriffs and a constable as well as churchwardens. The island was divided into East, West and South divisions, each with its own overseers of the highways and inspectors of livestock. The roads, the grazing and the health of the herds were managed by unpaid planters chosen from among the ratepayers, much as an English parish managed its highways and commons. The posts were filled from the same families who had dominated the head money rolls of the 1770s: the Knipes, Bagleys, Alexanders, Dovetons, Seales and Youngs. The separate inspectors of sheep and of goats show that the flocks on the open hillsides were policed, district by district, rather than left to their owners. The wormers of cattle were charged with dosing or examining herds for worms and other parasites. That made animal health a public duty, since an infestation in one herd could spread across shared pasture. These posts show how much the planters' wealth depended on livestock, and how far they relied on collective rules to protect it.
29	20	St. Helena 22 March 98 Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §William Seale Junr.§ §Martin Alexander Harper§ §Samuel Knipe Senr.§ §Constable§ §Thomas Connor§ §Church Wardens§ §Richard Torbett§ §George Scott§ §William Young Senr.§ §Overseers§ §East Division§ §Stephen Young§ §Fredk. Young§	The list of parish officers for St Helena, dated 22 March 1798, named the following. Sheriffs: William Seale junior Martin Alexander Harper Samuel Knipe senior Constable: Thomas Conner Churchwardens: Richard Torbett George Scott William Young senior Overseers, East division: Stephen Young Frederick Young Overseer, West division:

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		§West Division§ §John Alexander Junr.§ §South Division§ §Charles Seale§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §Inspectors of Sheep§ §East§ §Thomas Burnham§ §West§ §William Knipe§ §South§ §John Seale Junr.§ §Inspectors of Worming Cattle§ §East§ §Elisha Isaacke§ §West§ §Henry Perkins§ §South§ §Richard Bagley§ §Inspectors of Goats§ §East§ §Captain F. Greentree§ §West§ §Captain W. Seale§ §South§ §Mr. Samuel Knipe Senr.§	John Alexander junior Overseers, South division: Charles Seale John Bagley junior Inspector of sheep, East division: Thomas Burnham Inspector of sheep, West division: William Knipe Inspector of sheep, South division: John Seale senior Inspector of cattle worming, East division: Elisha Isaacs Inspector of cattle worming, West division: Henry Porteous Inspector of cattle worming, South division: Richard Bagley Inspector of goats, East division: Captain T. Greentree Inspector of goats, West division: Captain W. Seale Inspector of goats, South division: Samuel Knipe senior **Interpretations** Two of the three sheriffs and two of the three churchwardens from 17 April 1797 kept their places. Martin Alexander Harper and Samuel Knipe stayed on as sheriffs, and George Scott and William Young senior as churchwardens. Only one officer in each group was replaced, the same practice of partial renewal that the churchwardens' accounts showed in the 1770s. The lesser posts, by contrast, changed hands almost completely. The overseers and inspectors moved between families and divisions from one year to the next, which spread the routine burden of rural duties across the planters while the senior offices stayed in experienced hands. Calling the cattle officers inspectors of worming confirms that their task was to see that herds were treated against parasites. Owners did the dosing themselves, and the inspectors checked that it was done.
30	21	Per Contra Cr.§ §179[...] By Balance recd. from Capt. Greentree§ §£ 88 14 3½§ §Carrd. Over £ 88 14 [...]§	The credit side of the parish account recorded a single entry. 179[...], balance received from Captain Greentree, £88 14s [...] Carried over, £88 14s [...]
31	22	1792 Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §31 March To Cash paid for the Support of Mrs. Holloway§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. Do. Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §Do. Do. Sexton a Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. Do. Support of Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. Do. Do. Mrs. Worrall§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. Do. Mrs. Kenwood§ §3 5§ §Do. paid Mrs. Easthope for making a Surplice§ §10 9§ §Do. paid Jno. Torbett for repairing School house§ §1 9§ §Do. paid Mr. Dunn on Acct. of Mrs. Holloway§ §14§ §Do. Do. Do. on Acct. of Caroline Lessing§ §11§ §Do. Do. to the Support of Mr. Rigmore§ §Slave Woman for one week§ §3§ §23 18 3§	The debit side of the parish account for 1792 recorded the following payments. [...], £67 9s 1d 31 March 1792, support of Mrs Holloway, £3 5s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 15s 0d Support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Support of Mrs Worrall, £3 5s 0d Support of Mrs Kinwood, £3 5s 0d Paid to Mrs Easthope for making a surplice, £0 10s 9d Paid to John Torbett for repairs to the schoolhouse, £1 9s 0d Paid to Mr Dunn for treating Mrs Holloway, £0 14s 0d Paid to Mr Dunn for treating Caroline Lisson, £0 11s 0d Keep of Mr Rigmore's female slave for one week, £0 3s 0d Total, £23 18s 3d Paid to Mr [...] for collecting taxes and other services, £3 0s 0d Paid to William Seale for the labour lost while his slave Locke was imprisoned, as per bill, £5 8s 6d Paid to [...] Desfountain for the labour lost while his slave Hercules was imprisoned, as per bill, £5 8s 6d

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		§Paid Mr. [...] Collecting Taxes &c.§ §3§ §Wm. Seale [...] Inspector Amount Locke a Slave for lost Labour§ §by his Imprisonment &c. as p Bill§ §5 8 6§ §Amount Hercules a Slave for lost§ §Labour by his Imprisonment as p Bill§ §5 8 6§ §To Cash pd. Mr. Nunn for writing Copies of Proposals§ §& Ideas respecting Waste Lands &c.§ §1§ §To Cash pd. the Inspector 2119 Sheep at 1 p Ct.§ §of Sheep [...]§ §8 16 7§ §115 [...] 11§ §Ballance§ §7 1 6§ §[...] 106 6 11§ §30th. June To Cash paid for the Support of Mrs. Kenwood§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. Do. Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §Do. Do. Do. Mrs. Worrall§ §1 10§ §Do. Do. Funeral Expences of Mrs. Holloway§ §5 10§ §Do. Do. Do. Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. Do. Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. Do. Henry Price for attending Four Vestry's§ §1§ §Do. Do. for Glass &c. for repairing the School House§ §1 4 8§ §Do. Do. Mr. Dunn for curing Three Black Women &c.§ §5 16§ §Do. Do. for hanging Five Dogs§ §5§ §Do. Do. for the Funeral Expences of a Free Black§ §1 14§ §Do. Do. Support &c. of Caroline Lessing§ §8 8§ §Do. Do. Worthington for collecting Taxes§ §3§ §Transferred to the other Leaf§ §The Ballance of last Years Acct.§ §which I have recd. from Mr. Lester§ §as p the other side§ §71 6§ §Wm. Currie§	Paid to Mr [...] for copying proposals and ideas about the waste lands, £1 0s 0d Paid to the inspector for 2,119 sheep at 1d a head, £8 16s 7d Total, £115 0s 11d Balance, £71 6s 0d Total, £186 6s 11d **Start of crossed out section** 30 June 1792, support of Mrs Kinwood, £3 5s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Support of Mrs Worrall, £1 10s 0d Funeral expenses of Mrs Holloway, £5 10s 0d Support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d Paid to Henry Wade for attending four vestry meetings, £1 0s 0d Glass and other materials for repairing the schoolhouse, £1 4s 8d Paid to Mr Dunn for curing three black women and other treatment, £5 16s 0d Paid for hanging five dogs, £0 5s 0d Funeral expenses of a free black, £1 14s 0d Support and other costs of Caroline Lisson, £8 8s 0d Paid to Worthington for collecting taxes, £3 0s 0d The clerk noted that these entries were moved to the following page. **End of crossed out section** William Currie recorded that the balance of £71 6s 0d from the previous year's account, which he received from Mr Lester, was entered on the credit side. He signed the account. **Interpretations** The parish paid owners for labour lost while their slaves were held in prison, at £5 8s 6d each for Locke and Hercules. The same reasoning lay behind the £15 0s 0d paid to Priscilla Watts in the 1770s for her executed slave. An owner whose slave was taken into custody bore no loss, so he had no motive to hide an offence or resist the law. The cost of slave discipline was spread across every ratepayer through the head tax. By 1792 the parish's spending had moved well beyond the church. It paid an inspector for each of 2,119 sheep counted, at 1d a head. It paid for dogs to be hanged, probably strays that threatened the flocks. It also paid for copies of proposals on the waste lands, the open ground whose use was then under discussion. The sheep inspector paid by the head and the officers chosen in each division in 1797 and 1798 show the parish acting as the planters' own administration for grazing and stock. Relief had become a set of regular quarterly allowances to named people, among them Mrs Holloway, Daniel Caldwell, Betty Wade, Peggy Torbett, Mrs Worrall and Mrs Kinwood. The parish also paid Mr Dunn for their medical care and paid for Mrs Holloway's funeral when she died. It covered the burial of a free black and the cure of three black women. The parish therefore extended poor relief and medical charity beyond the white ratepayers' own families.
32	23	1792 Per Contra Cr.§ §£§ §April Received from Captain Greentree§ §the Ballance of last Years Acct.§ §88 14 2½§ §By Cash received for Taxes Viz.§ §On Blacks, Sheep and Dogs§ §97 12 8½§ §£ 186 6 11§	The credit side of the parish account for 1792 recorded the following receipts. April 1792, balance of the previous year's account received from Captain Greentree, £88 14s 2¾d Cash received from taxes on blacks, sheep and dogs, £97 12s 8¼d Total, £186 6s 11d **Interpretations** By 1792 the parish no longer raised its income from a single tax on every head in a household. It taxed three things: blacks, sheep and dogs. In the 1770s the head money had counted family members, servants and slaves alike. Charging "blacks" by name moved the burden onto slave ownership. Together with the

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			exemption of free black inhabitants voted on 24 January 1791, this meant a planter's bill now depended on the size of his labour force and flocks rather than on his family. The dog tax went alongside the payment for hanging five dogs on the debit side, so the parish used both a charge and destruction to keep down the dogs that threatened the sheep it also taxed.
33	24	1792 Parish Dr.§ §£§ §June 30 To Cash paid for the Support of Mrs. Kenwood§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. to Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §Do. Do. to Mrs. Worrall§ §1 10§ §Do. Do. Mrs. Holloways Funeral Expences§ §5 10§ §Do. Do. to Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. Do. to Daniel Caldwell§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. Sextons Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. Do. Henry attending 4 Vestrys§ §1§ §Do. Do. Glass &c. for the use of the School Ho.§ §1 4 8§ §Do. Do. Mr. Dunns Bill for curing 3 Black Women &c.§ §5 16§ §Do. Do. for hanging 5 Dogs§ §5§ §Do. Do. for the Funeral Expences of a Free Black§ §1 14§ §Do. Do. paid the Countrys Compt. on Acct. of Caro. Lessing§ §8 8§ §Do. Do. Worthington for Collecting Taxes§ §3§ §£ 42 8 2§ §1793 March 31st. Cash paid for the Support of Daniel Caldwell§ §9 15§ §Do. Do. Do. Mrs. Kenwood§ §9 15§ §Do. Do. Do. Betty Wade§ §6 16 6§ §Do. Do. Do. Peggy Torbett§ §4 10§ §Do. Do. Do. Sextons 3 quarters Salary§ §11 5§ §Do. Country Expences for Newspapers§ §18 4§ §Do. Thomas Lowther repairing School Windows§ §8§ §Do. Clerk of the Peace Dog Tax§ §1§ §Do. to Mr. Young Carpenter for making§ §a Gate and Posts for the Country Church§ §10§ §Mr. Jules for a Black suspected murdering a Black§ §3§ §James Moyse taking Names of free Blacks &c.§ §6 9§ §Corporal Clerk making List of free Blacks§ §10§ §Paid the Expence taking Betty Wades Child to Sandy Bay§ §5§ §Do. to Wm. Seale for destroying Dogs§ §10§ §Do. for Rushing & Thatching School House§ §as p Recd.§ §6 14 9§	The debit side of the parish account recorded the following payments. 30 June 1792, support of Mrs Kinwood, £3 5s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Support of Mrs Worrall, £1 10s 0d Funeral expenses of Mrs Holloway, £5 10s 0d Support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 15s 0d Paid to Neve for attending four vestry meetings, £1 0s 0d Glass and other materials for the schoolhouse, £1 4s 8d Mr Dunn's bill for curing three black women and other treatment, £5 16s 0d Paid for hanging five dogs, £0 5s 0d Funeral expenses of a free black, £1 14s 0d Paid to the Company for Caroline Lisson, £8 8s 0d Paid to Worthington for collecting taxes, £3 0s 0d Total, £42 8s 2d 31 March 1793, support of Daniel Caldwell, £9 15s 0d Support of Mrs Kinwood, £9 15s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £6 16s 6d Support of Peggy Torbett, £4 10s 0d Sexton's salary for three quarters, £11 5s 0d Country expenses for supplies, £0 18s 4d Paid to Thomas Luther for repairing the school windows, £0 8s 0d Paid to the clerk of the peace for the dog tax, £1 0s 0d Paid to Mr Young, carpenter, for making a gate and posts for the country church, £0 10s 0d Paid to Mr Yates for keeping a suspected black in prison, £0 3s 0d Paid to James Moyce for taking the names of free blacks and other work, £0 6s 9d Paid to Corporal Clark for making a list of free blacks, £0 10s 0d Cost of taking Betty Wade's child to [...], £0 5s 0d Paid to William Seale for destroying dogs, £0 10s 0d Rushes and thatching for the schoolhouse, as per receipt, £6 14s 9d Attending two vestry meetings, £0 10s 0d Total, £53 17s 4d Brought from above, £42 8s 2d Total, £96 5s 6d **Interpretations** Within two years of the vestry's vote of 24 January 1791 to exempt free blacks from the head tax, the parish paid James Moyce to take down their names and Corporal Clark to draw up a list of them. An exemption needed a register to work. Without one, any black person could claim to be free and avoid the tax on slaves, so the list protected the parish revenue. It also gave the planters a record of every free black on the island, at a time when a black person without a known owner could be held in prison on suspicion, as the payment to Mr Yates shows. The parish was now paying set sums each quarter to a small group of dependants: Daniel Caldwell, Mrs Kinwood, Betty Wade and Peggy Torbett. The amounts for the nine months to March 1793 were three times the quarterly allowance. These were standing pensions rather than relief given case by case. The schoolhouse was still thatched with rushes, which

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		§Attending two Vestrys§ §10§ §£ 53 17 4§ §As above§ §42 8 2§ §£ 96 5 6§	needed renewing at more than six times the cost of the year's window repairs.
34	25	1792 Per Contra Cr.§ §£§ §June 30th. By Ballance recd. from Mr. Lester§ §71 6§ §By two Bonds due from the County§ §amounting to £76 1 5½ including Interest§ §to the 5th. Feby. 1793 One Bond 49 5 0§ §with 2 9 3 Interest due to the Estate of§ §the Widow of the late James Preston & the§ §other Bond of 23 4 0 with 1 3 0½§ §Interest due thereon amounting in the whole§ §to the said sum of 76 1 5½§ §76 1 5½§ §By Cash in Hand on Acct. of Parish &c.§ §55§	The credit side of the parish account for 1792 recorded the following. 30 June 1792, balance received from Mr Lester, £71 6s 0d Two bonds owed by the country, with interest to 5 February 1793, £76 1s 5½d Cash in hand for parish expenses, £55 0s 0d The two bonds were detailed as follows. Bond for £49 5s 0d with interest of £2 9s 3d, due to the estate of the widow of the late James Preston Bond for £23 4s 0d with interest of £1 3s 0½d Total of both bonds with interest, £76 1s 5½d **Interpretations** In the 1770s the parish chest had been a lender, with planters and officials repaying its bonds with interest. By 1792 the parish, called here "the country", stood on the other side of two bonds. One was owed to the estate of James Preston's widow. The parish had probably borrowed to cover the building and relief costs that the vestry of 24 January 1791 had tried to meet with a heavier head tax. The bonds were perhaps entered on the credit side as money raised and held for parish use, with the interest counted to the date of the next reckoning. A parish that had once financed the island's planters now relied on credit from one of their estates.
35	26	Parish Dr.§ §To Sundry Disbursements as p the other side§ §96 5 6§ §To Bond & Interest thereon, renewed or valued§ §to Mr. Cole as p his Recpt.§ §51 14 3§ §1793 To Bond & Interest valued, to Charles§ §March 31 Gunnels in right of his Wife Patty Preston§ §24 7 2½§ §£ 172 6 11½§ §May 1st. To Mr. Kays Bill for Medicines &c. for§ §Sundry poor Blacks &c. as p his Acct. Rendd.§ §at 1791 & 1792§ §9 1 6§ §June 30th. The Support of Mrs. Kenwood§ §3 5§ §Do. Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §3 5§ §Do. Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. Sextons Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §May 13th. Cash paid Gabl. Jacks's Bill§ §2 10§ §Nathan Sampsells Bill for Branding 518 Sheep &c.§ §2 3 2§ §July 15th. Henry attending 2 Vestrys§ §10§ §Do. entering Proceedings of 4 Vestrys§ §1 0§ §Do. making out General List of Dog Tax§ §from the 1st. April 1792 to the 1st. April 1793§ §10 6§ §[...] 30th. Clerk of the Peace for making out Dog Tax§ §1 0 0§ §Expences of the Burial of Sarah Jarrett as p Acct.§ §1 3 10§ §[...] 15th. Mr. Kays & Mr. Dunns Bill for Medicines &c.§	The debit side of the parish account for 1793 recorded the following payments. Various payments as shown on the other side, £96 5s 6d Bond and interest renewed or discharged to Mr Cole, as per his receipt, £51 14s 3d 31 March 1793, bond and interest discharged to Charles Gunnell on behalf of his wife Patty Preston, £24 7s 2½d Total, £172 6s 11½d 1 May, Mr Kay's bill for medicines and other items for various free blacks, as per his accounts for 1791 and 1792, £9 1s 6d 30 June, support of Mrs Kinwood, £3 5s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 15s 0d 13 May, cash paid on Gabriel Jacks's bill, £2 10s 0d Nathan Sampell's bill for counting 518 sheep and other work, £2 3s 2d 15 July, paid to Neve for attending two vestry meetings, £0 10s 0d Paid to Neve for recording the proceedings of four vestry meetings, £1 0s 0d Paid to Neve for drawing up the general list for the dog tax from 1 April 1792 to 1 January 1793, £0 10s 6d 30 June, paid to the clerk of the peace for drawing up the dog tax, £1 0s 0d Burial expenses of Sarah Jarrett, as per account, £1 3s 10d 15th, Mr Kay's and Mr Dunn's bill for medicines and attendance on Betty Moore, as agreed in vestry, £5 5s 0d Paid to J. Young, South division, for counting 287 sheep, £1 3s 11d 22nd, support of Betty Wade for 3 weeks at 3s 6d a week, £0 10s 6d 18th, support of Betty Wade from 22 July to 19 August, 4 weeks, £0 14s 0d

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		§Attendance on Betty Wade as required in Vestry§ §5 5 0§ §To J. Young South Division Inspector of 257 Sheep§ §1 3 11§ §22d. Betty Wade 3 weeks at 3/6§ §10 6§ §Aug. 18 To Do. from the 22d. July to 19 Aug. 4 Weeks§ §14§ §25 To Cash paid for Cordage for the School House§ §for thatching the same§ §4 0§ §To Cash paid John Burnham for the support§ §of his family 4 Weeks at 10/. ꝑ Week from the§ §26th. Aug. to the 23 Sept.§ §2 0 0§ §Betty Wade from the 19 Aug. to the 16 Sept.§ §14§ §Oct. 1st. Cash paid Sextons Quarter Salary§ §3 15 0§ §Oct. 7th. 2 Weeks to Burnhams family at 10/.§ §1§ §Sept. 30th. 2 Weeks Betty Wade at 3/6§ §7§ §Oct. 14th. Do. Do.§ §7§ §8 1 Do. Burnham§ §10§ §Sundries Expences Paid ꝑ Wm. Rebs. as ꝑ Recd.§ §2 4 6§ §£ 223 1 4½§	25th, cord for thatching the schoolhouse, £0 4s 0d Paid to John Burnham for the support of his family, 4 weeks at 10s a week from 26 August to 23 September, £2 0s 0d Support of Betty Wade from 19 August to 16 September, £0 14s 0d 1 October, sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 15s 0d 7 October, support of Burnham's family for 2 weeks at 10s a week, £1 0s 0d 30 September, support of Betty Wade for 2 weeks at 3s 6d a week, £0 7s 0d 15 October, support of Betty Wade for 2 weeks at 3s 6d a week, £0 7s 0d 15 October, support of Burnham's family for 1 week, £0 10s 0d Various expenses for school repairs, as per receipts, £2 4s 6d Total, £223 1s 4½d **Interpretations** The two bonds recorded on 30 June 1792 were cleared within the year. The larger one, with its interest, went to Mr Cole. The smaller was discharged to Charles Gunnell on behalf of his wife Patty Preston, who was perhaps the heir to the widow's estate named in the earlier entry. Gunnell received the money because the law gave a husband control of his wife's property. The parish had borrowed only for a short time, to cover the gap until the taxes on blacks, sheep and dogs came in. The sheep counters were paid 1d for each animal, so Nathan Sampell's 518 sheep earned £2 3s 2d and J. Young's 287 earned £1 3s 11d. The same rate had been paid on 2,119 sheep in 1792. The inspectors appointed in each division were therefore counting the flocks for the sheep tax, and their pay rose with the size of the count. Relief was now paid by the week and set to the household's needs. Betty Wade, a single woman, received 3s 6d a week. John Burnham received 10s a week for his wStain family. A Burnham had paid head money on four or five heads in the 1770s, so this was another ratepaying household that had come to depend on the parish.
36	27	Per Contra§ §1793 March 31st. By Sundry Recd. Cash, Bonds &c.§ §as ꝑ the other side§ §202 7 5½§	The credit side of the parish account for 1793 recorded a single entry. 31 March 1793, various receipts of cash, bonds and other items, as shown on the other side, £202 7s 5½d
37	28	Parish Dr.§ §By Sundry Disbursements from the Other side§ §223 1 5½§ §1793 Oct. 1st. Mrs. Kenwoods quarter Salary§ §3 5§ §Daniel Caldwell Do.§ §3 5§ §Hinges for the School House§ §2§ §Work for Do.§ §1 2 6§ §Oct. 14 Mr. Samuel Knipes Acct. as ꝑ Bill§ §2 2§ §June 9th. A Coffin for a Free Woman named Fanny§ §paid Mr. Long omitted entering§ §1 2 6§ §July 22 Mr. Samuel Knipes Bill marking Sheep§ §2 8 8§ §Oct. 21st. Paid Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §To Ballance as ꝑ Sundries§ §20 13 11§ §Oct. 28 Paid Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §Ditto Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§	The debit side of the parish account for 1793 continued with the following payments. Various payments brought from the other side, £223 1s 5½d 1 October 1793, Mrs Kinwood's allowance for a quarter, £3 5s 0d Daniel Caldwell's allowance for a quarter, £3 5s 0d Hinges for the schoolhouse, £0 2s 0d Work on the schoolhouse, £1 2s 6d 14 October, Mr Samuel Knipe's account, as per bill, £2 2s 0d 9 June, coffin for a free woman named Fanny, paid to Mr Legg and left out of the account earlier, £1 2s 6d 22 July, Mr Samuel Knipe's bill for marking sheep, £2 8s 8d 21 October, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d Balance as shown on the credit side, £20 13s 11d 28 October, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d Support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Carpenter's work at the schoolhouse by William [...], £0 6s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 7s 0d 4 November, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d 11 November, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d 4 November, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d

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		§For Carpenters Work at the School House Wm. Young§ §6§ §Betty Wade§ §7§ §Nov. 4 Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §11 Ditto§ §10§ §Nov. 4 Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Nov. 11 To James Moss for a Coffin of Free Black§ §6 9§ §Nov. 11 Mrs. Kenwood§ §1§ §Betty Wade§ §7§ §Nov. 17 Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §1 Piece of Bunting &c.§ §5§ §Mr. Harper Sexton§ §6§ §Nov. 25 To Mr. Jules 14 Sticks for a Bridge§ §1 1 1§ §Betty Wade§ §7§ §Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §Dec. 2 Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Captain [...] Balla[...] Do. [...]§ §Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §9 Ditto§ §10§ §Betty Wade§ §7§ §Mrs. Kenwood§ §1§ §15 Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §£ 50 2 4§	11 November, paid to James Moyce for a return of the free blacks, £0 6s 9d 11 November, support of Mrs Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 7s 0d 17 November, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d 1 piece of nankeen and other items, £0 5s 0d Paid to Mr Harper, sexton, £0 6s 0d 25 November, paid to Mrs Jackson for 14 poles for a bridge, £1 1s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 7s 0d Paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d 2 December, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Captain [...], [...] Paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d 9 December, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 7s 0d Support of Mrs Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 15 December, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d Total, £50 4s 4d **Interpretations** Nankeen was a hard-wearing cotton cloth, naturally buff or yellowish, first made around Nanking in China and shipped to Europe and the East India Company's ports in large quantities. Ships calling from Canton brought it to St Helena, where it was a cheap, everyday fabric for work clothes and breeches. The parish probably bought the piece here to clothe one of the paupers on its books, giving cloth instead of cash. From October 1793 the weekly 10s formerly paid to John Burnham for his family was paid to Mrs Burnham instead. John Burnham had probably died or left the household in the meantime. The parish kept the family's allowance at the same rate rather than cutting it, treating the payment as support for the household and not for the man. The parish paid for a coffin for Fanny, a free black woman, and James Moyce was paid again for a return of the free blacks. Since the exemption of 24 January 1791, the parish both kept a register of free black inhabitants and paid for their burials. That treated them as dependants of the parish rather than as ratepayers.
38	29	Blank page	
39	30	Poor & Parish Dr.§ §Sundry Disbursements as p the other side [...]§ §50 2 4§ §[...] Brought [...]§ §30 [...] 11§ §23 Dec. Mrs. Burnham§ §£ 82 [...]§ §Paid Mr. [...] washing the Pall§ §10§ §[...] Charles Smith§ §[...] Warden. The above Ballance§ §[...] Capt. Wm. [...]§ §7§ §29 Mr. Henry Nevere§ §10§ §1794 6 Jany. Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §Mrs. Kenwood§ §1§ §Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Sextons Quarter Salary§ §3 9§ §Betty Wade§ §7§ §21 Ditto§ §8§ §27 Ditto§ §4§ §2 Weeks Mrs. Burnham§ §15§	The debit side of the St Helena parish account continued with the following payments. Various payments, bonds and other items brought from the other side, £[...] Balance, £20 13s 11d Total, £[...] 23 December 1793, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d Paid for washing the pall, [...] Support of Betty Wade, £0 7s 0d 29 December, [...], £0 10s 0d 6 January 1794, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d Support of Mrs Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 9s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 7s 0d 21st, support of Betty Wade, £0 8s 0d 27th, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Mrs Burnham for 3 weeks, £0 15s 0d February, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Mrs Burnham, £[...] Support of Mrs Kinwood, £[...] 4s 0d 10th, support of Betty Wade, [...] Paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 5s 0d 24th, paid to Mrs Burnham for 2 weeks, £0 10s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 8s 0d Relief of Betty Moore during her lying-in, £0 10s 0d 5 March, support of Mrs Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d

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		§[...] Feb. Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Betty Wade§ §4§ §Mrs. Burnham§ §5§ §Mrs. Kenwood§ §4§ §10 Betty Wade§ §[...]§ §Mrs. Burnham§ §5§ §24 [...]§ §10§ §[...]§ §8§ §Betty [...]§ §10§ §7 March Mrs. Kenwood§ §1§ §Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Mrs. Burnham§ §5§ §Betty Wade§ §5§ §Paid John Bagley for Painting 653 . 1 ꝑ Head§ §2 14 5§ §Ditto Richd. Bagley Ditto 245 Ditto§ §1 5§ §To Sundries for Making [...] Boy§ §when sent from the Parish to Mr. Kay§ §1 3§ §17 Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §Betty Wade§ §8§ §24 Do. Ditto§ §4§ §£ 12 [...]§	Paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 5s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 6s 0d Paid to John Bagley for marking 653 sheep at 1d a head, £2 14s 5d Paid to Richard Bagley for marking 245 sheep at 1d a head, £1 0s 5d Various costs for [...] Jarrard's boy when the parish sent him to Mr Kay, £1 3s 0d 12th, paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 8s 0d 24th, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Total, £72 [...] Henry Neve noted beside the opening entries that the balance above was settled with Lieutenant Charles Smith, churchwarden, on behalf of Captain William Currie. **Interpretations** The note by Henry Neve marked the handover from William Currie to Charles Smith as churchwarden at the turn of 1793 and 1794. Neve had been paid for attending vestries, keeping their minutes and drawing up the dog tax list. By now he was acting as the parish's clerk and settling the balance for Currie, who signed nothing himself. The parish's business had come to depend on a paid clerk rather than on the churchwardens alone. The sheep were marked as they were counted, at 1d a head, which explains why Samuel Knipe's bill was described as for marking sheep. A mark on each animal showed that it had been counted for the sheep tax. Unmarked sheep found on the commons later could then be identified as untaxed. The count went division by division, with John Bagley paid for 653 head and Richard Bagley for 245. Mrs Burnham's weekly allowance fell from 10s to 5s during these weeks. The parish had kept the family's full rate after John Burnham dropped out of the account in October 1793 but now cut it by half, perhaps as the household's needs changed. The payment to Betty Moore during her lying-in, and the costs for Jarrard's boy sent to the surgeon Mr Kay, show relief covering childbirth and the medical care of poor children.
40	31	Per Contra Cr.§	The credit side of the parish account was headed for entries, but none were recorded beneath it.
41	32	The Poor & Parish Dr.§ §72 10 [...]§ §1 April Mrs. Kenwood§ §£ 1§ §Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Mrs. Burnham 2 Weeks§ §10§ §Money Paid to Sam & Andrew Prisoners§ §in Goal from the 24 Feby. to 31 March§ §1 15§ §To Charles Seale Boxing 2 Days Hanging Dogs§ §11§ §Paid the Revd. Mr. Wilson the Sextons§ §Quarter Salary§ §3 15§ §Betty Wade§ §4§ §[...] Burnham§ §5§ §Betty Wade§ §4§ §[...]§ §5§ §[...]§ §4§ §[...]§ §[...] 6§	The debit side of the parish account for 1794 continued with the following payments. Brought over, £72 10s [...] 1 April 1794, support of Mrs Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Paid to Mrs Burnham for 2 weeks, £0 10s 0d Paid for the keep of Sam and Andrew, prisoners in gaol from 24 February to 31 March, £1 15s 0d Paid to Charles Seale, bailiff, for 2 days spent hanging dogs, £0 11s 0d Paid to the Reverend Mr Wilson for the sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 15s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 5s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d [...], £0 5s 0d [...], £0 4s 0d [...], £[...] 6d [...], £1 10s 0d 21st, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 27th, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Mrs Burnham, £0 10s 0d 2 June, 5 weeks' allowance due on that day, £1 5s 0d 2 June, 5 weeks' allowance to Betty Wade, £1 0s 0d 2 months' allowance to Pamela Ringrose, from 1 April to 2 June, £2 0s 0d

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		§[...]§ §1 10§ §21 Betty Wade§ §4§ §27 Ditto§ §4§ §Mrs. Burnham§ §10§ §June 2 To 5 Weeks pay ans. this Day§ §1 5§ §June 2 5 Do. Do. to Betty Wade§ §1§ §13 from the 1st. April to the 31st. 2 Months Pay to Pamela Kenwood§ §2§ §Do. Do. Do. Do. to Charlotte Kenwood§ §2§ §£ 90 19 8§ §To the 2d. June Sundry Disbursements by Mr. Cole to this Day§ §8 17 4½§ §July 1 1 Month Pay Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §1 Month Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §July 28 8 Weeks pay to Betty Wade from the 2 June§ §1 12§ §Paid Mrs. Burnham on Acct.§ §1§ §£ 108 4 ½§ §Ballance due§ §6 4 4½§ §Paid Hogg for Collecting Taxes§ §4§ §Do. Nevre attending Vestry§ §2§ §£ 120 8 5§	2 months' allowance to Charlotte Kinwood, from 1 April to 2 June, £2 0s 0d Total, £90 19s 8d Various payments made by Mr Cole up to 2 June, £8 17s 4½d 1 July, 1 month's allowance to Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 1 month's allowance to Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d 28 July, 8 weeks' allowance to Betty Wade from 2 June, £1 12s 0d Paid to Mrs Burnham on account, £1 0s 0d Total, £108 4s ½d Balance due, £6 4s 4½d Paid to Hogg for collecting taxes, £4 0s 0d Paid to Neve for attending vestry meetings, £2 0s 0d Total, £120 8s 5d **Interpretations** The parish paid for the keep of Sam and Andrew while they were held in gaol from 24 February to 31 March. Their single names suggest they were slaves or free blacks without surnames. A year earlier the parish had paid Mr Yates to hold a suspected black in prison, and in 1792 it had paid owners for labour lost while Locke and Hercules were imprisoned. Jailing black suspects was now an ordinary charge on the parish rates, alongside rewards for runaways and compensation to owners. By mid-1794 relief was paid as monthly allowances of £1 0s 0d to Charlotte Kinwood, Daniel Caldwell and the newcomer Pamela Ringrose. Betty Wade and Mrs Burnham were still paid by the week. The two-month payments backdated to 1 April suggest the new churchwarden put the regular dependants onto a monthly footing from the start of his year. Charles Seale, the parish bailiff, now did the dog killing that had earlier been paid for piecemeal, so it had become part of a salaried officer's duties.
42	33	[Stain in the upper right of the page and heavy staining along the head and left-hand edge, affecting the first lines and the ends of several lines on the right.] [...] were [...]§ §[...] Church Wardens [...] [...]§ §[...] following Resolutions of [...] [...] Council [...]§ §[...] with the Vestry to postpone [...]§ §[...] with the Vestry, to order [...] Lemon Valley, and the sick§ §[...] Hospital to be removed there [...] Hospital to be entirely cleaned§ §[...] two Men from Ladder Hill to [...] if possible. If not [...]§ §[...] orders to keep all people from the [...] but the attendants.§ §[...] with the Vestry to hire a house in Lemon Valley.§ §[...] with the Vestry that if any person is taken sick they be [...]§ §[...] Lemon valley.§ §Resolved, that every precaution be taken, advised by the Surgeon§ §[...] prevent the Disorder from spreading.§ §Resolved, that the Officers who have had the small pox, do duty§ §[...] the present for those who have not.§ §Resolved, that Mr. Jno. Doveton take charge of the Stores for the present§ §and that Mr. Howard take charge of the Secretary's office, and that§ §some assistance be given him for copying.§ §Resolved, that consultations be held at the Plantation house every§ §Monday until further orders.§ §Resolved that Mr. Dunn attend the sick and not be allowed intercourse§ §with the Fort until further orders.§	The churchwardens recorded a series of resolutions that the Governor and Council passed on to the vestry. The opening lines were partly lost. The Council agreed with the vestry to postpone [...]. It also agreed to order [...] to Lemon Valley and to move the hospital there [...]. The old hospital was to be cleaned out completely. Two men from Ladder Hill were to be [...] if possible. Failing that, [...] was ordered to keep everyone away from the [...] except the attendants. The Council further agreed with the vestry to rent a house in Lemon Valley, and that anyone who fell sick should be taken there. The Council then passed the following resolutions. Every precaution recommended by the surgeons would be taken to stop the disease spreading. Officers who had already had smallpox would cover the duties of those who had not. Mr John Doveton would take charge of the stores for the time being. Mr Howard would take charge of the secretary's office, with some help for copying. The Council would meet at Plantation House every Monday until further notice. Mr Dunn would attend the sick and would have no contact with the Fort until further notice. The Governor was asked to take whatever steps he thought necessary to stop the disease spreading. The vestry replied that it was glad its proposals had met with the Council's approval. It sent its unanimous thanks to the Governor and Council through [...] Broadway, churchwarden. **Interpretations** The Council moved its regular meetings to Plantation House, the Governor's country residence, rather than meeting in Jamestown. The town around the Fort was the island's most crowded place and the

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		§Resolved that the Governor be requested to take all steps he may§ §think necessary to prevent the Disorder from spreading.§ §To which the Vestry returned the following answer.§ §The Vestry held this day are happy to find the proposals they had§ §laid before the board have met with their approbation and beg§ §leave to return them their unanimous thanks through the§ §Channel of Broadway Church Warden§ §The Worshipful the Governor and Council§	most likely to spread smallpox. By shifting its business into the interior, the Council kept the government working while staying away from the infection. The surgeon Mr Dunn was cut off from the Fort for the same reason. Only officers who had survived smallpox and were therefore immune were kept on duty where they might meet the sick. That made immunity, rather than rank, the test of who could serve. Lemon Valley was a narrow, steep-sided inlet on the leeward coast, reached easily from the sea but cut off from the settled interior. Moving the hospital there and renting a house for the sick put the island's quarantine in its most isolated place. The proposals came from the vestry and were adopted by the Council. In a crisis the parish, acting for the planters, could therefore set the terms of public health policy as well as manage its own relief and taxes.
43	34	[Stain at the head of the page and damage along the left-hand edge, affecting the heading, the opening lines and the start of the second paragraph.] Island [...]§ §[...] the Vestry room at the Chapel§ §[...] 5th. day of April 1779.§ §[...] in [...]§ §[...]termined That the House [...] in this Valley by the Inhabitants in the§ §Year 1770 is [...] solely appropriated for the use of a School§ §provided the Schoolmaster for the time being Assents and§ §Conforms to Regulations and Restrictions following.§ §[...]rst That he do not upon any pretence whatsoever, alter or cause to§ §be altered any part of the said House, or erect or cause to be§ §erected, any buildings on any part of the Ground belonging to§ §said School, without the advice and Consent of the Church Wardens§ §for the time being.§ §[...]ndly That he do upon no account whatever lead or cause to be led any§ §into any part of the School yard, any Stream or Streams of Water§ §as thereby the House aforesaid may be endangered.§ §Thirdly That the sole use and intention of the said School yard is for the§ §Children to recreate and amuse themselves in before, and after, School time§ §it is therefore upon no account whatever to be converted into a Garden§ §or Plantation of any kind.§ §Fourthly That for the use of said house it is agreed, the Schoolmaster for the§ §time being, shall teach Eight poor Children, to read, write and§ §Cypher the choice of said Children to be left to the Church Wardens§ §that they may Pitch upon such Objects as they may think proper§ §for such Charity. and the Children so nominated are not to be§ §expelled said School without their Consent.§ §Fifthly That the Church Wardens for the time being have the care and§ §inspection of the aforesaid School house, and keep the same in Repair§ §making such necessary alterations and improvements therein as they shall§ §think proper.§ §Lastly That the School Master for the time being be acquainted with the§ §same. And further that the Church Wardens do cause these regulations§ §to be entered in the Church Book and the	A vestry met in the vestry room at the chapel in [...] on [...]5 April 1779. It decided that the house built in this valley by the inhabitants in 1770 should be kept solely for use as a school. This applied only if the schoolmaster of the day agreed to the following rules and kept them. First, the schoolmaster was not to alter any part of the house for any reason, nor to put up any building on the school's ground, without the advice and consent of the churchwardens in office. Secondly, he was never to lead or allow any stream of water into any part of the schoolyard, since that would put the house at risk. Thirdly, the schoolyard was meant only for the children to play in before and after lessons. It was therefore never to be turned into a garden or planted with anything. Fourthly, in return for the use of the house, the schoolmaster would teach eight poor children to read, write and do arithmetic. The churchwardens would choose the children, picking whoever they judged deserving of the charity. Children chosen in this way could not be expelled from the school without the churchwardens' consent. Fifthly, the churchwardens in office would look after and inspect the schoolhouse. They would keep it in repair and make whatever changes and improvements they thought fit. Lastly, the schoolmaster was to be told of these rules. The churchwardens were to have them entered in the church book. The schoolmaster in office was to sign them to show his agreement when he took possession of the house. The rules were signed in August 1790 by the churchwardens. **Interpretations** The schoolmaster paid no rent for the house. Instead he paid by teaching eight poor children free of charge, chosen by the churchwardens and protected from expulsion. That gave the parish a charity school without paying a salary, while the master earned his living from fee-paying pupils. The parish payments of the 1770s for school books for parish children, and the house rent advanced to Mr Congreve, came from the same arrangement. The bans on channelling water into the yard and on turning it into a garden were aimed at a schoolmaster who might farm the ground for his own profit. On an island where every planter watered and cultivated whatever land he held, an irrigated plot beside the house would have been an obvious temptation. It would also have threatened the building's foundations. The vestry kept the ground as a playground and kept all building decisions with the churchwardens. That kept the house the parish's property, which a long-serving master could not treat as his own holding.

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		Schoolmaster for the time§ §being do Sign the same in testimony of his Assent on being put§ §in possession of the aforesaid House.§ §Signed August 1790.§ §Church Wardens§	The rules were made in April 1779 but signed in August 1790, when a schoolmaster took possession and gave his formal agreement. The vestry relied on each new master signing the same terms, rather than on a lease. The schoolhouse therefore stayed in the parish's control however often the master changed.
44	35	Blank page	
45	36	[Stain at the head of the page and damage along the left-hand edge, affecting the heading and the first two entries.] 1787 [...] Stock Dr.§ §£§ §[...] Widow Smith§ §£ 1§ §To Do. [...] Mrs. Jenkins§ §1§ §To Do. Do. Do. to purchase a Slave Woman§ §10§ §12§ §1788 To Cash Balance paid to Capt. Thos. Bazett§ §57 13 6½§ §Recd. T. Bazett§ §£ 69 13 6½§ §1789 Recd. the above Balance Broadway§ §[...] [...]§ §[...]§ §[...] [...]§ §[...]§ §Recd.§ §1789 Poors Stock Dr.§ §£ s d§ §To Cash pd. for a pr. Cloth for Mrs. Worrall§ §2 4 8§ §1790 To Balance recd. from Broadway Wat. Greentree§ §55 8 10½§ §£ 57 13 6½§ §1790§	The debit side of the poor stock account recorded the following. 1787, cash paid to Widow Smith, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Mrs Jenkins, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Mrs Jenkins to buy a female slave, £10 0s 0d Total, £12 0s 0d 1788, cash balance paid to Captain Thomas Bazett, £57 13s 6½d Total, £69 13s 6½d Thomas Bazett signed for the balance. In 1789 Broadway signed to confirm that he had received it. **Start of crossed out section** 1789, [...], [...] 1789, [...], [...] **End of crossed out section** A further note recorded the receipt. 1789, cash paid for a piece of cloth for Mrs Worrall, £2 4s 8d 1790, balance received from Broadway, £55 8s 10½d Total, £57 13s 6½d Matthew Greentree signed for the balance in 1790. **Interpretations** The usual form of relief in these accounts was a small cash payment, such as the £1 0s 0d each given to Widow Smith and Mrs Jenkins. The poor stock gave Mrs Jenkins a further £10 0s 0d to buy a female slave, ten times her ordinary allowance and most of the year's spending. Instead of supporting her with regular payments, the parish gave her the means to support herself. A slave woman could be hired out, or could work a garden or take in washing, and so bring in a steady income. The decision shows how naturally slave ownership was treated on St Helena as a means of livelihood. Even charity for a poor white widow took the form of buying a slave. The balance of £57 13s 6½d passed from Thomas Bazett to Broadway and then, less the cost of cloth for Mrs Worrall, to Matthew Greentree. Broadway was the churchwarden who signed the vestry's reply to the Council during the smallpox outbreak. Greentree signed the resolutions of January and February 1791. The poor stock was handed from one churchwarden to the next almost untouched, held as a reserve while the head tax met the ordinary costs.
46	37	[Stain at the head of the page and damage along the right-hand edge, affecting the heading and the ends of some figures.] 1787 Per [...]§ §By Cash recd. from the Revd. Mr. Wilson§ §£ 60§ §4th. June 1786 By Cash recd. at the Communion§ §5 10 5§ §By Do. recd. on Christmas Day§ §2 3 1½§ §By Do.§ §2§ §69 13 [...]§ §1789 Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s§ §By Balance§ §57 13 6½§ §1790 By Balance§ §55 8 10½§ §24 Apl. 91 Recd. Thos. Lester§	The credit side of the poor stock account recorded the following. 1787, cash received from the Reverend Mr Wilson, £60 0s 0d 4 June 1786, cash collected at the communion, £5 10s 5d Cash collected on Christmas Day, £2 3s 1½d Cash collected at the communion, £2 0s 0d Total, £69 13s [...] 1789, balance, £57 13s 6½d 1790, balance, £55 8s 10½d Thomas Lester signed for the balance on 24 April 1791. **Interpretations** Nearly all of the poor stock came from a single payment of £60 0s 0d by the Reverend Mr Wilson, against less than £10 0s 0d from communion collections. In the 1770s the communion alone had kept the fund going. The chaplain's payment was probably a gift, a bequest he passed on, or money from his own accounts handed to the parish. It gave the

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			poor stock the reserve that paid for Mrs Jenkins's slave and was then carried forward almost untouched for several years. Thomas Lester, who signed the vestry resolutions of 24 January and 11 February 1791 with Matthew Greentree, took charge of the reserve in April 1791.
47	38	[Heavy stains in the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the heading and the start of the first three entries.] March 17[...] [...] the Small Pox§ §To [...] Clothing destroyed§ §£ 11 17 4§ §[...] Margnee &c.§ §5 14§ §[...] Dunns Diet &c.§ §10 17 2§ §Do. 6 Men in the Quarantine Boat§ §4 13§ §Do. for Mr. [...] House§ §32 11§ §Do. Mr. Dunn§ §52 10§ §Do. Lieut. Smith§ §26 5§ §Do. Extra Drams for Men on the hill§ §6 15§ §Do. 1350 lb. of Bread at 5 ꝑ lb. destroyed§ §3 7 6§ §Do. for Sundries§ §2§ §£ 156 10§ §30th. To Balance paid to Lt. Broadway§ §15 10§ §Received the Balance Broadway§ §£ 172§	The smallpox account recorded the following payments. March 17[...], [...] clothing destroyed, £11 17s 4d [...] Magnee and other items, £5 14s 0d [...] Mr Dunn's provisions and other items, £10 17s 2d 6 men for the quarantine boat, £4 13s 0d For Mr [...]'s house, £32 11s 0d Paid to Mr Dunn, £52 10s 0d Paid to Lieutenant Smith, £26 5s 0d Extra spirits for the men on the hill, £6 15s 0d 1,350 lb of bread destroyed, at 5s per 100 lb, £3 7s 6d Various items, £2 0s 0d Total, £156 10s 0d 30th, balance paid to Lieutenant Broadway, £15 10s 0d Total, £172 0s 0d Broadway signed for the balance. **Interpretations** The account shows what the quarantine plan agreed between the vestry and the Council actually cost. The largest items were the surgeon Mr Dunn's fee of £52 10s 0d and the rent of a house, which was probably the one hired in Lemon Valley for the sick. A crew of six manned the quarantine boat, which carried patients and supplies along the coast to the valley without passing through the town. The men on the hill, probably the guard posted from Ladder Hill to keep people away from the infected, were given extra spirits for their duty. Clothing and 1,350 lb of bread were destroyed rather than cleaned or used. Burning goods that had been near the sick was the accepted way of stopping smallpox spreading through cloth and food. The parish paid for what was lost, so owners had no reason to hide or keep back contaminated goods. The same thinking lay behind compensating slave owners for executed or imprisoned slaves: the parish took on private losses to secure cooperation with public measures. Lieutenant Broadway, who held the balance, was the churchwarden who had signed the vestry's reply to the Council, so the man who proposed the quarantine also accounted for its cost.
48	39	[Heavy stain in the upper right of the page, obscuring the ends of the first three entries and their figures; further stain at the lower right edge.] 1789 Per Contra§ §Apl. 30 By Cash recd. [...] Inhabitants [...]§ §for a Tax at 2/. ꝑ [...]§ §[...]§ §Do. Tax on 44 Soldiers [...]§ §[...]§ §Do. Do. on 217 Honble. Compy. Slaves§ §21 14§ §£ 172§	The credit side of the smallpox account recorded the following receipts. 30 April 1789, cash received from the inhabitants [...] for a tax at 2s a head, £[...] Tax on 44 soldiers, £[...] Tax on 217 of the Company's slaves, £21 14s 0d Total, £172 0s 0d **Interpretations** The smallpox costs were met by a special head tax of 2s, the same rate as the ordinary head money of the early 1770s. The tax was not confined to the planters' households. It was also charged on 44 soldiers and on 217 slaves belonging to the Company. The usual parish rate fell only on private inhabitants, and the Company's own people were outside it. The vestry and Council reasoned that the quarantine protected the garrison and the Company's labour force as much as the planters' families, so the Company paid its share at the same rate. The 217 Company slaves alone brought in £21 14s 0d, about an eighth of the outbreak's total cost. This was a rare case of the Company paying into a parish fund, and it came about because the smallpox threatened everyone on the island alike.

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49	40	Blank page	
50	41	[Heavy stains along the head of the page and at the upper left, partly obscuring the heading.] Per Contra§ §Brought over§ §142 19 2½§ §Recd. for 14 Dogs§ §3 10 0§	The credit side of the parish account continued with the following receipts. Brought over, £142 19s 7½d Received in tax on 14 dogs, £3 10s 0d **Interpretations** The dog tax worked out at 5s a dog, more than twice the 2s charged on each slave or member of a household under the head money. A charge that high was meant to discourage keeping dogs at all, not just to raise money. It went alongside the parish's payments for hanging and destroying dogs, since stray and half-wild dogs threatened the sheep that the parish counted, marked and taxed.
51	42	[Stain at the head of the page, partly obscuring the heading.] Parish Dr.§ §1795 Brought over§ §116 12 9§ §May 20th. Paid for September when in Goal§ §3 6§ §Paid for Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §£ 124 1 3§ §To Ballance due to the Parish§ §22 7 11½§ §£ 146 9 2½§ §1795 25th. May Betty Wade Subsistance 1 Week§ §4 0§ §Goaler for September§ §3 6§ §June 1st. Betty Wade Subsistance 1 Week§ §4 0§ §Charlotte Kenwood Do. 1 Mo.§ §1 0 0§ §Daniel Caldwell Do. 1 Mo.§ §1 0 0§ §8th. Betty Wade§ §4§ §15th. Betty Wade§ §4§ §22d. Betty Wade§ §4§ §29th. Betty Wade§ §4§ §July 1st. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§ §Sextons Salary§ §3 15 0§ §Nevi paid him his Quarters Salary§ §2 10 0§ §Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Gabl. Isaacke for a Coffin for Jumper§ §1 5 0§ §13th. Betty Wade§ §4§ §21st. Betty Wade§ §4§ §27th. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Augt. 1. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§ §3. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Repairing Country Church Yard Gate & Wall§ §5 0§ §Padlock for Do.§ §3 6§	The debit side of the parish account for 1795 recorded the following payments. Brought over, £1[...] 13s 9d 20 May 1795, paid for the keep of September while in gaol, £0 3s 6d Paid for Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Total, £124 1s 3d Balance due to the parish, £22 7s 11½d Total, £146 9s 2½d The account for the following months recorded these payments. 25 May 1795, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d Paid to the gaoler for September, £0 3s 6d 1 June, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d Charlotte Kinwood's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Daniel Caldwell's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d 8 June, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 15 June, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 22 June, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 29 June, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 1 July, support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d Paid to Neve for his quarter's salary, £2 10s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Gabriel Jacks for a coffin for Jumper, £1 5s 0d 13 July, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 21 July, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 27 July, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 1 August, support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d 3 August, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Repairs to the country churchyard gate and wall, £0 5s 0d Padlock for the churchyard gate, £0 3s 6d Paid to Mason for his slave named September, who was condemned and executed, £7 0s 0d Total, £23 6s 0d **Interpretations** The parish paid for September's keep in gaol, paid the gaoler and then paid his owner, Mason, £7 0s 0d after September was condemned and executed. The whole process of slave justice, from imprisonment to execution and compensation, was paid for out of the parish rates. The compensation was less than half the £15 0s 0d paid to Priscilla Watts for her executed slave in the 1770s. The parish may by now have been paying a fixed or reduced proportion of a slave's value rather than a full price. That would still spare the owner most of the loss while limiting the charge on the ratepayers. Neve was now drawing a quarterly salary of £2 10s 0d, a clear step from the small fees for single vestry meetings and lists that he had been paid in 1793. The parish now kept a salaried clerk alongside the sexton. Jumper, buried in a coffin paid for by the parish, was probably a free black or a slave without an owner to bear the cost, like Fanny buried in 1793.

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		§A Slave condemned & Executed the Property§ §of [...] Mason called September§ §7 0 0§ §23 6 0§ §Ballance§	
52	43	Per Contra§ §Brought forward§ §146 9 2½§ §1795 May 25th. By Ballance due to the Parish as ꝑ the§ §other Side§ §22 7 11½§ §Augt. 3 By Cash pounding 4 Hogs§ §10§ §£ 22 17 11½§ §By Ballance due to Thomas Cole§ §8 ½§ §8 August 1795 Recd. the above Balance from§ §James Pritchard ꝑ Thos. Cole§ §£ 23 6 0§ §Recd. from Thomas Cole &§ §Settled the above Ballance being§ §Eight Shillings and one half Penny§ §in full of all Demands due or owing§ §or relative to Parish Accounts this§ §[...] Day of August 1795.§ §£ 8 0½§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the following. Brought forward, £146 9s 2½d 25 May 1795, balance due to the parish as shown on the other side, £22 7s 11½d 3 August, cash received for impounding 4 hogs, £0 10s 0d Total, £22 17s 11½d Balance due to Thomas Cole, £0 8s 0½d Total, £23 6s 0d On 8 August 1795 James Pritchard recorded that he had received the balance above for Thomas Cole. A further note recorded a receipt from Thomas Cole and others. **Start of crossed out section** A settlement recorded that the balance of 8s 0½d had been paid in full discharge of all claims arising from the parish accounts, on [...] August 1795, £0 8s 0½d. **End of crossed out section** **Interpretations** The fee for impounding four hogs carried on the parish's control of stray livestock, which in the 1770s had brought in fines for straying hogs. Instead of fining the owner after the event, the parish now held the animals in a pound until a fee was paid for their release. That gave the owner a direct reason to pay at once. The year's spending had run slightly beyond the income, leaving the parish 8s 0½d in debt to Thomas Cole, its churchwarden. The full discharge first written out for Cole was struck through and replaced by a plain receipt through James Pritchard. The vestry thus avoided releasing the churchwarden from every claim on a sum so small.
53	44	1795 Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §Aug. 8th. To Balance§ §8 0½§ §10th. Cash Paid Betty Wade 1 Weeks Subsistance§ §4§ §17th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §24th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §31st. Do. Do.§ §4§ §Sept. 1st. Do. Paid Mrs. Kenwood 1 Mo. Subsistance for her Child§ §1§ §Do. Danl. Caldwell Do.§ §1§ §Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §7th. Do.§ §[...]§ §12th. Do. Pd. Jas. Moyse for collecting a List of Free Blacks§ §6 9§ §16th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §21st. Do. Do.§ §4§ §24th. Do. for Oil for free Abigail§ §1§ §28th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Octr. 1st. Do. Nathl. Smith Sexton 1 Qr. Salary§ §3 15§	The debit side of the parish account for 1795 and 1796 recorded the following payments. 8 August 1795, balance, £0 8s 0½d 10 August, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 17 August, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 24 August, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 31 August, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 1 September, paid to Mrs Kinwood for 1 month's support of her child, £1 0s 0d Daniel Caldwell's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 7 September, paid to James Moyce for collecting a list of free blacks, £0 6s 9d 14 September, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 21 September, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d Oil for Abigail, a free black, £0 1s 0d 24 September, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 28 September, paid to Nathaniel Smith, sexton, for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d 1 October, Charlotte Kinwood's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Daniel Caldwell's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 5 October, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 12 October, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d

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		§Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §1§ §Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §5th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §12th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §19th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §26th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §Novr. 2d. Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §1§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §9th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §16th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §23d. Do. Do.§ §4§ §30th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §Decr. 1st. Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §1§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §3 Do. for making two Surplices§ §2 2§ §3d. Do. for Cleaning the lower Burial Ground§ §1 6§ §Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §7th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §14th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §21st. Do. Do.§ §4§ §28th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §1796 Jany. 1st. Do. Sexton 1 Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §1§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §4th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §11th. Do. Inspector for 1624 head of Sheep at 1 p Head§ §7 4§ §18th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §25th. Do. Do.§ §4§ §Do. free Abigail one Weeks Subsistance§ §3 6§ §Feby. 1st. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §1§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §8th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§	19 October, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 26 October, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 2 November, Daniel Caldwell's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Charlotte Kinwood's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 9 November, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 16 November, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 23 November, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 30 November, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 1 December, Daniel Caldwell's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Charlotte Kinwood's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Making two surplices, £2 2s 0d Cleaning the lower burial ground, £0 1s 6d 3 December, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 7 December, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 14 December, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 21 December, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 28 December, sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 15s 0d 1 January 1796, Daniel Caldwell's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Charlotte Kinwood's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 4 January, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 11 January, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 15 January, paid to the inspectors for 1,624 head of sheep at 1d a head, £[...] 4d 18 January, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d 25 January, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d Abigail, a free black, allowance for 1 week, £0 3s 6d 1 February, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d Abigail's allowance for 1 week, £0 3s 6d Daniel Caldwell's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d Charlotte Kinwood's allowance for 1 month, £1 0s 0d 8 February, Betty Wade's allowance for 1 week, £0 4s 0d Abigail's allowance for 1 week, £0 3s 6d Carried over, £35 8s 1½d **Interpretations** Abigail, described as a free black, was given oil in September 1795 and from January 1796 was put on a weekly allowance of 3s 6d. Betty Wade was paid 4s a week at the same time. The parish now kept a free black woman on its regular list of paupers instead of meeting her needs only with a coffin or a single payment. It did so at a slightly lower rate than the white pensioners, so free blacks were admitted to relief but not on equal terms. James Moyce was paid again for a list of free blacks during the same months. The register made since 1793 was the record that decided both who was exempt from the tax on slaves and who could be placed on the parish's books. The monthly payment to Mrs Kinwood was now made specifically for the support of her child, while

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		§Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §Carried Over £ 35 8 1½§	Charlotte Kinwood drew her own allowance. That suggests the relief had passed from mother to daughter, or had been split between them. The parish adjusted the terms as each household's circumstances changed.
54	45	Per Contra Cr.§	The credit side of the parish account was headed for entries, but none were recorded beneath it.
55	46	1796 Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §Feby. 8th. To Expences Brot. Over§ §35 8 1½§ §15th. Cash Paid Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §22d. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §29 Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §March 1st. Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §7th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §14th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §Do. for A Slave Executed the Property of Lieut.§ §Wm. Seale called Caesar§ §12§ §Do. for 33 days Maintainance while in Goal at 1/6§ §2 9 6§ §Do. for bringing 12 Deals from the Stores§ §1§ §Do. Mr. Wilkinson for his Labouring Work (done in Mr. Coles time)§ §1 1§ §21st. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §24th. Do. Mr. Doveton Secretarys fees due for the Yr. 1794 & 1795§ §6 5§ §Do. to Do. for a Slave named ( ) Executed§ §12§ §Do. Do. 33 Days Maintainance while in Goal at 1/6§ §2 9 6§ §Do. for the Support of Hampshire when Sick who§ §was left here from the Ship Earl Howe,§ §16§ §Do. for a Blanket for said Hampshire§ §8§ §28th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §April 1st. Do. Sexton 1 Quarters Salary§ §3 15 0§ §Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §4th. Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §Do. Betty Wade§ §3 6§	The debit side of the parish account for 1796 recorded the following payments. Brought over, £35 8s 1½d 8 February 1796, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 15 February, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 22 February, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 29 February, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 1 March, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 7 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 14 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d Paid to Lieutenant William Seale for his slave Caesar, who was executed, £12 0s 0d Keep of Caesar for 33 days in gaol at 1s 6d a day, £2 9s 6d Carrying 12 deal boards from the stores, £0 1s 0d Paid to Mr Wilkinson for labouring work done while Mr Cole was churchwarden, £1 1s 0d 21 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 25 March, paid to Mr M. Doveton for the secretary's fees due for 1794 and 1795, £6 5s 0d Paid to Mr M. Doveton for a slave who was executed, £12 0s 0d Keep of the same slave for 33 days in gaol at 1s 6d a day, £2 9s 6d Support of Hampshire, who fell sick and was left on the island by the ship *Earl Howe*, £0 16s 0d. A blanket for Hampshire, £0 8s 0d 28 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 1 April, sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 15s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 4 April, support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d Support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 11 April, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 18 April, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 25 April, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 2 May, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Carried over, £87 3s 1½d The name of the slave executed as Mr Doveton's property was left blank, with a space inside brackets where it should have been written. **Interpretations** Two slaves were executed within a few weeks in March 1796, Caesar and an unnamed slave belonging to Mr Doveton. Each owner received £12 0s 0d, against £7 0s 0d paid to Mason for September only seven months earlier. The parish also paid the same fixed gaol rate of 1s 6d a day for each of them, over identical terms of 33 days. Both were probably tried together after the same period in custody. Leaving the second slave's name blank, while recording the owner and the money in full, shows what the account was for: settling the owner's claim, not recording the person executed.

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		§11th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Do. Abigail§ §4 0§ §18th. Do. Betty Wade§ §3 6§ §Do. Abigail§ §4 0§ §25th. Do. Betty Wade§ §3 6§ §Do. Abigail§ §4 0§ §May 2d. Do. Betty Wade§ §3 6§ §Do. Abigail§ §4 0§ §Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §3 6§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §1 0 0§ §Carried over £ 87 3 1½§	Hampshire was a seaman left behind sick when the *Earl Howe* sailed. Ships calling at St Helena regularly landed men too ill to continue. Once a ship had gone, the cost of keeping them fell on the island. The parish paid for his support and a blanket, extending poor relief to a transient sailor with no settlement on the island, much as an English port parish had to care for men put ashore from passing ships.
56	47	1796 Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §Feb. 18th. By Cash pounding 3 Hogs§ §7 6§ §By Do. Taxes on Slaves 1028 at 3/6 ꝑ head§ §179 18§ §By Do. Inspecting 1634 head of Sheep at 1 ꝑ head§ §7 0 4§ §By Do. Taxes on Dogs total amount at 5/. each. NB§ §50 13 9§ §By Do. Recieved from Captain Pierie (for Jumpers Coffin)§ §1 5§ §£ 239 4 7§	The credit side of the parish account for 1796 recorded the following receipts. 18 February 1796, cash received for impounding 3 hogs, £0 7s 6d Taxes on 1,028 slaves at 3s 6d a head, £179 18s 0d Inspection of 1,634 head of sheep at 1d a head, £7 0s 4d Taxes on dogs, the whole amount at 5s each, £50 13s 9d Received from Captain Pirie for Jumper's coffin, £1 5s 0d Total, £239 4s 7d **Interpretations** The tax on slaves had become the parish's main source of income, bringing in £179 18s 0d from 1,028 slaves at 3s 6d each, three-quarters of the year's receipts. The rate was well above the 2s a head charged on whole households in the 1770s. Since the exemption for free blacks in 1791, the burden fell entirely on slave ownership. The count also gives a figure for the privately owned slaves on the island in 1796. The dog tax at 5s a dog raised more than £50 0s 0d, which implies around 200 dogs, a large number for so small an island. That explains why the parish paid steadily to have them hanged and destroyed. Captain Pirie repaid the £1 5s 0d the parish had paid Gabriel Jacks for Jumper's coffin in July 1795. Jumper was therefore probably Pirie's slave or servant rather than a pauper with no one to bury him. The parish met the immediate cost of a burial and then recovered it from the person responsible. That kept funerals prompt without letting owners pass their own costs on to the ratepayers.
57	48	1796 Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §To Repairing the Country Church§ §To 5 Dble. Deals from the Stores at 5/10 each§ §1 9 2§ §1 Do. Do. from Mr. Richd. Torbett§ §3 6§ §lb. of Cordage for Thatching &c.§ §18 2§ §39 Girths of Rushes Drawn at 1/.§ §1 19§ §140 Do. Do. Undrawn at 1/6§ §3 10§ §8 Cabbage Tree Rafters at 1/6 each§ §12§ §3 Bundles of Cabbage Tree Laths at 2/6 ꝑ Bundle§ §7 6§ §9 Loads of Bamboo Binders at 5/. ꝑ Load§ §2 5§	The debit side of the parish account for 1796 recorded the cost of repairing the country church. 5 double deals from the stores at 5s 10d each, £1 9s 2d 1 double deal from Mr Richard Torbett, £0 3s 6d [...] lb of cord for thatching and other uses, £0 18s 2d 39 girths of combed rushes at 1s, £1 19s 0d 140 girths of uncombed rushes at 6d, £3 10s 0d 8 cabbage tree rafters at 1s 6d each, £0 12s 0d 3 bundles of cabbage tree laths at 2s 6d a bundle, £0 7s 6d 9 loads of bamboo binders at 5s a load, £2 5s 0d 2 [...] from Mr Robert Leech, £0 14s 0d 22 lb of nails from Mr Robert Leech, £0 14s 8d 12 lb of nails from the stores, £0 6s 0d 13½ days of carpenter's work by Mr John Hayes at 5s a day, £3 7s 6d 48 days of thatching at 5s a day, £12 0s 0d

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		§2 Eves [...] from Mr. Robt. Leech§ §14§ §lb. 22 Nails from Mr. Robt. Leech§ §14 8§ §lb. 12 Do. from the Stores§ §0 6 0§ §13½ Days Mr. John Hayes Carpenters at 5/. p Day§ §3 7 6§ §48 Days Thatching at 5/. p Day§ §12§ §8 Days Stone Masons Work at 3/6 p Day§ §1 8§ §97 Days Labourers Work at 1/6 p Day§ §7 5 6§ §10 Galls. of Arrack for Carpenters, Thatchers & Stone Mason§ §2 15§ §Cash paid for carrying Rushes to the Country Church§ §1 3§ §Do. Davis for Sawing a Deal§ §9§ §Cash paid Carman Armourers Work§ §10§ §2 Galls. of Arrack for Labourers§ §11§ §To Cash pd. for repairing the Key of the Vestry room Door§ §1 1½§ §To Mr. John Hayes present from the Vestry§ §for Extra Work§ §1 10§ §Cash paid for repairing the Walls of the Country Church Yard§ §8 3§ §Do. pd. Smith Sexton, for clearing Do. Do. Do.§ §6 0§ §Do. pd. for 1/3 of a Double Deal at 5/10§ §1 11¼§ §Do. for a Key for Country Church Door§ §3 0§ §£ 44 12 0⅜§	8 days of stonemason's work at 3s 6d a day, £1 8s 0d 97 days of labourers' work at 1s 6d a day, £7 5s 6d 10 gallons of arrack for the carpenter, thatchers and stonemason, £2 15s 0d Cash paid for carrying rushes to the country church, £1 3s 0d Paid to Davis for sawing a deal, £0 0s 9d Paid to Carman for carpenter's work, £0 10s 0d 2 gallons of arrack for the labourers, £0 11s 0d Cash paid for mending the key of the vestry room door, £0 1s 1½d Paid to Mr John Hayes as a gift from the vestry for extra work, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for repairing the walls of the country churchyard, £0 8s 3d Paid to Smith, sexton, for clearing the country churchyard, £0 6s 0d One third of a double deal at 5s 10d, £0 1s 11¼d A key for the country church door, £0 3s 0d Total, £44 12s 0⅜d **Interpretations** Arrack was a strong spirit distilled from palm sap, rice or sugar cane, made in India, Ceylon and Batavia and shipped through the Company's trade to St Helena in large quantities. It was the island's ordinary spirit and was given to workmen as part of their pay. The skilled carpenter, thatchers and stonemason received 10 gallons between them and the labourers two, so the ration followed the same scale as the wages. The roof was built almost entirely from island and Company materials. Cabbage trees were small native trees of St Helena's high central ridge, whose light, straight stems served as rafters and laths. Bamboo, grown in the island's damp valleys, was cut and bound into loads to tie the thatch to the frame. Rushes were bought by the girth, a bundle measured round its circumference. Combed rushes, straightened and cleaned for the outer coat, cost twice as much as the rough ones used underneath. Only the sawn deal boards and some of the nails came from the Company's stores. Thatchers were paid 5s a day, the same as the carpenter, while labourers earned 1s 6d. Thatching took 48 days and cost more than any other item. A rush roof needed frequent renewal, as the schoolhouse's thatch did in 1793. The vestry also gave John Hayes a gift of £1 10s 0d for work beyond his contract, rewarding goodwill in a way a fixed daily wage did not.
58	49	Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§	The credit side of the parish account was headed for entries in pounds, shillings and pence, but none were recorded beneath it.
59	50	1796 Parish Dr. to Repairg. School house£ s d§ §To Cash pd. Lowder for putting in Glass§ §2§ §Do. Howlet for mending 2 Locks§ §2 3§ §Do. for 2 Bushels Lime§ §3§ §Do. for 2 Days, Plaistrg. & White washg.§ §7§ §Do. for 1 Do. Do. Do.§ §3 6§ §Do. for 2¾ Days Labourers Work§ §4 1½§ §Do. Lowder for painting Gates§ §2 6§ §Do. for Armourers Work§ §1 7½§ §Do. for fixing a Door Case 1 Day ¾ Masons Work at 3/6§ §6 1½§	The debit side of the parish account for 1796 recorded the cost of repairs to the schoolhouse. Cash paid to Lowder for putting in glass, £0 2s 0d Paid to Howlet for mending 2 locks, £0 2s 3d 2 bushels of lime, £0 3s 0d 2 days of plastering and whitewashing, £0 7s 0d 1 day of plastering and whitewashing, £0 3s 6d 2¾ days of labourers' work, £0 4s 1½d Paid to Lowder for painting the gates, £0 2s 6d Armourer's work, £0 1s 7½d Fixing a door frame, 1¾ days of mason's work at 3s 6d, £0 6s 1½d 1¾ days of labourers' work at 1s 6d, £0 2s 7½d A lock for the back door, £0 8s 6d Paid to Mr Legg for making and hanging a large batten door and repairing the door frame, £0 9s 0d 2 dozen screws and nails, £0 2s 3d Sawing a deal, £0 0s 9d 1 day of labourers' work, £0 1s 6d Repairing the schoolyard gate, £0 4s 6d A pair of large hinges for the small gate, £0 1s 6d

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		§Do. for 1¾ Days Labourers Work at 1/6§ §2 7½§ §Do. for a Lock for Back Door§ §8 6§ §Do. Mr. Legg Makg. a large Batton Door, hangg. Do.§ §& repairing Door Case§ §9§ §Do. 2 Doz. Screws and Nails§ §2 3§ §Do. Sawing a Deal§ §9§ §Do. 1 Days Labourers work§ §1 6§ §Do. Repairing School Yard Gate§ §4 6§ §Do. for a Pair Large Hinges for Small Gate§ §1 6§ §Do. for a Part of a Deal for repairing Do.§ §7 11¼§ §Do. Repairing a Lock§ §2 3§ §Do. Do. Frontispiece§ §2 3§ §Do. 1 lb. Brads for Do.§ §1 1½§ §£ 3 10 3¾§ §Expences for the Lower Burial Ground§ §To 5 Dble. Deals from the Stores at 5/10§ §1 9 2§ §To Mr. Legg makg. a Pr. of Gates§ §1 10§ §Do. Hanging Do.§ §3 6§ §Do. Sawing a Deal§ §9§ §Do. Lowder for Painting§ §2 3§ §Do. Do. for Do.§ §3 6§ §Do. Stone Mason§ §9§ §Do. Staples & Bolts§ §2 3§ §£ 3 12 2§	Part of a deal for repairing the small gate, £0 1s 11¼d Repairing a lock, £0 2s 3d Repairing the frontispiece, £0 2s 3d 1 lb of brads for the frontispiece, £0 1s 1½d Total, £3 10s 3¾d The account then recorded the cost of work on the lower burial ground. 5 double deals from the stores at 5s 10d, £1 9s 2d Paid to Mr Legg for making a pair of gates, £1 10s 0d Hanging the gates, £0 3s 6d Sawing a deal, £0 0s 9d Paid to Lowder for painting, £0 2s 3d Paid to Lowder for further painting, £0 3s 6d Stonemason, £0 0s 9d Staples and bolts, £0 2s 3d Total, £3 12s 2d **Interpretations** The frontispiece was the ornamental pediment or carved surround over the schoolhouse's main door, fixed with brads, which were small, thin nails. The armourer's work was done by the garrison's metalworker, whose forge was the only one on the island equipped for lock and hinge repairs. The parish therefore drew on Company craftsmen for skilled work it could not get privately, just as it bought its deal boards from the Company's stores. The vestry put new gates on the lower burial ground, and in 1795 a padlock was fitted to the country churchyard gate. Hogs and other livestock roamed widely, as the impounding fees show. Graveyards left open were exposed to rooting animals, and gating them protected the graves. The parish was turning its burial grounds into enclosed, locked spaces, as it had done with the schoolyard.
60	51	Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§	The credit side of the parish account had columns ruled for pounds, shillings and pence, but nothing was entered in them.
61	52	1796 Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §Brought forward§ §87 3 1½§ §May 9th. Cash to Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §16th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §23d. Do. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §30th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §June 1st. Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §6th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4 0§	The debit side of the parish account for 1796 recorded the following payments. Brought forward, £87 3s 1½d 9 May 1796, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 16 May, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 23 May, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 30 May, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 1 June, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 6 June, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 13 June, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Abigail, £0 3s 6d 20 June, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 27 June, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 1 July, Smith's salary as sexton, £3 15s 0d Paid to Smith for copying a list of free blacks and for writing at two vestry meetings, £0 8s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d 4 July, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 11 July, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 18 July, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 25 July, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d

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		§Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §13th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Do. Abigail§ §3 6§ §20th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §27th. Do. Do. Do.§ §4 0§ §July 1st. Do. Smith Sexton Salary§ §3 15 0§ §Do. to Do. for Copying a List of Free Blacks and§ §Writing at two Vestrys§ §8 0§ §Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§ §4th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §11th. Do. Do. Do.§ §4 0§ §18th. Do. Do. Do.§ §4 0§ §25th. Do. Do. Do.§ §4 0§ §26th. Do. to Free Caesar when in Prison§ §4 0§ §August 1st. Do. Betty Wade§ §3 6§ §Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §4 0§ §8th. Do. Betty Wade§ §1 0 0§ §15th. Do. Do. Do.§ §4 0§ §Expences for William Clough's Funeral§ §4 0§ §Do. for Free Abigail when Sick in the Parish House§ §1 3 1½§ §Do. for Free Abigail Funeral§ §1 5 5§ §(Vizt.)§ §Do. Coffin§ §1 4 10½§ §Do. Grave§ §2 6§ §Do. laying out, and carrying to the Grave§ §9 0§ §Doctors Bill for several Free People§ §7 2 0§ §Tottling Parish Books§ §1§ §£ 111 15 4½§ **Margin Notes:** §Memorandum. Richd. Torbett bought from the Country Church as many old Rushes [...] for [...] for the School Gate [...]§	26 July, paid to Caesar, a free black, while in prison, £0 4s 0d 1 August, support of Betty Wade, £0 3s 6d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £0 4s 0d 8 August, support of Betty Wade, £1 0s 0d 15 August, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Funeral expenses of William Clough, £0 4s 0d Care of Abigail, a free black, while sick in the parish house, £1 3s 1½d Funeral of Abigail, £1 5s 5d Coffin for Abigail, £1 4s 10¼d Grave for Abigail, £0 2s 6d Laying out and carrying Abigail to the grave, £0 9s 0d Doctor's bill for several free blacks, £7 2s 0d Adding up the parish books, £1 0s 0d Total, £111 15s 4[...]d A note in the margin recorded that old timber taken from the country church was exchanged with Mr Legg for wood for the school gate. **Interpretations** Abigail, a free black woman placed on the parish's weekly allowance in January 1796, was taken into the parish house when she fell ill. The parish paid for her care there, then for her coffin, grave, laying out and burial when she died. The parish house therefore served as a refuge for the dying poor as well as a place of relief. The doctor's bill of £7 2s 0d for several free blacks was the largest single item in this part of the account. By 1796 the parish was covering much of the medical care of the island's free black population. That followed from the exemption of 1791, which left free blacks outside the tax but within the parish's responsibility. The payment to Caesar, a free black held in prison, shows the parish also supporting free blacks in custody. The margin note shows the vestry trading old timber from the country church roof with Mr Legg for wood for the school gate, instead of selling it or leaving it to rot. On an island where every deal board had to come from the Company's stores at 5s 10d, salvaged timber had real value. Bartering it with the carpenter who did the parish's joinery saved cash on both jobs. The £1 0s 0d paid for adding up the parish books went to whoever totalled the columns of the accounts, a task the clerk now did for a fee.
62	53	Per Contra Cr.§	The credit side of the parish account had a heading, but no entries were made under it.
63	54	Dr. General Account Parish Expence§ §Total Expence Repairing Country Church§ §44 12 0⅜§ §Do. School House§ §3 10 3¾§ §Do. Lower Burial Ground§ §3 12 2§ §Total Expenditure Poor Rate§ §111 15 4½§ §Ballance§ §75 14 8¾§ §£ 239 4 7§	The general account of parish spending for 1796 summarised the year as follows. Total cost of repairing the country church, £44 12s 0⅜d Total cost of repairing the schoolhouse, £3 10s 3¾d Total cost of work on the lower burial ground, £3 12s 2d Total spent from the poor rate, £111 15s 4½d Balance, £75 14s 8¾d Total, £239 4s 7d **Interpretations** The total of £239 4s 7d matched the year's receipts recorded on 18 February 1796, most of which came from the tax on 1,028 slaves. After paying for the

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			country church roof, the school and burial ground repairs and all relief, the parish was left with £75 14s 8¾d, almost a third of its income. The rate of 3s 6d a slave had been set well above the year's needs. Spending from the poor rate, which covered relief, salaries, medical bills and payments for executed slaves, was more than twice the cost of all the building work combined.
64	55	[Small stain at the upper left corner of the page, clear of the text.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Total Receipts Taxes on Slaves, Dogs Sheep &c.§ §239 4 7§ §1796 August 15 By Ballance remaining in my Hands this Day§ §75 14 8¾§ §I do hereby acknowledge to have recd. from Mr. James Pritchard§ §the above Ballance being Seventy five Pounds 14/8¾ which is§ §(and is to remain) towards defraying Parish Expences.§ §Witness my hand this fifteenth Day of August 1796§ §£ 75 14 8¾ Richd. Torbett§	The credit side of the general account recorded the following. Total receipts from taxes on slaves, dogs, sheep and other items, £239 4s 7d 15 August 1796, balance in hand on that day, £75 14s 8¾d On 15 August 1796 Richard Torbett signed a receipt for £75 14s 8¾d, the balance he had received from Mr James Pritchard. He undertook to use it towards the parish's expenses.
65	56	[Staining along the left-hand edge of the page, partly obscuring the year and the month entries in the date column.] Dr. General Account Parish Expence§ §£ s d§ §179[...] Aug. 22 Cash Paid Betty Wade§ §4§ §29 Do. Do.§ §4§ §[...] 29 Do. B. Bligs§ §3 6§ §Septr. 1 Do. D. Caldwell§ §1§ §5th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. B. B. L.§ §3 6§ §12th. Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. B. B. L.§ §3 6§ §15 Cash paid James Moyse taking Account of free Blacks§ §6 9§ §19 Cash Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. B. B. L.§ §3 6§ §26 Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. B. B. L.§ §3 6§ §[...] 27 Pat Tibbett in Prison [...] of the Governor 3 [...]§ §3 6§ §Octr. 1st. Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §Vestry Clerk ½ Years Salary§ §5§ §Cash paid for Wine B. B. L. when Sick§ §16§ §Do. Attendance Do.§ §10 6§ §Funeral Expences§ §5§ §3 Betty Wade§ §4§ §Octr. 3. Sexton ¼ Salary§ §3 15§ §10 Cash paid Betty Wade§ §4§	The debit side of the general account of parish spending for 1796 recorded the following payments. 22 August 1796, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 29 August, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 29 August, support of B. Blys, a free black, £0 3s 6d 1 September, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d 5 September, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of B. B. L., £0 3s 6d 12 September, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of B. B. L., £0 3s 6d 15 September, paid to James Moyce for the whole account of free blacks, £0 6s 9d 19 September, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of B. B. L., £0 3s 6d 26 September, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of B. B. L., £0 3s 6d 27 September, keep of Pat Sibell, a free black, in prison by order of the Governor, at 3s 6d a week, £0 3s 6d 1 October, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Vestry clerk's salary for half a year, £5 0s 0d Wine for B. B. L. while sick, £0 16s 0d Attendance on B. B. L. while sick, £0 10s 6d Funeral expenses, £0 5s 0d 3 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 3 October, sexton's salary for a quarter, £3 15s 0d 10 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 17 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 24 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 31 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 1 November, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d 7 November, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 14 November, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 14 November, a hair broom, a scrubbing brush and 6 yards of osnaburg for the country church, £0 12s 9d 19 November, repairs to the thatch of the country church, £0 8s 0d 21 November, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 26 November, repairs to the roof of the schoolhouse, £0 8s 0d 28 November, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 1 December, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d 5 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Cash paid for building up the wall at the country church, £0 5s 0d 12 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 19 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d

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		§17 Do. Do.§ §4§ §24 Do. Do.§ §4§ §31 Do. Do.§ §4§ §Novemr. 1 Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §7 Betty Wade§ §4§ §14 Do. Do.§ §4§ §16 Cash paid for a hair Broom a scrubbing Brush§ §and 6 yards of Osnaburg for the use of the§ §Country Church§ §12 9§ §19 Cash paid repairs of the Thatch Co. Church§ §8§ §21 Cash Betty Wade§ §4§ §26 Repairing the Roof of the School House§ §8§ §28 Betty Wade§ §4§ §Decr. 1 Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §5 Betty Wade§ §4§ §10 Cash paid building up the Wall of Co. Church§ §5§ §12 Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §19 Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §26 Do. Do.§ §4§ §Carried forward £ 21 4§	26 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Carried forward, £21 4s [...] **Interpretations** Osnaburg was a coarse, unbleached linen or hempen cloth, named after Osnabrück in Germany, where it was first woven. It was cheap and hard-wearing and was shipped through Britain to the colonies in great quantities, mainly to clothe slaves and to make sacking. Here six yards were bought with a broom and a scrubbing brush, probably as cleaning cloths or as a cover for the communion table or furniture in the country church. B. B. L., entered once as B. Blys and marked in the margin as free, was put on the same weekly allowance of 3s 6d that Abigail had received. Within a month the parish was paying for wine and attendance during an illness and then for a funeral. The same sequence of weekly relief, sick care and burial had followed for Abigail earlier in the year. Pat Sibell, also marked as free, was held in prison by the Governor's order, with the parish paying 3s 6d a week for her keep. The parish rate was paying for the custody of free blacks imprisoned by the Company's own authority, not only for their relief. The vestry clerk's salary had risen to £10 0s 0d a year, half as much again as the £2 10s 0d a quarter paid to Neve in 1795.
66	57	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in§ §James's Valley this 1st. Day of April 1793§ §The Vestry being much more numerous than the§ §last the Proceedings of the Last were read and§ §unanimously approved of.§ §A Paragraph from the honorable Court of§ §Directors General Letter being read [...]§ §Unanimously Agreed That Application be made to the Board to Return§ §the Thanks of the Vestry to the honorable Court of Directors§ §for their Goodness and Attention towards the Welfare of this Island§ §And to Assure them, that every Attention shall be made on§ §their Parts to the Improvement thereof.§ §And that they hope a Change of Season will ensure their Success.§ §Unanimously Agreed by the Vestry, The Board will be pleased to§ §Determine That, the [...] fines which may accrue§ §by reason of the now [...] existing Slave Laws§ §be appropriated to the Service & Benefit of the Widows Fund§ §And this Fund being in a very low State The Board§ §will be pleased to represent it; And request that the§ §Tax on Horses be also applied to the aforesaid Purpose, to§ §reestablish the Fund which is now greatly in Arrear.§ §That as the present Ruinous State of the Parish§ §House and its inconvenient Situation, merit Consideration The§ §Board will approve of a Plan proposed to sell it, and the Ground§ §and the Money arising from the Sale thereof be applied to the§ §erecting a New Parish House, in a more economical Situation.§	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 1 April 1793. Far more people attended than at the previous meeting. The minutes of that meeting were read and approved unanimously. A paragraph from the Court of Directors' general letter was also read. The vestry agreed unanimously to ask the Board to pass its thanks to the Court of Directors for their kindness and their concern for the island's welfare. The Board was also to assure the Directors that the inhabitants would do all they could to improve the island, and that they hoped a change in the seasons would bring the Directors' efforts success. The vestry then agreed unanimously to put the following requests to the Board. The Board was asked to direct that fines arising under the **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** slave laws now in force should go to the widows' fund. That fund was very low and had fallen badly behind. The Board was asked to report this to the Directors and to request that the tax on horses should also go to rebuild it. The parish house was in ruins and badly placed. The vestry asked the Board to approve a plan to sell the house and its ground and to use the money to build a new parish house somewhere more convenient. The vestry had often been told that many blacks were being freed in breach of the 37th article of the Company's slave laws, so that they might become a burden on the parish. The vestry regarded this as a growing problem and asked the Board to consider it. Dogs had multiplied in the valley and become a nuisance because the existing tax on them was so low. The vestry asked the Board to approve an additional tax of 5s on every dog. **Interpretations**

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		§That Representation having been frequently made to the Vestry§ §that many Blacks are made free contrary to the 37 Article§ §in the Company's Slave Laws, by which Means they may become§ §burthensome to the Parish, and as it is a growing Evil,§ §The Vestry request the Board will be so good as take this§ §into Consideration.§ §That as the great Increase of Dogs in the Valley is become§ §a Nuisance by reason of the small Tax on the same, That§ §The Board will approve of that 5/. head additional Tax be§ §levied on all Persons keeping Dogs that is 5/. each Dog§	The complaint about slaves being freed against the 37th article of the slave laws shows why the parish had begun keeping lists of free blacks and paying their doctors' bills and funerals. An owner who freed an old or sick slave was spared the cost of keeping him, while the parish took it on. In 1791 the vestry had exempted free blacks from the head tax. By 1793 it saw that this left the parish supporting people who paid nothing towards their relief. Rather than withdraw the relief, it asked the Board to enforce the law against irregular freeing, which would stop the burden at its source. The vestry wanted fines under the slave laws paid into the widows' fund rather than the ordinary parish account. Penalties imposed on owners for breaking the slave code would then go to support the widows of the island's own families. Asking for the horse tax as well shows the fund was meant to be built up from charges on the wealthier planters, who kept horses, rather than from the general rate. The dog tax request explains the later accounts. The parish was charging 5s a dog by 1796, and it paid steadily for dogs to be hanged. The vestry had diagnosed the nuisance as a pricing problem: a tax set too low to discourage keeping dogs. The thanks to the Directors, and the hope for a better season, suggest the island had just come through a hard season of drought or poor harvests, which the Company had tried to relieve.
67	58	Per Contra§ §By Sundry Receipts Dog Taxes &§ §Sheep Tax recd. by me E. C. Smith§ §120 0 5§ §At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James Valley this§ §25 Day of February 1793 to consider of embodying the§ §Militia and to render them (as far as may be) serviceable to§ §the Defence of the Island.§ §Proposed That the said Militia be immediately embodied and the§ §Ground Contiguous to the Country Church be marked Out for the§ §Purpose of their Assembling to learn the Necessary Military§ §Manœuvres &c. And that two Days in each Month (the§ §first Day to be the first Saturday in each Month, and the second§ §Day to be 4 days after or subsequent) be appointed for that Purpose§ §to commence the second Day of March next ensuing the two Days§ §in each Month to be observed as appropriated for the Exercise until§ §they are Perfect, and then only One Day in each Month as§ §Usual.§ §Proposed That Application be made to the Governor & Council That§ §Serjeant Major Helman and Serjeant Ambler, from the Garrison§ §be appointed to instruct the Militia.§ §Proposed That an application be made to the Governor and§ §Council to Rebuild and Repair the Sheds and the Alarm§ §Houses at each Station for the Reception of the Both Parties§ §of Militia.§ §Remarked That Many of the Inhabitants neglect attending§ §Vestrys &c. &c.§	The credit side of the account recorded a single entry. Various receipts from the dog tax and the sheep tax, as per E. C. Smith, £120 8s 5d A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 25 February 1793. Its purpose was to consider calling out the militia and making it as fit as possible to defend the island. The vestry proposed that the militia should be called out at once. Ground next to the country church was to be marked out where the men could gather to learn the necessary drill and manoeuvres. Two days a month were set aside for training, the first Saturday of each month and a second day 14 days later, starting on 2 March. Both days were to be kept until the men were proficient, after which training would return to the usual one day a month. It also proposed asking the Governor and Council to appoint Sergeant Major Hilman and Sergeant Ambler from the garrison to train the militia. A further proposal asked the Governor and Council to rebuild and repair the sheds and the alarm houses at each station, so that both divisions of the militia could be housed there. The vestry noted that many inhabitants failed to attend its meetings. **Interpretations** The vestry, not the Council, took the first step in calling out the militia. The planters who sat in vestry were the militia's own men, and they set its training days, chose its drill ground and asked for regular sergeants to instruct it. The Company supplied the instructors and the buildings at the stations. The defence of the island thus rested on a partnership in which the parish organised the inhabitants and the garrison provided professional skill. The alarm houses at each station were the posts where militiamen gathered when the signal guns warned of approaching ships. The complaint that many inhabitants neglected the vestry had an effect. When the vestry next met on 1 April 1793, the clerk recorded that it was far more numerous than the last. The call to arms in February had probably brought the planters out, since the militia, the rates and the slave laws were all being decided in the same room.

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68	59	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's Valley§ §the 11th. Day of November 1793 to take into Consideration§ §the best Mode to be adopted, to destroy the Fly§ §peculiar to the Cattle.§ §Resolved that every Attention and Diligence should§ §be individually observed in Order to destroy the Worm§ §which is so destructive to the Cattle, and every my [...]§ §to do so to be enforced so as [...], and that this§ §Resolution be immediately put in Force.§ §That an Inspector be Chosen in each Division to see§ §this Done, and to give a Report relative thereto to§ §the Board, on the Sessions Day which shall happen§ §in January in each and every Year; the Inspection§ §to commence on the 1st. October & to end the 31st. March§ §next ensuing in each Revolving Year.§ §That the Inspector shall, once a Month report§ §proceedings &c.§ §Inspectors§ §Mr. John Worrall East§ §S. Knipe West Divisions§ §Lt. Wm. Seale South§ §Geo. [...] [...] C. W.§ §[...] C. [...]§ §Approved & ordered to be carried into Execution§ §Warrants to be granted next Monday to the§ §Inspectors.§ §By order of Council§	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 14 November 1793 to consider the best way to destroy the fly that attacked the island's cattle. The vestry resolved that every owner should take all possible care to destroy the worm that was doing so much damage to the cattle, using every available means. The resolution was to take effect at once. An inspector was to be chosen for each division to see that this was done. Each inspector was to report to the Board on the sessions day held every January. Inspections were to run each year from 1 October to 31 March, and each inspector was to report his progress monthly. The inspectors were named as follows. East division: Mr John Worrall West division: L. Knipe South division: Lieutenant William Seale E. C. Smith and [...] signed as churchwardens. The Council approved the resolutions and ordered them carried out, with warrants to be issued to the inspectors the following Monday. **Interpretations** These resolutions created the post that appeared in the lists of parish officers for 1797 and 1798 as wormer of cattle and inspector of cattle worming. The fly laid its eggs on the cattle, and the hatched larvae, the worm, ate into the hide and flesh. The inspection season of 1 October to 31 March covered the southern-hemisphere spring and summer, when the flies were breeding and the cattle most exposed. Leaving each owner to treat his own herd would not have worked, because one neglected herd could keep the flies breeding across the shared pasture. The vestry made treatment a public duty enforced by inspectors in each division. The Council's warrants gave the inspectors legal authority to enter farms and check the herds, which a parish resolution alone could not have given them.
69	60	Parish Dr.§ §Augt. 4th. By 1 months Pay to Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §Do. Do. to Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §August 4. Do. 1 weeks Pay to Betty Wade§ §4§ §Ballance due§ §4 0 4½§ §£ 6 4 4½§	The debit side of the parish account recorded the following payments. 4 August, 1 month's allowance to Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 1 month's allowance to Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d 4 August, 1 week's allowance to Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Balance due, £4 0s 4½d Total, £6 4s 4½d
70	61	Per Contra§ §Ballance as p Annexed due to the Parish§ §6 4 4½§ §Recd. from E. C. Smith§ §the Sum of Four Pounds Sterling§ §[...] & 4½ being the§ §Ballance due this 4th. Augt. 1794§ §to the Parish§ §Thos. Cole§	The credit side of the parish account recorded a single entry. Balance due to the parish as shown in the account annexed, £6 4s 4½d Thomas Cole signed a receipt for £4 0s 4½d from E. C. Smith, the balance owed to the parish on 4 August 1794.
71	62	Parish Dr.§ §1794 Aug. 10th. Paid Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. Mr. Smith the late Church Warden, a Bill§ §for Materials of the School House &c.§ §3 3 8§ §Paid Jailer for Sam a condemned Slave 3 Weeks§ §10 6§ §Do. Do.§ §Septr. 7th. Paid Jenny for Betty Wade 4 weeks at 4/.§ §16§ §Jailer for Sam§ §3 6§ §15th. pd. Jenny for Betty Wade§ §4§ §pd. Jailer for Sam§ §2 6 6§	The debit side of the parish account for 1794 recorded the following payments. 10 August 1794, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Mr Smith, the late churchwarden, on a bill for materials for the schoolhouse and other items, £3 3s 8d Paid to the gaoler for Sam, a condemned slave, at 3s 6d a week, for 3 weeks, £0 10s 6d 7 September, paid to Jenny for Betty Wade, 4 weeks at 4s, £0 16s 0d Paid to the gaoler for Sam, £0 3s 6d 15 September, paid to Jenny for Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Yates for Sam, £3 6s 6d Paid to Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Paid to Mrs Ringrose for Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d

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		§pd. to Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §pd. Mr. Ringrose for Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §pd. H. Isaacke repairing Church Yard§ §1 6§ §16th. pd. Jailer for Sam§ §3 6§ §pd. Moyse for return of free Blacks§ §6 9§ §22 pd. Betty Wade§ §4§ §23 pd. for 6 Bushells Lime to repair School House§ §9§ §pd. Jailer for Sam§ §3 6§ §pd. Secretarys Fees to September 1794§ §3 2 6§ §29 pd. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1§ §pd. Mr. Ringrose for Daniel Caldwell§ §1§ §pd. Betty Wade§ §4§ §30 pd. Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §Octr. 2 pd. for Repairs of School House and§ §Church Yard Wall as p Bill§ §7 4 6§ §6th. pd. Betty Wade§ §4§ §Jailer for Sam§ §3 6§ §9th. Paid Mr. Kennedy for Ben a condemned Slave§ §10§ §13th. pd. Betty Do.§ §4§ §pd. Lowther for Glazing at the School House§ §4 6§ §pd. Jailer for Sam§ §3 6§ §pd. Serjeant Chantry for his trouble putting in§ §School yard Door which was blown down§ §7 6§ §18th. Paid Edward Perry painting School House§ §1§ §20 Paid Betty Wade§ §4§ §23 Paid Knipe for Cleaning Church Yard§ §8§ §Paid Mr. Wright for Sam a condemned Slave§ §15§ §25 Paid for 2 Staples for Parish House Door§ §10§ §27 Paid Betty Wade§ §4§ §Do. for 6 squares of Glass for Country Church§ §5§ §repairing Fort Chapel [...]§ §1 6§ §31st. Paid Moore putting in 6 squares Glass Co. Church§ §3 9§ §56 16 6§	Paid to R. Isaacs for repairing the churchyard, £0 1s 6d 16 September, paid to the gaoler for Sam, £0 3s 6d Paid to Moyce for a return of the free blacks, £0 6s 9d 22 September, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 23 September, lime from A. Burchell to repair the schoolhouse, £0 9s 0d Paid to the gaoler for Sam, £0 3s 6d Secretary's fees to September 1794, £3 2s 6d 29 September, paid to Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Paid to Mrs Ringrose for Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 30 September, sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d 2 October, repairs to the schoolhouse and the churchyard wall, as per bill, £7 4s 6d 6 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to the gaoler for Sam, £0 3s 6d 9 October, paid to Mr Kennedy for Ben, a condemned slave, £10 0s 0d 13 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Lowther for glazing at the schoolhouse, £0 4s 6d Paid to the gaoler for Sam, £0 3s 6d Paid to Sergeant [...] for rehanging the schoolyard door, which had blown down, £0 7s 6d 18 October, paid to Edward Perry for painting the schoolhouse, £1 0s 0d 20 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 23 October, paid to Harper for cleaning the churchyard, £0 8s 0d Paid to Mr Wright for Sam, a condemned slave, £15 0s 0d 25 October, 2 lintels for the parish house door, £0 0s 10d 27 October, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 6 panes of glass for the country church, £0 5s 0d A pane of glass for repairing the Fort chapel, £0 1s 6d 31 October, paid to Means for fitting 6 panes of glass in the country church, £0 3s 9d Total, £56 16s 6d **Interpretations** Sam, a slave belonging to Mr Wright, was held under sentence of death from August to late October 1794, with the parish paying the gaoler 3s 6d a week throughout. His owner received £15 0s 0d, while Mr Kennedy received £10 0s 0d for Ben, also condemned, in the same month. The two sums show that compensation was set slave by slave, probably by valuation, rather than at a fixed rate. That also explains why Mason received only £7 0s 0d for September in 1795 and the two owners in March 1796 received £12 0s 0d each. Sam was held for more than ten weeks between sentence and execution. The delay probably reflected the need for the Governor and Council to confirm a death sentence before it was carried out. The parish paid for the whole of that wait. Daniel Caldwell's monthly allowance was now paid to Mrs Ringrose, and Betty Wade's to Jenny. Neither pauper received the money directly. The parish had placed them with carers and paid those carers for their keep. That was a form of boarding out, cheaper than maintaining them in the ruinous parish house that the vestry wanted sold in April 1793. The pane of glass for the Fort chapel shows the parish also helping to maintain the place of worship inside the Castle used by the garrison and the Company's officers.
72	63	Per Contra Cr.§ §1794 Aug. 4th. By Ballance received from the late Church§ §Warden§ §4 0 4½§	The credit side of the parish account for 1794 recorded the following receipts. 4 August 1794, balance received from the late churchwarden, £4 0s 4½d

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		§By Head Money at 1/3 ₱ Head§ §collected to the 31st. January 1795§ §83 14 0§ §carried over £ 87 14 4½§	Head money at [...] a head, collected up to 31 January 1795, £83 14s 0d Carried over, £87 14s 4½d **Interpretations** The head money for 1794 took almost six months to collect, from the start of the churchwarden's year in August to the end of January 1795. Meanwhile the parish was paying weekly relief, gaol fees and compensation for condemned slaves, including £25 0s 0d to Wright and Kennedy in October alone. The opening balance of only £4 0s 4½d could not have covered that. The churchwarden probably paid the early bills from his own pocket and repaid himself as the tax came in. That would explain why balances in this period were sometimes owed to the churchwarden rather than to the parish, as with the 8s 0½d due to Thomas Cole in 1795.
73	64	Parish Dr.§ §1794 Novr. 3 Brought over§ §56 16 6§ §Paid Daniel Caldwell 4 Weeks§ §1§ §Do. Charlotte Kenwood 4 Weeks§ §1§ §Do. Betty Wade§ §4§ §4th. Do. Henry Nevi, Vestry Clerk§ §1 Quarters Salary due this Day§ §2 10§ §6th. pd. Dick putting on Parish House Door§ §3 6§ §10th. Betty Wade§ §4§ §13th. paid Dick repairing Church Yard Wall in§ §the Country§ §5§ §17 Betty Wade§ §4§ §24th. Betty Wade§ §4§ §27th. Paid Moyse for collecting the free Blacks to§ §attend Alarms§ §4 6§ §28th. Thatcher repairing Country Church§ §9§ §Decr. 1 Betty Wade§ §4§ §Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§ §Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §8th. Betty Wade§ §4§ §15th. Betty Wade§ §4§ §17th. Sexton for making a Grave for free Sarah§ §3 0§ §22 Betty Wade§ §4§ §29 Betty Wade§ §4§ §31 Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§ §Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §1795 Paid Gabriel Isaacke for a Coffin for free Sarah§ §1 5 0§ §January 26th. Paid Sheep Inspector marking 1798 Sheep &c.§ §7 9 10§ §31st. Do. Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§	The debit side of the parish account for 1794 and 1795 recorded the following payments. Brought over, £56 16s 6d 3 November 1794, paid to Daniel Caldwell for 4 weeks, £1 0s 0d Paid to Charlotte Kinwood for 4 weeks, £1 0s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 4 November, paid to Henry Neve, vestry clerk, for a quarter's salary due that day, £2 10s 0d 6 November, paid to Dick for fitting the parish house door, £0 3s 6d 10 November, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 12 November, paid to Dick for repairing the country churchyard wall, £0 5s 0d 17 November, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 24 November, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 27 November, paid to Moyce for calling out the free blacks to attend alarms, £0 4s 6d 28 November, paid to the thatcher for repairing the country church, £0 9s 0d 1 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 8 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 15 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 17 December, paid to the sexton for digging a grave for Sarah, a free black, £0 3s 0d 22 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 29 December, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 31 December, support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d Support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d Paid to Gabriel Jacks for a coffin for Sarah, a free black, £1 5s 0d 26 January 1795, paid to the sheep inspectors for marking 1,798 sheep and other work, £7 9s 10d 31 January, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 1 February, paid to Frederick Alexander, inspector of sheep, for 516 sheep, £2 2s 0d 1 February, paid to Massey [...] for attending on Charles, a free black, £2 4s 0d 2 February, doctor's bill for Charles, £2 11s 6d 4 February, paid to Neve for a quarter's salary, £2 10s 0d Bringing Sarah's body from [...] and carrying it to the burial ground, £0 15s 0d 9 February, paid to Wade for 6 weeks' attendance, £1 4s 0d 11 February, a bottle of wine for Abigail, a free black, £0 2s 3d 12 February, paid to Moyce for Betty Moore's expenses for a [...] child, £0 10s 0d Paid to the constable and the bailiffs for collecting the dog tax, £1 12s 0d Total, £96 8s 7d **Interpretations**

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		§Do. Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §Feby. 1. Inspector of Sheep Frederick Alexander 516 &c.§ §2 2 0§ §1. Paid Masey Hester and Attending on the§ §Man [...] Charles§ §2 4 0§ §2 Paid Doctors Bill for Charles§ §2 11 6§ §4th. Paid Nevi ¼ Salary§ §2 10§ §Burying Corps from Waldron and carrying to§ §Burial Ground, [...] Sarah§ §15§ §9 Paid Wade 6 Weeks Attendance§ §1 4 0§ §11th. pd. Free Abigail a Bottle Wine§ §2 3§ §12th. Paid Moyse for Betty Moore Expences on Acct.§ §of a [...]§ §10§ §Paid the Constable and the Bailiff collecting§ §the Dog Tax§ §1 12§ §£ 96 8 7§	Moyce, who kept the register of free blacks, was paid in November 1794 for calling them out to attend alarms. Free blacks paid no head tax after 1791, but they were still mustered for the island's defence when the signal guns warned of ships approaching. The register therefore served three purposes. It identified who was exempt from tax, who could receive relief and who could be summoned in an emergency. That gave the vestry a practical reason to keep it accurate. The parish now spent heavily on free blacks' sickness and death. Sarah's grave, coffin and the carrying of her body from outside the town cost £2 3s 0d in all. Charles's nursing and doctor's bill came to £4 15s 6d, and Abigail was given wine as a tonic. The payment to Wade for six weeks' attendance was probably to Betty Wade, who drew a weekly allowance at the same 4s rate. The parish may have been setting one of its own paupers to nurse the sick in return for her keep.
74	65	[Staining at the upper left edge of the page, partly obscuring the year in the date column.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1795 Jany. 1 By Sundries as p the other Side§ §87 14 4½§ §13 By Cash recd. from Messrs. Kay & Dunn§ §for the use of the Poor§ §7 10§ §14 By Do. from Mr. Arnesto for the Poor§ §1§ §31 By the Sheep Tax 1798 at 1d. p head§ §7 9 10§ §By Receipt Dog Tax to this Date§ §34 5§ §Feby. 28 By Receipt Do. to this Date§ §5§	The credit side of the parish account for 1795 recorded the following receipts. 1 January 1795, various receipts as shown on the other side, £87 14s 4½d 13 January, cash received from Messrs Kay and Dunn for the use of the poor, £7 10s 0d 14 January, cash received from Mr [...] for the poor, £1 0s 0d 31 January, sheep tax on 1,798 sheep at 1d a head, £7 9s 10d Receipts from the dog tax to that date, £34 5s 0d 28 February, receipts from the dog tax to that date, £5 0s 0d **Interpretations** The sheep tax on 1,798 head at 1d each brought in £7 9s 10d. That was exactly the sum paid to the sheep inspectors on 26 January for marking the same 1,798 sheep. The sheep tax raised no revenue for the parish at all. It paid for the count and the marking, so the flocks were registered and policed at no cost to the general rate. The dog tax, by contrast, brought in nearly £40 0s 0d in two months and was a real source of income. The surgeons Kay and Dunn, who billed the parish for treating free blacks and paupers, gave £7 10s 0d for the use of the poor. In 1791 the vestry had refused Mr Kay's bill of £35 2s 0d outright. The gift probably returned part of the fees the two men earned from parish work, which kept them on good terms with the vestry that decided which of their bills it would pay.
75	66	[Heavy staining across the upper half of the page, obscuring parts of the first entries; damage to the right-hand edge and lower left corner.] Parish Dr.§ §1795 Brought over§ §96 8 7§ §Feby. 2[...] [...] Wade§ §[...] 0§ §25 [...] Abigail [...] Wine§ §2 3§ §28 [...] Daniel Caldwell§ §1 0 0§ §[...] Charlotte Kenwood§ §1 0 0§ §March 2 Betty Wade§ §4§	The debit side of the parish account for 1795 recorded the following payments. Brought over, £96 8s 7d 23 February 1795, support of Betty Wade for 2 weeks, £0 8s 0d 25 February, [...] Abigail [...], £0 2s 3d 28 February, support of Daniel Caldwell, £1 0s 0d Support of Charlotte Kinwood, £1 0s 0d 2 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 7 March, [...] for the schoolyard door, £0 5s 6d Support of Abigail, a free black, £0 9s 3d 9 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Mr Pritchard for Charles, a free black, £1 16s 4d A bottle of wine and oil for Abigail, £0 3s 3d 17 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d

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		§7 Lock for School Yard Door§ §5 6§ §Free Abigail Subsistance§ §3 3§ §9th. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Mr. [...] for Free Charles§ §1 16 3§ §Bottle Wine and Oil Abigail§ §3§ §17 Betty Wade§ §4§ §pd. Mr. [...] for Captain Pierie for free Charles Coffin§ §9§ §pd. Blacks and Dick attendg. Charles as ꝑ Bill§ §9§ §Do. Sexton Making Grave &c.§ §2 6§ §23 Betty Wade§ §4§ §23 Patty Hyslock Imprisonment One Week§ §3 0§ §30 Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §1st. April Paid Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §Mr. Legg Making Coffin for free Charles§ §13 6§ §Mending School House Gate§ §2 6§ §Mr. Pritchards Bill§ §12 9§ §April 4 Paid Nevi 2 Months Salary to this Date§ §1 13 4§ §6 Paid the Constable & Bailiff for Collection of the Dog [...]§ §1 0 0§ §Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §Mrs. Kenwood Daniel Caldwell 1 Month§ §2 0 0§ §Patty Hyslock when in Goal§ §3 6§ §13 Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §15 Patty Hyslocks Allowance§ §3 6§ §19 Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §27 Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §29 Paid Goaler for September§ §3 6§ §30th. Daniel Caldwell & Kenwood§ §2 0 0§ §May 4th. Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §6th. Paid for September condemned§ §3 6§ §11th. paid Betty Wade§ §4 0§ §13 paid the Jailer for September§ §3 6§ §paid the Stores for Sugar Tea & Chalk§ §2 0 6§ §[...] Napkins 9/. A pair of Breeches 16/6§ §1 5 6§ §3 Childrens Hats 1 4 0 A pair of Cloths 16/.§ §2 4 0§ §A Pair of Shoes§ §5 0§ §£ 123 13 9§	Paid to Captain Pirie for a deal board for Charles's coffin, £0 9s 0d Paid to Blacks and Dick for attending on Charles, as per bill, £0 9s 0d Paid to the sexton for digging a grave and other work, £0 2s 6d 23 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 23 March, keep of Patty Kyloch in prison for one week, £0 3s 6d 30 March, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 1 April, sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d Paid to Mr Legg for making a coffin for Charles, £0 13s 6d Mending the schoolhouse gate, £0 2s 6d Mr Pritchard's bill, £0 12s 9d 4 April, paid to Neve for 2 months' salary to that date, £1 13s 4d 6 April, paid to the constable and bailiff for the rest of the dog tax collection, £1 0s 0d Support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d Paid to Mrs Kinwood and Daniel Caldwell for 1 month, £2 0s 0d Keep of Patty Kyloch while in gaol, £0 3s 6d 13 April, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 15 April, Patty Kyloch's allowance, £0 3s 6d 19 April, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 27 April, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 6d 29 April, paid to the gaoler for September, £0 3s 6d 30 April, paid to Daniel Caldwell and Mrs Kinwood, £2 0s 0d 4 May, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 6 May, paid for September, a condemned slave, £0 3s 6d 11 May, support of Betty Wade, £0 4s 0d 13 May, paid to the gaoler for September, £0 3s 6d Paid to the Company's stores for sugar, tea and [...], £2 0s 6d A piece of nankeen at 9s and a piece of baftas at 16s 6d, £1 5s 6d 3 children's hats at £1 4s 0d and a piece of chintz at 10s, £2 4s 0d A pair of shoes, £0 5s 0d Total, £123 13s 9d A note in the margin beside the last four entries named the person they were bought for, but the name cannot be read. **Interpretations** Baftas were plain, cheap calico cottons woven in Gujarat and Bengal, among the commonest Indian piece goods the Company shipped. Chintz was Indian cotton printed or painted with coloured patterns, more decorative and slightly dearer. Both came to St Helena from the Company's stores and from ships calling on their way home from India. Taken together, the cloth, three children's hats, a pair of shoes, tea and sugar amounted to a complete outfitting of one household with children. The parish was clothing and provisioning a family in goods rather than giving it cash, and nearly all of it came from the Company's own warehouse. September, the slave whose owner Mason was paid £7 0s 0d in August 1795, was already in gaol and condemned by the end of April. The parish paid the gaoler 3s 6d a week for him for at least three months before the execution and compensation were recorded. As with Sam in 1794, the time between sentence and execution was long and paid for by the parish. Patty Kyloch was jailed for a week in March and then placed on an allowance of 3s 6d. The parish thus moved her straight from custody to relief, probably because she had no other means of support.
76	67	[Light staining along the head and left-hand edge of the page, clear of the text.]	A vestry met at the chapel in St James's Valley on 17 April 1797. A minute from the Council was read, thanking the inhabitants for their care and readiness in

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		At a Vestry holden at the Chapel in James's Valley§ §this 17th. Day of April 1797.§ §Minute from the Board of Council read.§ §The Board of Council return their Thanks to the Inhabitants of the§ §Island for their Attention and Alacrity in sending their Slaves to the§ §Fortifications at this Critical Juncture.§ §The following Petition from Elizabeth Price, in favor of Betty§ §Wade a Pauper, was read.§ §To the Gentlemen assembled in Vestry.§ §The humble Petition of Elizabeth Price§ §Sheweth§ §That your Petitioner has for Nine Years Past maintained§ §the most compleat object of Charity on the Island who is incapable of§ §assisting herself in any Respect whatever, seven Years of this Time§ §your Petitioner received 3/6 ꝑ week for her subsistence and for the two§ §last Years she has received 4/. ꝑ week.§ §But your Petitioner begs leave humbly to represent§ §that according to the Present scarcity and consequently dearness of Provisions§ §it is entirely out of her Power to support her, and find her clothing§ §for which latter Article your Petitioner has never been allowed any§ §Thing and as she is under the Necessity of paying 1/6 ꝑ Dozen§ §for Mackrell 3/. or 3/6 ꝑ Quarter for Albacore and in a like§ §proportion dear for every other Article exclusive of Clothing§ §of which she is at Present Destitute. She humbly begs that you§ §will take it into your consideration and make some further allowance§ §and Your Petitioner will as in Duty bound Ever Pray.§ §Signd. Elizth. Price§ §James's Valley 17 April 1797.§	sending their slaves to work on the fortifications at so critical a time. A petition from Elizabeth Price on behalf of Betty Wade, a pauper, was then read. Price explained that for nine years she had kept Betty Wade, the most helpless object of charity on the island, who could do nothing at all for herself. For seven of those years Price had received 3s 6d a week for Betty Wade's keep, and for the last two years 4s a week. With food now scarce and correspondingly dear, she could no longer support her. Nor could she clothe her, since the parish had never given anything towards clothing. Price had to pay 1s 6d a dozen for mackerel and 3s or 3s 6d a quarter for albacore, and every other necessity had risen in the same proportion, quite apart from clothing, which Betty Wade now lacked entirely. Price asked the vestry to consider her situation and grant a larger allowance. She signed the petition at St James's Valley on 17 April 1797. **Interpretations** The petition shows that the weekly payments entered in the accounts as support of Betty Wade were in fact paid to Elizabeth Price, who boarded and nursed her. Betty Wade was wholly unable to care for herself. The payment in February 1795 for six weeks' attendance by Wade was therefore probably made for attendance on her rather than by her, and Price was presumably the Jenny paid on Betty Wade's behalf in 1794. The parish had kept its most dependent pauper for nine years through a private carer at a fixed weekly rate, without clothing. That was far cheaper than keeping her in the parish house, and it held up only while food stayed cheap. The fish prices give a direct measure of the scarcity. Mackerel and albacore were the staple fish of St Helena. Albacore, a large tuna caught off the island in great numbers, was sold in quarters because a whole fish was too big for one household. When fish rose to these prices, the fixed weekly allowance no longer covered a pauper's food. The Council's thanks for slaves sent to the fortifications came from the same moment. Planters were giving up their slaves' labour for defence while the island was short of food, so the vestry faced Price's request for more money just as the ratepayers were most stretched.
77	68	The Vestry taking the foregoing Petition into Consideration unanimously§ §agree to allow Betty Wade One Shilling ꝑ Day for the Present, on§ §Account of the Scarcity and Dearness of Provisions, They further are of§ §Opinion that the Present Price of Fish is exorbitant particularly§ §Mackrell, which was by an Order of Council to bear the Price§ §of 5 ꝑ Dozen Only, and request the Board to take this Evil into§ §Consideration and provide such Remedy as they in their Judgement§ §may think most meet.§ §Several Persons having omitted to pay for§ §their Dogs or give in a List of what Number of Dogs they keep, and§ §as numerous inconveniences have arisen, respecting the collecting the Dog§ §Tax. The Vestry unanimously agree that a Proper Person be§ §appointed to collect said Tax, the said Collector to be allowed 5 £§ §ꝑ annum to be paid him out of the Parish Money.§ §Unanimously agreed That a Tax of Six Pence ꝑ head be levied on§ §all Slaves, to be appropriated towards the Expence of the ensuing§	The vestry considered the petition and agreed unanimously to allow Betty Wade 1s a day for the time being, because of the scarcity and high price of food. It also found the current price of fish excessive, especially mackerel, which a Council order had fixed at no more than 5d a dozen. The vestry asked the Board to consider the problem and apply whatever remedy it thought best. Several people had failed to pay for their dogs or to return a list of how many they kept, and collecting the dog tax had caused many difficulties. The vestry agreed unanimously to appoint a suitable person to collect it, at a salary of £5 0s 0d a year paid from parish funds. It also agreed unanimously to levy a tax of 6d a head on all slaves to meet the coming year's expenses. Richard Torbett signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** Betty Wade's allowance rose from 4s a week to 1s a day, or 7s a week, an increase of three-quarters, granted "for the present" only. At the same time the vestry did not try to raise every allowance to match the market. It pointed out that mackerel was selling at 1s 6d a dozen against a price fixed by the Council at 5d, more than three times the legal rate. Its answer to dear food was to have the Council enforce its own price controls, which would lower costs for every household, rather than permanently raise the parish's spending. The temporary rise for Betty Wade covered the one pauper who could not wait.

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		§Year.§ §Richd. Torbett Church Warden§ **Margin Notes:** §✓§	The slave tax for the coming year was set at 6d a head, against 3s 6d in 1796. That year had left a balance of £75 14s 8¾d, enough to cover most of the next year's needs. The vestry cut the rate sharply rather than keep collecting at the old level, and spent down the surplus while planters were also giving up their slaves' labour for the fortifications. A paid dog-tax collector at £5 0s 0d a year was a cost worth bearing, because the dog tax had brought in more than £50 0s 0d in 1796 and would fail without someone to chase non-payers.
78	69	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's§ §Valley the 24th. Day of April 1797 for the Purpose of Choosing§ §a Committee from amongst the Principal Inhabitants, to take into§ §Consideration the Exorbitant Price of Fish and to propose some Plan§ §to remedy this Evil, said Plan to be submitted to the Board§ §of Council for their Approbation And the Committee to report§ §Progress as soon as convenient can be, to the Board who§ §will take such Plan into Consideration and deliver to§ §the Committee their Determination thereon.§ §The following Gentlemen were chosen by Ballot a§ §Committee for the Purposes aforesaid§ §Viz.§ §Mr. David Kay Senior§ §Captain F. Seale§ §Mr. Rt. Leech§ §Capt. E. C. Smith§ §Mr. Benj. Mason Senior§ §Richd. Torbett Church Warden§ **Margin Notes:** §✓§	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 24 April 1797 to choose a committee of leading inhabitants. The committee was to look into the excessive price of fish and propose a plan to deal with it. Its plan would go to the Council for approval. The committee was to report its progress to the Board as soon as it conveniently could, and the Board would consider the plan and give the committee its decision. The vestry elected the following committee by ballot. Mr David Kay senior Captain F. Seale Mr Robert Leech Captain E. C. Smith Mr Benjamin Mason senior Richard Torbett signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** A week earlier, on 17 April, the vestry had simply asked the Board to deal with the price of fish as it saw fit. Now it chose to draw up a plan itself and put it to the Council for approval. The Council's existing order fixing mackerel at 5d a dozen was evidently not being obeyed, and leaving the remedy to the Board had produced nothing. By electing a committee by ballot, the ratepayers made the plan their own work and pressed the Council for an answer, while still conceding that only the Council could give it legal force. The committee drew on men already serving the parish: Smith had been churchwarden, Leech had supplied materials for the country church, and Kay was the surgeon who treated the parish poor.
79	70	November the 12th. 1798§ §The distressed situation of Mary Broadway (the Daughter of§ §Lieut. C. Broadway deceased), An Orphan, having induced§ §Lieutenant James Pritchard Garrison Adjutant to represent§ §the same§ §Mary Broadway. A Subscription was opened for her§ §relief and the said Lieutenant Pritchard having undertaken§ §the collecting the same amounting (at this Present day the§ §16 February 1798) to the Sum of Twenty one Pounds§ §fourteen Shillings the same was laid before the Governor§ §and Council who directed that all the Subscription§ §be Deposited in the hands of the Church Wardens§ §who are to Account for the same. And allow unto the§ §said Mary Broadway Six Shillings p week for her§ §Support out of the said Subscription§ §1798 Feby. 26 To Amount of Subscription this Day§ §received from Lieutenant Pritchard§ §21 14 0§ §By 15 Weeks allowance from 1st. Novr.§ §to this 26 Day of February§ §£ 4 10 0§ §By Cash at Christmas§ §10 0§ §5 0 0§ §Feb. 27th. 1798 Received the Sum of £16 14 0 from§ §Mr. Richd. Torbett Geo. Scott§ §£ 16 14 0§	The vestry book recorded the following on 12 November 1797. **Start of crossed out section** Mary Broadway, an orphan and the daughter of the late Lieutenant [...] Broadway, had fallen into hardship. Her situation led Lieutenant James Pritchard, the garrison adjutant, to bring it to notice. **End of crossed out section** A subscription was opened for the relief of Mary Broadway, and Lieutenant Pritchard undertook to collect it. By 16 February 1798 it had raised £21 14s 0d. The sum was put before the Governor and Council. They directed that the whole subscription should be placed with the churchwardens, who would account for it and pay Mary Broadway 6s a week for her support. **Start of crossed out section** The allowance was to be paid from the subscription. **End of crossed out section** The account of the subscription recorded the following. 26 February 1798, subscription received on that day from Lieutenant Pritchard, £21 14s 0d 15 weeks' allowance from 12 November 1797 to 26 February 1798, £4 10s 0d Cash given at Christmas, £0 10s 0d Total paid, £5 0s 0d Balance, £16 14s 0d On 27 February 1798 George Scott signed for £16 14s 0d received from Mr Richard Torbett. 9 April 1798, 6 weeks' allowance, £1 16s 0d 21 May 1798, 6 weeks' allowance, £1 16s 0d

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		§Apl. 9th. 6 weeks allowance§ §1 16 0§ §May 21st. Do. Do.§ §1 16 0§ §3 12 0§ §May 21st. 1798 Recd. the Sum of 13 2 0 from Geo. Scott§ §Wm. Young Senr.§ §£ 13 2 0§ §1799 March 31 Paid Sundries as **p** Acct.§ §5 10 3§ §£ 7 11 9§ §NB. The above Ballance of 7 11 9 is accounted for§ §in the Principal Sum of 122 £ now remaining in the Hands§ §of the Governor & Council. Said 122 £ being the Property of§ §Lt. Broadways Orphans§ **Margin Notes:** §✓§	Total paid, £3 12s 0d Balance, £13 2s 0d On 21 March 1800 William Young senior signed for £13 2s 0d received from Mr George Scott. 31 March 1799, various payments as per account, £5 10s 3d Balance, £7 11s 9d A note recorded that the balance of £7 11s 9d was accounted for within a principal sum of £122 0s 0d held by the Governor and Council. That £122 0s 0d was the property of Lieutenant Broadway's orphans. **Interpretations** The subscription for Mary Broadway was private charity, raised by a garrison officer among her late father's friends. The obvious course was for Pritchard to hand the money to the girl or her guardian. Instead the Governor and Council put it in the churchwardens' hands, so a private fund was administered and audited like parish money and paid out at a fixed weekly rate. Lieutenant Broadway had been churchwarden during the smallpox outbreak of 1789. The parish machinery he once ran now held the fund for his daughter and passed it from one churchwarden to the next, Torbett to Scott to Young. The closing note links the subscription to the £122 0s 0d belonging to the Broadway orphans, which the Governor and Council held as trustees. The Council kept the capital intact and supported the girl from the charitable fund instead of drawing on her own inheritance. The remaining balance was treated as part of the orphans' estate, so any surplus from the charity would pass to the children rather than to the parish.
80	71	Island of St. Helena§ §At a Vestry holden at the Chapel in James's Valley§ §by Order of the Governor and Council this 9th. Day of April 1798§ §It appearing to the Vestry that a Ballance only of £ [...]§ §remained, of the Parish Money.§ §Proposed & agreed on That a Tax of 1/6 **p** head on all Slaves upon the said§ §Island, be levied, toward the Expences of the ensuing Year§ §said Tax to be paid into the Hands of the Church Wardens on Sessions§ §Day next ensuing.§ §Major Seale having declared his ill State of Health renders§ §him incapable of the Duty of Church Warden this Year, requested he§ §may be excused on this Account until next Year. Agreed to, and§ §proposed that Lieutenant Frazer, now elected, do the Duty for the§ §Year ensuing; Major Seale to serve the Office next Year, or Pay§ §for a Substitute.§ §The Overseers for the East and South Divisions§ §not being called on the last Year, the same Persons are to do the§ §Duty for the ensuing Year.§ §Proposed and agreed on That the Person who collects the Dog Tax, do also§ §collect the Sheep Tax.§ §Mr. Wilkinson proposing to find Lime and be at the Expence thereof§ §to new face the front of the School House &c. provided the Parish§ §do furnish the Labour. Agreed thereto.§ §Daniel Caldwell a Poor Boy about 10 Years of age being inclined to be bound Apprentice§ §to the Trade of a Taylor. The Vestry agree that a Premium be given§ §with him for that Purpose, to any one inclined to take him, He to be§	A vestry met at the chapel in St James's Valley on 9 April 1798, by order of the Governor and Council. The vestry was told that only £[...] of parish money remained. It agreed to levy a tax of 1s 6d a head on every slave on the island to meet the coming year's expenses. The tax was to be paid to the churchwardens on the next sessions day. Major Seale said that ill health left him unable to serve as churchwarden that year and asked to be excused until the following year. The vestry agreed and proposed that Lieutenant Frazer, newly elected, should serve for the coming year. Major Seale would serve the following year or pay for a substitute. The overseers for the East and South divisions had not been called on to serve in the past year, so the same men were to serve for the coming year. The vestry agreed that the dog tax collector should also collect the sheep tax. Mr Wilkinson offered to supply lime and pay for raising the front of the schoolhouse and other work, provided the parish supplied the labour. The vestry agreed. Daniel Caldwell, a poor boy aged about 10, wanted to be apprenticed to a tailor. The vestry agreed to give a premium with him to anyone willing to take him, and he was to be bound until he reached 21. George Scott signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** Daniel Caldwell had been on the parish's monthly allowance of £1 0s 0d since at least 1793, paid at first to Mrs Ringrose for his keep. He was evidently a child all along, not an adult pauper. The vestry chose to pay a one-off premium to a tailor willing to take him rather than continue the monthly allowance. Once bound, his master would feed, clothe and house him until he was 21, and the parish's costs would end with the premium. The same thinking lay behind the purchase of a female slave for Mrs Jenkins in 1787: a single outlay that left the pauper able to earn a living and freed the parish from a recurring charge.

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		§bound until he attain the Age of 21 Years.§ §Geo. Scott Church Warden§ **Margin Notes:** §✓§	Major Seale was excused for one year on condition that he serve the next or pay for a substitute. Unwillingness to serve, or ill health, did not let a planter escape parish office for good. The East and South overseers who had not been called on simply carried over to the next year. Office was treated as a duty owed in turn, and a deferred turn remained owed.
81	72	Island St. Helena§ §May 1st. 1798.§ §Daniel Caldwell a Poor Boy, being now of Age to§ §be bound out apprentice. It was determined in Vestry to§ §give a Premium of Sixteen Pounds with him to any§ §Responsible Person who would take him to learn§ §a Trade. Gunnell a Taylor at first acquiesced but§ §afterward retracted.§ §Mr. Thomas O'Connor Shopkeeper with§ §a Generosity that does him great Credit, offered to take the§ §Boy without any Premium making a Donation of the§ §said Sixteen Pounds to the Use of the Parish. In consequence§ §the said Daniel Caldwell was bound Apprentice to the said§ §Thomas O'Connor for a term to cease on his attainment of§ §the Age of 21 Years.§ §This generous Procedure of Thomas O'Connor§ §was ordered to be Recorded in the hope§ §that other instances would be actuated by§ §the like Benevolent Disposition.§ §Recd. from Capt. Wells C. W. for Price Orphans§ §14 4 4§ §3 Decr. 1803 Paid to Charlotte Price for her Mother§ §3§ §11 4 4§ §Paid on account of Sarah Price on her leaving§ §the Island§ §3§ §Paid to Charlotte Price 17 April 1805§ §3§ §Balle.§ §6 4 4§ §Recd. from Captn. Henry Kay C. W. on acct.§ §of Prices Orphans the above Ballance§ §6 [...]§ §W. H. Howard§ §C. Warden§ **Margin Notes:** §✓§ §✓§ §✓§	Daniel Caldwell, a poor boy, was now old enough to be apprenticed, according to the vestry book entry for 1 May 1798. The vestry had decided to give a premium of £16 0s 0d to any reliable person who would take him and teach him a trade. Gunnell, a tailor, first accepted but later withdrew. Mr Thomas O'Connor, a shopkeeper, then generously offered to take the boy without any premium and gave the £16 0s 0d to the parish for its own use. Daniel Caldwell was therefore bound apprentice to Thomas O'Connor until he reached the age of 21. The vestry ordered O'Connor's gift to be recorded, hoping others would follow his example. A later account of the Price orphans' money recorded the following. Received from Captain Mills, churchwarden, for the Price orphans, £15 4s 4d 3 December 1803, paid to Charlotte Price for her mother, £3 0s 0d Balance, £12 4s 4d Paid on account of Sarah Price on her leaving the island, £3 0s 0d 15 April 1805, paid to Charlotte Price, £3 0s 0d Balance, £6 4s 4d W. Seward, churchwarden, recorded that he had received the balance for the Price orphans from Captain Shortley, churchwarden. **Interpretations** The vestry had set aside £16 0s 0d as an apprenticeship premium, the usual price of placing a pauper child with a master. O'Connor took Daniel Caldwell without it and gave the money to the parish instead. The vestry had it entered in the book as an example to others, hoping to make taking parish apprentices without payment a mark of public spirit among the inhabitants. A tailor had refused the boy even with the premium, which suggests masters were reluctant to take on parish children. O'Connor, a shopkeeper, may have valued an unpaid shop boy for seven or more years more than the cash. The Price orphans were probably the children of Elizabeth Price, who had boarded Betty Wade for nine years. The churchwardens now held a fund for them and passed it between successive wardens as they had done for the Broadway orphan. Their payments supported the children's mother and helped one daughter leave the island. The parish was again acting as trustee for orphans' money, a role extending into the 1800s.
82	73	St. Helena 6th. March 1798§ §Received from Messrs. Cole and James Conquer the Sum of§ §Twenty one Pounds Sterling for the Use of the orphans of the§ §late Serjeant John Price Geo. Scott§ §£ 21 0 0§ §21 0 0§ §Recd. from Mr. George Scott the above Sum§ §Wm. Young Senr.§ §Recd. Price Prize Money do.§ §from Lt. Pritchard Adjutant§ §9 5 1½§ §£ 30 5 1½§ §Paid Hillman on Acct. of Prices Children§ §3 0 0§ §Ball.§ §£ 27 5 1½§	At St Helena on 6 March 1798, George Scott recorded that he had received £21 0s 0d from Messrs Cole and James Congreve for the use of the orphans of the late Sergeant John Price. Received from Messrs Cole and Congreve for the Price orphans, £21 0s 0d William Young senior signed for the sum received from Mr George Scott. Received prize money from Lieutenant Pritchard, adjutant, £9 5s 1½d Total, £30 5s 1½d Paid to Hillman on account of the Price children, £3 0s 0d Balance, £27 5s 1½d F. Seale [...], churchwarden, signed for the balance received from William Young senior. 18 December 1799, paid to Sergeant Hillman on account of the orphans' clothing, £3 0s 0d

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		§Recd. the above from Wm. Young Senr.§ §G. Frazer C. W.§ §11th. Decr. 1799 Pd. to Serjt. Hillman on account for the§ §orphans Clothing§ §3§ §24 5 1½§ §Received from Capt. Geo. Scott the above Ballance§ §of Twenty four pounds five Shilling and 1½§ §May 30th. 1800 Wm. Seale C. W.§ §Paid Hillman on Acct. of Prices Children Decr. 1st.§ §1800 for Clothing &c. [...] Wm. Seale§ §3§ §Balle.§ §£ 21 5 1½§ §Received the Balle. of Twenty One Pounds five§ §Shilling and 1½ from Mr. Seale [...] Church Warden§ §this [...] Day of [...] 1801 M. Wells C. W.§ §6th. Decr. 1801 Paid Hillman on acct. of Prices Children§ §for clothes &c. the sum of three pounds§ §3§ §7th. Decr. Paid Hillman 27 Rupees§ §£ 12 3 5 0§ §Received the balance of Fifteen Pounds four§ §Shillings & four Pence [...] from C. T. Wells§ §Church Warden this November 1802 [...] Shirley§ §15 4 4§ **Margin Notes:** §£ 24 5 1½§ §£ 21 5 1½§ §£ 11 5 1½§	Balance, £24 5s 1½d On 30 May 1800 William Seale, churchwarden, signed for the balance of £24 5s 1½d received from Captain George Scott. 18 December 1800, paid to Hillman on account of the Price children, for clothing and other items, £3 0s 0d Balance, £21 5s 1½d On 9 September 1801 Mills, churchwarden, signed for the balance of £21 5s 1½d received from William Seale, churchwarden. 4 December 1801, paid to Hillman on account of the Price children, for clothing and other items, £3 0s 0d 17 December, paid to Hillman, 27 rupees Balance, £15 4s 4d In November 1802 Shortley, churchwarden, signed for the balance of £15 4s 4d received from Captain Mills, churchwarden. **Interpretations** The Price orphans were the children of Sergeant John Price of the garrison, not of Elizabeth Price, Betty Wade's carer, as suggested earlier. Their fund came from two sources: a sum from Cole and Congreve and the sergeant's share of prize money, paid through the adjutant, Lieutenant Pritchard. Prize money was a soldier's share of the value of enemy ships or goods captured in wartime. Price's share passed to his children after his death, and the regiment handed it to the parish to hold. Sergeant Hillman, the garrison sergeant major who had trained the militia in 1793, drew £3 0s 0d each December for the children's clothing. He was probably their guardian or the man who kept them. The churchwardens paid out only a fixed £3 0s 0d a year from a fund of more than £30 0s 0d. That kept the capital going for the children over several years instead of spending it at once. The fund passed from one churchwarden to the next almost every year, each signing for the exact balance. The 27 rupees paid to Hillman in December 1801 show Indian coin in ordinary circulation on St Helena alongside sterling, brought by Company ships and soldiers from India.
83	74	At a Vestry holden at the Chapel in James's Valley the 18th. June§ §1798 to take into Consideration all such Matters and Things as§ §should be laid to laid before said Vestry.§ §Proposed and agreed to: That a New Kitchen be built for the School§ §House, on the same Spot of Ground it formerly stood on, And§ §that a Tax of 1/. p head on all Slaves be levied to defray the§ §attendant Expence, the Tax to be collected on or before the 1st. day§ §of October next.§ §Proposed. That as the exorbitant Price of Fish is becoming more and more§ §a Grievance The Board be requested to take the same into§ §Consideration. Agreed§ §Proposed. That Sarah late the Property of Mrs. Merriott, having informed§ §the Church Wardens that she had obtained her freedom, shewing an§ §Instrument in writing to that purport signed by Benjamin Mason§ §Senior Attorney to said Mrs. Merriott, The Vestry request the§ §Board to take this into Consideration, whether said Benj. Mason§ §should not be enjoined to give Security to the Parish in§ §Conformity with the Slaves Laws in Order that she may	A vestry met at the chapel in St James's Valley on 18 June 1798 to consider any business brought before it. The vestry agreed to build a new kitchen for the schoolhouse on the site of the old one. A tax of 1s a head on all slaves would pay for it, to be collected on or before 1 October. The price of fish was now high enough to be a growing grievance. The vestry agreed to ask the Board to deal with it. Sarah, formerly the slave of Mrs Merriott, had told the churchwardens that she was now free. She showed them a written deed of freedom signed by Benjamin Mason senior as Mrs Merriott's attorney. The vestry asked the Board to consider whether Mason should be required to give security to the parish, as the slave laws required, so that Sarah could not later become a charge on the parish. William Young senior and F. Seale signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The slave laws allowed an owner to free a slave only if security was given that the freed person would not fall on the parish. The vestry's complaint of April 1793 was that this rule was being ignored. Sarah's case put the rule to the test. Benjamin Mason senior was a leading planter who had sat on the fish committee in April 1797, yet the vestry asked the Board to make him give the security on his principal's behalf. The parish was prepared to hold even a prominent ratepayer to the law, since its own funds were at stake.

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		not§ §hereafter become Burthensome to the Parish.§ §Wm. Young Senr.§ §G. Frazer Church Wardens§	The fish problem raised in April 1797 had not been solved. The committee of leading inhabitants evidently produced no lasting remedy, and the vestry handed the question back to the Board. A grievance brought by the parish could only be settled by the Council, which alone could enforce prices on the fishermen.
84	75	Copy St. Helena 25th. June 1798§ §Governor and Councils determination on the Proceedings of§ §a Vestry held the 18th. instant.§ §1st. Proposal Agreed to.§ §2. The Board have looked over and taken into Considera§ §tion the Complaints that from the earliest Records§ §have been made at Particular Seasons respecting the§ §Scarcity and high Price of Fish, but answer no§ §regular Plan can be adopted to obviate this inconveni§ §ence until Peace is established. however if any new§ §Plan be offered, it shall be particularly attended to.§ §3. One of the Companys Slave Laws states that every§ §Slave shall have full and free Use of all such§ §Property as they may acquire by consent of their§ §Masters; Another Slave Law states that Masters§ §cannot emancipate their Slaves without giving§ §security that such Slaves shall not become§ §burthensome to the Parish: A revision of these§ §Laws will be requested that no difference of Inter§ §pretation may in future be had thereon, mean time§ §it may be proper to observe, the Parish has not§ §yet suffered by any Transaction that may have§ §required elucidation.§ §True Copy. Wm. Young Senr.§ §signed W. W. Doveton G. Frazer Church Wardens§ §Secy.§	The vestry book entered a copy of the Governor and Council's decisions, dated at St Helena on 25 June 1798, on the proposals made at the vestry of 18 June. 1: The first proposal was approved. 2: The Board had examined the complaints about scarce and dear fish, made at certain seasons since the earliest records. It found that no regular plan could cure the problem until peace returned, but promised close attention to any new plan put forward. 3: One of the Company's slave laws allowed every slave full and free use of any property acquired with the master's consent. Another forbade masters to free their slaves without giving security that the freed person would not become a charge on the parish. The Board would ask for these laws to be revised so that they could no longer be read in different ways. Meanwhile it observed that the parish had not yet suffered from any transaction that might need clarifying. The copy was certified as true by W. W. Doveton, secretary. William Young senior and F. Seale signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The Council traced the dear fish to the war, then in its fifth year. Wartime meant more Company and naval ships calling for provisions and convoys gathering in the roads. Fish sold to passing ships fetched more than islanders could pay, so the island's supply went to the highest bidder. The Council judged that price-fixing could not overcome that demand and that the problem would ease only when peace came. The Council's answer on Sarah's freedom shows why it would not order Mason to give security. Sarah had probably bought her freedom with property she had earned with her mistress's consent, which the first law protected. That set one slave law against the other. A slave who paid for her own freedom had shown she could support herself, which removed the very risk the security was meant to cover. Rather than rule against a slave's lawful right to her earnings, the Council referred the conflict to the Directors and reminded the vestry that the parish had so far lost nothing. The vestry's call for strict enforcement thus met the Council's concern for the rights the slave code gave slaves.
85	76	Dr. The Orphans of Lt. Broadway§ §1800 Octr. 9 To Cash Paid the Interest of the Bond for £128 2§ §the 9 Day Octr. 1800 being the Sum of @ 7 ℘ Ct.§ §£ 8 19 2§ §15th. July To Cash Paid the Interest of the Bond for £50§ §the 15th. Day of July 1800 being the Sum of @ 7 ℘ Ct.§ §3 10§ §1801 The Interest the Amount Paid Lieut. Geo. Broadway§ §for the Use of his Sister Mary Broadway§ §as by his receipt will more fully Appear§ §£ 12 9 2§ §9 Octr. 1800 The Bond for the Sum of £128 2 0 Paid by Capt. Wm. Seale and Sent to§ §the 9 Octr. 1800 and Lent to Jno. Seale Senr. as by the§ §Bond will fully appear§ §128 2§ §15 July 1800 The Bond for the Sum of £50 Paid by Capt.§ §Wm. Seale and Lent to Mr. Richd. Knipe as by§ §his Bond Will fully Appear§ §50§	The debit side of the account of Lieutenant Broadway's orphans recorded the following. 9 October 1800, interest paid on the bond for £128 2s 0d, at 7%, due that day, £8 19s 2d 15 July 1800, interest paid on the bond for £50 0s 0d, at 7%, due that day, £3 10s 0d 1801, interest paid to Lieutenant [...] Broadway for the use of his sister Mary Broadway, as shown by his receipt, £12 9s 2d 9 October 1800, bond for £128 2s 0d, paid by Captain William Seale and lent to John Seale senior, as shown by the bond, £128 2s 0d 15 July 1800, bond for £50 0s 0d, paid by Captain William Seale and lent to Mr Richard Knipe, as shown by his bond, £50 0s 0d Total of the bonds, £178 2s 0d Interest as above, £12 9s 2d Total paid by Captain William Seale, churchwarden, £190 11s 2d **Interpretations** The Broadway orphans' capital, recorded as £122 0s 0d in 1798, had grown to £178 2s 0d by 1800. It was no longer held by the Governor and Council but lent out by the churchwarden on bond to two island

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		§The Bonds§ §£ 178 2§ §The Interest as above§ §12 9 2§ §The Sum Paid by Capt. Wm. Seale§ §Church Warden§ §£ 190 11 2§	planters, John Seale senior and Richard Knipe. Each paid 7% a year. That was the same practice the parish had used with its own funds in the 1770s, when the church chest lent to planters and officials at interest. Capital that sat idle would simply have been drawn down by the 6s a week paid for Mary Broadway. Lending it on bond meant the interest could support her while the principal stayed intact. The whole of the interest, £12 9s 2d, was paid in 1801 to Mary Broadway's brother, a lieutenant, for her use. Once a male relative of age was in the army and able to manage her support, the churchwarden passed her income to him. The parish kept control of the capital and the bonds. The churchwarden William Seale had lent £128 2s 0d of the orphans' money to John Seale senior, probably a relation of his own. A trust run by the island's leading families could easily become a source of cheap credit for those same families.
86	77	Per Contra§ §1799 Jan. 10 By a Bond from the Govr. & Council &c.§ §122§ §By Cash on Acct. of Prize Money due to§ §the Lt. Broadway on acct. Capture of Dutch Ships§ §first Payment§ §55§ §£ 177§ §Recd. the above Sum & Bond§ §from Wm. Young Senr.§ §G. Frazer C. W.§ §Paid Lieut. George Broadway on account of Mary Broadway§ §the Sum of 5£ is paid out of the above Sum of 55£ and which§ §Accounts for the Bond being Executed for 50£ as will appear§ §by next.§ §5§ §NB. the Bond passed and Executed for the sum of One hundred and§ §twenty eight pounds Two Shillings includes the above§ §Ment. Sum of £122 and Six pounds two Shillings recd. as§ §Interest from the Govr. and Council at the rate 10 ℔ Cent ℔§ §Annum for Six Months.§ §Wm. Seale C. W.§ §16th. July A. D. 1800 paid off the Bond of £50 with the regular Interest§ §as Charged at 7 ℔ Cent ℔ Ann. as appears by Receipt§ §and in Conformity to a Writ passed by me to Captain§ §George Scott late Church Warden, which said Money is§ §by me Lent out to Mr. Richard Knipe for the use of the§ §Orphans above mentioned which will fully appear by a§ §Bond passed by the said Mr. R. Knipe to me as Church§ §Warden, bearing same Date.§ §Wm. Seale§ §Recd. the two Bonds from Capt. Wm. Seale Church Warden§ §the one on Jno. Seale Senr. for £128 2 and the other on Mr. Richd. Knipe§ §for £50 with the Interest on the Same being £3 [...] its [...]§ §M. Wells C. Wardens§ §Recd. the two Bond from Capt. Wells§ §Church Warden the one passed on Jno. Seale for £128 2§ §and the other on Mr. Richd. Knipe for 50£ [...]§ §Jno. Shirley§	The credit side of the account of Lieutenant Broadway's orphans recorded the following. 10 January 1799, a bond from the Governor and Council, £122 0s 0d Cash on account of prize money due to the late Lieutenant Broadway as a captor of Dutch ships, first payment, £55 0s 0d Total, £177 0s 0d F. Frazer, churchwarden, signed for this sum and the bond received from William Young senior. Paid to Lieutenant George Broadway on account of Mary Broadway, £5 0s 0d A note explained that this £5 0s 0d was paid out of the £55 0s 0d, which accounted for the second bond being made out for £50 0s 0d. William Seale, churchwarden, added a note that the bond for £128 2s 0d covered the £122 0s 0d above and £6 2s 0d received as interest from the Governor and Council, at 10% a year for six months. On 15 July 1800 William Seale recorded that the £50 0s 0d bond had been paid off with its interest at 7% a year, as shown by the receipt. Following a vote proposed by him to Captain George Scott, the late churchwarden, Seale had lent the money to Mr Richard Knipe for the orphans' use, under a bond of the same date given by Knipe to Seale as churchwarden. A. Mills, churchwarden, signed for the two bonds received from Captain William Seale, churchwarden: one on John Seale for £128 2s 0d and the other on Mr Richard Knipe for £50 0s 0d, with interest on the latter of £3 10s 0d. John Shortley signed for the same two bonds received from Captain Mills, churchwarden: one on John Seale for £128 2s 0d and the other on Mr Richard Knipe for £50 0s 0d. **Interpretations** Lieutenant Broadway's estate included prize money for his part in capturing Dutch ships. That ties him to the British seizure of Dutch shipping after the Netherlands came under French control in 1795. That year St Helena's garrison helped take the Dutch Cape, and Dutch East Indiamen were captured in the South Atlantic. Officers who served shared in the value of the ships and cargoes taken. Broadway's share was paid out in instalments, and the first payment of £55 0s 0d went to his orphans. The Governor and Council had paid 10% a year on the orphans' £122 0s 0d while they held it, but the churchwardens re-lent the capital to island planters at only 7%. A higher return had been available from the Company and was given up. The Council evidently wanted to stop holding private trust money, and private lending on bond was then the only investment open on the island. The fund thus took a lower rate in exchange for having the capital held and accounted for by the churchwardens, each of whom signed for the bonds when he handed them on.

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87	78	9th. Octr. 1800 Memorandum The Bond for £128 2 as mentioned on the last Page has been§ §made Void by said Sum being Lent unto Mr. John Seale Senr. Planter, on the§ §same Principals and with the same Provisoes as in said Bond so made§ §Void, and for the same Uses and purposes as in said Bond Mentioned Viz. for§ §the Use and to the Benefit of the Orphans of the Late Caleb Broadway§ §the Lieutenant in this Garrison.§ §Wm. Seale C. W.§	William Seale, churchwarden, recorded a memorandum on 9 October 1800. The bond for £128 2s 0d, entered first on the facing page, had been cancelled. The same sum had been lent to Mr John Seale senior, planter, on the same principal and conditions as the cancelled bond. The loan served the same purpose as before: the use and benefit of the orphans of the late Caleb Broadway, lieutenant in the garrison. **Interpretations** The memorandum gives Lieutenant Broadway's first name, Caleb. It confirms that the orphans' capital had been moved from the Governor and Council to a private planter without any change to its terms. Cancelling the Council's bond and writing a fresh one on John Seale's name kept the trust's legal form unbroken, since the new debtor took on exactly the same obligation to the orphans. William Seale lent the money to John Seale senior and recorded the change himself. That left the orphans' security dependent on the solvency of a relative of the churchwarden managing the fund.
88	79	At a Vestry holden at the Chapel in James Valley the 17 Day of June 1799 to take§ §into Consideration such particular and weighty Matters the following proceedings were proposed§ §and Unanimously recommended. Parish Expences§ §The Woman Lucky having applied for some assistance from the Parish it is§ §Considered as she is at present a Slave of David Wiseman who is supposed to have Absconded§ §and who has left a property of some Value in the Island in the Hands of Messrs. Legg and§ §[...] they being appointed Trustees by the said David Wiseman that she ought to be supplied§ §out of the said property while any of it remains.§ §The Woman Fanny Slave the property of one Ozbey Cole a Soldier in§ §this Garrison having applied for some assistance from the Parish it is the Unanimous§ §Opinion of the Vestry on Enquiring into her Case and finding from her own Acknowledge§ §ment that she is well able to maintain herself by Needle work but that she being§ §at present under the Doctors Hands, that she be Hired out into some Family when§ §pronounced well by the Doctor and also agree to pay for her Cure.§ §The Doctors Bill being produced as Delivered into the Church Wardens§ §Hands to the Amount of £26 3 0 it is Considered and agreed upon that the first§ §Item of the Bill of £2 8 0 for Medicines mentioned to be issued out to the Man§ §Tom formerly Mr. Yorke's ought not to be paid by the Church Wardens in as§ §much as the said Tom died worth a Considerable property more than sufficient§ §to pay all his Demands on him and the persons who had the Care of the Sale§ §of his property and the payment of his Debts gave regular Notice by publick§ §Advertisements to all persons to whom he was Indebted to Come in and Claim§ §the same under which Advertisements it is Unanimously agreed to by this Vestry§ §the Doctor ought to have Demanded the Amount of his Bill.§ §Also another first or Item of said Bill being a Charge of £5 5 0§ §for Attendance or Medicines Delivered out to the Man Toney, he being sent for it§ §was Considered as an improper Charge and that it ought not to be paid by the Parish§	A vestry met at the chapel in St James's Valley on 17 June 1799 to consider several specific and serious matters. It proposed and unanimously recommended the following. 1: Lucky, a woman who was still the slave of David Twyman, had asked the parish for help. Twyman was believed to be in England. He had left property of some kind on the island in the hands of Messrs Page and Elliott, whom he had appointed his trustees. The vestry held that Lucky should be supported from that property for as long as any of it remained. 2: Fanny, a slave belonging to Ogleby Cole, a soldier in the garrison, had also asked the parish for help. After looking into her case, the vestry found from her own admission that she could support herself well by needlework. As she was currently under the doctor's care, she was to be hired out to a family once the doctor declared her well, and that family would agree to pay for her care. 3: The doctor's bill, as delivered to the churchwardens, came to £24 3s 0d. The vestry agreed that the churchwardens should not pay the item of £3 3s 0d for medicines given to Tom, formerly Mr Yates's man. Tom had died with property well beyond what was needed to settle every fair claim against him. The people handling the sale of his property and payment of his debts had given proper public notice inviting all his creditors to come forward. The vestry agreed unanimously that the doctor should have presented his bill under that notice. 4: Another item of the bill charged £5 5s 0d for attendance and medicines given to Toney, who was being sent away for treatment. The vestry judged this an improper charge on the parish, which had already paid £10 10s 0d for treating the same complaint. Toney had also contracted the complaint while in the service of Mr John Tibbett, who in the vestry's view ought to have paid for his medical care until he fully recovered. Toney himself admitted he was now well able to earn his own living. The vestry also directed that in future the doctors should deliver no bill for such cases or for medicines given out unless [...]. **Interpretations** Each of these four claims was turned back on someone other than the parish. Lucky's absent owner had left trustees and property, so his estate should support her. Fanny could earn her living sewing, and her care would be paid by the family that hired her. Tom had died with means of his own, and his estate's creditors had been invited to claim. Toney's illness

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		§as there has been formerly been paid a Sum of £10 10 0 for the Cure of the same§ §Complaint for which the parish, and also having recd. the Hurt he Complains§ §from the Service of Mr. John Tolbett who it is Considered ought to have sup§ §ported him in Medical Attendance until properly recovered and the said Man§ §Toney also Acknowledging himself now well able to Earn his own Subsistence.§ §The Vestry also Directs that for the future no Bill shall be Delivered in by§ §the Doctors in such Cases or Medicines Delivered out, save on some Commend§	began in Tibbett's service, so his employer should bear it. In 1793 the vestry had complained that owners freed or abandoned slaves to make them a charge on the parish. By 1799 it was going through every claim and finding the person legally responsible before accepting any cost itself. The direction to the doctors met the same concern from another side. Bills had been arriving after treatment for people the vestry had never agreed to support. Requiring prior authorisation would stop the surgeons from making the parish the default payer for anyone they chose to treat. This was the same problem behind the refusal of Mr Kay's bill in 1791.
89	80	ing of same with the Consent of the Church Wardens for the time§ §being first obtained or Application being in the first Instance made to them.§ §The Country Church and School House being Considered out of repair in§ §Consequence of the want of Thatching as also the Wall of the School House Yard being§ §in a Very ruinous State and not finding Sufficient Money in Hand to Defray§ §the Expences which will necessarily Occur in the repairs thereof it is unanimous§ §ly agreed upon, that a Tax or Cess of One Rupee each be Levied and assessed on§ §all Slaves in the Parish and it is Conceived so Difficult to procure Labour§ §ers it is thought the most Eligable mode, to Collect them in the same§ §Manner as such Workmen are Collected for the High ways Works allowing§ §the proprietors 1/6 ꝑ Day ꝑ Man and also that they shall send the§ §Labourers on such days and times as the Church Wardens may Direct by§ §publick Advertizement.§ §It is also taken into Consideration that the Man Sam§ §formerly belonging to Mr. Wright having been Condemned but not Executed and§ §Mr. Wright notwithstanding having recd. the Sum of £15 as if the said Man Sam had§ §been Executed, it is Unanimously agreed to by this Vestry that they have a§ §right to Claim the said Sum of £15 whenever they may think proper so§ §to do, it being a payment made Expressly against the Tenor and Spirit of§ §the 25th. Article of the Slave Laws which States Clearly that Execution§ §must follow Condemnation before the proprietor of such Slave can make§ §a Demand on the Parish.§ §(Signd.) S. Frazer§ §Wm. Seale Church Wardens§ §Copy Letter written by Geo. Doveton Esqr. Secretary to Mr. Frazier§ §Church Warden in Consequence of the 3 & 4 Articles of the foregoing§ §proceedings.§ §Sir§ §I send you by the Bearer the Resolutions of the Board in the proceedings§ §of Vestry held on the 17 Inst. and as the Surgeons have agreed to Submit§ §their Case to Arbitration, I will thank you to Inform me whether you§ §will (on the part of the Country) likewise Submit to Arbitration.§ §I have the Honour to be Sir yr. Very§ §Obt. Servt.§ §(Signed) Geo. Doveton§ §Secy.§	The vestry's direction to the doctors continued: in future no bill would be accepted unless the churchwardens had first given their consent or been asked to authorise the treatment. 5: The country church and the schoolhouse needed new thatch, and the wall of the schoolyard was in a ruinous state. The parish had too little money to pay for the repairs. The vestry agreed unanimously to levy a tax of one rupee on every slave in the parish. Labourers were very hard to find, so the vestry judged it most convenient to collect the slaves themselves in the same way that workmen were called out for highway work. Owners would be credited with 1s 6d a day for each man. The owners were to send their labourers on the days and at the times the churchwardens set by public notice. 6: The vestry considered the case of Sam, formerly Mr Wright's slave, who had been condemned but not executed. Mr Wright had nonetheless received £15 0s 0d as though Sam had been executed. The vestry agreed unanimously that the parish had a right to reclaim the £15 0s 0d whenever it chose. The payment went directly against the wording and intent of the 25th article of the slave laws, which stated that execution must follow condemnation before an owner could claim on the parish. S. Frazer and William Seale signed as churchwardens. A copy followed of a letter from G. Doveton, deputy secretary, to Mr Simon Frazer, churchwarden, on the 3rd and 4th articles above. Doveton sent Frazer, by the bearer, the Board's resolutions on the proceedings of the vestry of 17 June. The surgeons had agreed to put their case to arbitration. Doveton asked Frazer to say whether he too, acting for the inhabitants, would agree to arbitration. **Interpretations** The tax of one rupee a slave was to be paid in labour, not cash. Owners would send their slaves to work on the church and school, and each day a man worked counted for 1s 6d against the tax. The parish lacked money, and hired labour was scarce, so it drew directly on the planters' slaves. That was the method already used for the highways, and the same rate the parish paid labourers in 1796. A rupee was worth about 2s 6d, so a slave sent for two days roughly settled his owner's share. The vestry's discovery that Wright had been paid £15 0s 0d for Sam, who was never executed, explains the long gaol payments recorded for him in 1794. Sam had been condemned and held for months, and his owner was compensated, but the sentence was evidently commuted. The 25th article allowed payment only after execution. The rule stopped an owner from being paid for a slave he might later recover or sell. The vestry claimed the money back five years later as part of its general review of improper charges, which also brought the surgeons to accept arbitration over their bills.

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		§To Mr. Simon Frazier§ §Church Warden§	
90	81	The Governor and Council having taken the above proceedings into Consideration§ §Paragraph by Paragraph.§ §Resolve on the first That the Clerk of the Peace in Conjunction with the Church§ §Wardens do Enquire into and report on the Subject.§ §On the 2d. that the Vestrys Opinion be agreed to as Satisfactory.§ §On the 3d. & 4th. That they appear to relate to matters liable to Legal§ §process, on which therefore the Vestry seem to have decided prematurely§ §and of Course the Board can by no Means assent thereto but wish the§ §matter may be properly Enquired into and Settled by fair Arbitration par§ §ticularly as Messrs. Kay & Dunn declare it has been misrepresented.§ §On the 5th. Approved.§ §On the Sixth That the present Church Wardens should have applied§ §to those who Officiated at the time Mr. Wrights Slave was paid for, for an§ §Explanation on the Subject before they attempted to render their own Deter§ §mination Decisive on what had passed prior to their being in Office at§ §the same time it is admitted what they State otherwise seems at first§ §View just and proper and Mr. J. A. Wright (Heir to the late Mr. B. A. Wright)§ §Declares if any Mistake has been Committed, he is ready to rectify the same§ §to the Church Wardens Satisfaction.§ §On the whole it may be necessary to observe that at a§ §Meeting of the Vestry it would be most prudent in the Church Wardens§ §not to Sign Decisive Opinions on Subjects, where the Interest or Character§ §of Individuals is Affected at least untill after having heard what those§ §persons may be able to say for themselves on the Occasion.§ §A true Copy§ §(Signed)§ §G. Doveton§ §Secy.§	The Governor and Council considered the vestry's proceedings of 17 June 1799 point by point and decided as follows. On the first point, the case of Lucky, the clerk of the peace and the churchwardens were to look into the matter and report. On the second point, the case of Fanny, the Board accepted the vestry's view as satisfactory. On the third and fourth points, the surgeons' charges for Tom and Toney, the Board found that these involved questions open to legal action. The vestry had therefore reached its decision too hastily, and the Board could not agree to it. The Board wanted the matter properly examined and settled by fair arbitration, especially since Messrs Kay and Dunn said their position had been misrepresented. On the fifth point, the repair of the country church and schoolhouse with slave labour, the Board approved. On the sixth point, the payment for Mr Wright's slave Sam, the Board held that the present churchwardens should have asked the officers who were serving when the payment was made for an explanation. They should have done that before ruling on events from before their own time in office. The Board granted that what the churchwardens said appeared at first sight just and proper. Mr J. A. Wright, heir of the late Mr B. A. Wright, had stated that if a mistake had been made, he was ready to put it right to the churchwardens' satisfaction. The Board added a general caution. At vestry meetings it would be most prudent for the churchwardens not to sign firm opinions on matters affecting anyone's interests or reputation, at least until they had heard what those people had to say for themselves. The copy was certified as true by G. Doveton, secretary. **Interpretations** The Council approved only the points that cost no one but the parish: Fanny's hiring out and the slave-labour tax. Where the vestry had ruled against named individuals, it refused to endorse the decisions. That applied to the surgeons over Tom and Toney, and to Wright's heir over the £15 0s 0d. The vestry had acted as judge in its own cause, deciding that private parties owed it money and recording that verdict in its minutes. The Council sent the surgeons' bills to arbitration and told the churchwardens to hear the people concerned before signing opinions against them. It thereby limited the vestry to administering parish funds and kept the power to rule on private rights for itself and the courts. On Sam, the Council accepted that the vestry was probably right but faulted its method. The churchwardens had condemned their predecessors' payment without asking them why it was made. Wright's heir offered to repay if a mistake were proved, which gave the parish its remedy without a contested ruling. The Council's handling of all six points shows how it supervised the vestry: it supported the parish's financial controls while protecting leading inhabitants from accusations made without a hearing.
91	82	Dr. The Orphs. of late Lieut. Broadway§ §1801 To Cash recd. Interest for the Bond @ 7 ꝑ Cent§ §£ 3 10§ §M. Wells§ §[...]§ §Broadway Lieut. for§ §Miss Broadway§ §Dr. The Orphs. of late Lieut. Broadway§	The debit side of the account of the orphans of the late Lieutenant Broadway recorded the following for 1801. 1801, cash received as interest on the bond at 7%, £3 10s 0d A. Mills signed the entry. Broadway signed a receipt for the money on Miss Broadway's behalf. A second account for the orphans recorded the following.

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		§1801 Decr. 25 To Cash recd. Interest for the Bond at 7 ℔ Cent§ §£ 8 19 3§ §[...] Broadway§ §[...] 1802 Recd. [...] for Miss Broadway§	25 December 1801, cash received as interest on the bond at 7%, £8 19s 3d Broadway signed a receipt for the money on Miss Broadway's behalf. **Interpretations** The two interest payments matched the two bonds recorded in 1800: £3 10s 0d a year on Richard Knipe's bond for £50 0s 0d, and almost £9 0s 0d on John Seale senior's bond for £128 2s 0d. Together they gave Mary Broadway about £12 9s 0d a year. That was close to the 6s a week first allowed her from the subscription in 1797. Placing the capital on bond had achieved its purpose: the girl was supported entirely from interest, and her capital stayed whole. Each payment went through her brother's hands, so the churchwarden could show a receipt for every sum without paying money directly to a minor.
92	83	Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §1800 15th. July By Cash Lent Mr. Richd. Knipe Bond bearing Date§ §15th. July 1800 for the Sum @ 7 ℔ Cent§ §£ 50§ §By Cash recd. Interest on said Bond and pd. Lt. Broadway§ §3 10§ §Wm. Seale C. W.§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §1800 9th. Octr. By Cash Lent Mr. Jno. Seale Bond bearing Date§ §9th. Day Octr. 1800 for Sum at 7 ℔ Cent§ §£ 128 2§ §By Cash recd. Interest on said Bond 25 Decr.§ §8 19 3§ §Wm. Seale C. W.§	The credit side of the account of Lieutenant Broadway's orphans recorded the following. 15 July 1800, cash lent on Mr Richard Knipe's bond of that date, at 7%, £50 0s 0d Cash received as interest on the bond and paid to Lieutenant Broadway, £3 10s 0d William Seale signed as churchwarden. A second credit account recorded the following. 9 October 1800, cash lent on Mr John Seale's bond of that date, at 7%, £128 2s 0d 25 December, cash received as interest on the bond, £8 19s 3d William Seale signed as churchwarden.
93	84	1803 Acct. The Orphan of the late Lieut. Broadway Dr.§ §£ s d§ §15th. July By Cash Dr. to Mr. Richd. Knipe§ §℔ Bond bearing date 15 July 1800 a 7 ℔ Ct.§ §℔ Annum§ §50§ §1803 Acct. The Orphans of the late Lieut. Broadway Dr.§ §9th. Oct. Mr. John Seale Dr. by Cash as ℔ Bond§ §bearing date 9th. Oct. 1800 a 7 ℔ Cent ℔ Ann.§ §128 2§	The account of the orphan of the late Lieutenant Broadway was carried forward in 1803 with the following entry. 15 July 1803, cash owed by Mr Richard Knipe on his bond of 15 July 1800, at 7% a year, £50 0s 0d A second account for the orphans of the late Lieutenant Broadway recorded the following. 9 October 1803, cash owed by Mr John Seale on his bond of 9 October 1800, at 7% a year, £128 2s 0d
94	85	Per Contra Cr.§ §1801 By Cash recd. Interest for Bond§ §at 7 ℔ Cent§ §St. Helena 1st. July 1804§ §Received from Mr. John De Fountain Church§ §Warden Two Bonds due on account of my Wife Mary Young§ §(formerly Mary Broadway) the one for the Sum of One hundred§ §and Twentyeight Pounds Two Shillings due from John Seale§ §Senr. And the other for the Sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling due§ §from Richard Knipe; the above Bonds being delivered to me§ §in full of all demands.§ §A. Young§ §1801 [...] By Cash recd. Interest ℔ Bond§ §at 7 ℔ Cent ℔ Annum§ §Recd. from J. Shirley§ §Church Warden§ §8 19 4§ §A. Young§	The credit side of the account of Lieutenant Broadway's orphan recorded the following. 1801, cash received as interest on the bond at 7%, £0 0s 0d At St Helena on 1 July 1804, A. Young acknowledged receipt from Mr John Desfountain, churchwarden, of two bonds held for his wife Mary Young, formerly Mary Broadway. One bond was for £128 2s 0d owed by John Seale senior, and the other for £50 0s 0d owed by Richard Knipe. He accepted the bonds in full settlement of all claims. A further credit entry recorded the following. 1801, cash received as interest on the bond at 7% a year, from J. Shortley, churchwarden, £8 19s 4d A. Young signed for the interest on his wife's behalf. **Interpretations** The churchwardens' trust for Mary Broadway ended with her marriage. Under the law of the time, a married woman's personal property passed to her husband. When Mary married A. Young, the churchwarden handed the two bonds to him rather than to her. Young signed for them in full discharge of every claim, which released the parish from any further liability for the fund. Interest had been paid through

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			her brother while she was single. After her marriage her husband received it in her name. The fund that the Governor and Council placed with the churchwardens in 1797 was thus handed over intact, still on bond to the same two planters.
95	86	Poors Stock Dr.§ §£ s d§ §To Cash paid for Support of Betty Moore & Child§ §3 5 3§ §To Do. paid for Support of Mrs. Bunton & for her funeral§ §7 1§ §To Do. paid for Support of Jack Tripp§ §10 8§ §To Do. paid for the Burial of a Woman Who destroy'd herself§ §7 6§ §To Do. paid for Support of Sarah Carpenter & for her funeral§ §3 16 11§ §To Do. paid for the funeral of free Molly§ §1 19 6§ §26 18 2§ §4 16§ §Poors Stock Indebted to Parish§ §£ 22 2 2§	The debit side of the poor stock account recorded the following payments. Cash paid for the support of Betty Moore and her child, £3 5s 3d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Bunton and for her funeral, £7 1s 0d Cash paid for the support of Jack Trips, £10 8s 0d Cash paid for the burial of a woman who killed herself, £0 7s 6d Cash paid for the support of Sarah Carpenter and for her funeral, £3 16s 11d Cash paid for the funeral of Molly, a free black, £1 19s 6d Total, £26 18s 2d Less, £4 16s 0d Poor stock owed to the parish, £22 2s 2d **Interpretations** The poor stock had been a reserve fund, carried almost untouched from one churchwarden to the next in the late 1780s. Its spending now exceeded its income, leaving it £22 2s 2d in debt to the general parish account. The rule of keeping a separate fund for the poor had given way to need. Relief and funerals were paid as they arose, and the shortfall was met from the parish rate. The burial of a woman who had killed herself cost only 7s 6d, a fraction of the sums spent on the other funerals in the account. In England a suicide judged of unsound mind could be buried in the churchyard, but one found to have killed herself deliberately was denied Christian rites. The low cost suggests a bare interment without coffin, service or the usual funeral expenses. The record names neither the woman nor the circumstances, but the parish still met the cost of putting her in the ground.
96	87	Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §Ballance of Last Years Account§ §4 11 6§ §Receiv'd from the Constable for fines on hogs§ §4 6§ §£ 4 16§	The credit side of the poor stock account recorded the following receipts. Balance of last year's account, £4 11s 6d Received from the constable in fines on hogs, £0 4s 6d Total, £4 16s 0d **Interpretations** The poor stock's whole income for the year was a small balance carried forward and 4s 6d in fines on straying hogs, collected by the constable. The communion collections and occasional large gifts that once sustained the fund, such as the Reverend Mr Wilson's £60 0s 0d in 1787, no longer appeared. Paying the hog fines into the poor stock carried on the practice of the 1770s, when fines for straying hogs and gaming went to the parish. They were far too small to keep it solvent, so the fund had become a book-keeping heading for relief that the general parish rate in practice paid for.
97	88	Blank page	
98	89	[Heavy staining across the left-hand edge and the right half of the page, obscuring the date column and parts of the figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §[...] Whitsunday By Cash recd. at the Communion in the Valley§ §£ 5 10 [...]§ §[...] By Cash recd. at the Communion in the Valley [...]§ §2 11 6§ §[...] By do. recd. by Mr. Doveton Christmas Day§ §5 18 6§	The credit side of the poor stock account recorded the following receipts. Whitsunday, cash collected at the communion in the valley, £5 10s [...] Cash collected at the communion in the valley, £2 17s 6d Cash received by Mr Doveton on Christmas Day, £5 18s 6d Cash collected at the communion on Easter Day in the valley, £6 18s [...] Cash received in fines on hogs, £1 15s 0d Total, £22 19s 6d Cash remaining from last year, £83 17s [...]

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		§By do. recd. at the Communion Easter Day in the Valley§ §6 18 [...]§ §By Cash recd. for fines on Hogs§ §1 15§ §22 19 6§ §By Cash remaining last Year§ §83 17 11[...]§ §£ 106 17 5[...]§	Total, £106 17s 5½d **Interpretations** This year the poor stock was funded the way it had been in the 1770s, from communion collections taken at the great festivals of Whitsun, Christmas and Easter, together with hog fines. It also carried a reserve of more than £80 0s 0d. That was a much healthier position than the year in which the fund received only £4 16s 0d and ended £22 2s 2d in debt to the parish. The collections held steady from festival to festival, but the poor stock could stay solvent only while a large balance sat in hand. Once that reserve was spent on relief and funerals, the festival collections alone could not keep the fund going.
99	90	[Heavy staining across the left-hand side of the page, partly obscuring the start of each entry.] Poors Stock£§ §To Cash paid for Sundrys for Susannah Twaites§ §19§ §To do. paid for Sundrys for Bellows &c.§ §10 11 5½§ §To do. paid for the Support of Mrs. Prestons family§ §9 12§ §To do. paid Mr. Kay for Medicin. & Attendance for Old Bellas§ §4 7 6§ §£ 25 9 11½§ §Cash paid Messrs. Wm. Young & Saml. Desfountain Church Wardens§ §£ 79 3§ §Saml. Desfountain§ §£ 104 12 11½§	The debit side of the poor stock account recorded the following payments. Cash paid for various items for Susannah Twaites, £0 19s 0d Cash paid for various items for Bellar and others, £10 11s 5½d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Preston's family, £9 12s 0d Cash paid to Mr Kay for medicines and attendance for Bellar, £4 7s 6d Total, £25 9s 11½d Cash paid to Messrs William Young and Samuel Desfountain, churchwardens, £79 3s 0d Total, £104 12s 11½d Samuel Desfountain signed the account. **Interpretations** Nearly all of the poor stock's balance went to William Young and Samuel Desfountain as the incoming churchwardens. Only a quarter of the money was spent on relief that year. The fund's reserve was handed on almost intact, as in the late 1780s, while relief went to a small number of named households. The Twaites and Preston names had appeared on the parish books for decades: Peter Twaites's orphans on the head money roll of the 1770s, and James Preston's widow as a creditor of the parish in 1792. The poor stock was now supporting families who had once paid parish rates or lent the parish money.
100	91	[Heavy staining across the right-hand side of the page, obscuring the money columns and parts of the totals.] Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §1776 May 26th. Whit Sunday By Cash recd. at the Communion§ §6 17 [...]§ §Decr. Christmass Day By Cash Recd. at the Communion§ §5 14 [...]§ §Sunday After Christmass Do. Do.§ §2 12 [...]§ §By Cash recd. at the Communion Easter Sunday§ §5 [...]§ §By do. recd. for fines on Hogs§ §1 5§ §21 10 [...]§ §By Cash remaining last Year§ §83 2 [...]§ §104 12 [...]§	The credit side of the poor stock account for 1776 recorded the following receipts. 26 May 1776, Whitsunday, cash collected at the communion, £8 17s [...] December, Christmas Day, cash collected at the communion, £5 14s 6d Sunday after Christmas, cash collected at the communion, £2 12s 6d Cash collected at the communion on Easter Sunday, £5 1[...] Cash received in fines on hogs, £1 5s 0d Total, £21 10s [...] Cash remaining from last year, £83 2s [...] Total, £104 12s [...] **Interpretations** The date of 1776 places this account, and the matching debit page that handed £79 3s 0d to William Young and Samuel Desfountain, in the 1770s rather than the 1790s. The support given to Mrs Preston's family and Susannah Twaites therefore belongs to the same years as the head money rolls, which also listed Peter Twaites's orphans. It does not follow on from the bonds owed to the Preston widow's estate in 1792, as suggested earlier. In 1776 the poor stock still lived on communion collections at the three great festivals and carried a reserve of more than £80 0s 0d from year to year. That reserve was what later ran down, until the fund received only £4 16s 0d in a year and fell into debt to the parish.
101	92	[Heavy staining across the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading and the start of each entry.]	The debit side of the poor stock account recorded the following payments.

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		Poors Stock Dr.§ §To Cash paid for the Support and Attendance of§ §Old Bellas§ §17 12 8§ §To Cash paid for the Support of Widow Prestons family§ §4§ §To Cash paid for Sundrys for Susannah Twaits§ §11 2§ §To do. paid for Support of Mary Lessing in her Illness§ §2 4 3§ §To do. paid for the support of Mr. Lessens family§ §3 15§ §Cash given Mrs. Thos. Leech for the Burial of her Son§ §5§ §£ 33 3 1§ §To Cash paid the Balle. to Messrs.§ §67 10 0½§ §100 13 1½§	Cash paid for the support and care of old Bellar, £17 12s 8d Cash paid for the support of Widow Preston's family, £4 0s 0d Cash paid for various items for Susannah Twaites, £0 11s 2d Cash paid for the support of Mary Gissing during her illness, £2 4s 3d Cash paid for the support of Mr Gissing's family, £3 15s 0d Cash given to Mrs Thomas Leech for the burial of her son, £5 0s 0d Total, £33 3s 1d Cash paid as the balance to Messrs [...], £67 10s 0½d Total, £100 13s 1½d **Interpretations** Old Bellar cost more than half of the year's relief, £17 12s 8d for support and nursing. A year earlier the parish had also paid Mr Kay for her medicines and attendance. She was evidently an aged and infirm dependant needing constant care. That made her the parish's heaviest charge, much as Betty Wade would be in the 1790s. The Gissing household appeared on this page as both a sick woman and a family needing support. This fits the head money roll of 1 April, where Charles Gissing was marked unpaid, and the relief later given to Mrs Gissing during her illness. The same household thus recurred across the poor stock, the general account and the tax roll. The parish excused its rate, nursed its members and kept its family, showing how one failing household could draw on every part of the parish's resources at once.
102	93	[Heavy staining across the right-hand side of the page, obscuring the money columns and parts of the totals.] 1777 Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §[...] Whit Sunday By Cash Recd. at the Communion§ §3 4 [...]§ §Christmass day By do. Recd. at the Communion§ §4 13 [...]§ §Sunday after Christmas By do. recd.§ §2 16 [...]§ §Easter Sunday By do. recd.§ §6 16 [...]§ §By do. recd. for Fines on Hogs§ §3 19 [...]§ §21 10 [...]§ §By Cash remaining last Year§ §[...] 3 [...]§ §100 13 [...]§	The credit side of the poor stock account for 1777 recorded the following receipts. Whitsunday, cash collected at the communion, £3 4s 1[...]d Christmas Day, cash collected at the communion, £4 13s 6d Sunday after Christmas, cash collected at the communion, £2 16s [...] Easter Sunday, cash collected at the communion, £6 16s [...] Cash received in fines on hogs, £3 19s [...] Total, £21 10s [...] Cash remaining from last year, £79 3s [...] Total, £100 13s 1½d **Interpretations** The cash carried forward was the balance that Samuel Desfountain paid over to William Young and himself as churchwardens on the account for 1776. The poor stock was handed on year by year with each new pair of wardens. Fines on hogs brought in almost £4 0s 0d this year, three times the previous year's sum. In years when straying livestock was a particular problem, the trespass fines could add appreciably to communion collections that otherwise held steady at around £17 0s 0d to £20 0s 0d a year.
103	94	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the year, the heading and the start of the first entries.] 1778 Poor Stock Dr.§ §To Cash paid for the Support and Attendce. of old§ §Bellas Burial &c.§ §6 8 6§ §To Cash paid for the Support of Mary Lessons family§ §13§	The debit side of the poor stock account for 17[...]8 recorded the following payments. Cash paid for the support, care and burial of old Bellar and other costs, £6 8s 6d Cash paid for the support of Mary Sisson's family, £13 0s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mary Gissing during her illness, £1 3s 7d Cash paid for the expenses of Molly, a free black, during her illness and for her funeral, £0 16s 9d Cash paid for necessities for Susannah Twaites, £0 5s 8d Cash paid for necessities for Mary Pledger, £0 12s 2d Total, £22 6s 3d

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		§To do. paid for the Support of Mary Lessing in her Sickness§ §1 3 7§ §To do. paid the Expences of Free Molly in her Sickness§ §& Funeral§ §16 9§ §5 8§ §To do. paid for Necessarys for Susannah Twaits§ §12 2§ §To do. paid for do. for Mary Pledger§ §22 6 3§ §To Cash paid the Balle. to Messrs. Wm. Webber Doveton§ §and§ §53 16 9§ §£ 76 3 5§ §Poors Stock Dr.§ §1780 To Cash paid for the Support of Lessons Children§ §13§ §To do. pd. for ½ Ps. Long Cloth given to Smiths Children§ §1 1§ §To do. Given to Do.§ §6 10½§ §To do. pd. for a Blanket & Cot for Isabellas§ §15 6§ §To do. pd. for ½ Ps. Long Cloth given to S. Twaites§ §1 1§ §16 4 4½§ §March To Cash paid the Balance to Messrs. Watkin§ §Greentree & Nathl. Kennedy C. Wardens§ §52 15 1½§ §£ 68 19 6§ §Wat. Greentree§	Cash paid as the balance to Messrs William Webber and Doveton, £53 16s 9d Total, £76 3s 5d A later poor stock account for 1780 recorded the following payments. Cash paid for the support of Sisson's children, £13 0s 0d Cash paid for half a piece of longcloth given to Smith's children, £1 1s 0d Cash given to Smith's children, £0 6s 10½d Cash paid for a blanket and a cot for Isabella, £0 15s 6d Cash paid for half a piece of longcloth given to S. Twaites, £1 1s 0d Total, £16 4s 4½d March, cash paid as the balance to Messrs Walter Greentree and Nathaniel Kennedy, churchwardens, £52 15s 1½d Total, £68 19s 6d Walter Greentree signed the account. **Interpretations** Longcloth was a plain cotton woven in long pieces on the Coromandel coast of India, around Madras. It was one of the Company's standard exports, sold by the piece and used for shirts, shifts and children's clothing. A half piece was enough to clothe several children. The parish bought it, probably from the Company's stores, and gave it to poor families as cloth, as it later did with nankeen, baftas and chintz. The Sisson family received £13 0s 0d in both years, a fixed annual sum. That was effectively a pension for the children, set at 5s a week, the same rate as Mrs Burnham's allowance after her husband died. The poor stock still carried a reserve of more than £50 0s 0d from year to year, but its balance fell steadily, from more than £83 0s 0d in 1776 to under £53 0s 0d by 1780, as regular pensions of this kind took a growing share of its income.
104	95	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page, obscuring the ends of the first entries and the money columns of the first account.] Contra Cr.§ §By Cash recd. at the Communion [...] Whit Sunday§ §3 2 [...]§ §By do. do. Christmas day§ §2 10 [...]§ §By do. recd. the Sunday after Christmas§ §1 19 [...]§ §By do. fines on Hogs§ §[...] 10 [...]§ §8 13 [...]§ §By Cash Remaining last Year§ §67 10 [...]§ §W. Doveton§ §[...] 3 5§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1779 Apl. 6th. By Cash recd. of Mr. Saml. Desfountain the Balance§ §of last Years Account§ §53 16 9§	The credit side of the poor stock account for 1778 recorded the following receipts. Whitsunday, cash collected at the communion table, £3 2s [...] Christmas Day, cash collected at the communion, £2 10s [...] Sunday after Christmas, cash collected, £1 19s [...] Fines on hogs, £[...] Total, £8 13s [...] Cash remaining from last year, £67 10s [...] Total, £76 3s 5d Doveton signed the account. A later credit account recorded the following receipts. 6 April 1779, cash received from Mr Samuel Desfountain, the balance of last year's account, £53 16s 9d 30 May, cash collected at the communion on Trinity Sunday, £3 4s 6d 25 December, cash collected at the communion on Christmas Day, £5 8s 4d

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		§May 30th. By Do. recd. at the Communion Trinity Sunday§ §3 4 6§ §Decr. 25th. By Do. recd. at Do. Christmas Day§ §5 8 4§ §26th. By Do. recd. at Do. Sunday after Xmas§ §1 13 9§ §1780 Mar. 26 By Do. recd. at Do. Easter Day§ §4 16§ §£ 68 19 6§	26 December, cash collected at the communion on the Sunday after Christmas, £1 13s 9d 26 March 1780, cash collected at the communion on Easter Day, £4 16s 0d Total, £68 19s 6d **Interpretations** In 1778 the communion collections and hog fines brought in less than £9 0s 0d, against more than £21 0s 0d in each of 1776 and 1777. Spending on relief was still more than £22 0s 0d. The gap was met from the reserve, which fell from £67 10s 0½d to £53 16s 9d in a single year. By 1779 the collections had partly recovered to about £15 0s 0d. Even so, the fixed £13 0s 0d a year for the Sisson children alone took most of that. The fund's reserve could only shrink, which explains its later dependence on the general parish rate.
105	96	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading, the year and the start of the first entries.] Poors Stock Dr.§ §1780 To Cash paid for the Support of Lessons Children§ §13§ §To Do. paid Mrs. Smith and Children to buy Necessarys§ §2§ §15§ §March To Do. paid the Balance to Messrs. Nathl. Kennedy and§ §Thos. Statham Church Wardens§ §42 5 1½§ §£ 57 5 1½§ §Nathl. Kennedy§ §Poors Stock Dr.§ §1781 To Cash paid for the Support of Mrs. Bunting§ §£ 4 6§ §To Do. paid for the Rent of Room for Do.§ §3§ §To Do. paid Mrs. Smith & Children to buy Necessarys &c.§ §4 15§ §£ 12 1§ §To Do. paid the Balance to Messrs. Thomas Statham and§ §Fran. Seale Church Wardens§ §30 4 1½§ §£ 42 5 1½§	The debit side of the poor stock account for 1780 recorded the following payments. Cash paid for the support of Sisson's children, £13 0s 0d Cash paid to Mrs Smith and her children to buy necessities, £2 0s 0d Total, £15 0s 0d March, cash paid as the balance to Messrs Nathaniel Kennedy and Thomas Statham, churchwardens, £42 5s 1½d Total, £57 5s 1½d Nathaniel Kennedy signed the account. The poor stock account for 1781 recorded the following payments. Cash paid for the support of Mrs Bunting, £1 4s 6d Cash paid for the rent of a room for Mrs Bunting, £3 0s 0d Cash paid to Mrs Smith and her children to buy necessities and other items, £4 15s 0d Total, £12 1s 0d Cash paid as the balance to Messrs Thomas Statham and Francis Seale, churchwardens, £30 4s 1½d Total, £42 5s 1½d **Interpretations** The reserve fell again in each of these two years, from £52 15s 1½d to £42 5s 1½d and then to £30 4s 1½d. The new wardens each year still received a balance, and the pattern of renewing one warden at a time continued: Kennedy stayed for a second year with Statham, and Statham stayed with Seale. Paying Mrs Bunting's room rent shows the parish housing a pauper in private lodgings instead of the parish house. That was the same choice it made in the 1790s when it boarded Betty Wade with Elizabeth Price.
106	97	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading, the year and the start of the first entries.] Poors Stock Dr.§ §1780 To Cash paid for the Support of Lessons Children§ §13§ §To Do. paid Mrs. Smith and Children to buy Necessarys§ §2§ §15§ §March To Do. paid the Balance to Messrs. Nathl. Kennedy and§ §Thos. Statham Church Wardens§ §42 5 1½§ §£ 57 5 1½§ §Nathl. Kennedy§ §Poors Stock Dr.§ §1781 To Cash paid for the Support of Mrs. Bunting§ §£ 4 6§	The credit side of the poor stock account for 1780 recorded the following receipts. 10 April 1780, cash received from William Doveton, the balance of last year's account, £52 15s 1½d 25 December, cash collected at the communion on Christmas Day, £[...] 31 December, cash collected at the communion on the Sunday after Christmas, £[...] 10s [...] Total, £57 5s 1½d A later credit account recorded the following. Cash received from Dr Walter Greentree, the balance of last year's account, £42 5s 1½d Total, £42 5s 1½d **Interpretations** In 1781 the poor stock recorded no communion collections and no fines at all. Its only receipt was the balance handed on by Dr Walter Greentree. Every penny of that year's relief, including Mrs Bunting's room rent and Mrs Smith's allowance, came out of the reserve. That explains the fall from £42 5s 1½d

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		§To Do. paid for the Rent of Room for Do.§ §3§ §To Do. paid Mrs. Smith & Children to buy Necessarys &c.§ §4 15§ §£ 12 1§ §To Do. paid the Balance to Messrs. Thomas Statham and§ §Fran. Seale Church Wardens§ §30 4 1½§ §£ 42 5 1½§	to £30 4s 1½d. With the collections no longer entered in the poor stock account, the fund was living on its capital, which could not last.
107	98	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading, the date column and the start of the first two entries.] Poors Stock Dr.§ §To Cash paid for the Support of Sarah Bunting§ §52 Weeks at 3/6 p Week§ §9 2§ §1783 [...] To Do. paid the Balance to Messrs. Fran. Seale and§ §Church Wardens§ §21 2 1½§ §£ 30 4 1½§ §F. Seale§ §Poors Stock Dr.§ §To Cash paid the Support of Free Jack§ §10§ §To do. paid the Support of Betty Moore during her illness§ §1 10§ §To do. paid the Support of Sarah Bunting§ §9 11§ §To do. paid Do. of Mrs. Banks§ §5§ §£ 16 11§ §1784 To do. paid the Balle. to Messrs. Geo. Bird and Jas. Colgrave§ §4 11 1½§ §£ 21 2 1½§	The debit side of the poor stock account recorded the following payments. Cash paid for the support of Sarah Bunting, 52 weeks at 3s 6d a week, £9 2s 0d 1783, cash paid as the balance to Messrs Francis Seale and [...], churchwardens, £21 2s 1½d Total, £30 4s 1½d F. Seale signed the account. A later poor stock account recorded the following payments. Cash paid for the support of Jack, a free black, £0 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Moore during her illness, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Sarah Bunting, £9 11s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Banks, £5 0s 0d Total, £16 11s 0d 1784, cash paid as the balance to Messrs George Bird and James Colgrave, £4 11s 1½d Total, £21 2s 1½d **Interpretations** Sarah Bunting's support was now set at 3s 6d a week, paid for the full 52 weeks of the year. That was the same weekly rate the parish later gave Betty Wade for seven years and Abigail in 1796, so 3s 6d appears to have been the standard keep for a single dependent adult over two decades. With no income recorded, the reserve fell from £30 4s 1½d to £21 2s 1½d and then to £4 11s 1½d in two years. By 1784 the capital that had carried the poor stock since the 1770s was almost gone. That left the fund nearly empty when the Reverend Mr Wilson's £60 0s 0d revived it in 1787.
108	99	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page, partly obscuring the end of the first entry and its figures; further staining along the left-hand edge.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1782 Apl. 1st. By Cash received of Mr. Nathl. Kennedy the Balance§ §of the last Year§ §30 4 1½§ §£ 30 4 1½§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1783 April 21st. By Cash Recd. of Mr. Thos. Statham the Ballance of§ §the last Year§ §21 2 1½§ §21 2 1½§	The credit side of the poor stock account for 1782 recorded a single receipt. [...] April 1782, cash received from Mr Nathaniel Kennedy, the balance of last year's account, £30 4s 1½d Total, £30 4s 1½d The credit side for 1783 also recorded a single receipt. 21 April 1783, cash received from Mr Thomas Statham, the balance of last year's account, £21 2s 1½d Total, £21 2s 1½d
109	100	Blank page	
110	101	[Heavy staining across the upper right of the page, partly obscuring the ends of the entries and the money columns.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1781 March By Cash received of Lieut. Watkin Greentree the Balance§ §of the last Years Account§ §91 [...] 3½§ §1782 April 1st. By do. received the Amount of Tax upon Dogs for this Year§ §40 12 0§	The credit side of the parish account for 1781 and 1782 recorded the following receipts. March 1781, cash received from Lieutenant Walter Greentree, the balance of last year's account, £91 [...] 3½d 1 April 1782, cash received from the tax on dogs for this year, £40 12s 0d Cash received from fines on sheep, £22 10s 0d Total, £154 [...] 3½d **Interpretations**

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		§By do. received the do. of Funds upon Sheep§ §22 10§ §154 [...] 3[...]§	The general parish account, unlike the poor stock, was already taxing dogs and fining sheep owners by 1782. Together these raised more than £63 0s 0d in a year, while the poor stock lived only on its dwindling reserve. That explains why the dog tax and sheep charges recorded in the 1790s were not new devices. They were already the main income of the general account a decade earlier. The poor stock was left to the communion collections, which ceased to be recorded, so the parish's growing revenue went to the general fund rather than to relief of the poor.
111	102	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading, the date column and the start of the first entries.] Parish Dr.§ §1782 To Cash paid for destroying Dogs Rats and Mice§ §£ 1 17 6§ §To do. paid Mr. Nathl. Kennedy, Clerk of the Peace his Fees§ §1 5§ §1783 To do. paid for Rushes for the School House§ §1 15 3§ §To do. paid for Spades§ §8 10§ §To do. paid for a Bell Rope§ §4 7§ §To do. paid 10 Day's Stone Layers Work at 2/6§ §1 5§ §To do. paid 9 do. Labourers do. @ 1/6§ §13 6§ §To do. paid Thomas Ailesworth Sexton, his Salary§ §15§ §To do. paid do. for repairg. Sundry Articles§ §belonging to the Church§ §6 9§ §To do. paid 3 Day's Stonelayers Work at 2/6§ §7 6§ §To do. paid Labourers Work§ §17 6§ §To do. paid for Collecting Fines and Taxes upon Sheep§ §and Dogs§ §3§ §27 1 5§ §1783 Apl. 21 To do. paid the Balance to Messrs. Fran. Seale & George Bird§ §199 9 8½§ §£ 226 11 1½§ §Thos. Statham§	The debit side of the parish account for 1782 and 1783 recorded the following payments. 1782, cash paid for destroying dogs, rats and mice, £1 17s 6d Cash paid to Nathaniel Kennedy, clerk of the peace, for his fees, £1 5s 0d 1783, cash paid for rushes for the schoolhouse, £1 15s 3d Cash paid for spades, £0 8s 10d Cash paid for a bell rope, £0 4s 7d Cash paid for 10 days of stonelayer's work at 2s 6d, £1 5s 0d Cash paid for 9 days of labourers' work at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth, sexton, for his salary, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth for repairing various church articles, £0 6s 9d Cash paid for 3 days of stonelayer's work at 2s 6d, £0 7s 6d Cash paid for labourers' work, £0 17s 6d Cash paid for collecting fines and taxes on sheep and dogs, £3 0s 0d Total, £27 1s 5d 23 April 1783, cash paid as the balance to Messrs Francis Seale and George Bird, £199 9s 8½d Total, £226 11s 1½d Thomas Statham signed the account. **Interpretations** The general parish account handed on a balance of almost £200 0s 0d in April 1783, after spending only £27 0s 0d in the year. In the same years the poor stock was running down its last £30 0s 0d on Sarah Bunting and Mrs Smith's children, with no income of its own. The obvious course was to move part of the large general surplus into relief, and the parish did not take it. It kept the two funds strictly apart: the dog tax and sheep fines built up the general account, while the poor depended on a separate fund left to dwindle. The arrangement held until the general rate began paying relief directly in the 1790s, when the separate poor stock fell into debt to the parish. The sexton's salary had risen to £15 0s 0d a year, half as much again as the £10 0s 0d paid to John Price in the 1770s. Collecting the sheep and dog charges cost £3 0s 0d, against more than £63 0s 0d raised. These were cheap taxes to run, which helps explain why the parish relied on them more and more.
112	103	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page, obscuring the ends of the entries and the money columns; right-hand edge also damaged.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1782 April 7 By Cash received of Mr. Nathaniel Kennedy the§ §Balance of the last Years Account§ §108 6 5½§ §1783 By Cash do. the Amount of Tax upon Dogs for this Year§ §42 6 3§ §By do. do. the Amount of Fines upon Sheep§ §70 15 [...]§	The credit side of the parish account for 1782 and 1783 recorded the following receipts. 7 April 1782, cash received from Mr Nathaniel Kennedy, the balance of last year's account, £108 6s 5½d 1783, cash received from the tax on dogs for this year, £42 6s 3d Cash received from fines on sheep, £70 15s [...] Cash received from the constable, £[...] Cash received from Mr Kennedy, as returned by the inspectors for the last year, £4 5s 11d Total, £226 11s 1½d **Interpretations**

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		§By do. do. from the Constable§ §[...]§ §By do. do. of Mr. Kennedy, returned by the Inspectors§ §the last Year§ §4 5 11§ §£ 226 11 1½§ §£ 226 11 1½§	Fines on sheep brought in more than £70 0s 0d in 1783, three times the £22 10s 0d of the year before. The jump shows that the sheep charge was enforced as a penalty and not a fixed rate. Owners whose flocks were found straying, unmarked or over the permitted number paid according to what the inspectors found. A year of heavy grazing pressure on the commons could therefore yield a windfall. These fines, with the dog tax, built the general account's surplus of nearly £200 0s 0d. The inspectors' returns, received through Kennedy as clerk of the peace, show that the sheep inspectors of the 1790s were already at work in the early 1780s, reporting offenders for prosecution.
113	104	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the foot, partly obscuring the heading, the start of the first entries and the closing lines; bleed-through visible at the head.] Parish Dr.§ §1783 To Cash paid by Lt. Statham to Mr. Worrall but not entered§ §in his Account§ §2 15 9§ §To Cash [...] Bill of Lieut. Statham§ §5 13 10½§ §To do. paid the [...] for Church Windows in James Valley§ §1§ §To [...] Do. Salary§ §15§ §To do. paid Mary Doveton for Sticks for a Bridge§ §1 3§ §To do. paid for 10 Wheel Barrows &c.§ §9 18 5§ §To do. paid Richd. Bagley for drawing 644 head of Sheep at 1d.§ §2 13 8§ §To do. paid for the following for the Country Church Viz.§ §for Padlocks Hinges &c.§ §0 10§ §for repairing the Church Yard Fence§ §4 8§ §for Lime for Jams of the Gates &c.§ §0 16 3§ §for making a Gate for do.§ §1 5§ §for Timber to make do.§ §13 5§ §for Sawing do.§ §5 0§ §for Cordage for Thatching§ §1 10½§ §for Carpenters work done§ §15 6§ §for Battens for a Curtain Frames to cover the Seats§ §6 10§ §9 6 10½§ §To do. paid for the following works at the Ravine James's Valley§ §Fran. Seale's Bill 95 days Labourers @ 2/3§ §10 13 9§ §Do. 18 days Masons @ 3/6§ §3 3§ §Lieut. Gosling for 92 do. Labourers @ 2/3§ §10 7§ §Benj. Seales Bill 23 do. Masons @ 3/6§ §4 0 6§ §Henry Kingsfield as Overseer§ §3 15 1½§ §Edward Hayes Do.§ §2 12 6§ §Mr. [...]§ §Mr. Pritchard for 9 days work @ 2/3§ §1 0 3§	The debit side of the parish account for 1783 recorded the following payments. 1783, cash paid by Lieutenant Statham to Mr Worrall but not entered in his account, £2 15s 9d Cash paid on behalf of Lieutenant Statham, £5 13s 10½d Cash paid to the sexton for the church and windows in James Valley, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to the sexton for his salary, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to Mary Doveton for poles for a bridge, £1 3s 0d Cash paid for 10 wheelbarrows and other items, £9 18s 5d Cash paid to Richard Bagley for driving 544 head of sheep and other work, £2 13s 8d The country church work cost the following. Shalloon, osnaburg and other items, £0 10s 0d Repairing the churchyard fence, £4 8s 0d Lime for the gate jambs and other work, £0 16s 3d Making a gate for the churchyard, £1 5s 0d Timber to make the gate, £0 18s 5d Sawing the timber, £0 5s 0d Cord for thatching, £0 1s 10½d Carpenter's work, £0 15s 6d Shalloon for a curtain and canvas to cover two seats, £0 6s 10d Total for the country church, £9 6s 10½d Work at the ruins in James Valley cost the following. Francis Seale's bill, 95 days of labourers' work at 2s 3d, £10 13s 9d Francis Seale's bill, 18 days of masons' work at 3s 6d, £3 3s 0d Lieutenant Gurling, for 92 days of labourers' work at 2s 3d, £10 7s 0d Benjamin Seale's bill, 23 days of masons' work at 3s 6d, £4 0s 6d Henry Wingfield, as overseer, £3 15s 1½d Edward Hayes, as overseer, £2 12s 6d Mr Pritchard, for 9 days of work at 2s 3d, £1 0s 3d Mr Knipe, for 19 days of work at 2s 3d, £2 2s 9d Total for the work at the ruins, £37 14s 10½d The school repairs cost the following. 97 girths of rushes and 2 days of labourers' work, £2 13s 0d 7 days of thatching at 3s 6d, £1 4s 6d 68 days of labourers' work fetching rushes at 2s 3d, £7 13s 0d 4 loads of binders at 3s 6d, £0 14s 0d 21 days of labourers' work at 2s 3d, £2 7s 3d Total for the school repairs, £14 11s 9d The remaining payments were as follows. Cash paid to William Hayes for days of labourers' work at the school at 2s 3d, £3 7s 6d Cash paid to Mr John Doveton for fees as clerk of the peace, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for making the register of dogs and other lists, £1 5s 0d Cash paid for repairing the surplices, £0 10s 0d

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		§Mr. Knipe for 19 do. @ 2/3§ §2 2 9§ §37 14 10½§ §To do. paid for the following for the School repairs Viz.§ §for 97 Girts of Rushes and 2 days Labrs. work§ §2 13§ §for Thatching 7 days @ 3/6§ §1 4 6§ §for 68 days Labrs. fetching Rushes @ 2/3§ §7 13§ §for 2 Loads Binders @ 3/6§ §11§ §for 21 days Labrs. @ 2/3§ §2 7 3§ §14 11 9§ §To do. paid Wm. Hayes for days Labrs. Work at the School @ 2/3§ §3 7 6§ §To do. paid Mr. John Doveton Fees as Clerk of the Peace§ §1§ §To do. paid for making the Licensd. Dogs lists &c.§ §1 5§ §To do. paid for repairing the Surplices§ §10§ §To do. paid for Collecting the Dog & Sheep Money§ §3§ §To do. Vestry Clerk [...] Dog Taxes§ §2§ §To do. Secy. Fees for 2 years§ §3§ §To do. pd. Mr. [...] for drawing 529 head of Sheep§ §2 4 1§ §To do. [...] Colgrave§ §116 [...] 4 [...]§ §150 [...] 3 [...]§ §[...]§	Cash paid for collecting the dog and sheep money, £3 0s 0d Cash paid for [...] the dog tax, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees for 2 years, £3 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr George [...] for driving 529 head of sheep, £2 4s 1d Total, £116 4s 9¾d Cash paid as the balance to Messrs George Bird and James Colgrave, £150 3s [...] Total, £26[...] **Interpretations** Shalloon was a light, closely woven woollen cloth, twilled on both sides. It was named after Châlons in France and woven mainly in England for coat linings and hangings. Here it was used with canvas for a curtain and seat covers in the country church. Osnaburg, the coarse German linen used mostly for slaves' clothing and sacking, appeared alongside it for rougher uses. The large balance of 1783 did not sit idle for long. The parish used its surplus to pay for wheelbarrows and more than 200 days of labour and masonry at "the ruins" in James Valley. That suggests the town had suffered damage, perhaps from a flood or rockfall down the valley. The parish took on a public rebuilding job that would normally fall to the Company, paying planters such as Francis Seale and Lieutenant Gurling for the labour of their slaves at 2s 3d a day. The daily rate for labourers had risen from the 1s 6d paid in the 1770s, so planters gained by hiring out their slaves to the parish at a higher price. Richard Bagley and another planter were paid about 1d a head to drive in 544 and 529 sheep. Rounding up the flocks on the commons was the first step in counting and marking them for the sheep charges. In later years the parish paid for that count directly, at the same rate of 1d a head.
114	105	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page, obscuring the ends of the entries and the money columns; further staining along the foot of the page.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1783 April 21 By Cash Recd. of Mr. Thos. Statham the Balance of last§ §Years Account§ §199 9 8½§ §1784 By do. the Amot. of Taxes upon Dogs for this Year§ §[...] 12 [...]§ §By do. the Amot. of Fines upon Sheep§ §[...] 15 [...]§ §By do. Recd. of Mr. Seale the Inspectors returned the last Year§ §[...]§ §By do. Recd. from the Constable§ §[...]§ §26[...]§	The credit side of the parish account for 1783 and 1784 recorded the following receipts. 23 April 1783, cash received from Mr Thomas Statham, the balance of last year's account, £199 9s 8½d 1784, cash received from the tax on dogs for this year, £[...] 12s [...] Cash received from fines on sheep, £[...] 15s [...] Cash received from Mr Seale, as returned by the inspectors for the last year, £[...] Cash received from the constable, £[...] Total, £26[...]
115	106	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, clear of the text.] August 9th. 1791.§ §The first Regulation as þ the other Side approved of.§ §The Second Regulation, agreed with so far as agreeing§ §with the new Laws.§ §The Third is a point which must be agitated at the Quarter Sessions§ §before a Determination can be taken & made.§	On 9 August 1791 the following decisions were recorded on the regulations set out on the facing page. 1: The first regulation was approved. 2: The second regulation was accepted only so far as it agreed with the new laws. 3: The third raised a point that had to be argued at the quarter sessions before any decision could be made. **Interpretations** The reviewing authority approved one regulation outright and accepted another only where it fitted the new laws. On the third it made no ruling at all and sent it to the quarter sessions, the island's court of justices sitting four times a year. The obvious course was simply to approve or reject the regulation. The point evidently touched legal rights or penalties that a

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			vestry regulation could not settle alone, so it had to be heard where the parties could argue it. The parish could propose rules, but anything affecting private rights had to pass through the courts. The Council took the same position in 1799 when it sent the surgeons' bills to arbitration.
116	107	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page, obscuring the ends of the opening lines; further staining along the foot of the page, obscuring the last entry.] August 8th. 179[...]§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel [...]§ §A Letter from the Governor was [...] requiring§ §the said Vestry to appoint three Persons well informed§ §to examine some Plans in agitation for the Improvement§ §of the Company's Common Lands & the Island when the§ §undermentioned Three Person (for that purpose) were§ §determined on by a Majority by Ballot.§ §Viz.§ §Lieutenant William Seale§ §Mr. Samuel Knipe§ §Mr. Thomas Bagley§ §As Slaves belonging to several Gentlemen in the§ §Island have made repeated practices of taking by§ §Stealth their Masters property, and disposing of it§ §contrary to the regulations for preventing such practices§ §The Vestry do unanimously agree, that any one§ §giving Information of such Blacks who shall§ §offend in like manner in future, shall be paid§ §on apprehending him the sum of two Shillings &§ §Six pence. The Owner of the Black to pay.§ §The Deputy Jailer has particular Instructions§ §for this purpose.§ §The Vestry beg leave to represent to the Board, that as many§ §irregularities occur by reason of the Blacks taking the Liberty§ §to range in the Streets at unseasonable times of the night, that§ §the Board will be so good, as take the same into Consideration and§ §order the Laws, for preventing such irregularities to be put in force§ §which particularly order that no Black shall have Liberty to§ §be from home after nine o'Clock at Night.§ §A Woman & four Children belonging to [...] Known by§ §name of Betty Moore the Vestry [...] purpose that the§ §the Children [...] sold at a Public [...]§ §Mr. [...] shall be paid [...]§ §[...]§	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 8 August 1791. A letter from the Governor was read. It asked the vestry to appoint three well-informed people to examine some plans under discussion for improving the Company's common lands on the island. The vestry chose the following three by majority ballot. Lieutenant William Seale Mr Samuel Knipe Mr Thomas Bagley Slaves belonging to several gentlemen on the island had repeatedly stolen their masters' property and disposed of it, against the regulations meant to stop the practice. The vestry agreed unanimously that anyone who informed on a black committing such thefts in future would be paid 2s 6d when the offender was caught. The slave's owner would pay the reward. The deputy gaoler had been given specific instructions for the purpose. The vestry pointed out to the Board that much disorder arose from blacks roaming the streets late at night. It asked the Board to consider the matter and order the laws against such behaviour to be enforced. In particular, it asked that no black be allowed away from home after nine o'clock at night. A woman and her four children belonged to the parish and were known by the name of Betty Moore. The vestry proposed unanimously that the woman and the children be sold at public auction [...]. Mrs Twyman was to be paid [...] for [...] **Interpretations** The facing page, dated 9 August 1791, records the Board's answer to these three proposals. It approved the informer's reward outright, accepted the nine o'clock curfew only so far as it agreed with the new laws, and sent the third proposal to the quarter sessions. That third proposal was the sale of Betty Moore and her four children. The vestry could not sell people held by the parish on its own resolution, and the question of the parish's title to them had to be argued in court. Betty Moore had appeared in the accounts receiving relief during her lying-in and medical care from Kay and Dunn. She was evidently a slave owned by the parish, perhaps acquired through a debt, a bequest or an escheated estate, and her children added to the parish's charge with every birth. The obvious course was to keep maintaining the family from the rates, as the parish did for its other dependants. The vestry proposed instead to turn them from a recurring cost into a single payment by selling all five at auction. Mrs Twyman, who was perhaps keeping the family, was to be paid from the proceeds. The same reasoning appears in the purchase of a slave for Mrs Jenkins in 1787 and the apprenticing of Daniel Caldwell in 1798: the parish preferred any lump-sum arrangement to an open-ended charge. Making the owner pay the informer's reward placed the cost of slave theft on the slaveholder whose property was protected, not on the parish. It also gave owners a reason to keep their own slaves in order. The informers were probably other slaves or free blacks, so the reward paid one black person to report another.
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118	109	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page, obscuring part of the heading and the end of the first entry.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1772 June 1st. By Balance of last Years Account§ §£ 4 14§	On the credit side, the parish account for 1772 recorded one entry. [...] June 1772, balance of last year's account, £4 14s [...]
119	110	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, obscuring the heading and parts of the first seven entries.] 1773 Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §To [...] Thomas [...] his Salary§ §10§ §To ditto paid John [...] for Wm. Peplow a parish Boy§ §6 19§ §To ditto paid [...] for Mrs. Watts's House Rent§ §9 15 6§ §To ditto paid [...] for Ditto§ §6 10§ §To ditto paid James [...]ard Constable for Ratts & Mice§ §1 9 8½§ §To ditto paid James [...]fett for Mary Lessing§ §1 8 7½§ §To ditto paid for John Hayes§ §3 9 6§ §To ditto paid Mr. John Alexanders Toby for cutting Rushes§ §2§ §To ditto paid for Nails and Cordage§ §1 4 5½§ §To ditto paid Ferris for publishing a Vestry§ §5§ §To ditto paid for Work at the Country Church§ §8 16§ §To Cash given to William Beale§ §7 10§ §To Cash paid Mary Lessing§ §18 10½§ §To Cash paid for Sundries for John Hayes§ §9 8 6§ §To Cash paid for Sundries for Samuel Bowers§ §10 12 1§ §To Cash paid Mr. John Alexanders Toby§ §1 10§ §To Cash paid Yates for Clearing the lower Burying Ground§ §11 4§ §To Cash paid for Rats and Mice§ §1 1 8§ §To Cash paid Ferris for publishing a Vestry§ §5§ §To Cash paid for a Lock for the Parish House Door§ §3 1§ §To Cash paid Ferris giving Notice of a Vestry§ §5§ §To Cash advanced William Beale§ §2 10§ §To Cash paid for Rats and Mice§ §1 8 3§ §To Cash paid for 35 Rafters Cut by Jack Hayes for the Country Church§ §1 15§ §To 2 Days Work getting them out of the Wood & Barking them§ §3§ §To 25 Rafters Cut by Captain Beales people§ §1 17 6§ §To Cash paid the Expences of Mrs. Watts's Funeral§ §5 4 11§ §£ 97 1 11¾§	The debit side of the parish account for 1773 recorded the following payments. Cash paid to Thomas [...] for his salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid to John [...] for William Peplow, a parish boy, £6 19s 0d Cash paid to L[...] for Mrs Watts's house rent, £9 15s 6d Cash paid to [...] for Mrs Watts's house rent, £6 10s 0d Cash paid to James Pritchard, constable, for rats and mice, £1 9s 8¼d Cash paid to James [...] for Mary Gissing, £1 8s 7½d Cash paid for John Hayes, £3 9s 6d Cash paid to Mr John Alexander's Toby for cutting rushes, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for nails and cordage, £1 4s 5½d Cash paid to Ferris for publishing a vestry, £0 5s 0d Cash paid for work at the country church, £8 16s 0d Cash given to William Beale, £7 10s 0d Cash paid to Mary Gissing, £0 18s 10½d Cash paid for various items for John Hayes, £9 8s 6d Cash paid for various items for Samuel Bowers, £10 12s 1d Cash paid to Mr John Alexander's Toby, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Yates for clearing the lower burial ground, £0 11s 4d Cash paid for rats and mice, £1 1s 8d Cash paid to Ferris for publishing a vestry, £0 5s 0d Cash paid for a lock for the parish house door, £0 3s 1d Cash paid to Ferris for giving notice of a vestry, £0 5s 0d Cash advanced to William Beale, £2 10s 0d Cash paid for rats and mice, £1 8s 3d Cash paid for 35 rafters cut by Jack Hayes for the country church, £1 15s 0d 2 days of work getting the rafters out of the wood and stripping their bark, £0 3s 0d 25 rafters cut by Captain Beale's people, £1 17s 6d Cash paid for the expenses of Mrs Watts's funeral, £5 4s 11d Total, £97 1s 11¾d **Interpretations** Toby, entered as Mr John Alexander's Toby, was a slave who was paid directly for cutting rushes, while the 25 rafters were cut by Captain Beale's "people", meaning his slaves. Paying Toby himself suggests he worked on his own account in his free time, keeping the earnings with his master's consent. The Company's slave laws allowed that, as the Council noted in 1798. The rafters were cut in the woods for the country church and barked on the spot. The parish relied on the island's own timber and on slave labour hired from planters, rather than on materials bought from the Company's stores. The sums for William Beale, £7 10s 0d given and £2 10s 0d advanced, add to the £10 0s 0d recorded against him on the poor stock account. Beale had served as churchwarden in June 1772. The "advanced" entry suggests the parish was paying him back for money he had laid out in office rather than

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			relieving him. Mrs Watts was housed at the parish's expense with two separate rent payments and buried at its cost the same year. She was probably the Priscilla Watts who had earlier been paid compensation for her executed slave. A slaveholding widow could thus fall into dependence on the parish by the end of her life.
120	111	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the end of the heading, the end of the opening entry and much of the money columns; further staining at the foot of the page.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Cash received from Sundry [...] Head Money [...]§ §this Year the Tax being [...]§ §Heads £ s d§ §Samuel Alexander§ §16§ §1 4 [...]§ §John Alexander§ §27§ §2 [...]§ §George Alexander§ §11§ §16 [...]§ §Margaret Alcock§ §20§ §1 10 [...]§ §Onesiphorous Beales Orphans§ §13§ §19 [...]§ §Martha Beale§ §7§ §10 [...]§ §Richard Beale§ §8§ §12§ §William Bearcroft§ §9§ §13 [...]§ §John Bagley Senr.§ §7§ §10 [...]§ §Richard Bagley§ §39§ §2 18 [...]§ §Orlando Bagleys Orphans§ §26§ §1 19§ §Orlando Bagley§ §13§ §19 [...]§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §12§ §18§ §Matthew Bazett§ §44§ §3 6§ §Henry Bazett§ §27§ §2 [...]§ §John Bazett§ §6§ §9§ §Thomas Bazett§ §9§ §13 6§ §George Bird§ §4§ §6§ §Thomas Burnham§ §8§ §12§	On the credit side of the parish account for 1773, the head money paid by householders was recorded at a rate of 1s 6d a head. Samuel Alexander, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d John Alexander, 27 heads, £2 0s 6d George Alexander, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Margaret Alcock, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Martha Beale, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Richard Beale, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d William Bearcroft, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d John Bagley senior, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Richard Bagley, 39 heads, £2 18s 6d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d Orlando Bagley, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d John Bagley junior, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Matthew Bazett, 44 heads, £3 6s 0d Henry Bazett, 27 heads, £2 0s 6d John Bazett, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Bazett, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d George Bird, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Burnham, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Robert Ballard, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d William Beale, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d James Colgrave, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Ann Colgrave, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Ruth Colgrave, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Caldwell, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Congreve, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Joseph Chamberlain's orphans, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d Jonathan Doveton, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d Isaac Doveton, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Samuel Desfountain, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Sarah Desfountain, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d James Desfountain, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Elizabeth Desfountain junior, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Desfountain, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Elizabeth Desfountain senior, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Edward Daniels, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Henry Easthope, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Easthope, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Michael Frost, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Sarah Fudge, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Julio Fabiano, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Richard Goodwin, 31 heads, £2 6s 6d John Goodwin, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Carried over, 506 heads, £37 19s [...] **Interpretations** Over the four rolls now recorded, the head money rate was 1s 3d in 1772, 1s 6d in 1773, 1s 8d and 2s in the other two years. The households on each roll and their head counts barely changed. The parish therefore did not fix a standing rate. Each year it divided its expected costs by the number of heads on the roll, so the rate rose or fell with the year's spending. In 1773 the parish paid out £97 1s 11¾d, much of it on rent and a funeral for Mrs Watts, relief for John Hayes and Samuel Bowers, and timber for the country church. That probably accounts for the rise from the previous year's 1s 3d.

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		§Robert Ballard§ §6§ §9§ §William Beale§ §9§ §13 6§ §James Colgrave§ §3§ §4 6§ §Ann Colgrave§ §5§ §7 6§ §Ruth Colgrave§ §3§ §4 6§ §William Caldwell§ §3§ §4 6§ §John Congreave§ §4§ §6§ §Joseph Chamberlains Orphans§ §2§ §3§ §John Dovetons Orphans§ §18§ §1 7§ §Jonathan Doveton§ §20§ §1 10§ §Isaac Doveton§ §15§ §1 2 [...]§ §Samuel Desfountain§ §8§ §12§ §Sarah Desfountain§ §6§ §9§ §James Desfountain§ §6§ §9§ §Elizabeth Desfountain Junr.§ §5§ §7 [...]§ §John Desfountain§ §7§ §10 [...]§ §Elizabeth Desfountain Senr.§ §8§ §12§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §4§ §6§ §Edward Daniels§ §4§ §6§ §Henry Easthope§ §2§ §3§ §James Easthope§ §5§ §7 [...]§ §Michael Frost§ §2§ §3§ §Sarah Fenge§ §6§ §9§ §Julio Fabiano§ §5§ §7 [...]§ §Richard Goodwin§ §31§ §2 6 [...]§	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§John Goodwin§ §13§ §19 [...]§ §Carried Over§ §506 37 [...]§	
121	112	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading.] Parish Dr.§ §Brought Over§ §£ 97 1 11¾§	The total from the previous page was brought forward to open the next page of the parish account's debit side. Brought over, £97 1s 11¾d
122	113	[Heavy staining at the upper centre of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and some figures; further staining at the foot of the page.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Heads £ s d§ §Brought Over§ §506 37 19§ §James Greentree§ §35§ §2 12 6§ §Not paid Charles Lessing§ §1§ §1 6§ §Robert Gosling§ §2§ §3§ §Mary Griffiths§ §2§ §3§ §James Goudy§ §3§ §4 6§ §Robert Gillson§ §1§ §1 6§ §John Howard§ §1§ §1 6§ §George Hayes§ §2§ §3§ §William Hayes Junr.§ §5§ §7 [...]§ §Thomas Harper§ §6§ §9§ §Margaret Harper§ §9§ §13 [...]§ §Gabriel Harper§ §7§ §10 6§ §William Hayes Senr.§ §14§ §1 1§ §Henry Howell§ §6§ §9§ §Martha Jacks§ §3§ §4 6§ §William Jenkins§ §4§ §6§ §Thomas Jones§ §2§ §3§ §Elisha Isaacke§ §19§ §1 8 6§	The head money roll continued on the credit side of the parish account for 1773 at 1s 6d a head. Brought over, 506 heads, £37 19s 0d James Greentree, 35 heads, £2 12s 6d Charles Gissing, 1 head, £0 1s 6d, not paid Robert Garling, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Mary Griffiths, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Gordy, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Robert Gibson, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Howard, 1 head, £0 1s 6d George Hayes, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Hayes junior, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Harper, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Margaret Harper, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Gabriel Harper, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d William Hayes senior, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Henry Howell, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Martha Jacks, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Jenkins, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Jones, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Elisha Isaacs, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Gabriel Isaacs junior, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Gabriel Isaacs senior, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Samuel Knipe senior, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Richard Knipe, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Catherine Knipe, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Samuel Knipe junior, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Elizabeth Kennedy, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Elizabeth Lambe, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Thomas Leech, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Sarah Lake, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Robert Leech, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Benjamin Mason, 25 heads, £1 17s 6d Roderick Merchant, 21 heads, £1 11s 6d Philip Mahoney, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Matthew Purling, 60 heads, £4 10s 0d Elizabeth Powell, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Richard Powell, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Margaret Powell, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d John Price, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Benjamin Pledger, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Sarah Pritchard, 21 heads, £1 11s 6d James Pritchard, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Margaret Payne, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d, marked in the margin John Preston, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d James Pasfield, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d John Robinson, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Carried over, 891 heads, £66 16s [...] **Interpretations** Charles Gissing's household had shrunk to a single head and was still marked as not paid. On the other rolls it counted three heads and then two, and the parish paid Mary Gissing relief during her illness and supported Mr Gissing's family from the poor stock. Taken together, the entries follow a household losing its members, and probably its slaves, until only Gissing himself remained to be counted. Matthew Purling moved the other way, from 33 heads to 56 and now 60, the largest establishment in the parish. The head money rolls thus record the island's planters drawing apart, the largest gaining labour while the smallest lost what little they had.

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		§Gabriel Isaacke Junr.§ §2§ §3§ §Gabriel Isaacke Senr.§ §13§ §19 6§ §Samuel Knipe Senr.§ §5§ §7 6§ §Richard Knipe§ §3§ §4 6§ §Catharine Knipe§ §4§ §6§ §Samuel Knipe Junr.§ §3§ §4 6§ §Elizabeth Kennedy§ §7§ §10 6§ §Elizabeth Lambe§ §11§ §16 6§ §Thomas Leech§ §6§ §9§ §Sarah Lake§ §3§ §4 6§ §Robert Leech§ §6§ §9§ §Benjamin Mason§ §25§ §1 17 6§ §Roderick Merchant§ §21§ §1 11 6§ §Philip Mahoney§ §3§ §4 6§ §Matthew Purling§ §60§ §4 10§ §Elizabeth Powell§ §17§ §1 5 [...]§ §Richard Powell§ §4§ §6§ §Margaret Powell§ §6§ §9§ §John Price§ §10§ §15§ §Benjamin Pledger§ §3§ §4 6§ §Sarah Pritchard§ §21§ §1 11 6§ §James Pritchard§ §2§ §3§ §Margaret Payne§ §3§ §4 6§ §John Preston§ §5§ §7 6§ §James Parfett§ §10§ §15§	

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		§John Robinson§ §10§ §15§ §Carried Over§ §891 66 [...]§	
123	114	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading.] Parish Dr.§ §Brought Over§ §£ 97 1 11¾§	The total from the previous page was brought forward to open the next page of the parish account's debit side. Brought over, £97 1s 11¾d
124	115	[Heavy staining at the upper centre of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and some figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Heads £ s d§ §Brought Over§ §891 66 16 6§ §Thomas Statham§ §8§ §12§ §Charles Ross Stewart§ §13§ §19 6§ §John Shirtley§ §14§ §1 1§ §Solomon St. Maurice§ §7§ §10 6§ §George Seale§ §5§ §7 6§ §Benjamin Seale§ §17§ §1 5 6§ §John Seale§ §15§ §1 2 6§ §William Seale§ §7§ §10 [...]§ §Jeremiah Smith§ §3§ §4 [...]§ §John Smith§ §6§ §9§ §Martha Scott§ §4§ §6§ §John Scott§ §6§ §9§ §Nathan Sampell§ §6§ §9§ §Thomas Stroud§ §2§ §3§ §James Tippet§ §4§ §6§ §James Torbetts Orphans§ §5§ §7 6§ §Thomas Watts's Orphans§ §8§ §12§ §William Wrangham§ §32§ §2 8§ §Brittannicus Alexander Wright§ §9§ §13 6§	The head money roll for 1773 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s 6d a head and closed with the year's total. Brought over, 891 heads, £66 16s 6d Thomas Statham, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Charles Ross Stewart, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d John Shirtley, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Solomon St Maurice, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d George Seale, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Benjamin Seale, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d John Seale, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d William Seale, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Jeremiah Smith, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Smith, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Martha Scott, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Scott, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Nathan Sampell, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Stroud, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Tippet, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d James Torbett's orphans, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Watts's orphans, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d William Wrangham, 32 heads, £2 8s 0d Britannicus Alexander Wright, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d John Worrall, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d John Whitchurch, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Simon Whaley, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Whaley, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Worrall's orphans, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Jane Wilson, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Margaret Young, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Young, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d Stephen Young, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Thomas Yates, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Total, 1,139 heads, £85 8s 6d **Interpretations** Britannicus Alexander Wright was the B. A. Wright whose heir, J. A. Wright, offered in 1799 to repay any mistaken compensation for the slave Sam. So Sam's owner was a modest planter, assessed here on nine heads. The £15 0s 0d paid for a single condemned slave was a large sum against a household of that size. The 25th article, which allowed payment only after execution, protected the ratepayers from exactly such a claim. James Tippet, the Company's engineer and captain of artillery, also paid the head money on four heads. Company officers who held private households and slaves on the island were rated by the parish like any other inhabitant.

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		§John Worrall§ §8§ §12§ §John Whitchurch§ §4§ §6§ §Simon Whaley§ §5§ §7 6§ §John Whaley§ §2§ §3§ §John Worralls Orphans§ §9§ §13 6§ §Jane Willson§ §1§ §1 6§ §Margaret Young§ §1§ §1 6§ §William Young§ §26§ §1 19§ §Stephen Young§ §19§ §1 8 6§ §Thomas Yates§ §3§ §4 6§ §1139 85 8 6§	
125	116	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the heading and parts of the first five entries.] Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §To Cash paid for Rats & Mice destroyed§ §10 19 7½§ §To do. paid for Repairing the Pall§ §10§ §To do. for repairing the Country Church§ §29 5 4¼§ §To do. for 3 Chafing Basons for Do.§ §1 2 6§ §To do. for a Box for Do.§ §1 1§ §To do. paid Yates his Salary§ §10§ §To do. paid John Whaley for Wm. Peplow a parish boy§ §6§ §To do. paid for lb. Sugar & 1 lb. Tea for Susannah Twaits§ §2 11§ §To do. paid the Secretarys Fees§ §1§ §To do. paid for Ballancing the Church Books for 2 Years§ §2 2§ §To Sundry persons who have not paid their Head Money§ §1 13§ §To Cash paid Edward Daniels repairing the Poors house§ §7 6§ §To Do. to Susannah Twaits§ §6 8§ §£ 64 6 6¾§	The debit side of the parish account recorded the following payments. Cash paid for rats and mice destroyed, £10 19s 7½d Cash paid for repairing the pall, £0 10s 0d Cash paid for repairing the country church, £29 5s 4¼d Cash paid for 3 chafing basins for the country church, £1 2s 6d Cash paid for a box for the country church, £1 1s 0d Cash paid to Yates for his salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid to John Whaley for William Peplow, a parish boy, £6 0s 0d Cash paid for sugar and tea for Susannah Twaites, £0 2s 11d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for balancing the church books for 2 years, £2 2s 0d Head money written off for various persons who did not pay, £1 13s 0d Cash paid to Edward Daniels for repairing the poor house, £0 7s 6d Cash paid to Susannah Twaites, £0 6s 8d Total, £64 6s 6¾d **Interpretations** Chafing basins were shallow metal pans that held burning charcoal, set on stands to give off heat. The country church stood in the island's high interior, where the air was cooler and damper than in Jamestown, especially in the southern-hemisphere winter months. Three basins were enough to take the chill off a small congregation at service. Here the parish was paying for the comfort of the country planters' families, not only for repairs to the fabric. The bounty on rats and mice came to almost £11 0s 0d, more than the sexton's whole year's salary. Rats were a serious pest on the island, eating stored grain and crops. Paying for each one killed turned their destruction into a source of income for slaves and poor inhabitants. Together with the repair of the country church, it accounted for well over half the year's spending.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
126	117	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and much of the money columns; further staining at the foot of the page.] 1774 Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §Cash received from the following persons for Head§ §money this Year the Tax being at 1/6 p Head§ §Heads£ s d§ §Margaret Alcock§ §19§ §1 [...]§ §Samuel Alexander§ §16§ §1 [...]§ §John Alexander§ §27§ §[...]§ §George Alexander§ §12§ §18§ §Onesiphorus Beales Orphans§ §14§ §1 1§ §Richard Beale§ §10§ §15§ §William Bearcroft§ §7§ §10 6§ §John Bagley Senr.§ §7§ §10 6§ §Richard Bagley§ §39§ §2 18 6§ §Orlando Bagleys Orphans§ §24§ §1 16§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §12§ §18§ §Orlando Bagley§ §16§ §1 4§ §Mathew Bazett§ §49§ §3 13 6§ §Henry Bazett§ §27§ §2 [...] 6§ §John Bazett§ §9§ §13 6§ §Thomas Bazett§ §11§ §16 6§ §George Bird§ §4§ §6§ §Thomas Burnham§ §7§ §10 6§ §Robert Ballard§ §6§ §9§ §not paid William Beale§ §9§ §13 6§ §John Congreave§ §5§ §7 6§ §Jas. Colgrave§ §7§ §10 [...]§	The credit side of the parish account for 1774 recorded the head money received from householders at a rate of 1s 6d a head. Margaret Alcock, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Samuel Alexander, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d John Alexander, 27 heads, £2 0s 6d George Alexander, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Richard Beale, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d William Bearcroft, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Bagley senior, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Richard Bagley, 39 heads, £2 18s 6d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 24 heads, £1 16s 0d John Bagley junior, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Orlando Bagley, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Matthew Bazett, 49 heads, £3 13s 6d Henry Bazett, 27 heads, £2 0s 6d John Bazett, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Thomas Bazett, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d George Bird, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Burnham, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Robert Ballard, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d William Beale, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d, not paid John Congreve, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d James Colgrave, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d William Caldwell, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Joseph Chamberlain's orphans, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Jonathan Doveton, 21 heads, £1 11s 6d Isaac Doveton, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Samuel Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Sarah Desfountain, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d James Desfountain, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d John Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Charles Desfountain, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Carried over, 400 heads, £30 0s 0d **Interpretations** In 1774 William Beale was marked as not paying his head money. He had been churchwarden in June 1772, and in 1773 the parish gave him £7 10s 0d and advanced him another £2 10s 0d. A former officer of the parish was now being excused his rate and given money from its funds. Like Burnham and Gissing, Beale belonged to the middling households that the head money and relief accounts show slipping into dependence. He kept nine heads on the roll, so the household still held slaves while it could no longer pay a tax of 13s 6d.

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		§William Caldwell§ §3§ §4 [...]§ §Joseph Chamberlains Orphans§ §2§ §3§ §John Dovetons Orphans§ §17§ §1 [...]§ §Jonathan Doveton§ §21§ §1 [...]§ §Isaacke Doveton§ §15§ §1 [...]§ §Samuel Desfountain§ §9§ §13 6§ §Sarah Desfountain§ §6§ §9§ §James Desfountain§ §6§ §[...]§ §John Desfountain§ §9§ §[...]§ §Charles Desfountain§ §5§ §[...]§ §Carried [...]§ §480 32 [...]§	
127	118	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading.] Parish Dr.£ s d§ §Brought Over§ §64 6 6¾§	The total from the previous page was brought forward to open the next page of the parish account's debit side. Brought over, £64 6s 6¾d
128	119	[Heavy staining at the upper centre of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and some figures; further staining at the foot of the page.] Brought Over§ §Heads £ s d§ §430 32 5§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §4§ §6§ §Edward Daniels§ §4§ §6§ §Henry Easthope§ §2§ §3§ §James Easthope§ §3§ §7 6§ §Michael Frost§ §2§ §3§ §Julio Fabiano§ §7§ §10 6§ §Richard Goodwin§ §32§ §2 8§ §John Goodwin§ §13§ §19 [...]§ §James Greentrees Orphans§ §31§ §2 6 [...]§ §James Greentree§ §6§ §9§	The head money roll for 1774 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s 6d a head. Brought over, 430 heads, £32 5s 0d Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Edward Daniels, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Henry Easthope, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Easthope, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Michael Frost, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Julio Fabiano, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Richard Goodwin, 32 heads, £2 8s 0d John Goodwin, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d James Greentree's orphans, 31 heads, £2 6s 6d James Greentree, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Charles Gissing, 1 head, £0 1s 6d, not paid Robert Garling, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Joseph Griffiths, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Mary Griffiths, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Gordy, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Howard, 1 head, £0 1s 6d George Hayes, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Hayes junior, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Harper, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Margaret Harper, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Gabriel Harper, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d William Hayes senior, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Henry Howell, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Martha Jacks, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Jenkins, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Hugh Jones, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Jones, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Elisha Isaacs, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Gabriel Isaacs junior, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Gabriel Isaacs senior, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Samuel Knipe junior, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Richard Knipe, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Kitty Knipe, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§not paid Charles Lessing§ §1§ §1 6§ §Robert Gosling§ §2§ §3§ §Joseph Griffith§ §1§ §1 6§ §Mary Griffiths§ §2§ §3§ §James Goudy§ §2§ §3§ §John Howard§ §1§ §1 6§ §George Hayes§ §2§ §3§ §William Hayes Junr.§ §6§ §9§ §Thomas Harper§ §7§ §10 6§ §Margaret Harper§ §10§ §15§ §Gabriel Harper§ §7§ §10 6§ §William Hayes Senr.§ §15§ §1 2 6§ §Henry Howell§ §9§ §13 6§ §Martha Jacks§ §3§ §4 6§ §William Jenkins§ §5§ §7 6§ §Hugh Jones§ §3§ §4 6§ §Thomas Jones§ §3§ §4 6§ §Elisha Isaacke§ §19§ §1 8 6§ §Gabriel Isaacke Junr.§ §2§ §3§ §Gabriel Isaacke Senr.§ §12§ §18§ §Samuel Knipe Junr.§ §1§ §1 6§ §Richard Knipe§ §3§ §4 6§ §Kitty Knipe§ §4§ §6§ §Elizabeth Kennedy§ §6§ §9§ §Elizabeth Lamb§ §12§ §18§	Elizabeth Lambe, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Thomas Leech, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Sarah Lake, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d, not paid Robert Leech, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Benjamin Mason, 28 heads, £2 2s 0d Richard Mason, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Roderick Merchant's orphans, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d John McAllister, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Philip Mahoney, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Matthew Purling, 58 heads, £4 7s 0d Elizabeth Powell, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Margaret Powell, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Carried over, 832 heads, £62 8s 0d **Interpretations** Between 1773 and 1774 Roderick Merchant and James Greentree both died. Merchant's 21 heads now appeared as his orphans' 19, and James Greentree's estate was rated at 31 heads under his orphans' name. A separate James Greentree, probably the son, was rated on six heads of his own. The roll recorded deaths among the planters as soon as they happened. A dead man's slaves stayed on the roll under his orphans, and the trustees paid the tax until the heirs came of age. The parish therefore lost no revenue when a householder died, and the roll doubled as a register of estates in trust.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Thomas Leech§ §6§ §9§ §not paid Sarah Lake§ §4§ §6§ §Robert Leech§ §6§ §9§ §Benjamin Mason§ §28§ §2 2§ §Richard Mason§ §9§ §13 6§ §Rodericks Merchants Orphans§ §19§ §1 8 6§ §John McAllister§ §1§ §1 6§ §Philip Mahoney§ §4§ §6§ §Matthew Purling§ §58§ §4 [...]§ §Elizabeth Powell§ §16§ §1 [...]§ §Margaret Powell§ §7§ §[...]§ §Carried [...]§ §832 6[...]§	
129	120	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading.] Parish Dr.£ s d§ §Brought Over§ §64 6 6¾§ §20th. Feby. 1775 To Cash pd. the Ballance to Mr. Charles Ross§ §Stewart Church Warden§ §22 4 5¼§ §Orlando Bagley§ §Chas. Ross Stewart§	The debit side of the parish account closed with the balance paid over to the churchwarden. Brought over, £64 6s 6¾d 20 February 1775, cash paid as the balance to Mr Charles Ross Stewart, churchwarden, £22 4s 5¼d Orlando Bagley and Charles Ross Stewart signed the account.
130	121	[Heavy staining at the upper centre of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and some figures; further staining at the foot of the page.] Brought Over§ §Heads £ s d§ §832 62 8§ §John Price§ §11§ §16 6§ §not paid Benjamin Pledger§ §3§ §4 6§ §Sarah Farrell§ §15§ §1 2 6§ §James Pritchard§ §5§ §7 6§ §not paid Margaret Payne§ §3§ §4 6§ §John Preston§ §5§ §7 6§ §James Parfett§ §8§ §12§	The head money roll for 1774 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s 6d a head and closed with the year's total. Brought over, 832 heads, £62 8s 0d John Price, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Benjamin Pledger, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d, not paid Sarah Farell, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d James Pritchard, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Margaret Payne, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d, not paid John Preston, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d James Pasfield, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d John Robinson, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Thomas Statham, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Charles Ross Stewart, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d John Shirtley, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Solomon St Maurice, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d George Seale, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Benjamin Seale, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Francis Seale, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d John Seale, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d William Seale, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Jeremiah Smith, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Scott, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Nathan Sampell, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Sampell, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Stroud, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d James Tippet, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d James Torbett's orphans, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§John Robinson§ §11§ §16 6§ §Thomas Statham§ §9§ §13 6§ §Charles Ross Stewart§ §14§ §1 1§ §John Shirtley§ §14§ §1 1§ §Solomon St. Maurice§ §7§ §10 [...]§ §George Seale§ §8§ §12§ §Benjamin Seale§ §19§ §1 [...]§ §Francis Seale§ §9§ §13 6§ §John Seale§ §16§ §1 4§ §William Seale§ §5§ §7 6§ §Jeremiah Smith§ §1§ §1 6§ §John Scott§ §6§ §9§ §Nathan Sampsell§ §4§ §6§ §John Sample§ §3§ §4 6§ §Thomas Stroud§ §3§ §4 6§ §James Tippet§ §7§ §10 6§ §James Torbetts Orphans§ §5§ §7 6§ §John Twaits§ §1§ §1 6§ §not paid Thomas Watts's Orphans§ §5§ §7 6§ §William Wrangham§ §34§ §2 11§ §Britannicus Alexander Wright§ §10§ §15§ §John Worrall§ §8§ §12§ §John Whitchurch§ §4§ §6§ §Simon Whaley§ §5§ §7 6§ §John Whaley§ §4§ §6§	John Twaites, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Watts's orphans, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d, not paid William Wrangham, 34 heads, £2 11s 0d Britannicus Alexander Wright, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d John Worrall, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d John Whitchurch, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Simon Whaley, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Whaley, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Joseph Whaley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Margaret Young, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Young, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d Stephen Young, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Thomas Yates, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Samuel Knipe senior, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Smith, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d William Sisson, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Total, 1,154 heads, £86 11s 0d **Interpretations** William Sisson was entered as a household of a single head at the foot of the roll. By 1778 the poor stock was paying £13 0s 0d a year to support Mary Sisson's family, and by 1780 Sisson's children. The roll caught the family just before it collapsed: a man assessed on himself alone, with no slaves or servants, a few years before his widow and children became the parish's most expensive regular charge. Thomas Watts's orphans were marked unpaid on this roll. In 1773 the parish had paid Mrs Watts's rent and then her funeral, so her children's estate defaulted within a year of her death.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Joseph Whaley§ §1§ §1 6§ §Margaret Young§ §1§ §1 6§ §William Young§ §26§ §1 19§ §Stephen Young§ §17§ §1 5 6§ §Thomas Yates§ §3§ §4 6§ §Samuel Knipe Senr.§ §7§ §10 6§ §John Smith§ §5§ §7 6§ §William Lesson§ §1§ §1 6§ §1154 86 11 [...]§ **Margin Notes:** §✓§	
131	122	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the heading and parts of the first seven entries.] Parish Dr.£ s d§ §To Cash paid for Rats & Mice Destroyed§ §10 14 4½§ §To Do. for repairing the Wall along the Run in the Valley§ §5 14 3½§ §To Do. for the Support of Mrs. Pledger when Lying in§ §4 5 3§ §To Do. to Mrs. [...]ster for Delivering her with Child§ §1§ §To Do. [...] for making 2 Surplices§ §2§ §To Do. for making the Communion Linnen§ §15§ §To Do. for the Expence of the Funeral of Mrs. Pledgers Child§ §7 6§ §To Do. for putting Strings to the Church Books & Cushions§ §3 6§ §To Do. for a Gate for the School House§ §1§ §To Do. for a pair of Hinges & a Staple for the Parish House§ §6 6§ §To Do. for repairing Church Gate in the Country§ §5§ §To Do. for a Lock for Do.§ §1 7§ §To Do. for painting the School House§ §2 7½§ §To Do. for repairing the Church yard Wall§ §7 6§ §To Do. for the Funeral Expences of Abigail the Midwife§ §2 12§ §To Do. paid Yates's Salary§ §10§ §To Do. to John Whaley for Wm. Peplow a parish Boy§ §6§ §To Do. the Secretarys Fees for 2 Years§ §2§	The debit side of the parish account recorded the following payments. Cash paid for rats and mice destroyed, £10 14s 4½d Cash paid for repairing the wall along the run in the valley, £5 14s 3½d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Pledger during her lying-in, £4 5s 3d Cash paid to Mrs [...] for delivering her of her child, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for making 2 surplices, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for making the communion linen, £0 15s 0d Cash paid for the funeral of Mrs Pledger's child, £0 7s 6d Cash paid for putting strings on the church books and cushions, £0 3s 6d Cash paid for a gate for the schoolhouse, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for a pair of hinges and a staple for the parish house, £0 6s 6d Cash paid for repairing the church gate in the country, £0 5s 0d Cash paid for a lock for the country church gate, £0 1s 7d Cash paid for painting the schoolhouse, £0 2s 7½d Cash paid for repairing the churchyard wall, £0 7s 6d Cash paid for the funeral of Abigail the midwife, £2 12s 0d Cash paid to Yates for his salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid to John Whaley for William Peplow, a parish boy, £6 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees for 2 years, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for balancing the church books, £1 1s 0d Cash paid for the execution of a male slave belonging to Mr John Alexander, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to John Scott, £5 0s 0d Cash paid for collecting the head money, £0 5s 0d Head money written off for various persons who could not pay, £1 4s 6d Total, £70 3s 7½d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§To Do. for Balancing the Church Books§ §1 1§ §To Do. for the Execution of a Man Slave belonging to§ §Mr. John Alexander§ §15§ §To Cash paid to John Scott§ §5§ §To Do. paid for collecting the Head money§ §5§ §To Sunday persons that could not pay their Head money§ §1 4 6§ §£ 70 3 7½§	John Alexander received £15 0s 0d for his executed slave, the same sum paid to Priscilla Watts. In the 1770s compensation for an executed slave seems to have been fixed at £15 0s 0d. By the 1790s the parish paid different amounts for different slaves, from £7 0s 0d to £15 0s 0d. Such a sum was a heavy charge on a parish whose whole head money brought in about £86 0s 0d. A single execution cost more than the sexton's salary for the year. Benjamin Pledger was marked unable to pay his head money on the 1774 roll. In the same year the parish paid for his wife's support during her lying-in, a midwife's fee for her delivery and the funeral of the child. All three appear in the account as a single sequence. The run in the valley was the stream that flowed down James Valley through Jamestown to the sea. The wall along it protected the town from flooding, so the parish was paying for public works in the town as well as for its churches.
132	123	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading, the end of the opening entries and some figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §By Balle. of last Years [...]§ §[...] 6 11§ §1778 Cash recd. from the following persons for head money§ §at 1/6 p head§ §Heads £ s d§ §Samuel Alexander§ §20§ §1 10§ §John Alexander§ §28§ §2 2§ §George Alexander§ §9§ §13 6§ §Bello Beale's Orphs.§ §12§ §18§ §Orlando Bagley§ §19§ §1 8 6§ §Orlando Bagleys Orphs.§ §19§ §1 8 6§ §John Bagley Senr.§ §6§ §9§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §15§ §1 2 6§ §Edward Bagley§ §18§ §1 7§ §Mathew Bazett§ §56§ §4 4§ §Henry Bazett§ §33§ §2 9 6§ §John Bazetts Orphs.§ §10§ §15§ §Thomas Bazett§ §12§ §18§ §George Bird§ §6§ §9§ §Thomas Burnham§ §11§ §16 6§	The credit side of the parish account for 1778 opened with the balance brought forward and the head money received at 1s 6d a head. Balance of last year's account, £8 6s 11d Samuel Alexander, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d John Alexander, 28 heads, £2 2s 0d George Alexander, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, [...] heads, £0 1[...]s [...] Orlando Bagley, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d John Bagley senior, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d John Bagley junior, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Edward Bagley, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d Matthew Bazett, 56 heads, £4 4s 0d Henry Bazett, 33 heads, £2 9s 6d John Bazett's orphans, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Thomas Bazett, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d George Bird, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Burnham, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Robert Ballard, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Martin Bagley, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d William Beale, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Robert Budd, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Colgrave, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d William Caldwell's orphans, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Congreve's orphans, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Roberts Carr, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Joseph Chamberlain's orphans, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Doveton's orphans, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Jonathan Doveton, 27 heads, £2 0s 6d Samuel Desfountain, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d James Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d John Desfountain, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d William Doveton, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Isaac Doveton, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d Henry Easthope, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Easthope, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Michael Frost, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Julio Fabiano, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Robert Garling, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Richard Goodwin, 31 heads, £2 6s 6d John Goodwin, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d James Greentree's orphans, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d James Greentree, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Watkin Greentree, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Mary Griffiths, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Carried over, 514 heads, £[...] **Interpretations** John Congreve was rated on his own household in 1773 and 1774. By 1778 his entry had become John Congreve's orphans, so the schoolmaster had died in the meantime. The parish had paid his house rent and kept him in the schoolhouse it built in 1770. His death probably left the school without a master

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Robert Ballard§ §6§ §9§ §Martin Bagley§ §4§ §6§ §William Beale§ §8§ §12§ §Robert Budd§ §1§ §1 6§ §James Colgrave§ §12§ §18§ §Willm. Caldwells Orphs.§ §4§ §6§ §John Congreves Orphs.§ §5§ §7 6§ §Robertus Carr§ §9§ §13 6§ §Joseph Chamberlains Orphs.§ §1§ §1 6§ §John Dovetons Orphs.§ §17§ §1 5 6§ §Jona. Doveton§ §27§ §2 0 6§ §Saml. Desfountain§ §11§ §16 6§ §James Desfountain§ §9§ §13 6§ §John Desfountain§ §14§ §1 1§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §4§ §6§ §William Doveton§ §11§ §16 6§ §Isaac Doveton§ §18§ §1 7§ §Henry Easthope§ §2§ §3§ §James Easthope§ §6§ §9§ §Michael Frost§ §3§ §4 6§ §Julia Fabiano§ §11§ §16 6§ §Robert Gosling§ §9§ §13 6§ §Richard Goodwing§ §31§ §2 6 6§ §John Goodwin§ §19§ §1 8 6§ §James Greentrees Orphs.§ §14§ §1 1§	for a time, and that may explain the vestry's rules of April 1779. Those rules bound every future schoolmaster to teach eight poor children free in return for the house, and to sign the terms on taking possession.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§James Greentree§ §8§ §12§ §Watkin Greentree§ §6§ §9§ §Mary Griffiths§ §2§ §3§ §Carried over§ §544 41 [...]§	
133	124	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading and the first entry.] 1777 Parish Dr.§ §Brot. over§ §60 7 10§	The debit side of the parish account for 1777 opened with the total carried forward from the previous page. Brought over, £60 7s 10d
134	125	[Heavy staining at the upper centre and along the right-hand edge of the page, obscuring part of the heading and much of the money columns; further staining at the foot of the page.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Brought over§ §Heads £ s d§ §544 40 2 1½§ §Mary Goudy§ §2§ §3§ §John Howard§ §2§ §3§ §George Hayes§ §3§ §4 6§ §William Hayes§ §13§ §19 6§ §William Hayes Orphs.§ §7§ §10 6§ §Thomas Harper§ §3§ §4 6§ §Margt. Harper§ §12§ §18§ §Gabl. Harper§ §7§ §10 6§ §Richard Harper§ §9§ §13 6§ §Henry Howell§ §9§ §13 6§ §Martha Jacks§ §4§ §6§ §William Jenkins§ §4§ §6§ §Hugh Jones§ §7§ §10 6§ §Thomas Jones§ §2§ §3§ §Elisha Isaacke§ §19§ §1 8 6§ §Gabriel Isaacke Senr.§ §10§ §15§	The head money roll for 1778 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s 6d a head. Brought over, 511 heads, £[...] 2s 1½d Mary Goudy, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Howard, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d George Hayes, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Hayes, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d William Hayes's orphans, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Thomas Harper, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Margaret Harper, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Gabriel Harper, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Richard Harper, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Henry Howell, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Martha Jacks, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d William Jenkins, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Hugh Jones, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Thomas Jones, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Elisha Isaacs, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Gabriel Isaacs senior, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Gabriel Isaacs junior, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Samuel Knipe senior, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Samuel Knipe junior, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Richard Knipe, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d David Kay, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Nathaniel Kennedy, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Elizabeth Kennedy, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Elizabeth Lambe, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Robert Leech, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Thomas Leech, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Sarah Lake, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Benjamin Mason senior, 32 heads, £2 8s 0d Benjamin Mason junior, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Richard Mason, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Roderick Merchant's orphans, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Philip Mahoney, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Elizabeth Powell, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d John Price's orphans, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Benjamin Pledger's orphans, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Pritchard, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Preston's orphans, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d James Pasfield, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d John Robinson, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Samuel Ringrose, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Statham, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Charles Ross Stewart, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d John Shirtley's orphans, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Solomon St Maurice, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d George Seale, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Benjamin Seale, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d John Seale, 22 heads, £1 13s 0d Joseph Seager, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d John Shirtley, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Scott, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Nathan Sampell's orphans, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Sampell, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Carried over, 998 heads, £[...] **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Gabriel Isaacke Junr.§ §1§ §1 6§ §Samuel Knipe Senr.§ §12§ §18§ §Samuel Knipe Junr.§ §3§ §4 6§ §Richard Knipe§ §4§ §6§ §David Kay§ §5§ §7 6§ §Nathl. Kennedy§ §7§ §10 6§ §Elizabeth Kennedy§ §4§ §6§ §Elizabeth Lamb§ §12§ §18§ §Robert Leech§ §16§ §1 4§ §Thomas Leech§ §5§ §7 6§ §Sarah Lake§ §5§ §7 6§ §Benjamin Mason Senr.§ §32§ §2 8§ §Benjamin Mason Junr.§ §5§ §7 6§ §Richard Mason§ §16§ §1 4§ §Rodk. Merchants Orphs.§ §3§ §4 6§ §Phillip Mahony§ §3§ §4 6§ §Elizabeth Powell§ §20§ §1 10§ §John Prices Orphs.§ §13§ §19 6§ §Benjamin Pledgers Orphs.§ §2§ §3§ §James Pritchard§ §7§ §10 6§ §John Prestons Orphs.§ §4§ §6§ §James Parfett§ §12§ §18§ §John Robinson§ §15§ §1 2 6§ §Samuel Ringrose§ §1§ §1 6§ §Thomas Statham§ §15§ §1 2 6§	Benjamin Pledger appeared on this roll only through his orphans, rated on two heads. In 1774 he could not pay his head money, and the parish paid for his wife's lying-in, a midwife and the burial of their child. By 1778 he too had died, and his children's estate was rated as a separate charge. The same change from householder to orphans had happened to John Price, John Preston, John Shirtley, Nathan Sampell and Roderick Merchant. Over five years the roll records a steady turnover of deaths among the island's householders. Their estates stayed liable for the parish tax while trustees managed them.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Chas. Ross Stewart§ §16§ §1 4§ §John Shirtleys Orphs.§ §13§ §19 [...]§ §Solomon St. Maurice§ §4§ §[...]§ §George Seale§ §10§ §[...]§ §Benjamin Seale§ §13§ §[...]§ §John Seale§ §22§ §1 13§ §Joseph Seager§ §6§ §[...]§ §John Smith§ §3§ §[...]§ §John Scott§ §7§ §[...]§ §Nathan Sampsons Orphs.§ §3§ §[...]§ §John Semple§ §4§ §[...]§ §Carried over§ §908 [...]§	
135	126	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and the first entry.] 1777 Parish Dr.§ §Brot. over§ §60 7 10§ §To Cash paid the Balle. to Messrs.§ §36 1½§ §£ 96 7 11½§	The debit side of the parish account for 1777 ended with the balance handed over to the incoming churchwardens. Brought over, £60 7s 10d Cash paid as the balance to Messrs [...], £36 0s 1½d Total, £96 7s 11½d
136	127	[Heavy staining at the upper centre and along the right-hand edge of the page, obscuring part of the heading and some figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Brot. Over§ §Heads £ s d§ §998 83 3 11½§ §Francis Seale§ §15§ §1 2 6§ §Thomas Stroud§ §18§ §1 7§ §Willm. Lesson§ §4§ §6§ §Joshua Torbett§ §4§ §6§ §James Torbetts Orphs.§ §4§ §6§ §John Twaites§ §4§ §6§ §Arthur Upton§ §3§ §4 6§	The head money roll for 1777 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s 6d a head and closed with the year's totals. Brought over, 998 heads, £83 3s 11½d Francis Seale, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Thomas Stroud, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d William Sisson, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Joshua Torbett, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d James Torbett's orphans, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Twaites, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Arthur Upton, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Watts's orphans, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d William Wrangham, 44 heads, £3 6s 0d Britannicus Wright, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d John Worrall, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d John Whitchurch, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Simon Whaley, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Whaley, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Margaret Young, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Young, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d Stephen Young, 22 heads, £1 13s 0d John Young, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Yates, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Total, 1,202 heads, £98 9s 11½d Less head money from various persons who could not pay, 28 heads, £2 2s 0d Total received, 1,174 heads, £96 7s 11½d

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		§Thomas Watts Orphs.§ §5§ §7 6§ §William Wrangham§ §44§ §3 6§ §Britanicus Wright§ §15§ §1 2 6§ §John Worrall§ §10§ §15§ §John Whitchurch§ §8§ §12§ §Simon Whaley§ §7§ §10 6§ §John Whaley§ §3§ §4 6§ §Margaret Young§ §2§ §3§ §Willm. Young§ §26§ §1 19§ §Stephen Young§ §22§ §1 13§ §John Young§ §2§ §3§ §Thomas Yates§ §8§ §12§ §1202 98 9 11½§ §Several that could not pay their head money§ §Amounting to§ §28 2 2§ §1174 96 7 11½§	
137	128	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading and the start of each entry.] 1778 Parish Dr.§ §March 31st. To Cash paid for Sundry repairs done at the School§ §House§ §19 1 6§ §To do. paid Thos. Yates his Sallary§ §11§ §To Ballancing the Books & Secrys. fees§ §2 1§ §To Cash paid for Destroying Ratts & Mice§ §1 16 9½§ §To do. paid for Destroying Dogs§ §18 6§ §34 17 9½§	The debit side of the parish account for 1778 recorded the following payments. 31 March 1778, cash paid for necessary repairs at the schoolhouse, £19 1s 6d Cash paid to Thomas Yates for his salary, £11 0s 0d Cash paid for balancing the books and the secretary's fees, £2 1s 0d Cash paid for destroying rats and mice, £1 16s 9½d Cash paid for destroying dogs, £0 18s 6d Total, £34 17s 9½d **Interpretations** The schoolhouse cost more than £19 0s 0d to repair in March 1778, by far the largest item that year. This came soon after the death of the schoolmaster John Congreve, whose orphans were rated on the head money roll for 1778. The parish probably restored the building before a new master moved in. The rules the vestry drew up in April 1779 banned any master from altering the house or leading water into the yard, and kept all repairs in the churchwardens' hands. Those rules followed directly on this costly repair. Payment for destroying dogs appears here for the first time in these accounts, alongside the long-standing bounty on rats and mice. The parish tax on dogs and the hanging of strays in the 1780s and 1790s both grew out of this small beginning.
138	129	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading, the end of the opening entries and most of	The credit side of the parish account for 1778 opened with the balance carried forward and the head money received at 3s 2d a head. Balance of last year's account, £36 0s 1½d

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		the money columns; further staining along the foot of the page.] Contra Cr.§ §By Balle. of last Years [...]§ §36 1½§ §Cash Recd. from the following persons for head§ §Money @ 2/. p̄ head§ §Heads £ s d§ §Samuel Alexander§ §22§ §[...]§ §John Alexander§ §29§ §[...]§ §George Alexander§ §12§ §[...]§ §James Lidney§ §3§ §[...]§ §Ones. Beales Orphs.§ §11§ §[...]§ §Orlando Bagley§ §20§ §[...]§ §Orlando Bagleys Orphs.§ §17§ §[...]§ §Jno. Bagley Senr.§ §5§ §[...]§ §Jno. Bagley Junr.§ §15§ §[...]§ §Edward Bagley§ §13§ §[...]§ §Matw. Bazett§ §56§ §[...]§ §Henry Bazett§ §36§ §[...]§ §John Bazetts Orphs.§ §10§ §[...]§ §Thomas Bazett§ §13§ §[...]§ §George Bird§ §6§ §[...]§ §Thomas Burnham§ §13§ §[...]§ §Robt. Ballard§ §6§ §[...]§ §Caleb Broadway§ §2§ §[...]§ §Willm. Beales Orphs.§ §6§ §[...]§ §Robert Budd§ §1§ §[...]§ §Richd. Bickerstaff§ §4§ §[...]§ §James Colgrave§ §16§ §[...]§	Samuel Alexander, 22 heads, £3 9s 8d John Alexander, 23 heads, £3 12s 10d George Alexander, 12 heads, £1 18s 0d James Sidney, 3 heads, £0 9s 6d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 11 heads, £1 14s 10d Orlando Bagley, 20 heads, £3 3s 4d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 17 heads, £2 13s 10d John Bagley senior, 5 heads, £0 15s 10d John Bagley junior, 15 heads, £2 7s 6d Edward Bagley, 13 heads, £2 1s 2d Matthew Bazett, 56 heads, £8 17s 4d Henry Bazett, 36 heads, £5 14s 0d John Bazett's orphans, 10 heads, £1 11s 8d Thomas Bazett, 13 heads, £2 1s 2d George Bird, 6 heads, £0 19s 0d Thomas Burnham, 13 heads, £2 1s 2d Robert Ballard, 6 heads, £0 19s 0d Caleb Broadway, 2 heads, £0 6s 4d William Beale's orphans, 6 heads, £0 19s 0d Robert Budd, 1 head, £0 3s 2d Richard Bickerstaff, 4 heads, £0 12s 8d James Colgrave, 16 heads, £2 10s 8d William Caldwell's orphans, 4 heads, £0 12s 8d Roberts Carr, 11 heads, £1 14s 10d Joseph Chamberlain's orphans, 1 head, £0 3s 2d John Doveton's orphans, 17 heads, £2 13s 10d Jonathan Doveton, 26 heads, £4 2s 4d Samuel Desfountain, 13 heads, £2 1s 2d James Desfountain, 8 heads, £1 5s 4d John Desfountain, 14 heads, £2 4s 4d Ruth Desfountain, 5 heads, £0 15s 10d William Webber Doveton, 13 heads, £2 1s 2d Isaac Doveton, 17 heads, £2 13s 10d Henry Easthope, 2 heads, £0 6s 4d James Easthope, 6 heads, £0 19s 0d Julio Fabiano, 10 heads, £1 11s 8d Robert Garling, 11 heads, £1 14s 10d Richard Goodwin, 37 heads, £5 17s 2d John Goodwin, 20 heads, £3 3s 4d James Greentree's orphans, 10 heads, £1 11s 8d James Greentree, 9 heads, £1 8s 6d Watkin Greentree, 6 heads, £0 19s 0d Mary Griffiths, 2 heads, £0 6s 4d John Howard, 2 heads, £0 6s 4d George Hayes, 4 heads, £0 12s 8d William Hayes, 20 heads, £3 3s 4d William Hayes's orphans, 8 heads, £1 5s 4d Carried over, 604 heads, £[...] **Interpretations** The head money rate more than doubled, from 1s 6d in 1777 to 3s 2d in 1778. It was the highest rate on any roll in the book. The balance carried in was only £36 0s 1½d, and the year began with more than £19 0s 0d spent repairing the schoolhouse. The parish therefore raised the rate to cover the cost of the work, not to build up a reserve. The rate continued to be set each year to match the year's spending. Caleb Broadway appears here for the first time as a householder, rated on only two heads. He was the lieutenant whose orphans' fund the churchwardens were managing twenty years later. In 1778 he was a young man with a small household. By the time he died, his estate had grown to £122 0s 0d in capital and his share of the prize money from the Dutch ships. The parish later held and lent out that fund for his daughter, Mary.

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		§Willm. Caldwells Orphs.§ §4§ §[...]§ §Robts. Carr§ §11§ §[...]§ §Jos. Chamberlains Orphs.§ §1§ §[...]§ §John Dovetons do.§ §17§ §[...]§ §Jon. Doveton§ §26§ §[...]§ §Saml. Desfountain§ §13§ §[...]§ §James Desfountain§ §8§ §[...]§ §John Desfountain§ §14§ §[...]§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §5§ §[...]§ §Wm. Webber Doveton§ §13§ §[...]§ §Isaac Doveton§ §17§ §[...]§ §Henry Easthope§ §2§ §[...]§ §James Easthope§ §6§ §[...]§ §Julia Fabiano§ §10§ §[...]§ §Robt. Gosling§ §11§ §[...]§ §Richd. Goodwing§ §37§ §[...]§ §John Goodwin§ §20§ §[...]§ §Jas. Greentrees Orphs.§ §40§ §[...]§ §Jas. Greentree§ §19§ §[...]§ §Wat. Greentree§ §6§ §[...]§ §Mary Griffiths§ §2§ §[...]§ §John Howard§ §2§ §[...]§ §George Hayes§ §4§ §[...]§ §Willm. Hayes§ §20§ §[...]§ §Wm. Hayes Orphs.§ §8§ §[...]§ §651 [...]§	

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139	130	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading and the first entry.] 1779 Parish Dr.§ §Brot. over§ §£ 34 17 9½§	The debit side of the parish account for 1779 opened with the total carried forward from the previous page. Brought over, £34 17s 9½d
140	131	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and most of the money columns; further staining along the foot of the page.] Contra Cr.§ §Brot. over§ §Heads £ s d§ §651 [...] 9½§ §Thos. Harpers Orphs.§ §2§ §[...]§ §Gabl. Harper§ §5§ §[...]§ §Richd. Harper§ §6§ §[...]§ §Willm. Haddon§ §7§ §[...]§ §Ann Howell§ §1§ §[...]§ §Martha Jacks§ §3§ §[...]§ §Willm. Jenkins§ §5§ §[...]§ §Hugh Jones§ §9§ §[...]§ §Elisha Isacke§ §20§ §[...]§ §Richd. Isacke§ §4§ §[...]§ §Gabl. Isacke Senr.§ §13§ §[...]§ §Gabl. Isacke Junr.§ §2§ §[...]§ §Saml. Knipe Senr.§ §12§ §[...]§ §Saml. Knipe Junr.§ §4§ §[...]§ §Richd. Knipe§ §4§ §[...]§ §David Kay§ §8§ §[...]§ §Nathl. Kennedy§ §7§ §[...]§ §Elizth. Kennedy§ §5§ §[...]§ §Robt. Leech§ §19§ §[...]§ §Thomas Leech§ §4§ §[...]§	The head money roll for 1778 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 2d a head. Brought over, 604 heads, £41 0s 9½d Thomas Harper's orphans, 2 heads, £0 0s 4d Gabriel Harper, 5 heads, £0 0s 10d Richard Harper, 6 heads, £0 1s 0d William Hadden, 7 heads, £0 1s 2d Ann Howell, 1 head, £0 0s 2d Martha Jacks, 4 heads, £0 0s 8d William Jenkins, 5 heads, £0 0s 10d Hugh Jones, 9 heads, £0 1s 6d Elisha Isaacs, 20 heads, £0 3s 4d Richard Isaacs, 4 heads, £0 0s 8d Gabriel Isaacs senior, 13 heads, £0 2s 2d Gabriel Isaacs junior, 2 heads, £0 0s 4d Samuel Knipe senior, 12 heads, £0 2s 0d Samuel Knipe junior, 4 heads, £0 0s 8d Richard Knipe, 4 heads, £0 0s 8d David Kay, 8 heads, £0 1s 4d Nathaniel Kennedy, 7 heads, £0 1s 2d Elizabeth Kennedy, 5 heads, £0 0s 10d Robert Leech, 19 heads, £0 3s 2d Thomas Leech, 4 heads, £0 0s 8d Elizabeth Lambe, 12 heads, £0 2s 0d Benjamin Mason senior, 33 heads, £0 5s 6d Benjamin Mason junior, 5 heads, £0 0s 10d Richard Mason, 15 heads, £0 2s 6d Roderick Merchant's orphans, 3 heads, £0 0s 6d Philip Mahoney, 3 heads, £0 0s 6d Elizabeth Powell, 22 heads, £0 3s 8d John Price's orphans, 14 heads, £0 2s 4d James Pritchard, 12 heads, £0 2s 0d William Pierce, 2 heads, £0 0s 4d James Pasfield, 8 heads, £0 1s 4d John Robinson, 15 heads, £0 2s 6d William Roberts, 1 head, £0 0s 2d Samuel Ringrose, 2 heads, £0 0s 4d Thomas Statham, 15 heads, £0 2s 6d Charles Ross Stewart, 18 heads, £0 3s 0d John Shirtley's orphans, 13 heads, £0 2s 2d Solomon St Maurice, 3 heads, £0 0s 6d George Seale, 9 heads, £0 1s 6d Benjamin Seale, 17 heads, £0 2s 10d John Seale's orphans, 21 heads, £0 3s 6d Joseph Seager, 6 heads, £0 1s 0d John Smith, 9 heads, £0 1s 6d John Scott, 7 heads, £0 1s 2d Ann Sampell, 3 heads, £0 0s 6d John Sampell, 4 heads, £0 0s 8d Francis Seale, 15 heads, £0 2s 6d Thomas Stroud, 17 heads, £0 2s 10d Joshua Torbett, 6 heads, £0 1s 0d James Torbett's orphans, 2 heads, £0 0s 4d John Twaites, 4 heads, £0 0s 8d Arthur Upton, 2 heads, £0 0s 4d William Wrangham, 45 heads, £0 7s 6d Britannicus Wright, 19 heads, £0 3s 2d Carried over, 1,116 heads, £45 6s 1½d

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		§Elizabeth Lamb§ §12§ §[...]§ §Benja. Mason Senr.§ §33§ §[...]§ §Benja. Mason Junr.§ §5§ §[...]§ §Richd. Mason§ §15§ §[...]§ §Rod. Merchants Orphs.§ §3§ §[...]§ §Philip Mahoney§ §3§ §[...]§ §Elizth. Powell§ §22§ §[...]§ §Jno. Prices Orphs.§ §14§ §[...]§ §James Pritchard§ §12§ §[...]§ §Willm. Pierie§ §2§ §[...]§ §James Parfett§ §8§ §[...]§ §John Robinson§ §15§ §[...]§ §Willm. Roberts§ §1§ §[...]§ §Samuel Ringrose§ §2§ §[...]§ §Thos. Statham§ §15§ §[...]§ §Chas. Ross Stewart§ §18§ §[...]§ §John Shirtleys Orphs.§ §13§ §[...]§ §Solomon St. Maurice§ §3§ §[...]§ §George Seale§ §9§ §[...]§ §Benja. Seale§ §17§ §[...]§ §Jno. Seales Orphs.§ §21§ §[...]§ §Joseph Seager§ §6§ §[...]§ §John Smith§ §9§ §[...]§ §John Scott§ §7§ §[...]§ §Ann Sample§ §3§ §[...]§	

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		§John Sample§ §4§ §[...]§ §Fran. Seale§ §15§ §[...]§ §Thos. Stroud§ §17§ §[...]§ §Joshua Torbett§ §6§ §[...]§ §James Torbetts Orphs.§ §2§ §[...]§ §John Twaits§ §4§ §[...]§ §Arthr. Upton§ §2§ §[...]§ §Wm. Wrangham§ §45§ §[...]§ §Britt. Wright§ §19§ §[...]§ §Carrd. over§ §1146 [...]§ **Margin Notes:** §34 17 9[...]§ §54 2 [...]§	
141	132	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and the start of the entries.] 1779 Parish Dr.§ §Brot. over§ §£ 34 17 9½§ §To Cash paid the Balle. to Messrs. Wm. Webber§ §Doveton &§ §56 [...] 3§ §W. W. Doveton§ §£ 90 18 0½§	The debit side of the parish account for 1779 closed with the balance paid over to the incoming churchwardens. Brought over, £34 17s 9½d Cash paid as the balance to Messrs William Webber Doveton and a second churchwarden whose name was left blank, £56 0s 3d Total, £90 18s 0½d W. W. Doveton signed the account.
142	133	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and some figures.] Contra Cr.§ §Brot. over§ §Heads £ s d§ §1146 45 6 1½§ §John Worrall§ §12§ §2 [...]§ §Sarah Whitchurch§ §7§ §1 2§ §Simon Whaley§ §9§ §1 6§ §John Whaley§ §3§ §6§ §Henry Winfield§ §1§ §2§ §Willm. Young§ §25§ §4 2§ §Stephen Young§ §21§ §3 6§ §Thos. Yates§ §3§ §6§	The head money roll on the credit side of the parish account closed with the dog tax and the year's total. Head money was charged at 2d a head. Brought over, 1,116 heads, £45 6s 1½d John Worrall, 12 heads, £0 2s 0d Sarah Whitchurch, 7 heads, £0 1s 2d Simon Whaley, 9 heads, £0 1s 6d John Whaley, 3 heads, £0 0s 6d Henry Winfield, 1 head, £0 0s 2d William Young, 25 heads, £0 4s 2d Stephen Young, 21 heads, £0 3s 6d Thomas Yates, 3 heads, £0 0s 6d Mary Goudy, 1 head, £0 0s 2d Margaret Harper, 12 heads, £0 2s 0d Total, 1,210 heads, £46 1s 9½d Cash received for dogs, £44 16s 3d Total, £90 18s 0½d **Interpretations** In this year the head money was a token charge of 2d a head. On 1,210 heads it raised only about £10 0s 0d, while the new tax on dogs brought in £44 16s 3d. The parish had moved its revenue off people and slaves and onto dogs. The obvious course was to keep the head money as the main tax, as in every year before, and the vestry did not take it. A charge on dogs both raised the money and discouraged keeping them, at a time when the parish was already paying to destroy dogs. From then on the dog tax, and later the charges on sheep, carried the general account. That was why it could build up the large surplus of the early 1780s.

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		§Mary Goudy§ §1§ §[...]§ §Margt. Harper§ §12§ §2§ §1210 46 [...] 9½§ §Amount of Cash for Dogs§ §44 16 3§ §£ 90 18 0½§	
143	134	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the heading, parts of the date column and the start of the first entries.] 1779 Parish Dr.§ §April 19 To Cash paid [...] Ferries for Publishing Advertizmt.§ §for Calling Vestrys§ §1§ §May 22 To do. pd. for [...] Repg. Laborers Work &c. in§ §[...] the School House§ §6 5 5§ §July [...] To do. pd. the [...] 2 Keys, Country Ch. &c.§ §2 8§ §Sept. 6 To do. pd. for 12 Dble. Deals 2 Cuffins 2 Balks, 2 Locks§ §& 2 Sticks for the Sc. House§ §5 8§ §[...] 20 To do. pd. the Amt. for 3 Pr. Hinges 19 Bars a Lock &§ §Putty 2 Keys for the Sc. House§ §16 4§ §[...] To do. pd. J. Whaley for makg. 4 Doors, 3 Door Cases§ §Coverg. a Room, Sawyg. Work findg. Nails for 4§ §Doors &c. & his own Attendance at Sc. House§ §3 12 7½§ §To do. pd. for Masons & Laborers Work @ Do.§ §11 9 6§ §To do. pd. for 32 Sqrs. Glass 3 lb. Putty & 1 Pt. Oil for Do.§ §9 4§ §To do. pd. for makg. a Sky Light & findg. Stuff for Do.§ §16§ §To do. pd. for Clearg. the Old Church Yard§ §15 7§ §May 6 To do. pd. for makg. 2 Surplices§ §2§ §To do. pd. for Destroying Rats§ §15 10§ §To do. pd. for Do. Dogs§ §13§ §To do. pd. Yates his Salary§ §11§ §To do. pd. the Clerk of the Peace for Enrollg. the Number§ §of Dogs for 2 Years§ §2§ §46 16 11½§ §March To Cash paid the Balance to Messrs. Watkin§ §Greentree & Nathl. Kennedy C. Wardens§ §57 13 3½§ §£ 104 10 3§ §Wat. Greentree§	The debit side of the parish account for 1779 and 1780 recorded the following payments. 19 April 1779, cash paid to Ferris for publishing notices calling vestries, £1 0s 0d 20 May, cash paid for materials, repairs and labourers' work on the schoolhouse, £6 5s 5d 7 July, cash paid to the armourer for mending 2 keys for the country church and churchyard, £0 2s 8d 6 December, cash paid for 12 double deals, 2 [...], 2 balks, 2 locks and 2 sticks for the parish house, £5 0s 8d 10 January 1780, cash paid to the armourer for 3 pairs of hinges, 19 bars, a lock and cutting 2 keys for the parish house, £0 16s 4d 17 January, cash paid to J. Whaley for making 4 doors and 3 door cases, roofing a room, sawyers' work, supplying nails for the doors and other items, and his own attendance at the parish house, £3 12s 7½d Cash paid for masons' and labourers' work at the parish house, £11 9s 6d Cash paid for 32 squares of glass, 3 lb of whiting and 1 quart of oil for the parish house, £0 9s 4d Cash paid for making a skylight and supplying materials for the parish house, £0 16s 0d Cash paid for clearing the old churchyard, £0 15s 7d 6 May, cash paid for making 2 surplices, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for destroying rats, £0 15s 10d Cash paid for destroying dogs, £0 13s 0d Cash paid to Yates for his salary, £11 0s 0d Cash paid to the clerk of the peace for recording the number of dogs for 2 years, £2 0s 0d Total, £46 16s 11½d March, cash paid as the balance to Messrs Watkin Greentree and Nathaniel Kennedy, churchwardens, £57 13s 3½d Total, £104 10s 3d Watkin Greentree signed the account. **Interpretations** Over the winter of 1779 to 1780 the parish house was almost entirely rebuilt. It got new doors and door cases, a roofed room, glazed windows, a skylight and more than £11 0s 0d of masonry. The armourer supplied 19 iron bars and new locks. Bars on the windows suggest that part of the house could be secured, perhaps to hold people as well as to shelter paupers. The parish later paid for the keep of free blacks held in custody. In April 1793 the vestry described the parish house as ruinous and badly placed, so this rebuilding lasted little more than a decade. Whiting was finely ground chalk. Mixed with linseed oil it made putty, which was used here to set the 32 panes of glass. Balks were rough squared timbers for the main beams. Recording the number of dogs over two years gave the clerk of the peace a register for the new dog tax, which supplied most of the parish's income from 1779.
144	135	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page, obscuring the ends of the first three entries and part of the money columns.] Per Contra Cr.§	The credit side of the parish account for 1779 and 1780 recorded the following receipts. 6 April 1779, cash received from Mr [...], the balance of last year's account, £56 0s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§1779 April 6th. By Cash received of Mr. Saml. [...]§ §Balance of last Years [...]§ §56 3§ §By Do. Recd. of several Soldiers [...] Dogs§ §not accounted for in last [...]§ §2§ §1780 March 27th. By Do. Recd. the Amt. of Tax upon Dogs for this Year§ §46 10§ §£ 104 10 3§	Cash received from several soldiers for the tax on dogs, which had not been accounted for last year, £2 0s 0d 27 March 1780, cash received from the tax on dogs for this year, £46 10s 0d Total, £104 10s 3d **Interpretations** In 1780 the year's income came from the dog tax alone. No head money roll was recorded, so the poll tax on households, which had funded the parish since at least 1770, had been dropped altogether after its token rate of 2d a head in 1779. The dog tax was charged on soldiers of the garrison as well as on the inhabitants. The Company's men lay outside the parish's head money, but the dogs they kept roamed the same commons and threatened the same flocks. A tax on the animal reached people whom a tax on the household could not. That made it a more complete source of revenue than the head money it replaced.
145	136	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the heading, parts of the date column and the start of the first entries.] Parish Dr.§ §1780 Apl. 10th. To Cash paid [...] Thomas Stroud Surgeon for the cure of§ §Black Women§ §6 6§ §2[...] To do. paid for a Looking Glass for the Church§ §10 6§ §May [...] To do. paid the Secretary's Fees§ §1§ §July 1 To do. paid repairing the Church Yard Gates§ §16§ §To do. paid the Sextons Salary for the Quarter endg. 1 July§ §2 15§ §[...] To do. paid repairing the Country Church &c.§ §1 13§ §[...] To do. paid Mending Locks for the Parish House§ §1 6§ §[...] 30 To do. paid the Sextons Salary for the Quart. ending 30 Sept.§ §2 15§ §Jany. 4th. To do. paid Elisha Isacke for the Execution of a Slave§ §15§ §6th. To do. paid for the Burial of Cockey a Free Woman§ §1 11 6§ §13th. To do. paid for the repairing of the Country Church Walls§ §1 13 6§ §To do. paid for the Making of a Sash &c.§ §1 10 3§ §18th. To do. paid Joseph Seager for Work done at the P. House§ §17§ §To do. paid for the Funeral of Susanah Twaites§ §1 17 6§ §To do. paid the Sextons Salary for the Quarter ending 1 Jany. 1781§ §2 15§ §To do. paid Gabl. Isacke for the repairing the Parish House doors§ §15§ §Feby. 20th. To do. paid repairg. the Country Church Windows &c.§ §17 9§ §April 1st. To do. paid the Sextons Salary for the Quarter ending 31 March§ §2 15§ §To do. paid for destroying Dogs§ §1 8§	The debit side of the parish account for 1780 and 1781 recorded the following payments. 10 April 1780, cash paid to Thomas Stroud, surgeon, for curing [...] black women, £6 6s 0d 21 April, cash paid for a looking glass for the church, £0 10s 6d 6 May, cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 0s 0d 1 July, cash paid for repairing the churchyard gates, £0 16s 0d Cash paid for the sexton's salary for the quarter ending 1 July, £2 15s 0d Cash paid for repairing the country church and other work, £1 13s 0d Cash paid for mending locks for the parish house, £0 1s 6d 30 September, cash paid for the sexton's salary for the quarter ending 30 September, £2 15s 0d 4 January 1781, cash paid to Elisha Isaacs for the execution of a slave, £15 0s 0d 6 January, cash paid for the burial of Cochey, a free woman, £1 11s 6d 13 January, cash paid for repairing the walls of the country church, £1 13s 6d Cash paid for making a sash and other work, £1 10s 3d 18 January, cash paid to Joseph Seager for work done at the parish house, £0 17s 0d Cash paid for the funeral of Susannah Twaites, £1 17s 6d Cash paid for the sexton's salary for the quarter ending 1 January 1781, £2 15s 0d Cash paid to Gabriel Isaacs for repairing the parish house doors, £0 15s 0d 20 February, cash paid for repairing the country church windows and other work, £0 17s 9d 1 April, cash paid for the sexton's salary for the quarter ending 31 March, £2 15s 0d Cash paid for destroying dogs, £1 8s 0d Cash [...] on the dog tax, £2 10s 0d Total, £48 17s 6d March, cash paid as the balance to Messrs Nathaniel Kennedy and [...], churchwardens, £91 0s 3½d Total, £139 17s 9½d Nathaniel Kennedy signed the account. In the entry for Cochey's burial the clerk first described her with a word he then struck out. **Start of crossed out section** Slave **End of crossed out section** **Interpretations** The clerk first entered Cochey as a slave, then struck the word out and wrote "free woman". The correction mattered for who paid. An owner was responsible for burying his own slave, so a slave's

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		§To do. received another Tax upon Dogs§ §2 10§ §48 17 6§ §March To Cash paid the Balance to Messrs. Nathl. Kennedy§ §Church Wardens§ §91 3½§ §£ 139 17 9½§ §Nathl. Kennedy§	funeral should never have reached the parish account. A free black with no owner and no means had nobody else to bury her. By correcting the entry, the clerk recorded the legal ground for the parish's payment. The same distinction governed the later relief, burials and medical care of free blacks, and the registers of them kept from 1793. The funeral of Susannah Twaites closed one of the longest relief cases in the book. The poor stock had paid for her necessities, sugar and tea, and longcloth since at least 1776. The parish paid her burial from the general account as well. Elisha Isaacs received £15 0s 0d for his executed slave. That was the same fixed sum paid to Priscilla Watts and to John Alexander in the 1770s, and it was the largest single charge of the year.
146	137	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page, obscuring the ends of the entries and part of the money columns.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1780 Apl. 10th. By Cash received of Mr. William Do[...] the Balance of§ §last Years [...]§ §57 13 3½§ §1781 Mar. 31 By do. received the Amt. of Tax upon Dogs for this Year§ §40 4 6§ §By do. received the Amt. of Fines upon Sheep§ §42§ §£ 139 17 9½§	The credit side of the parish account for 1780 and 1781 recorded the following receipts. 10 April 1780, cash received from Mr William Doveton, the balance of last year's account, £57 13s 3½d 31 March 1781, cash received from the tax on dogs for this year, £40 4s 6d Cash received from fines on sheep, £42 0s 0d Total, £139 17s 9½d **Interpretations** The year 1781 is the first in these accounts in which the parish fined sheep owners. Together with the dog tax, the fines replaced the head money altogether. In their first year the sheep fines brought in more than the dog tax. They came from flocks found straying or unmarked on the commons, and the inspectors began bringing owners before the clerk of the peace. The parish had moved its revenue from a tax on people to penalties on animals, which fell hardest on the planters whose stock did the most damage.
147	138	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading, the date column and the start of the first entries.] Parish Dr.§ §1781 April 4 To Cash paid the Clerk of the Peace Fees for 2 Years§ §£ 2§ §To do. paid the Secretary's Fees§ §1 10§ §To do. paid repairg. Church Books &c.§ §1 15§ §To do. paid repairg. Church Locks§ §6 9§ §To do. paid Destroyg. Rats§ §2§ §To do. paid Destroyg. Dogs§ §1§ §May 3 To do. paid Mending the Font§ §1 3§ §[...] 9 To do. paid repairg. School House Windows & Sqrs. of Glass &c.§ §1 6§ §To do. paid the Surgeon for the Cure of Betty Moore, Slave Woman§ §2§ §To do. paid the Cure of Mrs. Banting§ §1 10§ §To do. paid for a Coffin for Isabel a Free Woman, Diseased§ §1 10§ §Septemr. 4th. To do. paid Mendg. the Church Yard Gates§ §10 9§ §To do. paid repairg. the Country Church Walls§ §2 15§	The debit side of the parish account for 1781 and 1782 recorded the following payments. 4 April 1781, cash paid to the clerk of the peace for his fees for 2 years, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for repairing the church books and other items, £1 15s 0d Cash paid for repairing the church locks, £0 6s 9d Cash paid for destroying rats, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for destroying dogs, £1 0s 0d 3 May, cash paid for mending the font, £1 3s 0d 9 May, cash paid for repairing the schoolhouse windows, squares of glass and other items, £1 6s 0d Cash paid to the surgeon for treating Betty Moore, a slave woman, £2 0s 0d Cash paid for the care of Mrs Bunting, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for a coffin for Isabel, a free woman, deceased, £1 10s 0d 4 September, cash paid for mending the churchyard gates, £0 10s 9d Cash paid for repairing the country church walls, £2 15s 0d 19 December, cash paid to Charles Holloway, sexton, for 9 months' salary, £8 5s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth, sexton, for 3 months' salary, £2 15s 0d Cash paid for destroying rats and dogs, £2 5s 11d Cash paid for collecting fines and taxes on dogs and sheep, £2 10s 0d March, cash paid to the inspectors of sheep for the East and West divisions, £4 5s 11d Shortfall in the dog tax received, £4 8s 3d Total, £45 16s 7d

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		§Decemr. 19 To do. paid Chl. Holloway, Sexton, Salary for 9 Months§ §8 5§ §To do. paid Thos. Ailesworth do. do. for 3 do.§ §2 15§ §To do. paid Destroyg. Rats and Dogs§ §2 5 11§ §To do. paid for Collecting Fines and Taxes upon Dogs and Sheep§ §2 10§ §March To do. paid the Inspectors of Sheep for the East & West Divisions§ §4 5 11§ §To do. received short on Taxes upon Dogs§ §4 8 3§ §£ 45 16 7§ §1782 Apl. 1 To Cash pd. the Balance to Messrs. Thomas Statham§ §and Fran. Seale, Ch. Wardens§ §108 6 5½§ §£ 154 3 ½§ §Nathl. Kennedy§	1 April 1782, cash paid as the balance to Messrs Thomas Statham and Francis Seale, churchwardens, £108 6s 5½d Total, £154 3s 0½d Nathaniel Kennedy signed the account. **Interpretations** The surgeon was paid for treating Betty Moore, described here as a slave woman. The parish paid for her care because it owned her. She was the Betty Moore whom the vestry proposed in August 1791 to sell at public auction with her four children. By 1781 she was already a charge on the parish, which paid her medical bills as an owner would. The parish's title to her probably came from a forfeited or abandoned estate, and over the following decade her children added to the cost. That explains why the vestry later proposed to sell the family instead of maintaining them. Inspectors of sheep were now being paid for the East and West divisions. The division of the island for livestock inspection, set out in full in the officer lists of 1797 and 1798, was already in place by 1782. The inspectors' work produced the sheep fines that had become one of the parish's two main sources of income.
148	139	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the money columns; the lower right corner of the page is damaged and partly lost.] Cash received from the Following persons for Head§ §Money this Year the Tax being at 10½ ꝑ Head§ §Heads £ s d§ §Samuel Alexander§ §17§ §14 [...]§ §John Alexander§ §29§ §1 5 [...]§ §George Alexander§ §13§ §11 [...]§ §Margaret Alcock Decd.§ §17§ §14 [...]§ §Onesiphorus Beales Orps.§ §16§ §14 [...]§ §Richard Beale§ §10§ §8 [...]§ §Orlando Bagley§ §18§ §15 [...]§ §John Bagley Senr.§ §7§ §6 [...]§ §Orlando Bagley Orps.§ §24§ §1 1§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §13§ §11 4½§ §Matthew Bazett§ §49§ §2 2 10½§ §Henry Bazett§ §32§ §1 8§ §John Bazett§ §8§ §7§ §Thomas Bazett§ §11§ §9 7½§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the head money received from householders this year at 10½d a head. Samuel Alexander, 17 heads, £0 14s 10½d John Alexander, 29 heads, £1 5s 4½d George Alexander, 13 heads, £0 11s 4½d Margaret Alcock, deceased, 17 heads, £0 14s 10½d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 16 heads, £0 14s 0d Richard Beale, 10 heads, £0 8s 9d Orlando Bagley, 18 heads, £0 15s 9d John Bagley senior, 7 heads, £0 6s 1½d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 24 heads, £1 1s 0d John Bagley junior, 13 heads, £0 11s 4½d Matthew Bazett, 49 heads, £2 2s 10½d Henry Bazett, 32 heads, £1 8s 0d John Bazett, 8 heads, £0 7s 0d Thomas Bazett, 11 heads, £0 9s 7½d George Bird, 4 heads, £0 3s 6d Thomas Burnham, 8 heads, £0 7s 0d Robert Ballard, 7 heads, £0 6s 1½d William Beale, 9 heads, £0 7s 10½d James Colgrave, 7 heads, £0 6s 1½d William Caldwell's orphans, 3 heads, £0 2s 7½d John Congreve, 4 heads, £0 3s 6d Joseph Chamberlain's orphans, 1 head, £0 0s 10½d John Doveton's orphans, 18 heads, £0 15s 9d Jonathan Doveton, 26 heads, £1 2s 9d Isaac Doveton, 18 heads, £0 15s 9d Samuel Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 7s 10½d James Desfountain, 10 heads, £0 8s 9d John Desfountain, 12 heads, £0 10s 6d Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 3s 6d Henry Easthope, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d James Easthope, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d Michael Frost, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d Julio Fabiano, 7 heads, £0 6s 1½d Richard Goodwin, 31 heads, £1 7s 1½d John Goodwin, 14 heads, £0 12s 3d James Greentree's orphans, 32 heads, £1 8s 0d Charles Gissing, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d Robert Garling, 3 heads, £0 2s 7½d Joseph Griffiths, 3 heads, £0 2s 7½d Robert Gibson, 1 head, £0 0s 10½d Mary Griffiths, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d Carried over, 508 heads, £[...]

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		§George Bird§ §4§ §3 6§ §Thomas Burnham§ §8§ §7§ §Robert Ballard§ §7§ §6 1½§ §William Beale§ §9§ §7 10½§ §James Colgrave§ §7§ §6 1½§ §William Caldwells Orps.§ §3§ §2 7½§ §John Congreve§ §4§ §3 6§ §Joseph Chamberlains Orps.§ §1§ §10½§ §John Dovetons Orps.§ §18§ §15 9§ §Jonathan Doveton§ §26§ §1 2 9§ §Isaac Doveton§ §18§ §15 9§ §Samuel Desfountain§ §9§ §7 10½§ §James Desfountain§ §10§ §8 9§ §John Desfountain§ §12§ §10 6§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §4§ §3 6§ §Henry Easthope§ §2§ §1 9§ §James Easthope§ §5§ §4 4½§ §Michael Frost§ §2§ §1 9§ §Julio Fabiano§ §7§ §6 1½§ §Richard Goodwin§ §31§ §1 7 1½§ §John Goodwin§ §14§ §12 3§ §James Greentrees Orps.§ §32§ §1 8§ §Charles Lessing§ §2§ §1 9§ §Robert Gosling§ §3§ §2 7½§ §Joseph Griffiths§ §3§ §2 7½§	

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		§Robert Gillson§ §1§ §[...]§ §Mary Griffiths§ §2§ §1 9§ §508 [...]§	
149	140	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading.] Parish Dr.£ s d§ §Brought Over§ §70 3 7½§	The debit side of the parish account opened this page with the total carried forward from the previous page. Brought over, £70 3s 7½d
150	141	[Heavy staining at the upper centre and along the right-hand edge of the page, obscuring part of the heading and some figures; further staining at the foot of the page, and the lower right corner is damaged.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Brought Over§ §Heads £ s d§ §508 22 4 6§ §Richard Bagley§ §40§ §1 15§ §James Greentree§ §6§ §5 3§ §James Goudy§ §2§ §1 9§ §John Howard§ §2§ §1 9§ §George Hayes§ §3§ §2 7½§ §William Hayes Junr.§ §10§ §8 9§ §not paid Thomas Harper§ §6§ §5 3§ §Margaret Harper§ §10§ §8 9§ §Gabriel Harper§ §6§ §5 3§ §William Hayes Senr.§ §16§ §14§ §Richard Harper§ §3§ §2 [...]§ §Henry Howell§ §12§ §10 [...]§ §Martha Jacks§ §5§ §[...]§ §William Jenkins§ §5§ §4 4½§ §Hugh Jones§ §5§ §4 4½§ §Thomas Jones§ §2§ §1 9§ §Elisha Isaacke§ §20§ §17 6§ §Gabriel Isaacke Junr.§ §5§ §4 4½§	The head money roll continued on the credit side of the parish account at 10½d a head. Brought over, 508 heads, £22 4s 6d Richard Bagley, 40 heads, £1 15s 0d James Greentree, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d James Goudy, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d John Howard, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d George Hayes, 3 heads, £0 2s 7½d William Hayes junior, 10 heads, £0 8s 9d Thomas Harper, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d, not paid Margaret Harper, 10 heads, £0 8s 9d Gabriel Harper, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d William Hayes senior, 16 heads, £0 14s 0d Richard Harper, 3 heads, £0 2s 7½d Henry Howell, 12 heads, £0 10s 6d Martha Jacks, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d William Jenkins, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d Hugh Jones, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d Thomas Jones, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d Elisha Isaacs, 20 heads, £0 17s 6d Gabriel Isaacs junior, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d Gabriel Isaacs senior, 13 heads, £0 11s 4½d Samuel Knipe junior, 1 head, £0 0s 10½d Richard Knipe, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d Kitty Knipe, 4 heads, £0 3s 6d Samuel Knipe senior, 7 heads, £0 6s 1½d Elizabeth Kennedy, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d Elizabeth Lambe, 12 heads, £0 10s 6d Thomas Leech, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d Sarah Lake, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d, not paid Robert Leech, 9 heads, £0 7s 10½d Benjamin Mason, 28 heads, £1 4s 6d Richard Mason, 16 heads, £0 14s 0d Roderick Merchant's orphans, 3 heads, £0 2s 7½d John McAllister, 1 head, £0 0s 10½d, not paid Philip Mahoney, 4 heads, £0 3s 6d Elizabeth Powell, 18 heads, £0 15s 9d John Price, 11 heads, £0 9s 7½d Benjamin Pledger, 3 heads, £0 2s 7½d, not paid James Pritchard, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d Margaret Payne, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d, not paid John Preston's orphans, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d, not paid James Pasfield, 9 heads, £0 7s 10½d John Robinson, 11 heads, £0 9s 7½d Samuel Ringrose, 1 head, £0 0s 10½d Thomas Statham, 12 heads, £0 10s 6d Charles Ross Stewart, 17 heads, £0 14s 10½d John Shirtley, 14 heads, £0 12s 3d Solomon St Maurice, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d George Seale, 9 heads, £0 7s 10½d Benjamin Seale, 19 heads, £0 16s 7½d John Seale, 18 heads, £0 15s 9d Carried over, 944 heads, £[...]

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		§Gabriel Isaacke Senr.§ §13§ §11 4½§ §Samuel Knipe Junr.§ §1§ §4 10½§ §Richard Knipe§ §2§ §1 9§ §Kitty Knipe§ §4§ §3 6§ §Samuel Knipe Senr.§ §7§ §6 1½§ §Elizabeth Kennedy§ §6§ §5 3§ §Elizabeth Lamb§ §12§ §10 6§ §Thomas Leech§ §6§ §5 3§ §not paid Sarah Lake§ §5§ §4 4½§ §Robert Leech§ §9§ §7 10½§ §Benjamin Mason§ §28§ §1 4 6§ §Richard Mason§ §16§ §14§ §Rodericks Merchants Orps.§ §3§ §2 7½§ §not paid John McAllister§ §1§ §10½§ §Philip Mahoney§ §4§ §3 6§ §Elizabeth Powell§ §18§ §15 9§ §John Price§ §11§ §9 7½§ §not paid Benjamin Pledger§ §3§ §2 7½§ §James Pritchard§ §6§ §5 3§ §not paid Margaret Payne§ §2§ §1 9§ §not paid John Prestons Orps.§ §6§ §5 3§ §James Parfett§ §9§ §7 10½§ §John Robinson§ §11§ §9 7½§ §Samuel Ringrose§ §1§ §10½§ §Thos. Statham§ §12§ §10 6§	

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		§Charles Ross Stewart§ §17§ §14 10½§ §John Shirtley§ §14§ §12 3§ §Solomon St. Maurice§ §5§ §4 [...]§ §George Seale§ §9§ §[...]§ §Benjamin Seale§ §19§ §[...]§ §John Seale§ §18§ §[...]§ §944 4[...]§	
151	142	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading.] Parish Dr.£ s d§ §Brought Over§ §70 5 7½§ §1775§ §£ 70 5 7½§ §Augt. 12th. 1775 To Cash paid the Balance to Messrs. Jonathan Doveton§ §and Thomas Bazett Church Wardens§ §1 13 8¼§ §Chas. Ross Stewart§ §£ 71 19 3¾§ §Jon. Doveton§	The debit side of the parish account for 1775 closed with the balance paid over to the incoming churchwardens. Brought over, £70 5s 7½d Total, £70 5s 7½d 12 August 1775, cash paid as the balance to Messrs Jonathan Doveton and Thomas Bazett, churchwardens, £1 13s 8¼d Total, £71 19s 3¾d Charles Ross Stewart and Jonathan Doveton signed the account. **Interpretations** The year closed with a balance of only £1 13s 8¼d. The head money had been cut to 10½d a head, the lowest rate on any roll except the token 2d of 1779. Spending that year included £15 0s 0d for John Alexander's executed slave and more than £10 0s 0d for destroying rats and mice. A low rate against those costs left almost nothing in hand. That probably explains why the parish more than doubled the rate in the following years, and why the next churchwardens began with almost no reserve.
152	143	[Heavy staining at the upper centre and along the right-hand edge of the page, obscuring part of the opening line and some figures.] Brought Over§ §Heads £ s d§ §944 41 6§ §William Seale§ §5§ §4 4½§ §John Smith§ §5§ §4 4½§ §John Scott§ §5§ §4 4½§ §Nathan Sample§ §4§ §3 6§ §John Sample§ §5§ §4 4½§ §Francis Seale§ §11§ §9 7½§ §Thomas Stroud§ §9§ §7 10½§ §James Tippett§ §8§ §7§ §James Torbetts Orps.§ §5§ §4 [...]§	The head money roll for 1775 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 10½d a head and closed with the year's totals. Brought over, 944 heads, £41 6s 0d William Seale, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d John Smith, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d John Scott, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d Nathan Sampell, 4 heads, £0 3s 6d John Sampell, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d Francis Seale, 11 heads, £0 9s 7½d Thomas Stroud, 9 heads, £0 7s 10½d James Tippet, 8 heads, £0 7s 0d James Torbett's orphans, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d John Twaites, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d Thomas Watts's orphans, 5 heads, £0 4s 4½d, not paid William Wrangham, 37 heads, £1 12s 4½d Britannicus Alexander Wright, 12 heads, £0 10s 6d John Worrall, 8 heads, £0 7s 0d John Whitchurch, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d Simon Whaley, 6 heads, £0 5s 3d John Whaley, 4 heads, £0 3s 6d Joseph Whaley, 1 head, £0 0s 10½d Margaret Young, 2 heads, £0 1s 9d William Young, 25 heads, £1 1s 10½d Stephen Young, 20 heads, £0 17s 6d Thomas Yates, 8 heads, £0 7s 0d Total, 1,137 heads, £49 14s 10½d Balance of last year's account, £22 4s 5¼d Total, £71 19s 3¾d

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		§John Twaits§ §2§ §1 [...]§ §not paid Thomas Watts's Orps.§ §5§ §4 [...]§ §William Wrangham§ §37§ §1 12 [...]§ §Britt. Alexr. Wright§ §12§ §10 6§ §John Worrall§ §8§ §7§ §John Whitchurch§ §6§ §5 [...]§ §Simon Whaley§ §6§ §5 3§ §John Whaley§ §4§ §3 6§ §Joseph Whaley§ §1§ §10½§ §Margaret Young§ §2§ §1 9§ §William Young§ §25§ §1 1 10½§ §Stephen Young§ §20§ §17 6§ §Thomas Yates§ §8§ §7§ §1137 49 14 1[...]§ §By Balance of last Years Account§ §22 4 5¼§ §71 19 3¾§	
153	144	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and parts of the first five entries.] 1775 Parish Dr.£ s d§ §May 30th. To Cash paid for Rats and Mice destroy'd§ §£ 5 5 2½§ §To do. do. for Fishermen§ §1 14 9§ §To do. do. for a Looking glass for the Vestry Room§ §7 3§ §To Cash pd. Bickerstaff for repairing the Pall Several times§ §1 6§ §To Cash paid, Mr. Doveton for 8 Cabbage tree Sticks§ §6§ §To Cash paid for Rats and Mice destroy'd§ §5 1 5¼§ §To do. paid Yates's Salery§ §10§ §To do. paid John Whaley for Wm. Peplow a parish Boy§ §8 1§ §To do. paid for a Gate and repairing the Parish House &c.§ §4 15 6§ §9th. To do. paid for Benjamin Pledger Decd.§ §5 1 6§ §Augt. 16th. To Cash paid Mrs. McAllister for delivering Mrs. Pledger§ §1§	The debit side of the parish account for 1775 recorded the following payments. 30 May 1775, cash paid for rats and mice destroyed, £5 5s 2¾d Cash paid for [...], £1 14s 9d Cash paid for a looking glass for the vestry room, £0 7s 3d Cash paid to Bickerstaff for repairing the pall several times, £1 6s 0d Cash paid to Mr Doveton for 8 cabbage tree sticks, £0 6s 0d Cash paid for rats and mice destroyed, £5 1s 5¼d Cash paid to Yates for his salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid to John Whaley for William Peplow, a parish boy, £8 1s 0d Cash paid for a gate and repairs to the parish house and other work, £4 15s 6d 9 July, cash paid for Benjamin Pledger, deceased, £5 1s 6d 16 July, cash paid to Mrs McAllister for delivering Mrs Pledger, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to the clergyman, the marshal and the sexton for the funeral of Mrs Pledger's child, £0 15s 0d Cash paid for balancing the church books and the secretary's fees, £2 1s 0d Total, £45 14s 7½d **Interpretations** Benjamin Pledger died in the summer of 1775, and the parish paid more than £5 0s 0d for his burial and last expenses. A week later it paid Mrs McAllister

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§To do. paid the Clergy. Man & Sexton for the Funeral of Mrs. Pledgers Child§ §15§ §To Balanceing the Church Books & Secrys. Fees§ §2 1§ §£ 45 14 7½§	to deliver his widow of a child, and then paid for that child's funeral. The family had been marked as not paying its head money on the roll for that year. Within a single month the parish buried the father, delivered the baby and buried the child. That explains why only Pledger's orphans appeared on the roll for 1778. Mrs McAllister was probably the wife of John McAllister, whose single-head household was also excused its rate that year. The parish used one poor household to give paid service to another. Cabbage tree sticks came from the small native trees of the island's high central ridge. The parish bought them from Doveton as light rafters, probably for the parish house gate and roof. Twenty years later it was still roofing the country church with cabbage tree rafters and laths.
154	145	[Heavy staining at the upper centre of the page and along the right-hand edge; further staining at the foot of the page, obscuring the carried over line and the last figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §By Balance of last Years Account§ §£ 1 13 8¼§ §1776 Cash Recd. from the following persons for Head Money§ §this Year the tax being at 1/. p Head§ §Heads £ s d§ §Saml. Alexander§ §19§ §19§ §John Alexander§ §27§ §1 7§ §Geo. Alexander§ §13§ §13§ §O. Beale's Orphans§ §11§ §11§ §Rd. Beale§ §Orlando Bagley§ §18§ §18§ §Jno. Bagley Senr.§ §6§ §6§ §Richd. Bagley Decd.§ §Edwd. Bagley§ §16§ §16§ §O. Bagley's Orphans§ §24§ §1 4§ §Jno. Bagley Junr.§ §16§ §16§ §Matthew Bazett§ §52§ §2 12§ §Henry Bazett§ §30§ §1 10§ §John Bazett§ §8§ §8§ §Thomas Bazett§ §11§ §11§ §Geo. Bird§ §4§ §4§ §Thomas Burnham§ §8§ §8§	The credit side of the parish account for 1776 opened with the balance carried forward and the head money received at 1s a head. Balance of last year's account, £1 13s 8¼d Samuel Alexander, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d John Alexander, 27 heads, £1 7s 0d George Alexander, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d Richard Beale, 0 heads, £0 0s 0d Orlando Bagley, 18 heads, £0 18s 0d John Bagley senior, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Richard Bagley, deceased, 0 heads, £0 0s 0d Edward Bagley, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 24 heads, £1 4s 0d John Bagley junior, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d Matthew Bazett, 52 heads, £2 12s 0d Henry Bazett, 30 heads, £1 10s 0d John Bazett, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Thomas Bazett, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d George Bird, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Thomas Burnham, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Robert Ballard, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d William Beale, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d Martin Bagley, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Roberts Carr, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d James Colgrave, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d William Caldwell's orphans, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d John Congreve, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Joseph Chamberlain's orphans, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 18 heads, £0 18s 0d Jonathan Doveton, 28 heads, £1 8s 0d Isaac Doveton, 18 heads, £0 18s 0d William Webber Doveton, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d Samuel Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d James Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d John Desfountain, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Henry Easthope, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d James Easthope, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Michael Frost, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Julio Fabiano, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Sarah Farrell, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d John Goodwin, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d Richard Goodwin, 33 heads, £1 13s 0d James Greentree's orphans, 23 heads, £1 3s 0d James Greentree, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Charles Gissing, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Robert Garling, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Carried over, 530 heads, £26 10s 0d **Interpretations** Richard Beale and Richard Bagley were entered on the roll, Bagley marked as deceased, but neither was charged. Richard Bagley had been assessed on 40 heads the year before, one of the largest households on the island. The clerk evidently copied the names from the previous roll and then left blank any householder who had died or whose people had gone elsewhere, rather than strike the name out. Bagley's

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Robert Ballard§ §7§ §7§ §William Beale§ §9§ §9§ §Martin Bagley§ §4§ §4§ §Robertus Carr§ §5§ §5§ §James Colgrave§ §12§ §12§ §Wm. Caldwells Orphans§ §3§ §3§ §John Congreve§ §5§ §5§ §Jos. Chamberlains Orphans§ §1§ §1§ §John Dovetons Orphans§ §18§ §18§ §Jonathan Doveton§ §28§ §1 8§ §Isaac Doveton§ §18§ §18§ §W. W. Doveton§ §7§ §7§ §Saml. Desfountain§ §9§ §9§ §Jas. Desfountain§ §9§ §9§ §John Desfountain§ §12§ §12§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §4§ §4§ §Henry Easthope§ §2§ §2§ §Jas. Easthope§ §6§ §6§ §Michael Frost§ §1§ §1§ §Julio Fabiano§ §8§ §8§ §Sarah Farrell§ §12§ §12§ §John Goodwin§ §17§ §17§ §Richd. Goodwin§ §23§ §1 3§ §Jas. Greentree's Orphans§ §23§ §1 3§ §Jas. Greentree§ §3§ §3§	slaves probably passed to Edward and Martin Bagley, who appear on the roll with substantial households of their own.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Charles Lessing§ §2§ §2§ §Robert Gosling§ §4§ §4§ §Carried [...]§ §[...] 26 10§	
155	146	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, obscuring most of the heading.] [...] Dr.§ §Brought over§ §£ 45 14 7½§	The debit side of the parish account opened this page with the total carried forward from the previous page. Brought over, £45 14s 7½d
156	147	[Heavy staining at the upper centre of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the Brought over figures and the heads column of the first entries; further staining at the foot of the page.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Brought over§ §Heads £ s d§ §[...] 26 10 0§ §Joseph Griffiths§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §Mary Griffiths§ §[...]§ §2§ §Mary Goudy§ §[...]§ §2§ §John Howard§ §[...]§ §2§ §Geo. Hayes§ §3§ §3§ §Wm. Hayes Junr.§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §Thomas Harper§ §6§ §6§ §Margt. Harper§ §11§ §11§ §Gabl. Harper§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §Wm. Hayes Senr.§ §19§ §19§ §Richd. Harper§ §3§ §3§ §Henry Howell§ §12§ §12§ §Martha Jacks§ §4§ §4§ §Willm. Jenkins§ §5§ §5§ §Hugh Jones§ §6§ §6§ §Thomas Jones§ §2§ §2§ §Elisha Isaac§ §19§ §19§	The head money roll for 1776 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s a head. Brought over, 530 heads, £26 10s 0d Joseph Griffiths, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Mary Griffiths, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Mary Goudy, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d John Howard, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d George Hayes, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d William Hayes junior, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d Thomas Harper, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Margaret Harper, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d Gabriel Harper, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d William Hayes senior, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d Richard Harper, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Henry Howell, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d Martha Jacks, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d William Jenkins, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Hugh Jones, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Jones, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Elisha Isaacs, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d Gabriel Isaacs senior, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Gabriel Isaacs junior, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Richard Knipe, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Kitty Knipe, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Samuel Knipe junior, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d David Kay, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Samuel Knipe senior, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Elizabeth Lambe, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d Thomas Leech, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Sarah Lake, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Robert Leech, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d Benjamin Mason senior, 26 heads, £1 6s 0d Richard Mason, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d Benjamin Mason junior, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Roderick Merchant's orphans, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d John McAllister, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Philip Mahoney, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d John Molloy, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Elizabeth Powell, 18 heads, £0 18s 0d John Price, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d Benjamin Pledger, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d James Pritchard, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d John Preston's orphans, 0 heads, £0 0s 0d James Pasfield, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d John Robinson, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d Samuel Ringrose, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Thomas Statham, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Charles Ross Stewart, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d John Shirtley, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Solomon St Maurice, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d George Seale, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Benjamin Seale, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d John Seale, 22 heads, £1 2s 0d Joseph Seager, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d John Smith, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d John Scott, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d Nathan Sampell, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Carried over, 961 heads, £48 [...] **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Gabl. Isacke Senr.§ §14§ §14§ §Gabl. Isacke Junr.§ §6§ §6§ §Richd. Knipe§ §3§ §3§ §Kitty Knipe§ §4§ §4§ §Saml. Knipe Junr.§ §2§ §2§ §Eliz. Kennedy§ §6§ §6§ §David Kay§ §1§ §1§ §Saml. Knipe Senr.§ §8§ §8§ §Eliz. Lamb§ §11§ §11§ §Thomas Leech§ §5§ §5§ §Sarah Lake§ §5§ §5§ §Robert Leech§ §11§ §11§ §Benja. Mason Senr.§ §26§ §1 6§ §Richard Mason§ §16§ §16§ §Benja. Mason Junr.§ §4§ §4§ §Roderic Merchants Orphans§ §3§ §3§ §John McAllister§ §1§ §1§ §Philip Mahony§ §4§ §4§ §John Molloy§ §1§ §1§ §Elizabeth Powell§ §18§ §18§ §John Price§ §12§ §12§ §Benjamin Pledger§ §3§ §3§ §James Pritchard§ §6§ §6§ §John Prestons Orphans§ §James Parfett§ §11§ §11§ §John Robinson§ §12§ §12§	Benjamin Pledger died in July 1775, when the parish paid for his burial. He still appears on this roll for 1776, rated on three heads, which shows that the clerk carried the household forward under the dead man's name until it was re-entered as his orphans. In the same way, John Preston's orphans were named but charged nothing. A household could be listed while holding no one taxable, perhaps because its slaves had been sold or hired out to pay debts.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Saml. Ringrose§ §1§ §1§ §Thomas Statham§ §14§ §14§ §Charles R. Stewart§ §17§ §17§ §John Shirtley§ §14§ §14§ §Solomon St. Maurice§ §6§ §6§ §George Seale§ §8§ §8§ §Benja. Seale§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §John Seale§ §22§ §1 2§ §Joseph Seager§ §2§ §2§ §John Smith§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §John Scott§ §[...]§ §7§ §Nathan Sampsell§ §4§ §4§ §[...]§ **Margin Notes:** §£ 1 13 8¼§	
157	148	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and the year in the date column.] Parish Dr.§ §Brought Over§ §£ 45 14 7½§ §177[...] To Cash paid the Ballance to Messrs.§ §11 10 0¾§ §£ 57 4 8¼§	The debit side of the parish account for 1777 closed with the balance paid over to the incoming churchwardens. Brought over, £45 14s 7½d 1777, cash paid as the balance to Messrs [...], £11 10s 0¾d Total, £57 4s 8¼d
158	149	[Heavy staining at the upper centre and along the right-hand edge of the page, partly obscuring the Brought over line and some figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Brought over§ §Heads £ s d§ §961 48 1§ §£ 1 13 8¼§ §John Sampell§ §3§ §3§ §Fras. Seale§ §11§ §11§ §Thomas Stroud§ §9§ §9§ §Willm. Lesson§ §4§ §4§ §Jas. Tippet§ §8§ §8§ §Jas. Torbet's Orphans§ §5§ §5§	The head money roll for 1776 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s a head and closed with the year's totals. Brought over, 961 heads, £48 1s 0d John Sampell, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Francis Seale, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d Thomas Stroud, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d William Sisson, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d James Tippet, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d James Torbett's orphans, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d John Twaites, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Thomas Watts's orphans, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d William Wrangham, 43 heads, £2 3s 0d Britannicus Wright, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d John Worrall, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d John Whitchurch, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Simon Whaley, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d John Whaley, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Margaret Young, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Young, 25 heads, £1 5s 0d Stephen Young, 22 heads, £1 2s 0d Thomas Yates, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Sutton Isaacs, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Total, 1,147 heads, £57 7s 0d Balance of last year's account, £1 13s 8¼d Total, £58 0s 8¼d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§John Twaits§ §2§ §2§ §Thomas Watts's Orphans§ §6§ §6§ §William Wrangham§ §43§ §2 3§ §Britt. Wright§ §12§ §12§ §John Worrall§ §10§ §10§ §John Whitchurch§ §6§ §6§ §Simon Whaley§ §6§ §6§ §John Whaley§ §3§ §3§ §Margt. Young§ §2§ §2§ §Willm. Young§ §25§ §1 5§ §Stephen Young§ §22§ §1 2§ §Thomas Yates§ §8§ §8§ §Sutton Isacke§ §1§ §1§ §No. of Heads 1147 57 7§ §£ 57 7§ §£ 58 0 8¼§ §To Sundry Persons that cou'd not pay§ §their head money§ §16 16§ §16§ §No. of Heads 1131 56 11§ §57 4 8¼§	Less head money from various persons who could not pay, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d Total received, 1,131 heads, £57 4s 8¼d **Interpretations** The rate of 1s a head in 1776 was charged on almost the same number of heads as in 1775. The parish raised the rate from 10½d after ending the previous year with less than £2 0s 0d in hand. Even so, it brought in only enough to cover the year's spending, which left another small balance of £11 10s 0¾d. In the mid-1770s the parish lived from year to year on the head money, with no reserve. That changed only when the dog tax and sheep fines began to produce large surpluses in the early 1780s.
159	150	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the heading and parts of the first five entries.] 1776 Parish Dr.§ §To Cash paid for [...] Shovel & Pick Ax pd.§ §9 4§ §To do. paid for [...] Wheel Barrows pd.§ §1 15§ §To do. paid for Cordage pd.§ §1 2 3½§ §To do. paid for Rings pd.§ §4 6§ §To do. paid repairing the Hangings pd.§ §5 6§ §To do. paid for 13 Dble. Deals pd.§ §2 18 6§ §To do. paid for 1½ Baulk pd.§ §14 7½§ §To do. paid for 2 peices of Teak pd.§ §4 4§ §To do. paid Sawyers pd.§ §1 7 6§ §To do. paid for 2 Lufers pd.§ §6 10§ §To do. paid for 1 Lock & pair Hinges pd.§ §7 3½§	The debit side of the parish account for 1776 recorded the following payments. Cash paid for a shovel and pickaxe, £0 9s 4d Cash paid for wheelbarrows, £1 15s 0d Cash paid for [...], £1 2s 8¾d Cash paid for bags, £0 4s 6d Cash paid for repairing the hangings, £0 5s 6d Cash paid for 13 double deals, £2 18s 6d Cash paid for 1½ balks, £0 14s 7½d Cash paid for 2 pieces of teak, £4 4s 0d Cash paid to the sawyers, £1 7s 6d Cash paid for 2 louvres, £0 6s 10d Cash paid for a lock and a pair of hinges, £0 7s 3½d Cash paid for 3 lines, £0 1s 2d Cash paid for nails, £1 16s 9d Cash paid for 1 piece of Riga timber, £2 13s 8d Cash paid for repairing the cushions, £0 1s 6d Cash paid to Martin Bagley for 17 days of labour, £1 5s 6d Cash paid to Mr Alexander's Toby for 24 girths of rushes, £1 0s 6d Cash paid to Mr Bagley for overseeing at 2s 6d a day, £5 0s 0d Cash paid for 18 bushels of lime, £1 4s 0d Cash paid to Mr Desfountain for 117½ days of labourers' work, £8 16s 3d

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		§To do. paid for 3 Lines pd.§ §1 2§ §To do. paid for Nails pd.§ §1 16 9§ §To do. paid for 1 peice of Riga Timber pd.§ §2 13 8§ §To do. paid repairing the Cushings pd.§ §1 6§ §To do. paid Martin Bagley for 17 days Labr. pd.§ §1 5 6§ §To do. paid Mr. Alexanders Toby for 14 Gyrths Rushes pd.§ §1 0 6§ §To do. paid Mr. Bagley for overseeing @ 2/6 p day pd.§ §5§ §To do. paid for 16 Bush. of Lime pd.§ §1 4§ §To do. paid Mr. Desfountain for Labourg. work 117½ Days pd.§ §8 16 3§ §To do. paid Thos. Yates for making 2 Surplices pd.§ §2§ §To do. paid Mr. Knipes for 118 Gyrths Rushes pd.§ §2 19§ §To do. paid Thos. Yates his Sallary pd.§ §10§ §To do. paid for 1 pair of Hinges pd.§ §3 7§ §To do. paid John Alexanders Toby for 34 Gyrths Rushes pd.§ §17§ §To do. paid Lieut. Gosling for [...] days Labg. work pd.§ §4 10§ §To do. paid Lieut. Stewart for 67 days do. pd.§ §5 6§ §To do. paid for Carpenters Works pd.§ §5 4 6§ §To do. paid Major Bazett for 16 days Masons works pd.§ §2 8§ §To do. paid do. for 5 days Labourers pd.§ §7 6§ §To do. paid Mr. Jon. Doveton for 33 days Masons work pd.§ §4 19§ §To do. paid do. for 157 days Labourers pd.§ §11 15 6§ §To do. paid Doctor Stroud for 29 days Masons work pd.§ §4 7§ §To do. paid Mr. Richd. Goodwin for 33 days Labouring work pd.§ §2 9 6§ §To do. paid Mr. Gabl. Harper for Rafters Laths & Binders pd.§ §7 10 3§ §To do. paid for Rats & Mice destroyed pd.§ §10 14 5½§ §To Ballancing the Church Books & Secretarys Fees pd.§ §2 1§ §To Cash for a Coffin for Mr. McAllister Parson's & Clarks Fees pd.§ §1 15§ §To do. paid Mr. Young for 2 Loads of Binders pd.§ §5§ §To do. paid Mr. Benj. Mason for 3 days Thatchers work pd.§ §9§ §To do. paid Mr. Jn. Goodwin for 8 days pd.§ §12§ §To do. paid Mr. Wrangham for 6 days Labourg. work pd.§ §9§	Cash paid to Thomas Yates for making 2 surplices, £2 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr Knipe for 118 girths of rushes, £2 19s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Yates for his salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid for 1 pair of hinges, £0 3s 7d Cash paid to John Alexander's Toby for 34 girths of rushes, £0 17s 0d Cash paid to Lieutenant Garling for 60 days of labourers' work, £4 10s 0d Cash paid to Lieutenant Stewart for 67 days of labourers' work, £5 0s 6d Cash paid for carpenter's work, £5 4s 6d Cash paid to Major Bazett for 16 days of masons' work, £2 8s 0d Cash paid to Major Bazett for 5 days of labourers' work, £0 7s 6d Cash paid to Mr Jonathan Doveton for 33 days of masons' work, £4 19s 0d Cash paid to Mr Jonathan Doveton for 157 days of labourers' work, £11 15s 6d Cash paid to Doctor Stroud for 29 days of masons' work, £4 7s 0d Cash paid to Mr Richard Goodwin for 33 days of labourers' work, £2 9s 6d Cash paid to Mr Gabriel Harper for rafters, laths and binders, £7 10s 3d Cash paid for rats and mice destroyed, £10 14s 4½d Cash paid for balancing the church books and the secretary's fees, £2 1s 0d Cash paid for a coffin for Mrs McAllister and the parson's and clerk's fees, £1 15s 0d Cash paid to Mr Young for 2 loads of binders, £0 5s 0d Cash paid to Mr Benjamin Mason for 3 days of thatchers' work, £0 9s 0d Cash paid to Mr John Goodwin for 4 days of thatchers' work, £0 12s 0d Cash paid to Mr Wrangham for 6 days of labourers' work, £0 9s 0d Cash paid to Simon Whaley for 1 day of labourers' work, £0 1s 6d Cash paid to John Seale for 6 days of labourers' work, £0 9s 0d Cash paid to Mr Gabriel Harper for 12 days of labourers' work, £0 18s 0d Cash paid to Mr William Young for 5 days of labourers' work, £0 7s 6d Total, £118 16s 1¼d **Interpretations** Riga timber was Baltic pine or fir shipped from the port of Riga, then in the Russian Empire. It was the standard imported structural timber in Britain, valued for long, straight, resinous beams. Teak came from India and Burma and was prized for its resistance to rot and insects. Both came to St Helena through the Company's ships, Riga timber by way of England and teak from the Indian ports. Together they cost more than £6 0s 0d. The parish paid for imported hardwood and pine for the main beams of a large building job, while the roof frame used island rafters, laths and binders. This was the costliest year in the 1770s accounts, at £118 16s 1¼d, twice the usual spending. Most of the money went on hundreds of days of labour and masonry. That labour was hired from planters such as Jonathan Doveton, Major Bazett, Lieutenant Garling and Lieutenant Stewart, who were paid 1s 6d a day for their slaves and 3s a day for slave masons. The slaves themselves were not named or paid, except Toby, who belonged to John Alexander and was paid directly for rushes he had cut. Mr Bagley was paid 2s 6d a day to oversee the work. The rate of 1s a head on the head money could not have covered this,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§To do. paid Simon Whaley for 1 day do. pd.§ §1 6§ §To do. paid John Seale for 6 days do. pd.§ §9§ §To do. paid Mr. Gabl. Harper for 12 days do. pd.§ §18§ §To do. paid Wm. Young for 5 days do. pd.§ §7 6§ §£ 118 16 1¼§	which probably explains why the balance fell so low in 1777. Mrs McAllister, who had delivered Mrs Pledger's child in July 1775, died in the course of 1776. The parish paid for her coffin and the parson's and clerk's fees. The household was small and poor, one head on the roll for John McAllister, and the parish that had paid her as a midwife paid for her burial within a year.
160	151	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading, the ends of the opening entries and many of the money figures; further staining along the foot of the page.] Contra Cr.§ §By Ballance of last Years [...]§ §11 10 0¾§ §1777 Cash Recd. from the following Persons for Head Money§ §this Year the Tax being at 2/. [...]§ §Heads £ s d§ §Samuel Alexander§ §20§ §2§ §John Alexander§ §29§ §2 18§ §George Alexander§ §11§ §1 2§ §Onesi. Beales Orphans§ §10§ §1§ §Orlando Bagley§ §19§ §1 18§ §Orlando Bagleys Orphs.§ §12§ §1 4§ §John Bagley Senr.§ §6§ §12§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §15§ §1 10§ §Edward Bagley§ §17§ §1 14§ §Matthew Bazett§ §54§ §5 8§ §Henry Bazett§ §30§ §3§ §John Bazett§ §10§ §1§ §Thomas Bazett§ §11§ §1 2§ §George Bird§ §4§ §8§ §Thomas Burnham§ §11§ §1 2§ §Robert Ballard§ §6§ §12§ §Willm. Beale§ §8§ §16§ §Martin Bagley§ §4§ §8§	The credit side of the parish account for 1777 opened with the balance carried forward and the head money received at 2s a head. Balance of last year's account, £11 10s 0¾d Samuel Alexander, 20 heads, £2 0s 0d John Alexander, 29 heads, £2 18s 0d George Alexander, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d Orlando Bagley, 19 heads, £1 18s 0d Orlando Bagley's orphans, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d John Bagley senior, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d John Bagley junior, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Edward Bagley, 17 heads, £1 14s 0d Matthew Bazett, 54 heads, £5 8s 0d Henry Bazett, 30 heads, £3 0s 0d John Bazett, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d George Bird, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Thomas Burnham, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d Robert Ballard, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d William Beale, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Martin Bagley, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d James Colgrave, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d William Caldwell's orphans, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d John Congreve, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Roberts Carr, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Joseph Chamberlain's orphans, 1 head, £0 2s 0d George Cumberlidge, 1 head, £0 2s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 20 heads, £2 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, 26 heads, £2 12s 0d Samuel Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d James Desfountain, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d John Desfountain, 14 heads, £1 8s 0d Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d William Doveton, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d Isaac Doveton, 18 heads, £1 16s 0d Henry Easthope, 1 head, £0 2s 0d James Easthope, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Michael Frost, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Julio Fabiano, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d Robert Garling, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Richard Goodwin, 32 heads, £3 4s 0d John Goodwin, 16 heads, £1 12s 0d James Greentree's orphans, 20 heads, £2 0s 0d James Greentree, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d Charles Gissing, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Joseph Griffiths, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Mary Griffiths, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Mary Goudy, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d John Howard, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d George Hayes, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d William Hayes, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d William Hayes's orphans, 18 heads, £1 16s 0d Carried over, 575 heads, £[...] **Interpretations** In 1777 the rate doubled from 1s to 2s a head. The heavy building costs of 1776, mostly hired slave labour and imported timber, had cost almost £119 0s 0d and left only £11 10s 0¾d in hand. The vestry made up for that with a single year at double the rate, not by spreading the cost over several years. This 1777 roll is the one at 2s a head mentioned earlier. It belongs to the year after the building work on the country church, which explains why it is the highest rate on any roll apart from the special smallpox tax of 1789.

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		§James Colgrave§ §12§ §1 4§ §William Caldwells Orphs.§ §4§ §8§ §John Congreve§ §6§ §12§ §Robertus Carr§ §7§ §14§ §Joseph Chamberlains Orphs.§ §1§ §2§ §George Cumberlidge§ §1§ §2§ §John Dovetons Orphs.§ §20§ §2§ §Jonathan Doveton§ §26§ §2 12§ §Samuel Desfountain§ §9§ §18§ §James Desfountain§ §8§ §16§ §John Desfountain§ §12§ §1 4§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §4§ §8§ §William Doveton§ §10§ §1§ §Isaac Doveton§ §18§ §1 16§ §Henry Easthope§ §1§ §2§ §James Easthope§ §6§ §12§ §Michael Frost§ §1§ §2§ §Julio Fabiano§ §9§ §18§ §Robert Gosling§ §8§ §16§ §Richd. Goodwin§ §32§ §3 4§ §John Goodwin§ §16§ §1 12§ §James Greentrees Orphs.§ §20§ §2§ §James Greentree§ §9§ §[...]§ §Chas. Lessing§ §2§ §[...]§ §Joseph Griffiths§ §3§ §[...]§	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Mary Griffiths§ §2§ §[...]§ §Mary Goudy§ §2§ §[...]§ §John Howard§ §3§ §[...]§ §George Hayes§ §3§ §[...]§ §William Hayes§ §13§ §[...]§ §William Hayes Orphs.§ §13§ §[...]§ §Carried over§ §575 [...]§	
161	152	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, partly obscuring the heading and the first entry.] 1777 Parish Dr.§ §April Brot. over§ §118 16 1¼§	The debit side of the parish account for April 1777 opened with the total carried forward from the previous page. April 1777, brought over, £118 16s 1¼d
162	153	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and many of the money figures; further staining along the foot of the page.] Contra Cr.§ §Brought [...]§ §Heads £ s d§ §575 68 10 0¾§ §Thomas Harper§ §3§ §6§ §Margaret Harper§ §11§ §1 2§ §Gabriel Harper§ §6§ §12§ §Richard Harper§ §7§ §14§ §Henry Howell§ §9§ §18§ §Martha Jacks§ §4§ §8§ §William Jenkins§ §6§ §12§ §Hugh Jones§ §7§ §14§ §Thomas Jones§ §2§ §4§ §John Jones§ §1§ §2§ §Elisha Isacke§ §19§ §1 18§ §Gabriel Isacke§ §15§ §1 10§ §Samuel Knipe§ §10§ §1§	The head money roll for 1777 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 2s a head. Brought over, 575 heads, £68 10s 0¾d Thomas Harper, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Margaret Harper, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d Gabriel Harper, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Richard Harper, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Henry Howell, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d Martha Jacks, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d William Jenkins, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Hugh Jones, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Thomas Jones, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d John Jones, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Elisha Isaacs, 19 heads, £1 18s 0d Gabriel Isaacs, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Samuel Knipe, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d Samuel Knipe junior, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Richard Knipe, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Elizabeth Lambe, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d Thomas Leech, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Robert Leech, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Sarah Lake, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Benjamin Mason senior, 28 heads, £2 16s 0d Benjamin Mason junior, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Richard Mason, 16 heads, £1 12s 0d Roderick Merchant's orphans, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d John McAllister, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Philip Mahoney, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d James Molloy, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Elizabeth Powell, 21 heads, £2 2s 0d John Price, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d Benjamin Pledger's orphans, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d James Pritchard, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d John Preston's orphans, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d James Pasfield, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d John Robinson, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d Samuel Ringrose, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Thomas Statham, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Charles Ross Stewart, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d John Shirtley's orphans, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d George Seale, 20 heads, £2 0s 0d Benjamin Seale, 20 heads, £2 0s 0d John Seale, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Joseph Seager, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d John Smith, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d John Scott, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Nathan Sampell's orphans, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Samuel Knipe Junr.§ §3§ §6§ §Richard Knipe§ §3§ §6§ §Elizabeth Kennedy§ §6§ §12§ §Elizabeth Lamb§ §11§ §1 2§ §Thomas Leech§ §5§ §10§ §Robert Leech§ §12§ §1 4§ §Sarah Lake§ §5§ §10§ §Benjamin Mason Senr.§ §28§ §2 16§ §Benjamin Mason Junr.§ §4§ §8§ §Richard Mason§ §16§ §1 12§ §Roderick Merchants Orphs.§ §3§ §6§ §John McAllister§ §2§ §4§ §Philip Mahony§ §2§ §4§ §James Molloy§ §1§ §2§ §Elizabeth Powell§ §21§ §2 2§ §John Price§ §13§ §1 6§ §Benjamin Pledgers Orphans§ §2§ §4§ §James Pritchard§ §7§ §14§ §John Prestons Orphans§ §4§ §8§ §James Parfett§ §11§ §1 2§ §John Robinson§ §13§ §1 6§ §Samuel Ringrose§ §1§ §2§ §Thomas Statham§ §15§ §1 10§ §Chas. Ross Stewart§ §15§ §1 10§ §John Shirtleys Orphans§ §15§ §1 10§	John Sampell, 14 heads, £1 8s 0d Francis Seale, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Thomas Stroud, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d William Sisson, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d James Tippet, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d Joshua Torbett, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d James Torbett's orphans, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d John Twaites, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas Watts's orphans, [...] heads, £[...] William Wrangham, [...] heads, £[...] Britannicus Wright, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d John Worrall, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d John Whitchurch, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Simon Whaley, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d John Whaley, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Carried over, 1,114 heads, £[...]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Solomon St. Maurice§ §5§ §10§ §George Seale§ §10§ §1§ §Benjamin Seale§ §20§ §2§ §John Seale§ §20§ §2§ §Joseph Seager§ §5§ §10§ §John Smith§ §5§ §10§ §John Scott§ §7§ §14§ §Nathan Sampsells Orphs.§ §3§ §6§ §John Sampel§ §3§ §6§ §Francis Seale§ §14§ §1 8§ §Thomas Stroud§ §15§ §1 10§ §William Lesson§ §4§ §8§ §James Tippet§ §10§ §1§ §Joshua Torbett§ §9§ §18§ §James Torbetts Orphs.§ §4§ §8§ §John Twaites§ §4§ §8§ §Thomas Watts Orphs.§ §5§ §10§ §William Wrangham§ §44§ §4 8§ §Britt. Wright§ §13§ §1 6§ §John Worrall§ §11§ §1 2§ §John Whitchurch§ §7§ §[...]§ §Simon Whaley§ §8§ §[...]§ §John Whaley§ §3§ §[...]§ §Carried over§ §1114 [...]§	
163	154	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and the first entry.] 1777 Parish Dr.§	The parish account for 1777 closed on the debit side with the remaining balance handed to the new churchwardens. April 1777, brought over, £118 16s 1¼d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§April Brought Over§ §118 16 1¼§ §To Cash paid the Ballance to Messrs.§ §Willm. Young and Saml. Desfountain§ §8 6 11½§ §Saml. Desfountain§ §£ 127 3 0¾§	Cash paid as the balance to Messrs William Young and Samuel Desfountain, £8 6s 11½d Total, £127 3s 0¾d Samuel Desfountain signed the account.
164	155	Blank page	
165	156	[Heavy staining and spotting at the upper left of the page, obscuring the start of the heading and the first eight names in the left-hand column; small loss of the paper at the lower right corner.] List of the Estates shewing the order in which they a[...]§ §[...] of Highways§ §Total acres§ §[...]§ §303¼§ §[...]§ §263½§ §[...]§ §255¾§ §[...] Seale [...] Estate§ §250§ §[...] Alexander§ §228§ §[...] Estate§ §207¾§ §[...]§ §200¾§ §[...]§ §199½§ §[...] Dovetons Orphans§ §190½§ §[...]worth§ §169½§ §William Pierie§ §169¼§ §Sarah Harper§ §164§ §Richard Torbett§ §158½§ §Edward Charles Smith§ §153¾§ §John Bagley§ §144½§ §Bible Society§ §140§ §W. W. Doveton§ §129½§ §Richard Knipes Orphans§ §123§ §Thomas Greentree§ §118½§ §Catherine Greentree§ §110§ §George Leech§ §110§ §Saml. Masons Estate§ §108½§ §George Alexanders Orphs.§ §106½§ §Thomas Bagley§ §106§ §Thomas Henry Brooke§ §103½§ §James Cocks§ §94½§ §Charles Sampson§ §92½§ §William Wranghams Estate§ §91§ §Ann Young§ §85¼§	A list of the estates set out the order in which their owners were to serve as overseers of the highways. The estates were ranked by their total acreage. [...], 303¼ acres [...], 263¼ acres [...], 255¾ acres Francis Seale's estate, 250 acres [...] Alexander, 228 acres [...]'s estate, 207¾ acres John Alexander senior, 200¼ acres [...] Knipe, 199¼ acres John Doveton's orphans, 190¼ acres Thomas [...]sworth, 169½ acres William Pierce, 169¼ acres Sarah Harper, 164 acres Richard Torbett, 158½ acres Edward Charles Smith, 153¾ acres John Bagley, 144½ acres Botley's Society, 140 acres W. W. Doveton, 124½ acres Richard Knipe's orphans, 123 acres Thomas Greentree, 118½ acres Watkin Greentree, 110 acres George Leech, 110 acres James Mason's estate, 109½ acres George Alexander's orphans, 106¾ acres Thomas Bagley, 106 acres Thomas Henry Brooke, 103¼ acres James Cocks, 94¼ acres Charles Sampson, 92½ acres William Wrangham's estate, 91 acres Ann Young, 85¾ acres John Desfountain's orphans, 84 acres Sarah Pritchard, 78¾ acres Elizabeth Desfountain, 78 acres David Kay senior, 77 acres Mary Wright, 72 acres John Desfountain, 67¼ acres John Legg senior, [...] acres Robert Leech, 61 acres John Alexander junior, 59 acres Richard H. Leech, 56¾ acres Aaron Lambe, 50¼ acres John Alexander Wright, John Desfountain and R. H. Leech, jointly, 45 acres John Mason, 44 acres John Charles Quinn, 40½ acres Richard Mason, 38½ acres William Lane, 36½ acres William Jules's estate, 34 acres Richard Wells, 33½ acres Onesiphorus Beale, 32½ acres Charles Scott, 32 acres Richard Bagley, 30¾ acres Richard Barker, 30 acres J. A. Wright, 27½ acres John Burnham, 24½ acres William Seale junior's estate, 20 acres William Brabazon, 20 acres Andrew Braid, 20 acres William Balcombe, 19½ acres Benjamin Mason, 17½ acres John Seale's estate, 17 acres Saul Solomon, 15½ acres Thomas Burnham's orphans, 14½ acres Ellis Haywood, 12 acres

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§John Desfountains Orphans§ §84§ §Sarah Pritchard§ §78½§ §Elizabeth Desfountain§ §78§ §David Kay Senr.§ §77§ §Mary Wright§ §72§ §John Desfountain§ §[...]§ §John Legg Senr.§ §[...]§ §Robert Leech§ §61§ §John Alexander Junr.§ §59§ §Richard H. Leech§ §56¾§ §Aaron Lambe§ §50¾§ §John Alex. Wright John§ §Desfountain & R. H. Leech§ §45§ §John Mason§ §44§ §John Charles Queen§ §40½§ §Richard Mason§ §38½§ §William Lane§ §36½§ §William Jules's Estate§ §34§ §Richard Wills§ §33½§ §Ones. Beale§ §32½§ §Charles Scott§ §32§ §Richard Bagley§ §30¾§ §Richard Burkes§ §30§ §J. A. Wright§ §27½§ §John Burnham§ §24½§ §William Seale Junr. Est.§ §20§ §William Brabazon§ §20§ §Andrew Braid§ §20§ §William Balcombe§ §19½§ §Benjamin Mason§ §17½§ §John Seales Estate§ §17§ §Saul Solomon§ §15½§ §Thomas Burnhams Orphs.§ §14½§ §Elliot Harwood§ §12§ §John Barnes§ §11½§ §Samuel Young§ §10§ §Frederick Young§ §10§ §Mary Yaun§ §8§	John Barnes, 10½ acres Samuel Young, 10 acres Frederick Young, 10 acres Mary Yaun, 8 acres Richard Goodwin's estate, 4½ acres Charles R. J. Hodson, 4 acres Jacob Rich, 4 acres Susan, a free woman, 4 acres James George, a free man, 4 acres Billy [...], 4 acres Valentine Isaacs, 4 acres Joe [...], 4 acres Sarah Ronald, 2 acres Sarah Yaun, 2 acres The foot of the list noted that two estates whose names cannot be read, together with William Pierce, had served as overseers in 1809. James Cocks, Charles Sampson and John Doveton's estate had served in 1810. Several entries near the top of the list were marked in the margin with the year 1809. **Interpretations** By about 1809 the parish no longer filled the post of highway overseer by vestry election, as in the 1790s. Instead it served in turn down a list of estates ranked by acreage, so the largest landholders served first and the smallest last. Each year's overseers came from the next estates on the list, and the margin marks recorded who had already served. The burden of road work fell according to how much land a planter held. That fitted the purpose of the highways, which carried the produce of the larger estates. The list also shows how landholding had spread by the early nineteenth century. Two free blacks, Susan and James George, held four acres each and were listed as liable for the duty like any other owner. A society, Botley's Society, held 140 acres as a body. Newer names such as Saul Solomon, William Balcombe and Thomas Henry Brooke appear beside the old planter families of the 1770s rolls: the Alexanders, Bagleys, Desfountains, Dovetons and Greentrees.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Richard Goodwins Estate§ §4½§ §Charles R. J. Hodson§ §4§ §Jacob Rich§ §4§ §Susan Free§ §4§ §James George Free§ §4§ §Billy [...]§ §4§ §Valentia Isaacke§ §4§ §Joe Mittons§ §4§ §Sarah Ronald§ §2§ §Sarah Yaun§ §2§ §Mr. [...] Estate§ §Richard Mason Est.§ §William Pierie§ §Served as Overseers in 1809§ §James Cocks§ §Charles Sampson§ §Jo. Desfountains Estate§ §Served as Overseers in [...]§ **Margin Notes:** §1809§ §1809§ §x§ §x§	
166	157	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading, the Brought over line and some of the pence figures.] Contra Cr.§ §Brought over§ §Heads £ s d§ §1114 122 17 [...]§ §Margaret Young§ §2§ §4§ §William Young§ §27§ §2 14§ §Stephen Young§ §23§ §2 6§ §Thomas Yates§ §9§ §18§ §David Kay§ §3§ §6§ §1178 129 3 0¾§ §Several that cou'd not pay their head Money Amtg. to heads§ §21§ §2 2§ §1157 £ 127 1 [...]§	The head money roll for 1777 ended on the credit side of the parish account, charged at 2s a head, with the year's totals. Brought over, 1,114 heads, £122 17s 0¾d Margaret Young, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d William Young, 27 heads, £2 14s 0d Stephen Young, 23 heads, £2 6s 0d Thomas Yates, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d David Kay, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Total, 1,178 heads, £129 5s 0¾d Less head money from various persons who could not pay, 21 heads, £2 2s 0d Total received, 1,157 heads, £127 3s 0¾d **Interpretations** At 2s a head, the roll for 1777 raised more than £115 0s 0d of head money. The balance of £11 10s 0¾d carried in from 1776 brought the total to £127 3s 0¾d. This matched exactly the debit side, which had to cover the building work of 1776 brought forward at £118 16s 1¼d. The rate had been set to clear that cost in a single year. Only £8 6s 11½d was left over for William Young and Samuel Desfountain as the incoming churchwardens.
167	158	[Heavy staining at the upper centre of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring parts of the first five entries.] Parish Dr.£§ §1777 May 15th. Paid for the Support of old Boller§ §To Cash paid for destroying Ratts & Mice§ §10 8 6§ §To Cash paid Thos. Yates for making Surplises§ §2§ §To do. paid Richard Mason for the Execution of a Slave§ §15§	The debit side of the parish account for 1777 recorded the following payments. 15 May 1777, paid for the support of old Bellar, £0 0s 0d Cash paid for destroying rats and mice, £10 8s 6d Cash paid to Thomas Yates for making surplices, £2 0s 0d Cash paid to Richard Mason for the execution of a slave, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to J. Desfountain for the execution of a slave, £15 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§To do. paid Jn. Desfountain for do.§ §15§ §To do. paid Thos. Yates his Salary§ §10§ §To Ballancing the Books & Secrys. Fees§ §2 1§ §To Repairs for the Country Church§ §5 18 4§ §60 7 10§	Cash paid to Thomas Yates for his salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid for balancing the books and the secretary's fees, £2 1s 0d Cash paid for repairs to the country church, £5 18s 4d Total, £60 7s 10d **Interpretations** In 1777 the parish paid £15 0s 0d each to Richard Mason and J. Desfountain for two executed slaves, half of the year's spending. Two executions in a year cost the parish as much as the whole head money of 1775 had raised. With these payments the general account was carrying the cost of slave executions as a regular charge. That helps explain why the rate stood at 2s a head in 1777. The entry for old Bellar's support carried no sum in the general account. Her care was paid from the poor stock instead, which recorded £17 12s 8d for her support and nursing. The clerk entered her name here but left the amount to the separate fund. In this period the two accounts were still kept strictly apart.
168	159	[Staining at the upper left corner and along the right-hand edge of the page, partly obscuring the year in the date column.] [...]89 Per Contra Cr. £ £§ §Apl. 30th. By Cash Recd. of Capt. Thos. Bazett§ §Balance of last Years acct.§ §22 7 9§ §By Cash Recd. of Capt. Thos. Bazett§ §balance of Small Pox Tax§ §15 10§ §Carried Over £ 37 17 9§	The parish account for 1789 showed the following receipts on its credit side. 30 April 1789, cash received from Captain Thomas Bazett, the balance of last year's account, £22 7s 9d Cash received from Captain Thomas Bazett, the balance of the smallpox tax, £15 10s 0d Carried over, £37 17s 9d **Interpretations** The smallpox account showed £15 10s 0d left over once the outbreak's costs had been paid, and that balance was passed to Lieutenant Broadway. This page shows the same sum coming from Captain Thomas Bazett into the general parish account. The special head tax of 2s, which had been charged even on the Company's soldiers and slaves, raised more than the quarantine cost. The vestry did not refund the surplus. It folded it into the ordinary parish funds, so ratepayers' money raised for one purpose ended up paying for general parish costs.
169	160	[Staining at the upper left corner of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the year and the start of the date column.] [...] Parish Dr.§ §To Expences Brought Over§ §£ 85 14 3½§ §[...] Jan. 1 To Cash pd. Jn. Torbett, repairg. School house§ §Necessary§ §10§ §Do. pd. for the Funeral of Pompey a Slave§ §belonging to Mr. Ailesworth§ §1 19 9§ §Do. pd. for repairing School house Gate§ §3 7½§ §Do. pd. Mr. Kay cure & Maintenance of§ §Caroline Lesson§ §6 15§ §Do. pd. Jos. Harper a Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. pd. for the support of Mrs. Ringrose and§ §Children§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. for the support of Betty Wade§ §2 9§ §Do. pd. for the support of Mrs. Holloway§ §and Mrs. Ailesworth§ §7§ §Do. pd. for the support of Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§	The debit side of the parish account for the quarter ending March 1790 recorded the following payments. Expenses brought over, £85 14s 3½d 1 January 1790, cash paid to J. Torbett for repairing the schoolhouse privy, £0 10s 0d Cash paid for the funeral of Pompey, a slave belonging to Mrs Ailesworth, £1 19s 9d Cash paid for repairing the schoolhouse gate, £0 3s 7½d Cash paid to Mr Kay for the treatment and keep of Caroline Lisson, £6 15s 0d Cash paid to J. Harper for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose and her children, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, £2 9s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway and Mrs Ailesworth, £7 0s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Mr Kay for the treatment and keep of Henry Hayes, £7 4s 0d Cash paid for the keep of Dick, a condemned black, by order of the Governor and Council, £3 9s 0d Cash paid for 14 bushels of lime for repairing the burial ground wall, £1 1s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Do. pd. for the support of Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. pd. Mr. Kay cure and maintenance of§ §Henry Hayes§ §7 4§ §Do. pd. for the support of Dick a Condemned Black§ §by order of the Governor & Council§ §3 9§ §Do. pd. for 14 Bushels of Lime for repairing§ §the burying Ground Wall§ §1 1§ §Do. pd. for 7½ Days Masons work Do.§ §1 6 3§ §Do. pd. for 37 Do. Labourers work Do.§ §2 15 6§ §Do. pd. Mr. Jn. Doveton, makg. Dog Lists§ §1§ §Do. pd. Secretarys Fees§ §1 10§ §Do. pd. Collecting Taxes§ §3§ §Expences for the Quarter ending 31 March§ §£ 51 18 1§ §£ 137 12 4½§ §5th. April 1790 To Balance paid Capt. Lt. Wat. Greentree§ §3 4½§ §Recd. the Balance Wat. Greentree§ §£ 140 12 9§	Cash paid for 7½ days of masons' work on the burial ground wall, £1 6s 3d Cash paid for 37 days of labourers' work on the burial ground wall, £2 15s 6d Cash paid to Mr J. Doveton for making the dog lists, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for collecting taxes, £3 0s 0d Expenses for the quarter ending 31 March, £51 18s 1d Total, £137 12s 4½d 5 April 1790, balance paid to Captain Lieutenant Watkin Greentree, £3 0s 4½d Total, £140 12s 9d Watkin Greentree signed for the balance. **Interpretations** An owner was normally expected to bury his own slave. Here the parish paid for the funeral of Pompey, who belonged to Mrs Ailesworth. In the same quarter it was supporting Mrs Ailesworth herself, alongside Mrs Holloway. Thomas Ailesworth and Charles Holloway had both served as sexton in 1781, so these were probably their widows. Mrs Ailesworth still owned a slave but could not afford to bury him, and the parish took the cost on as part of her relief. A widow could keep her slave as her last property while depending on the parish for her own keep. Dick, a condemned black, was held at the parish's expense by order of the Governor and Council. As with Sam in 1794 and September in 1795, the parish paid for the months between sentence and execution, under orders from the Company's government. Caroline Lisson, Henry Hayes and the Ringrose children were all receiving medical care or regular support. Relief made up most of the quarter's spending, much more than the repairs.
170	161	1790 Per Contra Cr.§ §5 April By Balance Brot. Over§ §£ 37 17 9§ §By Tax on Dogs§ §53§ §By Do. on Blacks§ §39 15§ §By Do. on Sheep§ §10§ §102 15§ §£ 140 12 9§	The credit side of the parish account for 1790 recorded the following receipts. 5 April 1790, balance brought over, £37 17s 9d Tax on dogs, £53 0s 0d Tax on blacks, £39 15s 0d Tax on sheep, £10 0s 0d Total of taxes, £102 15s 0d Total, £140 12s 9d **Interpretations** The parish now raised its income from three separate taxes on dogs, blacks and sheep, and the old poll tax on whole households was gone. The dog tax still brought in the most. The tax on blacks fell only on slave owners. This was before the vestry of 24 January 1791 formally exempted free blacks, so in practice the tax had probably always been charged only on slaves. Within six years, by 1796, the tax on slaves had grown into the parish's main revenue, at 3s 6d a head on more than 1,000 slaves.
171	162	[Staining at the upper left corner of the page; the ink of the lower third is faded, obscuring parts of the last quarterly entries and the closing lines.] 1790 Parish Dr. £ £§ §June To Cash paid Mr. Sarah Isaacke for the§ §Execution of a Slave§ §15§ §To Cash paid Mr. Pritchard for Mr. Kay for§ §cure & Maintenance of Caroline Lesson§ §4 13§ §30 June To do. pd. Mr. Harper, Sexton a Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §To do. pd. for the support of Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§	The debit side of the parish account for 1790 and 1791 recorded the following payments. June 1790, cash paid to Mrs Sarah [...] for the execution of a slave, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr Pritchard for Mr Kay, for the treatment and keep of Caroline Lisson, £4 13s 0d 30 June, cash paid to Mr Harper, sexton, for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Cash paid to the Honourable Company on account of Caroline Lisson, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ailesworth, £1 0s 0d

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		§To do. pd. the Honble. Compy. on acct. of Caroline Lesson§ §3 5§ §To do. pd. Support of Mrs. Holloway§ §3 5§ §To do. pd. Support of Mrs. Ailesworth§ §1§ §To do. pd. Support of Mrs. Ringrose & Children§ §3 5§ §To do. pd. Support of Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §To do. pd. Support of Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §To do. pd. Support of Dick a Condemned Slave§ §1 19§ §Expences for the Quarter ending 30th. June§ §£ 43 2 6§ §30th. Sept. To Cash paid for Support of Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §To do. pd. the Honble. Company for Lime & Tiles§ §for School house§ §2 17§ §To Cash pd. Support of Mrs. Holloway§ §3 5§ §To do. pd. Support of Mrs. Ringrose & Children§ §3 5§ §To do. pd. Support of Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§ §To do. pd. Support of Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §To do. pd. Support of Dick a Condemned Slave§ §1 19§ §To do. pd. the Sexton a Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Expences for the Quarter ending 30 Sept.§ §£ 22 1 6§ §31st. Decem. To Cash pd. for Support Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. Do. pd. for Do. Mrs. Holloway§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. pd. for Do. Mrs. Ringrose§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. pd. for Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. pd. Do. Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §Do. Do. pd. Do. Dick§ §1 19§ §Do. Do. pd. the Sexton his Salary§ §3 15§ §£ 19 4 6§ §1791 31 March To Cash for Support Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. pd. to Do. Mrs. Holloway§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. to Do. Mrs. Ringrose§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. to Do. Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. to Do. Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §Do. Dick Condemned Slave§ §1 1§ §Do. to the Sexton his Salary§ §3 15§ §paid to Winterton§ §£ 18 6 6§ §[...] Repairing Country Church &§ §School House§ §£ 102 15§ §£ 98 12 11§ §£ 201 7 11§ §To Balance paid Mr. Thos. Lester§ §88 14 2½§	Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose and her children, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the keep of Dick, a condemned slave, £1 19s 0d Expenses for the quarter ending 30 June, £43 2s 6d 30 September, cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to the Honourable Company for lime and tiles for the schoolhouse, £2 17s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose and her children, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the keep of Dick, a condemned slave, £1 19s 0d Cash paid to the sexton for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Expenses for the quarter ending 30 September, £22 1s 6d 31 December, cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the keep of Dick, £1 19s 0d Cash paid to the sexton for his salary, £3 15s 0d Expenses for the quarter ending 31 December, £19 4s 6d 31 March 1791, cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, paid to Winterton, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the keep of Dick, a condemned slave, £1 1s 0d Cash paid to the sexton for his salary, £3 15s 0d Expenses for the quarter ending 31 March, £18 6s 6d Total of the year's quarterly expenses, £102 15s 0d Cost of repairing the country church and the schoolhouse, £98 12s 11d Total, £201 7s 11d Balance paid to Mr Thomas Lester, £88 14s 2½d Total, £290 2s 1½d Thomas Lester signed for the balance. **Interpretations** Dick, the condemned slave, was kept at the parish's expense for more than a year, from the start of 1790 to the end of March 1791, at about £1 19s 0d a quarter. He was never executed. In 1799 the vestry used the case of Sam to complain that a condemned slave who was not put to death should not be paid for. Dick's long imprisonment shows the same problem arising earlier. While the Governor and Council delayed or commuted a sentence, the parish carried the keep for as long as they took to decide.

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		§Recd. the Balance Thos. Lester§ §£ 290 2 1½§	In 1790 the relief list was a fixed group of dependants paid each quarter: Peggy Torbett, Mrs Holloway, Mrs Ringrose and her children, Daniel Caldwell and Betty Wade. The payment for Daniel Caldwell went to Winterton, the first person recorded as boarding him. Mrs Ringrose later took the boy on. The cost of rebuilding the country church and schoolhouse, almost £99 0s 0d, nearly equalled a whole year's relief. Together the two used up most of the new taxes on dogs, slaves and sheep.
172	163	[Staining along the right-hand edge of the page; the first block of entries is struck through.] 1790 Per Contra Cr.£ £§ §Start of crossed out section§ §5 April By Cash Recd. of Lt. Broadway§ §Balance of last Years Account§ §3 [...] 4½§ §By Do. recd. from the Honble. Compy.§ §[...] Dick a Condemned Black§ §10 7§ §By Tax on Dogs§ §By Do. on Sheep§ §End of crossed out section§ §1790 5 April By Balance recd. from Lt. Broadway§ §£ 3 4½§ §By Cash recd. from the Honble. Compy.§ §on Acct. of Dick a Condemned Slave§ §10 7§ §1791 21 April By Tax on 213 Dogs at 5/. ꝑ Head§ §53 5§ §1 Dog 1 Quart.§ §1 3§ §By Tax on 77 Sheep at 5/.§ §19 5§ §By Do. Head Money§ §204 3 6§ §287 1 9§ §290 2 1½§	The credit side of the parish account for 1790 and 1791 recorded the following receipts. The clerk first wrote a version of the opening entries, then struck it through and entered them again below. **Start of crossed out section** 5 April 1790, cash received from Lieutenant Broadway, the balance of last year's account, £3 0s 4½d Cash received from the Honourable Company for the keep of Dick, a condemned black, £10 7s 0d Tax on dogs Tax on sheep **End of crossed out section** 5 April 1790, balance received from Lieutenant Broadway, £3 0s 4½d Cash received from the Honourable Company on account of Dick, a condemned slave, £10 7s 0d 21 April 1791, tax on 213 dogs at 5s a head, £53 5s 0d Tax on 1 dog for 1 quarter, £0 1s 3d Tax on 77 sheep at 5s, £19 5s 0d Head money, £204 3s 6d Total of receipts, £287 1s 9d Total, £290 2s 1½d **Interpretations** The Company repaid the parish £10 7s 0d for keeping Dick, the condemned slave. That covered almost all of the quarterly charges for his keep set against the account through 1790 and early 1791. Dick was held by order of the Governor and Council, so the Company accepted the cost as its own. The parish paid the gaoler first and then recovered the money. This repayment did not become a rule. Later in the decade the parish was still carrying condemned slaves' keep itself, for Sam, September and the two slaves executed in March 1796. Head money brought in £204 3s 6d, almost four times the dog tax. This was the tax of 2s 9d a head voted by the vestry on 24 January 1791, to pay for the country church, the schoolhouse and the poor, with free blacks excused. The sum implies about 1,480 heads. The rebuilding of the country church and schoolhouse at nearly £99 0s 0d was the reason for the higher rate.
173	164	[Staining along the head and the left-hand edge of the page, partly obscuring the year in the date column.] 1791 Expences of repairs to the School House§ §Ravine Church Yard & Country Church £§ §64 Days work (mason) Mr. Wrangham pd.§ §11 4 paid§ §19 do. do. do. Mr. Shirtley Donat.§ §3 6 6 paid Donat.§ §10 Do. do. do. Jasmin§ §1 15 paid§ §12 do. Thatching Mr. Wrangham pd.§ §3 paid§ §11 do. do. Burkenah§ §2 15 paid§ §23 do. (Mason) @ 3/6 Do.§ §4 0 6§ §4 do. Thatching (@ 5/.) Mr. Young's Man§ §1 paid§ §102 do. Labour @ 1/6 Mr. Lay Young do.§ §7 13 paid§	In 1791 the parish recorded what it spent repairing the schoolhouse, the churchyard in town and the country church. Each line was marked as paid. 64 days of masons' work by Mr Wrangham's Frank, £11 4s 0d 19 days of masons' work by Mr Shirtley's Domas, £3 6s 6d, given back as a donation 10 days of masons' work by Jasmin, £1 15s 0d 12 days of thatching by Mr Wrangham's Frank, £3 0s 0d 11 days of thatching by Burtenah, £2 15s 0d 23 days of masons' work by Burtenah at 3s 6d, £4 0s 6d 4 days of thatching by Mr Young's man at 5s, £1 0s 0d 102 days of labourers' work at 1s 6d by Mr Samuel Young's people, £7 13s 0d 106 days of labourers' work at 1s 6d by Mrs Price's people, £7 19s 0d

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		§106 do. do. @ 1/6 Mr. Price do.§ §7 19 paid§ §23 do. do. @ 1/6 Mr. Greentree do.§ §1 14 6 paid§ §8 do. do. Mr. B. Seale do.§ §12 paid§ §48 do. do. Mr. S. Knipe do.§ §3 12 paid§ §15 do. do. Lt. W. Seale do.§ §1 2 6 paid§ §16 do. do. Mr. J. Bagley do.§ §1 4 paid§ §30 do. do. Mr. W. Young do.§ §2 5 paid§ §57½ do. do. Mr. Lambe do.§ §4 6 3 paid§ §60 do. do. free Tilley do.§ §4 10 paid§ §46 do. do. Mr. Wilkinson do.§ §3 9 paid§ §30 do. do. Jacob do.§ §2 5 paid§ §12 do. do. Mr. J. Worrall do.§ §18 paid§ §12 do. Carpenter Mr. W. Young§ §[...] paid§ §30 do. Overseers do. do.§ §[...] paid§ §241 Girths Rushes Lt. Rd. Knipe§ §6 0 6 paid§ §13 Loads Binders Mr. Jno. Alexander§ §3 5 paid§ §70 Rafters Lt. W. Seale§ §3 5 paid§ §26 Cordage Company Stores§ §10 10 paid§ §38 Nails Do. Do.§ §1 1 10 paid§ §15 Bushels Beat Lime Compy.§ §2 5 paid§ §6 do. Dry do. do.§ §9 paid§ §2 Lines for the Wall§ §3 paid§ §repairing 2 Locks Calman§ §3 paid§ §4 Gallons Arrack for the people§ §1 2 paid§ §Ironmongers Bill§ §2 6 6 paid§ §57 Days Overseers Work for§ §looking After the people at§ §work in Ravine & School House§ §4 10 Paid§ §£ 98 12 11§	23 days of labourers' work at 1s 6d by Mr G. Seale's people, £1 14s 6d 8 days of labourers' work by Mr B. Seale's people, £0 12s 0d 48 days of labourers' work by Mr S. Knipe's people, £3 12s 0d 15 days of labourers' work by Lieutenant W. Seale's people, £1 2s 6d 16 days of labourers' work by Mr T. Bagley's people, £1 4s 0d 30 days of labourers' work by Mr W. Young's people, £2 5s 0d 57½ days of labourers' work by Mr C. Lambe's people, £4 6s 3d 60 days of labourers' work by free Tiller, £4 10s 0d 46 days of labourers' work by Mr Wilkinson's people, £3 9s 0d 30 days of labourers' work by Jacob, £2 5s 0d 12 days of labourers' work by Mr J. Worrall's people, £0 18s 0d 12 days of carpenter's work by Mr W. Young, £3 0s 0d 30 days of overseer's work by Mr W. Young, entered and struck out 241 girths of rushes at 12d from S. Knipe, £6 2s 6d 13 loads of binders from Mr John Alexander, £3 5s 0d 70 rafters from Lieutenant W. Seale, £5 5s 0d 2 cwt of cordage from the Company's stores, £0 10s 10d 38 lb of nails from the Company's stores, £1 1s 10d 15 bushels of beaten lime from the Company, £2 5s 0d 6 bushels of dry lime from the Company, £0 9s 0d 2 lines for the wall, £0 3s 0d Repairing 2 locks, by Calman, £0 3s 0d 4 gallons of arrack for the people, £1 2s 0d The armourer's bill, £2 6s 6d 57 days of overseer's work looking after the people at work in the town and at the schoolhouse, £4 10s 0d Total, £98 12s 11d **Interpretations** The most skilled work, the masonry and thatching, was done by named slaves hired from their owners. Mr Wrangham's Frank worked 64 days as a mason, paid at 3s 6d a day, more than twice the labourer's rate. Mr Shirtley's Domas, Jasmin and Burtenah also appear by name. Ordinary labour came from owners' gangs, entered as so many days of a planter's people at 1s 6d. A slave known by name for a trade earned his owner a skilled wage. Shirtley gave back Domas's earnings as a donation, so the planter turned his slave's work into a gift to the parish. Tiller, entered as "free Tiller", was a free black hired for 60 days of labour at the standard rate, alongside the slave gangs. Free black workers were paid directly and at the same rate as the slaves' owners received. This was the year the vestry exempted free blacks from the head tax, yet the parish still hired them for public works. The 4 gallons of arrack given out to the workforce continued the custom of a spirit ration on parish building jobs, seen again at the country church in 1796.
174	165	Blank page	
175	166	[Staining along the head and edges of the page and ink blots in the centre, partly obscuring several entries in the second quarter's account.] 1791 Parish Dr. £ s d§ §April To Cash paid Sexton Quarters Salary§ §3 15§	The parish account for 1791 recorded these payments on its debit side. April 1791, cash paid to the sexton for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d

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		§To Do. Do. for the Support of Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§ §To Do. Do. for Do. Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §To Do. Do. for Do. Mrs. Holloway§ §3 5§ §To Do. Do. for Do. Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §To Do. Do. for support & Funeral Expences§ §of Mrs. Lesson§ §4 7§ §30 June Total Expences for this Quarter§ §18 17 6§ §July To Cash pd. Sexton Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §To Do. Do. for the Support of Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§ §To Do. Do. for Do. of Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §To Do. Do. for Do. of Mrs. Holloway§ §3 5§ §To Do. Do. for Do. of Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §To Do. pd. Moyse Collecting [...] Free Blacks§ §6 9§ §To Do. pd. Funeral Expences [...]§ §2 2§ §30 Sept. Total Expences for this Quarter§ §16 9 3§ §To Cash pd. Secretary's Fees§ §3 3§ §To Do. Do. Clerk of the Peace [...] Dog Lists§ §1 1§ §To Do. Do. 1 Days work Thatching [...] Church§ §5§ §To Do. Do. 2 Days Labour [...]§ §3§ §To Do. Do. 2 Days Thatching School house§ §10§ §To Do. Do. for Rope [...]§ §1 6§ §To Do. Do. 4 Days Labour§ §6§ §To Do. Do. killing 39 Dogs§ §1 14§ §To Do. Do. the Bailiff for Attendance§ §5§ §To Do. Do. for 7 Girts Rushes, 1 Load Binders§ §8 6§ §To Do. Do. for a Table & repairing the Cushions§ §at the Country Church§ §1§ §To Cash pd. Sextons Salary 1 Quarter§ §3 15§ §To Do. pd. Support of Danl. Caldwell§ §3 5§ §To Do. pd. Do. Betty Wade§ §2 5 6§ §To Do. pd. Do. Mrs. Holloway§ §3 5§ §To Do. pd. Do. Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §To Do. pd. for 2 Dble. Deals School House§ §9 10§ §To Do. pd. Nevi Collecting Taxes§ §3§ §To Do. pd. Mrs. Newman Support§ §1 10§ §To Do. pd. Mrs. Worrall Do.§ §1 2 8§ §To Do. pd. Chas. Seale killing Dogs§ §10§ §To Do. pd. Mrs. Kenwood Support§ §2 10§ §Decr. 1791 £ 32 2 4§	Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for the support and funeral expenses of Mrs Sisson, £4 17s 0d 30 June, total expenses for the quarter, £18 17s 6d July, cash paid to the sexton for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Moyce for collecting a list of the free blacks, £0 6s 9d Cash paid for the funeral expenses of Sarah Jarrard, £2 2s 0d 30 September, total expenses for the quarter, £16 9s 3d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £3 3s 0d Cash paid to the clerk of the peace for the dog lists, £1 1s 0d Cash paid for 1 day of thatching at the country church, £0 5s 0d Cash paid for 2 days of labour on the same, £0 3s 0d Cash paid for 2 days of thatching on the schoolhouse, £0 10s 0d Cash paid for rope yarn, £0 1s 6d Cash paid for 4 days of labour, £0 6s 0d Cash paid for killing 39 dogs, £1 19s 0d Cash paid to the bailiff for his attendance, £0 5s 0d Cash paid for 7 girths of rushes and 1 load of binders, £0 8s 6d Cash paid for a table and repairing the cushions at the country church, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to the sexton for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for 2 double deals for the schoolhouse, £0 9s 10d Cash paid to Neve for collecting taxes, £3 0s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Newman, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Worrall, £1 5s 0d Cash paid to Charles Seale for killing dogs, £0 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Kinwood, £2 10s 0d December 1791, total, £32 2s 4d Carried over, £67 9s 1d **Interpretations** The parish paid to kill 39 dogs at 1s each, as well as a bailiff's attendance and later more killing by Charles Seale. In 1791 the vestry was dealing with the dogs in two ways at once: it taxed them, as the list of 213 dogs taxed in April shows, and it destroyed the strays that no one claimed or paid for. The tax made keeping a dog expensive, and the bailiff's men disposed of dogs whose owners would not pay.

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		§Carrd. Over§ §[...] 67 9 1§	Mrs Sisson's support and funeral, at £4 17s 0d, brought to an end a relief case that had begun in the 1770s. The poor stock had then paid £13 0s 0d a year for Mary Sisson's family. The free black list collected by Moyce in July was among the first steps taken under the exemption of January 1791. That list later grew into the regular registers of free blacks that the parish paid for each year.
176	167	[Heavy staining across the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the ends of several lines on the right.] At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in§ §James's Valley this 15th. Day of May 1792§ §the following Address was presented to the Board§ §We the Inhabitants of the Island St. Helena§ §in Vestry assembled return our gratefull thanks§ §to the honble. the Court of Directors for their§ §Indulgent goodness to this Island at all times§ §manifested and We also beg the governor & Council§ §will accept our thanks for their Attention to Our§ §Welfare and Interest, assuring them We will [...]§ §to promote the Wishes of our honble. Masters by§ §encouraging Industry, Religion and a strict observance§ §of the Laws and suppressing Vice, Idleness &§ §Immorality to the utmost of our Abilities.§ §In regard to the Surgeons Bills the Vestry§ §unanimously concur in a determination to pay for§ §the Paupers agreeable to the Court of Directors§ §Instructions.§ §Lieutent. Thomas Greentree Mr. Thos. Bagley and§ §Mr. Orlando Bagley were chosen by a Majority to§ §superintend the Improvement of the Island.§ §Wm. Currie Church Warden§	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 18 May 1792 and sent an address to the Board. The inhabitants of St Helena, meeting in vestry, thanked the Court of Directors for the kindness they had always shown the island. They asked the Governor and Council to accept their thanks for the attention they had given to the island's welfare and interests. The inhabitants assured the Governor and Council that they would do all they could to carry out the wishes of the Company. They would encourage industry and religion and strict obedience to the laws, and would suppress vice, idleness and immorality as far as they were able. On the surgeons' bills, the vestry agreed unanimously to pay for the paupers in line with the Court of Directors' instructions. A majority chose Lieutenant Thomas Greentree, Mr Thomas Bagley and Mr Orlando Bagley to oversee the improvement of the island. William Currie signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The surgeons' bills had been disputed since February 1791, when the vestry refused Mr Kay's bill of £35 2s 0d. In May 1792 the vestry accepted the Court of Directors' instructions, which laid down how parish paupers were to be treated and paid for. Once the Directors had ruled, the vestry did not try to reopen the question or set its own terms. Paying according to their instructions moved the decision on what treatment the parish owed from the vestry to the Company. The dispute did not end there: in 1799 the vestry was again rejecting particular items in the doctors' bills. The three men chosen to oversee improvements followed the committee of August 1791, which had examined plans for the Company's waste lands. The planters elected their own representatives to work with the Company on the development of the commons. Like the overseers of the highways and the livestock inspectors, the parish in this way took on a share in managing the island's land.
177	168	[Staining along the left-hand edge of the page and fading across the centre, obscuring parts of several entries.] 1784 Parish Dr. £ s d £ s d§ §Cash paid to Mr. Richd. Mason for drawg. 551 Sheep§ §2 5 11§ §Do. to Thomas Burnham Do. 689 Do.§ §2 17 5§ §Do. to Thomas Bagley Do. 1038 Do.§ §4 6 6§ §Do. to William Seale 551 Do.§ §2 5 11§ §Do. to the Honble. Compy. Stores for [...]§ §16§ §Do. to the Honble. Compy. for use of a Cart§ §2§ §Do. to Mr. Ailesworth Ringing the Bell for a Vestry§ §5§ §Do. to Edwd. Hayes attending Mr. Colgrave & for Do.§ §1§ §Do. to [...] a free man [...] Do.§ §2 6§	The parish account recorded the following payments on its debit side. Cash paid to Mr Richard Mason for driving 551 sheep, £2 5s 11d Cash paid to Thomas Burnham for driving 689 sheep, £2 17s 5d Cash paid to Thomas Bagley for driving 1,038 sheep, £4 6s 6d Cash paid to William Seale for driving 551 sheep, £2 5s 7d Cash paid to the Honourable Company's stores for paint, oil and other items, £0 16s 0d Cash paid to the Honourable Company for the use of a cart, £2 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr Ailesworth for ringing the bell for a vestry, £0 5s 0d Cash paid to Edward Hayes for attending Mr Colgrave for the same, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to June, a free man, for attending on the same, £0 2s 6d Cash paid for 6 months' salary for the sexton, £7 10s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Langley for repairing the church books, £4 16s 0d

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		§Do. to 6 Months Salary for the Sexton§ §7 10§ §Do. to Thos. Langley for Repairg. Church Books§ §4 16§ §Do. for Gunpowder & Stone Blowg. at [...]§ §1 8§ §Do. to the Constable for destroying Dogs§ §6§ §29 18 11§ §Expences for the Country Church§ §Cash Paid for 200 Girts of Rushes @ 6d. p Girt§ §5§ §Do. for [...] Do. & Do. to the Church§ §5 5 9§ §Do. to Mr. Colgrave & Mr. Alexander for Binders§ §2 2§ §Do. To Mr. R. Goodwin for 43 days Labourer§ §4 16§ §Do. To Mr. W. W. Doveton for 22 Do. Do.§ §2 9 6§ §Do. To Mr. Geo. Alexander for 11 Do. Do.§ §1 2§ §Do. To Mr. S. Knipe for 12 Do. Do.§ §1 4§ §Do. To Lieut. Gosling for 6 Do. Do.§ §13 6§ §Do. To Mr. Colgrave for 28 Do. Do.§ §2 16§ §Do. To Do. for 2 Do.§ §3§ §Do. To Mr. Martin Bagley as Overseer§ §3 3§ §Do. To Thos. Hands as Labourer§ §2 6§ §Do. To Messrs. R. & J. Mason for Thatching§ §2 10§ §Do. To Messrs. Jn. Goodwin & Jn. Alexander for Do.§ §2 10§ §Do. To Jacob a free Man as Do.§ §1 5§ §Do. To 60 lb. of Cordage & 2 Hambro Lines§ §1 5 10§ §Do. to Mr. [...] making 2 Frames a Seat &c. Country Church§ §17§ §Do. for a Broom and other Materials for Do.§ §7 10§ §39 16 5§ §Expences for ye School§ §Do. To Mr. James Adney for Glass Glazg. &c.§ §5 3§ §Do. To the Stores for Paint Oil Deals &c.§ §5 14 9§ §Do. To Mr. Legg for Mendg. a Door &c.§ §6 6§ §Do. To Mr. Wrangham Esqr. for Paint Oil &c.§ §4 14 6§ §Do. To the Honble. Compy. for Lime§ §5 8§ §Do. To Lee & Haynes as Labourers§ §10 6 3§ §Do. To Mr. Bird for 121 Days Do.§ §13 12 3§ §40 7 6§ §Carried Over£ 110 2 10§	Cash paid for gunpowder and stone blasting on the highway, £1 8s 0d Cash paid to the constable for destroying dogs, £0 6s 0d Total, £29 18s 11d The work on the country church cost the following. Cash paid for 200 girths of rushes at 6d a girth, £5 0s 0d Cash paid for carrying the same to the church, £5 5s 9d Cash paid to Mr Colgrave and Mr Alexander for binders, £2 2s 0d Cash paid to Mr R. Goodwin for 43 days of labourers' work, £4 16s 0d Cash paid to Mr W. W. Doveton for 22 days of labourers' work, £2 9s 6d Cash paid to Mr George Alexander for 11 days of labourers' work, £1 2s 0d Cash paid to Mr S. Knipe for 12 days of labourers' work, £1 4s 0d Cash paid to Lieutenant Garling for 6 days of labourers' work, £0 13s 6d Cash paid to Mr Colgrave for 28 days of labourers' work, £2 16s 0d Cash paid to Mr Colgrave for 2 further days of labourers' work, £0 3s 0d Cash paid to Mr Martin Bagley as overseer, £3 3s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Holland as a labourer, £2 6s 0d Cash paid to Messrs R. [...] and [...] Alexander for thatchers, £2 10s 0d Cash paid to Messrs John Goodwin and John Alexander for thatchers, £2 10s 0d Cash paid to Jack, a free man, as a thatcher, £1 5s 0d Cash paid for 60 lb of cordage and 2 Hamburg lines, £1 5s 10d Cash paid to Mr Legg for making 2 forms, a seat and carrying them to the church, £0 17s 0d Cash paid for a broom and other materials for the church, £0 7s 10d Total for the country church, £39 16s 5d The work on the school cost the following. Cash paid to Mr James Adney for glass, glazing and other items, £0 5s 3d Cash paid to the stores for paint, oil, deals and other items, £5 14s 9d Cash paid to Mr Legg for mending a door and other work, £0 6s 6d Cash paid to William Wrangham Esquire for paint, oil and other items, £4 14s 6d Cash paid to the Honourable Company for lime, £5 8s 0d Cash paid to Lee and Haynes as labourers, £10 6s 3d Cash paid to Mr Bird for 121 days of labourers' work, £13 12s 3d Total for the school, £40 7s 6d Carried over, £110 2s 10d **Interpretations** The four planters paid for driving sheep brought in 2,829 head between them, at about 1d a head. Thomas Bagley alone drove in 1,038, the largest flock in the account. Paying owners to gather their own flocks was the first step in counting and marking them for the parish charges on sheep. The size of Bagley's flock shows how far a few planters dominated the use of the commons. Hamburg lines were thin, strong cords of hemp, imported through the Baltic and German trade and used at sea for lashing and seizing. Here they tied down the thatch of the country church. Free men such as June and Jack worked beside planters' slave gangs, paid directly for attending the vestry and

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			thatching. The parish also paid for gunpowder and stone blasting on the highway, so its spending now covered roadworks as well as churches and relief.
178	169	[Staining along the left-hand and right-hand edges of the page, clear of the text.] Parish Cr. £ s d £ s§ §1783 By Cash Due from Lt. Statham§ §5 13 10§ §1785 By do. Recd. from Lt. Fras. Seale§ §42§ §By do. Recd. from the Sheep & Dog tax§ §81 17 6§ §By do. Recd. Surpluss on Sheep§ §9 12 10§ §£ 139 4 2§ §139 4 2§	The credit side of the parish account for 1783 to 1785 recorded the following receipts. 1783, cash due from Lieutenant Statham, £5 13s 10d 1785, cash received from Lieutenant Francis Seale, £42 0s 0d Cash received from the sheep and dog tax, £81 17s 6d Cash received as a surplus on sheep, £9 12s 10d Total, £139 4s 2d **Interpretations** The surplus on sheep was the amount left over once the owners had been paid for driving their flocks in. The sheep charges were collected at a fixed rate per head. The cost of rounding up and counting the animals was paid out of that, and whatever remained went into the parish account. The sheep tax therefore paid for its own administration before it added anything to the general fund, which matches the later practice of paying the inspectors 1d a head out of the same money.
179	170	[Staining along the left-hand edge of the page and at the upper left corner, partly obscuring the year.] 17[...] Parish Dr. £ s d§ §Brot. Over§ §£ 110 2 10§ §Cash Paid To Thos. Lowder as Carpenter§ §1 11§ §Do. To Mr. W. Doveton for 70 Squares of Glass§ §7 15§ §Do. To Winfield for work in the Ravine§ §1 17 6§ §Do. To Mr. Moses Young for Do.§ §1 4§ §Do. To Mr. W. Seale as Carpenter§ §1 5§ §Do. For the Front Yard Door & Door case Wood§ §10 6§ §Do. For the House Seat Door & Necessary§ §2 3§ §Do. For the Brimlocks, Screws & Putting on§ §5 6§ §Do. For 3 lb. of Flour & 2 oz. of Indigo§ §8 11§ §Do. To the Smith for a new key§ §2 3§ §Do. To Mr. Benj. Seale 30 days of a Mason§ §3 15§ §Do. To Mr. Jo. Doveton for Mak. the Dog list§ §1§ §Do. To Mr. Leech for Dirt for the use of the§ §School House and Settling the locks &c.§ §2 14§ §Do. To Mr. John Scott for Dirt for Do.§ §9§ §Do. To Mr. Wm. Doveton for Work Do.§ §13 6§ §27 13 5§ §137 16 3§ §Do. To 6 Months Salary to the Sexton§ §7 10§ §Do. To a Small looking Glass &c.§ §6 7§ §Do. To Collecting the Dog & Sheep tax§ §3§ §148 12 10§ §Do. To 10 Gallons of Arrack for the Labourers§ §2 4 2§ §Do. To G. Isacke for work done in the Ravine§ §1 2 6§	The debit side of the parish account for 1785 recorded the following payments. Brought over, £110 2s 10d Cash paid to Thomas Lowden as carpenter, £11 11s 0d Cash paid to Mr W. W. Doveton for 70 squares of glass, £1 15s 0d Cash paid to Winfield for work in the town, £1 17s 6d Cash paid to Mr Stephen Young for the same, £1 4s 0d Cash paid to W. Seale as carpenter, £1 5s 0d Cash paid for the front yard door and door case and other work, £0 10s 6d Cash paid for the house street door and masonry, £0 2s 3d Cash paid for the brickwork, lime and putting on, £0 5s 6d Cash paid for 31 lb of flour and 2 lb of indigo, £0 8s 11d Cash paid to the smith for a new key, £0 2s 3d Cash paid to Mr Benjamin Seale for 30 days of a mason, £3 15s 0d Cash paid to Mr John Doveton for making the dog list, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr Leech for dirt for the use of the schoolhouse and settling the books and other work, £2 14s 0d Cash paid to Mr John Scott for dirt for the same, £0 9s 0d Cash paid to Mr William Doveton for work on the same, £0 13s 6d Total of these payments, £27 13s 5d Running total, £137 16s 3d Cash paid to the sexton for 6 months' salary, £7 10s 0d Cash paid for a small looking glass and other items, £0 6s 7d Cash paid for collecting the dog and sheep tax, £3 0s 0d Running total, £148 12s 10d Cash paid for 10 gallons of arrack for the labourers, £2 4s 2d Cash paid to G. Trask for work done in the town, £1 2s 6d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 10s 0d Running total, £153 9s 6d Shortfall received on the dog tax, £2 8s 1d Amount owed by the poor stock to the parish, £22 2s 2d

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		§Do. To Secretarys fees§ §1 10§ §£ 153 9 6§ §Do. Recd. Short in the Dog Tax§ §2 8 1§ §Poors Stock indebted to Parish§ §22 2 2§ §£ 177 19 9§ §139 4 2§ §Paid the Ballance§ §To Messrs. Jas. Colgrave§ §and Jom. Desfountain§ §George Bird§ §38 15 7§	Total, £177 19s 9d Less receipts, £139 4s 2d Balance, £38 15s 7d George Bird recorded that he had paid the balance to Messrs James Colgrave and John Desfountain. **Interpretations** This was the year the separate poor stock ran out. It ended £22 2s 2d in debt to the general account, after its relief payments exceeded the hog fines and the small balance it had left. Instead of closing the poor stock or topping it up, the parish entered the deficit as a charge on its general account, which paid the difference. The relief of the poor was now paid in effect from the dog and sheep taxes. From the 1790s the general account paid relief directly, and the poor stock no longer stood as a separate fund. Indigo was a deep blue dye made from the leaves of the indigo plant, grown in India, the Caribbean and the Carolinas and shipped by the Company in large quantities. Mixed with flour it made a blue wash or colouring. It was probably used here with the lime for the walls of the schoolhouse, much as limewash was tinted elsewhere. The dirt bought from Leech and Scott was earth for levelling the schoolyard or bedding the floor.
180	171	Parish Cr. £ s d £ s d§ §Brot. Over§ §139 4 2§ §139 4 2§	The credit side of the parish account carried forward the total from the previous page. Brought over, £139 4s 2d
181	172	[Staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the year in the date column and the start of some entries.] 17[...] Parish Dr. £ s d £ s d§ §Cash Paid to Mr. Worrall for Draw. 629 Sheep§ §2 12 3§ §Do. Do. to Lt. Gosling for Do. 782 Do.§ §4 1 [...]§ §Do. Do. to Do. for 6 Sticks for a Bridge§ §7§ §Do. Do. for Drawing 554§ §2 7 6§ §Do. for paint and oil for Marking Said Sheep§ §7 10§ §Do. paid for a Coffin for a free woman§ §12 6§ §Do. Do. to the Sexton for making a Grave &§ §Carrying the Corps, also for 2 Single Deals§ §2 15 3§ §Paid the Woman Ayleworth the Sexton 1 & 2 Months Salary§ §15§ §Do. to Do. for Making two Surplices§ §1§ §Do. to Do. for two Table Cloths and 2 Napkins§ §10§ §Do. to Do. for thread for Do.§ §1 6§ §Do. Collecting the tax on Dogs§ §3§ §Do. Paid for the Expences of Sarah Holloway§ §Doctors Bills§ §3 5§ §For light and attendance for 24 Weeks§ §4 16§ §For a Nurse§ §1 17 6§ §For Ten Bottles of Port wine @ 4/6§ §2 5§ §For 2 lb. of Sago§ §4§ §For 24 lb. of Sugar§ §6 6§	The parish account for 1785 recorded the following payments on its debit side. Cash paid to William Worrall for driving 629 sheep, £2 12s 3d Cash paid to Lieutenant Garling for driving 982 sheep, £4 1s 10d Cash paid to Lieutenant Garling for 6 sticks for a bridge, £0 9s 0d Cash paid to Lieutenant Garling for driving 554 sheep, £2 7s 6d Cash paid for paint and oil for marking the sheep, £0 7s 10d Cash paid for planks for a coffin for a free woman, £0 12s 6d Cash paid to the sexton for making a grave and carrying the corpse, and for 2 single deals, £0 15s 3d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth, sexton, for 12 months' salary, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth for making 2 surplices, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth for 2 tablecloths and 2 napkins, £0 10s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth for thread for the same, £0 1s 6d Cash paid for collecting the tax on dogs, £3 0s 0d Cash paid for the doctors' bills in the illness of Sarah Holloway, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for her firing, light and attendance for 24 weeks, £4 16s 0d Cash paid for a nurse, £1 17s 6d Cash paid for 10 bottles of port wine at 4s 6d, £2 5s 0d Cash paid for 12 lb of sago, £0 4s 0d Cash paid for 24 lb of sugar, £0 6s 6d Cash paid for 13 fowls and cash, £1 19s 9d Cash paid for the support of Margaret Torbett, an orphan, £6 0s 0d Cash paid for the support of Frank, a free man, £1 10s 3½d Total, £53 1s 9½d The work on the country church cost the following.

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		§For 13 fowls and Cash§ §1 19 9§ §Paid for Support Mary Torbett an Orphan§ §6§ §Do. for Do. of a Free Man of Frank§ §1 10 3½§ §53 1 9½§ §Expences for the Country Church§ §Paid to Edwd. Hayes for 9 Days work @ 3/6§ §1 11 6§ §Do. to Thos. Pritchard for Mending 3 Locks§ §3§ §Do. to a Man for cutting & carrying 60 Girts of Rushes§ §3 7 6§ §Do. to Do. for Do. Do. Do. of Do.§ §3 7 6§ §Do. to Mr. Legg for Mending & Repairing a Pew§ §6 6§ §Do. to Do. for altering a Table for the Church Yard§ §10§ §Do. to Mr. Bird for 9 Days work of a Labourer§ §18§ §Do. to Mr. Ailesworth for 3 days Do.§ §6§ §Do. to Mr. Saml. Knipe 10 Do. Do.§ §1§ §Do. to Mr. William Knipe 6 Do. as Overseer 3/6§ §1 1§ §Do. to Mr. Richd. Ledgers for 22 Do. at 2/.§ §2 16§ §Do. to Do. Do. 2 Do. 1/6§ §3§ §Do. 4 12 Loads of Bamboo Binders @ 3/6§ §2 2§ §Nails in Account Thomas Hawk & Mr. Colgrave§ §6 6§ §Paid to Mr. Jn. Goodwin for 6 days work @ 5/.§ §1 10§ §Do. to Mr. Richd. Goodwin for work at Do. @ 5/. ꝑ day§ §1 9§ §Do. to Thos. Greene 3 days at 3/6 ꝑ Day§ §10 6§ §24 8§ §Carried Over§ §77 9 9½§	Cash paid to Edward Hayes for 9 days of work at 3s 6d, £1 11s 6d Cash paid to Thomas Pritchard for mending 3 locks, £0 3s 0d Cash paid to a man for cutting and carrying 60 girths of rushes, £3 7s 6d Cash paid to the same man for a further 60 girths of rushes, £3 7s 6d Cash paid to Mr Legg for mending and repairing a pew, £0 6s 6d Cash paid to Mr Legg for altering a gate for the churchyard, £0 10s 0d Cash paid to Mr Bird for 9 days of a labourer's work, £0 18s 0d Cash paid to Mr Ailesworth for 3 days of a labourer's work, £0 6s 0d Cash paid to Mr Samuel Knipe for 10 days of a labourer's work, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr William Knipe for 6 days as overseer at 3s 6d, £1 1s 0d Cash paid to Mr Colgrave for 28 days at 2s, £2 16s 0d Cash paid to Mr Colgrave for 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Cash paid for 12 loads of bamboo binders at 3s 6d, £2 2s 0d Due on account from Thomas Rhodes to Mr Colgrave, £0 6s 6d Cash paid to Mr John Goodwin for 6 days of work at 5s, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Mr Richard Goodwin for work at the same rate as Mr Colgrave, £1 9s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Greaves for 3 days at 3s 6d a day, £0 10s 6d Total for the country church, £24 8s 0d Carried over, £77 9s 9½d **Interpretations** Sarah Holloway's long illness cost the parish more than £18 0s 0d in a single year, about a third of the year's spending outside the church repairs. The parish paid for her doctors, a nurse, firing, light and attendance for 24 weeks, along with port wine, sago, sugar and fowls. Sago was a starchy meal made from the pith of sago palms in the East Indies. Boiled with milk or water, it was a standard invalid food, and with port wine and fowls it made up the kind of diet doctors then prescribed for the very sick. The parish was paying for nursing on the scale a well-off household might provide for its own. Margaret Torbett, entered as an orphan, was the Peggy Torbett who received regular support in the 1790s. In 1785 the parish paid £6 0s 0d for her keep. She remained a charge on the parish into the 1790s, the longest-running dependant after Betty Wade. Frank, a free man, was supported alongside her. Free blacks were already among the parish's regular dependants before the exemption from the head tax in 1791.
182	173	[Staining along the right-hand edge of the page, clear of the text.] 1786 Parish Cr. £ s d £ s d§ §1783 By Cash due from Lieut. Statham§ §5 13 10§ §1786 By Balance of last Years Account§ §38 15 7§ §By Fines on Hogs§ §3 10§ §By do. Recd. from the Sheep & Dog Tax§ §52 4§ §By do. Recd. Surplus on Sheep§ §20 5§ §Carried Over§ §120 4 9§ §120 4 9§	The credit side of the parish account for 1786 recorded the following receipts. 1783, cash due from Lieutenant Statham, £5 13s 10d 1786, balance of last year's account, £38 15s 7d Fines on hogs, £3 10s 0d Cash received from the sheep and dog tax, £52 0s 4d Cash received as a surplus on sheep, £20 5s 0d Carried over, £120 4s 9d **Interpretations** The sum of £5 13s 10d due from Lieutenant Statham since 1783 was carried forward in both the 1785 and 1786 accounts without being paid. Statham had been churchwarden in 1781 and 1782. A shortfall he owed from his time in office was kept on the books as a debt to the parish rather than written off.

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		Margin Notes: §[...]§	The parish relied on its former officers to settle their accounts, and this one remained open for at least three years. Fines on hogs reappear here in the general account. In the 1770s they had been paid into the poor stock. With that fund exhausted and in debt to the parish by 1785, the hog fines were now taken into the general account along with the other charges on livestock.
183	174	[Staining along the left-hand edge of the page, clear of the text.] 1785 Parish Dr. £ s d £ s d§ §Brot. Over§ §77 9 9½§ §Paid for 41 lb. of Cordage§ §15 1½§ §2 Single Deals§ §5 2§ §4 Squares of Glass 8/10§ §2 4§ §1 2 10½§ §78 12 8§ §Parish house Expences§ §Paid to Mr. Jn. Legg for Sawing a Deal§ §1 3§ §Do. to Do. for Do. a Baulk§ §1 6§ §Do. to a peice for a Lintel§ §6§ §Do. to a window with Shutters &c.§ §2 6§ §Do. to Nails and Staples for the Kitchen§ §3 6§ §Do. to 2 Days Carpenters§ §10§ §Do. to 2 Do. Stone Masons§ §7§ §Do. to Mr. John Doveton for 32 Squares of Glass§ §16§ §Do. for Putting in the Said Glass to Mr. Haynes§ §5 4§ §2 12 7§ §Expences for the School§ §Paid for 6 Bushels of Lime§ §15§ §Do. to Mr. Seale for Flooring four Rooms§ §2§ §Do. to George Elliot for 2 Desks & 6 Forms§ §4 4§ §Do. to Gabl. Isacke for making 4 Forms§ §15 6§ §Do. to a Frame for a School desk§ §7§ §Do. Flooring a Small Room§ §12 6§ §Do. Sawing for all the above occasions§ §4 6§ §To Mr. John Doveton for the Dog list§ §1§ §To Secretarys Fees§ §1 10§ §For Settling the Books and new Dog list and Collecting Sheep Tax§ §2 2§ §To Edwd. Hayes for going into the Country§ §15§ §To do. for Destroying 2 Dogs§ §2§ §To Cash pd. for 5 Double Deals, 4 Single do.§ §1 Cuphie and Nails§ §2 6 11§ §To do. pd. for 40 Days Labourers§ §4§ §To do. pd. for Stone Layers§ §14§	The debit side of the parish account for 1785 and 1786 recorded the following payments. Brought over, £77 9s 9½d Cash paid for 41 lb of cordage, £0 15s 4½d 2 single deals, £0 5s 2d Squares of glass at 8½d, £0 2s 4d Total of these 3 items, £1 2s 10½d Running total, £78 12s 8d The work on the parish house cost the following. Cash paid to Mr John Legg for sawing a deal, £0 1s 3d Cash paid to Mr John Legg for sawing a balk, £0 1s 6d Cash paid for a piece of timber for a lintel, £0 1s 6d Cash paid for a window with shutters and other fittings, £0 2s 6d Cash paid for nails and slabs for the kitchen, £0 3s 6d Cash paid for 2 days of carpenter's work, £0 10s 0d Cash paid for 2 days of stonemason's work, £0 7s 0d Cash paid to Mr John Doveton for 32 squares of glass, £0 16s 0d Cash paid to William Haynes for putting in the glass, £0 5s 4d Total for the parish house, £2 13s 7d The school cost the following. Cash paid for 6 bushels of lime, £0 15s 0d Cash paid to William Seale for flooring 4 rooms, £2 0s 0d Cash paid to George Elliot for 2 desks and 6 forms, £4 4s 0d Cash paid to Jacob Isaacs for making 4 forms, £0 15s 6d Cash paid for a frame for a school desk, £0 7s 0d Cash paid for flooring a small room, £0 12s 6d Cash paid for sawing for all the above work, £0 4s 6d Cash paid to Mr John Doveton for the dog list, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 10s 0d Cash paid for settling the books and making a new dog list and collecting the sheep tax, £2 2s 0d Cash paid to Edward Hayes for going round the country, £0 15s 0d Cash paid to Edward Hayes for destroying 2 dogs, £0 2s 0d Cash paid for 5 double deals, 4 single deals, 1 [...] and nails, £2 6s 11d Cash paid for 40 days of labourers' work, £4 0s 0d Cash paid for stone layers, £0 14s 0d Cash paid for 1 balk, 1 double deal and 12 [...], £0 19s 2d Total for the school and other work, £22 7s 7d Total, £103 13s 10d James Colgrave recorded that he had paid the balance to Messrs John Desfountain and Onesiphorus Beale. **Interpretations** In 1786 the school was fitted out properly for the first time. Four rooms were floored, a smaller room was boarded, and the parish paid for two desks, ten forms and a desk frame. The schoolhouse built in

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		§To do. pd. for 1 Baulk, 1 Double Deal & 12 Brads§ §19 2§ §22 7 7§ §Paid the Ballance to§ §Messrs. John Desfountain§ §Onesh. Beale§ §Jas. Colgrave§ §103 13 10§	1770 had been a house rented to the master, and the rules of 1779 had only required him to teach eight poor children in it. By 1786 the parish was furnishing it as a schoolroom with seating for a class.
184	175	[Staining along the right-hand edge of the page; a faint line of text below the Brought Over line has faded.] Parish Cr. £ s d £ s d§ §Brot. Over§ §120 4 9§ §120 4 9§ §[...]§ §103 13 10§ §Remaing. Balance§ §£ 16 10 11§	The credit side of the parish account ended the year with the balance struck as follows. Brought over, £120 4s 9d Less payments, £103 13s 10d Remaining balance, £16 10s 11d
185	176	[Staining along the left-hand edge and the head of the page, partly obscuring the year in the date column.] 1786 Parish Dr.§ §Cash paid Mr. Lamb for drawing§ §499 Sheep§ §2 1 7§ §Do. paid Benja. Mason Junr. for drawing§ §909 Sheep§ §3 15 9§ §Do. pd. Lieut. Fras. Seale for drawing 739 Sheep§ §3 1 7§ §Do. paid Mr. Kays Bill for curing of several§ §free Women in the Hospital of the Venereal§ §Disease, by Order of the Govr. & Council§ §26 2 6§ §Do. paid Thos. Aylesworth 6 Months Salary§ §7 10§ §Do. paid Do. for cleaning the Burial§ §Ground of Samphire§ §4 6§ §Do. paid Do. for publishing a Paper§ §concerning the Blacks fetching Wood§ §5§ §Do. paid Nanny Frank making two Surplices§ §1 1 6§ §Do. paid Mr. Jn. Doveton for drawing a List§ §of Dogs for 4 Quarters @ 5/.§ §1§ §Do. paid John Hayes for destroying 4 Dogs§ §4§ §Do. paid Greaves repairing the Country Church§ §Yard Gate & mowing the Yard§ §11§ §Do. paid for the support of Free Frank§ §3 2 3§ §Do. paid for the support of Free Jack§ §4 16 6§ §Do. paid Wilkinson for 2 Keys for the Highways§ §and a Tub for the Parish§ §9§ §Do. paid for Glazing & repairg. the Parish House§ §13 2§ §Do. paid Joseph Seager for repairing Locks &§ §Keys for the School House§ §9§ §Do. paid for the Support of Margaret Torbett§ §an Orphan Child§ §6§ §Do. paid Secretary's fees§ §1 10§ §Do. paid Thos. Aylesworth for 6 Months Salary§ §7 10§ §Do. paid Mr. Lowell 6 Months Salary§ §15§ §Do. paid Aylesworth & Yates 6 Months Salary§ §5§	The debit side of the parish account for 1786 recorded the following payments. Cash paid to Mr Lambe for driving 499 sheep, £2 1s 7d Cash paid to Benjamin Mason junior for driving 909 sheep, £3 15s 9d Cash paid to Lieutenant Francis Seale for driving 739 sheep, £3 1s 7d Cash paid on Mr Kay's bill for curing several free women in the hospital of the venereal disease, by order of the Governor and Council, £26 2s 6d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth for 6 months' salary, £7 10s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth for cleaning the burial ground of samphire, £0 4s 6d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth for publishing a notice about blacks fetching wood, £0 5s 0d Cash paid to Nanny Frank for making 2 surplices, £1 1s 6d Cash paid to Mr John Doveton for drawing up a list of dogs for 4 quarters at 5s, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to John Hayes for destroying 4 dogs, £0 4s 0d Cash paid to Greaves for repairing the country churchyard gate and mowing the yard, £0 11s 0d Cash paid for the support of Frank, a free man, £3 2s 3d Cash paid for the support of Jack, a free man, £4 16s 6d Cash paid to Wilkinson for 2 keys for the highway and a tub for the parish, £0 9s 0d Cash paid for glazing and repairing the parish house, £0 13s 2d Cash paid to Joseph Seager for repairing locks and keys for the schoolhouse, £0 9s 0d Cash paid for the support of Margaret Torbett, an orphan child, £6 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Ailesworth for 6 months' salary, £7 10s 0d Cash paid to Mr Tewell for 6 months' salary, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to Ailesworth and Yates for 6 months' salary, £5 0s 0d Cash paid for settling the books, £1 5s 0d Total, £91 12s 6d Cash due from Lieutenant Statham for several years, which the vestry agreed to write off, £5 13s 10d Total, £97 6s 4d Balance paid to Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale and Captain Thomas Bazett, £48 19s 3d Total, £146 5s 7d Samuel Desfountain signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations**

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		§Do. paid for settling the Books§ §1 5§ §91 12 6§ §To Cash Carrd. on as due from Lieut. Statham for§ §several Years, but agreed in Vestry to be wrote off§ §5 13 10§ §97 6 4§ §To Balance paid Lieut. Onesiph. Beale & Capt.§ §Thos. Bazett§ §48 19 3§ §Saml. Desfountain Church Warden§ §£ 146 5 7§	In 1786 the parish spent more on one medical bill than on anything else: Mr Kay's £26 2s 6d for curing several free black women of venereal disease, paid by order of the Governor and Council. It was more than a quarter of the year's spending. The Council made the parish pay because these women had no owners to bear the cost. Treating them in hospital also protected the garrison and the visiting crews, which made it a public-health measure the Company wanted. The order shows the Council treating free blacks as the parish's charge in sickness, years before the vestry's complaints about the cost of their care in the 1790s. The vestry agreed to write off the £5 13s 10d owed by Lieutenant Statham since 1783. After three years of carrying it forward, the parish accepted that the debt would not be paid. The notice about blacks fetching wood probably limited slaves cutting firewood on the commons, since woodland on the island was scarce and closely guarded. Samphire was a fleshy coastal plant that grew wild over the lower burial ground and had to be cleared.
186	177	[Staining along the right-hand edge of the page; the figures of the closing total are faded.] 1787 Parish Cr.§ §1783 By Cash due from Lieut. Statham§ §5 13 10§ §1787 By balance of last Years Account§ §10 17 1§ §By Cash recd. from the Sheep & Dog Tax§ §109 14 5§ §By Cash recd. Taxes on blacks at 4½ ₱ Head§ §to the amount of§ §20 3§ §£ 146 5 7§ §£ [...] 7§	The credit side of the parish account for 1787 recorded the following receipts. 1783, cash due from Lieutenant Statham, £5 13s 10d 1787, balance of last year's account, £10 17s 1d Cash received from the sheep and dog tax, £109 14s 5d Cash received from taxes on blacks at 4½d a head, £20 0s 3d Total, £146 5s 7d **Interpretations** In 1787 a tax on blacks appears in the accounts for the first time, at 4½d a head. It raised just over £20 0s 0d, so about 1,070 people were charged. The old head money had counted whole households. The new tax counted only blacks, and in practice that meant slaves. It was a small beginning beside the £109 14s 5d from sheep and dogs. By 1796 the rate had risen to 3s 6d a slave and the tax had become the parish's main revenue, a shift of the burden onto slave ownership. Statham's debt still appears on the credit side, even though the debit side of the same account wrote it off by vote of the vestry. The clerk entered the £5 13s 10d on both sides, as a receipt and as a sum written off, so the books balanced.
187	178	[Staining along the left-hand edge and the head of the page, partly obscuring the year in the date column.] Parish Dr.§ §17[...] May Cash pd. Mr. Lowell for Repairs to the School§ §Omitted the last Year§ §£ 4 1 6§ §Cash pd. John Torbet omitd. last year Do.§ §1 13 6§ §1787 July 4. To Cash pd. Mr. Kay for the Cure of one§ §White Woman & 4 Blacks§ §29 8 10§ §April 26 To Cash pd. for the Funeral of Free June§ §2 7§ §4. To Cash paid Legg for the Repair of the Burial§ §Ground§ §8 5 9§ §To Cash pd. 4 Quarters Margt. Torbet§ §6§ §To Do. paid Greaves repairg. the Country Church§ §7 6§ §To Do. Do. Ailesworth his Salary§ §15§ §To Do. Do. for the Support of Free Jack§ §2 17§	The debit side of the parish account for 1787 and 1788 recorded the following payments. May, cash paid to Mr Sewell for repairs to the school, left out of last year's account, £4 1s 6d Cash paid to John Torbett, left out of last year's account, £1 13s 6d 9 July 1787, cash paid to Mr Kay for curing one white woman and 4 blacks, £29 8s 10d 26 April, cash paid for the funeral of June, a free man, £2 7s 0d 7 April, cash paid to Legg for repairing the burial ground, £8 5s 9d Cash paid for 4 quarters' support of Margaret Torbett, £6 0s 0d Cash paid to Greaves for repairing the country church, £0 7s 6d Cash paid to Ailesworth for his salary, £15 0s 0d Cash paid for the support of Jack, a free man, £2 17s 0d Cash paid for the support of old Frank, £2 8s 0d Cash paid to Captain Bazett for repairing the school wall, £0 3s 9d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Jacks, £8 11s 0d Cash paid to Corporal Winterton for drawing up a list of the free blacks, £0 4s 6d

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		§To Do. Do. Do. Do. of Frank§ §2 8§ §To Do. Do. Capt. Bazett repg. the School wall§ §3 9§ §To Do. Do. Mrs. Jacks§ §8 11§ §To Do. Do. Corpl. Winterton drawg. a list of the Fr. Blacks§ §4 6§ §To Do. Do. the Burying old Frank§ §8§ §To Do. Do. a Coffin for Do.§ §1§ §To Do. Do. Repairing the Church Yard Gate§ §5§ §To Do. Do. for the Support of Mrs. Holloway§ §5 8§ §To Do. Do. for repairing the Walls of ye Par. House§ §5 16§ §To Do. Do. planting Trees in ye Burial Ground§ §4 6§ §To Do. paid Mr. Jn. Doveton for Drawing a§ §list of Dogs for 4 Quarters§ §1§ §To Cash pd. to the Executor of Mr. Lowell§ §10 14 6§ §To Do. pd. Mr. Robinson for drawing 705 Sheep§ §2 18 10§ §To Do. Do. Saml. Knipe for Do. 839 Do.§ §3 14 1§ §To Do. Do. Do. Wm. Seale for Do. 560 Do.§ §2 1 8§ §To Do. the Amt. of what was Due from Lt. Statham§ §which was agreed in Vestry to be Wrote off§ §5 13 10§ §To Cash Secretary's Fees§ §1 10§ §122 2 9§ §To Cash due from persons who have§ §not paid their Taxes§ §1 5 9§ §123 8 6§ §30 Apl. 1788 To Balance paid Capt. Thos. Bazett§ §14 13 3§ §Recd. the Bal. T. Bazett§ §£ 138 1 9§	Cash paid for burying old Frank, £0 8s 0d Cash paid for a coffin for old Frank, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for repairing the churchyard gate, £0 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Wiggins, £5 8s 0d Cash paid for repairing the wall of the parish house, £5 16s 0d Cash paid for planting trees in the burial ground, £0 4s 6d Cash paid to Mr John Doveton for drawing up a list of dogs for 4 quarters, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to the executors of Mr Sewell, £10 14s 6d Cash paid to Mr Robinson for driving 706 sheep, £2 18s 10d Cash paid to Lieutenant Knipe for driving 889 sheep, £3 14s 1d Cash paid to Mr William Seale for driving 500 sheep, £2 1s 8d Cash paid in respect of the sum due from Lieutenant Statham, which the vestry agreed to write off, £5 13s 10d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 10s 0d Total, £122 2s 9d Cash due from persons who have not paid their taxes, £1 5s 9d Total, £123 8s 6d 30 April 1788, balance paid to Captain Thomas Bazett, £14 13s 3d Total, £138 1s 9d Thomas Bazett signed for the balance. **Interpretations** Mr Sewell, paid £15 0s 0d for six months in the previous account, was probably the schoolmaster, earning £30 0s 0d a year from the parish. That was double the sexton's pay. He died during 1787, when the parish paid his executors £10 14s 6d, probably his salary up to his death, and settled his claim for school repairs from the year before. Under the 1779 rules a master had his house free and taught eight poor children. By the mid-1780s the parish was also paying him a salary. Corporal Winterton was paid to draw up a list of the free blacks in 1787. This is the earliest such register in these accounts, four years before the vestry exempted free blacks from the head tax. That was the same year the tax on blacks began at 4½d a head. The list let the collector separate free blacks from slaves, which suggests free blacks were already being left off the new tax before the formal exemption. Corporal Winterton later boarded Daniel Caldwell, so he was a soldier taking paid parish work. Old Frank, a free man supported since 1785, died that year, and the parish buried him.
188	179	1787 Per Contra Cr.§ §April 10th. By Cash Recd. of Captn. Saml. Desfountain§ §Balance of last Years Account§ §48 19 3§ §By Cash from Sr. Jno. McPherson§ §5§ §By Do. on Dogs§ §£ 47 3 8§ §By Do. on Sheep§ §22 14 7§ §By Do. on Blacks at 3d. ꝑ Head§ §13 9 3§ §83 7 6§ §137 6 9§ §1788 April 30th. By Cash Recd. for 3 Dogs not returned on the List§ §15§ §£ 138 1 9§	The credit side of the parish account for 1787 and 1788 recorded the following receipts. 10 April 1787, cash received from Captain Samuel Desfountain, the balance of last year's account, £48 19s 3d Cash received from Sergeant John McPherson, £5 0s 0d Cash received from the tax on dogs, £47 3s 8d Cash received from the tax on sheep, £22 14s 7d Cash received from the tax on blacks at 3d a head, £13 9s 3d Total of taxes, £83 7s 6d Total, £137 6s 9d 30 April 1788, cash received for 3 dogs not returned on the list, £0 15s 0d Total, £138 1s 9d **Interpretations** The tax on blacks was charged at 3d a head this year, below the 4½d of the year before, and raised £13 9s 3d from about 1,075 slaves. The rate was set

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			each year to fill the gap between the dog and sheep taxes and the year's spending, as the head money had been. The fee of 5s for each of three dogs left off the owners' returns shows that the dog list was checked. An owner who hid a dog paid the full tax when it was found, so understating a return saved nothing.
189	180	[Staining along the left-hand edge of the page, partly obscuring the year and some dates in the date column.] [...]88 Parish Dr.§ §March 26 To Cash pd. Wm. Hayes when Prisoner§ §£ 3§ §May 19 Do. for 6 Sqrs. Glass School house§ §6§ §22 Do. for a Stock Lock for Do.§ §4§ §July 31 Do. for repairg. School house Walls§ §2 3§ §Augt. 7 Do. for repairg. Church yard Walls§ §1 4§ §Do. pd. Goodwin for writing§ §10§ §Sept. 15 Do. pd. for the Support of Mrs. Caldwell§ §2§ §Octr. 12 Do. pd. Elisha Isacke for Peggy Torbett§ §3§ §14 Do. pd. for Support of Mrs. Caldwells§ §Children§ §1 10§ §22 Do. pd. for Cordage & Repairg. Country Church§ §8 9§ §Nov. 1 Do. repairg. Country Church Yard Gate§ §10 6§ §Do. for Stock Locks School house &c.§ §4§ §Decr. 4 Do. Maintenance Mrs. Caldwells Children§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. Mr. Kay for cure & Maintenance§ §of Caroline Lesson§ §8 8§ §Do. pd. Shaw killing Dogs§ §4§ §Do. pd. for Masons & Carpenters work§ §Country Church§ §1 16 6§ §Do. pd. Ailesworth half Years Salary§ §7 10§ §Do. pd. Hayes killing Dogs§ §2§ §Do. Maintenance Mrs. Jacks§ §5 17§ §Do. for Collecting Taxes§ §2 3§ §Do. for support & Burial of T. Wessan§ §11 11§ §1789 Jany. 5 Do. pd. Ailesworth half years Salary§ §7 10§ §Do. pd. Do. support of Mrs. Holloway§ §9 4§ §6 Do. pd. Mr. Dunn for the cure of§ §Ann Jordaine free Black§ §2 2§ §Do. pd. Mr. Dunn, Medicines & attendance§ §on Mrs. Holloway§ §3 15§ §Do. pd. Support of Mrs. Jacks§ §6 6§ §Do. pd. support of Mrs. Ringrose§ §4§ §Do. pd. for carrying Mr. Lesson Ashore§ §6§ §Do. pd. Elisha Isacke Peggy Torbet§ §1 10§ §19 Do. pd. Whaley & Beale summoning Vestry§ §10§	The debit side of the parish account for 1788 and 1789 recorded the following payments. 26 March 1788, cash paid to William Hayes while in prison, £0 3s 0d 19 May, cash paid for 6 squares of glass for the schoolhouse, £0 6s 0d 22 May, cash paid for a stock lock for the schoolhouse, £0 4s 0d 31 July, cash paid for repairing the schoolhouse wall, £0 2s 3d 7 August, cash paid for repairing the churchyard wall, £1 4s 0d Cash paid to Godding for writing, £0 10s 0d 15 September, cash paid for the support of Mrs Caldwell, £2 0s 0d 12 October, cash paid to Elisha Isaacs for Peggy Torbett, £3 0s 0d 14 October, cash paid for the support of Mrs Caldwell's children, £1 10s 0d 22 October, cash paid for cordage and repairing the country church, £0 8s 9d 1 November, cash paid for repairing the country churchyard gate, £0 10s 6d Cash paid for fitting locks to the schoolhouse and other work, £0 4s 0d 4 December, cash paid for the keep of Mrs Caldwell's children, £3 5s 0d Cash paid to Mr Kay for the treatment and keep of Caroline Lisson, £8 8s 0d Cash paid to Statham for killing dogs, £0 4s 0d Cash paid for mason's and armourer's work at the country church, £1 16s 6d Cash paid to Ailesworth for half a year's salary, £7 10s 0d Cash paid to Hayes for killing dogs, £0 2s 0d Cash paid for the keep of Mrs Jacks, £5 17s 0d Cash paid for collecting taxes, £0 2s 3d Cash paid for the support and funeral of F. Wiggins, £11 11s 0d 5 January 1789, cash paid to Ailesworth for half a year's salary, £7 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway, £9 4s 0d 6 January, cash paid to Mr Dunn for the treatment of Ann Jenkins, a free black, £2 2s 0d Cash paid to Mr Dunn for medicines and attendance on Mrs Holloway, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Jacks, £6 6s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose, £4 0s 0d Cash paid for carrying J. W. Lisson's things, £0 6s 0d 19 January, cash paid to Elisha Isaacs for Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d 3 March, cash paid to Whaley and Beale for summoning a vestry, £0 10s 0d Cash paid to Winterton for the keep of William Caldwell's children, £3 5s 0d Cash paid to George Hayes for driving 725 sheep, £3 0s 5d Cash paid to Orlando Bagley for driving 1,056 sheep, £4 8s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Greentree for driving 498 sheep, £2 1s 6d 14 April, cash paid to Mr Jacks for making a gate for the country church, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Gray, the constable, for killing 4 dogs, £0 4s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 1s 0d

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		§Mar. 3 Do. pd. Winterton for the Main. of Mrs. Caldwells Ch.§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. Geo. Hayes for drawg. 725 Sheep§ §3 5§ §Do. Do. Orlando Bagley Do. 1056 Do.§ §4 8§ §Do. Do. Thos. Greentree Do. 498 Do.§ §2 1 6§ §April 11 Do. Do. Mr. Isacke makg. a Gate Country Church§ §1 10§ §Do. Do. Gray (Constable) killing four Dogs§ §4§ §Do. Do. Secy. Fees§ §1 1§ §Do. Do. Mr. Dunn attendg. Jane a Free Woman§ §she was Sick§ §2 10§ §Do. paid Mr. Doveton drawing Dog Lists§ §1§ §Do. Do. Do. Court Expences (a Free woman)§ §2 4 6§ §Apl. 1 Do. Do. Mr. Jacks for Margt. Torbet§ §1 10§ §£ 106 18 8§ §1789 Apl. 30th. To Balance paid Lt. Broadway§ §22 7 9§ §Recd. the Balance Broadway§ §£ 129 6 5§	Cash paid to Mr Dunn for attending Jane, a free woman who was stabbed, £2 10s 0d Cash paid to Mr Doveton for drawing up the dog lists, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr Doveton for the court expenses of a free woman, £2 4s 6d 1 April, cash paid to Mr Jacks for Margaret Torbett, £1 10s 0d Total, £106 18s 8d 30 April 1789, balance paid to Lieutenant Broadway, £22 7s 9d Total, £129 6s 5d Broadway signed for the balance. **Interpretations** The surgeon Mr Dunn was paid for attending Jane, a free woman who had been stabbed. Mr Doveton was paid separately for the court costs of a free woman, probably the same case. The parish paid both for the victim's treatment and for the prosecution. A free black woman with no owner had no one else to bring the case, so the parish took on the role an owner would have filled for a slave. As with the venereal patients treated in hospital in 1786, the parish became the responsible party for free blacks in any matter needing money. The Caldwell household came onto the books in 1788. Mrs Caldwell received support, and her children were kept at first by the parish and then boarded with Corporal Winterton, entered as William Caldwell's children. Daniel Caldwell, the boy apprenticed to Thomas O'Connor in 1798, was evidently one of those children. The parish had kept him for about ten years, first with Winterton and later with Mrs Ringrose, before it found him a master.
190	181	[Staining along the right-hand edge of the page, clear of the text.] 1788 Per Contra Cr.§ §April 30 By Cash Recd. of Ones. Beale§ §Balance of last Years Acct.§ §£ 14 13 3§ §By Cash Recd. Tax on Dogs & Blacks§ §74 19 3§ §By Do. Do. on Sheep§ §18 14 11§ §By Do. Do. on Hogs§ §5§ §By Cash Recd. from Mr. Jacks§ §20 14§ §114 13 2§ §129 6 5§	The credit side of the parish account for 1788 and 1789 recorded the following receipts. 30 April 1788, cash received from Onesiphorus Beale, the balance of last year's account, £14 13s 3d Cash received from the tax on dogs and blacks, £74 19s 3d Cash received from the tax on sheep, £18 14s 11d Cash received from the tax on hogs, £0 5s 0d Cash received from Mr Jacks, £20 14s 0d Total of receipts, £114 13s 2d Total, £129 6s 5d **Interpretations** Mr Jacks paid the parish £20 14s 0d, while the debit side of the same year shows £12 3s 0d paid out for the support of Mrs Jacks. Mr Jacks was also paid by the parish to keep Peggy Torbett and to make a gate for the country church. The parish had evidently kept Mrs Jacks for a time and then recovered the cost from her husband, or from a relative able to pay. When relief was given to someone whose family could afford it, the parish expected to be repaid. The sum may also have settled other dealings between Jacks and the parish.
191	182	[Staining along the left-hand edge of the page, partly obscuring the date column at the head of the page.] Parish Dr.§ §To Cash paid Jos. Harper a Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. pd. for 4 Double Deals & sawing the same§ §& Padlocks &c. hinges for School house§ §1 15 4§ §Do. for Mason & Labourers work for Do.§ §16 7½§ §Do. pd. Hayes killing Dogs§ §6§ §Do. pd. for 31 Squares of Glass, 6 lb. whiting§ §& 1 Qt. of Linseed Oil, School house§ §19 7§	The debit side of the parish account for 1789 recorded the following payments. Cash paid to J. Harper for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for 4 double deals and sawing them, 2 stock locks and 6 pairs of hinges for the parish house, £1 15s 4d Cash paid for masons' and labourers' work on the parish house, £0 16s 7½d Cash paid to Hayes for killing dogs, £0 6s 0d Cash paid for 31 squares of glass, 6 lb of whiting and 1 quart of linseed oil for the schoolhouse, £0 19s 7d Cash paid for a padlock for the country church, £0 1s 9d

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		§Do. pd. for a Padlock, Country Church§ §1 9§ §Do. pd. Hawksley for Hinges for Do.§ §10§ §Do. pd. for the support of Mrs. Ringrose and§ §Children§ §3§ §Do. pd. for the support of Betty Wade a§ §free Black§ §1 15§ §Do. pd. for the support of Mrs. Holloway &§ §Mrs. Ailesworth§ §1 9§ §Do. pd. for the support of Danl. Caldwell an§ §Orphan§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. for the support of Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. pd. Mr. Kay for cure & Maintenance§ §of Caroline Lesson§ §6 10 6§ §Expences for the Quarter ending 30 June§ §£ 25 5 6½§ §1st. August Cash pd. R. Smith for Lining the Pall,§ §Cloth, thread, Silk &c.§ §1 18 1§ §30 Sept. Do. pd. Hayes for killing Dogs§ §7§ §Do. pd. Mr. Kay for cure & maintenance§ §of Caroline Lesson§ §6 18§ §Do. pd. Goodwin for writing a List of§ §Free Blacks§ §10§ §Do. pd. Jos. Harper a Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. pd. for the support of Mrs. Ringrose &§ §Children§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. for the support of Betty Wade a§ §free Black§ §2 5 6§ §Do. pd. for the support of Mrs. Holloway &§ §Mrs. Ailesworth§ §6 10§ §Do. pd. for the support of Danl. Caldwell an§ §Orphan§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. for the support of Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Do. pd. John Torbett repairing the Parish house§ §1 11 8§ §Expences for the Quarter ending 30 Sept.§ §£ 31 15 3§ §31st. Decr. Cash pd. Mr. Kay cure & maintenance of C. Lesson§ §6 18§ §Do. pd. Mr. Dunn Medicine on Mrs. Holloway§ §1 5§ §Do. pd. Jos. Harper a Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. pd. for the Support of Mrs. Ringrose & Children§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. for the Support of Betty Wade a free Black§ §2 5 6§ §Do. pd. for the support of Mrs. Holloway & Mrs. Ailesworth§ §6 10§ §Do. pd. for the support of Danl. Caldwell an Orphan§ §3 5§ §Do. pd. for the support of Peggy Torbett§ §1 10§ §Expences for the Quarter ending 31st. Decr. 1789§ §28 13 6§	Cash paid to Hawkesley for hinges for the country church, £0 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose and her children, £3 0s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, a free black, £1 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway and Mrs Ailesworth, £1 0s 9d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, an orphan, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Mr Kay for the treatment and keep of Caroline Lisson, £6 10s 6d Expenses for the quarter ending 30 June, £25 5s 6½d 1 August, cash paid to R. Smith for lining the pall with cloth, thread and silk, £1 18s 1d 30 September, cash paid to Hayes for killing dogs, £0 7s 0d Cash paid to Mr Kay for the expenses and keep of Caroline Lisson, £6 18s 0d Cash paid to Godding for writing a list of free blacks, £0 10s 0d Cash paid to J. Harper for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose and her children, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, a free black, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway and Mrs Ailesworth, £6 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, an orphan, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to John Torbett for repairing the parish house, £1 11s 8d Expenses for the quarter ending 30 September, £31 15s 3d 31 December, cash paid to Mr Kay for the treatment and keep of C. Lisson, £6 18s 0d Cash paid to Mr Dunn for medicine for Mrs Holloway, £1 5s 0d Cash paid to J. Harper for a quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Ringrose and her children, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Betty Wade, a free black, £2 5s 6d Cash paid for the support of Mrs Holloway and Mrs Ailesworth, £6 10s 0d Cash paid for the support of Daniel Caldwell, an orphan, £3 5s 0d Cash paid for the support of Peggy Torbett, £1 10s 0d Expenses for the quarter ending 31 December 1789, £28 13s 6d Carried over, £85 14s 3½d **Interpretations** The account calls Betty Wade "a free black". The parish kept her from 1788 until at least 1797, through her carer Elizabeth Price. She was therefore a free black woman, not a white pauper. Even so, she was paid at the same weekly rate as the white dependants, and her care was among the longest-running cases in the book. The free black Abigail was later paid a little less, at 3s 6d against 4s a week. So Betty Wade's rate in these years shows that free blacks were not always kept on a lower scale. The parish now paid all its regular dependants on the same quarterly cycle: Mrs Ringrose and her children, Betty Wade, Mrs Holloway and Mrs Ailesworth, Daniel Caldwell and Peggy Torbett. Each received the same sum each quarter. Caroline Lisson was kept by Mr Kay at about £6 18s 0d a quarter, the

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		§Carried Over§ §£ 85 14 3½§	most expensive single case. Relief had become a list of fixed pensions paid four times a year, which came to more than £20 0s 0d a quarter.
192	183	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, clear of most of the text; the first folio number is obscured by a blot.] St. Helena§ §The Poors Accounts.§ §Began in this Book in the Year 1760§ §Sundry Persons Dr. to the Poor.§ §Folio§ §William Moores Acct. Page§ §[...]§ §Francis Wrangham Junr.§ §4§ §Start of crossed out section§ §James Torbet§ §3§ §End of crossed out section§ §Orlando Bagley Junr.§ §5§ §John Jacks§ §6§ §Thomas Colgrave§ §2§ §Sarah Fenge§ §7§ §Poors Stock§ §9§ §Start of crossed out section§ §Capt. Beale§ §8§ §End of crossed out section§ §Rd. Goodwin§ §8§ §Jas. Greentree§ §3§ §R. Beale Senr.§ §7§ §Wm. Wrangham§ §8§	This page was the title of the St Helena poor's accounts, which were begun in this book in 1760. Beneath the title it indexed the people who owed money to the poor's fund, giving the folio where each account was kept. William Moore's account, folio 1 Francis Wrangham junior, folio 4 James Torbett, folio 3, struck through Orlando Bagley junior, folio 5 John Jacks, folio 6 Thomas Colgrave, folio 2 Sarah Fudge, folio 7 Poor's stock, folio 9 Captain Beale, folio 8, struck through Richard Goodwin, folio 8 James Greentree, folio 3 R. Beale senior, folio 7 William Wrangham, folio 8 **Interpretations** The book was opened in 1760 as a ledger of debtors to the poor, ten years before the earliest accounts seen so far. Its first purpose was to record the planters who had borrowed from the poor's fund, each with an account of his own. It was not a minute book. The bonds and notes of hand collected in 1770 and 1771, from Wrangham, Goodwin and others, were the same debts indexed here. Only later did the book take on the churchwardens' general accounts, the vestry minutes and the lists of officers. Names were struck through when a debt was settled, which is why James Torbett and Captain Beale were cancelled.
193	184	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring parts of the date column and the start of the first entries.] William Moore to the Poor Dr.§ §1760 March 27 To Cash for a Note of hand dated the 27th. March 1758 at§ §[...] p Cent Interest Commencing from that date§ §£ 44 14 5§ §1761 March 27 To the Interest of the above sum§ §2 4 8½§ §17[...] March 27 To Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §17[...] March 27 To Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §17[...] March 27 To Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §[...] March 27 To Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §1766 March 27 To Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §17[...] March 27 To Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §1768 March 27 To Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §£ 62 12 1§ §Isaac Knipe Dr.§ §1768 Febry. 29th. To Cash for a Note of Hand dated Febry. 29th.§ §at 5 p Cent. Interest Commencing from this day§ §30§ §1769 Febry. 29th. To Do. for the above sum§ §1 10§	The poor's ledger debited William Moore with the following. 27 March 1760, cash lent on a note of hand dated 27 March 1758, with interest at 5% from that date, £44 14s 5d 27 March 1761, interest on the above sum, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1762, interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1763, interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1764, interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1765, interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1766, interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1767, interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1768, interest, £2 4s 8½d Total, £62 12s 1d The ledger debited Isaac Knipe with the following. 29 February 1768, cash lent on a note of hand dated 29 February, with interest at 5% from that day, £30 0s 0d 28 February 1769, interest on the above sum, £1 10s 0d 29 February 1770, one year's interest, £1 10s 0d Total, £33 0s 0d **Interpretations** The poor's fund lent at 5% simple interest and let the interest pile up year after year instead of collecting it. William Moore paid nothing for eight years. The parish entered his interest each March and let the debt grow from £44 14s 5d to £62 12s 1d. It treated the fund as a long-term investment. The loans were secured on the borrower's note, and the parish was content to wait for the capital and arrears

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		§1770 Febry. 29 To Do. 1 Years Interest§ §1 10§ §£ 33§	together, often when the borrower died. Isaac Knipe's executors paid £31 10s 0d in 1771, almost the full £33 0s 0d recorded here. That shows how such debts were usually recovered from a dead man's estate. In 1800 the parish lent the Broadway orphans' money at 7%, so lending by the parish went on for at least 40 years at rising rates.
194	185	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and the money columns of the first seven entries.] 1761 Per Contra Cr.§ §March 27th. By Cash recd. for Interest§ §[...]§ §1762 March 27th. By Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §1763 March 27th. By Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §1764 March 27 By Do.§ §[...] 4 8[...]§ §1765 March 27 By Do.§ §[...] 4 8[...]§ §1766 Mar. 27 By Do.§ §[...]§ §1767 March 27 By Do.§ §2 4 8[...]§ §1768 March 27 By Do.§ §2 4 8½§ §By Do. recd. for the Principal§ §44 14 5§ §62 12 1§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1769 Feb. 29th. By Cash Recd. for Interest§ §1 10§ §1770 Feby. 29 By Do. & Principal§ §31 10§ §£ 33§	The poor's ledger credited William Moore with the following payments. 27 March 1761, cash received for interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1762, cash received for interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1763, cash received for interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1764, cash received for interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1765, cash received for interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1766, cash received for interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1767, cash received for interest, £2 4s 8½d 27 March 1768, cash received for interest, £2 4s 8½d Cash received for the principal, £44 14s 5d Total, £62 12s 1d The ledger credited Isaac Knipe with the following payments. 28 February 1769, cash received for interest, £1 10s 0d 29 February 1770, cash received for interest and principal, £31 10s 0d Total, £33 0s 0d **Interpretations** This credit page corrects what I said about the facing debit page. Moore did pay: his interest of £2 4s 8½d came in every 27 March, and he later repaid the principal of £44 14s 5d in full. The parish did not let interest build up unpaid. It ran each loan as a standing account, entering the interest due on one side and the payment on the other every year. Knipe likewise paid a year's interest and then cleared the loan in February 1770. That was the year before his executors appeared in the 1771 accounts, so the £31 10s 0d recorded then was this same repayment. These loans were steady, reliable investments, and they gave the poor's fund a regular income of 5% a year.
195	186	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring much of the date column and the start of the first entries.] Estate of Thomas Colgrave decd. to the Poor Dr.§ §17[...] Feby. 17 To Cash for a Note of hand dated the 17th. Feby. 1757 at 5§ §p Cent. Interest Commencing from the date thereof§ §29 1§ §17[...] 17 To Interest on the above sum for the year ending this day§ §1 9§ §17[...] 17 To Do.§ §1 9§ §17[...] To Do.§ §1 9§ §17[...] 17 To Do.§ §1 9§ §17[...] 17 To Do.§ §1 9§ §1766 Feby. 17 To Do.§ §1 9§ §1767 Feby. 17 To Do.§ §1 9§ §1768 Feby. 17 To Do.§ §1 9§	The poor's ledger debited the estate of the late Thomas Colgrave with the following. 17 February 1760, cash lent on a note of hand dated 17 February 1757, with interest at 5% from that date, £29 1s 0d 17 February 1761, interest on the above sum for the year ending that day, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1762, interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1763, interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1764, interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1765, interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1766, interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1767, interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1768, interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1769, interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1770, interest, £1 9s 0d 16 March 1771, interest, £1 13s 7½d Total, £45 4s 7½d The ledger debited Richard Goodwin with the following. 9 August 1766, cash lent on a note of hand, £40 0s 0d 9 August 1766, a year's interest ending that day, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1767, interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1768, interest, £2 0s 0d

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		§1769 Feb. 17 To Do.§ §1 9§ §1770 Feby. 17 To Do.§ §1 9§ §1771 Mar. 16 To Do.§ §1 13 7½§ §£ 45 4 7½§ §Richard Goodwin Dr.§ §1766 Aug. 9th. To Cash at p Note of Hand§ §£ 40§ §9th. To a years Int. ending this day§ §2§ §1767 Aug. 9 To Do. Do.§ §2§ §1768 Aug. 9 To Do. Do.§ §2§ §17[...] Aug. 9 To Do. Do.§ §2§ §1770 [...] 9 To Do. Do.§ §2§ §£ 50§	9 August 1769, interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1770, interest, £2 0s 0d Total, £50 0s 0d **Interpretations** Thomas Colgrave's loan did not end when he died. The fund simply recorded the debt against his estate and kept charging interest each year until the heirs paid. The final interest, of £1 13s 7½d, ran to March 1771. When added to the principal of £29 1s 0d it came close to the £30 13s 7½d that James Colgrave paid the churchwardens in the account for 1770 to 1771. James was probably the heir, clearing his father's old debt to the poor's fund. A loan from the parish could therefore last more than a decade and pass from father to son. The fund's capital was tied up in the planters' estates and came back as they were settled.
196	187	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the heading and the money columns of the first entries; further staining at the foot of the page.] 1761 Per Contra Cr.§ §Feby. 17th. By Cash recd. for Interest§ §1 9§ §1762 Feby. 17th. By Do.§ §1 9§ §1763 Feby. 17th. By Do.§ §1 9§ §1764 Feby. 17 By Do.§ §[...]§ §1765 Feby. 17 By Do.§ §1 9§ §1766 Feb. 17 By Do.§ §1 9§ §1767 Feby. 17 By Do.§ §1 9§ §1768 Feby. 17 By Do.§ §1 9§ §1769 Febr. 17 By Do.§ §1 9§ §1770 Feby. 17 By Do.§ §1 9§ §1771 Mar. 16 By Do. & principal§ §30 13 7½§ §£ 45 3 7½§ §Int. not paid on [...]§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1766 Augt. 9th. By Cash Recd. for Interest§ §£ 2§ §1767 Augt. 9th. By Do. Do.§ §2§ §1768 Aug. 9th. By Cash Recd. for Interest§ §2§ §1769 Augt. 9 By Do. Do.§ §2§ §1770 Augt. 9 By Do. Do. & Principal§ §42§ §£ 50§	The poor's ledger credited the estate of the late Thomas Colgrave with the following payments. Some figures for the early years cannot be read. 17 February 1761, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1762, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1763, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1764, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1765, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1766, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1767, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1768, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1769, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 17 February 1770, cash received for interest, £1 9s 0d 16 March 1771, cash received for interest and principal, £30 13s 7½d Total, £45 3s 7½d The ledger credited Richard Goodwin with the following payments. 9 August 1766, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1767, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1768, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1769, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1770, cash received for interest and principal, £42 0s 0d Total, £50 0s 0d **Interpretations** The final payment on the Colgrave account, £30 13s 7½d on 16 March 1771, is the same sum entered as received from James Colgrave in the churchwardens' account for 1770 to 1771. The heir cleared his father's debt in a single payment of principal and the last interest. Each year's interest had come in on time while the estate was being settled. Goodwin repaid in full in August 1770. The £68 recorded from him in 1771 must therefore have been a second, larger loan, so a borrower in good standing could take fresh credit from the fund as soon as the first was cleared.

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197	188	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the start of the heading, the date column and parts of the first entries.] [...] Torbet to the Poor Dr.§ §1760 [...] To Cash for a Note of hand dated 26th. Feby. 1757 at 5 p§ §Cent. Interest Commencing from the date thereof§ §20§ §1761 Feby. 26 To Interest on the above sum for the Year ending this day§ §1§ §[...] Feby. 26 To Do. for Do.§ §1§ §£ 22§ §James Greentree to the Poor Dr.§ §1762 April 12th. To Cash for a Note of Hand dated this Day at§ §five p Cent p Annum§ §£ 30§ §1763 Apl. 12 To Do. for Interest upon the above Sum§ §1 10§ §1764 Apl. 12 To Do. for Do.§ §1 10§ §£ 33§	The poor's ledger debited James Torbett with the following. 26 February 1760, cash lent on a note of hand dated 26 February 1757, with interest at 5% from that date, £20 0s 0d 26 February 1761, interest on the above sum for the year ending that day, £1 0s 0d 26 February 1762, interest for the year ending that day, £1 0s 0d Total, £22 0s 0d The ledger debited James Greentree with the following. 12 April 1762, cash lent on a note of hand dated that day, at 5% a year, £30 0s 0d 12 April 1763, interest on the above sum, £1 10s 0d 12 April 1764, interest on the above sum, £1 10s 0d Total, £33 0s 0d **Interpretations** Torbett's account closed after only two years of interest, and his name was struck through in the index at the front of the ledger. The poor's fund usually let a sound borrower keep a loan for many years, as with Colgrave and Moore. Torbett instead paid off early, and the fund relent the money straight away. Greentree borrowed £30 0s 0d in April 1762, only weeks after Torbett's account ended. The capital was meant to stay out on loan earning interest.
198	189	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and the figures of the first account.] 1761 Per Contra Cr.§ §Feby. 26th. By Cash recd. for Interest§ §1§ §1762 Feby. 26th. By Do. for Do.§ §1§ §By Cash recd. the Principal as p Note of Hand§ §20§ §£ 22§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1763 Apl. 12 By Cash Recd. for Interest§ §1 10§ §1764 Apl. 12 By Do. Recd. Principal and Interest§ §31 10§ §£ 33§	The poor's ledger credited James Torbett with the following payments. 26 February 1761, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 26 February 1762, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d Cash received for the principal on the note of hand, £20 0s 0d Total, £22 0s 0d The ledger credited James Greentree with the following payments. 12 April 1763, cash received for interest, £1 10s 0d 12 April 1764, cash received for principal and interest, £31 10s 0d Total, £33 0s 0d **Interpretations** Torbett repaid his principal of £20 0s 0d on 26 February 1762, and Greentree borrowed £30 0s 0d on 12 April 1762. The repaid money was probably lent straight out again, so the fund's capital stayed on loan and kept earning. Greentree in turn repaid in April 1764, after only two years.
199	190	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the start of the heading, most of the date column and parts of the first entries.] [...] Francis Wrangham Junr. to the Poor Dr.§ §1760 May 1 To Cash for a Note of hand dated the 1st. May 1757 at§ §5 p Cent. Interest Commencing from that date§ §18 13 11§ §[...] May 1 To Interest on the above sum for the Year ending this day§ §18 8¼§ §[...] May 1 To Do.§ §18 8¼§ §[...] 1 To Do.§ §18 8¼§ §[...] 1 To Do.§ §18 8¼§ §[...] 1 To Do.§ §18 8¼§ §1766 May 1 To Do.§ §18 8¼§	The poor's ledger debited Francis Wrangham junior with the following. 1 May 1760, cash lent on a note of hand dated 1 May 1757, with interest at 5% from that date, £18 13s 11d 1 May 1761, interest on the above sum for the year ending that day, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1762, interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1763, interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1764, interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1765, interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1766, interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1767, interest, £0 18s 8¼d Total, £25 4s 8¾d The ledger debited Lieutenant St Morris with the following. 17 August 1765, cash lent on a note of hand dated 17 August 1765, at 5%, £70 0s 0d 17 August 1766, interest on the above sum, £3 10s 0d 17 August 1767, interest on the above sum, £3 10s 0d

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		§[...] May 1 To Do.§ §18 8¼§ §£ 25 4 8¾§ §1765 Lieut. St. Morris to the Poor Dr.§ §August 17 To Cash for a Note of hand dated the 17 of August§ §1765 at 5 p Cent§ §70§ §1766 Augt. 17 To Interest on the above Sum§ §3 10§ §1767 Augt. 17 To Interest on the above Sum§ §3 10§ §1768 Septr. 17 To thirteen Months Interest§ §3 15 10§ §£ 80 15 10§ §Orlando Bagley Junr. Dr.§ §1768 Aug. 13 To Cash for a Note of Hand dated this day§ §50§ §To Interest on the above Sum for one Year§ §2 10§ §£ 52 10§	17 September 1768, 13 months' interest, £3 15s 10d Total, £80 15s 10d The ledger debited Orlando Bagley junior with the following. 13 August 1768, cash lent on a note of hand dated that day, £50 0s 0d Interest on the above sum for one year, £2 10s 0d Total, £52 10s 0d
200	191	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the heading and the money columns of the first entries; further staining at the foot of the page.] 1761 Per Contra Cr.§ §May 1st. By Cash recd. for Interest§ §18 8[...]§ §1762 May 1st. By Do.§ §18 8[...]§ §1763 May 1 By Do.§ §18 [...]§ §1764 May 1 By Do.§ §[...]§ §1765 May 1 By Do.§ §[...]§ §1766 May 1 By Do.§ §18 8[...]§ §1767 May 1 By Cash Principal & Interest§ §19 12 [...]§ §£ 25 4 8¾§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1766 Octr. 17th. By Cash for Interest§ §£ 3 10§ §1767 Aug. 17 By Cash for Interest§ §3 10§ §1768 Sep. 17 By Cash for thirteen Months Interest§ §3 15 10§ §By Principal§ §70§ §£ 80 15 10§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §Aug. 13 By Cash paid Principal & Interest (NB) the Int.§ §paid by his Request the Year before Due§ §52 10§	The poor's ledger credited Francis Wrangham junior with the following payments. Some figures for the early years are partly obscured. 1 May 1761, cash received for interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1762, cash received for interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1763, cash received for interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1764, cash received for interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1765, cash received for interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1766, cash received for interest, £0 18s 8¼d 1 May 1767, cash received for principal and interest, £19 12s [...] Total, £25 4s 8¾d The ledger credited Lieutenant St Morris with the following payments. 17 October 1766, cash received for interest, £3 10s 0d 17 August 1767, cash received for interest, £3 10s 0d 17 September 1768, cash received for 13 months' interest, £3 15s 10d Cash received for the principal, £70 0s 0d Total, £80 15s 10d The ledger credited Orlando Bagley junior with the following payment. 13 August, cash received for principal and interest, £52 10s 0d A note beside the entry explained that, at Bagley's own request, the interest was paid a year before it fell due.
201	192	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the start of the heading, most of the date column and the start of the first entries.] [...] Orlando Bagley Junr. to the Poor Dr.§ §1760 Jany. 12th. To [...] Note dated January 12th. 1760 at 5 p Cent. Interest§ §commencing from the date thereof§ §30 16 9§ §1761 Jany. 12 To Interest on the above sum for the Year Ending this day§ §1 10 10§ §[...] 12 To Do.§ §1 10 10§ §[...] 12 To Do.§ §1 10 10§	The poor's ledger debited Orlando Bagley junior with the following. 12 January 1760, cash lent on a note of hand dated 12 January 1760, with interest at 5% from that date, £30 16s 9d 12 January 1761, interest on the above sum for the year ending that day, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1762, interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1763, interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1764, interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1765, interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1766, interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1767, interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1768, interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1769, interest, £1 10s 10d 20 April 1770, interest, £1 17s 3d Total, £46 11s 6d

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		§[...] 12 To Do.§ §1 10 10§ §[...] 12 To Do.§ §1 10 10§ §[...] 12 To Do.§ §1 10 10§ §[...] 12 To Do.§ §1 10 10§ §1768 Jany. 12 To Do.§ §1 10 10§ §[...] Jany. 12 To Do.§ §1 10 10§ §1770 Apl. 20 To Do.§ §1 17 3§ §£ 46 11 6§ §Nathan Sample Dr.§ §1767 Septemr. 14 To Cash for a Note of Hand dated the 14 Septemr. 1767§ §a 5 ℘ Cent commencing from this day§ §40§ §1768 Sepr. 14 To 1 Years Interest§ §2§ §1769 Sepr. 14 To 1 do. Do.§ §2§ §1770 Sepr. 14 To do. Do.§ §2§ §£ 46§	The ledger debited Nathan Sampell with the following. 14 September 1767, cash lent on a note of hand dated 14 September, at 5% from that day, £40 0s 0d 14 September 1768, one year's interest, £2 0s 0d 14 September 1769, one year's interest, £2 0s 0d 14 September 1770, one year's interest, £2 0s 0d Total, £46 0s 0d **Interpretations** Orlando Bagley junior had two loans from the fund at the same time. One was this note of 1760 for £30 16s 9d, on which he paid interest for ten years. The other was £50 0s 0d taken in August 1768. A planter could hold more than one note with the poor's fund, provided his interest was kept up. Nathan Sampell's account, with £40 0s 0d of principal and the interest due in September 1770, lies behind the £42 0s 0d he paid the churchwardens in the account for 1770 to 1771. That sum cleared the principal and a final year's interest.
202	193	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the heading and some of the money figures.] 1761 Per Contra Cr.§ §Jany. 12th. By Cash received for Interest§ §1 10 10§ §1762 Jany. 12th. By Do.§ §1 10 10§ §1763 Jany. 12th. By Do.§ §1 10 10§ §1764 Jany. 12 By Do.§ §1 10 10§ §1765 Jany. 12th. By Do.§ §1 10 10§ §1766 Jany. 12 By Do.§ §1 10 10§ §1767 Jany. 12th. By Do.§ §1 10 10§ §1768 Jany. 12 By Do.§ §1 10 [...]§ §1769 Jany. 12 By Do.§ §1 10 [...]§ §1770 Apl. 20 By Do. & principal§ §32 14§ §£ 46 11 6§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1770 Sepr. 14th. By 2 Years Interest§ §4§ §By principal & Interest§ §£ 42§ §£ 46§	The poor's ledger credited Orlando Bagley junior with the following payments. 12 January 1761, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1762, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1763, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1764, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1765, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1766, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1767, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1768, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 12 January 1769, cash received for interest, £1 10s 10d 20 April 1770, cash received for interest and principal, £32 14s 0d Total, £46 11s 6d The ledger credited Nathan Sampell with the following payments. 14 September 1770, cash received for 2 years' interest, £4 0s 0d Cash received for principal and interest, £42 0s 0d Total, £46 0s 0d **Interpretations** The amounts that closed these accounts, Bagley's £32 14s 0d and Sampell's £42 0s 0d, are the same sums the churchwardens recorded as received in their account for 1770 to 1771. The ledger and that account report the same transactions. In 1770 the poor's fund called in most of its loans. Moore, Knipe, Colgrave, Goodwin, Bagley and Sampell all repaid in 1770 or early 1771. A recall on that scale was probably intended to raise the £730 0s 0d spent on the house recorded in the same account. That would mean the churchwardens turned the fund's loans into property, buying the schoolhouse with capital that had been earning interest from the planters.
203	194	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the start of the heading,	The poor's ledger debited John Jacks with the following.

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		most of the date column and the start of the first entries.] [...] John Jacks to the Poor Dr.§ §1760 July 17th. To Cash for a Bond dated July 17th. 1759 at 5 ℔ Cent.§ §Interest commencing from that date§ §20§ §[...] 17 To Interest to the Year ending this Day§ §1§ §[...] 17 To Do.§ §1§ §[...] 17 To Do.§ §1§ §[...] 17 To Do.§ §1§ §[...] 17 To Do.§ §1§ §[...] 17 To Do.§ §1§ §[...] 17 To Do.§ §1§ §[...] 17 To Do.§ §1§ §[...] July 17 To Do.§ §1§ §1769 July 17 To Do.§ §1§ §1770 July 17 To Do.§ §1§ §1771 March 31st. To Do.§ §12 6§ §£ 31 12 6§ §Mattw. Bazett Senr. to the Poor Dr.§ §1763 June 1. To Cash for a Note of Hand§ §43§ §1764 June 1 To Do.§ §2 3§ §1765 June 1 To Do.§ §2 3§ §£ 47 6§ §Wm. Digby Beale Dr.§ §1768 Sept. 28 To Cash for a Note of Hand§ §£ 3 10 6§	17 July 1760, cash lent on a bond dated 17 July 1759, with interest at 5% from that date, £20 0s 0d 17 July 1760, interest for the year ending that day, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1761, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1762, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1763, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1764, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1765, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1766, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1767, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1768, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1769, interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1770, interest, £1 0s 0d 31 March 1771, interest, £0 12s 6d Total, £31 12s 6d The ledger debited Matthew Bazett senior with the following. 1 June 1763, cash lent on a note of hand, £43 0s 0d 1 June 1764, interest, £2 3s 0d 1 June 1765, interest, £2 3s 0d Total, £47 6s 0d The ledger debited William Digby Beale with the following. 28 September 1768, cash lent on a note of hand, £3 10s 6d **Interpretations** The last interest on John Jacks's loan ran only to 31 March 1771. Added to the principal of £20 0s 0d, it gives £20 12s 6d, nearly the £21 12s 6d entered as received from Jacks in the churchwardens' account for 1770 to 1771. The parish was calling in every outstanding loan by the spring of 1771 and charging part-year interest to the date of repayment. William Digby Beale's note for only £3 10s 6d shows that the fund lent small sums as well as large, from about £3 to £70.
204	195	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the heading and some of the money figures.] 1760 Per Contra Cr.§ §July 17th. By Cash for Interest§ §£ 1§ §1761 July 17th. By Do.§ §1§ §1762 July 17th. By Do.§ §1§ §1763 July 17 By Do.§ §1§ §1766 July 17 By 3 Years Int. recd. from the Govr. & Council§ §3§ §1767 July 17 By Cash for Interest§ §1§ §1768 July 17 By Do.§ §1§ §1769 July 17 By Do.§ §1§ §1770 July 17 By Do.§ §1§ §1771 March 31 By Do. & principal§ §20 12 6§ §£ 31 12 6§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1765 June 1 By Cash paid to Messrs. Orlando Bagley Senr.§ §and Jonathan Doveton§ §£ 47 6§ §Per Contra Cr.§	The poor's ledger credited John Jacks with the following payments. 17 July 1760, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1761, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1762, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1763, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1766, 3 years' interest received from the Governor and Council, £3 0s 0d 17 July 1767, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1768, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1769, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 17 July 1770, cash received for interest, £1 0s 0d 31 March 1771, cash received for interest and principal, £20 12s 6d Total, £31 12s 6d The ledger credited Matthew Bazett senior with the following payment. 1 June 1765, cash paid to Messrs Orlando Bagley senior and Jonathan Doveton, £47 6s 0d The ledger credited William Digby Beale with the following. 30 April 1771, settled through the account of Henry Beale, deceased, £3 10s 6d **Interpretations** Jacks's interest for 1764, 1765 and 1766 was paid by the Governor and Council instead of by Jacks. The obvious course was to wait for Jacks to pay or to sue on his bond. Instead the Company paid the arrears directly, probably taking the sum from money it owed him for wages or goods. The Company's books and the parish's books were used together to clear private debts, which helped keep the poor's

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		§1771 Apl. 30 By Account of Henry Beale decd.§ §£ 3 10 6§	fund earning. Bazett, by contrast, repaid his principal and two years' interest straight to the churchwardens of 1765, Orlando Bagley senior and Jonathan Doveton, without going through the ledger's usual entries.
205	196	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the date column and the first entry.] Mrs. Sarah Fenge to the Poor Dr.§ §1760 March 7 To Cash lent without Interest§ §£ 12§ §Richard Beale Senr. Dr.§ §1762 July 1 To Cash lent as p Note of Hand dated this Day§ §£ 40§ §1763 July 1 To Do. for Interest§ §2§ §1764 July 1 To Do. for Interest§ §2§ §1765 July 1 To Do. for Interest§ §2§ §1766 July 1 To Do. Do.§ §2§ §July 1767 1 To Do. Do.§ §2§ §Octr. 1 To Do. for one Quarters Interest§ §10§ §50 10§ §Richd. Goodwin Dr.§ §1768 Sept. 28 To Cash lent as p Note of Hand dated this day§ §25§ §1771 [...] To Interest on the above Sum to this Day§ §2 17§ §£ 27 17§	The poor's ledger debited Mrs Sarah Fudge with the following. March 1760, cash lent without interest, £12 0s 0d The ledger debited Richard Beale senior with the following. 1 July 1762, cash lent on a note of hand dated that day, £40 0s 0d 1 July 1763, interest, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1764, interest, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1765, interest, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1766, interest, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1767, interest, £2 0s 0d 1 October 1767, one quarter's interest, £0 10s 0d Total, £50 10s 0d The ledger debited Richard Goodwin with the following. 28 September 1768, cash lent on a note of hand dated that day, £25 0s 0d 1771, interest on the above sum to the day of repayment, £2 17s 0d Total, £27 17s 0d **Interpretations** Every other loan in the ledger carried interest at 5%. The £12 0s 0d lent to Mrs Sarah Fudge carried none. The fund normally treated its capital as an investment and charged the planters a commercial rate. For a woman householder of small means it made an exception and lent the money as charity. The loan stood for eleven years until 1771, when the churchwardens recorded £12 0s 0d received on a note of hand without interest. The poor's fund thus ran two kinds of lending side by side: interest-bearing loans to the larger planters, which earned income for the poor, and interest-free help to the poorer inhabitants themselves. Richard Goodwin's second loan, of £25 0s 0d in 1768, was taken while his first note of £40 0s 0d from 1766 was still outstanding. The final interest, to the day of repayment in 1771, shows this loan being called in along with the rest. That explains the larger sum received from Goodwin in the 1770 to 1771 account.
206	197	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and some of the money figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1771 April 30th. By Cash§ §£ 12§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1763 July 1st. By Cash for Interest§ §2§ §1764 July 1st. By Cash for Interest§ §2§ §1765 July 1st. By Do. for Do.§ §2§ §1766 July 1 By Do. Recd. Do.§ §2§ §1767 July 1 By Do. Recd. Do.§ §2§	The poor's ledger credited Mrs Sarah Fudge with the following payment. 30 April 1771, cash received, £12 0s 0d The ledger credited Richard Beale senior with the following payments. 1 July 1763, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1764, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1765, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1766, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1767, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 1 October 1767, cash received for the principal on the note of hand, with one quarter's interest, £40 10s 0d Total, £50 10s 0d The ledger credited Richard Goodwin with the following payments. 28 September 1769, cash received for one year's interest, £1 5s 0d 6 January 1771, cash received for principal and interest, £26 [...] Total, £27 17s 0d

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		§Octr. 1. By Do. Recd. principal as ꝑ Note of hand, with one Qr. Interest§ §40 10§ §50 10§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1769 Sept. 28 By 1 Years Interest§ §£ 1 5§ §1771 Jany. 6 By 1 Do. & principal§ §26 [...]§ §£ 27 17§	
207	198	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the date column and the start of the first entries; further staining at the foot of the page.] Capt. Ones. Beale Dr.§ §[...] June 9 To Cash for a Note of hand dated the 9th. June 1760 at 5 ꝑ§ §Cent. Interest Commencing from that Date§ §40§ §[...] To one Years Interest on the above Sum§ §2§ §£ 42§ §Richard Goodwin Dr.§ §1761 August 9th. To Cash as ꝑ Note of Hand dated this Day§ §at five ꝑ Cent ꝑ Annum§ §£ 40§ §1762 August 9 To Do. for Interest§ §2§ §1763 August 9 To Do. for Do.§ §2§ §1764 August 9 To Do. for Do.§ §2§ §1765 Aug. To Do. for Do.§ §2§ §£ 48§ §William Wrangham Dr.§ §1764 June To Cash as ꝑ Note of hand dated this day at five ꝑ Cent§ §ꝑ Annum§ §60§ §1765 June To Do. for Interest§ §3§ §1766 [...] To Do. for Do.§ §3§ §[...] June 1 To Do. Do.§ §3§ §1768 June 1 To Do. Do.§ §3§ §[...] June 1 To Do. Do.§ §3§ §[...] 1 To Do. Do.§ §3 7 7§ §£ 78 7 7§	The poor's ledger debited Captain Onesiphorus Beale with the following. 9 June 1760, cash lent on a note of hand dated 9 June 1760, with interest at 5% from that date, £40 0s 0d One year's interest on the above sum, £2 0s 0d Total, £42 0s 0d The ledger debited Richard Goodwin with the following. 9 August 1761, cash lent on a note of hand dated that day, at 5% a year, £40 0s 0d 9 August 1762, interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1763, interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1764, interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1765, interest, £2 0s 0d Total, £48 0s 0d The ledger debited William Wrangham with the following. 1 June 1764, cash lent on a note of hand dated that day, at 5% a year, £60 0s 0d 1 June 1765, interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1766, interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1767, interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1768, interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1769, interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1770, interest, £3 7s 7d Total, £78 7s 7d
208	199	[The edges of the page are worn and partly lost along the right-hand side, clear of most of the text.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Cash Receivd. from the following Persons for head§ §Money this Year the Tax being 1/8 ꝑ Head§ §Heads £ s d§ §Samuel Alexander§ §15§ §1 5§ §John Alexander§ §20§ §1 13 4§ §George Alexander§ §12§ §1§	The credit side of the parish account began the head money roll for the year, which was charged at 1s 8d a head. Samuel Alexander, 15 heads, £1 5s 0d John Alexander, 20 heads, £1 13s 4d George Alexander, 12 heads, £1 0s 0d Margaret Alcock, 21 heads, £1 15s 0d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 13 heads, £1 1s 8d Richard Beale senior, 10 heads, £0 16s 8d Richard Beale junior, 8 heads, £0 13s 4d William Bearcroft, 2 heads, £0 3s 4d John Bagley senior, 7 heads, £0 11s 8d Richard Bagley, 31 heads, £2 11s 8d Orlando Bagley senior, 32 heads, £2 13s 4d Orlando Bagley junior, 13 heads, £1 1s 8d

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		§Margt. Alcocke§	Edward Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 8d
		§21§	Matthew Bazett, 38 heads, £3 3s 4d
		§1 15§	Henry Bazett, 25 heads, £2 1s 8d
		§Onesi. Beale's Orphs.§	George Bird, 2 heads, £0 3s 4d
		§13§	John Bazett, 6 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§1 1 8§	Thomas Bazett, 6 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Richard Beale Senr.§	William Burnham's orphans, 5 heads, £0 8s 4d
		§10§	Thomas Burnham, 6 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§16 8§	Robert Barclay, 4 heads, £0 6s 8d
		§Richard Beale Junr.§	Robert Ballard, 7 heads, £0 11s 8d
		§8§	William Beale, 12 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§13 4§	John Bagley junior, 9 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§William Bearcroft§	Ruth Colgrave, 7 heads, £0 11s 8d
		§2§	James Colgrave, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§3 4§	Joseph Chamberlain, 8 heads, £0 13s 4d
		§John Bagley Senr.§	John Doveton's orphans, 18 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§7§	Jonathan Doveton, 21 heads, £1 15s 0d
		§11 8§	Isaac Doveton, 14 heads, £1 3s 4d
		§Richard Bagley§	Samuel Desfountain, 5 heads, £0 8s 4d
		§31§	John Desfountain senior, 31 heads, £2 11s 8d
		§2 11 8§	John Desfountain junior, 9 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Orlando Bagley Senr.§	Elizabeth Desfountain, 9 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§32§	Ruth Desfountain, 4 heads, £0 6s 8d
		§2 13 4§	Henry Easthope, 2 heads, £0 3s 4d
		§Orlando Bagley Junr.§	James Easthope, 5 heads, £0 8s 4d
		§13§	Michael Frost, 1 head, £0 1s 8d
		§1 1 8§	Sarah Fudge, 6 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Edward Bagley§	Julio Fabiano, 6 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§1§	Richard Goodwin, 27 heads, £2 5s 0d
		§1 8§	John Goodwin, 10 heads, £0 16s 8d
		§Matthew Bazett§	James Greentree, 30 heads, £2 10s 0d
		§38§	Charles Gissing, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d, not paid
		§3 3 4§	Robert Garling, 1 head, £0 1s 8d
		§Henry Bazett§	James Gordy, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§25§	John Howard, 1 head, £0 1s 8d
		§2 1 8§	George Hayes, 3 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§George Bird§	William Harper, 6 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§2§	Margaret Harper, 8 heads, £0 13s 4d
		§3 4§	Carried over, 546 heads, £45 10s 0d
		§John Bazett§	
		§6§	
		§10§	
		§Thomas Bazett§	
		§6§	
		§10§	
		§Wm. Burnhams Orphs.§	
		§5§	
		§8 4§	
		§Thomas Burnham§	
		§6§	
		§10§	
		§Robert Barclay§	
		§4§	
		§6 8§	
		§Robert Ballard§	
		§7§	
		§11 8§	
		§William Beale§	
		§12§	
		§1§	
		§John Bagley Junr.§	
		§9§	
		§15§	
		§Ruth Colgrave§	
		§7§	
		§11 8§	
		§James Colgrave§	
		§3§	
		§5§	
		§Joseph Chamberlain§	
		§8§	
		§13 4§	
		§John Dovetons Orphs.§	
		§18§	
		§1 10§	

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		§Jon. Doveton§ §21§ §1 15§ §Isaac Doveton§ §14§ §1 3 4§ §Saml. Desfountain§ §5§ §8 4§ §John Desfountain Senr.§ §31§ §2 11 8§ §John Desfountain Junr.§ §9§ §15§ §Elizabeth Desfountain§ §9§ §15§ §Ruth Desfountain§ §4§ §6 8§ §Henry Easthope§ §2§ §3 4§ §James Easthope§ §5§ §8 4§ §Michl. Frost§ §1§ §1 8§ §Sarah Fenge§ §6§ §10§ §Julio Fabiano§ §6§ §10§ §Richd. Goodwin§ §27§ §2 5§ §John Goodwin§ §10§ §16 8§ §James Greentree§ §30§ §2 10§ §nt. pd. Charles Lessing§ §3§ §5§ §Robert Gosling§ §1§ §1 8§ §James Goudy§ §3§ §5§ §John Howard§ §1§ §1 8§ §George Hayes§ §3§ §5§ §Thos. Harper§ §6§ §10§ §Margt. Harper§ §8§ §13 4§ §Carrd. over§ §546 45 10§	
209	200	[The left-hand edge of the page is worn and partly lost, clear of the text.] Parish Dr.§ §To Cash Brot. over§ §88 10 9½§	The debit side of the parish account ended with the balance passed to the new churchwardens. Cash brought over, £88 10s 9½d July, cash balance paid to Solomon St Maurice and Matthew Bazett, churchwardens, £10 14s 2d Total, £99 4s 11½d

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		§July To Cash p Balle. paid to Solomon St. Maurice§ §and Matthew Bazett Church Wardens§ §10 14 2§ §£ 99 4 11½§	
210	201	Blank page	
211	202	[The upper left corner of the page is lost; heavy staining along the head of the page, obscuring most of the heading and the year in the date column.] Plate [...]§ §17[...] April 12th. To 74 oz. 1 dwt. belonging to the Church§	The church's plate was entered in the book under its own heading. 12 April, plate belonging to the church, 74 oz 1 dwt **Interpretations** The plate was the church's silver communion vessels, such as chalices, patens and flagons, and it was recorded by weight rather than by item. Silver was weighed in troy ounces and pennyweights, with 20 pennyweights to the ounce. Recording the total weight let each new pair of churchwardens check by weighing that nothing had been lost, worn away or swapped for lighter pieces when the plate passed into their hands. At 74 ounces it was probably the single most valuable movable property the parish owned. It was kept in the same book as the cash balances that changed hands each year.
212	203	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the end of the first entry and some of the money figures; further staining at the foot of the page.] Per Contra§ §1761 June 9th. By Cash received from the [...]§ §for the Principal & Interest as p Note of Hand§ §[...]§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1762 Aug. 9th. By Cash for Interest§ §£ 2§ §1763 Aug. 9 By Do. for Do.§ §2§ §1764 Aug. 9 By Do. for Do.§ §2§ §1765 Aug. 9 By Do. for Do.§ §2§ §Augt. 9 1766 (Balance pass. Cash Page 2)§ §40§ §£ 48§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1765 June 1. By Cash for Interest§ §3§ §1766 June 1 By Cash for Do.§ §3§ §1767 June 1 By Cash Do.§ §3§ §1768 June 1 By Cash for Do.§ §3§ §1769 June 1 By Cash for Do.§ §3§ §1771 July 16 By Do. & principal§ §[...]§ §£ [...]§	The poor's ledger credited Captain Onesiphorus Beale with the following payment. 9 June 1761, cash received from [...] for the principal and interest on the note of hand, £[...] The ledger credited Richard Goodwin with the following payments. 9 August 1762, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1763, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1764, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1765, cash received for interest, £2 0s 0d 9 August 1766, balance carried to a new account, £40 0s 0d Total, £48 0s 0d The ledger credited William Wrangham with the following payments. 1 June 1765, cash received for interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1766, cash received for interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1767, cash received for interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1768, cash received for interest, £3 0s 0d 1 June 1769, cash received for interest, £3 0s 0d 16 July 1771, cash received for the principal, £[...] **Interpretations** Goodwin's note of 1761 was not repaid when it fell in. Instead the principal of £40 0s 0d was carried to a new account dated 9 August 1766, which became the note recorded earlier in the ledger. The churchwardens could have called in the loan, but they chose to roll it over to a borrower who had paid his interest every year. A planter in good standing could keep the fund's money for nearly a decade, renewing the note when it expired, until the general recall of loans in 1770 and 1771.
213	204	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the start of the heading, the date column and the start of the first entries; further staining at the foot of the page.] Poors Stock Dr.§ §1760 June 9 To Cash lent Capt. Ones. Beale upon Bond§ §£ 40§ §[...] To Cash given Joshua Jason (an Infant) to support him§ §in his sickness§ §1 5§	The poor's stock account opened with these payments on its debit side. 3 June 1760, cash lent to Captain Onesiphorus Beale on bond, £40 0s 0d Cash given to Joshua Jason, an infant, to support him in his sickness, £1 5s 0d Cash paid to the marshal for crying the auction [...], £0 1s 6d Total, £41 6s 6d Carried over, £41 6s 6d **Interpretations** The marshal was paid for crying the auction, which meant announcing a public sale. On St Helena the island's marshal acted as crier, calling sales

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		§[...] To Cash paid the Marshall for Crying the Vendue [...] Acct.§ §1 6§ §£ 41 6 6§ §Carried Over£ 41 6 6§	through the town and conducting them. The poor's stock bore the charge because the sale was probably of goods belonging to the fund, perhaps the effects of a dead pauper or property taken in settlement of a debt. In its first year the fund was already doing three things at once. It lent at interest to a planter, gave relief to a sick child and sold goods to turn assets into cash.
214	205	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the ends of the first entries and some of the money figures; further staining along the foot of the page.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1760 March 27th. By the Estate of Thomas Colgrave Decd. for [...]§ §the sum of £ 29.1 at 5 p Cent. Interest Commg. [...] 1757§ §29 1§ §By James Torbet for a Note of Hand for £ 20 at 5 p Cent. Int.§ §Commencing 26 February 1757§ §20§ §By Francis Wrangham Junr. for a Note of hand for £ 18.13.11§ §at 5 p Cent Interest Commg. 1 May 1757§ §18 13 11§ §By William Moore for a Note of hand for £ 44.14.5 at 5 p Cent.§ §Interest Commencing 27 March 1758§ §44 14 5§ §By John Jacks for a Mortgage Bond for £ 20 at 5 p Cent. Intt.§ §Commencing 17 July 1759§ §20§ §By Orlando Bagley Junr. for a Bond for £ 30.16.9 at 5 p Cent.§ §Interest Commencing 12 January 1760§ §30 16 9§ §By Sarah Fenge for a Note for £ 12 without Interest§ §12§ §By Cash recd. from Messrs. Thos. Greentree & O. Beale C. W.§ §37 5 1¾§ §£ 212 11 2¾§ §By a Note of hand received from Capt. Beale dated the§ §9 June 1760 with Interest§ §40§ §April 23 By Cash recd. for a fine upon Hogs§ §2 6§ §May 4 By Cash recd. for Charity§ §10§ §25 By Cash recd. at the Sacrament on Whitsunday§ §4 14 3§ §June 1 By Cash recd. for Charity§ §13 1½§ §August 3 By Cash recd. for Do.§ §12 6§ §Septemr. 7 By Cash recd. for Do.§ §12 3§ §31 By Cash recd. for a fine upon Hogs§ §4§ §October 4 By Cash recd. on Sunday for Charity§ §18 6§ §Novemr. 2 By Cash recd. for Charity§ §14 6§ §14 By Cash recd. for a fine upon Hogs§ §7 6§ §Decr. 7 By Cash recd. for Charity§ §1 3§ §25 By Cash recd. for Offerings at the Sact.§ §5 13 6§ §1761 January 4 By Cash recd. for Charity§ §10§	The credit side of the poor's stock account began on 27 March 1760 with the fund's assets at the opening of the book. 27 March 1760, the estate of Thomas Colgrave, deceased, a note of hand for £29 1s 0d at 5%, interest from 17 February 1757, £29 1s 0d James Torbett, a note of hand for £20 0s 0d at 5%, interest from 26 February 1757, £20 0s 0d Francis Wrangham junior, a note of hand for £18 13s 11d at 5%, interest from 1 May 1757, £18 13s 11d William Moore, a note of hand for £44 14s 5d at 5%, interest from 27 March 1758, £44 14s 5d John Jacks, a mortgage bond for £20 0s 0d at 5%, interest from 17 July 1759, £20 0s 0d Orlando Bagley junior, a bond for £30 16s 9d at 5%, interest from 12 January 1760, £30 16s 9d Sarah Fudge, a note for £12 0s 0d without interest, £12 0s 0d Cash received from Messrs Thomas Greentree and O. Beale, churchwardens, £37 5s 1¾d Total, £212 11s 2¾d The receipts that followed were these. A note of hand received from Captain Beale, dated 9 June 1760, with interest, £40 0s 0d 23 April 1760, cash received for a fine on hogs, £0 2s 6d 4 May, cash received for charity, £0 10s 0d 25 May, cash received at the sacrament on Whitsunday, £4 14s 3d 1 June, cash received for charity, £0 13s 1½d 5 August, cash received for charity, £0 12s 6d 7 September, cash received for charity, £0 12s 3d Cash received for a fine on hogs, £0 4s 0d 4 October, cash received on Sunday for charity, £0 18s 6d 2 November, cash received for charity, £0 14s 6d 14 November, cash received for a fine on hogs, £0 7s 6d 7 December, cash received for charity, £1 0s 3d 25 December, cash received for offerings at the sacrament, £5 13s 6d 4 January 1761, cash received for charity, £0 10s 0d Cash received for offerings at the sacrament on the Sunday after Christmas, £2 2s 9d 1 February, cash received for charity, £0 16s 3d 7 March, cash received for charity, £1 0s 0d 13 March, cash received for a slave woman named Flora, sold at public auction, £7 6s 0d 22 March, cash received at the sacrament on Easter Sunday, £3 [...] Cash received for fines on hogs, £0 10s [...] 27 March, cash received from Francis Wrangham, William Moore, J. Torbett, Ruth Colgrave, Orlando Bagley and John Jacks for interest, as shown in their separate accounts, £8 3s 2¾d **Interpretations** In March 1761 the poor's stock sold Flora, a slave woman, at public auction for £7 6s 0d. The marshal's fee for crying the auction, entered on the facing debit page, was paid for this sale. It was not, as I suggested there, a sale of household goods. The fund evidently owned Flora outright, perhaps through a forfeited estate or a debt paid in kind. Its managers could have kept her and hired her out, as the parish later did with Betty Moore and her

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		§[...] By Cash recd. for Offerings at the Sact. the Sunday after Christmas§ §2 2 9§ §February 1 By Cash recd. for Charity§ §16 3§ §March 1 By Cash recd. for Do.§ §1§ §13 By Cash recd. for a black Wench Named (Hank) sold at Auction§ §7 6§ §Mar. 22 By Cash recd. at the Sacrament on Easter Sunday§ §3§ §[...] By Cash recd. for fines upon Hogs§ §10§ §27 By Cash recd. from Francis Wrangham, Willm. Moore, J. Torbet,§ §Ruth Colgrave, Orlando Bagley & John Jacks for§ §Interest, as will appear by their Several Accounts§ §8 3 [...]§ §Carried over£ [...]§	children. Instead they turned her into cash in the fund's first year, probably so the money could be lent at interest along with the rest of the capital. As early as 1760, the parish's charity fund held people as property and sold them to finance relief. When the book was opened the fund held more than £175 0s 0d in notes and bonds owed by planters, against only £37 5s 1¾d in cash. From the start the poor's stock was mainly a lending fund. Collections at the sacrament, Sunday charity and fines on hogs added only a few pounds a year to its income.
215	206	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and the year in the date column.] [...]761 Poors Stock Dr.§ §March 27 To Cash Brought Over§ §£ 41 6 6§ §To Bonds Notes of hands & Cash delivered Messrs.§ §Richard Bagley & James Greentree, ꝑ Balance, being§ §the Poors full Stock to this day Amount to§ §250 15 10§ §£ 292 2 4§ §St. Helena§ §Recd. the Church Books and Balance of the Accounts§ §this 21 day of April 1761 from Messrs. R. Goodwin and§ §Henry Bazett C. Wardens§ §Richd. Bagley§ §James Greentree§	The debit side of the poor's stock account for 1761 recorded the following. 27 March 1761, cash brought over, £41 6s 6d Bonds, notes of hand and cash delivered to Messrs Richard Bagley and James Greentree as the balance, being the whole of the poor's stock to that day, £250 15s 10d Total, £292 2s 4d On 21 April 1761 at St Helena, Richard Bagley and James Greentree acknowledged that they had received the church books and the balance of the accounts from Messrs R. Goodwin and Henry Bazett, churchwardens. **Interpretations** In 1761 the poor's stock was worth £250 15s 10d. That was much more than the general parish account usually held in a year, and almost all of it was out on loan. The new churchwardens signed for the bonds and notes, as well as for the cash and the books, because the papers were the fund itself. Each change of wardens was a formal handover of securities, and the incoming men became answerable for collecting the interest. That explains why the loans were entered one by one in the ledger, account by account. Over the next decade the stock was largely called in and spent, until by the 1780s it was living on its capital.
216	207	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading and the Brought Over figures.] 1761 Per Contra Cr.§ §March 27th. By Cash Brought Over§ §£ 292 2 4§	The credit side of the poor's stock account for 1761 carried forward the total from the previous page. 27 March 1761, cash brought over, £292 2s 4d
217	208	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading, the year and the start of the first entries.] [...]761 Poors Stock Dr.§ §March 28 To Cash given Joseph Long & Thomas Clew to support them§ §in their Sickness§ §6 19 8§ §To Cash given Mary Moyce in her Sickness§ §2 10§ §To Charity given to a free Child§ §1§ §To Cash for a Note of hand delivd. to the Estate of Capt. Beale decd.§ §40§ §To Cash for a Note of hand delivd. to James Torbet§ §20§	The debit side of the poor's stock account for 1761 and 1762 recorded the following. 28 March 1761, cash given to Joseph Long and Thomas Clew to support them in their sickness, £6 19s 8d Cash given to Mary Moyce in her sickness, £2 10s 0d Charity given to a free child, £1 0s 0d A note of hand returned to the estate of Captain Beale on repayment, £40 0s 0d A note of hand returned to James Torbett on repayment, £20 0s 0d Cash lent to Mr R. Goodwin on bond with interest, £40 0s 0d Cash lent to Mr James Greentree on bond with interest, £30 0s 0d Total, £140 9s 8d

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		§To Cash lent Mr. R. Goodwin upon Bond with Interest§ §40§ §To Do. Do. Mr. James Greentree Do. Do.§ §30§ §140 9 8§ §1762 April 12th. To Bonds & Notes of hands delivd. Messrs. M. Bazett & Saml.§ §Alexander Church Wardens§ §225 6 1§ §To Cash delivd. the above said Church Wardens§ §Being the Balance of the Poors Account§ §56 10 4¾§ §£ 422 6 1¾§ §Saml. Alexander§ §M. Bazett§	12 April 1762, bonds and notes of hand delivered to Messrs M. Bazett and Samuel Alexander, churchwardens, £225 6s 1d Cash delivered to the same churchwardens, being the balance of the poor's account, £56 10s 4¾d Total, £422 6s 1¾d Samuel Alexander and M. Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** When a borrower repaid, the churchwardens gave him back his note of hand and entered its value on the debit side, as if it were a payment. The returned note served as his receipt and released him from the debt, and the cash he paid was entered on the credit side. The money repaid by Beale's estate and by Torbett was lent out again almost at once, to Goodwin and Greentree, so the stock lost no interest between loans. By April 1762 it had grown to £281 16s 5¾d. Most of that was still in bonds and notes, with the fund's relief to the sick and to a free child paid from the interest.
218	209	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring part of the heading and some of the money figures in the upper half.] 1761 Per Contra Cr.§ §March 28th. By Bonds and Notes of hands received from§ §Messrs. Richard Goodwin & Henry Bazett C. Wardens§ §£ 215 6 1§ §By Cash received from Do.§ §35 9 9§ §£ 250 15 10§ §1762 March 27th. By Cash recd. on Charity Sundays for the Year endg. this day§ §9 5 [...]§ §By Cash recd. for fines upon Hogs§ §[...]§ §By Cash recd. on Sacrament Days§ §24 14 [...]§ §By Cash recd. from Wm. Hays for a fine§ §1 2 6§ §By Cash recd. from Wm. Moore, James Torbet, Ruth Colgrave, Francis§ §Wrangham, John Jacks, Orlando Bagley & Ca. Beale, for§ §Interest, as will appear by their Several Accounts§ §10 3 2¾§ §By Cash recd. from the Estate of Capt. Beale decd. for a Note of hand§ §40§ §By Do. recd. from James Torbet for Do.§ §20§ §By a Note of hand recd. from Richd. Goodwin§ §40§ §By a Do. Do. James Greentree§ §30§ §£ 422 6 1¾§	The credit side of the poor's stock account for 1761 and 1762 recorded the following. 28 March 1761, bonds and notes of hand received from Messrs Richard Goodwin and Henry Bazett, churchwardens, £215 6s 1d Cash received from the same, £35 9s 9d Total, £250 15s 10d 27 March 1762, cash received on charity Sundays for the year ending that day, £9 3s [...] Cash received for fines on hogs, £[...] Cash received on sacrament days, £[...] 14s [...] Cash received from William Hayes for a fine, £1 2s 6d Cash received from William Moore, James Torbett, Ruth Colgrave, Francis Wrangham, John Jacks, Orlando Bagley and Captain Beale for interest, as shown in their separate accounts, £10 3s 2¾d Cash received from the estate of Captain Beale, deceased, for a note of hand, £40 0s 0d Cash received from James Torbett for a note of hand, £20 0s 0d A note of hand received from Richard Goodwin, £40 0s 0d A note of hand received from James Greentree, £30 0s 0d Total, £422 6s 1¾d
219	210	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the start of the heading, most of the date column and the start of the first entries.] [...] Poors Stock Dr.§ §[...] 1 To Cash lent Mr. Richard Beale Senr. as p his§ §Note of Hand§ §£ 40§ §[...] To Cash given to Mary Newland to support her in§ §her Lying in, paying the Midwife, & for a Coffin§ §for her Child§ §1 12§ §[...] 4 To Cash paid Mr. Barclay for subsisting William§	The debit side of the poor's stock account for 1762 and 1763 recorded the following. 1 July 1762, cash lent to Mr Richard Beale senior on his note of hand, £40 0s 0d Cash given to Mary Newland to support her during her lying-in, to pay the midwife and for a coffin for her child, £1 12s 0d 4 April, cash paid to Mr Barclay for keeping William Oakman from 22 November to 4 April, 133 days at 7d a day, while he was sick, £3 17s 7d 1 June 1763, cash lent to Matthew Bazett senior on his note of hand, £43 0s 0d Total, £88 9s 7d

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		§Oakman from the 22 November, to 4th. April being§ §133 Days at 7 p Day, the time of his being Sick§ §3 17 7§ §June [...] To Cash lent Matthew Bazett Senr. as p his Note§ §of Hand§ §43§ §88 9 7§ §To Bonds and Notes of Hand delivered Messieurs§ §William Wrangham, and William Young Church§ §Wardens§ §308 6 1§ §To Cash paid the abovesaid Church Wardens the§ §Balance of this Account§ §3 9¾§ §£ 396 19 5¾§ §Willm. Wrangham§	Bonds and notes of hand delivered to Messrs William Wrangham and William Young, churchwardens, £308 6s 1d Cash paid to the same churchwardens as the balance of this account, £0 3s 9¾d Total, £396 19s 5¾d William Wrangham signed the account. **Interpretations** By 1763 the poor's stock held £308 6s 1d in bonds and notes and passed on less than 4s in cash. The churchwardens lent out almost every pound the moment it came in. That left only the year's interest and collections to meet relief as it arose. The relief itself was arranged at fixed costs. William Oakman was boarded with Mr Barclay at 7d a day throughout his illness, an early instance of the parish paying a householder to keep a sick pauper. It used the same method thirty years later with Betty Wade and Daniel Caldwell.
220	211	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the ends of the opening entries and some of the money figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §1762 April 12th. By Bonds, Notes of Hand &c. received from§ §Messieurs Richard Bagley & James Greentree§ §Church Wardens§ §225 6 1§ §By Cash received from Do.§ §56 10 4¾§ §281 16 5¾§ §24th. By Cash received for a Fine upon Hogs§ §[...]§ §26 By Do. for Do.§ §10§ §30 By Do. for Do.§ §[...]§ §May 2 By Do. received for Charity§ §1 10 [...]§ §30 By Do. received at the Communion§ §3 10§ §June 6 By Do. for Charity§ §15 3§ §July 4 By Do. for Do.§ §11§ §7 By Do. for a Fine upon Hogs§ §2 6§ §August 1st. By Do. for Charity§ §15 3§ §Sept. 5 By Do. for Do.§ §10 3§ §Oct. 3 By Do. for Do.§ §10 1½§ §Novr. 7th. By Do. for Do.§ §10 3§ §Decr. 5th. By Do. for Do.§ §11 3§ §26 By Do. received at the Communion§ §3 4 3½§ §1763 Jany. 2 By Do. received for Charity§ §10 9§ §April 3 By Do. received at the Communion§ §6 17 6§ §4th. By Do. received from Richard Goodwin, John Jacks,§ §William Moore, Thomas Colgrave, Captn. Orlando Bagley§ §and Francis Wrangham for Interest as will§ §appear by their several Accounts§ §9 3 2¾§ §By Richard Beales Note of Hand§ §40§ §June 1st. By Matthew Bazetts Do.§ §43§ §£ 396 19 5¾§	The credit side of the poor's stock account for 1762 and 1763 recorded the following. 12 April 1762, bonds and notes of hand received from Messrs Richard Bagley and James Greentree, churchwardens, £225 6s 1d Cash received from the same, £56 10s 4¾d Total, £281 16s 5¾d 24 April, cash received for a fine on hogs, £[...] 26 April, cash received for a fine on hogs, £[...] 30 April, cash received for a fine on hogs, £[...] 2 May, cash received for charity, £[...] 30 May, cash received at the communion, £[...] 6 June, cash received for charity, £0 15s 3d 4 July, cash received for charity, £0 11s 0d 7 July, cash received for a fine on hogs, £0 2s 6d 1 August, cash received for charity, £0 15s 3d 5 September, cash received for charity, £0 10s 3d 3 October, cash received for charity, £0 10s 1½d 7 November, cash received for charity, £0 10s 3d 5 December, cash received for charity, £0 11s 3d 26 December, cash received at the communion, £3 4s 3½d 2 January 1763, cash received for charity, £0 10s 9d 3 April, cash received at the communion, £6 17s 6d 4 April, cash received from Richard Goodwin, John Jacks, William Moore, Thomas Colgrave, Captain Orlando Bagley and Francis Wrangham for interest, as shown in their separate accounts, £9 3s 2¾d Richard Beale's note of hand, £40 0s 0d 1 June, Matthew Bazett's note of hand, £43 0s 0d Total, £396 19s 5¾d

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221	212	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the start of the heading, the date column and the start of the first entries.] [...] Poors Stock Dr.§ §Jany. 4 To Cash pd. Mr. Barclay for the Subsistance of William§ §Oakman in the Hospital from the 4th. April 1763 to§ §the 4th. Jany. 1764 the Day he Died at 7d. p Day§ §8 5§ §To do. pd. J. Robinson for a Coffin for do.§ §1§ §To do. pd. in part for Necessarys for Peter Eglestone while§ §confined in Prison under Sentance of Death§ §2 3 3¾§ §To do. pd. Mattw. Bazett for a Piece of Chints for Eliz. Willoughby§ §13§ §To do. pd. for Necessarys for John Hayes and Henry§ §Beale they being Sick and unable to procure their§ §Subsistance§ §10 1§ §June 1st. To Willm. Wranghams Note of Hand§ §60§ §72 6 9¾§ §To Bonds and Notes of Hand delivered Messrs. John§ §Desfountain and Fran. Wrangham Church Wardens§ §338 6 1§ §To Cash pd. the above Church Wardens the Balance§ §of this Account§ §1 7 11¾§ §£ 412 0 10½§ §John Desfountain§	The debit side of the poor's stock account for 1763 and 1764 recorded the following. 4 January 1764, cash paid to Mr Barclay for the keep of William Oakman in the hospital from 4 April 1763 to 4 January 1764, the day he died, at 7d a day, £8 0s 5d Cash paid to J. Robinson for a coffin for William Oakman, £1 0s 0d Cash paid in part for necessities for Peter Eglestone while he was held in prison under sentence of death, £2 3s 3¾d Cash paid to Matthew Bazett for a piece of chintz for Elizabeth Willoughby, £0 13s 0d Cash paid for necessities for John Hayes and Henry Beale, who were sick and unable to earn their keep, £0 10s 1d 1 June, William Wrangham's note of hand, £60 0s 0d Total, £72 6s 9¾d Bonds and notes of hand delivered to Messrs John Desfountain and Francis Wrangham, churchwardens, £338 6s 1d Cash paid to the same churchwardens as the balance of this account, £1 7s 11¾d Total, £412 0s 10½d John Desfountain signed the account. **Interpretations** William Oakman, boarded with Mr Barclay at 7d a day during his first illness, was kept in the hospital at the same rate for nine months until he died in January 1764. The poor's fund then paid for his coffin. A single pauper's last illness cost the fund more than £12 0s 0d in all, far more than its usual relief payments. Peter Eglestone, a prisoner under sentence of death, was given necessities from the same fund. Condemned prisoners in the island's gaol depended on charity for anything beyond bare rations. Decades later the parish paid the gaoler for condemned slaves' keep, but here the help went to a white prisoner, and only in part.
222	213	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the ends of the opening entries and some of the money figures.] 1763 Per Contra Cr.§ §April 12 By Bonds and Notes of Hand Recd. from Messrs.§ §Matthew Bazett and Samuel Alexander Church§ §Wardens amounting to§ §308 6 1§ §By Cash Recd. from Do.§ §[...]§ §308 [...]§ §10th. By Cash Recd. at the Communion§ §6 16 9§ §May 1 By Do. Recd. Charity§ §11§ §22 By Do. Recd. at the Communion§ §5 2 6§ §June 5 By Do. Recd. Charity§ §14 6§ §July 3 By Do. Recd. Do.§ §13 1½§ §Augt. 7 By Do. Recd. Do.§ §10§ §Sept. 4 By Do. Recd. Do.§ §2 12 [...]§ §20 By Do. Recd. for Fines upon Hogs§ §1 15§ §Octr. 2 By Do. Recd. Charity§ §1 1§ §Novr. 6 By Do. Recd. Do.§ §10§ §Decr. 4 By Do. Recd. Do.§ §13§	The credit side of the poor's stock account for 1763 and 1764 recorded the following. 12 April 1763, bonds and notes of hand received from Messrs Matthew Bazett and Samuel Alexander, churchwardens, £308 6s 1d Cash received from the same, £0 3s 9¾d Total, £308 9s 10¾d 10 April, cash received at the communion, £6 16s 9d 1 May, cash received for charity, £0 11s 0d 22 May, cash received at the communion, £5 2s 6d 5 June, cash received for charity, £0 14s 6d 3 July, cash received for charity, £0 13s 1½d 7 August, cash received for charity, £0 10s 0d 4 September, cash received for charity, £2 12s 4½d 20 September, cash received for fines on hogs, £1 15s 0d 2 October, cash received for charity, £1 1s 0d 6 November, cash received for charity, £0 10s 0d 4 December, cash received for charity, £0 13s 0d 25 December, cash received at the communion, £3 12s 9d 1 January 1764, cash received at the communion, £3 11s 6d 5 February, cash received for charity, £0 5s 0d March, cash received for charity, £0 15s 3d April, cash received at the communion, £7 4s 0d 22 April, cash received from Richard Goodwin, John Jacks, James Greentree, William Moore, Thomas Colgrave's estate, Captain Orlando Bagley and Francis Wrangham for interest, as shown in their separate accounts, £12 3s 2¾d

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		§25 By Do. Recd. at the Communion§ §3 12 9§ §1764 Jany. 1 By Do. Recd. at Do.§ §3 11 6§ §Feby. 5 By Do. Recd. Charity§ §5§ §Mar. By Do. Recd. Charity§ §15 3§ §Apl. 22 By Do. Recd. at the Communion§ §7 4§ §By Do. Recd. from Richd. Goodwin, John Jacks, James§ §Greentree, Willm. Moore, Thomas Colgraves Orps.,§ §Orlando Bagley and Fran. Wrangham for Interest§ §as will appear by their several Accounts§ §12 3 2¼§ §By Willm. Wranghams Note of Hand§ §60§ §£ 412 [...] 10½§	William Wrangham's note of hand, £60 0s 0d Total, £412 0s 10½d
223	214	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, partly obscuring the heading, the year and the start of the first entries.] 17[...] Poors Stock Dr.§ §To Cash given Mrs. Jacks for the use of her Children§ §£ 1 16 3§ §To Cash given Mr. Watts for the use of his Family consider.§ §on his Wifes long Illness§ §2§ §To Cash given John Hayes for the use of his Family§ §1§ §To Cash paid to Messrs. Orlando Bagley Senr. and§ §Jonathan Doveton Church Wardens§ §49 6§ §By Bonds and Notes of Hand delivered to Messrs.§ §Jonathan Doveton & Orlando Bagley Senr.§ §Church Wardens§ §295 6 1§ §By Cash paid the above Church Wardens§ §21 2 11§ §£ 370 11 3§ §Jonan. Doveton§ §Orlando Bagley§	The debit side of the poor's stock account for 1765 recorded the following. Cash given to Mrs Jacks for the use of her children, £1 16s 3d Cash given to Mr Watts for the use of his family, in view of his wife's long illness, £2 0s 0d Cash given to John Hayes for the use of his family, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Messrs Orlando Bagley senior and Jonathan Doveton, churchwardens, £49 6s 0d Bonds and notes of hand delivered to Messrs Jonathan Doveton and Orlando Bagley senior, churchwardens, £295 6s 1d Cash paid to the same churchwardens, £21 2s 11d Total, £370 11s 3d Jonathan Doveton and Orlando Bagley signed the account. **Interpretations** The poor's stock gave Mr Watts £2 0s 0d because his wife's long illness was straining the household. He was still a householder and not yet a pauper. Help given early to keep a family afloat cost the fund much less than supporting it once it had collapsed. The Watts household did not recover. In the 1770s the parish paid the widow's rent and house costs, compensated her for an executed slave and buried her, and Thomas Watts's orphans were excused their head money. The relief given in 1765 was the first sign of that decline.
224	215	[Heavy staining at the upper right of the page and along the right-hand edge, obscuring the ends of the first two entries and some of their figures.] Per Contra Cr.§ §By Bonds & Notes of Hands recd. from Messrs. William§ §Wrangham & William Young Church Wardens§ §amounting to§ §295 6 1§ §By Cash received from Mr. Matthew Bazett as p Note§ §of Hand and Interest§ §47 6§ §By Cash recd. for Charity§ §16§ §By Do. from Mr. Barclay§ §4§ §By Do. from Mr. Thackeray for Communion§ §14 14 7½§ §By Do. from Messrs. Richd. Beale Senr., Richd. Goodwin§ §Orlando Bagley Junr., Thoms. Colgraves Orps., Willm.§ §Wrangham for Interest as will appear by their several§	The credit side of the poor's stock account for 1765 recorded the following. Bonds and notes of hand received from Messrs William Wrangham and William Young, churchwardens, £29[...] 6s 1d Cash received from Mr Matthew Bazett on his note of hand and interest, £4[...] 6s 0d Cash received for charity, £0 16s 0d Cash received from Mr Barclay, £0 4s 0d Cash received from Mr Thackeray for the communion, £14 14s 7½d Cash received from Messrs Richard Beale senior, Richard Goodwin, Orlando Bagley junior, Thomas Colgrave's orphans and William Wrangham for interest, as shown in their separate accounts, £12 4s 6½d Total, £370 11s 3d **Interpretations** In earlier years the churchwardens entered each communion collection separately by date. This year the whole year's communion money, £14 14s 7½d, came in as a single sum from Mr Thackeray. He was probably the chaplain, who now held the alms from each celebration and accounted for them once a year. That moved the collections from the wardens'

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§accounts§ §12 4 6½§ §£ 370 11 3§	keeping to the clergyman's. It also explains why the communion receipts in the later poor's accounts sometimes appear as a single payment from the minister, as with the Reverend Mr Wilson's £60 0s 0d in 1787.
225	216	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, obscuring the start of the heading, the date column and the start of most of the first entries.] [...] Poors Stock Dr.§ §[...] To 3 Bags of Rice Weight for Mrs. Hayes§ §£ 18§ §[...] To Cash given out of the Charity towards the purchase of a Bl. Girl§ §1 5§ §[...] To Do. given to Mrs. Fenge in her Sickness§ §3 4§ §1767 [...] To Do. given Isbell Clough at Sundry times in her illness§ §5§ §[...] To Do. given Mrs. Fenge§ §16§ §[...] To Do. given Mrs. Hayes during her illness§ §5§ §To a Note of Hand delivered the Exectrs. of F. Wrangham decd.§ §18 13 11§ §To Cash pd. for Cloathing William Clough§ §1 19 9§ §To Cash pd. for Do. Henry Beale§ §4 11 4§ §41 8§ §To Bonds and Notes of hands Delivered Messrs. James§ §Greentree and Richard Bagley Church Wardens§ §346 12 2§ §To Cash paid to Do. Do.§ §52 6 11§ §£ 440 7 1§ §James Greentree§ §Richd. Bagley§	The debit side of the poor's stock account for 1766 and 1767 recorded the following. July 1766, 3 bags of rice bought for Mrs Hayes, £0 18s 0d October, cash given from the charity towards the purchase of a black girl, £1 5s 0d 28 October, cash given to Mrs Fudge in her sickness, £3 4s 0d 1767, cash given to Isabel Clough at various times during her illness, £5 0s 0d 1 January, cash given to Mrs Fudge, £0 16s 0d Cash given to Mrs Hayes during her illness, £5 0s 0d A note of hand delivered to the executors of F. Wrangham, deceased, £18 13s 11d Cash paid for clothing William Clough, £1 19s 9d Cash paid for clothing Henry Beale, £4 11s 4d Total, £41 8s 0d Bonds and notes of hand delivered to Messrs James Greentree and Richard Bagley, churchwardens, £346 12s 2d Cash paid to the same churchwardens, £52 6s 11d Total, £440 7s 1d James Greentree and Richard Bagley signed the account. **Interpretations** In 1766 the poor's stock put £1 5s 0d towards the purchase of a black girl. The usual way of helping a poor household was to give it money or food, as the fund did for Mrs Hayes with rice and cash. Here it paid part of the price of a slave instead, so that the household would have labour to support itself. The same thinking lay behind the £10 0s 0d given to Mrs Jenkins in 1787 to buy a female slave. On St Helena, owning a slave counted as a means of independence that charity could reasonably help a poor family obtain.
226	217	[Heavy staining across the head of the page, with a large blot at the upper centre, and staining along the right-hand edge and the foot. These obscure part of the heading, some figures in the Brought over line and the Carried over line.] Per Con[...]§ §[...] April 4§ §Heads, £, s, Heads, £, s, d§ §Brought over: Heads 242, £ [...], s 2, Heads 180, £ 10, s 6, d 3§ §Thos. Colgraves Orps.: Heads 12, £ 0, s 12, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §Joseph Chamberlain: Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §John Dovetons Orps.: Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, Heads 8, £ 0, s 9, d 2§ §Jonathan Doveton: Heads 17, £ 0, s 17, Heads 13, £ 0, s 14, d 10¾§ §Isaac Doveton: Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 5¼§ §Jos. Desfountains Orps.: Heads 17, £ 0, s 17, Heads 11, £ 0, s 12, d [...]§ §John Desfountain: Heads 24, £ 1, s 4, Heads 16, £ 0, s 18, d 4§ §Thos. Easthopes Orps.: Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 7§ §Sarah Fenge: Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 5¼§ §Margaret Fowkes: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 1¾§	The credit side of the parish account continued a roll that charged each household on two counts. Head money was 1s a head. A second count was charged at 1s 1¾d each, but its heading cannot be read, so it is marked [...] below. 4 April, brought over, 242 heads, £12 2s 0d; 180 [...], £10 6s 3d Thomas Colgrave's orphans, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d Joseph Chamberlain, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d John Doveton's orphans, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d; 8 [...], £0 9s 2d Jonathan Doveton, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d; 13 [...], £0 14s 10¾d Isaac Doveton, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d; 3 [...], £0 3s 5¼d Joseph Desfountain's orphans, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d; 11 [...], £0 12s 7¼d John Desfountain, 24 heads, £1 4s 0d; 16 [...], £0 18s 4d Thomas Easthope's orphans, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d; 4 [...], £0 4s 7d Sarah Fudge, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d; 3 [...], £0 3s 5¼d Margaret Fewkes, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 1 [...], £0 1s 1¾d Richard Goodwin, 18 heads, £0 18s 0d; 15 [...], £0 17s 2¼d Thomas Greentree, 32 heads, £1 12s 0d; 29 [...], £1 13s 2¾d

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		§Richard Goodwin: Heads 18, £ 0, s 18, Heads 15, £ 0, s 17, d 2¼§ §Thomas Greentree: Heads 32, £ 1, s 12, Heads 29, £ 1, s 13, d 2¾§ §James Greentree: Heads 21, £ 1, s 1, Heads 13, £ 0, s 14, d 10¾§ §Charles Lessing: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 1¾§ §Ont. Goslings Orps.: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §John Hayes Senr.: Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Thomas Hall: Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §Thos. Harpers Orps.: Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 10½§ §Thos. Hayes Orphans: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 1¾§ §John Howard: Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 1¾§ §Gabl. Harpers Orps.: Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 1¾§ §Margaret Harper: Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 10½§ §Thomas Harper Senr.: Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §John Hayes Junr.: Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §William Hayes Senr.: Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §William Hayes Junr.: Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Mary Herbert: Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 10½§ §Gabriel Isacke: Heads 11, £ 0, s 11, Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 7§ §Elisha Isacke: Heads 16, £ 0, s 16, Heads 7, £ 0, s 8, d ½§ §Solomon Jacobs: Heads [...], £ 0, s [...], Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §Carried over: Heads 516, £ 25, s 16, Heads [...], £ [...], s [...], d [...]§	James Greentree, 21 heads, £1 1s 0d; 13 [...], £0 14s 10¾d Charles Gissing, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 1 [...], £0 1s 1¾d Onesiphorus Garling's orphans, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 0 [...], £0 0s 0d John Hayes senior, 1 head, £0 1s 0d; 0 [...], £0 0s 0d Thomas Hall, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d Thomas Harper's orphans, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d; 6 [...], £0 6s 10½d Thomas Hayes's orphans, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 1 [...], £0 1s 1¾d John Howard, 1 head, £0 1s 0d; 1 [...], £0 1s 1¾d Gabriel Harper's orphans, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d; 1 [...], £0 1s 1¾d Margaret Harper, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d; 6 [...], £0 6s 10½d Thomas Harper senior, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d John Hayes junior, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d William Hayes senior, 1 head, £0 1s 0d; 0 [...], £0 0s 0d William Hayes junior, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d; 0 [...], £0 0s 0d Mary Herbert, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d; 6 [...], £0 6s 10½d Gabriel Isaacs, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d; 4 [...], £0 4s 7d Elisha Isaacs, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d; 7 [...], £0 8s 0¼d Solomon Jacobs, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d Carried over, 516 heads, £25 16s 0d; [...], £[...]
227	218	[Heavy staining across the head of the page, with a large blot over the heading, obscuring most of the heading. The upper left corner is damaged.] [...] Dr.§ §[...]3 April 4 Brought over§ §£ 46 7 3§	The debit side of the account carried forward the total from the previous page. 4 April, brought over, £46 7s 3d
228	219	[Heavy staining across the head of the page, with blots at the upper centre that obscure part of the heading, the Brought over figures and the money columns of the first three entries. Further staining runs along the right-hand edge and the foot, partly obscuring the Carried over line.] Per C[...] Cr.§ §Heads, £, s, Heads, £, s, d§ §Brought over: Heads 516, £ [...], s [...], Heads 380, £ [...], s [...], d [...]§ §John Jacks: Heads 5, £ 0, s [...], Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §Mary Jarvis: Heads 5, £ 0, s [...], Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §Thomas Kirkpatrick: Heads 21, £ 1, s [...], Heads 19, £ 1, s 1, d 9¼§ §Samuel Knipes Orps.: Heads 11, £ 0, s 11, Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Isaac Knipe: Heads 16, £ 0, s 16, Heads 10, £ 0, s 11, d 5½§ §Wm. Kennedys Orps.: Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §John Leech Decd.: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Eleanor Leech: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§	The two-count roll continued on the credit side of the parish account, with head money at 1s a head and the second count, whose heading cannot be read, at 1s 1¾d each. Brought over, 516 heads, £25 16s 0d; [...], £[...] John Jacks, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d Mary Jarvis, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 21 heads, £1 1s 0d; 19 [...], £1 1s 9¼d Samuel Knipe's orphans, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d; 0 [...], £0 0s 0d Isaac Knipe, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d; 10 [...], £0 11s 5½d William Kennedy's orphans, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d John Leech, deceased, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 0 [...], £0 0s 0d Eleanor Leech, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d Thomas Leech, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d; 1 [...], £0 1s 1¾d Benjamin Mason, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d; 10 [...], £0 11s 5½d Roderick Merchant, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d; 7 [...], £0 8s 0¼d

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		§Thomas Leech: Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 1¾§ §Benjamin Mason: Heads 16, £ 0, s 16, Heads 10, £ 0, s 11, d 5½§ §Roderick Merchant: Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, Heads 7, £ 0, s 8, d ¼§ §William Moore: Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §Margaret Marriott: Heads 12, £ 0, s 12, Heads 11, £ 0, s 12, d 7¼§ §John Mitchland: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 5¼§ §Matthew Purling: Heads 44, £ 2, s 4, Heads 40, £ 2, s 5, d 10§ §James Powell: Heads 19, £ 0, s 19, Heads 16, £ 0, s 18, d 4§ §John Price: Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §Susannah Pledger: Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §John Pritchard: Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, Heads 7, £ 0, s 8, d ¼§ §Benjamin Pledger: Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §John Robinson: Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §John Shirtley: Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 7§ §Jeremiah Smith: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §William Seale: Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §John Seale: Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 1¾§ §John Seales Orps.: Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 10½§ §Benjamin Seale: Heads 11, £ 0, s 11, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §Martha Scott: Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §Nathan Sample: Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 5¼§ §James Torbett: Heads 11, £ 0, s [...], Heads [...], £ 0, s 6, d 10½§ §Carried over: Heads 860, £ [...], s [...], Heads [...], £ 30, s 10, d 8[...]§	William Moore, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d Margaret Marriott, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d; 11 [...], £0 12s 7¼d John Mitchland, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 3 [...], £0 3s 5¼d Matthew Purling, 44 heads, £2 4s 0d; 40 [...], £2 5s 10d James Powell, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d; 16 [...], £0 18s 4d John Price, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d Susannah Pledger, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d John Pritchard, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d; 7 [...], £0 8s 0¼d Benjamin Pledger, 1 head, £0 1s 0d; 0 [...], £0 0s 0d John Robinson, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d John Shirtley, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d; 4 [...], £0 4s 7d Jeremiah Smith, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d William Seale, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d John Seale, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d; 1 [...], £0 1s 1¾d John Seale's orphans, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d; 6 [...], £0 6s 10½d Benjamin Seale, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d Martha Scott, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d Nathan Sampell, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d; 3 [...], £0 3s 5¼d James Torbett, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d; 6 [...], £0 6s 10½d Carried over, 800 heads, £40 0s 0d; [...], £30 10s 8¾d
229	220	[Heavy staining across the head of the page, with a large blot that obscures most of the heading and parts of the first and third entries. Further staining runs along the left-hand edge.] [...] Dr.§ §1763 April 4th. Brought over§ §£ 46 7 3§ §To [...]unt of [...] Blacks that were Executed§ §35§ §81 7 3§ §To Cash paid the Balance to Messrs. Wm. Wrangham§ §and William Young Churchwardens§ §2 17 5¾§ §£ 84 4 8¾§	The debit side of the parish account for 1763 closed with the balance paid to the incoming churchwardens. 4 April 1763, brought over, £46 7s 3d Cash paid on account of the three blacks who were executed, £35 0s 0d Total, £81 7s 3d Cash paid as the balance to Messrs William Wrangham and William Young, churchwardens, £2 17s 5¾d Total, £84 4s 8¾d **Interpretations** The parish paid £35 0s 0d on account of three executed slaves, probably to compensate their owners. That was close to half the year's spending. The second count on this year's roll, charged at 1s 1¾d each, was set at a rate that raised about £30 0s 0d, roughly the cost of the executions. It was probably a special charge on slaves alone, levied that year to pay for the compensation. Such a levy anticipated the separate tax on blacks of the 1780s, so slave owners as a group were already bearing the cost of slave executions in 1763.
230	221	[Heavy staining across the head of the page and along the right-hand edge, with a large blot at the upper centre. This obscures part of the heading, the Brought over figures and the first-column money figures of the first three entries.] 1763 April 4th. Per Co[...] Cr.§ §1 17 4§ §Heads, £, s, Heads, £, s, d§	The roll for 1763 ended on the credit side of the parish account with the year's totals. The heading of the second count cannot be read. 4 April 1763, brought over, 800 heads, £40 0s 0d; 533 [...], £30 10s 8¾d Thomas Townsend, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d

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		§Brought over: Heads 800, £ [...], s [...], Heads 533, £ [...], s 10, d 8¾§ §Thomas Townsend: Heads 3, £ 0, s [...], Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §John Twaits Orps.: Heads 16, £ 0, s 16, Heads 9, £ 0, s 10, d 3¾§ §Thomas Watts: Heads 11, £ 0, s 11, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §Francis Wrangham: Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, Heads 15, £ 0, s 17, d 2¼§ §William Wrangham: Heads 22, £ 1, s 2, Heads 21, £ 1, s 4, d ¾§ §John Worralls Orps.: Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, Heads 9, £ 0, s 10, d 3¾§ §Joshua Worralls Orps.: Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 5¼§ §Sarah Walker: Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 3½§ §John Whitchurch: Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 8¾§ §George Young: Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 5¼§ §Stephen Young: Heads 19, £ 0, s 19, Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §William Young: Heads 19, £ 0, s 19, Heads 9, £ 0, s 10, d 3¾§ §Total: Heads 945, £ 47, s 5, Heads 613, £ 35, s 2, d 4¾§ §£ 82 7 4¾§ §£ 84 4 8¾§	John Twaites's orphans, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d; 9 [...], £0 10s 3¾d Thomas Watts, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d Francis Wrangham, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d; 15 [...], £0 17s 2¼d William Wrangham, 22 heads, £1 2s 0d; 21 [...], £1 4s 0¾d John Worrall's orphans, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d; 9 [...], £0 10s 3¾d Joshua Worrall's orphans, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d; 3 [...], £0 3s 5¼d Sarah Walker, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d; 2 [...], £0 2s 3½d John Whitchurch, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d; 5 [...], £0 5s 8¾d George Young, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d; 3 [...], £0 3s 5¼d Stephen Young, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d; 0 [...], £0 0s 0d William Young, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d; 9 [...], £0 10s 3¾d Total, 945 heads, £47 5s 0d; 613 [...], £35 2s 4¾d Total of both charges, £82 7s 4¾d Sum entered at the head of the account, £1 17s 4d Total, £84 4s 8¾d **Interpretations** The second charge raised £35 2s 4¾d, almost exactly the £35 0s 0d paid on the debit side for the three executed slaves. The vestry had set its rate of 1s 1¾d to cover that sum, and it fell only on the count of each household's slaves. Paying the compensation out of the ordinary head money would have spread it over all householders. Instead, the cost of executing slaves fell on slave ownership, in proportion to the number each household held. Stephen Young, whose 19 heads included none charged in the second column, paid nothing towards it.
231	222	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the left-hand edge, with a large blot that obscures most of the heading and parts of the first four entries.] 1763 [...] Dr.§ §April 4th. To [...] for 19 Sticks to cover the Work House§ §2 9§ §To [...] Mr. [...] for Sticks to mend a Bridge upon§ §the High [...]§ §19§ §June 26th. To Do. for maintaining [...]anna Twaits while Confined in ye Work House§ §1 6§ §Oct. 8 To Do. paid Mr. Bradley Surgeon for the Cure of Mary Nuland§ §4 18§ §To Do. pd. for a Nurse for Do. 95 Days at 2/. ꝑ day§ §9 10§ §To Do. pd. for Necessarys for Do. during her Illness§ §3 4 2½§ §To Do. pd. 69 Days Labour 90 Loads Rushes 6 Days Work of§ §a Thatcher 8 Loads Binders and 27 lb. Cordage to Thatch§ §the Country Church§ §9 17 6§ §To Cash pd. the Glazier and Mower§ §18 6§ §To Do. pd. for the Rent of a Room for Mary Nuland durg. her Illness§ §1§ §To Do. pd. for Sundrys to repr. the Country Church§ §12 10½§ §To Do. pd. for 2 Shoe Brushes for Do.§ §1 3§	The debit side of the parish account for 1763 recorded the following payments. 4 April 1763, cash paid [...] for 19 sticks to roof the workhouse, £2 9s 0d Cash paid to Mr [...] for sticks to mend a bridge on the highway, £0 19s 0d 26 June, cash paid for keeping Joanna Twaites while she was confined in the workhouse, £1 6s 0d 8 October, cash paid to Mr Bradley, surgeon, for curing Mary Newland, £4 18s 0d Cash paid for a nurse for Mary Newland, 95 days at 2s a day, £9 10s 0d Cash paid for necessities for Mary Newland during her illness, £3 4s 2½d Cash paid for 69 days of labour, 90 loads of rushes, 6 days of a thatcher, 8 loads of binders and [...] of cordage to thatch the country church, £9 17s 6d Cash paid to the glazier and the mower, £0 18s 6d Cash paid for the rent of a room for Mary Newland during her illness, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for sundries to repair the country church, £0 12s 10½d Cash paid for 2 shoe brushes for the country church, £0 1s 3d Cash paid for 2 days of a stonelayer and 1 day of a labourer to repair the workhouse, £0 6s 0d Cash paid to William Hayes and William Jervis for taking Susan Twaites to the country, £0 10s 0d Cash paid for carrying up necessities for Susan Twaites, £0 2s 6d Cash paid to John Price, sexton, for his salary, £8 0s 0d Cash paid to Mrs Pledger for a year's board of Mrs Langhorn, £6 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§To Do. pd. 2 Days Work of a Stonelayer & 1 of a Labourer to§ §repair the Work House§ §6§ §To Do. pd. Wm. Hayes & Wm. Jervis for going with Susan Twaits to the Country§ §10§ §To Do. pd. for carryg. up Necessarys for Do.§ §2 6§ §To Do. pd. John Price Sexton his Salary§ §8§ §To Do. pd. Mr. Pledger for a Years Board of Mr. Langhorn§ §6§ §To Do. pd. John Hayes for Do. of Catn. Lee§ §6§ §To Do. pd. Secretarys Fees§ §1§ §To Do. pd. John Price for collecting the Head Money§ §1§ §To Do. pd. to a Person attending Examinations§ §1§ §To Do. pd. for a Hand Hatchet 2 Labrs. Baskets and 1 lb. Powder§ §to repr. the Highways§ §6 8§ §Carried Over£ 59 1 6§	Cash paid to John Hayes for a year's board of Catherine Lee, £6 0s 0d Cash paid for the secretary's fees, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to John Price for collecting the head money, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to a person attending examinations, £1 0s 0d Cash paid for a hand hatchet, 2 labourers' baskets and 1 lb of gunpowder to repair the highways, £0 6s 8d Carried over, £59 1s 6d **Interpretations** In 1763 the parish kept a workhouse. It paid to roof and repair it and to keep Joanna Twaites confined there. The word "confined" suggests that the house held paupers under restraint, perhaps those unable to care for themselves or judged disorderly. At the same time the parish boarded Mrs Langhorn and Catherine Lee with private householders at £6 0s 0d a year each. It used both methods side by side, keeping some paupers in its own house and placing others in families. By the 1790s the workhouse had become the ruinous "parish house" the vestry wanted to sell, and boarding out had become the usual method. Mary Newland's illness cost more than £19 0s 0d, including a nurse at 2s a day for 95 days and a rented room. That was nearly a third of the year's spending on a single case. The parish was prepared to meet the full cost of nursing a sick dependant rather than leave her to the workhouse.
232	223	[Heavy staining across the head of the page, with a large blot at the upper centre that obscures part of the heading and parts of the opening entries. Further staining runs along the right-hand edge and the foot, partly obscuring several figures and the Carried over line.] Per Con[...] Cr.§ §1764 Augt. 14 By Cash received from [...] Wm. Wr[...]am &§ §Wm. Young Church Wardens [...] Balance of this Account§ §3 5¾§ §1765 By Cash recd. from the following Persons for Head§ §Money this Year, the Tax being [...]§ §Heads £ s d§ §John Alexander§ §17§ §1 1 4¼§ §George Alexander§ §10§ §9 9½§ §Saml. Alexander§ §14§ §17 5§ §Margaret Alcock§ §19§ §1 3 11¼§ §Onesip. Beales Orps.§ §13§ §14 8§ §Richd. Beale Senr.§ §12§ §14 3¾§ §John Bagley§ §8§ §8 7§ §Richd. Bagley§ §26§ §1 13 2§ §Orlando Bagley Senr.§ §25§ §1 8 6§	The credit side of the parish account for 1764 and 1765 recorded these receipts. The head money heading includes the rate of tax, but it cannot be read. 14 August 1764, cash received from Messrs W. Wrangham and W. Young, churchwardens, the balance of this account, £[...] 3s 5¾d 1765, cash received from the following persons for head money this year: John Alexander, 17 heads, £1 1s 4¼d George Alexander, 10 heads, £0 9s 9¼d Samuel Alexander, 14 heads, £0 17s 5d Margaret Alcock, 19 heads, £1 3s 11¼d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 13 heads, £0 14s 8d Richard Beale senior, 12 heads, £0 14s 3¾d John Bagley, 8 heads, £0 8s 7d Richard Bagley, 26 heads, £1 13s 2d Orlando Bagley senior, 25 heads, £1 8s 6d Orlando Bagley junior, 10 heads, £0 11s 8¼d Edward Bagley, 1 head, £0 0s 10d Matthew Bazett senior, 33 heads, £2 0s 11d Henry Bazett, 24 heads, £1 10s 0¾d Matthew Bazett's orphans, 4 heads, £0 4s 3½d John Bazett, 4 heads, £0 3s 9½d George Bird, 2 heads, £0 2s 1½d Thomas Bazett, 2 heads, £0 2s [...] William Burnham's orphans, 7 heads, £0 7s [...] Robert Barclay, 6 heads, £0 7s 10½d John Bland, 11 heads, £0 12s 6¼d Robert Ballard, [...] heads, £0 9s 6¼d Carried over, £15 4s [...] **Interpretations** In 1765 the sums charged did not follow the number of heads at a single rate. George Alexander paid 9s 9¼d on 10 heads, while Orlando Bagley junior paid 11s 8¼d on the same number. The tax was probably made up of a head charge and a second charge on slaves, as in 1763, and the clerk entered each household's two charges as one sum. A household with more slaves among its heads paid more than another of the same size.

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		§Orlando Bagley Junr.§ §10§ §11 8½§ §Edward Bagley§ §1§ §10§ §Matthew Bazett Senr.§ §33§ §2 11§ §Henry Bazett§ §24§ §1 10 ¾§ §Matthew Bazetts Orps.§ §4§ §4 3½§ §John Bazett§ §4§ §3 9½§ §George Bird§ §2§ §2 1¾§ §Thomas Bazett§ §2§ §2 [...]§ §Wm. Burnhams Orps.§ §7§ §7 [...]§ §Robert Barclay§ §6§ §7 10½§ §John Bland§ §11§ §12 6¼§ §Robt. Ballard§ §8§ §9 6[...]§ §Carrd. Over§ §[...] 15 4[...]§	
233	224	[Heavy staining across the head of the page, with a large blot that obscures part of the heading and the first entry. The upper left corner is damaged, partly obscuring the year.] 17[...] Church [...] Dr.§ §To Cash [...] Brought over§ §£ 54 5§	The debit side of the church account carried forward the total from the previous page. Cash brought over, £[...] 54s 5d
234	225	[Heavy staining across the head of the page, with a large blot at the upper centre that obscures part of the opening entries. Further staining at the foot of the page obscures the heads column of the last entries and the Carried over line.] 1763 Per Contra Cr.§ §April 12 By Cash Recd. from Messrs. [...]§ §and Samuel Alexander [...] Wardens [...]§ §Balance of this Account§ §2 17 5¾§ §1764 By Cash Recd. from the following Persons for Head§ §Money this Year the Tax being [...]§ §Heads 1/5 £ s d§ §John Alexander§ §17§ §1 10¾§ §George Alexander§ §10§ §12 3½§ §Samuel Alexander§ §14§ §17 2½§ §Margaret Alcock§ §19§ §1 3 4¼§ §Onesip. Beales Orphans§ §12§ §14 9§	The credit side of the parish account for 1763 and 1764 recorded the following. Head money was charged at 1s 2¾d a head. 12 April 1763, cash received from Messrs [...] and Samuel Alexander, churchwardens, the balance of this account, £2 17s 5¾d 1764, cash received from the following persons for head money this year: John Alexander, 17 heads, £1 0s 10¾d George Alexander, 10 heads, £0 12s 3½d Samuel Alexander, 14 heads, £0 17s 2½d Margaret Alcock, 19 heads, £1 3s 4¼d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 12 heads, £0 14s 9d Richard Beale senior, 12 heads, £0 14s 9d John Bagley, 7 heads, £0 8s 7¼d Richard Bagley, 26 heads, £1 11s 11½d Orlando Bagley senior, 24 heads, £1 9s 6d Orlando Bagley junior, 10 heads, £0 12s 3½d Edward Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d Matthew Bazett senior, 29 heads, £1 15s 7¾d Henry Bazett, 26 heads, £1 11s 11½d Matthew Bazett junior, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d George Bird, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d Thomas Bazett, 2 heads, £0 2s 5½d John Bazett, 4 heads, £0 4s 11d William Burnham, 7 heads, £0 8s 7¼d Robert Barclay, 4 heads, £0 4s 11d John Bland, 12 heads, £0 14s 9d

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		§Richd. Beale Senr.§ §12§ §14 9§ §John Bagley§ §7§ §8 7¼§ §Richd. Bagley§ §26§ §1 11 11½§ §Orlando Bagley Senr.§ §24§ §1 9 6§ §Orlando Bagley Junr.§ §10§ §12 3½§ §Edward Bagley§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §Mattw. Bazett Senr.§ §29§ §1 15 7½§ §Henry Bazett§ §26§ §1 11 11½§ §Mattw. Bazett Junr.§ §3§ §3 8¼§ §George Bird§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §Thomas Bazett§ §2§ §2 5½§ §John Bazett§ §4§ §4 11§ §William Burnham§ §7§ §8 7¼§ §Robert Barclay§ §4§ §4 11§ §John Bland§ §12§ §14 9§ §Robert Ballard§ §8§ §9 10§ §William Brown§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §Elizabeth Bunting§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §Thomas Colgraves Orphans§ §12§ §14 9§ §Elizabeth Clough§ §2§ §2 5½§ §Joseph Chamberlain§ §4§ §4 11§ §John Dovetons Orphans§ §16§ §19 8§ §Jonathan Doveton§ §23§ §1 8 3¼§ §Isaac Doveton§ §5§ §6 1¾§ §John Desfountain§ §25§ §1 10 8¾§	Robert Ballard, 8 heads, £0 9s 10d William Brown, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d Elizabeth Bunting, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d Thomas Colgrave's orphans, 12 heads, £0 14s 9d Elizabeth Clough, 2 heads, £0 2s 5½d Joseph Chamberlain, 4 heads, £0 4s 11d John Doveton's orphans, 16 heads, £0 19s 8d Jonathan Doveton, 23 heads, £1 8s 3¼d Isaac Doveton, 5 heads, £0 6s 1¾d John Desfountain, 25 heads, £1 10s 8¾d Joseph Desfountain's orphans, 18 heads, £1 2s 1½d Thomas Easthope's orphans, 6 heads, £0 7s 4½d Sarah Fudge, 6 heads, £0 7s 4½d Carried over, [...] heads, £[...] 11s 1¼d

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		§Joseph Desfountains Orphans§ §[...]§ §1 2 1½§ §Thomas Easthope Orphans§ §[...]§ §7 4½§ §Sarah Fenge§ §[...]§ §7 4½§ §Carried over§ §[...] 22 11 1[...]§	
235	226	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page, with a blot that obscures part of the heading and the start of the first entry. The left-hand edge is worn and partly lost, and there is further staining at the foot of the page.] Church [...] Dr.§ §[...] Brought over§ §£ 59 1 6§ §Carried Over£ 59 1 6§	The total of the church account was brought forward to this page and carried on to the next, with nothing entered in between. Brought over, £59 1s 6d Carried over, £59 1s 6d
236	227	[Heavy staining across the head of the page, with a large blot at the upper centre that obscures the Brought over figures. Further staining at the foot of the page obscures the heads column of the last entries and part of the Carried over line.] Per Contra Cr.§ §2 17 5¾§ §Brought [...]§ §Brought Over§ §Heads £ s d§ §[...] 1½§ §Margaret Fowkes§ §[...]§ §6 1½§ §Richard Goodwin§ §20§ §1 4 7§ §Thomas Greentree§ §29§ §1 15 7½§ §James Greentree§ §21§ §1 5 9¾§ §Charles Lessing§ §9§ §11 [...]§ §Ones. Goslings Orphans§ §3§ §3 8¼§ §Thomas Hall§ §6§ §7 4½§ §John Hayes§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §Thomas Harpers Orphans§ §10§ §12 3½§ §Thomas Hayes's Orphans§ §3§ §3 8¼§ §John Howard§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §Gabriel Harpers Orphans§ §2§ §2 5½§ §Margaret Harper§ §8§ §9 10§ §Thomas Harper Senr.§ §11§ §13 6¼§	The head money roll for 1764 continued on the credit side of the parish account at 1s 2¾d a head. Brought over, [...] heads, £[...] Margaret Fewkes, 5 heads, £0 6s 1¾d Richard Goodwin, 20 heads, £1 4s 7d Thomas Greentree, 29 heads, £1 15s 7¾d James Greentree, 21 heads, £1 5s 9¾d Charles Gissing, 9 heads, £0 11s 0¾d Onesiphorus Gurling's orphans, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d Thomas Hall, 6 heads, £0 7s 4½d John Hayes, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d Thomas Harper's orphans, 10 heads, £0 12s 3½d Thomas Hayes's orphans, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d John Howard, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d Gabriel Harper's orphans, 2 heads, £0 2s 5½d Margaret Harper, 8 heads, £0 9s 10d Thomas Harper senior, 11 heads, £0 13s 6¼d John Hayes junior, 8 heads, £0 9s 10d William Hayes senior, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d William Hayes junior, 4 heads, £0 4s 11d Henry Harper, 6 heads, £0 7s 4½d Elisha Isaacs, 16 heads, £0 19s 8d Solomon Jacobs, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d John Jacks, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d Gabriel Isaacs, 12 heads, £0 14s 9d Thomas Kirkpatrick, 21 heads, £1 5s 9¾d Isaac Knipe, 16 heads, £0 19s 8d Samuel Knipe's orphans, 10 heads, £0 12s 3½d William Kennedy's orphans, 10 heads, £0 12s 3½d Eleanor Leech, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d Thomas Leech, 5 heads, £0 6s 1¾d Richard Law, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d Benjamin Mason, 21 heads, £1 5s 9¾d Roderick Merchant, 15 heads, £0 18s 5¼d William Moore, 5 heads, £0 6s 1¾d Margaret Marriott, 10 heads, £0 12s 3½d James Powell, 19 heads, £1 3s 4¼d John Price, 8 heads, £0 9s 10d Matthew Purling, 41 heads, £2 10s 4¾d Susanna Pledger, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d Benjamin Pledger, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d John Pritchard, 9 heads, £0 11s 0¾d Carried over, [...] heads, £[...]

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		§John Hayes Senr.§ §8§ §9 10§ §William Hayes Senr.§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §William Hayes Junr.§ §4§ §4 11§ §Henry Harper§ §6§ §7 4½§ §Elisha Isacke§ §16§ §19 8§ §Solomon Jacobs§ §3§ §3 8¼§ §John Jacks§ §3§ §3 8¼§ §Gabriel Isacke§ §12§ §14 9§ §Thomas Kirkpatrick§ §21§ §1 5 9¾§ §Isaac Knipe§ §16§ §19 8§ §Saml. Knipes Orphans§ §10§ §12 3½§ §William Kennedys Orphans§ §10§ §12 3½§ §Eleanor Leech§ §3§ §3 8¼§ §Thomas Leech§ §5§ §6 1¾§ §Richard Law§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §Benjamin Mason§ §21§ §1 5 9¾§ §Rodk. Merchant§ §15§ §18 5¼§ §William Moore§ §5§ §6 1¾§ §Margt. Mariot§ §10§ §12 3½§ §James Powell§ §19§ §1 3 4¼§ §John Price§ §8§ §9 10§ §Mattw. Purling§ §41§ §2 10 4¼§ §Susanna Pledger§ §[...]§ §3 8¼§ §Benjn. Pledger§ §[...]§ §1 2¾§ §John Pritchard§ §[...]§ §11 [...]§	

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		§Carried Over§ §[...] 18 2¾§	
237	228	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and across the centre, with a blot that obscures part of the heading and parts of the first two entries.] Church [...] Dr.§ §[...] Brought over§ §£ 59 1 6§ §To Cash paid the Ba[...]lance to Messrs. John§ §Desfountain [...] Francis Wrangham Church Wardens§ §3 5 10§ §£ 62 7 4§	The debit side of the church account closed with the balance paid over to the incoming churchwardens. Brought over, £59 1s 6d Cash paid as the balance to Messrs John Desfountain and Francis Wrangham, churchwardens, £3 5s 10d Total, £62 7s 4d
238	229	[Heavy staining across the head of the page and down the money columns, with a blot at the upper centre. This obscures the end of the heading, the Brought over figures and the heads column of several of the first entries.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Brought over§ §2 17 5¾§ §Brought over§ §Heads £ s d§ §[...] 45 [...] 2¾§ §John Robinson§ §7§ §8 7¼§ §John Shirley§ §6§ §7 4½§ §Jerh. Smith§ §2§ §2 5½§ §William Seale§ §9§ §11 ¾§ §John Seale§ §5§ §6 1¾§ §John Seals Orphans§ §9§ §11 ¾§ §Benjamin Seale§ §13§ §15 11¾§ §Martha Scot§ §4§ §4 11§ §Nathan Sample§ §7§ §8 7½§ §James Torbet§ §11§ §13 6¼§ §Thomas Townsend§ §5§ §6 1¾§ §John Twaits's Orphans§ §17§ §1 10¾§ §Thomas Watts§ §12§ §14 9§ §Francis Wrangham§ §11§ §13 6¼§ §William Wrangham§ §24§ §1 9 6§ §John Worralls Orphans§ §15§ §18 5¼§	The head money roll for 1764 closed on the credit side of the parish account at 1s 2¾d a head. Brought over, [...] heads, £45 [...] John Robinson, 7 heads, £0 8s 7¼d John Shirtley, 6 heads, £0 7s 4½d Jeremiah Smith, 2 heads, £0 2s 5½d William Seale, 9 heads, £0 11s 0¾d John Seale, 5 heads, £0 6s 1¾d John Seale's orphans, 9 heads, £0 11s 0¾d Benjamin Seale, 13 heads, £0 15s 11¾d Martha Scott, 4 heads, £0 4s 11d Nathan Sampell, 7 heads, £0 8s 7¼d James Torbett, 11 heads, £0 13s 6¼d Thomas Townsend, 5 heads, £0 6s 1¾d John Twaites's orphans, 17 heads, £1 0s 10¾d Thomas Watts, 12 heads, £0 14s 9d Francis Wrangham, 11 heads, £0 13s 6¼d William Wrangham, 24 heads, £1 9s 6d John Worrall's orphans, 15 heads, £0 18s 5¼d Joshua Worrall's orphans, 8 heads, £0 9s 10d Sarah Walker, 5 heads, £0 6s 1¾d John Whitchurch, 5 heads, £0 6s 1¾d George Young, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d Stephen Young, 18 heads, £1 2s 1½d William Young, 20 heads, £1 4s 7d John Mitchland, 3 heads, £0 3s 8¼d Samuel Desfountain, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d John Peplow, 1 head, £0 1s 2¾d Total head money, 968 heads, £59 9s 10d Balance received from the previous churchwardens, £2 17s 5¾d Total, £62 7s 4d

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		§Joshua Worralls Do.§ §8§ §9 10§ §Sarah Walker§ §5§ §6 1¾§ §John Whitchurch§ §5§ §6 1¾§ §George Young§ §3§ §3 8¼§ §Stephen Young§ §18§ §1 2 1½§ §William Young§ §20§ §1 4 7§ §John Mitchland§ §3§ §3 8¼§ §Samuel Desfountain§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §John Peplow§ §1§ §1 2¾§ §968§ §59 9 10½§ §£ 62 7 4§	
239	230	[Heavy staining at the upper left of the page and along the right-hand edge, with a blot that obscures part of the heading and the start of the first three entries. Further staining at the foot of the page partly obscures the Carried Over figures.] 1765 Church Dr.§ §April 3d. To [...] pd. John Price one Years Saly.§ §10§ §To Cash pd. Do. for Making two Surplices§ §2§ §To Cash pd. Do. for a Key for the Country Church§ §5§ §To Cash pd. Saml. Butcher for mendg. the Thatch of Do.§ §5§ §To Cash pd. John Price for two Panes Glass for Do.§ §and Hinges for the Window and putg. them in§ §5§ §To Cash paid Do. for collectg. Head Money§ §1§ §8th. To Cash paid Rodk. Merchant for 6 Days confint. of§ §Susanah Twaits in Prison at the Work House§ §4 6§ §To Cash paid Do. for a Pad Lock Do.§ §2 11§ §To Cash paid Do. for a Stonelayer for 1 Days Work at Do.§ §2 6§ §To Cash paid Do. for two Labourers at Do.§ §2 6§ §To Cash paid Do. for Bars for Do.§ §2 10§ §To Cash paid Do. for Rice for Prisoners in the Do.§ §3§ §To Cash paid Susanah Pledger for a Years keeping of§ §Margt. Langhorn a Parish Child§ §6§ §To Cash paid John Hayes for a Years keeping of Cathe.§ §Lee a Parish Child§ §6§ §To Cash paid John Desfountain for repairing Church§	The debit side of the church account for 1765 recorded the following payments. 3 April 1765, cash paid to John Price for one year's salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid to John Price for making two surplices, £2 0s 0d Cash paid to John Price for a key for the country church, £0 5s 0d Cash paid to [...] Butcher for mending the thatch of the country church, £0 5s 0d Cash paid to John Price for two panes of glass and hinges for the window, and for putting them in, £0 5s 0d Cash paid to John Price for collecting the head money, £1 0s 0d 8 April, cash paid to Roderick Merchant for 6 days' confinement of Susannah Twaites in prison at the workhouse, £0 4s 6d Cash paid to Roderick Merchant for a padlock for the workhouse, £0 2s 11d Cash paid for a stonelayer for 1 day's work at the workhouse, £0 2s 6d Cash paid for two labourers at the workhouse, £0 2s 6d Cash paid for bars for the workhouse, £0 2s 10d Cash paid for rice for the prisoners in the workhouse, £0 3s 0d Cash paid to Susannah Pledger for a year's keeping of Margaret Langhorn, a parish child, £6 0s 0d Cash paid to John Hayes for a year's keeping of Catherine Lee, a parish child, £6 0s 0d Cash paid to John Desfountain for repairing the churchyard walls and tying down the ridging of the church, £0 5s 0d Cash paid to Orlando Bagley for repairing the churchyard gate, £0 10s 0d Cash paid to George Wright, the armourer, for a pair of chains in which Lewis hangs, £1 5s 0d Cash paid to William [...] for a black man named Lewis, who was executed, £15 0s 0d Cash paid to Susannah Pledger for one year's board of Elizabeth Willoughby, left out of last year's account, £5 0s 0d

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		§Yard Walls and tying down the Ridging of the Church§ §5§ §To Cash paid Orlando Bagley for Repairs of the Church§ §Yard Gate§ §10§ §To Cash paid the Armourer George Wright for a pair of§ §Chains that Lewis Hangs in§ §1 5§ §To Cash paid William Seale for a Black Man named Lewis§ §Executed§ §15§ §To Cash paid Susanah Pledger for one Years Boarding§ §of Elizabeth Willobey being omitted last Year§ §5§ §To Cash paid John Jacks for the Boarding of John Hayes§ §Senr. in his Sickness, being omitted last Year§ §3§ §Carried Over£ [...] 5§	Cash paid to John Jacks for boarding John Hayes senior during his sickness, left out of last year's account, £3 0s 0d Carried over, £[...] **Interpretations** The parish compensated the owner of Lewis, an executed slave, with £15 0s 0d. It also paid the armourer for the chains in which his body was hung. A slave executed for a serious crime was gibbeted, his body left in an iron frame on public view as a warning to other slaves. The parish met the full cost of the punishment, from the owner's loss to the ironwork for display. Paying for the gibbet as an ordinary parish charge shows that the planters treated public terror as part of the slave discipline they funded together. By 1765 the workhouse was used as a prison. Susannah Twaites was held there for six days, and the parish bought bars, a padlock and rice for prisoners. The house that sheltered paupers also served as a lock-up, so confinement and relief were handled in the same building and paid for from the same rate.
240	231	Blank page	
241	232	Parochial Record.§ §At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's Valley the§ §16th. Day of July 1793§ §Proposed That in Order to the better regulating and collecting the Dog Tax§ §in future and from the first Sessions in each January in each Year, Every§ §Person keeping Dogs, shall give in the Number he intends to keep§ §for that Year, and for each Dog shall pay 5/. at the time such§ §Account is given in, to be considered as One Year's Tax from said Date§ §And any Person keeping more Dogs than what he has given in at§ §Return of shall be fined 40/. for each and every Dog over, ¼ of§ §said fines to the Informer & ¾ to be applyd to the Use &§ §Benefit of the Poor: and the Dogs to be destroyed, and should any§ §Person increase his Number of Dogs after the return is made, such§ §Person making report of his having such additional Dog or Dogs§ §and paying after the Rate of 5/. ꝑ Year for each Dog, shall not§ §be considered to have deviated from these Regulations And provided§ §that any Dog shall be detected or observed destroying Sheep or Goats§ §and the Owner thereof should on application refuse to destroy said§ §Dog, such owner of said Dog shall be fined in the Sum of 40/.§ §for each Offence, such fines to be appropriated to the use &§ §Benefit of the Poor, & any Person giving Information to§ §be upon Oath. In regard to the payment of Mr. Kays Debt§ §resolved that the same be satisfied and paid, resolved also that§ §Betty Wade & her Children be sold§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 16 July 1793. It proposed new rules to regulate and collect the dog tax better. From the first sessions in January each year, every person keeping dogs was to declare how many he meant to keep that year. He would pay 5s for each dog when he made the return, which would count as one year's tax from that date. Anyone found keeping more dogs than he had declared would be fined 40s for each dog left off. A quarter of the fine would go to the informer and three-quarters to the poor, and the undeclared dogs would be destroyed. An owner who acquired more dogs after making his return would not be in breach, provided he reported them and paid at the same rate of 5s a year for each. If a dog was caught or seen killing sheep or goats and its owner refused to destroy it when asked, the owner would be fined 40s for each offence. These fines were also to go to the poor. Anyone giving information was to do so on oath. The vestry resolved that Mr Kay's debt should be settled and paid. It also resolved that Betty Wade and her children should be sold. **Interpretations** In 1793 the vestry resolved to sell Betty Wade and her children. Two years earlier, on 8 August 1791, it had proposed selling Betty Moore and her four children, a step the Board sent to the quarter sessions. The 1793 resolution was probably the same family under a different surname, or a renewed attempt after the courts. Either way, the vestry was trying to turn dependants it claimed as parish property into cash. It did not follow through with Betty Wade. The accounts show her still kept by the parish through Elizabeth Price in 1797 and described as a free black in 1789. The question of whether she could lawfully be sold was evidently never settled in the vestry's favour. The dog rules turned the tax into a self-policing system. Declaration was compulsory, the fine for concealment was eight times the annual tax, and a quarter of every fine went to the informer. Neighbours were rewarded for reporting each other, so the parish did not need officers to count dogs. The oath requirement guarded against false accusations made for the reward. Directing all fines to the poor tied the control of dogs, which threatened the planters' flocks, to the parish's relief fund.

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242	233	[Bleed-through from the facing page runs across the upper third of the page and partly obscures parts of lines seven to nine. Faint staining runs along the right-hand edge.] The Vestry are humbly of Opinion that if the Present Parish§ §House was repaired it would be attended with less Inconvenience than§ §if it was removed to a more distant situation, and that an Inspection§ §may be taken by the Mason Carpenter and Estimates given in§ §as also the best Plan of Convenience to the Community at large§ §That in regard to considering of a better Mode of repairing and keeping§ §up the Fences the Vestry humbly point out, that by reason§ §of their Blacks being at present employed at the Company's Works§ §a [...] be [...] to [...] the Vestry humbly§ §hope [...] in [...]§ §The Vestry have also humbly to represent, that if the§ §free Blacks were to Assist at the Company's Works, they might be§ §of great Service, and they humbly submit this Proposition to the§ §Board§ §That altho' We have had kind and Seasonal Rains, Yet§ §the Lands are so much impoverished as to render us incapable to§ §Cultivate them to Real and Sufficient Use, We therefore most§ §humbly request the Board will Indulgently recommend Our Situation§ §Home to the Court of Directors and grant us further Excuse from§ §the Payment of the Company's Rents, for which goodness We shall§ §be ever grateful and contribute to the utmost of Our Abilities to§ §reestablish the Island in its former Prosperity. but as the Insects§ §are again returning We cannot depend upon our Exertions, yet§ §We will use every endeavour for so desirable an End§ §The following was stuck up in the publick Places§ §Notice is hereby given§ §That all Persons keeping Dogs are to give in the§ §Number of Dogs they propose keeping the ensuing§ §Year, and on Wednesday next paying at the same§ §time 5/. ꝑ head for each Dog to be considered as one Yrs.§ §Tax from the 1st. January 1794 to the 1 January§ §1795§ §Thos. Cole§	The vestry considered that repairing the present parish house would cause less inconvenience than moving it to a more distant site. It recommended that a mason and a carpenter inspect the building and give estimates, together with the plan that would best serve the community as a whole. On a better method of repairing and maintaining the fences, the vestry pointed out that the blacks were at present employed on the Company's works. Some delay therefore had to be allowed, and the vestry hoped [...]. It also suggested to the Board that the free blacks might be of great service if they helped on the Company's works, and put this proposal before the Board. The vestry acknowledged that the island had had kind and seasonable rains. Even so, the land was so impoverished that the inhabitants could not cultivate it to any real or adequate use. They therefore asked the Board to recommend their situation to the Court of Directors and to excuse them further from paying the Company's rents. In return the inhabitants would do their utmost to restore the island to its former prosperity. The rats were returning again, so they could not rely on their own efforts, but they promised every effort towards that end. A notice was posted in the public places of the island. Everyone keeping dogs was to declare on the following Wednesday how many they intended to keep in the coming year. At the same time they were to pay 5s for each dog, as one year's tax from 1 January 1794 to 1 January 1795. Thomas Cole signed the notice. **Interpretations** The vestry suggested that free blacks should work on the Company's projects alongside the slaves. The slaves were already taken up with the Company's works, and the parish's own fences waited for their labour. Free blacks paid no parish tax and were increasingly being relieved at the parish's cost. Putting them to work for the Company would make use of a group the planters saw as a burden, and it would also free slave labour for the planters' own needs. It was the same view of free blacks that lay behind the vestry's complaint in April 1793 about slaves being freed improperly. The request for further relief from the Company's rents shows the planters still in difficulty after the drought. Rain had returned, but the soil was exhausted and the rats were back. Rat plagues periodically stripped the island's crops, which explains why the parish had paid a bounty on rats and mice since the 1760s. The vestry used its standing as the inhabitants' representative body to ask the Company for relief from rent. It addressed the Directors through the Board, as it had done with its thanks in April.
243	234	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's Valley the§ §first Day of September 1794 to consider of the Best Mode of raising§ §a Tax for the Support of the Poor of the Parish, and other Matters &§ §things which were then and there laid Before them.§ §It appeared appeared that a Sum not exceeding 2/. only remained in§ §the Hands of the Church Wardens, and by a Memorandum presented§ §it appear that the Parish Expence amounts to nearly Eighty Pounds§ §ꝑ Annum The Vestry taking the same into Consideration propose§ §that a Tax of 1/3 ꝑ Head, including both Whites & Blacks, be§ §levied for that Purpose, resolved that the Parish do pay 25£ for§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 1 September 1794. It met to decide how best to raise a tax for the poor of the parish and to deal with other business put before it. The churchwardens had no more than 2s left in hand. A memorandum showed that the parish's costs came to nearly £80 0s 0d a year. The vestry therefore proposed a tax of 1s 3d a head on whites and blacks alike. It resolved that the parish should pay £25 0s 0d for two condemned slaves, in line with the valuation made, and a further £3 0s 0d for their keep. With only 2s in hand, the vestry decided that enough money had to be found at once for the immediate needs of the poor. The tax of 1s 3d a head was to be paid to either of the churchwardens on or before 15 September. Anyone who failed to pay would also bear the cost of collection, at 2s 3d each time payment had to be demanded.

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		§two Slaves condemned agreeable to Valuation taken, and 3 more for§ §their Maintenance§ §It being further Considered that the aforementioned Sum of two Shillings§ §only remaining, a sufficiency should be provided for the immediate§ §necessitys of the Poor, it was therefore determined that the aforesaid§ §Tax of 1/3 p head, shall be paid into hand of One or Either of the§ §said Church Wardens on or before the 15th. of this instant September,§ §and in case any individual shall neglect paying the same, he shall§ §incur the Expence of collecting the same at and after the Rate of 2/3§ §for each and every time of such Application for Payment thereof.§ §The Church Wardens and the Gentlemen this Day assembled in§ §Vestry considering that many Inconveniences occur by reason of not§ §having a Vestry Clerk to regularly record proceedings, It was unani§ §mously recommended that Henry Nevi be appointed Vestry Clerk§ §at a Salary of Ten Pounds p Annum§ §Thos. Cole§ §James Pritchard Churchwardens§	The churchwardens and the gentlemen present noted that much inconvenience arose from having no vestry clerk to record proceedings properly. They agreed unanimously that Henry Neve should be appointed vestry clerk at a salary of £10 0s 0d a year. Thomas Cole and James Pritchard signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** In September 1794 the parish had only 2s in hand and owed £28 0s 0d for two condemned slaves. The vestry did not wait for the ordinary collection. It levied an emergency head tax payable within two weeks. A defaulter would pay 2s 3d for every demand, more than the tax itself, which made delay costly. The two condemned slaves were valued before compensation was fixed, the method that later produced the different payments to Wright, Kennedy and Mason. The tax fell on whites and blacks alike, which suggests the vestry was ready to tax free blacks again when the money ran out, three years after exempting them. Henry Neve's appointment at £10 0s 0d a year explains the quarterly payments of £2 10s 0d to him in the accounts from November 1794 onward. Before this, he and others had been paid piecemeal for writing minutes and drawing up lists.
244	235	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's Valley this second§ §Day of February 1795 to take into Consideration Proposals relative to§ §Shooting Game.§ §The Vestry propose that No Person Shoot in future on this Island§ §or carry a Gun unless upon his own Land, except Soldiers or those who§ §may be actually on Militia Duty without taking out a Licence for so§ §doing for which Licence there must be paid the Sum of One Guinea§ §Annually.§ §The Money paid for Licences to Shoot is to be appropriated to the§ §Widows Fund if the honble. Court of Directors approve.§ §The taking out a Licence for Shooting does not authorize any Person to§ §Shoot on anothers Ground without Permission from the Owner, or to kill§ §any Pheasant, Peacock or any other Game but what it has been customary§ §to shoot at, nevertheless the holders of Lands may authorize Persons not§ §having a Licence to shoot Rabbits on their own Land but not otherwise.§ §The Season for Shooting is to commence the 1st. March ensuing and§ §to end the 31st. of May.§ §Any Person found Guilty of breaking the above Regulations is§ §to be fined in the Sum of Twenty Pounds, half to the Informer§ §& half to the Widows Fund.§ §These Regulations are not to infringe on the honorable Company's§ §Rights as Lords of the Manor.§ §No Person without Permission of the Governor is to Shoot between§ §the Fortifications of High Knoll and those of Ladder Hill, the§ §Limits were ascertained to be and include the Whole Hill from§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 2 February 1795 to consider proposals about shooting game. The vestry proposed that in future no one should shoot or carry a gun on the island except on his own land without first taking out a licence. Soldiers and men actually on militia duty were exempt. A licence would cost one guinea a year. The money from licences was to go to the widows' fund, if the Court of Directors approved. A licence did not allow its holder to shoot on another man's ground without the owner's permission. Nor did it allow him to kill pheasants, peacocks or any game other than what had customarily been shot. Landholders could, however, let unlicensed people shoot rabbits on their own land, but nothing else. The shooting season would open on 1 March and close on 31 May. Anyone found guilty of breaking these rules would be fined £20 0s 0d, half to go to the informer and half to the widows' fund. The rules were not to infringe the Company's rights as lord of the manor. No one was to shoot between the fortifications of High Knoll and Ladder Hill without the Governor's permission. The limits of that ground were fixed to include the whole hill from Francis's Waterfall down to the sea shore. Anyone shooting at a roost would be liable to the same fine. Thomas Cole and James Pritchard signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** Pheasants, peacocks and rabbits were not native to St Helena. They had been brought in by the settlers and allowed to run wild, and the island's game was a deliberately introduced stock. The planters treated it as a resource to protect. The closed season and the ban on shooting at roosts were meant to stop birds being killed in numbers while nesting or roosting together, so that the stock could breed. The vestry modelled its rules on the English game laws, which tied the right to shoot to the ownership of land. The fine of £20 0s 0d was enormous on an island where a labourer earned 1s 6d a day. Half of it went to the informer, which made enforcement worth any neighbour's while. The licence money and fines were

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		§Francis's Waterfall down to the Sea Shore.§ §Any Person shooting at a Roost shall be subject to Pay the§ §above fine§ §Thos. Cole§ §James Pritchard Churchwardens§	to go to the widows' fund, the same fund the vestry had asked in April 1793 to receive the fines under the slave laws and the horse tax. In this way the vestry kept finding new charges on the planters' pleasures and property to support the widows of the island's own families. The ground between High Knoll and Ladder Hill was reserved to the Governor because it lay among the island's main fortifications. Firing guns there could set off false alarms and endanger the batteries.
245	236	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's Valley§ §this 14 day of September 1795 to consider of the several matters§ §then and there laid before them for the public Benefit.§ §Proposed, that the Church in the Country and the Wall§ §surrounding the same should be repaired as soon as convenient§ §Agreed to§ §Proposed, that there be a new Gate made for the lower§ §Church Yard in James's Valley, and the Wall next the Run thoroughly§ §repaired Agreed to§ §Proposed, that a New Pall be made, of Velvet§ §Agreed to§ §Proposed that a new Gate be made to the School Yard & the§ §thatch of the School house repaired§ §Agreed to§ §Proposed the Expences for the Support of the Poor should§ §remain as it stands at present on the Parish Book§ §Agreed to§ §Agreed the Sum necessary to defray the above expences be§ §raised by a Tax on Slaves§ §agreeable to the List given in this Year.§ §Agreed that the Sum of Ten Pounds p Annum be allowed§ §for writing at Vestries and keeping the Parish books &c.§ §Agreed that Nathaniel Smith be employed as Sexton to the§ §Parish§ §James Pritchard§ §Richd. Torbett Churchwardens§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 4 September 1795 to consider several matters for the public good. It agreed the following. The country church and its surrounding wall would be repaired as soon as convenient. A new gate would be made for the lower churchyard in James's Valley, and the wall beside the stream would be thoroughly repaired. A new pall would be made of velvet. A new gate would be made for the schoolyard, and the thatch of the schoolhouse repaired. The cost of supporting the poor would stay as currently entered in the parish book. The money needed for these costs would be raised by a tax on slaves, according to the list returned that year. A sum of £10 0s 0d a year would be allowed for writing at vestries, keeping the parish books and other work. Nathaniel Smith would be employed as sexton to the parish. James Pritchard and Richard Torbett signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The vestry raised the whole of the year's costs, building work and poor relief alike, by a tax on slaves alone. It assessed the tax on the list of slaves returned that year. In September 1794 it had charged 1s 3d a head on whites and blacks together. Within a year it had gone back to taxing only slave ownership, as it had done since 1787. This was the decision behind the receipts of February 1796, when 1,028 slaves were taxed at 3s 6d each. Nathaniel Smith, appointed sexton here, was the Smith paid as sexton in the accounts from late 1795.
246	237	Advertisement.§ §St. Helena 8th. Feby. 1796§ §Whereas it is necessary that the Country Church should§ §be Thatched and putt in repair, and the Church Wardens§ §finding a difficulty in procuring labor This is therefore to give§ §Notice to the Inhabitants that the Church Wardens are authorised§ §by the Board to call upon them for assistance for the above purpose§ §and to inform them that whatever labor they will now afford shall§ §be struck off from the next September High Way Work.§ §Agreeable to the above Advertisement the following Persons§ §have furnished the Number of Days work set opposite their§ §respective names§ §Thos. Bagley§ §20 Days§ §Jno. Beale§ §3§	A public notice was issued at St Helena on 8 February 1796. The country church needed new thatch and repairs, and the churchwardens were finding it hard to get labour. The Board had therefore authorised them to call on the inhabitants for help. Any labour the inhabitants supplied now would be credited against their highway work due the following September. The following inhabitants supplied the number of days' work shown against their names. Thomas Bagley, 20 days John Beale, 3 days Thomas Burnham, 6 days William Julio, 6 days James Pritchard, 18 days Richard Torbett, 12 days **Interpretations** Every inhabitant owed a set number of days' labour each year on the island's highways, usually supplied by sending slaves. The churchwardens could not hire enough labour for the thatching. Instead of offering higher wages or levying a new tax, they asked the Board to let inhabitants work on the church in place of their highway duty. The parish got its labour at no cash cost, and the planters gave no more work than they already owed. Only six inhabitants

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		§Thos. Burnham§ §6§ §Wm. Julio§ §6§ §Jas. Pritchard§ §18§ §Rd. Torbett§ §12§	responded, which helps explain why the repair account for 1796 also shows 97 days of labourers' work and 48 days of thatching paid for in cash.
247	238	St. Helena 28th. March 1796§ §At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's Valley§ §this Day§ §Proposed That as the Expence of purchasing Palls for the Burial of the§ §Dead is a heavy charge on the Parish every Stranger not being or having§ §been Soldier or Sailor or Pauper interred on the Island shall pay Ten shillings§ §to be collected by the Sexton and paid to the Church Wardens for the time being§ §with a Discretionary power to remit a part of said payment according to the§ §circumstances of the Deceased§ §Agreed to§ §Proposed That as the Country Church, School house and Burial Grounds &c.§ §are not yet compleatly repaired, that the Church Wardens should be empowered§ §to call upon the Overseers of High Way work for a proportionable Number§ §of Days work not exceeding Two hundred Days, to be deducted from the§ §Yearly return in September§ §Agreed to§ §Proposed That as Hogs running publickly in the Streets is a great Nuisance to§ §the Public in General it is humbly requested, the Board will take the same§ §into their consideration and take such precaution as may in their superior§ §Judgement be deemed sufficient for removing the same§ §Proposed That no Person whatever be suffered to destroy or catch Java Sparrows§ §for the Term of One Year from the Date hereof§ §Agreed to§ §James Pritchard§ §Richd. Torbett Church Wardens§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 28 March 1796. Buying palls for burials was a heavy expense for the parish. The vestry therefore agreed that every stranger buried on the island should pay 10s, unless he was or had been a soldier, a sailor or a pauper. The sexton would collect the fee and pay it to the churchwardens in office, who could excuse part of it according to the dead person's circumstances. The country church, the schoolhouse and the burial grounds were still not fully repaired. The vestry agreed that the churchwardens could call on the overseers of the highways for up to 200 days of labour, divided in proportion among the inhabitants and deducted from the yearly return of highway work in September. Hogs roaming the streets were a great nuisance to the public. The vestry asked the Board to consider the problem and take whatever steps it thought fit to remove them. The vestry also agreed that for one year from that date no one should be allowed to kill or catch Java sparrows. James Pritchard and Richard Torbett signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** Java sparrows were small finches native to Java and Bali, with grey bodies, black heads, white cheeks and thick red bills. They were carried from the East Indies as cage birds on Company ships, and some escaped or were released on St Helena, where they began to breed wild. Like the pheasants and peacocks protected in February 1795, they were part of the stock of introduced birds the planters valued. A year's ban on catching them probably gave a small new colony time to establish itself, since the birds were easily trapped for sale as pets. The burial fee for strangers fell on passengers and visitors who died while their ships were in the road. Soldiers, sailors and paupers were exempt because the Company or the parish already bore their burial. A stranger's estate or ship could pay instead. The churchwardens' power to reduce the fee left room for charity where a dead traveller had little. The vestry turned again to highway labour, as in the notice of February 1796, but now fixed a total of 200 days shared in proportion among all inhabitants. Six volunteers had supplied only 65 days. By setting a quota and charging it against the September return, the vestry made the contribution general rather than voluntary.
248	239	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's Valley this§ §9th. Day of May 1796 at the desire of the Governor and Council publish§ §ed by Advertisement, The following Paragraphs of the Honble.§ §Company's General Letter of the 5th. of January 1796 were read to§ §the Inhabitants.§ §Paragraph 43d. It is with much Satisfaction we review this Account of§ §the Public Spirit and Zeal which was exemplified by the Gentlemen§ §alluded to in this Paragraph; We feel equal Satisfaction from§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 9 May 1796. It was called by public notice at the wish of the Governor and Council. Two paragraphs from the Company's general letter of 5 January 1796 were read to the inhabitants. 43: The Court of Directors wrote that it had received with great satisfaction the account of the public spirit and zeal shown by the gentlemen mentioned in that paragraph. It was equally pleased with the report on the conduct of the militia. The Directors judged that the militia's usefulness had never been shown more clearly than in the recent episode. Then, because of more important objects elsewhere, the island had been left in the charge of a very small garrison of regular troops.

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		§your Representation of the Conduct of the Militia and perhaps§ §no Opportunity has offered by which their Utility can be more§ §evident than that which has lately occurred, when owing to§ §more important objects, the Island was left in Charge of so§ §small a Garrison of Regulars.§ §Paragraph 90th. Considering Competition to be the only proper mode§ §by which the Reduction of any Article can be effected, we highly§ §approve of the Governor's Idea that the best mode of lowering§ §the Price of Provisions will be that of encreasing the Quantity§ §for Sale, by encouraging and promoting Industry, and we think§ §the Inhabitants are much indebted to his Exertions in the§ §Prosecution of this Object and the Candid Manner in which§ §he has represented this Business.§ §The following Letter was written signed by the Church§ §Wardens and presented by them to the Governor and Council.§ §To§ §The Worshipful Robt. Brooke Esqr. Governor and§ §Council St. Helena.§ §Sirs§ §The Inhabitants of the Island assembled§ §in Vestry in their own Names and that of the Militia§	90: The Directors held that competition was the only proper way to bring down the price of any article. They therefore strongly approved the Governor's view that the best way to lower the price of provisions was to increase the quantity offered for sale by encouraging and promoting industry. They considered that the inhabitants owed a great deal to his efforts in pursuing this aim and to the frank way he had set out the matter. The churchwardens then signed a letter and presented it to Governor Brooke and the Council. In it the inhabitants, assembled in vestry, wrote in their own names and in the name of the militia [...]. **Interpretations** The Directors' praise for the militia refers to 1795, when most of the regular garrison left St Helena for the expedition that captured the Cape from the Dutch. Lieutenant Broadway's prize money for Dutch ships came from the same campaign. With so few regulars left behind, the island's defence rested largely on the inhabitants' own militia, which the vestry had organised and drilled since February 1793. The Directors' thanks acknowledged that the planters had held the island while the Company's troops were away. On the price of food, the Directors rejected the remedy the vestry had pressed for. The vestry's committee of April 1797 and its request of June 1798 asked the Board to fix the price of fish, as the Council had once fixed mackerel at 5d a dozen. The Company had already ruled in this letter of January 1796 that competition, not price-fixing, was the only proper means of lowering prices. That explains the Council's later reply that no regular plan could cure the dearness of fish, and why the vestry's repeated appeals came to nothing.
249	240	beg leave through your Board to return their humble Thanks§ §to the Honble. the Court of Directors for the Notice taken of§ §them in the 43d. Paragraph of their General Letter read to them§ §this Day.§ §They beg leave to assure the Honble. Court that§ §on every future Occasion their best endeavours shall be used in§ §contributing to the Defence of the Island that they shall§ §be ever ready to shew their Loyalty and attachment to the§ §Constitution of Great Britain and that they will with§ §cheerfulness and alacrity obey all Orders given them by§ §the Governor and Council.§ §They have much Satisfaction in testifying§ §the highest Sense they entertain of the Ability, exertions, and§ §Public Spirit of Colonel Brooke their Governor.§ §They offer their thanks to the Board§ §for communicating to them the Honble. Court of Directors§ §opinion with respect to the Price of Provisions.§ §We are Sirs with the greatest§ §respect your most Obt. Humble Servts.§ §May 9th. 1796§ §James Pritchard§ §Richd. Torbett Church Wardens§	The inhabitants, writing for themselves and the militia, asked the Board to pass their thanks to the Court of Directors for the notice taken of them in paragraph 43 of the general letter read that day. They assured the Court that they would always do their best to help defend the island. They would always be ready to show their loyalty and attachment to the British constitution, and they would obey every order of the Governor and Council willingly and promptly. They were glad to record their high regard for the ability, energy and public spirit of their governor, Colonel Brooke. They also thanked the Board for passing on the Court of Directors' opinion on the price of provisions. The letter was dated 9 May 1796 and signed by James Pritchard and Richard Torbett as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The inhabitants answered both paragraphs very differently. They accepted the Directors' praise for the militia at length, with strong professions of loyalty. On the price of provisions they said only that they thanked the Board for passing on the Directors' opinion. The vestry had been pressing for fixed fish prices, and the Directors had ruled in favour of competition instead. The planters could hardly argue with the Company in a letter of thanks, so they acknowledged the ruling without accepting it. A year later, in April 1797, they took up the price of fish again and set up a committee to propose a plan to the Council.
250	241	[Ink blots at the upper centre and centre of the page, the second partly obscuring a few words in the first V entry. The left-hand edge is worn.] T§ §Tout Joseph appeals against his being elected Constable 17§ §Taxes see "Parish Taxes"§	The index of the vestry book continued under the letters T, V and W. T Tout, Joseph, appealed against his election as constable, 17 Taxes, see Parish taxes Trustees of roads, see Roads

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		§Trustees of Roads see "Roads"§ §Thomas Mary aid granted to 349§ §Thompson Mr. gratuity presented to for leading singing in the Church 5/6 do. 384§ §V§ §Vestry General meeting of 1. proceedings approved. 2. Genl. meeting 5. do. 16. 25. 32. 50. 60. 73. 82. 90.§ §110. 118. 128. 143. 155. 166. 181. 192. 212. 250. 254. 330. persons qualified to vote. 336. proceedings Genl. meeting 350.§ §do. 362 & 376. Meetings to be held in future in the Session time & not in the Church. 377. Genl. meeting. 396. do. 410. Special meeting 417.§ §do. 420.§ §Vestry Committee appointment of 10. should nominate parish officers 135. shall meet on the Thursday§ §previous to Easter Monday. 330.§ §Vaccine Institution proposed by Dr. Short. 196.§ §W§ §Wilkinson Revd. Dr. complains of repairs of Country Church not having been done 37.§ §Watson Mrs. Churchwardens ordered to provide secure her maintenance &c. 420.§	Thomas, Mary, aid granted to, 349 Thompson, Mr, gratuity given to him for leading the singing in the church, [...], 384 V Vestry, general meeting of, 1; proceedings approved, 2; general meetings, 5, 16, 25, 32, 58, 60, 73, 82, 90, 110, 118, 128, 143, 155, 166, 181, 192, 212, 250, 256, 330; persons qualified to vote, 336; proceedings of general meetings, 350, 362, 376; future meetings to be held in the sessions house and not in the church, 377; general meetings, 386, 410; special meetings, 417, 420 Vestry committee, appointment of, 10; to nominate parish officers, 175; to meet on the Thursday before Easter Monday, 330 Vaccine institution, proposed by Dr Short, 196 W Wilkinson, Reverend Dr, complained of the state of the country church [...], 17[...] Watson, Mrs, churchwardens ordered to provide [...] for her maintenance, 420 **Interpretations** This index belongs to the later part of the register. It runs to page 420 and refers to business not seen in the pages so far: a vaccine institution, a voting qualification, and vestry meetings moved from the church to the sessions house. Smallpox vaccination with cowpox was introduced only after 1798. Dr Short's proposal for a vaccine institution therefore dates from the early nineteenth century and replaced the quarantine and isolation methods the vestry relied on in 1789. Moving meetings to the sessions house, the island's courthouse, matched the vestry's later role as a body of civil administration rather than a church meeting.
251	242	[The upper left corner of the page is damaged and partly lost, and the left-hand edge is worn. Small ink blots appear in the upper half of the page, clear of the text.] Xp.§ §Y§ §Yonde Jas. appointed Clerk of fish market 260.§ §Z§	The index of the vestry book ended with entries under Y. No entries appear under Z. Y Youde, James, appointed clerk of the fish market, 260 **Interpretations** The appointment of a clerk of the fish market followed through on the vestry's long complaints about the price of fish. In 1797 and 1798 the vestry had asked the Board to fix prices, and the Directors had refused, preferring competition. The eventual answer was a regulated public market with its own clerk, who would oversee sales, check weights and keep order, so that buyers and fishermen dealt openly in one place. A market of that kind fitted the Company's preference for competition while giving the inhabitants some of the control over the trade they had asked for.
252	243	At a Vestry holden in the Chapple in St. James's Valley the 14§ §Day of April 1800§ §The following Gentlemen were chosen Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §John Alexander§ §Robt. Leech§ §Nathl. Kennedy§ §Constable§ §John Rooke§ §Church Wardens§ §Captain Wm. Seale§ §Lieut. Morris Wells§ §Captain Shirley§ §Overseers of High Ways§ §South Division§ §John Bagley Junr.§ §John Scott Senr.§	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 14 April 1800 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: John Alexander Robert Leech Nathaniel Kennedy Constable: John Weeks Churchwardens: Captain William Seale Lieutenant Alexander Mills Captain Shortley Overseers of the highways, South division: John Bagley junior John Scott senior Overseers of the highways, East division: Elisha Isaacs Lieutenant Wright Overseers of the highways, West division: Frederick Young

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		§East Division§ §Elisha Isaack§ §Lieut. Wright§ §West Division§ §Fredk. Younge§ §Major Thomas Greentree§ §Inspectors of Sheep and Goats§ §South Division§ §Fredk. Alexander§ §East Division§ §Mr. John Mason§ §West Division§ §Mr. Aaron Lambe§ §Wormers of Sheep and Cattle§ §South Division§ §Richard Bagley§ §East Division§ §Richard Knipe§ §West Division§ §Nathan Sample§ §1800§ §Proposition 1st. The Doctors Bill amounting to the Sum of Thirty One Pounds Seven§ §Shillings being produced it is Unanimously agreed upon that same be dis§ §charged out of the Parish Funds§ §2d. The Country Church Wall being in a very ruinous Situation, it is Pro§ §posed and agreed upon that same be put in a proper State of Repair and§ §also that the same be paid for, and Labourers found agreeable to the regu§ §lations of the last Year§ §3d. Also the School House being reported to be in much need of repair it is§ §proposed and agreed upon that same be repaired, and Labourers and Materials§ §found as Usual Namely as above proposed§ §4th. Proposed and Unanimously agreed upon that as according to the Dog Tax§ §Regulations each person possessed of any are obliged to give in a true return§ §of the real number of Dogs, He or she may be possessed of, and it§ §being Conceived that they do not give in such regular Lists or§ §returns§	Major Thomas Greentree Inspector of sheep and goats, South division: Frederick Alexander Inspector of sheep and goats, East division: Mr John Mason Inspector of sheep and goats, West division: Mr Aaron Lambe Wormer of sheep and cattle, South division: Richard Bagley Wormer of sheep and cattle, East division: Richard Knipe Wormer of sheep and cattle, West division: Nathan Sampell The vestry then dealt with the following proposals. 1: The doctor's bill, amounting to £31 4s 0d, was produced, and the vestry agreed unanimously that it should be paid out of the parish funds. 2: The country church wall was in a very ruinous state, and the vestry agreed that it should be put in proper repair. The parish would pay for the work, and labourers would be found under the rules of the previous year. 3: The schoolhouse was reported to be in great need of repair, and the vestry agreed that it should be repaired, with labourers and materials found in the usual way as proposed above. 4: The vestry agreed unanimously that, under the dog tax rules, every person keeping dogs was obliged to make a true return of the number of dogs he or she owned. If they were found not to have made a proper return [...]. **Interpretations** The vestry agreed unanimously to pay the doctor's bill of £31 4s 0d in full. Only a year earlier, in June 1799, it had refused particular items in the surgeons' bills and the Council had sent the dispute to arbitration. The surgeons now presented their charges under the vestry's rule of 1799 that treatment needed the churchwardens' prior consent. Bills authorised in advance could no longer be disputed afterwards, so the earlier quarrel did not recur. Three churchwardens were chosen in 1800. Two of them, Mills and Shortley, took over in turn the Broadway and Price orphans' bonds, signing for them as successive churchwardens in 1801 and 1802. The officers named here held the trust funds that the parish managed for orphans in the early nineteenth century.
253	244	It is proposed to the Honorable Board to raise the Fine on such person or§ §persons to the Sum of Five pounds and to allow the Informer Twenty§ §Shillings the remainder to be appropriated to the Use of the Parish.§ §5th. It being observed that on Vestry Days (and perhaps when§ §the most interesting business may be brought forward) so few of the inhabitants§ §and planters do attend, it is Humbly proposed to the Honble. Board§ §that such person or persons so neglecting to attend (save being Excused by§ §some particular Emergency) to be fined Forty Shillings, same to§ §be appropriated to the Use of the Parish, and in Consequence lodged in§ §the Church Wardens Hands, and that those Gentlemen who may be Detained§ §by Sickness, or any other Sufficient Circumstance, Do Cause same to be§ §officially reported to the Church Wardens, We Do Certify that the foregoing§ §are the true proceedings of Vestry§ §Signed Geo. Scott§	The fourth proposal continued: anyone found to have made a false return of dogs would face a higher fine. The vestry asked the Board to raise that fine to £5 0s 0d, with 20s going to the informer and the rest to the parish. 5: Few of the inhabitants and planters attended on vestry days, even when the most important business might come up. The vestry asked the Board to fine anyone who failed to attend 40s, unless he was excused by some particular emergency. The fines would go to the parish and be lodged with the churchwardens. Anyone kept away by sickness or another sufficient reason was to report it formally to the churchwardens. George Scott and William Seale senior signed as churchwardens and certified the minutes as a true record of the vestry's proceedings. Governor Brooke and the Council approved the proceedings on 14 April 1800. They appointed Mr John Alexander senior to serve as sheriff and ordered warrants to be drawn up for the officers chosen. Messrs Mills and John Shortley were named as churchwardens. John Wright, Thomas Greentree and John Scott senior were to be overseers. John Mason, Aaron Lambe and F. Alexander were made inspectors of sheep and goats. Richard Knipe,

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		§Wm. Seale Senr. Church Wardens§ §We approved of the foregoing Proceedings & appointed Mr. Jno. Alexander§ §Senr. to serve the Office of Sheriff, & ordered Warrants to be drawn for Messrs.§ §Moris Wells & Jnt. Shirley Church Wardens, Jno. Wright, Thos. Greentree, &§ §Jno. Scott Senr. Overseers, Jno. Mason, Aaron Lamb, & F. Alexander§ §Inspectors of Sheep & Goats & Richard Knipe, Nathan Sampell, &§ §Richard Bagley Inspectors of Worming Cattle§ §14th. April 1800 Signed§ §R. Brook§ §F. Robson§ §W. W. Doveton§ **Margin Notes:** §5th. 4.§	Nathan Sampell and Richard Bagley became inspectors of cattle worming. The approval was signed by R. Brooke, F. Robson and W. W. Doveton. **Interpretations** The vestry asked to fine its own members 40s for staying away. Poor attendance was a long-running problem: the minutes of February 1793 complained of the same neglect. The obvious course was to keep appealing to the inhabitants' sense of duty. Instead the vestry sought power to penalise absence. It was taking more and more decisions binding on the whole island, and thin meetings left those decisions to a handful of men. A fine for absence would make attendance a legal duty like serving in a parish office. The vestry could only propose these fines. The Governor and Council turned its choices into warrants. Without a warrant, the inspectors and overseers had no legal authority to enter land or enforce the rules on dogs and cattle, so the Council's approval was what gave the vestry's officers their power.
254	245	Island St. Helena§ §26th. May 1800§ §It having been represented to the Governor and§ §Council that the Dogs belonging to many of the Inhabitants of the said Island are§ §often seen in Church during the time of Divine Service by which the Congregation§ §are frequently disturbed and the Service interrupted.§ §This is therefore to give Notice that if any§ §Dog or Dogs are seen hereafter in Church During the Time of Divine Service§ §We Shall proceed as authorized by the Laws and Customs of this Island.§ §By order of Government§ §Signed Wm. Seale Senr.§ §M. Wells Church Wardens§	The churchwardens posted a notice on 26 May 1800. The Governor and Council had been told that dogs belonging to many inhabitants were often seen in church during divine service, disturbing the congregation and interrupting the service. Any dog found in church during service in future would be dealt with as the laws and customs of the island allowed. The notice was issued by order of the government and signed by William Seale senior and A. Mills as churchwardens.
255	246	At a Vestry James Valley 6th. April 1801§ §To Captains§ §W. Seale§ §&§ §M. Wells§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §The Governor & Council Viewing with much uneasiness & peculiar§ §Concern the present arbitrary & Exorbitant Sums charged by Fishermen for the§ §Price of Fish at a moment of very alarming Scarcity, have commanded me§ §to Signify their desire, that the Vestry will Select from among their Number§ §assembled on the approaching 6th. of April, a certain Number of Parishoners not§ §fewer than Six, for the purpose of investigating conjointly, the Causes of§ §the Evil in Question; for proposing regulations for its future prevention,§ §establishing some specific maximum of the price of Fish, & pointing out the means§ §which may appear to them the most likely to obviate fraud attempted to elude§ §Regulations consequently enacted. And I am accordingly further directed by the§ §Board to request, that they will report progress on this Subject with all§ §convenient Dispatch.§ §St. Helena§ §March 30th. 1801 I have the Honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Yr. Obt. Servt.§ §To Jno. Goodwin§ §Captns. Seale & Wells Secy.§ §In Consequence of the above Letter, the undernamed	John Goodwin, the secretary, wrote to Captains William Seale and A. Mills, churchwardens, on 30 March 1801. The Governor and Council viewed with great unease and particular concern the exorbitant and arbitrary prices that fishermen were charging for fish at a time of very alarming scarcity. They wanted the vestry meeting on 6 April to choose at least six parishioners from among those present. The six would examine the causes of the problem together and propose rules to prevent it in future. These would include a fixed maximum price for fish and penalties that seemed most likely to stop any attempt at fraud or evasion. The Board also asked the vestry to report its progress on the matter as quickly as it conveniently could. As a result, the vestry meeting in James's Valley on 6 April 1801 chose the following gentlemen as a committee to regulate the price of fish. Major Thomas Greentree Captain E. C. Smith Doctor D. Kay Doctor Dunn Mr T. Bagley S. Knipe John Legg The churchwardens set a further matter before the vestry the same day. They pointed out the inconvenience and cost the parish would inevitably face from slaves bought by soldiers and others and then set free, against the Company's slave laws. The parish books already showed several such cases. Several blacks had also been left sick on the island by passing ships. The churchwardens believed these should be sent on to their own countries so that they did not become a burden on the parish. They said it was their duty as churchwardens to raise these matters and left them to the vestry's judgement.

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		Gentlemen were§ §this day (6th. April 1801) Chosen in Vestry, to sit as a Committee to regulate§ §the Price of Fish§ §Major Thos. Greentree§ §Captn. E. C. Smith§ §Doctor D. Kay§ §Doctor Dunn§ §Mr. T. Bagley§ §S. Knipe§ §Jnt. Legg§ §To the Gentlemen now met in Vestry§ §Gentlemen§ §We the Church Wardens beg leave to lay before you the many§ §Inconveniencies, & Expences the Parish will be unavoidably put to from§ §Slaves being purchased by Soldiers & Others, & afterwards set at Liberty§ §contrary to the Honble. Company's Slave Laws; in several instances, which§ §now will appear by the Parish Books. Also that several Blacks have been left§ §here sick from Ships, which we conceive should be forwarded to their Native place§ §to prevent them from becoming burthensome to the Parish, We conceive§ §Gentlemen what we have above stated to be our Duty as Church Wardens§ §and lay it before you for your Consideration.§ §St. Helena We Remain§ §6th. April 1801 Gentlemen§ §Yr. Obdt. Servts.§ §W. Seale§ §M. Wells Church Wardens§	William Seale and A. Mills signed the letter on 6 April 1801. **Interpretations** In January 1796 the Directors had ruled that competition, not fixed prices, was the only proper way to lower the cost of food. In 1798 the Council had told the vestry that no regular plan could cure the dearness of fish until peace returned. By 1801, with the scarcity "very alarming", the Council reversed itself. It asked the vestry for a maximum price and penalties for evasion. The pressure of shortage had forced the government back to the method the inhabitants had urged since 1797. Asking the vestry to draft the rules let the Council act through the inhabitants' own body rather than impose controls directly. The churchwardens' complaint showed a new way that slaves were being freed against the slave laws. Soldiers of the garrison bought slaves, perhaps to win their freedom or for some private arrangement, and then released them without the security against becoming a charge that the law required. When a soldier left the island, the freed slave remained and fell on the parish. The blacks left sick by ships were probably seamen from India or the East, put ashore by passing vessels as Hampshire had been from the *Earl Howe* in 1796. The churchwardens wanted them sent home rather than kept, which would have moved the cost back to the shipping that left them.
256	247	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in St. James's Valley 6th. April 1801§ §The following Gentlemen were Chosen Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. Jno. Goodwin§ §Mr. N. Kennedy§ §Mr. W. Seale (Junr.)§ §Constables§ §Mr. McCurtain§ §Church Wardens§ §Capt. M. Wells§ §Mr. Jno. Desfountain Jr.§ §Mr. Geo. Leech§ §Overseers of High Ways§ §South Division§ §Start of crossed out section§ §Mr. J. Cole Senr.§ §[...]§ §End of crossed out section§ §Lt. Thos. Lester§ §East Division§ §Capt. Jno. Wright§ §Mr. Jno. Worralls Estate§ §West Division§ §Capt. W. Greentree§ §Mr. Peslie§ §Inspectors of Sheep & Goats§ §South Division§ §Jno. Seale (Senior)§ §East Division§ §Jnt. Robinson§ §West Division§ §Richd. Torbett§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §South Division§ §Mr. Benjamin Mason Junr.§ §East Division§ §Captain Desfountain§	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 6 April 1801 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: Mr John Goodwin Mr N. Kennedy Mr W. Seale junior Constable: Mr McCurtain Churchwardens: Captain A. Mills Mr John Desfountain junior Mr George Leech Overseers of the highways, South division: Mr J. Cole senior **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** Dr Thomas Lester Overseers of the highways, East division: Captain John Wright Mr John Worrall's estate Overseers of the highways, West division: Captain W. Greentree Mr Leslie Inspector of sheep and goats, South division: John Seale senior Inspector of sheep and goats, East division: John Robinson Inspector of sheep and goats, West division: Richard Torbett Wormer of cattle, South division: Mr Benjamin Mason junior Wormer of cattle, East division: Captain Desfountain Wormer of cattle, West division: Mr Thomas Ailesworth The vestry then dealt with the following proposals.

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		§West Division§ §Mr. Thos. Ailesworth§ §Proposition 1st. That no Blacks be allowed in future to keep any Dogs at Out§ §Houses, that the Dogs will be Killed, and the Slaves or Slave punished, and§ §it is further recommended that no Free Blacks shall be allowed to keep a§ §Dog or Dogs in future.§ §Proposition 2d. That it is agreed on that the Sum of 1/6 p Head be Levied§ §on all Slaves for Raising Money to defray the Expences of the Parish§ §Proposed By the Body of the Vestry that in Consequence of the Letter§ §Layd before them by the Church Wardens that it be recommended§ §to the Board that as no Bond has been Given to the Parish Officers§ §respecting the maintaining or taking for any Slaves or Slave that§ §the Persons from Whom they got their Freedom, shall agreeable to the§ §37 Article of the Honble. Company Slave Laws be made to give§ §the Parish Officers for the time being Security that such Slave or§ §Slaves shall not become an Encumbrance on the Parish§ §or otherwise such Slaves will be Sold by Publick Auction and§ §and the Benefit Arising therefrom to be Lodged in the Hands§ §of the Church Wardens, for the time being until Claimed§ §by the proprietors or their Heirs.§ §The Body of the Vestry humbly beg Leave to§ §recommend the same to the Board for their Approbation and beg leave§ §that a Committee might be Chosen to prevent this growing Evil§ §which Occurs to them.§ §Carried Over§	1: No black was to be allowed to keep dogs at outlying houses in future, on pain of the dogs being killed and the slaves or slave punished. The vestry further recommended that no free black should be allowed to keep a dog or dogs in future. 2: The vestry agreed that a tax of [...] a head should be levied on all slaves to meet the parish's expenses. The vestry as a whole then considered the letter the churchwardens had laid before it. It proposed that the Board be asked to require a bond in every case where slaves were freed, as the 37th article of the Company's slave laws required. The bond would be given to the parish officers in office by those from whom the slaves obtained their freedom, as security that the freed slaves would not become a charge on the parish. If no bond were given, the slaves would be sold at public auction and the proceeds lodged with the churchwardens until claimed by their owners or their heirs. The vestry recommended this to the Board for its approval. It asked that a committee be chosen to stop the growing evil that it saw arising. **Interpretations** The vestry's answer to improper freeing was to sell the freed person at public auction if no bond was given, holding the money for the former owner or his heirs. The Council's position in June 1798 was that the parish had not yet suffered from such cases and that the slave laws needed revising so they could not be read in different ways. The vestry now went much further. Rather than chase the person who had freed the slave, it proposed to undo the freedom itself and return the person to slavery by sale. A slave freed without security would become saleable property again, and the parish's protection against cost was placed above the freed person's liberty. The ban on dogs kept by slaves at outlying houses, and on dogs kept by free blacks, carried the dog laws into control of black people. Dogs at remote houses could be used for hunting, guarding stolen goods or worrying sheep beyond the owners' sight. Denying them to all blacks, free or slave, removed one more means of independence from those outside the planters' direct supervision.
257	248	A Bill being presented by the Steward of the Hospital to the§ §Parish was agreed that it Should not be paid for the present§ §but laid before the Govr. and Council for their Determination§ §as no such President ever appeard on the Parish Books§ §before§ §Signd.§ §Wm. Seale§ §M. Wells Church Wardens§	The steward of the hospital presented a bill to the parish. The vestry agreed not to pay it for the time being. It would instead be put before the Governor and Council for a decision, since no such charge had ever appeared in the parish books before. William Seale and A. Mills signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The hospital was the Company's, run by its own steward for the garrison and the Company's people. Paying the bill would have set a new precedent: once settled from the rates, such charges could be presented every year. The vestry therefore refused to pay until the Governor and Council ruled on whether the cost was the parish's at all. It was the same caution the vestry had shown over the surgeons' bills in 1799. Any new kind of charge was referred upward before the parish accepted it.
258	249	Blank page	
259	250	[A small ink blot in the lower centre of the page partly obscures one word.] 1800 Parish from 1800 to 1801 6th. Apl. Dr.§ §£ s d§ §3d. May To Cash a Bill of Capt. Wm. Seales omitted being Paid by§ §Capt. Geo. Scott late Church Warden on Acct. Country Church§ §3§	The parish account for 1800 to 6 April 1801 recorded these payments on its debit side. 1 May 1800, cash paid on a bill of Captain William Seale, left out when Captain George Scott, the late churchwarden, paid it, on account of the country church, £3 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr John Desfountain junior, on account of Major [...], for 2 loads of bamboo for binders for the same work, £0 10s 0d

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		§To Cash Paid Mr. Jno. Desfountain Junr. on Acct. May Rents for§ §2 Loads of Bambo for Binders for the above§ §10§ §Cash Pd. Capt. Jos. Desfountain for a Slave man Executed§ §named Joe§ §15§ §Paid the Vestry Clerk§ §10§ §Do. the Sexton§ §15§ §Paid Mr. Jo. Seale Jun. Collecting Dog & Sheep Tax§ §5§ §Paid Wm. Wrangham Esqr. Bill for work Done the School§ §House§ §8½ Days Thatching @ 5/6 £ 2.2.6§ §26 Days Masons Work @ 3/6 4.4§ §107 Do. Labour Do. @ 1/6 8.0.6§ §5 Loads Binders Do. @ 6/. 1.10§ §15 17§ §Paid Jonas for 9 Days Thatching @ 5/.§ §2 5§ §Paid for 9 Days Labour @ 2/.§ §18§ §Paid for 1 Jug of Prepared Oil £ 2.0.0§ §4 Keggs of White Lead @ 28/. 5.12§ §lb. Red Paint @ [...] 14§ §3 lb. Red Lead @ 4½ 1 1½§ §2⅞ Galls. of Turpentine @ 3/6 10 9§ §1 lb. Lamp Black @ 1/6 1 6§ §5 Paint Brushes 7 6§ §40 Sqrs. Glass 8 by 10 @ 1/. 2.0.0§ §1 Qt. Oil for Mixing Putty @ 1/6 1 6§ §11 16 6½§ §To 10 Bushells Lime§ §1 7§ §To 6 Single & 6 Double Deals Sundry times§ §3 15§ §To 13 Days Painting by Smithers @ 5/. p Day§ §3 5§ §To 7 Days Do. by Lt. Lesters Bob @ 5/. Do.§ §1 15§ §To Cash paid for Rushes for School and Bringing in to Town§ §£ 3 5 0§ §To Cash Paid for 81 Girth of Rushes and§ §Bringing to Town§ §6 5 6§ §9 10 6§ §To Cash Pd. for Rope Yarn and Rattling from Stores§ §1 13 9§ §To 2½ Galls. of Rum for the above Labouring Men &c.§ §Employed§ §1 6 1½§ §To Cash Paid for repairing the Country Church Yard Wall§ §& Parish House &c. &c.§ §12 10½§ §To Cash Paid Saml. Moyce for Collecting the Free Blacks§ §6 9§ §To Cash Paid Mr. Gabl. Isacke for a Coffin for a Woman§ §Dead in the Parish House Named Silvy§ §1 5§ §Carried Forward£ 104 3 6½§	Cash paid to Captain John Desfountain for a male slave named Jobe, who was executed, £15 0s 0d Paid to the vestry clerk, £10 0s 0d Paid to the sexton, £15 0s 0d Paid to Mr John Seale junior for collecting the dog and sheep tax, £5 0s 0d Paid on William Wrangham Esquire's bill for work on the schoolhouse, £15 17s 0d, made up of: 8½ days of thatching at 5s, £2 2s 6d 24 days of masons' work at 3s 6d, £4 4s 0d 107 days of labourers' work at 1s 6d, £8 0s 6d 5 loads of binders at 6s, £1 10s 0d Paid to Jonas for 9 days of thatching at 5s, £2 5s 0d Paid for 9 days of labour at 2s, £0 18s 0d Paid for painting materials, £11 16s 6½d, made up of: 1 jug of prepared oil, £2 0s 0d 4 kegs of white lead at 28s, £5 12s 0d [...] red paint, £0 14s 0d [...] red lead, £[...] 2½ gallons of turpentine, £0 10s [...] 1 lb of lamp black at 1s 6d, £0 1s 6d 5 paint brushes, £0 7s 6d 40 squares of glass, 8 inches by 10, at 1s, £2 0s 0d 1 quart of oil for mixing putty at 1s 6d, £0 1s 6d 10 bushels of lime, £1 7s 0d 6 single and 6 double deals, bought at various times, £3 15s 0d 13 days of painting by Smithers at 5s a day, £3 5s 0d 7 days of painting by Mr Lester's Bob at 5s, £1 15s 0d Cash paid for 81 girths of rushes for the school and bringing them to town, £9 10s 6d Cash paid for rope yarn and ratline from the stores, £1 13s 9d Cash paid for 2½ gallons of rum for the labourers employed, £1 6s 1½d Cash paid for repairing the country churchyard wall, the parish house and other work, £0 12s 10½d Cash paid to Samuel Moyce for collecting the list of free blacks, £0 6s 9d Cash paid to Mr Gabriel Isaacs for a coffin for a woman named [...] who died in the parish house, £1 5s 0d Carried forward, £104 3s 6½d **Interpretations** Mr Lester's Bob was a slave who worked as a painter and was hired out at 5s a day. That was the same rate paid to Smithers, a free painter, and to the thatchers. In the 1770s the parish paid masters 1s 6d a day for slave labourers and 3s for slave masons. By 1800 a slave with a skilled trade could earn his owner as much as a free craftsman. The wage increase reflected both the general rise in prices and the shortage of labour, which the churchwardens had complained of since 1796. The paint bill of almost £12 0s 0d shows the schoolhouse was being painted properly for the first time, with white lead, red lead, turpentine and lamp black, and newly glazed with 40 panes. The building was no longer a thatched cottage patched from year to year. The parish was investing in its appearance and keeping it in good order, in line with the schoolhouse rules of 1779, which kept all repairs and improvements in the churchwardens' hands.
260	251	Contra from 1800 to 6t. Apl. 1801 Cr.§ §3d. May 1800 By Cash as Ballt. of Acct. Due and recd. from§ §Captn. Geo. Scott late Church Warden§ §£ 26 6 10§	The credit side of the parish account for 1800 to 6 April 1801 recorded the following receipts. 1 May 1800, cash received from Captain George Scott, the late churchwarden, as the balance due on his account, £26 6s 10d Cash collected from the tax on dogs, £47 0s 0d

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		§By Cash as Tax on Dogs Gathered to the Amount§ §47§ §£ 73 6 10§ §Carried forward§	Carried forward, £73 6s 10d
261	252	1801 Parish Acct. Brot. forward Dr.§ §£ 104 3 6½§ §To Cash paid for 3 Yds. of Black Cloth for a Pall£ 3 9§ §To Do. for Lining for Do.1 10§ §To 5 Yds. Black Ribband for Do.5§ §To 6 Skains of Silk Do.3§ §To the Taylor for Making Do.10 6§ §5 17 6§ §To Cash given to Support Molley and Child sent to§ §the Poor House by Order Wm. Doveton Esqr. Justice Peace§ §5 3§ §To Cash given to Support a Slave woman and Child§ §Saly. & by Order of the Govr.§ §6§ §6 Apl. To Maintanance of Wm. Worrall 33 Days at 1/. ꝑ Day§ §by consent of Vestry§ §1 13§ §To Frank Sold. for Writing§ §1§ §To Making New Hinges for Lower Church Yard§ §4§ §To 4 Days to Mr. Laird in Looking over the Men§ §Imploy in Clearing out the Run§ §14§ §To 6 Days to Mr. Laird for Do. Do.§ §1§ §To Cash Paid Mr. Benjn. Mason Jr. for Geathering§ §the Dog & Sheep Tax§ §5§ §£ 120 4 3½§ §117 19 4§ §Ballce. due to Wm. Seale§ §3 4 11½§ §Received the Ballance of the above Acct. from§ §Capt. Moses Wells Church Warden this 16th. Day of Sept. 1801§ §Wm. Seale Church Warden§ **Margin Notes:** §£ 3. 4. 11½§	The parish account was carried forward with the following payments on its debit side. Brought forward, £104 3s 6½d Cash paid for a pall, £5 17s 6d, made up of: 3 yards of black cloth, £3 9s 0d Lining, £1 10s 0d 5 yards of black ribbon, £0 5s 0d 6 skeins of silk, £0 3s 0d The tailor's charge for making it, £0 10s 6d Cash given to support Molly and her child, sent to the poor house by order of William Doveton Esquire, justice of the peace, £0 5s 3d Cash given to support a slave woman and her child held in gaol by order of the Governor, £0 6s 0d 6 April 1801, keep of William Wonnell for 33 days at 1s a day, with the vestry's consent, £1 13s 0d Paid to [...] for writing, £1 0s 0d Making new hinges for the lower churchyard, £0 4s 0d 4 days paid to Mr Laird for overseeing the men clearing out the stream, £0 14s 0d 6 days paid to Mr Laird for the same work, £1 1s 0d Cash paid to Mr Benjamin Mason junior for collecting the dog and sheep tax, £5 0s 0d Total, £120 4s 3½d Less receipts, £116 19s 4d Balance due to William Seale, £3 4s 11½d William Seale acknowledged on 16 September 1801 that he had received the balance of the account from Captain Moses Mills, churchwarden. A note in the margin recorded that the sum of £3 4s 11½d had been paid. **Interpretations** The velvet pall agreed in September 1795 was evidently never made, or had worn out, for here the parish bought black cloth, lining, ribbon and silk and paid a tailor to make one. The vestry had raised the 10s burial fee for strangers in March 1796 specifically because palls were a heavy charge on the parish. This entry shows what a single pall cost: nearly £6 0s 0d, close to half a year's pay for the sexton. Molly and her child were sent to the poor house by order of a justice of the peace. A slave woman and her child were held in gaol by order of the Governor. Both were committed by the island's authorities, and the parish paid for their keep. The justices and the Governor could place people in parish custody without the vestry's consent, and the parish met the cost afterwards.
262	253	1801 Per Contra Brot. forward Cr.§ §£ s d§ §By Cash Brot. up§ §73 6 10§ §20 July By Cash Recd. for Pigs Impounded§ §1 2 6§ §By Cash Recd. for Dog Tax Geathered 172 Dogs§ §42 10§ §£ 116 19 4§ §E. Ex.§ §Wm. Seale Church Warden§	The credit side of the parish account for 1801 was carried forward with the following receipts. Cash brought up, £73 6s 10d 20 July 1801, cash received for impounded pigs, £1 2s 6d Cash received from the dog tax, collected on 172 dogs, £42 10s 0d Total, £116 19s 4d William Seale signed the account as churchwarden, subject to errors excepted. **Interpretations** The dog tax was collected on 172 dogs in 1801, compared with 213 in 1791 and about 200 implied by the receipts of 1796. That was a fall of about a fifth over the decade. Over those years the vestry required owners to declare their dogs, fined undeclared dogs heavily, paid informers and destroyed strays. In April 1801 it banned dogs kept by slaves at outlying houses and by free blacks. The fewer dogs on the roll suggest the measures were working. The tax was designed to

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			reduce the number of dogs as much as to raise money.
263	254	Parish from the 7th. April 1801 to 19th. Apl. 1802 Dr.§ §£ s d§ §1801 By Ballce. of Books Paid to Capt. Seale§ §3 4 11½§ §July 10th. Paid Hilman the Sexton§ §3 15§ §23 Paid Vestry Clerk Mr. Sian§ §10§ §Augt. 31 Paid Moyce for collectg. the Free Blacks§ §6 9§ §Paid Chas. Scott for attendg. the Fish Market§ §10§ §Paid Reed the Armourer for a Beam for Fish Market§ §2 10§ §Paid Ditto for makg. Weights§ §1§ §Paid for 189 lb. Lead at 3d. p lb.§ §2 6§ §Paid for Wood Line and makg. the Scales§ §10§ §Octr. 7th. Paid Roach for attendg. Fish Market§ §10§ §6th. Paid Hilman§ §3 15§ §27 Paid J. Hayes for work done to the School house§ §2 2 6§ §Jany. 1st. Paid Hilman§ §3 15§ §9th. Paid Roach for attg. Fish Market§ §10§ §Feby. 6th. Paid Crawly for a Coffin for a Man named Free Billy§ §1 5§ §Mar. 16 Paid for 2 Bags Lime for School house§ §3§ §Paid a Man for carryg. the same§ §2 3§ §20 Paid a Mason 5 days at 3/6 and a Labourer 5 days at 2/3 School house§ §1 8 9§ §31 Paid Hilman Salary§ §3 15§ §31 Paid Roach Ditto§ §10§ §Apl. 7th. Paid Betty Rodgers§ §3 6§ §18 Paid Farrell for writing at Vestry 2 Days§ §1§ §Paid Betty Rodgers Nine Weeks at 3/6 p Week§ §1 11 6§ §June 2d. Paid Gahagan for a Bottle of Wine for Ditto§ §3 4§ §Paid Funeral Expences for Ditto§ §4 13 6§ §Paid for Jacks Sophia when in Goal§ §3 9§ §July 7th. Paid Ross for attendg. Fish Market§ §10§ §Paid Hilman the Sexton Salary§ §3 15§ §Sept. 7th. Paid Farrell for Copying a List of Inhabitants§ §8§ §Octr. 7th. Paid Ross Salary for Fish Market§ §10§ §Paid Hilman Salary§ §3 15§ §7th. Paid Gunnell for collectg. a List of Families (by order of Govt.)§ §1 10§	The parish account for 7 April 1801 to 19 April 1802 recorded these payments on its debit side. 1801, balance of the books paid to Captain Seale, £3 4s 11½d 10 July, paid to Hilman, the sexton, £3 15s 0d 23 July, paid to the vestry clerk, Mr Sim, £0 10s 0d 31 August, paid to Moyce for collecting the list of free blacks, £0 6s 9d Paid to Charles Scott for attending the fish market, £10 0s 0d Paid to Reed, the armourer, for a beam for the fish market, £2 10s 0d Paid to Reed for making weights, £1 0s 0d Paid for 159 lb of lead, £[...] Paid for rods and making the scales, £0 10s 0d 7 October, paid to Roach for attending the fish market, £10 0s 0d 6 October, paid to Hilman, £3 15s 0d 27 October, paid to J. Hayes for work done on the schoolhouse, £2 2s 6d 1 January 1802, paid to Hilman, £3 15s 0d 9 January, paid to Roach for attending the fish market, £10 0s 0d 6 February, paid to Crawley for a coffin for a man named Free Billy, £1 5s 0d 16 March, paid for 2 bags of lime for the schoolhouse, £0 3s 0d Paid to a man for carrying the lime, £0 2s 3d 20 March, paid to a mason for 5 days at 3s 6d and a labourer for 5 days at 2s, at the schoolhouse, £1 8s 9d 31 March, paid to Hilman for his salary, £3 15s 0d 31 March, paid to Roach for his salary, £10 0s 0d 7 April, paid to Betty Rodgers, £0 3s 6d 13 April, paid to Farrell for writing at the vestry for 2 days, £1 0s 0d Paid to Betty Rodgers for 9 weeks at 3s 6d a week, £1 11s 6d 2 June, paid to Gahagan for a bottle of wine for Betty Rodgers, £0 3s 4d Paid for Betty Rodgers's funeral, £4 13s 6d Paid for Jackie Sophia while in gaol, £0 3s 9d 7 July, paid for attending the fish market, £10 0s 0d Paid to Hilman, the sexton, for his salary, £3 15s 0d 7 September, paid to Farrell for copying a list of inhabitants, £0 8s 0d 7 October, paid to Roach for his salary for the fish market, £10 0s 0d Paid to Hilman for his salary, £3 15s 0d Paid to Gunnell for collecting a list of families by order of the government, £1 10s 0d 10 October, paid for a padlock for the parish house, £0 2s 3d Paid to Mr Benjamin Mason junior for collecting the tax on 99 dogs at 1s, £4 19s 0d Paid to Mr Benjamin Mason junior for collecting the slave tax, £3 0s 0d Paid for 2½ gallons of varnish for the fish market, £0 7s 6d Paid to a labourer for the same work, £0 2s 3d Total, £116 4s 6½d 17 November, paid for materials for the country church, £[...] Paid for carrying deals to the country church, £0 2s 3d 1 January 1803, paid to Hilman for his salary, £3 15s 0d Paid to Sergeant [...] for the fish market, £10 0s 0d

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		§Do. Paid for a Padlock for the Parish house§ §2 3§ §Paid Mr. Benj. Mason Junr. for collectg. 99 Dogs at 1/.§ §4 19§ §Paid Do. for collectg. Slave Tax§ §3§ §Paid for Varnish for Fish Market 2½ Galls.§ §7 6§ §Paid Labourer for Do.§ §2 3§ §£ 116 4 6½§ §Nov. 17 Paid Sawyer for 5 Deals for the Country Church§ §3 9§ §Do. carrying Deals to the Country Church§ §2 3§ §1803 Jany. 1 Paid Hilmans Salary§ §3 15§ §Paid Sergt. Ross for the Fish Market§ §10§ §Ballance§ §35 9 6§ §£ 165 15§	Balance, £35 9s 6d Total, £165 15s 0d **Interpretations** The fish market the Council called for in March 1801 opened that year and quickly became the parish's largest single expense. The parish paid for a beam, weights, scales and varnish, and an attendant at £10 0s 0d a quarter, £40 0s 0d a year. That was more than the sexton and the vestry clerk received together. The Directors had rejected fixed prices in 1796, so the Council chose a public market instead, where every sale took place openly and was weighed on the parish's own scales. That gave buyers protection against short weight and secret dealing without setting a legal price. The attendant was the post later indexed as the clerk of the fish market. Gunnell was paid to collect a list of families by order of the government, and Farrell to copy a list of inhabitants. Together with the regular registers of free blacks, slaves and dogs, these lists show the parish acting as the government's census-taker. The vestry's officers gathered the information on which taxes, relief and the island's supply were planned.
264	255	[Small ink blots along the head of the page and staining along the right-hand edge, clear of the text.] Contra from 7th. April 1801 to 19th. Apl. 1802 Cr.§ §1801 By Cash received for Dog Tax No. (150) at 5/.§ §37 10§ §By Slave Tax at 2/6 p head No.§ §128 5§ §£ 165 15§ §By Ballance due to the Parish§ §35 9 6§ §Errors Excepted§ §I acknowledge to have recd. the above§ §Ballance from Capt. Wells§ §Jnt. Shirtley§ §See Page 45§	The credit side of the parish account for 7 April 1801 to 19 April 1802 recorded these receipts. 1801, cash received from the dog tax on 150 dogs at 5s, £37 10s 0d Slave tax at 2s 6d a head, number not entered, £128 5s 0d Total, £165 15s 0d Balance due to the parish, £35 9s 6d The account was signed subject to errors excepted. John Shortley acknowledged that he had received the balance from Captain Mills. A note referred the reader to page 45. **Interpretations** The slave tax at 2s 6d a head raised £128 5s 0d, so about 1,026 slaves were taxed. That was almost the same as the 1,028 counted in 1796. Over five years of war, scarcity and freeing without security, the number of privately owned slaves on the island barely changed. The tax on slaves now brought in more than three times the dog tax. That was enough to pay for the new fish market and still leave the parish £35 9s 6d in hand.
265	256	At a Vestry held in the Chapel in St. James Valley§ §19th. April 1802. The following Gentlemen were chosen§ §Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. Richd. Leech§ §Constables§ §Jos. Tout§ §Church Wardens§ §Capt. Shirtley§ §Mr. Jno. Desfountain§ §Mr. Geo. Leech§ §Overseers of High Ways§ §South Division§ §Mr. Fredk. Alexander§ §NB Lt. Thos. Lester chosen in§ §Room of Henry Purling§ §Deceased§ §East Division§ §John Legg§ §West Division§ §Lt. Benjn. Hodson§ §NB Wm. Julio in Room§ §of Saml. Howes§ §Inspectors of Sheep & Goats§ §South Division§ §Mr. Lamb§	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 19 April 1802 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriff: Mr Richard Leech Constable: Joseph Tout Churchwardens: Captain Shortley Mr John Desfountain Mr George Leech Overseers of the highways, South division: Mr Frederick Alexander Dr Thomas Lester, chosen in place of Henry Gurling, deceased Overseers of the highways, East division: John Legg Overseers of the highways, West division: Lieutenant Benjamin Hodson William Julio, in place of Samuel Bowers Inspector of sheep and goats, South division: Mr Lamb Inspector of sheep and goats, East division: Benjamin Mason junior Inspector of sheep and goats, West division: Lieutenant Alexander Wormer of cattle, South division: Wrangham's estate

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		§East Division§ §Benjn. Mason Junr.§ §West Division§ §Lt. Alexander§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §South Division§ §Wranghams Estate§ §East Division§ §Mr. Porteous§ §West Division§ §Capt. Smith§	Wormer of cattle, East division: Mr Porteous Wormer of cattle, West division: Captain Smith **Interpretations** Wrangham's estate was named as wormer of cattle for the South division. A landholding, not a person, was given the post. The same thing happened in 1801, when Mr John Worrall's estate was made an overseer of the highways. When a planter had died and his land was held in trust, the duty passed with the land, and the trustees had to supply someone to carry it out. Office followed property, not the individual, which was the principle later set out in the rota of estates ranked by acreage. Joseph Tout, chosen constable here, was the man indexed as appealing against his election to that office. Even the lowest parish post could be resented as a burden, and the vestry's power to compel service could be challenged.
266	257	At a Vestry held in the Chapel in St. James's Valley§ §25th. April 1802. The following Gentlemen were chosen§ §Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. Thos. Bagley§ §Constables§ §Jos. Tout§ §Church Wardens§ §Capt. Shirtley§ §Mr. John Desfountain§ §Mr. Geo. Leech§ §Overseers of High Ways§ §South Division§ §Mr. Fredk. Alexander§ §NB Lt. Thos. Lester chosen§ §in Room of Henry§ §Purling deceased§ §East Division§ §Jno. Legg§ §West Division§ §Lieut. Benjn. Hodson§ §NB Wm. Julio in Room of§ §Edmond Howes§ §Inspectors of Sheep & Goats§ §South Division§ §Mr. Lamb§ §East Division§ §Benjn. Mason Junr.§ §West Division§ §Lieut. Alexander§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §South Division§ §Wranghams Estate§ §East Division§ §Mr. Porteous§ §West Division§ §Capt. Smith§ §To Colonel Robert Patton Governor &c. &c. &c.§ §Humbly Sheweth, The Humble Petition of Joseph Tout§ §That your Petitioner was chosen Constable last Vestry, and he is not§ §out of the Garrison above 4 Months, and there being several housekeepers who are prior to him§ §he humbly begs your Honors interference, that he may not serve as a Constable, before those§ §who have a right to serve before him. Your Petitioner begs Permission to observe that§ §he holds the Situation of Clerk of the Market and it will be impossible for him to do§ §Justice in both situations, for at times One of them must be neglected, therefore hopes your§ §Honor will acquiesce with his Request. And he as in duty bound will ever§ §Pray.§ §The above Petition being read to the Gentlemen	A vestry met in the chapel in St James's Valley on 25 April 1802 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriff: Mr Thomas Bagley Constable: Joseph Tout Churchwardens: Captain Shortley Mr John Desfountain Mr George Leech Overseers of the highways, South division: Mr Frederick Alexander Dr Thomas Lester, chosen in place of Henry Gurling, deceased Overseers of the highways, East division: John Legg Overseers of the highways, West division: Lieutenant Benjamin Hodson William Julio, in place of Edmund Bowers Inspector of sheep and goats, South division: Mr Lamb Inspector of sheep and goats, East division: Benjamin Mason junior Inspector of sheep and goats, West division: Lieutenant Alexander Wormer of cattle, South division: Wrangham's estate Wormer of cattle, East division: Mr Porteous Wormer of cattle, West division: Captain Smith Joseph Tout petitioned Colonel Robert Patton, the Governor, and the Council. He explained that he had been chosen constable at the last vestry. He had left the garrison only about four months before. Several householders had never served as constable in all their years on the island, and some who had a right to serve before him had been passed over. Tout asked leave to point out that he held the post of clerk of the market. It would be impossible for him to carry out both offices, since at times one of them would necessarily be neglected. He trusted that the Governor, in fairness, would agree to his request. The petition was read to the gentlemen assembled in vestry. The question was put to the vote again, and Tout was re-elected constable. **Interpretations** Tout objected that newly settled men were being given the burdensome posts that long-established householders had escaped. He had been out of the garrison only four months, while others had lived on the island for years without ever serving as constable. The vestry heard his petition and voted him back in anyway. Constable was the least welcome post: it meant serving warrants, collecting taxes and dealing with disorder. The established planters filled the senior offices and pushed the unpopular ones onto newcomers and former soldiers. Tout's other post as

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		Assembled in Vestry it was§ §again put to the Vote, and Jos. Tout was re Elected as Constable§	clerk of the market made no difference to them, even though the parish was paying for that work. Two different names, Samuel Bowers and Edmund Bowers, appear for the overseer replaced by William Julio. The lists of 19 April and 25 April do not otherwise differ much, apart from the change of sheriff from Richard Leech to Thomas Bagley.
267	258	The following Gentlemen were chosen by Vote to form a§ §Committee, to enquire into the Grievances respecting the Fish§ §Market, and all other Matters that may be laid before them§ §and to be a standing Committee representing the Vestry, to transact and§ §settle all parochial Business for the ensuing Year.§ §Mr. David Kay Senior§ §Major Greentree§ §Capt. Smith§ §Mr. Robert Doveton§ §Mr. Dunn§ §Mr. Saml. Knipe Senr.§ §Mr. Thos. Bagley§ §To Moses Wells and Jnt. Shirtley Esquires§ §Church Wardens§ §St. Helena 20th. April 1802§ §Gentlemen§ §Upon enquiring into Circumstances respecting§ §the Election of Parish Officers by the Vestry on the 19th. Inst. a List of§ §whom I received from you on that day, I find that Mr. Richard Leech§ §who is returned as Sheriff, has not the requisite qualification of Property§ §which the Statute Law requires. As I find that this question was§ §agitated in the Vestry, I transcribe the following Passage from Tomlins's§ §Edition of Jacobs Law Dictionary, which appears to me to Establish§ §the Point.§ §"It is provided by several Acts of Parliament that§ §"no man shall be Sheriff in any County except he have Sufficient Lands§ §"within the same County where he shall be Sheriff, whereof to answer§ §"the King and his People in case that any person shall Complain against§ §"them. &c. Stat. 9 Ed. 2. 9 Ed. 3. 4 Ed. 3. 5 Ed. 3. 4. 13 & 14 Ch. 2.§ §This seems Clearly to establish, that a person cannot be chosen who§ §possesses no Lands, which I understand to be the situation of Mr. Richd. Leech§ §It therefore appears to me necessary that§ §the Vestry should meet again on Monday next to make another Election§ §of a Sheriff.§ §I remain, Gentlemen§ §Your Most Obt. Servant§ §(Signed) Robert Patton§ **Margin Notes:** §Sheriff [...] [...] Sheriff§	The vestry chose the following gentlemen by vote to form a committee. It would look into the complaints about the fish market and any other matters put before it. It would also act as a standing committee for the vestry and carry out all parish business for the coming year. Mr David Kay senior Major Greentree Captain Smith Mr Robert Doveton Mr Dunn Mr Samuel Knipe senior Mr Thomas Bagley A note beside the last name recorded that Thomas Bagley had been elected sheriff. Governor Robert Patton wrote to Moses Mills and John Shortley, Esquires, churchwardens, at St Helena on 20 April 1802. He had looked into the vestry's election of parish officers on the 19th, from the list they had sent him that day. He found that Mr Richard Leech, returned as sheriff, did not hold the property that the law required. The question had already been argued in the vestry. The Governor copied a passage from Tomlins's edition of Jacob's Law Dictionary, which he believed settled the matter: "Several Acts of Parliament provide that no man may be sheriff in any county unless he has sufficient lands within the county where he is sheriff, so that he can answer to the King and his people if anyone complains against him." The passage cited the statutes 9 Edward II, 4 Edward III, 5 Edward III, 3 and 4 Edward VI and 13 and 14 Charles II. The Governor wrote that this plainly established that a man who held no land could not be chosen sheriff, and he understood that to be Mr Richard Leech's position. He therefore thought the vestry should meet again the following Monday to elect another sheriff. He signed himself Robert Patton. **Interpretations** The Governor overturned the vestry's choice of sheriff on a point of English law. He relied on statutes from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries that required a sheriff to own land in his county. The rule existed so that anyone harmed by a sheriff's misconduct could recover damages from his property. A landless sheriff could abuse his office with no estate to answer for it. Applying the English property qualification on St Helena tied the island's highest local office to landholding, as in England, and kept it among the planters. That explains why the second vestry, on 25 April, chose Thomas Bagley, a substantial landowner, in Leech's place. The vestry also set up a standing committee to handle all parish business for the year, beginning with the fish market grievances. The full vestry met only a few times a year and attendance was poor, as the proposal of April 1800 to fine absentees shows. A small committee of leading inhabitants could act between meetings. Day-to-day authority thus moved to the same few men who already sat on the fish committees and served as churchwardens and sheriffs.
268	259	[Small ink blots at the upper right and lower centre of the page, clear of most of the text.] P.S. I suppose that real Property is intended by the Law, and that a§ §House may be deemed a Sufficient Qualification on	In a postscript, the Governor added his view that the law meant real property, and that on the island a house might be accepted as sufficient qualification. He initialled it R. P.

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		this Island.§ §(Signed)§ §R. P.§ §To Wm. Doveton Esqr.§ §Actg. Magistrate§ §Sir§ §I beg leave to state to you, a report made to me§ §this Morning by One of the Men of this Guard, being endeavouring to procure§ §Fish (at the Market place) for their Mess, the Fishermen would not sell§ §their Fish to him, But on Wm. Gahagan appearing in the Market the§ §Wm. Gahagan procured from the same men who before refused to sell, a§ §large Quantity of Fish. The same Complaint has been made to me by§ §Several Men of this Guard during the time I have had the honor to command§ §it. I beg leave to ask that it is very hard for the men, undergoing the greatest§ §Fatigues of this Guard, & to my knowledge for weeks have had nothing to eat but§ §Salt Provisions, and at the same time Plenty fish in the Market which§ §their Money could not Procure§ §Ladder Hill Guard I am Sir§ §17th. April 1802 Your very Obt. Servt.§ §(Signed) D. Kinnaird§ §Officer Commanding at Ladder Hill§ §The Accompanying complaint from the Officer Commanding§ §at Ladder Hill Post, addressed to the acting Magistrate, is submitted§ §to the Consideration of the Gentlemen of the Vestry, in the hope that§ §they will, by a new appointment to the charge and direction of the§ §Fish Market, or by establishing Regulations Respecting it, prevent§ §such Shameful and illegal Practices as seem to have been prevalent§ §(making a distinction of Persons in the disposal of the Necessaries of Life§ §at Public Market) and thereby prevent the interposition of Government§ §whose duty it ultimately is to regulate such matters, and to punish§ §Aggressors.§ §Signed§ §St. Helena 26th. April Robert Patton§ §1802§ **Margin Notes:** §Haid recd. in the Garrison§ §Passed on to the Vestry§	A note recorded that the following was handed in by the garrison. D. Kinnaird, officer commanding at Ladder Hill, wrote to William Doveton Esquire, acting magistrate, from the Ladder Hill guard on 17 April 1802. That morning one of the men of his guard had gone to buy fish at the market place for the mess. The fishermen refused to sell to him. Yet when William Gahagan came into the market, the same men who had just refused to sell sold him a large quantity of fish. Several men of the guard had made the same complaint to Kinnaird throughout his time in command. He pointed out how hard it was for the men. They endured the heaviest duties of the guard and, to his knowledge, had eaten nothing but salt provisions for weeks, while plenty of fish lay in the market that their money could not buy. A note recorded that this was passed on to the vestry. Governor Robert Patton sent the complaint of the officer commanding at Ladder Hill to the vestry on 26 April 1802. He hoped the gentlemen of the vestry would prevent the shameful and illegal practices that seemed to have become common, namely discrimination against particular persons in selling the necessities of life at a public market. They might do so by appointing a new person to manage the fish market, or by drawing up rules for it. That would make it unnecessary for the government to step in, though in the end it was the government's duty to regulate such matters and punish offenders. **Interpretations** The fishermen were refusing to sell to soldiers while selling freely to William Gahagan, the dealer who had supplied the parish with wine in 1802. They were probably keeping their catch for a few favoured buyers who paid more or bought in bulk for resale, perhaps to the ships in the road. The public fish market had been set up in 1801 precisely to stop private dealing of this kind. In practice the fishermen still chose their customers. Soldiers on guard duty, living on salt rations, were the losers. The Governor treated the refusal to sell at a public market as "illegal", because the point of such a market was that anyone could buy there at an open price. The Governor gave the vestry the first chance to deal with the problem, either by appointing a new manager for the market or by drawing up rules. He reminded it that the government would step in if the vestry failed. That shows how the Company now used the parish. Market regulation was left to the inhabitants' own body, with the threat of direct action kept in reserve. The appointment of James Youde as clerk of the fish market, recorded in the index, was probably the vestry's answer.
269	260	Blank page	
270	261	Vestry Committee. May 31st. 1802.§ §List of the Inhabitants of the Island nominated§ §by the Committee, to serve in rotation, as County, and Parish Officers,§ §according to the Order of Succession, in which their respective Names§ §are placed.§ §Sheriffs§ §Thomas Bagley 1802§ §William Seale Junr. 1803§ §Samuel Knipe Senr.§ §John Alexander Senr.§ §Gabriel Doveton§ §George Leech§ §Henry Bazett 1806§ §Church Wardens§ §John Shirtley§ §John Desfountain Junr. 1802§ §Henry [...]§	The vestry committee recorded on 31 May 1802 a list of inhabitants it had nominated to serve in turn as county and parish officers. Each office's names were set down in the order in which they would serve. Names were struck through once a man had served, and some names had a year written beside them. Sheriffs: Thomas Bagley William Seale junior, 1802 Samuel Knipe senior, 1803 John Alexander senior Gabriel Doveton George Leech Henry Bazett, 1806 Churchwardens: **Start of crossed out section** John Shortley **End of crossed out section**

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		§George Broadway§ §Thomas Stockhurst§ §John Newton§ §Thomas Lester§ §Charles Sampson§ §Richd. Torbett§ §William Seale Senr.§ §Edwd. Chas. Smith§ §[...] Wells 1808§ §[...] Sampson§ §[...] Peter§ §Maj. Hodson§ §Jos. Burchall§ §High Way Overseers§ §John Legg E. 1802§ §Fredk. Alexander S.§ §Benjn. Hodson W.§ §John Robinson E. 1803§ §John Seale Senr. S.§ §William [...]§ §[...]§ §Aaron Lambe W. 1804§ §Henry [...]§ §William [...]§ §John Bagley S. 1805§ §Richard Knipe§ §Stephen Young§ §Benjn. Mason Junr. E. 1806§ §Thomas Ailsworth W.§ §John Wright E.§ §Watkin Greentree W. 1807§ §John Desfountain Senr.§ §J. C. Dunn§ §Thomas Bagley§ §Constables§ §Josl. Tout§ §Samuel Treat§ §Robt. Hoyes§ §Richd. Page§ §Ellis Haywood§ §John Rooke§ §John Elliott§ §Laurence Rourke§ §James Vesey§ §Samuel Gray§ §John Smith§ §William Bowman§ §Robert Blackmore§ §Inspectors of Sheep and Goats§ §Aaron Lambe S. ✓§ §Benjn. Mason Junr. W.S. 1802§ §John Alexander Junr. E.§ §Joseph Ailsworth S. 1803§ §Thomas Cole Senr.§ §Thomas Boyes§ §James Mason§ §Chas. Scott§ §William Stevens§ §Daniel Brient§ §John Burnham§ §William Young Senr.§ §Wormers§ §Frederick Young§ §Richd. Young§ §Samuel Young§ §Charles Scott§ §Elisha Isaacke§ §Samuel Burnham§ §Thomas McRitchie§ §Richard Bagley§ §Francis Seale Junr.§ §William Seale§ §(Signed) Dav. Kay§ §Wat. Greentree§ §G. Doveton§ §Edwd. Chas. Smith§	John Desfountain junior, 1802 **Start of crossed out section** Henry [...] George Broadway **End of crossed out section** Thomas [...] John Newton Thomas Lester Charles Sampson Richard Torbett William Seale senior Edward Charles Smith **Start of crossed out section** [...] Mills, 1808 **End of crossed out section** [...] Hampson [...] Major Hodson [...] Burchall Overseers of the highways, with the division each would serve: John Legg, South division Frederick Alexander, South division, 1802 Benjamin Hodson, West division John Robinson, East division John Seale senior, South division, 1803 **Start of crossed out section** William [...] [...] **End of crossed out section** Aaron Lambe, West division, 1804 **Start of crossed out section** Henry [...] William Julio **End of crossed out section** John Bagley, South division, 1805 **Start of crossed out section** Richard Knipe Stephen Young **End of crossed out section** Benjamin Mason junior, East division, 1806 Thomas Ailesworth, West division John Wright, East division Watkin Greentree, South division, 1807 **Start of crossed out section** John Desfountain senior **End of crossed out section** J. C. Quinn **Start of crossed out section** Thomas Bagley **End of crossed out section** Constables: **Start of crossed out section** Joseph Tout Samuel [...] **End of crossed out section** Robert Hayes **Start of crossed out section** Richard Hayes **End of crossed out section** Ellis Haywood John Weeks **Start of crossed out section** John Elliott **End of crossed out section** Lawrence Rourke James Viney **Start of crossed out section** Samuel Gray **End of crossed out section** John Smith **Start of crossed out section** William [...] Robert [...] **End of crossed out section**

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			Inspectors of sheep and goats, with the division each would serve: Aaron Lambe, South division Benjamin Mason junior, West division, 1802 John Alexander junior, East division Joseph Ailesworth, South division, 1803 Thomas Cole senior **Start of crossed out section** Thomas [...] James Mason **End of crossed out section** Charles Scott William [...] **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** John Burnham **Start of crossed out section** William Young senior **End of crossed out section** Wormers of cattle: Frederick Young Richard Young Samuel Young **Start of crossed out section** Charles Scott **End of crossed out section** Elisha Isaacs Samuel Burnham Thomas McRitchie Richard Bagley Francis Seale junior William Seale David Kay, Thomas Greentree, G. Doveton and Edward Charles Smith signed the list. **Interpretations** Within six weeks of two disputed elections the vestry committee had replaced the annual choice of parish officers with a fixed rota. In April 1802 Richard Leech was set aside as sheriff because he held no land, and Joseph Tout petitioned that newcomers were being burdened while long-settled householders escaped. A rota answered both problems. Every eligible inhabitant now knew in advance when his turn would come, and no one could be singled out by a hostile vote. The committee could also check each man's qualification before putting him on the list. The years written beside some names show the order planned several years ahead, and the struck-through names record those who had already served. This system led on to the later rota of highway overseers ranked by the acreage of their estates.
271	262	[Ink blots at the centre and lower right of the page partly obscure parts of several entries.] Parish Expence from January 1st. 1803§ §£ s d§ §January 1803 Paid Lowder & Rowland Painter 4 days for the Paintg. of Country Church§ §2§ §Paid Lambe and Jefferson for Do. 2 days work each§ §1§ §Paid Smithers 4 days for Do. Do.§ §1 1 6§ §Paid Leonard Chippindale for Carpenters work for Do.§ §2§ §Paid Jno. Howlett for Do. Do.§ §1§ §Paid Wm. Davis for Do. Do.§ §16§ §Paid Joseph Harry Plasterer work done at the Country Church§ §1 2 6§	The parish expenses from 1 January 1803 were recorded as follows. January 1803, paid to Lowder and Rawland, painters, for 4 days painting the country church, £2 0s 0d Paid to Lambe and Jefferson for 2 days' work each on the same, £1 0s 0d Paid to Smithers for 4 days on the same, £1 1s 6d Paid to Leonard Chippindale for carpenter's work on the same, £2 0s 0d Paid to John Hawley for the same work, £1 0s 0d Paid to William Davis for the same work, £1 0s 0d Paid to Joseph Harry, plasterer, for work done at the country church, £0 16s 0d April, paid to Hilman, the sexton, for his salary, £3 15s 0d Paid for 6 bushels of lime for the country church, £0 9s 0d

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		§April 5th. Paid Hilman Sexton Salary§ §3 15§ §Paid for 6 Bushels of Lime for Country Church§ §9§ §Paid to Mr. Jno. Mason for two Black men who when Executed§ §named Jno. and Charles§ §30§ §Paid to the Sexton for Funeral & other expences of Mary Bell§ §2 4§ §Paid to Martin Bagley Overseer 45 days at 5/. ꝑ day§ §11 5§ §Paid Free Billy for work done at the Country Church yard§ §29½ days at 5/. ꝑ day§ §7 7 6§ §Paid Tom Corry Subsistance from 24th. Feby. to 16th. Apl. by order of§ §Mr. W. W. Doveton§ §1 1§ §To 3 days Labour in 1801 by Capt. Shirtleys Man§ §To one days work in 1802 by Do. Do.§ §6§ §Paid for carrying Deals Paint &c. &c.§ §9 3§ §Paid Tout for 4 Pair Butt hinges and screws for Country Ch.§ §9§ §Paid for Tom Corry Subsistance from 16th. to 20th. Apl.§ §5§ §Do. Do. to 9th. May§ §8§ §Do. Do. to 23d. Do.§ §8§ §Do. from 24th. May to 24th. June§ §16§ §1st. July Paid Hillman Sexton Salary§ §3 15§ §Paid St. Stewart for the fish Market for March§ §10§ §Paid for 2 Double Deals & 8 Single Do. Double at 8/. Single Do. 5/5 School House§ §2 6 2§ §Paid to Solenburgh (Carpenter) for work at School House§ §11 9§ §Paid for Tom Corry from 24th. June to 1st. July§ §16§ §Paid the Sawyers for cuttg. Deals 5 cuts 9 each School House§ §3 9§ §£ 95 15 5§	Paid to Mr John Mason for two black men named John and Charles, who were executed, £30 0s 0d Paid to the sexton for the funeral and other expenses of Mary Bell, £2 4s 0d Paid to Martin Bagley, overseer, for 45 days at 5s a day, £11 5s 0d Paid to Free Billy for 29½ days' work at the country churchyard at 5s a day, £7 7s 6d Paid for Tom Corey's keep from 2 February to 16 April, by order of Mr W. W. Doveton, £1 1s 0d For 3 days' labour in 1801 by Captain Shortley's man and one day's work in 1802 by the same, £0 6s 0d Paid for carrying deals, paint and other items, £0 9s 3d Paid to Tout for 4 pairs of butt hinges and screws for the country church, £0 9s 0d Paid for Tom Corey's keep from 16 April to 20 April, £0 5s 0d Paid for Tom Corey's keep to 6 May, £0 8s 0d Paid for Tom Corey's keep to 23 May, £0 8s 0d Paid for Tom Corey's keep from 24 May to 24 June, £0 16s 0d July, paid to Hilman, the sexton, for his salary, £3 15s 0d Paid to Sergeant Stewart for the fish market to March, £10 0s 0d Paid for 2 double deals and 2 single deals, the double at 8s 11d and the single at 5s 3d, for the schoolhouse, £2 6s 2d Paid to Solomon Burgh, carpenter, for work at the schoolhouse, £0 11s 9d Paid for Tom Corey from 24 June to 21 July, £0 16s 0d Paid to the sawyers for cutting deals, 5 cuts at 9d each, for the schoolhouse, £0 3s 9d Total, £85 15s 5d **Interpretations** Mr John Mason received £30 0s 0d for two executed slaves, John and Charles, at £15 0s 0d each. That was the old fixed figure from the 1770s, and more than the valuations paid in the mid-1790s. Combined, the two executions took more than a third of the half-year's spending. Compensating owners for executed slaves was still among the largest and least predictable charges on the parish rate. Free Billy was paid 5s a day for work at the country churchyard, the same rate as the overseer Martin Bagley and the skilled painters. In 1802 the parish paid for the coffin of a man named Free Billy. This was evidently a different man, or the earlier entry anticipated a death that did not happen. A free black man was working for the parish at a skilled tradesman's wage. That was well above the 1s 6d of the 1770s and the 2s labourers were now paid.
272	263	[Staining along the right-hand edge of the page, clear of the text.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Jany. 1 1803 By Ballance of Parish Dues recd. from Capt. Wells§ §which I have recd. as ꝑ reference Page 45§ §35 9 6§ §By Dog Tax received§ §47 10§ §£ 82 19 6§ §By Ballance due to Captain Shirtley§ §£ 2 15 11§ §£ 85 15 5§ §E. E.§ §Jnt. Shirtley C. W.§ §I acknowledge to have received the above§ §Balance from Mr. De Fountain Church Warden.§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the following. 1 January 1803, balance of parish dues received from Captain Mills, as shown on page 45, £35 9s 6d Dog tax received, £47 10s 0d Total, £82 19s 6d Balance due to Captain Shortley, £2 15s 11d Total, £85 15s 5d John Shortley signed the account as churchwarden, subject to errors excepted. Shortley later acknowledged that he had received the balance from Mr Desfountain, churchwarden. **Interpretations** No slave tax appears among the receipts for the first half of 1803. The parish's income came only from the balance handed on and the dog tax, while its spending included £30 0s 0d for two executed slaves. Spending outran income, and the churchwarden John Shortley was left £2 15s 11d out of pocket until his

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			successor repaid him. When the rate had not yet been collected, a churchwarden in office was expected to cover the shortfall himself in the meantime.
273	264	Blank page	
274	265	St. Helena§ §At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's§ §Valley, this 9th. day of April, 1804.§ §It having been represented that the§ §Roof of the Church in the Country is so much exposed to§ §the Weather, that a considerable Expence is incurred by Thatching§ §it Annually, and also in consideration of Rushes being now§ §so difficult to be procured; It is proposed, that the Church§ §shall be Shingled as soon as a sufficient number of Shingles§ §can be procured, And that it should be enlarged on the West§ §end, by bringing the space of the Angle and Vestry Room§ §on that end into the Church, by which plan there may be§ §sufficient room also to erect a Gallery, and that a Vestry§ §Room and a Belfry, should be afterwards built on the§ §outside. The above Proposition is made on account of§ §the Church in its present state being considerably too§ §confined to hold the Congregation who usually attend there.§ §The Money to defray the Expences to be raised by a General§ §Poll Tax.§ §Agreed to unanimously.§ §The Revd. Dr. Wilkinson then informed the§ §Vestry, that he would be at the Expence of Carriage for all§ §Materials from the Town that may be wanted to execute the§ §proposed enlargement of the Church.§ §Signed,§ §John Shirtley§ §J. De Fountain Church-Wardens.§ §The Board acquiesced in the§ §Proceedings of Vestry.§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 9 April 1804. The vestry heard that the roof of the country church was so exposed to the weather that thatching it every year was a considerable expense. Rushes had also become very hard to obtain. It was proposed that the church should be roofed with shingles as soon as enough could be found. The church was also to be enlarged at the west end by taking the corner space and the vestry room at that end into the church, which would leave room for a gallery. A new vestry room and a belfry would then be built outside. The church as it stood was much too small for the congregation that usually attended. The cost was to be raised by a general poll tax. The vestry agreed to the proposals unanimously. The Reverend Dr Wilkinson told the vestry that he would pay the cost of carrying all the materials from town needed for the enlargement. John Shortley and J. Desfountain signed as churchwardens. The Board agreed to the vestry's proceedings. **Interpretations** The vestry chose to stop renewing the thatch every year. Since the 1760s the country church had been rethatched with rushes, binders and cabbage-tree laths at a cost of up to £12 0s 0d for the thatching alone in 1796. Rushes had become scarce, probably because the island's wet ground had been cut over for decades. Shingles, thin wooden roof tiles, cost more to put on but lasted for years. The vestry exchanged a recurring annual cost for a single large one, as it had done with Daniel Caldwell's apprenticeship and the purchase of slaves for paupers. The church was too small for its congregation, so the country population had grown since the church was built. Adding a gallery and a belfry would turn a thatched chapel into a proper parish church. The vestry chose a general poll tax rather than a tax on slaves alone. A building used by every family in the country districts was charged to every household, while the costs of slave control and relief were charged to slave owners.
275	266	Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §1803 July 8 To Balance due from last Account Paid J. S.§ §2 15 11§ §18 Cash Paid Mr. Samuel Knipes Bill for§ §Cartage Labr. &c. at the Country§ §Church§ §17 12 3§ §26 Do. Do. the Agents of Wm. Wrangham for§ §Do. Do. Do. Do.§ §7 1 6§ §26 Do. Do. Dr. Wilkinson for sundry Repairs§ §at the School House§ §4 7 9§ §29 Do. Do. the Storekeeper for sundries recd.§ §from the Stores for repairs of the§ §Country Church§ §20 5 7§ §Septr. 30 Do. Do. the Sexton his Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. Do. the Clerk of the Fish Market his§ §Salary for Six Months§ §20§	The debit side of the parish account for 1803 and 1804 recorded the following payments. 8 July 1803, balance due from the last account, paid to J. Shortley, £2 15s 11d 18 July, cash paid on Mr Samuel Knipe's bill for carriage, labour and other work at the country church, £17 12s 3d 26 July, cash paid to the agents of William Wrangham for the same work, £7 1s 6d 26 July, cash paid to Dr Wilkinson for various repairs at the schoolhouse, £4 7s 9d 29 July, cash paid to the storekeeper for various items received from the stores for repairs to the country church, £20 5s 7d 30 September, cash paid to the sexton for his quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid to the clerk of the fish market for his salary for six months, £20 0s 0d 5 October, cash paid to Aaron Lambe for a slave named Frank, valued by a jury that day, £15 0s 0d 31 December, cash paid to the sexton for his quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid to the clerk of the fish market for his quarter's salary, £10 0s 0d

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		§Octr. 5 Do. Do. Aaron Lambe for a Slave Named§ §Frank, Valued by a Jury this§ §day§ §15§ §Decr. 31 Do. Do. the Sexton his Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. Do. the Clerk of the Fish Market Do. Do.§ §10§ §1804 Jany. 16 Do. Do. for Collecting the Slave Tax§ §3§ §Do. Do. for making out the List of§ §Free Blacks§ §1 10§ §March 31 Do. Do. the Sexton his Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. Do. the Clerk of the Fish Market Do. Do.§ §10§ §June 30 Do. Do. the Sexton his Quarters Salary§ §3 15§ §Do. Do. the Clerk of the Fish Market Do. Do.§ §10§ §Do. Do. Mr. John Goodwin for 27 days Masons§ §Work at the Country Church§ §6 15§ §Do. Do. Thomas Corry for Maintenance§ §6 8§ §Do. Do. Major Pierie for Work at the C. Church§ §1 4 6§ §145 9 2§ §To Balance due to the Parish§ §12 11 4§ §£ 158 6§ §I acknowledge to have received§ §the above Balance of £12.11.4 from§ §Mr. De Fountain, Church Warden§ §G. Broadway§ §Church Warden§	16 January 1804, cash paid for collecting the slave tax, £3 0s 0d Cash paid for making out the list of free blacks, £1 10s 0d 31 March, cash paid to the sexton for his quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid to the clerk of the fish market for his quarter's salary, £10 0s 0d 30 June, cash paid to the sexton for his quarter's salary, £3 15s 0d Cash paid to the clerk of the fish market for his quarter's salary, £10 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr John Goodwin for 27 days of masons' work at the country church, £6 15s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Corey for his keep, £0 6s 8d Cash paid to Major Pirie for work at the country church, £1 4s 6d Total, £145 9s 2d Balance due to the parish, £12 11s 4d Total, £158 0s 6d Broadway, churchwarden, acknowledged that he had received the balance of £12 11s 4d from Mr Desfountain, churchwarden. **Interpretations** Aaron Lambe's slave Frank was valued by a jury on the day compensation was paid. Earlier valuations were simply recorded as sums, but this entry names the method. A jury of inhabitants fixed the price, so the owner could not set his own figure and the parish could not undervalue the loss. The jury awarded £15 0s 0d, the same as the long-standing customary figure. The clerk of the fish market was now paid £40 0s 0d a year, as large a charge on the parish as all its poor relief together.
276	267	Per Contra Cr.§ §1804 Jany. 7 By Cash received the Tax on Slaves @ 2/3§ §£ 116 15 6§ §16 By Do. Do. from the Police Office the amount§ §of Tax on Dogs§ §41 5§ §158 6§ §Island St. Helena§ §E. E.§ §J. De Fountain§ §Ch. Warden§ §£ 158 6§	The credit side of the parish account for 1804 recorded the following receipts. 7 January 1804, cash received from the tax on slaves at 2s 3d a head, £116 15s 6d 16 January, cash received from the Police Office, the amount of the tax on dogs, £41 5s 0d Total, £158 0s 6d J. Desfountain signed the account at St Helena as churchwarden, subject to errors excepted. **Interpretations** The dog tax now reached the parish through the Police Office. Before this, the parish had collected it through its own constable, bailiff or a paid collector. A police office of the government now gathered the returns and passed the money on. Enforcing the dog laws, with their declarations, informers and destruction of strays, had become a matter for the island's police and not only the parish's officers. The slave tax at 2s 3d a head implies about 1,038 slaves, the same number the parish had taxed since 1796.
277	268	Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §1804 To Cash paid the Sexton for the Burial of Mary Jane§ §& Thos. Curry, free Blacks & Cloth for Do. Funeral§ §1 9§ §To Cash paid the Revd. Dr. Wilkinson for repairs at§ §the Country Church§ §72 19 3§ §Do. Do. Sergt. Perkins for making a Pall, Church Furniture§ §20§ §Do. Do. for Lime to repair the Country Church & Parish School§ §3§	The debit side of the parish account for 1804 recorded the following payments. The whole account was crossed through. **Start of crossed out section** 1804, cash paid to the sexton for the burial of Mary Jane and Thomas Curry, free blacks, and for cloth, £1 9s 0d Cash paid to the Reverend Dr Wilkinson for repairs to the country church, £72 19s 3d Cash paid to Sergeant Perkins for making a pall and other church work, £20 0s 0d Cash paid for lime to repair the country church and the parish school, £3 0s 0d Cash paid to Sergeant Mellish for his allowance from 9 December to 5 September, £6 19s 9d Cash paid for two door locks for the parish house, £0 10s 0d

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		§Do. Do. Sergt. Mellish Overseer from 9th. Dec. to 5th. Sept. 1803§ §6 19 9§ §Do. Do. for Two Door Locks for the Parish House§ §10§ §Do. Do. the Superintendant of Fish Market§ §10§ §Do. Do. for Rope, Deals & Lines from Stores§ §7§ §Do. Do. pd. Mr. Goodwin, hire of Tony, Stone Mason§ §35½ days @ 5/.§ §8 17 6§ §Do. Do. Lt. Mason, hire of August, Stone Mason§ §30 Days @ 5/.§ §7 10§ §Do. Do. for 49 Galls. Liquor for the Men§ §employed @ 4/5 ꝑ Gall.§ §10 16 5§ §Do. Do. for Lines for the Work§ §2 3§ §Do. Do. 37 Laborers bringing Timber &c. from the§ §Valley for the Country Church, & taking§ §down Rushes for the Parish School§ §3 14§ §Do. Do. 161 Laborers for Work done at the§ §Country Church§ §8 1§ §Do. Do. Johnson Stone Mason, 45 days @ 1/6§ §3§ §Do. Do. Salomon Do. Do. 12 Do. 1/6§ §18§ §Do. Do. Hillman Two Quarters Salary, as Clerk§ §of the Parish§ §7 10§ §Do. Do. Two Quarters Salary to Sergt. Ross as Superintendant§ §of the Fish Market§ §20§ §Do. Do. for Collecting the Taxes§ §7 10§ §199 17 2§ §To Balance due to the Parish§ §25 2§ §£ 224 17 4§	Cash paid to the superintendent of the fish market, £10 0s 0d Cash paid for rope, deals and lines from the stores, £7 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr Goodwin for the hire of Tony, a stonemason, for 35½ days at 5s, £8 17s 6d Cash paid to Mr Mason for the hire of August, a stonemason, for 30 days at 5s, £7 10s 0d Cash paid for 49 gallons of liquor for the men employed, at 4s 5d a gallon, £10 16s 5d Cash paid for lines for the work, £0 2s 3d Cash paid for 37 days of labourers bringing timber and other materials from the valley for the country church and taking down the rushes from the parish school, £3 14s 0d Cash paid for 161 days of labourers' work at the country church, £8 1s 0d Cash paid to Johnson, a stonemason, for 20 days at 3s, £3 0s 0d Cash paid to Solomon, a stonemason, for 12 days at 1s 6d, £0 18s 0d Cash paid to Hilman for two quarters' salary as clerk of the parish, £7 10s 0d Cash paid for two quarters' salary to the superintendent of the fish market, £20 0s 0d Cash paid for collecting the taxes, £7 10s 0d Total, £199 17s 2d Balance due to the parish, £25 0s 2d Total, £224 17s 4d **End of crossed out section** **Interpretations** This was the enlargement of the country church approved in April 1804. The vestry hired skilled slave masons by name from their owners: Mr Goodwin's Tony and Mr Mason's August, each at 5s a day. Johnson and Solomon were paid much less, at 3s and 1s 6d. The difference probably reflected skill, with the two hired slaves the master craftsmen of the job. As with Mr Lester's Bob in 1800, a slave with a trade earned his owner a top craftsman's wage. The workmen's liquor came to 49 gallons at 4s 5d a gallon, more than £10 0s 0d. That was more than the masons' wages for August's whole engagement. On a job using over 200 days of labour, a daily spirit ration was a large part of the cost. The parish had given spirits on building work since the 1770s, but never in such quantity.
278	269	Per Contra Cr.§ §1805 By Balance due from last Account§ §£ 12 11 4§ §By Cash received the Tax on Heads @ 2/3 ea.§ §169 6§ §By Cash Do. the Tax on Dogs§ §43§ §224 17 4§ §Island St. Helena§ §E. E.§ §J. De Fountain Ch. W.§ §£ 224 17 4§	The credit side of the parish account for 1805 recorded the following receipts. The figures, the total and the signatures were all crossed through. **Start of crossed out section** 1805, balance due from the last account, £12 11s 4d Cash received from the tax on heads at 2s 3d, £169 6s 0d Cash received from the tax on dogs, £43 0s 0d Total, £224 17s 4d The account was signed at St Helena, subject to errors excepted, by J. Desfountain, churchwarden. **End of crossed out section** **Interpretations** The 1805 head tax at 2s 3d raised £169 6s 0d, implying about 1,505 heads. The slave tax at the same rate in 1804 had brought in £116 15s 6d. The difference fits the vestry's decision of April 1804 to pay for enlarging the country church with a general poll tax. Free inhabitants were charged along with the slaves, so about 470 more heads were taxed than in a year when only slaves paid. Using the same rate as the slave tax made the poll tax easy to collect from the existing lists.
279	270	[The lower half of the page is faded and blurred, obscuring parts of several entries.]	The parish account for 1804 was entered again in full on its debit side, with the following payments.

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		Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §1804 To Cash paid the Sexton for the Burial of Mabey§ §Jane & Thomas Curry, free Blacks & Cloth for§ §said funerals§ §1 9§ §To Cash paid the Revd. Dr. Wilkinson as ꝑ receipt for the§ §following Work for Country Church§ §Masons Work 159 days @ 3/6 £ 27 16 6§ §Labourers Do. 259 Do. @ 2/3 29 2 9§ §Pair Bullocks 26 Do. @ 5/. ꝑ Day 13§ §1 Do. Do. 12 Do. @ 5/. 3§ §72 19 3§ §Do. To Serjeant Perkins for making a Pall Church furn. &c.§ §20§ §Do. for Lime to repair the Country Church & Parish School§ §3§ §Do. Serjeant Mellish Overseer from 9th. Dec. to 27 April @ 1/6 ꝑ day§ §8 0 9§ §Do. for 2 Door Locks for the Parish House§ §10§ §Do. The Superintendant of the Fish Market§ §10§ §Do. For Rope, Deals and Lines from Stores§ §7§ §Do. Mr. Goodwin hire of Tony Stone Mason 47½ Do. @ 5/.§ §11 17 6§ §Do. Lieutenant Mason Do. of August Stone Mason 42 Do. @ 5/.§ §10 10§ §Do. for 54 Gallons Liquor for the Men Employed @ 4/5 ꝑ Gall.§ §11 18 6§ §Do. for Lines for the Work§ §2 3§ §Do. 37 Labourers bringing Timber &c. from the Valley for§ §the Country Church & taking down Rushes for Parish School§ §3 14§ §Do. 196 Labourers for Work done at the Country Church§ §9 14§ §Do. Johnson Stone Mason 52 Days @ 1/6§ §3 18§ §Do. Salmon Do. Do. 12 Do. @ 1/6§ §18§ §Do. Do. John Hillman 2 Quarters Salary as Clerk of the Parish§ §7 10§ §Do. Serjeant Stewart two Quarters Salary as Superintendant§ §of the Fish Market§ §20§ §Do. For Collecting the Taxes§ §7 10§ §Do. Serjeant Salmon the Organist agreeable to an official [...]§ §recd. from the Government [...]§ §8 2 6§ §Do. paid Mr. John Goodwin for hire of Jack Harry§ §Stone Mason 16 Do. @ 5/. ꝑ day§ §4§ §Do. Mr. Blake for Writing 3 days on Vestry Business§ §1 10§ §Do. Serjeant Hillman for collecting a List of Free Blacks§ §1 10§ §£ 235 4 9§	1804, cash paid to the sexton for the burial of Molly Jane and Thomas Curry, free blacks, and for cloth for their funerals, £1 9s 0d Cash paid to the Reverend Dr Wilkinson, as shown by his receipt, for the following work on the country church, £72 19s 3d, made up of: Masons' work, 159 days at 3s 6d, £27 16s 6d Labourers' work, 259 days at 2s 3d, £29 2s 9d A pair of bullocks, 26 days at 5s each, £13 0s 0d One bullock, 12 days at 5s, £3 0s 0d Cash paid to Sergeant Perkins for making a pall and other church work, £20 0s 0d Cash paid for lime to repair the country church and the parish school, £3 0s 0d Cash paid to Sergeant Mellish for his allowance from 9 December to 27 April, £8 [...] 9d Cash paid for 2 door locks for the parish house, £0 10s 0d Cash paid to the superintendent of the fish market, £10 0s 0d Cash paid for rope, deals and lines from the stores, £7 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr Goodwin for the hire of Tony, a stonemason, for 47½ days at 5s, £11 17s 6d Cash paid to Lieutenant Mason for the hire of August, a stonemason, for 42 days at 5s, £10 10s 0d Cash paid for 54 gallons of liquor for the men employed, at 4s 5d a gallon, £11 18s 6d Cash paid for lines for the work, £0 2s 3d Cash paid for 37 days of labourers bringing timber and other materials from the valley for the country church and taking down the rushes from the parish school, £3 14s 0d Cash paid for 194 days of labourers' work at the country church, £9 14s 0d Cash paid to Johnson, a stonemason, for 52 days at 1s 6d, £3 18s 0d Cash paid to Solomon, a stonemason, for 12 days at 1s 6d, £0 18s 0d Cash paid to John Hilman for two quarters' salary as clerk of the parish, £7 10s 0d Cash paid to Sergeant Stewart for two quarters' salary as superintendent of the fish market, £20 0s 0d Cash paid for collecting the taxes, £7 10s 0d Cash paid to Sergeant Salmon, the organist, in accordance with an official letter received from the government, £8 2s 6d Cash paid to Mr John Goodwin for the hire of Jack Harry, a stonemason, for 16 days at 5s, £4 0s 0d Cash paid to Charles Blake for 3 days' writing on vestry business, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Sergeant Hilman for collecting a list of free blacks, £1 10s 0d Total, £225 14s 9d **Interpretations** This page replaced the crossed-out account. The country church work had continued, with more days entered for Tony, August and the labourers. The first payment to an organist, Sergeant Salmon, shows the church now had an organ, played by a soldier of the garrison. The government ordered the payment by official letter rather than the vestry voting it. In practice the Company could add salaried posts to the parish's charges, as it had once added the cost of treating free blacks in hospital. The index also records a gratuity to Mr Thompson for leading the singing in the church, part of the same move towards more formal church music. The Reverend Dr Wilkinson's receipt included hire of bullocks at 5s a day each to haul stone and timber up to the country church. Draught animals for heavy work were scarce on the island, and hired by the day at the same rate as a skilled mason. The chaplain carried the cost of transport from town, as he had promised the vestry in April 1804, and was then repaid.

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280	271	Per Contra Cr.§ §1805 By Balance due from last Account§ §£ 12 11 4§ §By Cash received the Tax on Heads @ 2/3 each§ §169 6§ §By Do. the Tax on Dogs§ §43§ §221 17 4§ §By Balance due the Church Warden§ §4 7 5§ §Island St. Helena 27th. April 1805.§ §E. E.§ §J. Pritchard§ §Church Warden§ §£ 225 4 9§	The credit side of the parish account for 1805 recorded the following receipts. 1805, balance due from the last account, £12 11s 4d Cash received from the tax on heads at 2s 3d each, £169 6s 0d Cash received from the tax on dogs, £43 0s 0d Total, £221 17s 4d Balance due to the churchwarden, £4 2s 5d Total, £225 14s 9d The account was signed at St Helena on 27 April 1805 by Pritchard, churchwarden, subject to errors excepted. **Interpretations** The corrected account closed with £4 2s 5d owed to the churchwarden, where the crossed-out version had shown £25 0s 2d owed to the parish. Recopying the debit side added more days for the masons and labourers, more liquor and three new charges: the organist, Jack Harry's hire and the free black list. That turned a surplus into a shortfall. The first version had probably been closed before all the bills for the church enlargement were in. It was crossed through and replaced instead of corrected, so the book shows only the final figures. The churchwarden again covered the gap until the next year's tax came in.
281	272	St. Helena§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel in James's Valley this 15th.§ §day of April 1805.§ §The following Gentlemen were chosen Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §John Desfountain§ §Samuel Knipe§ §Gabriel Doveton§ §Church Wardens§ §John Mason§ §S. J. Pritchard§ §Edward Chs. Smith§ §Constable§ §George Hattie§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §Henry Leigh West§ §Charles Scott East§ §Frederick Alexander South§ §Overseers of Highways§ §Richd. Leech East§ §Charles Hall South§ §Willm. Bennan West§ §The Vestry having taken into consideration the present Regulation of the§ §Fish Market, are of Opinion that it bears hard upon a great part of the§ §Inhabitants to pay a Salary to the Clerk of that Market from whose§ §office they reap so little advantage. They beg to recommend the same§ §to the Consideration of Governor and Council.§ §The Vestry having received a Message through the Church§ §Warden from the Governor recommending it to them to choose a§ §Committee to examine into the State of the Free Blacks on the§ §Island, have accordingly voted a Committee to be elected on§ §Vestry on Sessions day 24th. Inst. & that that Committee do consist§ §of Fifteen of the Inhabitants.§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 15 April 1805 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: John Desfountain Samuel Knipe Gabriel Doveton Churchwardens: John Mason S. W. Pritchard Edward Charles Smith Constable: George Hattie Wormers of cattle: Henry Leigh, West division Charles Scott, East division Frederick Alexander, South division Overseers of the highways: Richard Leech, East division Charles Hall, South division William Brennan, West division The vestry considered the present rules for the fish market. It judged it unfair that a great part of the inhabitants had to pay a salary to the market clerk when they gained so little from his office. It agreed to recommend the matter to the Governor and Council for their consideration. A message from the Governor reached the vestry through the churchwardens, recommending that it choose a committee to look into the state of the free blacks on the island. The vestry therefore voted that a committee of 15 inhabitants should be elected at the vestry on the sessions day, 24 April. **Interpretations** In 1801 the vestry had asked for regulation of the fish market, and its committees had pressed the Council for it. Four years later it complained that the clerk's salary was a burden on inhabitants who gained little from it. The clerk cost the parish £40 0s 0d a year, as much as all its poor relief. The fish he oversaw was bought mainly by townspeople and the garrison, while the cost fell on every slaveholder through the slave tax. The country planters who grew or caught their own food paid for a market they hardly used. They now wanted the cost moved off the general rate.

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			The Governor's request for a committee of 15 to look into the free blacks was the largest committee the vestry had appointed. Free blacks had been a recurring concern for years: their exemption from the head tax in 1791, the yearly registers, their medical and burial costs, freeing without security, and the ban of 1801 on their keeping dogs. The size of the committee reflected how seriously the government took the question.
282	273	To§ §the Church Wardens§ §of the Parish of§ §St. Helena§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor and§ §Council to acquaint you, that upon receiving the Report of the last§ §Vestry Proceedings, the Governor issued orders to the Police Officer to furnish§ §a List of the Free Blacks with a statement of their Circumstances, and habits§ §of Life which accompanies this letter and which the Board desire may§ §be inspected by the Vestry Committee, who will present to the Board§ §for their approbation a List of the Names of such Free Blacks as may§ §appear fit objects of Enquiry. And I am further directed to acquaint§ §you, that the Governor and Council having taken into consideration§ §the Representation setting forth the hardship under which the Parish is§ §said to labour from a Salary hitherto allowed to the Clerk of the Fish§ §Market, they recommend to you as a means of lessing this charge§ §to the Parish, that the Quarter Master Serjeant be allowed the annual§ §Sum of £10. for the discharge of this duty, the Person now officiating§ §having intimated a desire to resign the office.§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your obedt. humble Servant§ §(signed) Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §A True Copy§ §James Pritchard§ §C. Warden§	Thomas H. Brooke, the secretary, wrote to the churchwardens of the parish of St Helena on the instructions of the Governor and Council. When the report of the last vestry arrived, the Governor ordered the police officer to provide a list of the free blacks, with an account of their circumstances and way of life. The list went with the letter. The Board wanted the vestry committee to examine it and then present for the Board's approval the names of any free blacks who seemed proper subjects for inquiry. The Governor and Council had also considered the vestry's complaint about the burden on the parish of the salary paid to the clerk of the fish market. To reduce that charge, they recommended paying the quartermaster sergeant £10 0s 0d a year to do the work, since the present clerk had said he wished to resign. James Pritchard, churchwarden, certified the letter as a true copy. **Interpretations** The government cut the fish market's cost to the parish from £40 0s 0d to £10 0s 0d a year. Rather than abolish the post, it gave the duty to the garrison's quartermaster sergeant, who already drew army pay and could take on the market for a small additional allowance. The vestry's complaint of April 1805 was met within days. The market stayed, and the Company kept its policy of open, supervised sale, while the ratepayers paid a quarter of the former cost. The police officer's list of free blacks, with their circumstances and way of life, was to be examined by the vestry committee. The committee would then name those it judged proper subjects for inquiry. That gave the inhabitants a direct say over which free blacks the government would investigate. The record does not say what followed from such an inquiry. In April 1793 and April 1801, though, the vestry had linked free blacks with idleness, freeing without security and the burden on the parish. The inquiry probably aimed to identify free blacks without visible means of support, who might be put to work or otherwise controlled.
283	274	To§ §The Worshipful Robert Patton Esqr.§ §Governor and Council§ §Worshipful Sir & Sirs§ §The Carpenters having surveyed the Roof and Ceiling§ §of the Country Church have reported it is perished, and its removal§ §immediately necessary; they also report that to the best of their judgement§ §it will require Two hundred double deals, Six Pieces of Riga Timber§ §and fourteen Eighteen to complete a new Roof & Ceiling.§ §I have the Honor to remain§ §Worshipful Sir, and Sirs§ §Your obedient humble Servant§ §(signed)§ §17th. Feby. 1805 J. Pritchard§ §Church Warden§ §The following Gentlemen were chosen for a Committee§	J. Pritchard, churchwarden, wrote to Governor Robert Patton and the Council on 17 February 1805. The carpenters had surveyed the roof and ceiling of the country church and reported that they were broken and had to be removed at once. In their judgement a new roof and ceiling would need 200 double deals, six pieces of Riga timber and 14 [...]. The following gentlemen were chosen on 15 April 1805 as a committee to look into the state of the free blacks. Colonel Smith Dr Kay John Legg senior Henry Porteous Thomas Bagley Thomas Ailesworth Gabriel Doveton Colonel Greentree Moses Mills Robert Leech John Alexander senior Dr Dunn Thomas McRitchie

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		§to examine into the State of the Free Blacks 15th. April 1805§ §Colonel Smith§ §Dr. Kay§ §Jno. Legg Senr.§ §Henry Porteous§ §Thos. Bagley§ §Thos. Ailsworth§ §Gabl. Doveton§ §Committee§ §Colonel Greentree§ §Moses Wells§ §Robert Leech§ §Jno. Alexander Senr.§ §Dr. Dunn§ §Thos. McRitchie§ §Major Seale§ §Jno. Desfountain§ §J. Pritchard§ §C. Warden§	Major Seale John Desfountain J. Pritchard signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The roof of the country church was declared broken and in need of immediate removal less than a year after the vestry of April 1804 decided to replace the thatch with shingles. The 1804 work had added masonry and enlarged the west end, but evidently left the old roof timbers in place. When the carpenters opened it up they found the frame beyond repair. A new roof and ceiling would need 200 double deals and imported Riga timber from the Company's stores, far more than the original shingling plan. This explains the further spending on the country church in the following accounts. The committee on the free blacks included both doctors, Kay and Dunn, who had treated free blacks at the parish's expense for twenty years and whose bills had prompted much of the vestry's complaint. The other members were the island's leading planters, sheriffs and churchwardens. The inquiry was entrusted to the men who had paid for free blacks' relief and who held the most slaves. No free black sat on the committee or spoke for those under inquiry.
284	275	Island St. Helena§ §24th. April 1805§ §To§ §The Gentlemen of the Vestry§ §Gentlemen,§ §I beg leave to assure you that I would§ §with the greatest Pleasure accept the Station the§ §Governor has been pleased to recommend me to, but as§ §I find it almost an impossibility to pay that attention§ §to it which is requisite in consequence of having so§ §much duty to fulfil in my own Department§ §under the Quarter Master, and am sensible that§ §One or the Other must be neglected I would if§ §permitted beg leave to recommend Serjeant Lowe§ §the Command of the Garrison Fishing Boats, as§ §it can not interfere with his Duty.§ §I am§ §A True Copy Gentlemen§ §J. Pritchard Your Obedt. Humble Servt.§ §C. Warden Matt. Reid§ §Qr. Master Serjeant§ §This Letter being taken to the Governor by me§ §he approved the same§ §29th. April J. Pritchard§ §1805 C. Warden§	Matthew Reid, quartermaster sergeant, wrote to the gentlemen of the vestry on 24 April 1805. He said he would gladly have accepted the post the Governor had recommended him for. However, he found it almost impossible to give it the attention it needed, because of his many duties in his own department under the quartermaster. One task or the other would have to be neglected. He therefore asked leave to recommend Sergeant Lowe, who commanded the garrison fishing boats, since the post would not interfere with Lowe's duties. J. Pritchard, churchwarden, certified the letter as a true copy. He added on 29 April 1805 that he had taken the letter to the Governor, who approved it. **Interpretations** The garrison had its own fishing boats, under the command of a sergeant, to supply the troops with fish. Placing Sergeant Lowe in charge of the public fish market put the market under the man who ran the army's own catch. That probably did more to protect the garrison's supply than any rule could, after the soldiers' complaint of April 1802 that the fishermen would not sell to them. Reid passed on the post because his duties left no time for it, while Lowe's work already took him to the boats and the shore.
285	276	Island St. Helena§ §15th. May 1805§ §Received from Captain Pritchard Church§ §Warden the Books, Bonds, and Indentures appurtaining to§ §the Parish [...]§	A receipt dated at St Helena on 15 May 1805 records that the parish's books, bonds and indentures were handed over by Captain Pritchard, churchwarden. The recipient signed it, but his signature cannot be read. **Interpretations** The handover covered three kinds of document. The books were the parish accounts and minutes. The bonds were the loans held in trust, such as those for the Broadway and Price orphans. The indentures were apprenticeship contracts like the one binding Daniel Caldwell to Thomas O'Connor in 1798. The outgoing churchwarden was answerable for all of them until his successor signed for them. Indentures held by the parish meant that it oversaw the masters' treatment of its apprentices for as long as their terms ran.
286	277	At a Vestry holden in the Chapel in James's§ §Valley the 26th. August 1805.§ §Resolved that the following Gentlemen be§ §appointed to Survey the present state of the Country Church.§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 26 August 1805. It appointed the following gentlemen to survey the present state of the country church. Colonel Smith

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		§Colonel Smith§ §Major Seale§ §Robt. Leech Esqr.§ §Mr. Thos. Bagley &§ §Mr. John Bagley§ §Mr. William Young§ §Mr. John Legg Senr.§ §Mr. Thos. Ailesworth§ §They have also resolved that a General Tax of 2/6§ §be levied on each Inhabitant, for the purpose of purchasing§ §materials for the repair of the Church, and other Expences§ §of the Parish.§ §The Vestry have also agreed that the Sum§ §of Fifteen Pounds be paid to the Organist.§ §They have also empowered the Church§ §Wardens to procure Mechanics, and Labourers for this purpose§ §on the most moderate Terms.§ §It having been resolved on the last Vestry§ §Day, that the Country Church be in future considered§ §for the accommodation of the Inhabitants in general.§ §[...] Church Warden.§	Major Seale Robert Leech Esquire Mr Thomas Bagley Mr John Bagley Mr William Young Mr John Legg senior Mr Thomas Ailesworth The vestry also resolved to levy a general tax of 2s 6d on each inhabitant to buy materials for repairing the church and to meet the parish's other costs. It agreed to pay the organist £15 0s 0d and authorised the churchwardens to engage craftsmen and labourers for the work on the most reasonable terms. The last vestry had resolved that in future the country church should be treated as serving the inhabitants generally. The churchwarden signed the minutes, but his signature cannot be read. **Interpretations** The vestry declared that the country church was to serve "the inhabitants in general", not only the country planters who worshipped there. That justified paying for it with a general tax on every inhabitant, townspeople and garrison families included. The new roof needed 200 double deals and Riga timber from the Company's stores, a cost the country districts could not carry alone. Treating the building as a resource for the whole island spread that cost over the whole island. This tax of 2s 6d a head was set just above the 2s 3d of the year before, after the carpenters found the roof broken in February.
287	278	Island St. Helena§ §3d. October 1805§ §Received from Mr. John Mason Church Warden§ §the Books, Bonds, and Indentures appertaining to§ §the Parish§ §Henry Porteous§ §Church Warden§ §To Colonel Robt. Patton,§ §Sir,§ §Being again called upon to give my§ §Opinion respecting the Country Church, I surveyed it§ §on Tuesday the 15th. Instant, and I am fully convinced§ §that from the Injury the front had received from the§ §late Turbulent Wind and Rain, that it was unavoidably§ §necessary to take it down, as no mode could§ §be adopted to secure it.§ §I recommend to Mr. Porteous who§ §applied to me for advice, on this Subject of Rebuilding§ §the Front to introduce plain Arches over the Windows§ §as the former Cut Stoneheads was no decoration to the§ §Church, and would be attended with much more labour§ §and Expence, as they had not been properly prepared. with§ §this I accompany a Sketch of the Front, for your Inspection.§ §I am Sir§ §St. Helena Your most Obedt.§ §28th. October 1805 Humble Servt.§ §(Signed) Wm. Young§ **Margin Notes:** §No. 1.§	A receipt dated at St Helena on 3 October 1805 records that Henry Porteous, churchwarden, received the parish's books, bonds and indentures from Mr John Mason, churchwarden. William Young wrote to Colonel Robert Patton at St Helena on 28 October 1805. He had again been asked for his opinion on the country church and had surveyed it on Tuesday the 15th. He was fully convinced that the front had been so damaged by the recent violent wind and rain that it had to be taken down, since nothing could be done to secure it. Mr Porteous had asked his advice on rebuilding the front. Young recommended plain arches over the windows. The earlier cut stone heads added nothing to the look of the church and would cost much more labour and money, because they had not been properly prepared. He enclosed a sketch of the front for the Governor to inspect. **Interpretations** Young recommended plain arches over the windows instead of cut stone heads. Dressed stone heads needed a skilled mason working stone shaped in advance, and the parish had been paying hired slave masons 5s a day for exactly that kind of work. Plain arches could be built from rough stone by ordinary masons. In a year when the roof had failed and now the front had to come down, the cheaper method kept the cost of rebuilding within what the 2s 6d poll tax could raise.
288	279	To Colonel Robert Patton§ §Governor &ca. &ca.§ §in Council§ §Gentlemen,§	A letter was addressed to Colonel Robert Patton, the Governor, and the Council. Its writer had volunteered to supervise the repair of the country church and meant to finish the work as quickly as

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		§Having Voluntarily undertaken to Super§ §intend the Repairs of the Country Church, with an Intention§ §to execute them, as speedily as possible, which the long§ §and repeated Experience in Superintending the Plan§ §tion House and other Buildings for the Honble. Com§ §pany enables me to do.§ §On the 4th. Instant, I commenced the§ §Repairs, by adding Three feet of Masonry, to the height§ §of the Old Walls, Conformable to a Report of a Committee,§ §appointed by a Vestry to inspect the State of the Walls§ §of the Country Church, and had a Considerable part of the§ §Church's Front Wall completely finished with Lime.§ §The length of Time the Walls have§ §been exposed to the Weather, with the strong Stormy§ §Wind and Rain, that Continued on Saturday & Sunday§ §last Week, occasioned a part of the Old Wall to Tumble inwards§ §and leave the New Works standing.§ §On reporting the circumstance to the§ §Governor, a Mr. Young was Ordered to inspect, and Report§ §on the State of the Walls; We were of joint Opinion, that§ §it was necessary to pull down, the whole of the Front§ §Wall of the Church, down to the Foundation, which§ §was put in execution immediately, and I have the§ §pleasure to report to the Board, that it is again so far§ §rebuilt, as to be nearly ready, to set in the Window Cases.§	possible. His long experience of supervising Plantation House and other buildings for the Company qualified him for the task. On the 4th of the month he had begun the repairs by raising the old wall three feet in masonry. This followed the report of a committee appointed by a vestry to inspect the walls of the country church. A large part of the church's front wall had been finished with lime. The walls had stood exposed to the weather for a long time. The strong, stormy wind and rain that lasted through Saturday and Sunday of the previous week brought part of the old wall down inwards, though the new work stayed standing. The writer reported this to the Governor, who ordered Mr Young to inspect and report on the state of the walls. The two men agreed that the whole front wall of the church had to be pulled down to the foundation, and this was done at once. The writer was pleased to tell the Board that the wall had been rebuilt far enough to be almost ready to take the window cases. **Interpretations** The writer took on the work voluntarily, offering his experience of Plantation House and the Company's buildings. That put the repair under a Company building supervisor, not a contractor hired by the churchwardens. After the roof failure and the fall of the front wall, the vestry needed someone who could manage masonry on that scale. A volunteer with official experience cost the parish nothing in fees. The collapse showed that the original fault lay in the old walls: the new masonry added on top stood firm while the old work beneath gave way. Taking the whole front down to its foundation was the only safe course, which is why the rebuilding cost so much more than the shingling planned in April 1804.
289	280	In justice to the Inhabitants as§ §well as to my own character, to prevent similar§ §accidents, by which a Considerable expence must§ §be incurred to the Country.§ §I have to solicit the Board, that in§ §addition to the Working Party furnished by the Governors§ §Orders from High Knoll, (when Military duty does not interfere)§ §that a portion of Labour be furnished by the Inhabitants,§ §by Assessment, or Work due to the High Ways, as the§ §Board, in their superior judgement, may think proper§ §to adopt.§ §Being well aware that the Masonry§ §of the Country Church will be finished sometime before§ §the Roof is framed and got up, so that the Wall will§ §again be exposed to the Weather, unless the Board shall§ §think proper to call in the Aid of the different Persons§ §who are Capable of Assisting in the Carpenters Work.§ §I have the honor to be§ §Sir, and Sirs§ §Your most Obedt. humble Servant§ §St. Helena (signed) Henry Porteous§ §20th. October 1805 Church Warden§ §St. Helena 21st. October 1805.§ §The Governor and Council require that§ §the Carpenters undermentioned shall assist Two Days§ §each in framing the Roof of the Country Church§	Henry Porteous, churchwarden, continued his letter. In fairness to the inhabitants and to his own reputation, he wanted to prevent any repeat of such accidents, which would put the island to great expense. He asked the Board for more labour. The Governor had ordered a working party from High Knoll to help when military duty allowed. Porteous asked that the inhabitants also supply a share of labour, either by assessment or from the work they owed on the highways, whichever the Board thought best. He knew the masonry of the country church would be finished well before the roof could be framed and put up. The walls would then be exposed to the weather again, unless the Board chose to call on the various men capable of helping with the carpentry. He signed the letter at St Helena on 20 October 1805. The Governor and Council ordered on 21 October 1805 that the carpenters named below should each give two days to framing the roof of the country church whenever the churchwardens called on them for the purpose. **Interpretations** Porteous's concern was the gap between finishing the walls and raising the roof. The front wall had fallen because the old masonry stood too long in the weather. The new walls would be at the same risk if they waited months for a roof. Paid carpenters were scarce, so the Governor and Council ordered every carpenter on the island to give two days' work. This was a compulsory labour duty like the highway work owed by planters, applied here to a skilled trade. With soldiers from High Knoll, the inhabitants' highway labour and the island's carpenters all drawn

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		§whenever called upon by the Church Wardens§ §for that purpose. Viz.§	in, rebuilding the country church had become a public works project directed by the government.
290	281	John Legg Junr.§ §Alfred Isacke§ §John Collins§ §John Taylor§ §Leonard Chippindal§ §Thomas Laudney§ §John Doyle§ §John Webster§ §Thomas Hayes§ §Elisha Isacke§ §Richard Page§ §John Stepforth§ §Amorette Young§ §(Signed) J. De Fountain§ §Actg. Secy.§ §To Mr. Henry Porteous§ §Church Warden§ §You are hereby empowered to call§ §upon the undermentioned Persons to furnish the labour§ §set opposite their Names towards Aiding in the Repairs§ §of the Country Church, the said Labour being Considered§ §as One Sixth of the Work due by them to the High Ways,§ §which the present Overseers will be directed to§ §deduct from their Warrants.§ §By Order of Council§ §(Signed)§ §J. De Fountain§ §Acting Secy.§	The carpenters ordered to give two days each to framing the roof were the following. John Legg junior Alfred Isaacs John Collins John Taylor Leonard Chippindale Thomas Lowdney John Doyle John Webster Thomas Hayes Elisha Isaacs Richard Gage John Pepworth Emmett Young J. Desfountain signed the order as acting secretary. By order of the Council, J. Desfountain, acting secretary, then wrote to Mr Henry Porteous, churchwarden. Porteous was authorised to call on the people named to supply the labour set against their names to help repair the country church. That labour would count as one sixth of the work they owed on the highways, and the present overseers would be told to deduct it from their warrants. **Interpretations** The Council allowed the church labour to count as one sixth of each inhabitant's highway duty. That kept the arrangement of 1796, when church work replaced highway work, but put a ceiling on it. Without a limit, the church could have used up the whole year's labour owed to the roads and left the highways unrepaired. Setting the share at a sixth divided the inhabitants' compulsory labour between two public works. The overseers' warrants recorded each man's liability, so the deduction could be checked against what he had actually supplied.
291	282	[Staining at the foot of the page and along the lower right edge, obscuring one entry in the right-hand column and the Carried Over figures of both columns.] Tax upon Families at 2/6 each person Commencing the§ §30th. September 1805.§ §Names, No. of Whites, No. of Blacks, Total, £, s, d§ §George Alexander Do.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 8, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Geo. Alexander's Orp.: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 7, Total 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §John Alexander Senr.: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 14, Total 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §John Alexander Junr.: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 6, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Fredk. Alexander: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 2, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Thos. Ailesworth: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 12, Total 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Thos. Adams: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 1, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Joseph Ailesworth: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 0, Total 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Mary Bagley Senr.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 3, Total 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Mary Bagley Junr.: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 10, Total 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Thomas Bagley: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 13, Total 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Richard Bagley: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 10, Total 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Martin Bagley Do.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	The tax on families at 2s 6d a person, starting on 30 September 1805, was recorded as follows. Each household was charged on its whites and blacks together. George Alexander, deceased, 1 white, 8 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d George Alexander's orphans, 4 whites, 7 blacks, 11 persons, £1 7s 6d John Alexander senior, 4 whites, 14 blacks, 18 persons, £2 5s 0d John Alexander junior, 3 whites, 6 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d Frederick Alexander, 3 whites, 2 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Thomas Ailesworth, 5 whites, 12 blacks, 17 persons, £2 2s 6d Thomas Adams, 4 whites, 1 black, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Joseph Ailesworth, 4 whites, 0 blacks, 4 persons, £0 10s 0d Mary Bagley senior, 1 white, 3 blacks, 4 persons, £0 10s 0d Mary Bagley junior, 3 whites, 10 blacks, 13 persons, £1 12s 6d Thomas Bagley, 2 whites, 13 blacks, 15 persons, £1 17s 6d Richard Bagley, 1 white, 10 blacks, 11 persons, £1 7s 6d Martin Bagley, deceased, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d John Bagley, 3 whites, 3 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d Sarah Bagley, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d

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		§John Bagley: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 3, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Sarah Bagley: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §John Bagley's Orp.: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 4, Total 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Thomas Henry Brooke: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 9, Total 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Mary Beale: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Onesipherus Beale's Orp.: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 18, Total 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Thomas Bazetts Do. do.: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 8, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Mary Bazett Junr.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Mary Bazett Spinster: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 3, Total 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Mary Bazett Senr.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Henry Bazett: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 9, Total 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §John Barnes: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 2, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Catherine Burnham: No. of Whites 8, No. of Blacks 2, Total 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §George Blinkins: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §George Broadway: No. of Whites 7, No. of Blacks 2, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Henry Beales's Orp.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §William Brenan: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 9, Total 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Thomas Bushnell: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §John Bays: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Andrew Braid: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Bell: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 2, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Peter Bellinger: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Boodle: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Richd. Barker: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Richard Barrett: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Francis Burink: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Garratt Bowman: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thomas Cole Senr.: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 10, Total 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Thomas Cole Junr.: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 6, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Henry Cole: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 3, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Carrd. Over: No. of Whites 93, No. of Blacks [...], Total [...], £ [...], s [...], d [...]§ §Brought Over: No. of Whites 93, No. of Blacks 199, Total 292, £ 26, s 15, d 0§ §Susanna Chamberlane: No. of Whites 9, No. of Blacks 7, Total 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Thomas O'Conner: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 4, Total 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Leonard Chippindal: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Daniel Caldwell: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Joseph Chaplin: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 0, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Samuel Cooper: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 0, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§	John Bagley's orphans, 0 whites, 4 blacks, 4 persons, £0 10s 0d Thomas Henry Brooke, 3 whites, 9 blacks, 12 persons, £1 10s 0d Mary Beale, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 4 whites, 18 blacks, 22 persons, £2 15s 0d Thomas Bazett's orphans, 0 whites, 8 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d Mary Bazett junior, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Mary Bazett, spinster, 1 white, 3 blacks, 4 persons, £0 10s 0d Mary Bazett senior, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d Henry Bazett, 3 whites, 9 blacks, 12 persons, £1 10s 0d John Barnes, 3 whites, 2 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Catherine Burnham, 8 whites, 2 blacks, 10 persons, £1 5s 0d George Blinkins, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d George Broadway, 7 whites, 2 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d Henry Beale's orphans, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d William Brenan, 1 white, 9 blacks, 10 persons, £1 5s 0d Thomas Bushnell, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d John Bays, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d Andrew Braid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d William Bell, 0 whites, 2 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Peter Bellinger, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d William Boodle, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Richard Barker, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Richard Barrett, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Francis Burink, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Garratt Bowman, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Thomas Cole senior, 4 whites, 10 blacks, 14 persons, £1 15s 0d Thomas Cole junior, 2 whites, 6 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d Henry Cole, 2 whites, 3 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Carried over, 93 whites, 199 blacks, 292 persons, £36 10s 0d Brought over, 93 whites, 199 blacks, 292 persons, £36 10s 0d Susanna Chamberlane, 9 whites, 7 blacks, 16 persons, £2 0s 0d Thomas O'Connor, 6 whites, 4 blacks, 10 persons, £1 5s 0d Leonard Chippindale, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Daniel Caldwell, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Joseph Chaplin, 3 whites, 0 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d Samuel Cooper, 5 whites, 0 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Jonas Cooper, 0 whites, 1 black, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Thomas Collins, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Thomas Carr, 1 white, 3 blacks, 4 persons, £0 10s 0d

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		§Jonas Cooper: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 1, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thomas Collins: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thomas Carr: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 3, Total 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §James Cocks: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 26, Total 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §William Webber Doveton: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 31, Total 36, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §John De Fountain Senr.: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 10, Total 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Margt. & Jno. De Fountain: No. of Whites 7, No. of Blacks 9, Total 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Gabriel Doveton: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 17, Total 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§ §Mary De Fountain: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §John Chas. Dunn: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 30, Total 36, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §Elizabeth Den Taaffe: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 11, Total 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Samuel Dray Do.: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 1, Total 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Thomas Lewdney: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §John Doyle: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Daws: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jeremiah Dobar: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §John Dring: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Michael Day: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Lucas Euley: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thomas Ecclesby: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Sarah Forbes: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 19, Total 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §William [...]: No. of Whites [...], No. of Blacks [...], Total [...], £ [...], s [...], d [...]§ §Flora Goodwin: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 19, Total 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §John Goodwin Do.: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 15, Total 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Watkin Greentree: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 7, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Mary Griffiths: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 13, Total 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Eleanor Purling: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 10, Total 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Charles Gunnell: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 0, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Lewis Gwyn: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §John Gough: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §William Gahagan: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §James Hanson: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §John Honeyman: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Martin A. Harpers Orp.: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 15, Total 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §James Harper: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Chas. R. G. Hodson: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 7, Total 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Carrd. Over: No. of Whites [...], No. of Blacks [...], Total [...], £ [...], s [...], d [...]§ **Margin Notes:** §x§	James Cocks, 2 whites, 26 blacks, 28 persons, £3 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, 5 whites, 31 blacks, 36 persons, £4 10s 0d John Desfountain senior, 6 whites, 10 blacks, 16 persons, £2 0s 0d Margaret and John Desfountain, 7 whites, 9 blacks, 16 persons, £2 0s 0d Gabriel Doveton, 6 whites, 17 blacks, 23 persons, £2 17s 6d Mary Desfountain, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d John Charles Dunn, 6 whites, 30 blacks, 36 persons, £4 10s 0d Elizabeth Dentaffe, 5 whites, 11 blacks, 16 persons, £2 0s 0d Samuel Dray, deceased, 6 whites, 1 black, 7 persons, £0 17s 6d Thomas Lowdney, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d John Doyle, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d William Daws, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Jeremiah Dobar, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d John Dring, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Michael Day, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Lucas Euley, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Thomas Ecclesby, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Sarah Forbes, 2 whites, 19 blacks, 21 persons, £2 12s 6d William [...], [...] Flora Goodwin, 2 whites, 19 blacks, 21 persons, £2 12s 6d John Goodwin, deceased, 2 whites, 15 blacks, 17 persons, £2 2s 6d Watkin Greentree, 2 whites, 7 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d Mary Griffiths, 1 white, 13 blacks, 14 persons, £1 15s 0d Eleanor Gurling, 1 white, 10 blacks, 11 persons, £1 7s 6d Charles Gunnell, 5 whites, 0 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Lewis Gwyn, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d John Gough, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d William Gahagan, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d James Hanson, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d John Honeyman, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Martin A. Harper's orphans, 3 whites, 15 blacks, 18 persons, £2 5s 0d James Harper, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Charles S. Hodson, 3 whites, 7 blacks, 10 persons, £1 5s 0d Carried over, [...] **Interpretations** The 1805 roll is the first in the book to count whites and blacks in separate columns. In the 1770s the head money had lumped a household's family, servants and slaves into a single figure. Counting each group separately made the roll a census of the island's racial make-up, household by household. The general tax voted in August 1805 to rebuild the country church fell on every person, so the separate columns did not change what anyone paid. The vestry chose to record the distinction anyway, at a time when its committee of 15 was looking into the free blacks.

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		§x§ §x§	Daniel Caldwell, the parish orphan apprenticed to Thomas O'Connor in 1798, was now a householder in his own right, taxed on himself alone. O'Connor's household of six whites and four blacks appears a few lines above. The boy the parish had kept from 1788 was paying its tax seven years after being bound out. The roll also shows how slaves were concentrated in the leading households: William Webber Doveton held 31 and John Charles Dunn 30, while many householders of the town held none.
292	283	Tax upon Families, Continued§ §Names, No. of Whites, No. of Blacks, Total, £, s, d§ §Brought over: No. of Whites 201, No. of Blacks 465, Total 666, £ 83, s 5, d 0§ §Thomas Greentree: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 25, Total 30, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Benjamin Hodson: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 6, Total 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Martha & Elizth. Hodson: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Daniel Hamilton: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 2, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Robert Hayes: No. of Whites 8, No. of Blacks 6, Total 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Thomas Hayes: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 2, Total 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §George Hastie & Charles Hall: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 4, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Ann Hunter: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §William Harley: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Ellis Haywood: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Elisha Hays: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Hayter: No. of Whites [...], No. of Blacks 0, Total [...], £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Christr. Hendricks: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Gabriel Isacke: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 22, Total 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §Benjamin Hoffman: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Elisha Isacke: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 9, Total 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Richd. Jacks's Orp.: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 1, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Margrate Isacke: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Martha Jacks: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Julio: No. of Whites 7, No. of Blacks 12, Total 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §John Jemeson: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Donald McIntosh: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Nathl. Kennedy's Orp.: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 0, Total 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §David Kay Senr.: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 25, Total 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Samuel Knipe: No. of Whites 8, No. of Blacks 27, Total 35, £ 4, s 7, d 6§ §Patk. Killen: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Mary Knipe: No. of Whites 7, No. of Blacks 13, Total 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §William Knipe: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 3, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §John Bazett Knipe: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §David Kay Junr.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	The tax on families continued at 2s 6d a person. Brought over, 201 whites, 465 blacks, 666 persons, £83 5s 0d Thomas Greentree, 5 whites, 25 blacks, 30 persons, £3 15s 0d Benjamin Hodson, 1 white, 6 blacks, 7 persons, £0 17s 6d Martha and Elizabeth Hodson, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d Daniel Hamilton, 3 whites, 2 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Robert Hayes, 8 whites, 6 blacks, 14 persons, £1 15s 0d Thomas Hayes, 5 whites, 2 blacks, 7 persons, £0 17s 6d George Hastie and Charles Hall, 5 whites, 4 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d Ann Hunter, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d William Harley, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Ellis Hayward, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d Elisha Hayes, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d William Hayter, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 2s 6d Christopher Hendricks, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Gabriel Isaacs, 3 whites, 22 blacks, 25 persons, £3 2s 6d Benjamin Hoffman, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Elisha Isaacs, 1 white, 9 blacks, 10 persons, £1 5s 0d Richard Jacks's orphans, 2 whites, 1 black, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d Margaret Isaacs, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Martha Jacks, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d William Julio, 7 whites, 12 blacks, 19 persons, £2 7s 6d John Jameson, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Donald McIntosh, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 4 whites, 0 blacks, 4 persons, £0 10s 0d David Kay senior, 3 whites, 25 blacks, 28 persons, £3 10s 0d Samuel Knipe, 8 whites, 27 blacks, 35 persons, £4 7s 6d Patrick Killen, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d Mary Knipe, 7 whites, 13 blacks, 20 persons, £2 10s 0d William Knipe, 5 whites, 3 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d John Bazett Knipe, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d David Kay junior, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d John Kay, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d

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		§John Kay: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Lane: No. of Whites 11, No. of Blacks 1, Total 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §James Lowden: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Thos. Lester: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 5, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Robt. Leech: No. of Whites 8, No. of Blacks 14, Total 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Richd. Leech: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §John Legg Senr.: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 12, Total 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Aaron Lambe: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 22, Total 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§ §William Loyd: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 6, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Benjamin Mason Senr.: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 28, Total 30, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Benjamin Mason Junr.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Carried Over: No. of Whites 327, No. of Blacks 731, Total 1058, £ 132, s 5, d 0§ §Brought Over: No. of Whites 327, No. of Blacks 731, Total 1058, £ 132, s 5, d 0§ §George Leech: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 7, Total 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Richd. Mason's Orp.: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 16, Total 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §John Mason: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 9, Total 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §James Mason: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 3, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §William Milne: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Moses Wells: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Margarate Merchant: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thomas McRitchie: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Dougal McDougal: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Samuel Mills: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Patrick McManus: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 0, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §John Newton: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 13, Total 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §William Oliver: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 1, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Henry Oldroyd: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Pierce: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 14, Total 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §William Peplocs Orp.: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Penelope Pritchard: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 8, Total 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §James Pritchard: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Stephen Pritchard: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 10, Total 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Henry Pritchard: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Richd. Page: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 4, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Mary Price: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 13, Total 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Samuel Perkins: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 9, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Henry Porteous: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §John Peacock: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	William Lane, 11 whites, 1 black, 12 persons, £1 10s 0d James Lowden, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Thomas Lester, 3 whites, 5 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d Robert Leech, 8 whites, 14 blacks, 22 persons, £2 15s 0d Richard Leech, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d John Legg senior, 6 whites, 12 blacks, 18 persons, £2 5s 0d Aaron Lambe, 5 whites, 22 blacks, 27 persons, £3 7s 6d William Lloyd, 2 whites, 6 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d Benjamin Mason senior, 2 whites, 28 blacks, 30 persons, £3 15s 0d Benjamin Mason junior, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d Carried over, 327 whites, 731 blacks, 1,058 persons, £132 5s 0d Brought over, 327 whites, 731 blacks, 1,058 persons, £132 5s 0d George Leech, 4 whites, 7 blacks, 11 persons, £1 7s 6d Richard Mason's orphans, 6 whites, 16 blacks, 22 persons, £2 15s 0d John Mason, 4 whites, 9 blacks, 13 persons, £1 12s 6d James Mason, 5 whites, 3 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d William Milne, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Moses Mills, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Margaret Merchant, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Thomas McRitchie, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d Dougal McDougal, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Samuel Mills, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Patrick McManus, 3 whites, 0 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d John Newton, 6 whites, 13 blacks, 19 persons, £2 7s 6d William Oliver, 2 whites, 1 black, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d Henry Oldroyd, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d William Pierce, 2 whites, 14 blacks, 16 persons, £2 0s 0d William Peplow's orphans, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Penelope Pritchard, 3 whites, 8 blacks, 11 persons, £1 7s 6d James Pritchard, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d Stephen Pritchard, 6 whites, 10 blacks, 16 persons, £2 0s 0d Henry Pritchard, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Richard Page, 5 whites, 4 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d Mary Price, 1 white, 13 blacks, 14 persons, £1 15s 0d Samuel Perkins, 0 whites, 9 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d Henry Porteous, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d John Peacock, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Margaret McPike, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d

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		§Margarate McPike: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §John Perkins: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §John Robinson: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 19, Total 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §William Roberts: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §John Rooks: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §James Ranton: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 0, Total 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Lawrence Rourke: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Fredk. Roesch: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 2, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Fredk. Richenbach: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §William: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Samuel Robinson: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Eleanor Shirtley: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 6, Total 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §John Scott: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Charles Scott: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 5, Total 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §John Stopforth: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Francis Stait: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Ann Seale: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Carried Over: No. of Whites [...], No. of Blacks [...], Total [...], £ [...], s [...], d [...]§ **Margin Notes:** §xx§ §x§	John Perkins, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d John Robinson, 6 whites, 19 blacks, 25 persons, £3 2s 6d William Roberts, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d John Rooks, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d James Ranton, 4 whites, 0 blacks, 4 persons, £0 10s 0d Lawrence Rourke, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Frederick Roesch, 3 whites, 2 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Frederick Richenbach, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d William [...], no entry Samuel Robinson, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Eleanor Shirtley, 1 white, 6 blacks, 7 persons, £0 17s 6d John Scott, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Charles Scott, 6 whites, 5 blacks, 11 persons, £1 7s 6d John Stopforth, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Francis Start, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Ann Seale, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Carried over, [...] **Interpretations** William Peplow's orphans were listed as a household of two whites. In the 1770s the parish had boarded William Peplow as a parish child with John Whaley for £6 0s 0d a year. By 1805 he had grown up, raised a family and died, and his own children now appeared on the roll. Like Daniel Caldwell, he shows how the parish's foundlings and orphans passed into the island's settled population, as householders or as the parents of the next generation of orphans. Samuel Perkins was taxed on nine blacks and no whites. His slaves were counted as a household without him, so he probably lived elsewhere, perhaps in the garrison or off the island, while they stayed on his land. The 1805 roll charged the tax wherever the people were.
293	284	[An ink blot partly obscures the first letter of one name in the left-hand column, and the totals at the foot of both columns are faint.] Tax upon Families Contd.§ §Names, No. of Whites, No. of Blacks, Total, £, s, d§ §Brought over: No. of Whites 423, No. of Blacks 898, Total 1321, £ 165, s 2, d 6§ §Francis Seale Senr.: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 18, Total 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§ §William Seale Senr.: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 26, Total 31, £ 3, s 17, d 6§ §William Seale Junr. Estate: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 13, Total 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §William Seale: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Charles Seale: No. of Whites [...], No. of Blacks [...], Total [...], £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Robert Statham: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 4, Total 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §John Shirtley: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Edward Chas. Smith: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 26, Total 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Jane Sampell: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Charles Sampson: No. of Whites 6, No. of Blacks 6, Total 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	The tax on families continued at 2s 6d a person and closed with the totals. Brought over, 423 whites, 898 blacks, 1,321 persons, £165 2s 6d Francis Seale senior, 5 whites, 18 blacks, 23 persons, £2 17s 6d William Seale senior, 5 whites, 26 blacks, 31 persons, £3 17s 6d William Seale junior, 6 whites, 13 blacks, 19 persons, £2 7s 6d William Seale, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Charles Seale, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Robert Statham, 3 whites, 4 blacks, 7 persons, £0 17s 6d John Shirtley, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d Edward Charles Smith, 2 whites, 26 blacks, 28 persons, £3 10s 0d Jane Sampell, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d Charles Sampson, 6 whites, 6 blacks, 12 persons, £1 10s 0d Joseph Stewart, 8 whites, 5 blacks, 13 persons, £1 12s 6d

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		§Joseph Stewart: No. of Whites 8, No. of Blacks 5, Total 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Daniel Stewart: No. of Whites 8, No. of Blacks 0, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §John Stephens: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §John Smith: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thomas Storey: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Joseph Spratt: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Saul Solomon: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 4, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Mary Scott: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 0, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §James Smith: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Josiah Saunders: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Fredk. Screeder: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Stark: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Nicht. Timmerman: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Richard Torbett: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 20, Total 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§ §John Torbitt: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 8, Total 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §John Thomson: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §James Thompson: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 0, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §John Seale: No. of Whites 11, No. of Blacks 9, Total 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Mary Tippett: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Josiah Tout: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §William Tracey: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 1, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Thomas Thomas: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §John Knipe: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Whites 519, No. of Blacks 1063, Total 1582, £ 197, s 15, d 0§ §Brought over: No. of Whites 519, No. of Blacks 1063, Total 1582, £ 197, s 15, d 0§ §Richd. Thomas: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 1, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §James Underwood: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §James Vezey: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Mary Wright: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 17, Total 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §John Alexr. Wright: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Martha Worrall: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Sarah Worrall: No. of Whites 5, No. of Blacks 2, Total 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §William Wrangham: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 16, Total 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Charles Western: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 6, Total 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §John Webster: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Richd. Wells: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 5, Total 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Michael Watson: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Joseph Wheatley: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Daniel Stewart, 8 whites, 0 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d John Stephens, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d John Smith, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Thomas Storey, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Joseph Spratt, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Saul Solomon, 5 whites, 4 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d Mary Scott, 5 whites, 0 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d James Smith, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Josiah Saunders, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Frederick Screeder, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d William Stark, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Nicholas Zimmerman, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Richard Torbett, 3 whites, 20 blacks, 23 persons, £2 17s 6d John Torbett, 3 whites, 8 blacks, 11 persons, £1 7s 6d John Thomson, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d James Thompson, 3 whites, 0 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d John Seale, 11 whites, 9 blacks, 20 persons, £2 10s 0d Mary Tippett, 1 white, no sum entered Josiah Tout, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d William Tracey, 5 whites, 1 black, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d Thomas Thomas, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d John Knipe, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Carried over, 519 whites, 1,063 blacks, 1,582 persons, £197 15s 0d Brought over, 519 whites, 1,063 blacks, 1,582 persons, £197 15s 0d Richard Thomas, 2 whites, 1 black, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d James Underwood, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d James Vizey, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Mary Wright, 5 whites, 17 blacks, 22 persons, £2 15s 0d John Alexander Wright, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Martha Worrall, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d Sarah Worrall, 5 whites, 2 blacks, 7 persons, £0 17s 6d William Wrangham, 0 whites, 16 blacks, 16 persons, £2 0s 0d Charles Western, 3 whites, 6 blacks, 9 persons, £1 2s 6d John Webster, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Richard Wells, 2 whites, 5 blacks, 7 persons, £0 17s 6d Michael Watson, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Joseph Wheatley, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Ann Young, 4 whites, 18 blacks, 22 persons, £2 15s 0d Stephen Young senior, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d

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		§Ann Young: No. of Whites 4, No. of Blacks 18, Total 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Stephen Young Senr.: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Fredk. Young: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Richard Young: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §William Young: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Stephen Young (Junr.): No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 3, Total 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Amoret Young: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Sarah Yates: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Sophia Yates: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Mary Yon: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Sarah Yon: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Sarah Johnson: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §John Adams: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Patrick Crawley: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §John Edwards: No. of Whites 3, No. of Blacks 0, Total 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §William Gray: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §George Mead: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Joseph Jacks: No. of Whites 2, No. of Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §J. T. Wilkinson: No. of Whites 1, No. of Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Matthw. Reed: No. of Whites 0, No. of Blacks 2, Total 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Total: No. of Whites [...], No. of Blacks [...], Total 1716, £ 214, s 10, d 0§	Frederick Young, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Richard Young, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d William Young, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £0 12s 6d Stephen Young junior, 3 whites, 3 blacks, 6 persons, £0 15s 0d Amoret Young, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d Sarah Yates, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £1 0s 0d Sophia Yates, no entry Mary Yon, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Sarah Yon, no entry Sarah Johnson, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d John Adams, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Patrick Crawley, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d John Edwards, 3 whites, 0 blacks, 3 persons, £0 7s 6d William Gray, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d George Mead, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d Joseph Jacks, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d J. T. Wilkinson, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 2s 6d **Start of crossed out section** Matthew Reed, 0 whites, 2 blacks, 2 persons, £0 5s 0d **End of crossed out section** Total, [...] whites, [...] blacks, 1,716 persons, £214 10s 0d **Interpretations** The roll for 1805 counted 1,716 people in private households, white and black. In 1804 the slave tax had counted about 1,038 slaves. The black column on this roll was larger because it also included free blacks. The roll therefore records that, outside the garrison and the Company's own slaves, about two in every three people on the island were black. That was a ratio the planters' vestry had every reason to keep under close watch, and the committee of 15 was looking into the free blacks at the same moment. The roll also shows how varied the white population had become since the 1770s. Alongside the old planter families, it lists many single men taxed on themselves alone, with names such as Zimmerman, Screeder, Roesch, Richenbach and McIntosh. They were probably discharged soldiers, craftsmen and seamen who had settled on the island. Saul Solomon, a newly arrived merchant, already ran a household of nine. Matthew Reed, the quartermaster sergeant who had declined the fish market post, was struck off the roll, probably because a serving soldier was not liable to a parish tax on families.
294	285	To Colonel Robt. Patton§ §Governor and Council§ §Worshipful Sir and Sirs,§ §We the undersigned Parishoners humbly§ §request that you will be pleased to order a Vestry to be called§ §to take into Consideration the disposal of the Parish House in§ §James's Valley, in Order to defray the Expences and Repairs of the§ §Country Church, and Your permission to dispose of the aforesaid§ §Parish House.§ §We have the honor to remain§	The parishioners named below wrote to Colonel Robert Patton, the Governor, and the Council at St Helena on 4 November 1805. They asked for a vestry to be called to consider selling the parish house in James's Valley to pay for repairing the country church. They also asked permission to sell the house. M. Mills B. Hodson C. Sampson F. Start P. Killen Robert Statham Samuel Knipe W. Gahagan

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		§St. Helena Worshipful Sir and Sirs§ §4th. November 1805 Your Obt. Servants &c.§ §M. Wells Robt. Statham§ §(signed) B. Hodson Saml. Knipe§ §C. Sampson W. Gahagan§ §F. Stait John Alexander§ §Pk. Killen§ §At a Vestry held at the Church in James's§ §Town. Agreed that the Parish House in James Valley§ §shall be disposed of by Public Auction, on Monday the§ §18th. Instant, and the Monies arising therefrom will§ §be appropriated to the Repairs of the Country Church.§ §Agreed also that one fourth of the§ §Purchase Money be paid down at the time of Sale,§ §the remainder to be paid in Six Months from§ §the time of Purchase by two Instalments§ §St. Helena (signed) Henry Porteous Church§ §11th. November 1805 Wm. Seale Wardens§	John Alexander A vestry was then held at the church in James Town. It agreed that the parish house in James's Valley should be sold at public auction on Monday the 18th of the month, and that the money should go towards repairing the country church. It also agreed that a quarter of the purchase money should be paid at the sale. The rest was to be paid within six months of the purchase, in two instalments. Henry Porteous and William Seale signed as churchwardens at St Helena on 11 November 1805. **Interpretations** The vestry had wanted to sell the parish house since April 1793, when it called the building ruinous and badly sited. In July 1793 it decided instead to repair the house where it stood. Twelve years later, faced with the cost of rebuilding the country church, the parishioners revived the sale and turned the old house into money for the new building. The sale ended the parish's own workhouse, which in the 1760s had held paupers and prisoners. By then the parish boarded its dependants with private householders, and the gaol held its prisoners, so the house had probably lost most of its use. Letting the buyer pay a quarter down and the rest in two instalments over six months made the house easier to sell on an island where ready cash was short. The parish waited for most of its money, but it secured a buyer at public auction, and the instalments came in while the church repairs were being paid for.
295	286	Agreeably to the determination of the§ §Vestry held on Monday the 11th. Instant, The Parish house§ §was put up for Sale by Public Auction and Purchased§ §by Mr. Frederick Roach for the sum of Two hundred§ §and Eighty Pounds, one fourth of the Purchase Money (£70)§ §was paid and a Receipt given to that effect.§ §N.B. The Ground Purchased was free Ground.§ §Henry Porteous§ §St. Helena Church Warden§ §18th. Novr. 1805§ §The Church Warden having represented§ §to the Governor and Council, that an additional Sixth§ §of the Labor due to the High Ways, is requisite for bringing§ §up the Timber for the Roof of the Country Church, which§ §was granted.§ §St. Helena§ §3d. Decr. 1805§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel§ §in James's Town, Mr. William Seale was chosen Wormer in the§ §place of Mr. Henry Leigh.§ §St. Helena§ §6th. January 1806§ **Margin Notes:** §*§ §*§	As the vestry had decided on Monday the 11th, the parish house was put up for sale by public auction. Mr Frederick Roach bought it for £280 0s 0d. He paid a quarter of the price, £70 0s 0d, and was given a receipt. A note added that the ground sold with it was free ground. Henry Porteous signed as churchwarden at St Helena on 18 November 1805. The churchwarden told the Governor and Council that a further sixth of the labour owed on the highways was needed to bring up timber for the roof of the country church. The Governor and Council granted the request at St Helena on 3 December 1805. At a vestry held in the chapel in James Town on 6 January 1806, Mr William Seale was chosen as wormer of cattle in place of Mr Henry Leigh. **Interpretations** The parish house fetched £280 0s 0d, a large sum on the island. The note that the ground was free ground meant the plot was held outright, with no quit-rent owed to the Company, unlike most land on St Helena. Land free of the Company's rent was worth more, which helps explain the price. Frederick Roach was probably the Roach the parish had paid as attendant of the fish market in 1801 and 1802. The man the parish had employed was now in a position to buy its property. The Council allowed a second sixth of the inhabitants' highway labour for the church, which brought the total to a third of the year's road work. The roof timber had to be carried from the valley up to the high interior. That was heavier work than the masonry, and the labour once given to the roads went increasingly to the church.
296	287	St. Helena, 7th. January 1806§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel in§ §James's Town, when the Account of the Parish and§ §Country Church being shewn to the Public; they were§ §Unanimously approved of.§ §To,§ §Colonel Robert Patton§ §Governor and Council.§ §Gentlemen§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Town, St Helena, on 7 January 1806. The accounts of the parish and of the country church were shown to the public and approved unanimously. Henry Porteous, churchwarden, wrote to Colonel Robert Patton, the Governor, and the Council at St Helena on 17 February 1806. He reported that the walls and roof of the country church were finished. The church would soon be ready for divine service once the seats and pulpit

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		§I have the pleasure to inform you that the§ §Walls and Roof of the Country Church is Completely finished,§ §and Would soon be got ready for Divine Service if the Seats§ §and Pulpit were put up.§ §Under the Sanction of the Honble. Board Mr.§ §John Legg Senior, will Superintend the Carpenter's Work of the Church;§ §But at the same time finds it necessary that the Board should§ §empower him to Call on the Aid of the other Mechanics to§ §assist in Completing the Interior part of the Church.§ §I have the Honor to be,§ §Gentlemen,§ §Your most Obedient§ §St. Helena, Humble Servant§ §17th. February 1806 (signed) Henry Porteous§ §1806 Church Warden§	were put in. With the Board's approval, Mr John Legg senior would supervise the carpenters' work inside the church. Porteous asked the Board to authorise Legg to call on the island's other craftsmen to help finish the interior. **Interpretations** The accounts were "shown to the public" before the vestry approved them. That was new: earlier accounts were simply signed by the churchwardens and passed on to their successors. The rebuilding had been paid for by a poll tax on every inhabitant, the sale of the parish house and labour taken from the highways. With so much drawn from the whole island, the vestry opened the figures to everyone who had contributed. The unanimous approval settled any question over a project that had run far beyond the shingling first planned in April 1804. Porteous asked for the same powers to finish the interior that the Council had given in October 1805 to frame the roof. The power to compel craftsmen to work on the church was granted for each stage in turn, not once for the whole project. The government kept control of how far the parish could draw on the island's skilled labour.
297	288	Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §1805 To Balance paid Mr. John Mason as ꝑ Acct. Current§ §4 2 6§ §Septr. 30th. To Serjeant Salner Organist Six Months Salary§ §7 10§ §To Corporal Singleton Sexton Ditto§ §7 10§ §October To Country Church Expences from 3d. to 31st. October§ §59 11§ §November To Ditto Ditto from 1st. to 30th. November§ §116 13 9§ §Decr. 1st. To Mr. Crawley, for making three Coffins for free Persons§ §@ £1.5.00 each, as Indorsed by Mr. John Mason§ §3 15§ §To Country Church Expences from 1st. to 31st. December§ §164 10 5§ §31st. To Sundry Articles Received from the Stores and defraid§ §by Honble. Company as ꝑ Bill £ 176.00.00§ §Jany. 1st. To Serjeant Salner Organist three Months Salary§ §3 15§ §To Corporal Singleton Sexton Ditto§ §3 15§ §To Ditto Ditto for the Burial of Sam, Ben§ §15§ §6th. To Thatchers and Labourers Repairing the School House§ §4 12§ §31st. To Corporal Watkins for keeping Sundry Accounts§ §1 10§ §To Country Church Expences for this Month§ §148 5 8§ §February 28th. To Country Church Expences for this Month§ §100 10§ §March 1st. To Stationary &ca.§ §1§ §31st. To Country Church Expences for this Month§ §145 19 1§ §To Serjeant Salner Organist three Months Salary§ §3 15§	The debit side of the parish account for 1805 and 1806 recorded the following payments. 1805, balance paid to Mr John Mason, as shown in the account current, £4 2s 6d 30 September, Sergeant Salmon, organist, for six months' salary, £7 10s 0d Corporal Singleton, sexton, for six months' salary, £7 10s 0d October, country church expenses from 3 to 31 October, £59 11s 0d November, country church expenses from 1 to 30 November, £116 13s 9d 1 December, Mr Crawley for making three coffins for free persons at £1 5s 0d each, as endorsed by Mr John Mason, £3 15s 0d Country church expenses from 1 to 31 December, £164 10s 5d 31 December, various articles received from the stores and paid for by the Company, as shown by its bill of £176 0s 0d, no charge to the parish 1 January 1806, Sergeant Salmon, organist, for three months' salary, £3 15s 0d Corporal Singleton, sexton, for three months' salary, £3 15s 0d Corporal Singleton for the burial of Sam Ben, £0 15s 0d 6 January, thatchers and labourers repairing the schoolhouse, £4 12s 0d 31 January, Corporal Watkins for keeping various accounts, £1 10s 0d Country church expenses for this month, £148 5s 8d 28 February, country church expenses for this month, £100 0s 10d 1 March, stationery and other items, £1 0s 0d 31 March, country church expenses for this month, £145 19s 1d Sergeant Salmon, organist, for three months' salary, £3 15s 0d Corporal Singleton, sexton, for three months' salary, £3 15s 0d Mr Charles Scott for collecting the tax on families, £10 2s 6d The clerk of the fish market's salary, £10 0s 0d Mr Roach, discount on £210 0s 0d paid in ready money, £9 0s 0d Total, £809 17s 9d **Interpretations** The Company paid for £176 0s 0d of materials from its stores for the country church and charged nothing to the parish. The deals, Riga timber and

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		§To Corporal Singleton Sexton three Months Salary§ §3 15§ §To Mr. Chas. Scott for Collecting the Tax upon Families§ §10 2 6§ §To the Clerk of the Fish Market's Salary§ §10§ §To Mr. Roesh Discount on £210. ready Money§ §9§ §869 17 9§ **Margin Notes:** §x§	nails came from the Company's own warehouse, and the vestry had been paying for every such item since the 1770s. Here the Company met the cost itself. That was its contribution to a church the vestry had declared in August 1805 to be for the whole island. Even with that help, the parish spent more than £730 0s 0d on the church in six months, about three times its ordinary yearly budget. Mr Roach was allowed £9 0s 0d off for paying the remaining £210 0s 0d of the parish house's price in ready money instead of in two instalments. The parish gave up part of the price to have the cash at once. During the most expensive months of the building work, it needed money at hand more than it needed the full sum later.
298	289	Per Contra Cr.§ §1805 Novr. 11th. By Cash received from Mr. Chas. Scott, the first Payment§ §of the Tax upon Families§ §106 11 6§ §18th. By Cash received from Mr. Fredk. Roeche as first§ §Payment of the Purchase of the Parish House§ §70§ §Decr. 2d. By Cash received from Mr. Chas. Scott the Second§ §Payment of the Tax upon Families§ §50§ §1806 Jany. 12th. By Cash received from Mr. Chas. Scott the Third§ §Payment of the Tax upon Families§ §20 4§ §By Cash Received from Mr. Fredk. Roeche being the§ §remaining Amount due on the Purchase of the§ §Parish House deducting Nine Pounds Discount§ §for ready Money, the Parish being in want of§ §Cash to carry on the repairs of the Country Church§ §210§ §March 10th. By Cash received from Mr. Chas. Scott the Fourth Payment§ §of the Tax upon Families§ §10§ §31st. By Cash Received from Mr. Chas. Scott the Fifth Payment of§ §Tax upon Families§ §15 15 8§ §By Cash Received the Tax on Dogs§ §40§ §522 7 6§	The credit side of the parish account for 1805 and 1806 recorded the following receipts. 11 November 1805, cash received from Mr Charles Scott, the first payment of the tax on families, £106 11s 6d 18 November, cash received from Mr Frederick Roach, the first payment for the parish house, £70 0s 0d 2 December, cash received from Mr Charles Scott, the second payment of the tax on families, £50 0s 0d 12 January 1806, cash received from Mr Charles Scott, the third payment of the tax on families, £20 0s 4d Cash received from Mr Frederick Roach, the remaining amount due for the parish house, less £9 0s 0d discount for ready money, which the parish needed in cash to carry on the repairs of the country church, £210 0s 0d 10 March, cash received from Mr Charles Scott, the fourth payment of the tax on families, £10 0s 0d 31 March, cash received from Mr Charles Scott, the fifth payment of the tax on families, £13 15s 0d Cash received from the tax on dogs, £40 0s 0d Total, £522 7s 6d **Interpretations** The receipts of £522 7s 6d fell almost £290 0s 0d short of the £809 17s 9d spent in the same half-year. The tax on families came in five instalments and raised about £200 0s 0d of the £214 10s 0d assessed. The sale of the parish house supplied £280 0s 0d. Even together, the two were not enough to pay for rebuilding the church. The record does not show here how the gap was met. It was probably carried forward as a debt to the churchwardens or covered by later taxes.
299	290	At a Vestry held in the Chapel§ §in James's Valley the 7th. day of April 1806§ §The following Gentlemen were Chosen Parish Officers.§ §Sheriffs§ §Henry Bazett§ §Saml. Knipe§ §Gabl. Doveton§ §Church Wardens§ §Willm. Seale§ §Edw. Chas. Smith§ §Moses Wells§ §Constable§ §Elias Hayward§ §Overseers§ §Chas. Isaack E.§ §Benj. Mason S.§ §Thos. Ailesworth W.§ §Wormers§ §Fredk. Young E.§ §Richd. Young S.§ §Saml. Young W.§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 7 April 1806 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: Henry Bazett Samuel Knipe Gabriel Doveton Churchwardens: William Seale Edward Charles Smith Moses Mills Constable: Ellis Hayward Overseers: Charles Isaacs, East division Benjamin Mason, South division Thomas Ailesworth, West division Wormers: Frederick Young, East division Richard Young, South division Samuel Young, West division Doctors Kay and Dunn presented a letter containing a bill against the parish for various medicines supplied over six years. The vestry resolved

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		§A Letter being presented from Doctors§ §Kay and Dunn containing a Bill on the Parish§ §for Sundry Medicines of Six Years Standing, when§ §the Vestry resolved that the Payment of the Bill should§ §be postponed, until such time as the Names of the§ §different Persons who have been Supplied and attended with§ §Medicines be laid before them, as the Bill however§ §just, appears to be incorrect from its not being presented§ §regularly every Year.§ §Henry Porteous§ §Church Warden§	to put off paying it until the names of the people supplied and attended with medicines were laid before it. The bill might be fair, but it appeared to be wrong because it had not been presented regularly each year. Henry Porteous signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The surgeons sent in a bill covering six years at once, just as the parish was paying for the church and short of cash. In 1799 the vestry had required the doctors to obtain the churchwardens' consent before treating anyone at the parish's cost. A list of names was the only way to check each charge against that rule. Without one, the vestry could not tell whether the patients had been authorised paupers or private cases billed to the parish. Asking for names before paying applied the same caution it had used with the surgeons since Mr Kay's refused bill of 1791.
300	291	St. Helena Parish Dr.§ §To D. Kay and J. C. Dunn.§ §To amount for putting up a multitude of Medical§ §Articles, Visits, Surgery and Midwifery for various Per§ §sons, between the 5th. of April 1800 and the 5th. of April§ §1806, being Six Years§ §£ 90§ §To, Mr. Porteous§ §Church Warden,§ §Sir,§ §We enclose to you the the Parish Bill for§ §the Six last Years, amounting to £90, it is charged at as moderate a Rate§ §as we possibly can; the same Articles in our customary way of Charging§ §private Individuals would have Amounted to £130. But notwithstanding§ §this, in Consideration of the Expence the Parish has been at, and is likely§ §still farther to incur on Account of the Country Church, we are Content§ §to receive half that Sum Vizt. £45 in full Compensation; Provided and§ §on Condition that the Vestry to prevent difficulties or hesitation about§ §our Bills, shall agree to pay us annually in future the Sum of§ §Twenty Guineas for the Care of all such Sick Persons as shall have a§ §claim on the Parish for Assistance.§ §We are§ §Sir,§ §Your very Obdt. Hble. Servants§ §David Kay§ §April 7th. 1806. (signed) J. C. Dunn§	The parish of St Helena was charged as follows by D. Kay and J. C. Dunn. For making up a great many medical preparations, and for visits, surgery and midwifery for various persons between 5 April 1800 and 5 April 1806, a period of six years, £90 0s 0d David Kay and J. C. Dunn wrote to Mr Porteous, churchwarden, on 7 April 1806, enclosing the parish's bill for the previous six years. It came to £90 0s 0d, and they had charged as moderately as they could. At their usual rates for private patients, the same articles would have come to £130 0s 0d. Even so, given what the parish had already spent and would probably spend on the country church, they would accept half of the £90 0s 0d, namely £45 0s 0d, in full settlement. This was on condition that the vestry agreed to pay them 20 guineas a year in future for the care of all sick persons entitled to the parish's help, so as to avoid difficulties or hesitation over their bills. **Interpretations** The surgeons offered to halve their bill in exchange for a fixed yearly payment of 20 guineas for all the parish's sick. Billing by the case had caused disputes since 1791. Bills were refused, items were struck out, and in 1799 the Council sent the quarrel to arbitration. Each item could be questioned and payment held up until the vestry asked for names, as it had just done. A fixed sum ended the arguments. The surgeons gained a certain income, and the parish knew its medical costs in advance and no longer had to check each patient. The arrangement mirrored a parish doctor's contract in England, where surgeons were commonly paid a fixed sum a year to attend the poor.
301	292	St. Helena, Monday 21st. April 1806.§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's§ §Valley.§ §In consequence of the Letter presented by Doctors§ §Kay and Dunn accompanied with a List of Free Blacks who have§ §been attended with Medical Assistance &ca. The Vestry returned§ §the List with the observations collected from the persons themselves ac§ §companied with the following Letter.§ §To§ §Messrs. Kay and Dunn§ §Gentlemen§ §The Vestry acknowledge the receipt of your letter§ §dated 16th. April, at which they express some surprize. Notwithstanding§ §they deem it foreign to their Duty to investigate into the Merits or§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on Monday 21 April 1806. Doctors Kay and Dunn had sent a letter with a list of the free blacks they had treated. The vestry sent the list back with notes gathered from the people named, together with the following letter. Henry Porteous and William Seale, churchwardens, wrote to Messrs Kay and Dunn. The vestry acknowledged their letter of 16 April and was somewhat surprised by it. It did not think it part of its duty to examine the merits or details of their bill for medical care given to free blacks on the island. Even so, it had sent for several of the people on whose account charges had been made. All of them said they were able and willing to pay for themselves. The vestry wished the doctors to know that in future they should not apply to it on this matter, except for objects of charity and paupers on the parish list who might need their help. Those people should receive

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		§particulars of your Bill incurred for Medical attendance &ca. by§ §People called Free Blacks on this Island, they have sent for several§ §on whose Account your charges have been made, all of whom we inform§ §you are able and willing to pay for themselves.§ §The Vestry think it necessary to acquaint you, that§ §in future, they do not wish to be addressed or applied to on this head,§ §unless Objects of Charity and Paupers rated on the Parish List may want§ §your assistance, then they would wish every attention to be paid them, and§ §for which, they will take care, that you shall be fully compensated.§ §(Signed) Henry Porteous§ §Wm. Seale Church Wardens§ §The Vestry have Unanimously Resolved that a§ §General Tax be levied in the usual Manner at the Rate of 5/. p§ §head in Order to defray the expence of the Country Church and other§ §Parish Expences.§ §The Tax to Commence Payment immediately.§	every attention, and the vestry would make sure the doctors were fully paid. The vestry then resolved unanimously to levy a general tax of 5s a head in the usual way to pay for the country church and the parish's other costs. Payment was to begin immediately. **Interpretations** The vestry neither paid the reduced bill of £45 0s 0d nor accepted the doctors' offer of a yearly 20 guineas. Instead it asked the patients themselves. Every free black it questioned said he or she could pay without help. The surgeons had been charging the parish for people who were not paupers, perhaps because the parish paid more reliably than they did. By sending the doctors back to those patients for payment, the vestry limited its liability to the paupers on its own list. It drew a line it had been moving towards since 1799, between free blacks generally and the parish's actual dependants. The head tax of 5s was double the 2s 6d levied in August 1805, and the highest rate in the book. The cost of the country church had far outrun the earlier tax and the sale of the parish house, leaving a shortfall of nearly £290 0s 0d in the half-year to March 1806. The vestry met it by doubling the charge on every inhabitant and collecting at once.
302	293	List of Persons who attended Vestry on Monday, the 14th. Inst. as stated in§ §Doctor's Kay and Dunn's List and those who were not mentd. with their Remarks.§ §Names§ §Sue§ §Jack Hayes§ §Jack's Child§ §Melinda§ §Ditto Child§ §Peggy Mahoney§ §Ditto Child§ §Fanny Coff§ §Ditto Child§ §Rover§ §Betty Price§ §Molley§ §Mary & Daughter§ §Molley's Daughter§ §James§ §Peppen§ §Mr. Jacks's Sophia§ §Ditto Jack§ §Betty George§ §Pat. and Child§ §Flora's Daughter§ §Betty Mitchell§ §Pat. Forman§ §Fanny George§ §Mary Hope§ §Pat. Jobales§ §Ditto Child§ §Tom§ §Peg's Child§ §Sarah§ §Margery Conrad§ §Sarah Read§ §Betty Waters§ §Sophia's Child§ §Tom§ §Phillis & Betty Hearn§ §Sarah Henry§ §Rowbadicks family§ §Prisicella§ §Ditto Child§ §Pledger§ §Nanny Hercules§ §Lucky§ §Lucia's Child§	The vestry recorded a list of the people named in Doctors Kay and Dunn's list who attended the vestry on Monday the 15th, and of those who did not, with notes on each. Sue, stitches for a head wound, visits, dressings and other care; will settle her own bill with the doctors Jack Hayes, [...], a wound on the forehead and other care; will settle his own bill with the doctors Jack's child; will settle own bill with the doctors Melinda; will settle her own bill with the doctors Melinda's child; will settle own bill with the doctors Peggy Mahoney; will settle her own bill with the doctors Peggy Mahoney's child; will settle own bill with the doctors Fanny Coff; will settle her own bill with the doctors Fanny Coff's child; will settle own bill with the doctors Prince; will settle his own bill with the doctors Betty Price; will settle her own bill with the doctors Molly; will settle her own bill with the doctors Mary and her daughter; will settle their own bill with the doctors Molly's daughter, Mr Thomson's ward, midwifery, nursing and other care; will settle her own bill with the doctors James; will settle his own bill with the doctors Pippen; will settle own bill with the doctors Mrs Jackie Sophia; will settle her own bill with the doctors Sister Jack; will settle own bill with the doctors Betty George; will settle her own bill with the doctors Pat and child; will settle their own bill with the doctors Flora's daughter; will settle her own bill with the doctors Betty Mitchell; will settle her own bill with the doctors Pat Forman; will settle own bill with the doctors Fanny George; will settle her own bill with the doctors Molly [...]; will settle her own bill with the doctors Pat [...]; will settle own bill with the doctors

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		§Betty Moore§ §Chas. Hercules§ §Old Ellen§ §Betty Groom§ §Hannah§ §Sarah Pudding§ §Mary Bell§ §Tom Lawson§ §Sarah Alley Hy.§ §Norro Do.§ §Betty Rogers§ §August§ §Lucy's Child§ §George & Hannah§ §Cures &ca.§ §7 Sutures of a Wound of the Head, Visits, Dressings &ca.§ §3 Ditto, Wound forehead &ca. &ca.§ §Mr. Thomson Wood, Midwifery, Journies &ca.§ §Mr. Jos. Desfountain to pay§ §belongs to Mr. Wrangham's Estt.§ §a Slave to Mr. Richd. Young§ §Had a fracture of two Bones of the leg April 1802§ §in 1800 (Dead)§ §Dead§ §Dead§ §Dead§ §Dead§ §Sick§ §Belonging to the Company to be paid§ §from their own Funds§ §Dead§ §Missing in the Night, Dressing Wound &ca. Dead§ §Dead§ §Dead§ §Mr. John Desfountain's§ §Remarks§ §Will settle their own§ §Bills with the Doctors§ §Pd. for their own Fund§ §Do. Do.§ §Gone Away§ §Not known§ §to pay§ §(Signed) Henry Porteous§ §Wm. Seale§ §Church Wardens§	Pat [...]'s child; will settle own bill with the doctors Tom; will settle his own bill with the doctors [...]'s child; will settle own bill with the doctors Sarah; will settle her own bill with the doctors Marjory Conrad; will settle her own bill with the doctors Sarah Reid; will settle her own bill with the doctors Betty Watson, Mr Joseph Desfountain to pay Sophia's child, belongs to Mr Wrangham's estate [...] Phillis and Kitty [...] Sarah Henry [...]'s family Priscilla Priscilla's child, a slave of Mr Richard Young Pledger Nancy Hercules Lucky Lucky's child Betty Moore, a fracture of two bones of the leg in April 1802 Charles Hercules, in 1800, dead Old Ellen, dead Betty Groom, dead Hannah, dead; belonging to the Company, to be paid from its own funds Sarah Pudding, sick; belonging to the Company, to be paid from its own funds Mary Bell, dead Tom Lawson, out in the night, dressing of a wound and other care, dead; to be paid from his own funds Sarah Alley, belonging to the Company Neeon, dead; belonging to the Company Betty Rogers, dead August, gone away, not known to pay Lucy's child, gone away, not known to pay George and Hannah, Mr John Desfountain's Henry Porteous and William Seale signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The surgeons' list mixed together people with very different claims on the parish. Most of those who came to the vestry were free blacks who said they would settle their own bills. Others were not free at all. Priscilla's child was Mr Richard Young's slave, Sophia's child belonged to Mr Wrangham's estate, and George and Hannah were Mr John Desfountain's. Several were the Company's slaves, whose care the Company should pay from its own funds. The doctors had evidently billed the parish for anyone black they treated who could not pay on the spot. By sorting the list name by name, the vestry passed each charge to the owner, the Company or the patient, which justified its refusal to pay the bill as a whole. Betty Moore appears here among the free people treated for a broken leg in 1802. In 1781 the parish had paid for her care as "a slave woman", and in 1791 the vestry proposed selling her and her four children at auction, a question the Board sent to the quarter sessions. By 1806 she was on the list of free blacks. The proposed sale had evidently failed, or she had been freed. The parish's attempt to treat her as saleable property seems not to have succeeded.
303	294	Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §1805-6 Septr. 30th. To 6 Overseers @ 2/3 each p diem§ §13 6§ §To 162 Ditto @ 1/6§ §12 3§	A summary of the cost of rebuilding the country church, up to 30 September 1805 and 1806, was entered as follows. 6 days of overseers at 2s 3d a day, £0 13s 6d 162 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £12 3s 0d 270 days of labourers at 2s 3d, £30 7s 6d 2,428 days of labourers at 1s, £121 8s 0d 298 days of carpenters at 8s, £119 4s 0d

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		§To 270 Labourers @ 2/3§ §30 7 6§ §To 2428 Ditto @ 1/.§ §121 8§ §To 298 Carpenters @ 8/.§ §119 4§ §To 27 Ditto @ 5/.§ §6 15§ §To 376 Ditto @ 1/6§ §28 4§ §To 409 Stone Masons @ 5/.§ §102 5§ §To 182 Ditto @ 1/6§ §13 13§ §To 26 Stone Blowers @ 1/6§ §3 9§ §To 211 Stone Scabblers @ 1/6§ §15 16§ §To 42 Blacksmiths @ 1/6§ §3 3§ §To 18 Stone Cutters @ 5/.§ §4 10§ §To 18 Sawyers @ 6/.§ §5 8§ §To Sawyers and Carpenters preparing the Ceiling and Seats§ §37 7 11§ §To Carriage of 1040 Bushels of Lime from Sandy Bay§ §62 17§ §To Mr. Dewdney as p Bills§ §20 15 9§ §To Spirits as p Mr. Stepn. Pritchard's Bills§ §68 4 9§ §To an Accompt Book§ §17 6§ §To Cart hire for Various purposes§ §70 15§ §To a Clerk Attending Vestrys and keeping Sundry Accompts§ §6 6§ §Total Church Expences£ 724 3 11§ §To Parish Expences as p Book§ §74 17§ §£ 798 11§ §To Store Bill defraid by the Honble. Company £ 307.1.8§	27 days of carpenters at 5s, £6 15s 0d 376 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £28 4s 0d 409 days of stonemasons at 5s, £102 5s 0d 182 days of stonemasons at 1s 6d, £13 13s 0d 46 days of stone blasters at 1s 6d, £3 9s 0d 211 days of stone dressers at 1s 6d, £15 16s 0d 42 days of blacksmiths at 1s 6d, £3 3s 0d 18 days of stonecutters at 5s, £4 10s 0d 18 days of sawyers at 6s, £5 8s 0d Sawyers and carpenters preparing the ceiling and seats, £37 7s 11d Carriage of 1,080 bushels of lime from Sandy Bay, £62 17s 0d Mr Lowdney, as per his bill, £20 15s 9d Spirits, as per Mr Stephen Pritchard's bill, £68 4s 9d An account book, £0 17s 6d Cart hire for various purposes, £70 15s 0d A clerk attending vestries and keeping various accounts, £6 6s 0d Total church expenses, £724 3s 11d Parish expenses as per the book, £74 17s 0d Total, £798 0s 11d Store bill paid by the Company, £307 1s 8d **Interpretations** The same trades were paid at very different rates. Carpenters earned 8s, 5s or 1s 6d a day, masons 5s or 1s 6d, and labourers 2s 3d or 1s. The higher rates were probably for free craftsmen and hired skilled slaves, and the 1s 6d and 1s rates for the inhabitants' slaves sent under the highway labour arrangement. More than 2,400 days of labour at 1s came to the largest single charge. Those payments were credits to owners for slaves they owed in labour, not cash wages. The church was built mainly by slave labour, charged at a fraction of the free rate. In all the church cost more than £1,030 0s 0d, counting the Company's £307 1s 8d for stores. Carriage stood out. Lime had to come from Sandy Bay on the far south coast, and cart hire and carriage together came to more than £130 0s 0d. Spirits for the workmen cost £68 4s 9d, nearly as much as the year's whole poor relief.
304	295	Per Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §1806 By Cash Received the Tax on Families§ §202 7 6§ §By Ditto the Tax on Dogs§ §40§ §By Ditto the Sale of Parish House§ §280§ §522 7 6§ §By Balance due the Church Warden§ §Mr. Henry Porteous§ §£ 275 13 5§ §By Balance received in full from§ §Wm. Seale Church Warden 3rd. Day Novr. 1806§ §Henry Porteous§ §£ 798 11§ §St. Helena, 16th. April 1806.§	The credit side of the parish account for 1806 recorded the following receipts. 1806, cash received from the tax on families, £202 7s 6d Cash received from the tax on dogs, £40 0s 0d Cash received from the sale of the parish house, £280 0s 0d Total, £522 7s 6d Balance due to the churchwarden, Mr Henry Porteous, £275 13s 5d Total, £798 0s 11d The account was dated at St Helena on 16 April 1806. Henry Porteous recorded that he had received the balance in full from William Seale, churchwarden, on 3 November 1806. **Interpretations** Henry Porteous had paid £275 13s 5d of the church's cost from his own pocket. That was more than the parish's ordinary income for a whole year. He was repaid in full only in November 1806, seven months after the account closed, presumably from the 5s head tax the vestry voted in April. A churchwarden had covered small shortfalls before, but never on this scale. Porteous was in effect the parish's banker for the rebuilding, lending it more than a year's revenue without interest. Before 1770 the parish had lent money to the planters through the

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			poor's fund. Now a leading planter, serving as churchwarden, lent money to the parish.
305	296	Tax upon Families at 5/. p head commencing§ §the 21st. April 1806.§ §Names, Remarks, Whites, Blacks, Total, £, s, d§ §Alexander George Orp.: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 8, Total 12, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Alexander Jno. Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 14, Total 17, £ 4, s 5, d 0§ §Alexander Jno. Junr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 5, Total 9, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Alexander Frederick: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 2, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Ailesworth Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 12, Total 17, £ 4, s 5, d 0§ §Ailesworth Joseph: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 0, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Adams Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 1, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Adams John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Bagley Mary Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 3, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Bagley Mary Junr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 10, Total 13, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Bagley Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 13, Total 15, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Bagley Richard: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 10, Total 11, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Bagley John: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 3, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Bagley Sarah: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Bagley's Jno. Orphans: Remarks Pd., Whites 0, Blacks 4, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Brooke Thos. Henry: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 9, Total 12, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Beale Mary: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Beale Ones. Orphans: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 18, Total 22, £ 5, s 10, d 0§ §Bazett Mary Junr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Bazett Mary Spinster: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 3, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Bazett Mary Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Bazett Henry: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 9, Total 12, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Barnes John: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 2, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Burnham Catherine: Remarks Pd., Whites 8, Blacks 2, Total 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Blenkins George: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Broadway George: Remarks Pd., Whites 7, Blacks 2, Total 9, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Beale Henry's Orphan: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Brenan William: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 9, Total 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Bushnell Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Braid Andrew: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Bayes John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Bell William: Remarks Pd., Whites 0, Blacks 2, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Bellinger Peter: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Boodle William 3 [...]: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Barker Richard: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 3, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	The tax on families at 5s a head, starting on 21 April 1806, was recorded as follows. A remarks column marked those who had paid. George Alexander's orphans, paid, 4 whites, 8 blacks, 12 persons, £3 0s 0d John Alexander senior, paid, 3 whites, 14 blacks, 17 persons, £4 5s 0d John Alexander junior, paid, 4 whites, 5 blacks, 9 persons, £2 5s 0d Frederick Alexander, paid, 3 whites, 6 blacks, 9 persons, £2 5s 0d Thomas Ailesworth, paid, 5 whites, 12 blacks, 17 persons, £4 5s 0d Joseph Ailesworth, paid, 4 whites, 0 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d Thomas Adams, paid, 4 whites, 1 black, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d John Adams, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Mary Bagley senior, paid, 1 white, 3 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d Mary Bagley junior, paid, 3 whites, 10 blacks, 13 persons, £3 5s 0d Thomas Bagley, paid, 2 whites, 13 blacks, 15 persons, £3 15s 0d Richard Bagley, paid, 1 white, 10 blacks, 11 persons, £2 15s 0d John Bagley, paid, 3 whites, 3 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Sarah Bagley, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Bagley's orphans, paid, 0 whites, 4 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d Thomas Henry Brooke, paid, 3 whites, 9 blacks, 12 persons, £3 0s 0d Mary Beale, paid, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, paid, 4 whites, 18 blacks, 22 persons, £5 10s 0d Mary Bazett junior, paid, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Mary Bazett, spinster, paid, 1 white, 3 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d Mary Bazett senior, paid, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Henry Bazett, paid, 3 whites, 9 blacks, 12 persons, £3 0s 0d John Barnes, paid, 3 whites, 2 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Catherine Burnham, paid, 8 whites, 2 blacks, 10 persons, £2 10s 0d George Blinkins, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d George Broadway, paid, 7 whites, 2 blacks, 9 persons, £2 5s 0d Henry Beale's orphans, paid, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d William Brenan, paid, 1 white, 9 blacks, 10 persons, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bushnell, paid, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Andrew Braid, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Bays, paid, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d William Bell, paid, 0 whites, 2 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Peter Bellinger, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Boodle, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Richard Barker, paid, 1 white, 3 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d

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		§Barrett Richard: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Burink Francis: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Bowman Garratt: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Broadway Henry: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Broadway William: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Cole Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 14, Total 17, £ 4, s 5, d 0§ §Carrd. Over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 68, s 0, d 0§ §Brought over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 68, s 0, d 0§ §Cole Henry: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Chamberlain Susanna: Remarks Pd., Whites 9, Blacks 6, Total 15, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Conner Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 4, Total 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Chippindale Leonard: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Caldwell Daniel: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Chaplin Joseph: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 0, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Cooper Samuel: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 0, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Cooper Jonas: Remarks Pd., Whites 0, Blacks 1, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Collins Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Carr Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 3, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Cocks James: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 28, Total 30, £ 7, s 10, d 0§ §Crawley Patrick: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Cole Mrs. Eleanor: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Cole Elizabeth: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Cole Elizth. & Sally: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 1, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Doveton William Webber: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 31, Total 36, £ 9, s 0, d 0§ §Desfountain Jno. Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 10, Total 16, £ 4, s 0, d 0§ §Desfountain Jno. Junr.§ §Desfountain Margt.§ §Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 14, Total 18, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §Doveton Gabriel: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 17, Total 23, £ 5, s 15, d 0§ §Dunn John Chas.: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 30, Total 36, £ 8, s 10, d 0§ §Dentaaffe Elizabeth: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 11, Total 16, £ 4, s 0, d 0§ §Dewdney Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 2, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Doyle John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Daws William: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Dobar Jeremiah Gone away: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Dring John: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Day Michael: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Desfountain Mary: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Dray Saml. Orp.: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Richard Barrett, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Francis Burink, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Garratt Bowman, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Henry Broadway, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Broadway, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Thomas Cole, paid, 3 whites, 14 blacks, 17 persons, £4 5s 0d Carried over, £68 0s 0d Brought over, £68 0s 0d Henry Cole, paid, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Susanna Chamberlane, paid, 9 whites, 6 blacks, 15 persons, £3 15s 0d Thomas O'Connor, paid, 6 whites, 4 blacks, 10 persons, £2 10s 0d Leonard Chippindale, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Daniel Caldwell, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Joseph Chaplin, not marked paid, 3 whites, 0 blacks, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d Samuel Cooper, paid, 5 whites, 0 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Jonas Cooper, paid, 0 whites, 1 black, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Thomas Collins, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Thomas Carr, paid, 1 white, 3 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d James Cocks, paid, 2 whites, 28 blacks, 30 persons, £7 10s 0d Patrick Crawley, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d [...], paid, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d Elizabeth Cole, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Elizabeth and Sally Cole, paid, 2 whites, 1 black, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d William Webber Doveton, paid, 5 whites, 31 blacks, 36 persons, £9 0s 0d John Desfountain senior, paid, 6 whites, 10 blacks, 16 persons, £4 0s 0d John Desfountain junior and Margaret Desfountain, paid, 4 whites, 14 blacks, 18 persons, £4 10s 0d Gabriel Doveton, paid, 6 whites, 17 blacks, 23 persons, £5 15s 0d John Charles Dunn, paid, 6 whites, 28 blacks, 34 persons, £8 10s 0d Elizabeth Dentaffe, paid, 5 whites, 11 blacks, 16 persons, £4 0s 0d Thomas Dewdney, paid, 2 whites, 2 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d John Doyle, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Daws, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Jeremiah Dobar, gone away John Dring, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Michael Day, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Mary Desfountain, paid, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d Samuel Dray's orphans, no entry Lucas Euley, no entry Thomas Ecclesby, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Edwards, not marked paid, 3 whites, 0 blacks, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d

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		§Paly Jonas: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Ecclesby Thos.: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Edwards John: Remarks 0, Whites 3, Blacks 0, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Forbes Sarah: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 19, Total 21, £ 5, s 5, d 0§ §Goodwin Flora: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 19, Total 21, £ 5, s 5, d 0§ §Greentree Watkin: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 7, Total 9, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Greentree Thos. Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 25, Total 30, £ 7, s 10, d 0§ §Greentree Thos. Junr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Griffiths Mary: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 13, Total 14, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Purling Eleanor: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 10, Total 11, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Carrd. Over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 157, s 0, d 0§	Sarah Forbes, paid, 2 whites, 19 blacks, 21 persons, £5 5s 0d Flora Goodwin, paid, 2 whites, 19 blacks, 21 persons, £5 5s 0d Watkin Greentree, paid, 2 whites, 7 blacks, 9 persons, £2 5s 0d Thomas Greentree senior, paid, 5 whites, 25 blacks, 30 persons, £7 10s 0d Thomas Greentree junior, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Mary Griffiths, paid, 1 white, 13 blacks, 14 persons, £3 10s 0d Eleanor Gurling, paid, 1 white, 10 blacks, 11 persons, £2 15s 0d Carried over, £157 [...] **Interpretations** The households not marked as paid were almost all single white men with no slaves, such as Bellinger, Barrett, Burink, Bowman, Chippindale and Crawley. Jeremiah Dobar was noted as having gone away. These were probably the discharged soldiers, seamen and journeymen who had begun appearing on the 1805 roll. Men with no land and no slaves could leave the island or move about easily, and the collector had no property to distrain on. The 5s tax therefore came mostly from the planters, whose slaves made up most of each household's count.
306	297	Continued§ §Names, Remarks, Whites, Blacks, Total, £, s, d§ §Brought over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 157, s 0, d 0§ §Gunnell Charles: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 0, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Gwynn Lewis: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Gough John: Remarks 0, Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Gahagan William: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Honeyman John: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Gray William: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Goodwin's John Estate: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 14, Total 16, £ 4, s 0, d 0§ §Harper's Martin Orp.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 15, Total 18, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §Harper James: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Hodson Chas. R. G.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 7, Total 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Hodson Benjn.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 6, Total 7, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Hodson Martha & Elizth.: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Hamilton Daniel: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 2, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Hayes Robert: Remarks Pd., Whites 8, Blacks 6, Total 14, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Hayes Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 2, Total 7, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Hastie George: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 3, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Hall Charles: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Hunter Ann: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Harley William: Remarks 0, Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Hayward Elisha: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Hays Elisha: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Hayter William: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	The tax on families at 5s a head continued. Brought over, £157 0s 0d Charles Gunnell, paid, 5 whites, 0 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Lewis Gwyn, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Gough, not marked paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d William Gahagan, paid, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d John Honeyman, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Gray, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Goodwin's estate, paid, 2 whites, 14 blacks, 16 persons, £4 0s 0d Martin Harper's orphans, paid, 3 whites, 15 blacks, 18 persons, £4 10s 0d James Harper, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Charles S. Hodson, paid, 3 whites, 7 blacks, 10 persons, £2 10s 0d Benjamin Hodson, paid, 1 white, 6 blacks, 7 persons, £1 15s 0d Martha and Elizabeth Hodson, paid, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Daniel Hamilton, paid, 3 whites, 2 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Robert Hayes, paid, 8 whites, 6 blacks, 14 persons, £3 10s 0d Thomas Hayes, paid, 5 whites, 2 blacks, 7 persons, £1 15s 0d George Hastie, paid, 2 whites, 3 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Charles Hall, no entry Ann Hunter, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d William Harley, not marked paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Ellis Hayward, paid, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Elisha Hayes, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Hayter, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Christopher Hendricks, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d

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		§Hendricks Christ.: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Hoffman Benj.: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Isacke Gabl.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 18, Total 21, £ 5, s 5, d 0§ §Isacke Elisha: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 9, Total 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Jacks Richd. Orp.: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 1, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Isaack Margarate: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jacks Martha: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Julio William: Remarks Pd., Whites 7, Blacks 12, Total 19, £ 4, s 15, d 0§ §Jemmeson John: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jacks Joseph: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Kennedy's Nathl. Orp.: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 0, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Kay David Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 25, Total 28, £ 7, s 0, d 0§ §Knipe Saml.: Remarks Pd., Whites 8, Blacks 27, Total 35, £ 8, s 15, d 0§ §Knipe Mary: Remarks Pd., Whites 7, Blacks 11, Total 18, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §Knipe William: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 3, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Knipe Jno. Bazett: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Knipe John: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Killen Patrick: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Carrd. Over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 226, s 0, d 0§ §Brought Over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 226, s 0, d 0§ §Kay David Junr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Kay John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Lane William: Remarks Pd., Whites 11, Blacks 0, Total 11, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Lowden James: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 3, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Lester Thos.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 5, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Leech Robert: Remarks Pd., Whites 8, Blacks 14, Total 22, £ 5, s 10, d 0§ §Leech Richard: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Leech George: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 9, Total 13, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Legg John Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 7, Blacks 21, Total 28, £ 7, s 0, d 0§ §Legg John Junr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Lambe Aaron: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 22, Total 27, £ 6, s 15, d 0§ §Lloyd William: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 3, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §McIntosh Donald: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Mason Benj. Junr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 7, Total 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Mason James: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 17, Total 22, £ 5, s 10, d 0§ §Mason's Richd. Orp.: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 16, Total 22, £ 5, s 10, d 0§ §Mason John: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 9, Total 13, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Mason Richard: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Benjamin Hoffman, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Gabriel Isaacs, paid, 3 whites, 18 blacks, 21 persons, £5 5s 0d Elisha Isaacs, paid, 1 white, 9 blacks, 10 persons, £2 10s 0d Richard Jacks's orphans, paid, 2 whites, 1 black, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d Margaret Isaacs, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Martha Jacks, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Julio, paid, 7 whites, 12 blacks, 19 persons, £4 15s 0d John Jameson, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Joseph Jacks, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, paid, 4 whites, 0 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d David Kay senior, paid, 3 whites, 25 blacks, 28 persons, £7 0s 0d Samuel Knipe, paid, 8 whites, 27 blacks, 35 persons, £8 15s 0d Mary Knipe, paid, 7 whites, 11 blacks, 18 persons, £4 10s 0d William Knipe, paid, 5 whites, 3 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d John Bazett Knipe, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Knipe, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Patrick Killen, paid, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Carried over, £226 0s 0d Brought over, £226 0s 0d David Kay junior, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Kay, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Lane, paid, 11 whites, 0 blacks, 11 persons, £2 15s 0d James Lowden, paid, 1 white, 3 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d Thomas Lester, paid, 3 whites, 5 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d Robert Leech, paid, 8 whites, 14 blacks, 22 persons, £5 10s 0d Richard Leech, paid, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d George Leech, paid, 4 whites, 9 blacks, 13 persons, £3 5s 0d John Legg senior, paid, 7 whites, 21 blacks, 28 persons, £7 0s 0d John Legg junior, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Aaron Lambe, paid, 5 whites, 22 blacks, 27 persons, £6 15s 0d William Lloyd, paid, 2 whites, 5 blacks, 7 persons, £1 15s 0d Donald McIntosh, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Benjamin Mason junior, paid, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d James Mason, paid, 5 whites, 17 blacks, 22 persons, £5 10s 0d Richard Mason's orphans, paid, 6 whites, 16 blacks, 22 persons, £5 10s 0d John Mason, paid, 4 whites, 9 blacks, 13 persons, £3 5s 0d Richard Mason, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Milne, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Moses Mills, paid, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d

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		§Milne William: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Wells Moses: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Merchant Margarate: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §McRitchie Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 8, Total 9, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §McDougal Dougal: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Mills Saml.: Remarks 0, Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §McManus Patk.: Remarks 0, Whites 3, Blacks 0, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Mead George: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Newton John: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 13, Total 19, £ 4, s 15, d 0§ §Mason Elizabeth: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 17, Total 18, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §Oldroyde Henry: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Oliver William: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Pierie William: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 21, Total 23, £ 5, s 15, d 0§ §Peplow's Wm. Orphans: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Pritchard Penelope: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 8, Total 10, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Pritchard James: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Pritchard Henry: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Pritchard Stephen: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 10, Total 16, £ 4, s 0, d 0§ §Page Richard: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 4, Total 9, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Perkins Saml.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 8, Total 9, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Porteous Henry: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Peacock John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Carrd. Over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 310, s 15, d 0§	Margaret Merchant, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Thomas McRitchie, paid, 1 white, 8 blacks, 9 persons, £2 5s 0d Dougal McDougal, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Samuel Mills, not marked paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Patrick McManus, not marked paid, 3 whites, 0 blacks, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d George Mead, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d John Newton, paid, 6 whites, 13 blacks, 19 persons, £4 15s 0d Elizabeth Mason, paid, 1 white, 17 blacks, 18 persons, £4 10s 0d Henry Oldroyd, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Oliver, paid, 2 whites, 1 black, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d William Pierce, paid, 3 whites, 20 blacks, 23 persons, £5 15s 0d William Peplow's orphans, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Penelope Pritchard, paid, 2 whites, 8 blacks, 10 persons, £2 10s 0d James Pritchard, paid, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d Henry Pritchard, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Stephen Pritchard, paid, 6 whites, 10 blacks, 16 persons, £4 0s 0d Richard Page, paid, 5 whites, 4 blacks, 9 persons, £2 5s 0d Samuel Perkins, paid, 1 white, 8 blacks, 9 persons, £2 5s 0d Henry Porteous, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Peacock, not marked paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Carried over, £310 15s 0d
307	298	Continued§ §Names, Remarks, Whites, Blacks, Total, £, s, d§ §Brought over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 310, s 15, d 0§ §McPike Margarate: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Perkins John: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Price William: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Robinson John Est.: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 18, Total 24, £ 6, s 0, d 0§ §Roberts William: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Rooks John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Ranton James: Remarks 0, Whites 4, Blacks 0, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Rourke Laurence: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Roesch Fredk.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 3, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Richenback Fredk.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 3, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Robinson Saml.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Reed Matthew: Remarks Pd., Whites 0, Blacks 2, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	The tax on families at 5s a head continued and closed with the total. Brought over, £310 15s 0d Margaret McPike, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d John Perkins, paid, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d William Price, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Robinson, paid, 6 whites, 18 blacks, 24 persons, £6 0s 0d William Roberts, paid, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d John Rooks, paid, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d James Ranton, noted as gone, 4 whites, 0 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d Lawrence Rourke, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Frederick Roesch, noted as gone, paid, 3 whites, 3 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Frederick Richenbach, paid, 3 whites, 3 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Samuel Robinson, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Matthew Reed, noted as gone, paid, 0 whites, 2 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Eleanor Shirtley, paid, 1 white, 5 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d

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		§Shirtley Eleanor: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 5, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Scott John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Scott Charles: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 5, Total 11, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Stopforth John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Stait Francis: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 1, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Seale Ann: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 4, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Seale Francis Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 20, Total 25, £ 6, s 5, d 0§ §Seale William Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 26, Total 31, £ 7, s 15, d 0§ §Seale Wm. Junr. Estate: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 13, Total 19, £ 4, s 15, d 0§ §Seale William Junr.: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Statham Robert: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 3, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Shirtley John: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 4, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Smith Edwd. Chas.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 26, Total 29, £ 7, s 5, d 0§ §Sampell Jane: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Sampson Charles: Remarks Pd., Whites 6, Blacks 7, Total 13, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Stewart Joseph: Remarks Pd., Whites 8, Blacks 5, Total 13, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Stewart Daniel: Remarks Pd., Whites 8, Blacks 0, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Stephens John: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Smith John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Story Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Spratt Joseph: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 2, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Solomon Saul: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 4, Total 9, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Scott Mary: Remarks 0, Whites 5, Blacks 0, Total 5, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Smith James: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Saunders Josiah: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Screeder Fredk.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Stark William: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Seale John: Remarks Pd., Whites 11, Blacks 9, Total 20, £ 5, s 0, d 0§ §Carrd. Over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 376, s 5, d 0§ §Brought over: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 376, s 5, d 0§ §Timmerman Nicht.: Remarks 0, Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Torbett Richd.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 20, Total 23, £ 5, s 15, d 0§ §Torbett John: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 8, Total 11, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Thomson John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Thomson James: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 0, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Tippett Mary: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Tout Josiah: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 6, Total 7, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Tracey William: Remarks 0, Whites 5, Blacks 1, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	John Scott, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Charles Scott, paid, 6 whites, 5 blacks, 11 persons, £2 15s 0d John Stopforth, noted as gone, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Francis Start, noted as gone, paid, 4 whites, 1 black, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Ann Seale, paid, 1 white, 4 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d Francis Seale senior, paid, 5 whites, 20 blacks, 25 persons, £6 5s 0d William Seale senior, paid, 5 whites, 26 blacks, 31 persons, £7 15s 0d William Seale junior's estate, paid, 6 whites, 13 blacks, 19 persons, £4 15s 0d William Seale junior, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Robert Statham, paid, 3 whites, 3 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d John Shirtley, paid, 2 whites, 4 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Edward Charles Smith, paid, [...] whites, 25 blacks, 29 persons, £7 5s 0d Jane Sampell, paid, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d Charles Sampson, paid, 6 whites, 7 blacks, 13 persons, £3 5s 0d Joseph Stewart, paid, 8 whites, 5 blacks, 13 persons, £3 5s 0d Daniel Stewart, paid, 8 whites, 0 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d John Stephens, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d John Smith, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Thomas Storey, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Joseph Spratt, paid, 1 white, 2 blacks, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d Saul Solomon, paid, 5 whites, 4 blacks, 9 persons, £2 5s 0d Mary Scott, 5 whites, 0 blacks, 5 persons, £1 5s 0d James Smith, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Josiah Saunders, paid, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Frederick Screeder, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d William Stark, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Seale, paid, 11 whites, 9 blacks, 20 persons, £5 0s 0d Carried over, £376 5s 0d Brought over, £376 5s 0d Nicholas Zimmerman, noted as gone, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Richard Torbett, paid, 3 whites, 20 blacks, 23 persons, £5 15s 0d John Torbett, paid, 3 whites, 8 blacks, 11 persons, £2 15s 0d John Thomson, paid, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d James Thompson, noted as gone, 3 whites, 0 blacks, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d Mary Tippett, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Josiah Tout, paid, 1 white, 6 blacks, 7 persons, £1 15s 0d William Tracey, noted as gone, 5 whites, 1 black, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Thomas Thomas, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Richard Thomas, noted as gone, paid, 2 whites, 1 black, 3 persons, £0 15s 0d

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		§Thomas Thomas: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Thomas Richard: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 1, Total 3, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Torbett James: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Underwood James: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Taylor John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Vezey James: Remarks 0, Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Wright Mary: Remarks Pd., Whites 5, Blacks 17, Total 22, £ 5, s 10, d 0§ §Wright Jno. Alexr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Worrall Sarah: Remarks 0, Whites 5, Blacks 2, Total 7, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Wrangham's Wm. Estate: Remarks Pd., Whites 0, Blacks 14, Total 14, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Western Chas.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 5, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Webster John: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Wells Richard: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 5, Total 7, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Watson Michael: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Wheatley Joseph: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Wilkinson J. T.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Wager James: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 2, Total 4, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Young Ann: Remarks Pd., Whites 4, Blacks 18, Total 22, £ 5, s 10, d 0§ §Young Stephen Senr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Young Fredk.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 1, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Young Richd.: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Young Stepn. Junr.: Remarks Pd., Whites 3, Blacks 3, Total 6, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Young Amorett: Remarks Pd., Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Yates Sarah: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 7, Total 8, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Yon Sarah: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Johnson Sarah: Remarks 0, Whites 2, Blacks 0, Total 2, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Yon Mary: Remarks Pd., Whites 1, Blacks 0, Total 1, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Total Amount: Remarks 0, Whites 0, Blacks 0, Total 0, £ 424, s 5, d 0§	James Tibbett, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d James Underwood, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d John Taylor, paid, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d James Vizey, noted as gone, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Mary Wright, paid, 5 whites, 17 blacks, 22 persons, £5 10s 0d John Alexander Wright, paid, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Sarah Worrall, 5 whites, 2 blacks, 7 persons, £1 15s 0d William Wrangham's estate, paid, 0 whites, 14 blacks, 14 persons, £3 10s 0d Charles Western, paid, 3 whites, 5 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d John Webster, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Richard Wells, paid, 2 whites, 5 blacks, 7 persons, £1 15s 0d Michael Watson, noted as gone, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Joseph Wheatley, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d J. T. Wilkinson, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d James Wager, noted as gone, paid, 2 whites, 2 blacks, 4 persons, £1 0s 0d Ann Young, paid, 4 whites, 18 blacks, 22 persons, £5 10s 0d Stephen Young senior, paid, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Frederick Young, paid, 1 white, 1 black, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Richard Young, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Stephen Young junior, paid, 3 whites, 3 blacks, 6 persons, £1 10s 0d Amoret Young, paid, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Sarah Yates, paid, 1 white, 7 blacks, 8 persons, £2 0s 0d Sarah Yon, no entry Sarah Johnson, 2 whites, 0 blacks, 2 persons, £0 10s 0d Mary Yon, paid, 1 white, 0 blacks, 1 person, £0 5s 0d Total amount, £424 5s 0d **Interpretations** At 5s a head the roll was assessed at £424 5s 0d, almost exactly twice the £214 10s 0d of the 2s 6d roll the year before, on about the same number of people. Most of the extra burden fell on the slaveholders, since every slave counted as a head. Samuel Knipe's household of 35 owed £8 15s 0d. The parish was still repaying Henry Porteous the £275 13s 5d he had lent for the church. The words "gone" written against Zimmerman, Thompson, Tracey, Vizey, Watson and others mark people who had left the island before the tax could be collected. Almost all were the single white men and small households first counted in 1805. The planter families stayed from one roll to the next. The newer, landless whites came and went with the ships and the garrison, which made them hard to tax.
308	299	Blank page	
309	300	Dr. The Parish to Mr. Henry Porteous for Sundry Accompts§ §1806 April 1st. To 14 Overseers @ 1/6 ꝑ Day§ §1 1§ §To 129 Labourers @ 1/. Ditto§ §6 9§	The parish's account with Mr Henry Porteous recorded the following payments for April and May 1806. 1 April 1806, 14 days of overseers at 1s 6d a day, £1 1s 0d 129 days of labourers at 1s a day, £6 9s 0d Carriage of 105 bushels of lime, £5 5s 0d

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		§To Carriage of 105 Bushells of Lime§ §5 5§ §To 10 Stone Scabblers @ 1/6 p̄ Day§ §15§ §April 16th. To Mr. Taylor Carpenter for Seats and Pews by Admeasurement§ §Countersigned by Jno. Legg Senr.§ §8 7 4§ §To Mr. Alfred Isaack Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto§ §6 12§ §May 1st. To Mr. Dewdney Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto§ §12 9§ §To Mr. Richd. Isaack Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto§ §1 1 9§ §To Worsler for Shingles§ §1 10§ §16th. To Bidwell Ditto§ §1 4§ §17th. To Mr. Elisha Isaack for Ceiling by Admeasurement§ §4 8§ §To Mr. Webster for Ditto Ditto Ditto§ §5 12§ §28th. To Mr. Amorath Young for Seats and Pews Ditto Ditto§ §2 14 10§ §29th. To Mr. Saml. Cooper for Iron Work on the Roof as p̄ Bill§ §1 12§ §Total Expences for April and May§ §59 11§	10 days of stone dressers at 1s 6d a day, £0 15s 0d 16 April, Mr Taylor, carpenter, for seats and pews by measurement, countersigned by John Legg senior, £8 7s 4d Mr Alfred Isaacs for seats and pews by measurement, countersigned by John Legg senior, £6 12s 0d 1 May, Mr Dewdney for seats and pews by measurement, countersigned by John Legg senior, £12 9s 0d Mr Richard Isaacs for seats and pews by measurement, countersigned by John Legg senior, £1 1s 9d Worsley for shingles, £1 10s 0d 16 May, Bidwell for shingles, £1 4s 0d 17 May, Mr Elisha Isaacs for the ceiling by measurement, £4 8s 0d Mr Webster for the ceiling by measurement, £5 12s 0d 28 May, Mr Amoret Young for seats and pews by measurement, £2 14s 10d 29 May, Mr Samuel Cooper for ironwork on the roof, as per bill, £1 12s 0d Total expenses for April and May, £59 0s 11d **Interpretations** The carpenters fitting the seats, pews and ceiling were paid by measurement, for the quantity of work done rather than by the day. Each bill was checked by John Legg senior, whom the Board had appointed in February 1806 to supervise the interior. Paying by the day had made the masonry and roofing hard to control: hundreds of days of labour, with spirits and overseers on top. Piecework let the parish know the cost of each pew in advance and paid nothing for idle time. Legg's countersignature made sure no carpenter was paid for more than he had actually built.
310	301	attending the Rebuilding the Country Church Cr.§ §1806 Novr. 3d. By Balance due Mr. Henry Porteous as p̄ Book§ §275 13 5§ §By Cash due Mr. Porteous as p̄ Bill§ §59 11§ §£ 334 14 4§ §Received the within Amount from Major Wm. Seale§ §Henry Porteous§ §Island St. Helena§ §3d. November 1806§	The credit side of Mr Henry Porteous's accounts for the rebuilding of the country church recorded the following. 3 November 1806, balance due to Mr Henry Porteous, as per the book, £275 13s 5d Cash due to Mr Porteous, as per his bill, £59 0s 11d Total, £334 14s 4d Henry Porteous acknowledged at St Helena on 3 November 1806 that he had received this amount from Major William Seale. **Interpretations** By the time the church was finished, Porteous had advanced £334 14s 4d of his own money: £275 13s 5d up to April and £59 0s 11d for the seats, pews and ceiling in April and May. He was repaid in a single sum in November 1806, seven months after the last work, once the 5s head tax had been collected. The rebuilding was carried through by the churchwarden's private credit, with the parish repaying him only after the tax came in. It was the largest advance any officer made in the book.
311	302	Dr. The Parish to Sundry Accompts attending the§ §£ s d§ §1806-7 April 1st. To Balance of Mr. Porteous's Bill§ §275 13 5§ §To Ditto of Ditto§ §59 11§ §To Store Bill§ §307 1 8§ §To 30 Gallons of Spirits as p̄ Bill§ §6 12 6§ §To Cart hire as p̄ Mr. Thos. Bagley's Bills§ §10 13§ §To Ditto as p̄ Mr. Jno. Legg's Bill§ §10§	The parish's account with various creditors for rebuilding the country church, from 1 April 1806 to 1807, recorded the following. 1 April 1806, balance of Mr Porteous's bill, £275 13s 5d Balance of Mr Porteous's further bill, £59 0s 11d Store bill, £307 1s 8d 30 gallons of spirits, as per bill, £6 12s 6d Cart hire, as per Mr Thomas Bagley's bills, £10 13s 0d Cart hire, as per Mr John Legg's bill, £10 0s 0d Mr Bushnell for 4 buckets, £0 18s 0d Solomon Arrest's bill for sawing, £1 19s 0d Thomas Watkins for writing, £6 0s 0d Cash paid to Joseph Harry, plasterer, £11 0s 0d

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		§To Mr. Bushnell for 4 Buckets§ §18§ §To Solomon Arreste's Bill for Sawing§ §1 19§ §To Thomas Watkins for Writing§ §6§ §To Cash paid Joseph Harry Plaisterer§ §11§ §To Ditto Mr. Alfred Isaacke Carpenter§ §12 19 8§ §To Ditto Mr. John Legg Ditto§ §11 6§ §To Ditto Mr. Legg and Isaacke Ditto§ §11 13 9§ §To Ditto Mr. Thomas Collins Ditto§ §4 8§ §To Ditto Mr. Peter Melden Ditto§ §1 4§ §To Ditto Mr. John Legg Junr. Ditto§ §5 6§ §To Ditto Mr. A. Young Ditto§ §2 4§ §To Ditto Mr. Thos. Hayes Ditto§ §4 8§ §To Ditto Mr. James Doyle Ditto§ §3 12§ §To Ditto Mr. L. Chippindale Ditto§ §4§ §To Ditto Mr. E. Isaack Ditto§ §2 4§ §To Ditto Mr. Webster Ditto§ §5 4§ §To Ditto Mr. A. Young Ditto§ §6 1 8§ §To Ditto Mr. Jno. Legg Senr. Ditto§ §4 4§ §To Ditto Mr. Dewdney Ditto§ §14 9§ §To Ditto Mr. Jos. Wornsworth Ditto§ §1 10§ §To Ditto Mr. Wm. Gray Ditto§ §5§ §To Ditto Mr. Henry Porteous as p Bill§ §14 1 6§ §To Ditto Major Wm. Seale as Ditto§ §1 9§ §To Ditto for a Padlock and Key for the Church Yard§ §3 2§ §To Ditto four Days Labour Carrying Deals§ §8§ §To Ditto for Cart hire to Mr. Wrangham's Estate§ §14 7 6§ §To Ditto for Ditto to Mr. Samuel Knipe§ §4§ §To Ditto for Ditto to Mr. Thos. Aylesworth§ §1 1§ §To Ditto The Honble. Company's Stores for Timber &c.§ §20 17 6§ §To Ditto to Mr. Saml. Cooper for making a pair of Iron Gates§ §5 15§ §To Ditto to Mr. Stepn. Pritchard for Spirits§ §8 7 1§ §£ 921 12 8§ §To 100 Days Labour expended at the Country Church from§ §the several Warrens§	Cash paid to Mr Alfred Isaacs, carpenter, £12 19s 8d Cash paid to Mr John Legg, carpenter, £11 5s 0d Cash paid to Mr Legg and Mr Isaacs, carpenters, £11 13s 9d Cash paid to Mr Thomas Collins, carpenter, £4 8s 0d Cash paid to Mr Peter Meldon, carpenter, £1 4s 0d Cash paid to Mr John Legg junior, carpenter, £5 5s 0d Cash paid to Mr A. Young, carpenter, £2 4s 0d Cash paid to Mr Thomas Hayes, carpenter, £4 8s 0d Cash paid to Mr James Doyle, carpenter, £3 12s 0d Cash paid to Mr L. Chippindale, carpenter, £4 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr E. Isaacs, carpenter, £2 4s 0d Cash paid to Mr Webster, carpenter, £5 4s 0d Cash paid to Mr A. Young, carpenter, £6 1s 8d Cash paid to Mr John Legg senior, carpenter, £4 4s 0d Cash paid to Mr Dewdney, carpenter, £14 9s 0d Cash paid to Mr Joseph Wainsworth, carpenter, £1 10s 0d Cash paid to Mr William Gray, carpenter, £5 0s 0d Cash paid to Mr Henry Porteous, as per his bill, £4 1s 6d Cash paid to Major William Seale, as per his bill, £1 9s 0d Cash paid for a padlock and key for the churchyard, £0 3s 2d Cash paid for four days of labour carrying deals, £0 8s 0d Cash paid for cart hire to Mr Wrangham's estate, £14 7s 6d Cash paid for cart hire to Mr Samuel Knipe, £4 0s 0d Cash paid for cart hire to Mr Thomas Ailesworth, £1 1s 0d Cash paid to the Company's stores for timber and other items, £20 17s 6d Cash paid to Mr Samuel Cooper for making a pair of iron gates, £5 15s 0d Cash paid to Mr Stephen Pritchard for spirits, £3 7s 1d Total, £921 12s 8d A note recorded that 100 days of labour had been given at the country church under the various warrants. **Interpretations** The final account came to £921 12s 8d, including the Company's store bill of £307 1s 8d, which the Company had already paid. The 100 days of labour under the warrants were noted but given no money value. These were the days owed on the highways and diverted to the church by order of the Council, so they cost the parish nothing in cash. The true cost of the rebuilding was therefore higher than any figure in the book, since the inhabitants' compulsory labour and the Company's materials never passed through the parish accounts as payments.
312	303	rebuilding the Country Church Cr.§ §£ s d§ §By Cash Received the Tax on Families§ §405 5§ §By Ditto the Tax on Dogs§ §48 5§	The credit side of the account for rebuilding the country church recorded the following receipts. Cash received from the tax on families, £405 5s 0d Cash received from the tax on dogs, £48 5s 0d

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		§By Ditto from the Honble. Company the one half of§ §the Expences of the Country Church as p Accounts§ §588 18 6§ §Carried over£ 1042 8 6§	Cash received from the Company, being one half of the cost of the country church, as per the accounts, £588 18s 6d Carried over, £1,042 8s 6d **Interpretations** The Company paid £588 18s 6d, half the cost of the country church. In August 1805 the vestry declared the church to be "for the accommodation of the inhabitants in general", and the Company had already paid the £307 1s 8d store bill. Here it went further and met half the whole cost. The building now served the garrison and Company servants as well as the planters. Once the parish had spent beyond its means, borrowing from its churchwarden, the Company accepted a share in a building it had at first left to the ratepayers. This was the largest single payment the Company made into the parish accounts. The tax on families brought in £405 5s 0d against the £424 5s 0d assessed. The shortfall of about £19 0s 0d matches the households noted as gone. The departed single men and small households accounted for most of the uncollected tax.
313	304	Dr. The Parish§ §1806 April 1st. To Amount of Expences attendg. the Rebuildg. the Parish Church in the Country§ §921 12 8§ §To the Clerk of the Fish Market's Salary for one Year§ §10§ §To the Organist's Salary for One Year§ §15§ §To the Sexton's Ditto for Ditto§ §15§ §To Mr. Lowden's Bill for a Coffin for Free Persons§ §1 5§ §To Funeral Expences of Sarah Garrard§ §1 5§ §To Mr. Thos. Hayes Bill for repairing the School House§ §2 6§ §To Funeral Expences of Wm. Seale, Coffin &ca.§ §4 10§ §To Cash paid Mr. Burnham for Collecting the Tax on Families &c.§ §9§ §To Cash paid§ §£ 979 13 2§ §Balance in favor§ §62 15 4§ §Total Amount£ 1042 8 6§ §Error in Acct. above & the Acct. Stands§ §as Signed by Mr. Porteous Wm. Seale C. W.§ §Dr. Sundry Expences Rebuilding the Country§ §1805 October To Mechanics and Labours this Month§ §59 11§ §November To Ditto and Ditto Ditto§ §116 13 9§ §December To Ditto and Ditto Ditto§ §164 10 5§ §1806 January To Ditto and Ditto Ditto§ §141 10 8§ §February To Ditto and Ditto Ditto§ §90 13 4§ §March To Ditto and Ditto Ditto§ §139 18 9§ §April & May To Ditto and Ditto Ditto§ §67 11§ §Octr. Novr. & Decr. To Ditto and Ditto Ditto§ §25 17 6§ §To the Honble. Company's Stores as p Bills§ §404 18 5§ §To Mechanics and Cart hire§ §182 7 4§	The parish account from 1 April 1806 recorded the following payments. 1 April 1806, expenses of rebuilding the country parish church, £921 12s 8d The clerk of the fish market's salary for one year, £10 0s 0d The organist's salary for one year, £15 0s 0d The sexton's salary for one year, £15 0s 0d Mr [...]'s bill for a coffin for a free person, [...], £1 5s 0d Funeral expenses of Sarah Gerrard, £1 5s 0d Mr Thomas Hayes's bill for repairing the schoolhouse, £2 0s 6d Funeral expenses of William Seale, for a coffin and other items, £4 10s 0d Cash paid to Mr Burnham for collecting the tax on families and other items, £9 0s 0d Cash paid, no sum entered Total, £979 13s 2d Balance in favour, £62 15s 4d Total amount, £1,042 8s 6d William Seale, churchwarden, added a note that there was an error in the account above, and that the account stood as signed by Mr Porteous. The various expenses of rebuilding the country church were then summarised as follows. October 1805, mechanics and labourers for this month, £59 11s 0d November, mechanics and labourers for this month, £116 13s 9d December, mechanics and labourers for this month, £164 10s 5d January 1806, mechanics and labourers for this month, £141 10s 8d February, mechanics and labourers for this month, £90 13s 4d March, mechanics and labourers for this month, £139 18s 9d April and May, mechanics and labourers, £6[...] [...] 11d August, November and December, mechanics and labourers, £25 17s 6d The Company's stores, as per bills, £406 18s 5d Mechanics and cart hire, £182 7s 4d Discount to Mr Roach on £210 0s 0d paid in advance, £9 0s 0d Total amount of expenses, £1,396 2s 1d The Company's half, £698 1s 0½d Parish expenses for 1806 and 1807, £134 0s 7d Total, £1,530 10s 1d Balance due from the churchwarden, £34 5s 11d Total, £1,564 16s 0d

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		§To Discount to Mr. Roesh on £210 paid in Advance§ §9§ §Total Amount of Expences£ 1396 2 1§ §To the Honble. Company their One Half £ 698.1.0½§ §To Parish Expences for 1806-7§ §134 8§ §1530 10 1§ §Balance due from the Church Warden§ §34 5 11§ §£ 1564 16§ §Wm. Seale§ §Church Warden§	William Seale signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The full cost of rebuilding the country church came to £1,396 2s 1d, more than six years of the parish's ordinary spending. The Company's half was reckoned at £698 1s 0½d. That was more than the £588 18s 6d recorded as received from the Company on the credit side, and with the store bills, which the Company had paid directly, it made up the difference. The vestry's resolution of August 1805 had committed the parish to a building for the whole island. In the end the Company shared the cost equally with the inhabitants. The note that "the account stands as signed by Mr Porteous" shows the churchwardens could not reconcile the various versions. Rather than reopen it, they accepted Porteous's figures, which had already been repaid. The funeral of William Seale was paid by the parish while Major William Seale himself signed as churchwarden. The man buried was probably the William Seale on the 1805 roll taxed on a single head, one of the several men of that name. A poorer member of a leading planter family could end up buried at the parish's cost.
314	305	Per Contra Cr.§ §1806 April 1st. By the Amount of Cash Brought over§ §£ 1042 8 6§ §Church Cr.§ §1806-7 January By Sale of the Parish House§ §280§ §By Tax upon Families @ 2/6§ §202 7 6§ §By Tax upon Dogs§ §40§ §By Tax upon Families @ 5/.§ §405 5§ §By Tax upon Dogs§ §48 5§ §By the Honble. Company's Half Expences in 1806§ §588 18 6§ §Total Cash Received£ 1564 16§ §By Cash Received from the Paymaster£ 588.18.6§ §By Balance due by the Honble. Company 109.2.6½§ §£ 698.1.0½§ §Henry Porteous§ §Superintent§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the following. 1 April 1806, cash brought over, £1,042 8s 6d The credit side of the church account for 1806 and 1807 recorded these receipts. January, sale of the parish house, £280 0s 0d Tax on families at 2s 6d, £202 7s 6d Tax on dogs, £40 0s 0d Tax on families at 5s, £405 5s 0d Tax on dogs, £48 5s 0d The Company's half of the expenses in 1806, £588 18s 6d Total cash received, £1,564 16s 0d The Company's half of the cost was settled as follows. Cash received from the paymaster, £588 18s 6d Balance owed by the Company, £109 2s 6½d Total, £698 1s 0½d Henry Porteous signed as superintendent. **Interpretations** The Company's half of the cost, £698 1s 0½d, was not paid in one sum. The paymaster handed over £588 18s 6d, and £109 2s 6½d was still owed. Only the cash actually received was entered in the church account, so the parish's figures showed a balance due from the churchwarden while the Company still owed the parish more than £100 0s 0d. That probably explains the error William Seale noted in the facing account. The two sides could not be squared until the Company paid what was left. Porteous signed here as superintendent, not churchwarden. He had directed the rebuilding from first to last, lent the parish more than £330 0s 0d and kept the church account separate from the ordinary parish books.
315	306	At a Vestry held in the Chapel in James's§ §Valley the 6th. Day of April 1807 when the following Gentlemen were§ §chosen Parish Officers &ca.§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. John Mason§ §Mr. Gabriel Doveton§ §Mr. John Alexander Senr.§ §Church Wardens§ §Edward Chas. Smith§ §Moses Wells§ §Thos. Lester§ §Constable Saul Solomon§ §Overseers§ §Mr. Barker South§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 6 April 1807 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: Mr John Mason Mr Gabriel Doveton Mr John Alexander senior Churchwardens: Edward Charles Smith Moses Mills Thomas Lester Constable: Saul Solomon Overseers: Mr Barker, South division Mr Watson, East division

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		§Mr. Watson East§ §Mr. Burnham West§ §Wormers§ §Mr. Joseph Aylesworth West§ §Mr. John Knipe Junr. East§ §Mr. Lambe Senr. South§ §From a Letter presented some time ago from the§ §Surgeons respecting their Attendance on Free Blacks, &ca. and giving their§ §Medical Assistance when required, have this day Unanimously Agreed in Vestry§ §that they shall be allowed Yearly the Sum of Twenty Guineas agreeable to§ §their request.§ §(Signed)§ §Wm. Seale§ §Edwd. C. Smith Church Wardens§	Mr Burnham, West division Wormers: Mr Joseph Ailesworth, West division Mr John Knipe junior, East division Mr Lambe junior, South division Some time earlier the surgeons had sent a letter about attending free blacks and others and giving them medical help when needed. The vestry now agreed unanimously to pay them 20 guineas a year, as they had asked. William Seale and Edward Charles Smith signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The vestry accepted the arrangement the surgeons had proposed in April 1806 a year after first turning their bill down. In the meantime it had questioned the free blacks named on the doctors' list and found most of them able to pay their own way. With the parish's liability limited to paupers on its own list, a fixed 20 guineas a year was a known cost, and it ended the disputes over bills that had run since 1791. Saul Solomon was chosen as constable. He was a newly established merchant, taxed on a household of nine in 1805. The constable's post was the one Joseph Tout had complained in 1802 was pushed onto newcomers. The rota of officers drawn up that year was apparently doing the same, giving the least wanted post to a recent settler, however prosperous.
316	307	[The head of the page is damaged and partly lost at the upper centre, and there is a hole in the centre of the page that partly obscures the date in the first line of the letter. The upper right corner is stained.] To David Kay Esqr.§ §Head Surgeon§ §Sir,§ §Having met this Day in Vestry, Your Letter§ §addressed to Mr. Porteous 7th. Ap[...] 1806 was this day investigated into and§ §Unanimously Agreed, that You shall receive Twenty Guineas per Annum§ §Specified in Your letter, which we trust will meet Your Approbation.§ §We are§ §Sir§ §Vestry Your very Obedient§ §6th. April 1807 Humble Servants§ §(Signed) Wm. Seale§ §Edwd. C. Smith Church Wardens§	The churchwardens wrote to David Kay Esquire, head surgeon, from the vestry on 6 April 1807. The vestry had met that day and looked into his letter to Mr Porteous of 7 April 1806. It had agreed unanimously that he would receive 20 guineas a year for the services set out in his letter, and the churchwardens hoped this would meet with his approval. William Seale and Edward Charles Smith signed as churchwardens.
317	308	[Heavy stains at the upper corners and along the edges of the page, and a large stain in the money columns that obscures the figures of several entries in the upper half.] 1807 The Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §April 1. Paid Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §Paid the Organist ditto§ §3 15§ §Paid Mr. Louden for a coffin (J. Hays)§ §1 5§ §Paid Ditto ditto (Free Pers.)§ §1 5§ §Paid E. Pritchard 1½ Gram [...]§ §11§ §Paid Store Bill§ §[...]§	The parish account from 1 April 1807 recorded the following payments. 1 April 1807, sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d Organist's salary, £3 15s 0d Mr Louden for a coffin for J. Hays, £1 5s 0d Mr Louden for a coffin for Priss, a free woman, £1 5s 0d E. Pritchard for [...], £[...] Store bill, £[...] For writing, £[...] T. Bagley for cart hire, £3 3s 0d 31 August, Mr J. Legg for the country church, £19 10s 10d Mr Hayward for a small glass for the country church, £0 5s 6d 20 October, balance of the store bill, £7 14s 1d Mr Porteous on account of the parish, £11 16s 0d Edward Suwel, organist, and John Singleton, sexton, £7 10s 0d 1 January 1808, Edward Suwel, organist, and John Singleton, sexton, £7 10s 0d Mr Louden for a pair of brass hinges for the country church, £0 2s 6d

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		§Paid for writg.§ §[...]§ §Paid T. Bagley Cart hire§ §3 3§ §Paid by Major Seale§ §August 31st. Paid Mr. J. Legg for Country Church§ §19 10 10§ §Paid Mr. Hayward for a Small Glass for Country Church§ §5 6§ §Octr. 20. Paid Ballce. of Store Bill§ §7 14 1§ §Paid Mr. Porteous on acct. of Parish§ §11 16§ §Paid Edwd. Suvel Organist & Jno. Singleton Sexton§ §7 10§ §1808 Jany. 1. Paid Ditto do. do.§ §7 10§ §Paid Mr. Louden a Pair Brass hinges (Country church)§ §2 6§ §8th. Paid Balcombe 100 Brads 6 lb. nails C. Church§ §6 8§ §Mar. 31st. Paid Suvel and Singleton (Salarys)§ §7 10§ §Apl. 30 Paid Singl.§ §85 18 10§	8 January, Balcombe for brads and 6 lb of nails for the country church, £0 6s 8d 31 March, Suwel and Singleton for their salaries, £7 10s 0d 30 April, Singleton, £[...] Total, £85 18s 10d A note beside the payments from the coffins to the cart hire recorded that they had been paid by Major Seale.
318	309	[The head of the page is damaged and partly lost at the upper centre. Round stains and blots appear across the page and along the edges, and one stain in the left margin partly obscures a short note.] Per Contra Cr.§ §Receiv'd from the Honble. Company§ §£ 109 2 6§ §Ballance from Major Seale C. Warden§ §34 5 11§ §143 8 5§ §[...]§ §John 3§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the following receipts. Received from the Company, £109 2s 6d Balance from Major Seale, churchwarden, £34 5s 11d Total, £143 8s 5d **Interpretations** The Company eventually paid the £109 2s 6d still owing on its half of the church's cost, and Major Seale handed over the £34 5s 11d balance shown as due from him. These two payments closed the church account that had been left open in 1806. Once the Company's last instalment arrived, the parish's figures balanced, which settled the error William Seale had noted the year before.
319	310	Blank page	
320	311	[Staining at the upper right corner of the page, partly obscuring the month and year at the end of the first line.] At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's Valley the 18th. day of [...]§ §1808§ §The following Gentlemen were chosen Parish Officers§ §1/3§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. John Mason§ §Mr. Gabriel Doveton§ §Mr. Thomas Bagley§ §Church Wardens§ §Moses Wells§ §Thomas Lester§ §C. R. G. Hodson§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 18 [...] 1808 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: Mr John Mason Mr Gabriel Doveton Mr Thomas Bagley Churchwardens: Moses Mills Thomas Lester C. Hodson Constable: Samuel Perkins Ward Overseers: Colonel Greentree, East division Wrangham's estate, West division Richard Torbett, South division Wormers: Mr Dring, East division

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		§Constable§ §Samuel Perkins Ward.§ §Overseers§ §Col. Greentree E.§ §Wranghams Est. W.§ §Richd. Torbett S.§ §Wormers§ §Mr. Dring E.§ §Mr. Wm. Alcock W.§ §Mr. J. Knipe S.§ §Proposed That all Estates whatever on the Island without exception shall§ §be liable by turns to the duty of an Overseer of the High ways§ §beginning from the largest Estate and so proceeding in regular rota§ §tion. Agreed.§ §Proposed That all Persons who profit by letting out Horses, shall be taxed§ §six days labour to the High ways for each Horse. Agreed.§ §Proposed That a Annual tax upon Families be levied at one Rupee p head§ §for Parish Expences. Agreed§ §Copy of a Letter received from B. A. Wright Esqr. Actg. Secy. to Government§ §Messrs. E. C. Smith, and M. Wells§ §Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen§ §The Governor and Council have directed me to enclose a Copy§ §of a letter addressed to them from the Revd. Dr. J. T. Wilkinson Chaplain§ §under date the 7th. March last.§ §The Board have to desire that you will submit the§ §enquiry therein solicited, to the Consideration of the Vestry at§ §present assembled, and after their proceedings have taken place§ §you will transmit the same to the Govr. and Council for their§ §decision.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Yr. Obdt. Servant§ §Signed B. A. Wright§ §Acting Secy.§	Mr William Alexander, West division Mr J. Knipe, South division The vestry agreed to the following proposals. Every estate on the island, without exception, would take its turn at the duty of overseer of the highways, beginning with the largest estate and continuing in regular rotation. Everyone who made money by hiring out horses would be charged six days of highway labour for each horse. An annual tax of one rupee a head would be levied on families to pay for parish expenses. A copy followed of a letter from B. A. Wright Esquire, acting secretary to the government, to Messrs E. C. Smith and M. Mills, churchwardens. The Governor and Council had told him to enclose a copy of a letter to them from the Reverend Dr J. T. Wilkinson, the chaplain, dated 7 March. The Board wanted the vestry now meeting to consider the inquiry it raised. Once the vestry had dealt with it, the churchwardens were to send the proceedings to the Governor and Council for their decision. **Interpretations** The vestry now made the duty of highway overseer pass round every estate by size, starting with the largest. Choosing overseers by vote each year had led to complaints that some men were burdened while others escaped, as Joseph Tout argued in 1802. A fixed rotation by acreage put the burden on the land that used the roads most. Duties already followed property, as when Wrangham's and Worrall's estates were named as officers. This resolution was the source of the list of estates ranked by acreage, which named the overseers who had served in 1809 and 1810. The charge of six days' highway labour for each horse let out for hire was aimed at a new trade. Horses hired to passengers and officers from the ships in the road wore the roads heavily. Those who profited from the traffic were made to contribute to its upkeep. Setting the family tax in rupees also reflects the Indian coin then circulating widely on the island.
321	312	Copy§ §To§ §The Hon'ble Governor and Council§ §&c. &c. &c.§ §Hon'ble Sirs§ §I am persuaded from your equal, and naturally superior respect§ §and attention that ought to be conspicuously shewn in§ §Completing the Chapel in the Country, and also in securing the§ §Dormitory's of the Dead, that your Hon'ble Board will pardon§ §this my long express Anxiety, to solicit an enquiry why§ §this undertaking is not carried into a desired execution.§ §And more particularly as the§ §Hon'ble Company's Money has been for some time advanced§ §for this sole specific Purpose.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §with devout respect§ §Dated 7th. Mar. 1808 Hon'ble Sirs§ §your very obedt. hu'ble Servant§ §True Copy Signd. J. T. Wilkinson§ §Signd. Chaplain§ §B. A. Wright L.L.D.§	The Reverend Dr J. T. Wilkinson, the chaplain, wrote to the Governor and Council on 7 March 1808. The respect owed to completing the country chapel and to securing the burial ground deserved to be clearly shown. He trusted the Board would therefore forgive his anxiety in asking why the work had not been carried out as intended, particularly as the Company had advanced money for some time for that purpose alone. B. A. Wright, acting secretary, certified the letter as a true copy. E. C. Smith and M. Mills, churchwardens, answered Mr Wright on 18 April 1808. They explained that the churchwardens had been unable to carry out the repairs to the country church for lack of labour and materials. The sum drawn on the Company's account would be handed to the churchwardens chosen that day, who would finish the work as quickly as they could. They asked permission to have labourers from High Knoll to bring lime from Sandy Bay, as well as a stone blaster, two masons and 100 bags of lime. **Interpretations** The chaplain went to the Governor because the Company's money for finishing the church and walling the burial ground had been lying unspent. In 1805 and 1806 the rebuilding had been pushed through with the churchwarden's private credit,

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		§Actg. Secy.§ §Copy§ §Answer§ §To Mr. Wright Actg. Secy.§ §In answer to your letter of this date the Vestry desire§ §you will inform the Hon'ble Govr. and Council, that the§ §Church Wardens have not been able to execute the repairs§ §of the Country Church, for want of Labour and Materials§ §and that the Sum drawn on the Hon'ble Company's Acct.§ §will be delivered into the Hands of the Church Wardens§ §this day chosen into Office, who will expeditiously§ §as they are able, complete the desired work, and they§ §request to have permission for to have Labourers from§ §High Knoll, to bring Lime from Sandy Bay, also a§ §Stone blower, and two Masons, and one Hundred Bags of Lime.§ §We are Sir§ §yr. Obedt. Servts.§ §18th. April Signd. E. C. Smith§ §1808 M. Wells Church Wardens§	compulsory labour and soldiers from High Knoll. Once the main building was usable, the pressure eased and the remaining work stalled. Labour was again the obstacle. The churchwardens could not finish without soldiers to haul lime from Sandy Bay and Company masons, so the parish was still dependent on the garrison to complete work the Company had already paid for.
322	313	At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's Valley the 5th.§ §September 1808.§ §Island St. Helena§ §29th. August 1808 Proclamation.§ §The Inhabitants of the aforesaid Island§ §are hereby required to assemble in Vestry at the Chapel in James's§ §Valley on Monday next the 5th. September at eleven oClock in the§ §Forenoon, to nominate Two Inspectors of Cattle, Sheep, Goats and§ §Fences.§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's Valley the 5th. day of Sept. 1808§ §The following Gentlemen are nominated Inspectors of§ §Cattle, Sheep and Goats.§ §Inspectors of Sheep and Goats§ §Mr. Lamb South Division§ §Frederick Alexander East ditto§ §John Bagley West ditto§ §Resolved that in future the Wormers of Cattle shall also be§ §Inspectors, and give in a Return of the same to the Secretary's Office§ §when required.§ §The Vestry beg leave to recommend that the Governor§ §and Council will be pleased to appoint the Inspectors of Fences.§	A proclamation was issued at St Helena on 29 August 1808. It called on the island's inhabitants to meet in vestry at the chapel in James's Valley at eleven in the morning on Monday 5 September. They were to nominate two inspectors of cattle, sheep, goats and fences. The vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 5 September 1808 and nominated the following inspectors of sheep and goats. Mr Lamb, South division Frederick Alexander, East division John Bagley, West division The vestry resolved that in future the wormers of cattle should also serve as inspectors and make returns to the secretary's office when asked. It asked the Governor and Council to appoint the inspectors of fences. **Interpretations** The government called the vestry by proclamation to nominate inspectors of cattle, sheep, goats and fences together. The vestry chose to name only the sheep and goat inspectors. It handed cattle inspection to the existing wormers and left the inspectors of fences for the Governor and Council to appoint. Fences divided the planters' land from each other and from the Company's commons. An inspector of fences could find against any of the vestry's own members, so the planters preferred the government to choose him rather than one of themselves. The requirement for the wormers to report to the secretary's office also shows that livestock inspection was becoming a government record, not only a parish duty.
323	314	Saint Helena, April 18th. 1808.§ §Poll Tax Ordered by Vestry§ §Names, Number of Heads, £, s, d§ §Ailesworth Thomas Pd.: Number of Heads 17, £ 1, s 18, d 3§ §Alexander John Senr. Pd.: Number of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §Alexander John Junr. Pd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Alexander Fredrick Pd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Alexander George's Orphans Pd.: Number of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Aylesworth Joseph Junr.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	The poll tax ordered by the vestry was recorded at St Helena on 18 April 1808. It was charged at one rupee a head, reckoned at 2s 3d, and a mark showed who had paid. Thomas Ailesworth, paid, 17 heads, £1 18s 3d John Alexander senior, paid, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d John Alexander junior, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d Frederick Alexander, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d George Alexander's orphans, paid, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d Joseph Ailesworth junior, garrison, 2 heads, no charge Thomas Adams, paid, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d James Ailesworth, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William Brabazon, paid, 17 heads, £1 18s 3d

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		§Adams Thomas Do.: Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	Mary Bagley senior, paid, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Aylesworth James: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Mary Bagley junior, paid, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d
		§Brabazon Willm. Pd.: Number of Heads 17, £ 1, s 18, d 3§	Thomas Bagley, paid, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d
		§Bagley Mary Senr.: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Richard Bagley, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Bagley Mary Junr.: Number of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§	John Bagley, paid, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d
		§Bagley Thomas: Number of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§	Sarah Bagley, no entry
		§Bagley Richd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	John Bagley's orphans, paid, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Bagley John: Number of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§	Thomas H. Brooke, paid, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d
		§Bagley Sarah: Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, paid, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d
		§Bagley John's Orphans Pd.: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Mary Bazett senior, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Brooke Thomas H. Pd.: Number of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§	Mary Bazett junior, paid, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
		§Beale Onesip. Orphans Pd.: Number of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§	Henry Bazett's estate, paid, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d
		§Barette Mary Senr.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Katherine Burnham, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
		§Barette Mary Junr.: Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	Anne Broadway, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Barette Henry's Estate Pd.: Number of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§	John Burnham, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Burnham Katharine Pd.: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	Samuel Burnham, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Broadway Anne: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§	William Brennan, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
		§Burnham John Pd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	Thomas Bushnell, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Burnham Saml.: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§	John Bays, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Brennan Willm. Pd.: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	Richard Barker, paid, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d
		§Bushnell Thomas: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	William Bell, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
		§Bays John: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Peter Bellinger, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Barker Richd. Pd.: Number of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§	William Boodle, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
		§Bell William (Soldier): Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Richard Boodle, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Bellinger Peter Do.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Francis Burink, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Boodle Willm. Ditto: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	George Bowman, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Boodle Richd. Do.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	John Barnes, paid, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d
		§Burink Francis Do.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	William Balcombe, paid, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d
		§Bowman George: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Billy, a free black, 1 head, no charge
		§Barnes John Pd.: Number of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§	Robert Baird, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Balcombe Wm. Pd.: Number of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§	Adam Baldon, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d
		§Billy (a free Black): Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Thomas Cole's orphans, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Baird Robt. Sold.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Thomas Cole, paid, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d
		§Bolden Adam Pd.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§	Henry Cole, paid, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Cole Thomas's Orphans Pd.: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§	Susan Chamberlaine, paid, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d
		§Cole Thomas Pd.: Number of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§	Thomas Carr, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
		§Cole Henry Pd.: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Leonard Chippindale, 2 heads, no charge
		§Chamberlaine Susan Pd.: Number of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§	Michael Connolly, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Carr Thomas Pd.: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	Joseph Chaplain, soldier, 6 heads, no charge
		§Chippendale Leonard: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Carried over, £34 4s 0d
		§Connelly Michl.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Brought over, £34 4s 0d
		§Chaplain Joseph (Sold.): Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Samuel Cooper, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
		§Brot. over: Number of Heads 0, £ 34, s 4, d 0§	Jonas Cooper, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d
		§Cooper Samuel Pd.: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	James Cocks, paid, 27 heads, £3 0s 9d
		§Cooper Jonas Pd.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§	Robert Cecil, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Cocks James Pd.: Number of Heads 27, £ 3, s 0, d 9§	Thomas Collins, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Creed Robt.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	James Copland, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Collins Thomas Pd.: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§	John Desfountain senior, paid, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d
		§Copland James: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	John Desfountain junior, paid, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d
		§DesFontain Jno. Senr. Pd.: Number of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§	William Webber Doveton, paid, 34 heads, £3 16s 6d
			Gabriel Doveton, paid, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d
			John Charles Dunn, paid, 28 heads, £3 3s 0d
			Mary Dentaffe's estate, paid, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
			Elizabeth Dentaffe, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
			Margaret Day, 6 heads, no charge
			John Doyle, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			William Daws, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			John Divan, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			John Dring, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d
			Michael Day, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
			John Dougherty, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
			William Everton, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
			Lucas Euley, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			Thomas Ecclesby, soldier, 1 head, no charge
			George Edwards, soldier, 3 heads, no charge
			Sarah Forbes, paid, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d
			Daniel Fowler, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			John Goodwin senior's estate, paid, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d
			John Goodwin junior's orphans, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d

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		§Des Fontain Jno. Junr. Pd.: Number of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Doveton Willm. Webber Pd.: Number of Heads 34, £ 3, s 16, d 6§ §Doveton Gabriel Pd.: Number of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §Dunn Jno. Charles Pd.: Number of Heads 28, £ 3, s 3, d 0§ §Dentaffe Mary's Estate: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Dentaffe Elizabeth do. Pd.: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Day Margaret not able: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Doyle John: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Daws Willm.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Dring Jno.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Dring Jno.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Day Michl. (Soldier): Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Dougherty Jno. Ditto: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Everton Wm. Pd.: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Euly Lucas: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Ecclesby Thomas Soldier: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Edwards George Ditto: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Forbes Sarah: Number of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §Fowler Danl.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Goodwin Jno. Senr. Estate: Number of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§ §Goodwin Jno. Junr. Orphans: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Greentree Thomas Senr.: Number of Heads 28, £ 3, s 3, d 0§ §Greentree Watkin: Number of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Green Thomas: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Griffiths Mary: Number of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Gurling Eleanor: Number of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Gunnell Charles Soldier: Number of Heads 5, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Goff John Ditto: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Gahagan Willm.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §George Jane (a free Black): Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Hambrecht John Soldier: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Harper Sarah Pd.: Number of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Harris John (Soldier): Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Hartigan Patk. ditto: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Harper James: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Hodson C. R. G.: Number of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Hodson Benjn.: Number of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Hodson Martha & E.: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Hamilton Danl.: Number of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Hayes Robert Pd.: Number of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§ §Brot. over: Number of Heads 0, £ 71, s 2, d 0§	Thomas Greentree senior, paid, 28 heads, £3 3s 0d Watkin Greentree, paid, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Thomas Green, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Mary Griffiths, paid, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d Eleanor Gurling, paid, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Charles Gunnell, soldier, 5 heads, no charge John Goff, soldier, 2 heads, no charge William Gahagan, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Jane George, a free black, 1 head, no charge John Hambrecht, soldier, 1 head, no charge Sarah Harper, paid, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d John Harris, soldier, 6 heads, no charge Patrick Hartigan, soldier, 3 heads, no charge James Harper, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d C. R. G. Hodson, paid, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Benjamin Hodson, paid, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Martha and E. Hodson, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Daniel Hamilton, paid, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Robert Hayes, paid, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d Carried over, £71 2s 0d **Interpretations** Soldiers of the garrison and free blacks were entered on the roll with their numbers but charged nothing. Several soldiers, such as Joseph Chaplain with six heads and John Harris with six, kept households on the island. The 1806 roll had taxed many of them as ordinary families. In 1808 the vestry left serving soldiers out. The Company had borne half the church's cost and the troops had supplied labour, so taxing their families again would have charged the garrison twice for the same parish. The free blacks Billy and Jane George were likewise listed but not charged, which kept up the exemption the vestry first voted in 1791.
324	315	Poll Tax April 18th. 1808 Continued§ §Names, Number of Heads, £, s, d§ §Amount last over: Number of Heads 0, £ 71, s 2, d 0§ §Hayes Thomas's Estate: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Hastie George (Defunct): Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Hunter Anne Pd.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §De Lemore Jane (Widow, not able and could not pay): Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Hayward Ellis: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	The poll tax of 18 April 1808 continued at one rupee, reckoned at 2s 3d, a head. Brought over, £71 2s 0d Thomas Hayes's estate, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d George Hastie, [...], 2 heads, no charge Anne Hunter, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Jane De Lemore, a widow unable to pay, 2 heads, no charge Ellis Hayward, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Elisha Hayes, soldier, 1 head, no charge William Hayter, soldier, 1 head, no charge

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		§Hayes Elisha Soldier: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Christopher Hendricks, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
		§Hayter Willm. Do.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Benjamin Hoffman, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
		§Hendricks Christr. Do.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Alfred Isaacs, 1 head, no charge
		§Hoffman Benjn. Do.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Charles Isaacs, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Isaack Alfred: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Elisha Isaacs, paid, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d
		§Isaacke Charles: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	William Hammill, soldier, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Isaacke Elisha Pd.: Number of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§	Martha Jacks, unable to pay, 1 head, no charge
		§Hamill Willm. (Soldier): Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	William Julio's estate, paid, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d
		§Jacks Martha not able: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Joseph Jacks, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Julio William's Estate Pd.: Number of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§	John Jameson, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Jacks Joseph: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Patrick Killen, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Jamison John Soldier: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 4 heads, no charge
		§Killen Patk.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	David Kay senior, paid, 29 heads, £3 5s 3d
		§Kennedy Nathl. Orphans: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Samuel Knipe, paid, 34 heads, £3 16s 6d
		§Kay David Senr. Pd.: Number of Heads 29, £ 3, s 5, d 3§	Mary Knipe, paid, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d
		§Knipe Saml. Pd.: Number of Heads 39, £ 4, s 7, d 9§	William Knipe, paid, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d
		§Knipe Mary Pd.: Number of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§	Thomas Lester, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Knipe Willm. Pd.: Number of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§	Robert Leech, paid, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d
		§Lester Thomas Pd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	George Leech, paid, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d
		§Leech Robt. Pd.: Number of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§	Richard Leech, paid, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Leech George Pd.: Number of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§	John Legg senior, paid, 19 heads, £2 2s 9d
		§Leech Richd. Pd.: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	John Legg junior, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
		§Legg Jno. Senr. Pd.: Number of Heads 19, £ 2, s 2, d 9§	Aaron Lambe, paid, 25 heads, £2 16s 3d
		§Legg Jno. Junr. Pd.: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	Luke Lane, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Lambe Aaron Pd.: Number of Heads 25, £ 2, s 16, d 3§	James Lowden, paid, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
		§Lane Luke Soldier: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	William Lane, 1 head, no charge
		§Lowden James Pd.: Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	Benjamin Mason, paid, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d
		§Lane Willm.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Richard Mason's orphans, paid, 20 heads, £2 5s 0d
		§Mason Benjn. Pd.: Number of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	John Mason, paid, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d
		§Mason Richard's Orphans Pd.: Number of Heads 20, £ 2, s 5, d 0§	James Mason's estate, paid, 20 heads, £2 5s 0d
		§Mason John Pd.: Number of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§	Moses Mills, paid, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
		§Mason James's Estate Pd.: Number of Heads 20, £ 2, s 5, d 0§	Patrick McManus, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
		§Mills Moses Pd.: Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	Margaret Merchant, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§McManus Patk. Soldier: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Thomas McRitchie, paid, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d
		§Merchant Margaret Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Dougal McDonnell, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§McRitchie Thomas Pd.: Number of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	Samuel Mills, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§McDonnell Dougal Soldier: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	James McIntosh, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Mills Saml. ditto: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Nancy May, a free black, 1 head, no charge
		§McIntosh Saml. Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Margaret McPike, unable to pay, 1 head, no charge
		§May Nancy (a free Black): Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	George Meade, paid, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d
		§McPike Margaret (can not pay): Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Matthew Madden, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Meade George: Number of Heads [...], £ [...], s [...], d [...]§	Edward Metcalf, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Madden Patk. Sold.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	John McCabe, soldier, 1 head, no charge
		§Metcalf Edward Do.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	John Newton, paid, 19 heads, £2 2s 9d
		§McCabe Jno. Do.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	John Lloyd, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
		§Newton Jno. Pd.: Number of Heads 19, £ 2, s 2, d 9§	William Olive, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Lloyd Jno. Sold.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Thomas O'Connor, paid, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d
			Henry Oldroyd, soldier, 1 head, no charge
			David Moody, soldier, 1 head, no charge
			William Pierce, paid, 25 heads, £2 16s 3d
			Carried over, £117 6s 9d
			Brought over, £117 6s 9d
			William Peplow's orphans, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			James Pritchard's estate, paid, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d
			James Pritchard, paid, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d
			Stephen Pritchard, paid, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d
			George L. Phillips, paid, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d
			Richard Page, paid, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d
			John Perkins, 1 head, no charge
			Henry Porteous, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			John Peacock, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			John Pound, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			John Robinson, paid, 24 heads, £2 14s 0d
			Anne Roberts, paid, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
			Jacob Rich, a free black, no charge
			John Rooks, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			James Ranton, soldier, 4 heads, no charge
			Lawrence Rourke, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			Frederick Richenbach, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
			Peter Rift, soldier, 2 heads, no charge
			Samuel Robinson, soldier, 1 head, no charge
			Mary Shirtley, paid, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d

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		§Oliver Willm. Pd.: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §O'Conner Thomas Pd.: Number of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Oldroyde Henry Sold.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Moody David Do.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Pierce William Pd.: Number of Heads 25, £ 2, s 16, d 3§ §Brot. over: Number of Heads 0, £ 117, s 6, d 9§ §Amount last over: Number of Heads 0, £ 117, s 6, d 9§ §Peplow William's Orphan Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Pritchard James's Estate Pd.: Number of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Pritchard James Pd.: Number of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Pritchard Stephen Pd.: Number of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Phillips Geo. L. Pd.: Number of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Page Richd. Pd.: Number of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Perkins Jno.: Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Porteous Henry Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Peacock John: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Pond Jno.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Robinson Jno. Pd.: Number of Heads 24, £ 2, s 14, d 0§ §Roberts Anne Pd.: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Rook Jacob (a free black): Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Rooks Jno. Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Ranton James Soldier: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Roode Gonzow: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Richenback Frederick: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Rose Peter Soldier: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Robinson Saml. Do.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Shirtley Mary: Number of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Scott John: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Scott Charles: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Seale Willm. Senr. Pd.: Number of Heads 30, £ 3, s 7, d 6§ §Seale Willm. Junr. Estate Pd.: Number of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §Seale John's Estate Pd.: Number of Heads 19, £ 2, s 2, d 9§ §Statham Robert Pd.: Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Smith Edw. Charles Pd.: Number of Heads 31, £ 3, s 9, d 9§ §Sampson Charles Pd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Stewart Joseph Pd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Stewart Danl. Pd.: Number of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Stephens John: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Smith Jno.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Storey Thomas: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Spratt Joseph: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Solomon Saul Pd.: Number of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §Society (Military): Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Scott Mary (not able): Number of Heads 5, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Saunders Joseph Sold.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Stark Willm.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Susan (a free black): Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Seale Francis's Estate: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	John Scott, 1 head, no charge Charles Scott, paid, [...] heads, £[...] William Seale senior, paid, 30 heads, £3 7s 6d William Seale junior's estate, paid, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d John Seale's estate, paid, 19 heads, £2 2s 9d Robert Statham, paid, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Edward Charles Smith, paid, 31 heads, £3 9s 9d Charles Sampson, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d Joseph Stewart, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d Daniel Stewart, paid, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d John Stephens, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Smith, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Storey, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Joseph Spratt, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Saul Solomon, paid, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d Botley's Society, no entry Mary Scott, unable to pay, 5 heads, no charge Joseph Saunders, soldier, 1 head, no charge William Stark, 1 head, no charge Susan, a free black, no charge Francis Seale's estate, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Robert Francis Seale, 1 head, no charge Nicholas Zimmerman, soldier, 1 head, no charge Richard Torbett, paid, 22 heads, £2 9s 6d James Torbett, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d John Thompson, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Joseph Tout, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Elizabeth Tout, 4 heads, no charge James Thompson, soldier, 6 heads, no charge William Tracey, soldier, no charge Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Taylor, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Richard Thomas, soldier, 4 heads, no charge John Read, soldier, 1 head, no charge James Underwood, paid, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d James Vizey, soldier, 1 head, no charge Mary Wright, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d John A. Wright, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Carried over, £203 13s 6d **Interpretations** Besides soldiers and free blacks, a third group was excused: people judged unable to pay. Jane De Lemore, a widow, Martha Jacks, Margaret McPike and Mary Scott were all women heading small households. Since the 1770s, unpaid head money had been written off after the event. Here the exemption was recorded at the time of assessment. The roll now sorted every household into those who paid, those exempt by status and those excused for poverty. Martha Jacks had been on the head money rolls since the 1770s, so this roll records a long decline that ended in her being excused.

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		§Seale Robt. Francis: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Timmerman Nicht. Sold.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Torbett Richd. Pd.: Number of Heads 22, £ 2, s 9, d 6§ §Torbett James: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Thompson John: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Tout Joseph: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Toufort Elizabeth: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Thompson James (Soldier): Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Tracy Willm. Ditto: Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Thomas Thomas: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Taylor John: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Richd. Sold.: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Read John Do.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Underwood James: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Vesey James Sold.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Wright Mary Pd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Wright Jno. A. Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Brot. over: Number of Heads 0, £ 203, s 13, d 6§	
325	316	Poll Tax 18th. April 1808 (Continued)§ §Names, Number of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. over: Number of Heads 0, £ 153, s 13, d 6§ §Wright Jno. A. Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Worrall Sarah Pd.: Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Ward Saml. P. Pd.: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Wrangham, William's Estate Pd.: Number of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Weston Charles Pd.: Number of Heads 11, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Webster John Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Weager Maria: Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Wells Richard Pd.: Number of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Wilson Andrew Pd.: Number of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Watson Michl.: Number of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Wheatly Joseph Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Young Anne Pd.: Number of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §Young, Stephen, Senr. Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Young, Fredk. Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Young, Stephen Junr. Pd.: Number of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §Young, Amoret Pd.: Number of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Youd, James Pd.: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Yates, Sophia: Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Yon, Mary: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Yon Sarah: Number of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Yates Sarah Pd.: Number of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Young, Richard: Number of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Total: Number of Heads 0, £ 164, s 16, d 3§	The poll tax of 18 April 1808 continued and closed with the total. Brought over, £153 13s 6d John A. Wright, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Sarah Worrall, paid, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Samuel P. Ward, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d William Wrangham's estate, paid, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Charles Weston, paid, 11 heads, £1 2s 6d John Webster, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Maria Wager, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Richard Wells, paid, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Andrew Wilson, paid, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Michael Watson, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Joseph Wheatley, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Anne Young, paid, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d Stephen Young senior, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Frederick Young, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Stephen Young junior, paid, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d Amoret Young, paid, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d James Youd, paid, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Sophia Yates, no entry Mary Yon, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Sarah Yon, no entry Sarah Yates, paid, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d Richard Young, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Total, £164 16s 3d **Interpretations** At one rupee a head, the roll for 1808 was assessed at £164 16s 3d, well under half the £424 5s 0d raised at 5s in 1806. With the church paid for and the Company's half received, the vestry set a much lower rate for ordinary expenses. James Youd, taxed here on a household of one, was the clerk of the fish market named in the book's index.
326	317	Blank page	
327	318	The Parish Dr.§ §£ s d§ §1807 April 1 Paid Jos. Stewarts Salary as Sexton§ §3 15§ §Paid Edward Sewel Organist§ §3 15§ §Paid Mr. Lowden for a Coffin (J. Hayes)§ §1 5§ §Paid Do. Do. (Free Pers.)§ §1 5§ §Paid Elizabeth Pritchard, 1 Yard Green Beize§ §9§	The parish account from 1 April 1807 recorded the following payments. 1 April 1807, Joseph Stewart's salary as sexton, £3 15s 0d Edward Suwel, organist, £3 15s 0d Mr Louden for a coffin for J. Hayes, £1 5s 0d Mr Louden for a coffin for Priss, a free woman, £1 5s 0d Elizabeth Pritchard for 1 yard of green baize, £0 9s 0d Store bill, £18 16s 3d For writing, £0 5s 0d Mr Thomas Bagley for cart hire, £3 3s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Paid Store Bill§ §18 16 3§ §Paid for Writing§ §5§ §Paid Mr. Thomas Bagley for Cart Hire§ §3 3§ §July 1 Paid Organists & Sexton's Salaries§ §7 10§ §August 31 Paid Mr. J. Pritchard Legg for Work done at the Country Church§ §19 10 10§ §Paid Mr. Hayward for a Glass for Country Church§ §5 6§ §Octr. 20 Paid Balance of Store Bill§ §7 14 1§ §Paid Mr. Porteous on account of Parish§ §11 16§ §Paid the Organist, Edward Sewel§ §3 15§ §Paid Sexton's Salary§ §3 15§ §1808 Jany. 1 Paid Mr. Lowden for a Pair Brass Hinges for Country Church§ §2 6§ §Paid Sexton & Organists Salaries§ §7 10§ §8 Paid Mr. Balcombe for 100 Brads 6 lb. Nails, Country Church§ §6 8§ §April 1 Paid Sexton & Organists Salaries§ §7 10§ §30 Paid Singleton for Messages to Country Church§ §7 6§ §July 1 Paid Sexton & Organist§ §7 10§ §Paid Barker for carrying 59 Bushels Lime to an Overseer 5/6§ §4 11 6§ §Aug. 20 Paid two Men for carrying Desks & forms from Auction to School House§ §4 6§ §Octr. 1 Paid Sexton & Organist§ §7 10§ §1809 Jany. Paid ditto & ditto§ §7 10§ §Paid Singleton Expence of a funeral (Peg Tom)§ §15§ §Feb. 14 Paid for a Key for Country Church§ §5§ §24 Paid a Woman for Nursing Moran's Child§ §6§ §Mar. 1 Paid Sewell Organist up to this date§ §1 17 6§ §9 Paid Woman for the above Child§ §12§ §Paid Jno. DesFountain Esq. as p Store Bill for Country Church in 1807§ §17 5 10§ §Paid Jno. Kay Esq. for Store Bill for 1808§ §10 6 6§ §Paid for Nursing Moran's Child§ §12§ §Paid for Desks & Forms for School§ §8 14§ §Paid Colonel Smith for Mason's Work & Cart Hire, & Overseer of the Works§ §as p Bill Country Church§ §41 5§ §Paid for Collecting Slave Tax§ §3§ §215 1 2§ §Balance, favor of Parish§ §138 8 6§ §£ 353 9 8§	1 July, organist's and sexton's salaries, £7 10s 0d 31 August, Mr J. Legg for work done at the country church, £19 10s 10d Mr Hayward for a glass for the country church, £0 5s 6d 20 October, balance of the store bill, £7 14s 1d Mr Porteous on account of the parish, £11 16s 0d The organist, Edward Suwel, £3 15s 0d Sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d 1 January 1808, Mr Louden for a pair of brass hinges for the country church, £0 2s 6d Sexton's and organist's salaries, £7 10s 0d 8 January, Mr Balcombe for 100 brads and 6 lb of nails for the country church, £0 6s 8d 1 April, sexton's and organist's salaries, £7 10s 0d 30 April, Singleton for carrying messages to the country church, £0 7s 6d 1 July, sexton's and organist's salaries, £7 10s 0d 20 August, Barker for carrying 59 bushels of lime, with 3s 0d to an overseer, £4 11s 6d Two men for carrying desks and forms from an auction to the schoolhouse, £0 4s 6d 1 October, sexton's and organist's salaries, £7 10s 0d January 1809, sexton's and organist's salaries, £7 10s 0d Singleton for the expense of a funeral, Peg Tom, £0 15s 0d 14 February, a key for the country church, £0 5s 0d 24 February, a woman for nursing Moran's child, £0 6s 0d 1 March, Suwel, organist, up to this date, £1 17s 6d 9 March, a woman for nursing the same child, £0 12s 0d John Desfountain Esquire, for the store bill for the country church in 1807, £17 5s 10d John Kay Esquire, for the store bill for 1808, £10 6s 6d For nursing Moran's child, £0 12s 0d For desks and forms for the school, £8 14s 0d Colonel Smith for masons' work, cart hire and an overseer of the works, as per bill, for the country church, £41 5s 0d For collecting the slave tax, £3 0s 0d Total, £215 1s 2d Balance in favour of the parish, £138 8s 6d Total, £353 9s 8d Thomas Lester, churchwarden, recorded that he had received the balance from Major Mills. **Interpretations** Colonel Smith's bill of £41 5s 0d for masonry, cart hire and an overseer shows the country church being finished at last in 1808 and 1809. That was the work the chaplain had pressed the Governor about in March 1808. The parish also equipped the school with desks and forms, some bought cheaply at auction, at a total of almost £9 0s 0d. Once the church was paid for, the parish turned to the school, which it had been patching since 1770. It ended the period with a surplus of £138 8s 6d, its first comfortable balance since the rebuilding began.

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		§Received the Balance of Major Wells§ §Thos. Lester§ §Church Warden§	
328	319	Contra Cr.§ §£ s d§ §1807 Received from the Honble. Company§ §109 2 6§ §July Received from Major Seale, late Church Warden, the Balance of Books§ §34 5 11§ §1808 Received from Jno. Des Fountain Esq. Treasurer of the Widow's Fund, the§ §amount of Dog Tax§ §45 5§ §Received as ꝑ Poll Tax £ 353.9.8§ §164 16 3§ §£ 353 9 8§	The credit side of the parish account for 1807 and 1808 recorded the following receipts. 1807, received from the Company, £109 2s 6d July, received from Major Seale, the former churchwarden, as the balance of the books, £34 5s 11d 1808, received from John Desfountain Esquire, treasurer of the widows' fund, the amount of the dog tax, £45 5s 0d Poll tax, £164 16s 3d Total, £353 9s 8d **Interpretations** The dog tax now reached the parish through John Desfountain as treasurer of the widows' fund, rather than from the Police Office as in 1804. The widows' fund was the body the vestry had wanted to build up in 1793 from fines under the slave laws and the horse tax, and in 1795 from shooting licences. By 1808 it had its own treasurer and collected the dog tax, passing it to the parish. The widows' fund had become a standing institution and the collector of one of the parish's main revenues.
329	320	At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's Valley 3d. April 1809.§ §The following Gentlemen were chosen Parish Officers (Vizt.)§ §Sheriff§ §Richard Henry Leech§ §Church Wardens§ §Thomas Lester§ §C. R. G. Hodson§ §William J. Burchell§ §Constable§ §Thomas Green§ §Overseers§ §W. D. Jno. Goodwins Estate§ §E. D. Richd. Masons Estate§ §S. D. Martin A. Harpers Estate§ §Wormers and Inspectors of Black Cattle§ §Mr. Wills E. D.§ §Mr. Louden W. D.§ §Mr. Barker S. D.§ §Inspectors of Sheep and Goats§ §Charles Scott S. D.§ §Jno. Robinson E. D.§ §Benjn. Mason W. D.§ §Proposed That a General Poll Tax be levied at Two Shillings§ §and three Pence ꝑ Head in Order to finish the Country Church§ §and repair the Church Yard Wall, and clear away the Black§ §berry from said Yard.§ §Agreed.§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel in James's Valley 26th. June 1809.§ §The following Letter was laid before the Vestry.§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley on 3 April 1809 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriff: Richard Henry Leech Churchwardens: Thomas Lester C. R. G. Hodson William J. Burchall Constable: Thomas Green Overseers: John Goodwin's estate, West division Richard Mason's estate, East division Martin A. Harper's estate, South division Wormers and inspectors of black cattle: Mr Wills, East division Mr Louden, West division Mr Barker, South division Inspectors of sheep and goats: Charles Scott, South division John Robinson, East division Benjamin Mason, West division The vestry agreed to a proposal to levy a general poll tax of 2s 3d a head to finish the country church, repair the churchyard wall and clear the blackberry from the churchyard. A vestry met in the chapel in James's Valley on 26 June 1809, and a letter was laid before it. **Interpretations** All three overseers of the highways in 1809 were estates, not men. This was the first year of the rotation voted in April 1808, under which every estate took its turn in order of size. The list of estates ranked by acreage recorded the same names as overseers for 1809 and 1810. The duty now belonged to the land, and the trustees or heirs of an estate had to see that its turn was served whether or not anyone lived on it. Blackberry had been introduced to St Helena and spread rapidly over the island's damp uplands, choking pasture and ground once cleared. The vestry paid for it to be cleared from the churchyard, where the brambles had overgrown the walls and graves. This is the first time an introduced plant appears in these accounts as a pest. In the same years the vestry was protecting other introduced species, such as pheasants and Java sparrows, as game and ornament.

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330	321	Copy§ §To§ §Thomas Lester and Charles R. G. Hodson Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen.§ §1. I am directed by the Governor and Council to desire you will§ §inform the Vestry that the losses and inconveniences sustained by the Inhabitants§ §from the frequent depredations committed on their property for want of§ §sufficient restrictions to check the Irregularities and Idle habits of many§ §of the Free Blacks and Slaves have rendered it indispensably necessary to§ §adopt and persevere in a rigorous System of Police.§ §2. The revival of some of those beneficial Laws in regard to Fish§ §and general Market established during the Government of Colonel Patton§ §is a measure highly expedient. The accompanying Regulations are proposed§ §to be adopted by the present Government and you are desired to lay them§ §before the Vestry that they may consider and suggest such additions or§ §improvements as may appear necessary and which will afterwards be§ §taken into consideration by the Board.§ §3. The Vestry will perceive that the Fish Market regulations can§ §not be completely carried into effect without the appointment of a Clerk§ §of the Fish Market.§ §Serjeant Roberts the Beach master is the person whom the Board§ §propose to nominate to this office because the nature of his duties will§ §enable him beyond any other Person to detect the delinquency of the Fishermen.§ §The Board therefore recommend to the Vestry to allot him such a Salary§ §as may encourage him to a faithful discharge of his Duty.§ §4. In addition to the checks against future depredations provided for§ §in the Regulations for the General Market the Board have resolved to§ §enlarge the powers and duties of the Register Masters Department, which§ §will form further obstacles to the clandestine disposal of stolen Poultry and§ §other articles.§ §5. The Board have also taken into consideration the shameful im§ §positions practised by Mechanicks (particularly Sawyers) by the enormous§ §rates they charge for their labor, to prevent a continuance of such abuses§ §it is recommended to the Vestry to establish a fixed rate for Tradesmens work.§ §6. The Board have already Ordered to be laid before them the names§ §of all such Persons as have no visible means of gaining an honest livelihood§ §that they may be compelled to hire themselves to approved Masters or§ §Mistresses§	A copy was entered of a letter to Thomas Lester and Charles R. G. Hodson Esquires, churchwardens, written on the instructions of the Governor and Council. 1: The secretary had been told to ask the churchwardens to inform the vestry that the inhabitants' losses and troubles had made a rigorous system of police indispensable. These came from frequent thefts of their property, which went on because there were not enough restrictions to check the disorderly and idle habits of many free blacks and slaves. 2: Reviving some of the useful laws on the fish market and the general market, made while Colonel Patton was Governor, was considered highly desirable. The present government proposed to adopt the regulations sent with the letter. The churchwardens were to put them before the vestry so that it could suggest any additions or improvements it thought necessary, and the Board would then consider these. 3: The vestry would see that the fish market regulations could not be fully enforced without appointing a clerk of the fish market. The Board proposed to nominate Sergeant Roberts, the beach master, for the post. His duties would let him, more than anyone else, detect fishermen who broke the rules. The Board therefore recommended that the vestry give him a salary large enough to encourage him to do his duty faithfully. 4: Besides the checks on future theft in the general market regulations, the Board had decided to enlarge the powers and duties of the registrar's department. That would put further obstacles in the way of anyone secretly disposing of stolen livestock and other goods. 5: The Board had also considered the shameful overcharging by craftsmen, especially sawyers, who were demanding enormous rates for their work. To stop the abuse continuing, it recommended that the vestry set a fixed rate for tradesmen's wages. 6: The Board had already ordered that it be given the names of everyone with no visible means of earning an honest living, so that they could be compelled to hire themselves to approved masters or mistresses. **Interpretations** The Company had rejected price controls in 1796, when the Directors held that competition was the only proper way to lower prices, and the Council refused to fix fish prices in 1798. By 1809 the government was proposing exactly that kind of control: market regulations revived from Colonel Patton's time, a clerk of the fish market drawn from the beach patrol, and a fixed wage rate for craftsmen. The theft and labour problems it described had led it to set aside its earlier reliance on the market. Sawyers and other craftsmen had become scarce enough to demand high wages, partly because so much labour had been taken up by the church and public works. The order to list everyone with "no visible means of earning an honest living", so that they could be compelled to hire themselves to approved masters or mistresses, was aimed above all at the free blacks. The committee of 1805 had been set up to look into their circumstances and way of life. The registrar's new powers over the sale of livestock and goods were meant to stop slaves and free blacks selling stolen property. Together these measures used police regulation to keep free blacks under much the same discipline as slaves, by forcing them into service with white employers.
331	322	Mistresses according to the Laws of England which provide a remedy against Idleness.§ §A strict attention to this point in diminishing the	The sixth paragraph went on to explain that the idle were to be compelled to hire themselves to approved masters or mistresses as the laws of

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		number of Vagrants§ §will increase the number of labours which is so much wanted for the benefit§ §of the Industrious Planter and the public in general.§ §7. The Board are also resolved to enforce the Laws respecting Dogs§ §on which security to the Flocks of Sheep and Goats so much depend, and§ §Bailiffs have accordingly been employed to ascertain and report all such§ §Persons as have neglected to comply with the regulations established on the§ §4th. of October 1802.§ §8. Any observations or suggestions which may occur to the Vestry§ §upon these subjects will be taken into consideration by the Board.§ §9. The Board entertain sanguine hopes that the Inhabitants will§ §give their utmost aid and assistance in carrying into effect measures in which§ §their own interest and the security of Property are so intimately connected§ §and they recommend to them, vigilantly to observe and report, all disorderly§ §or suspicious houses, Idle Persons, and Runaway Blacks, to the end that the§ §flagitious may be punished and the honest and industrious part of§ §Society protected.§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena Your Obedient Servant§ §26th. June 1809 (Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To take into consideration the contents of the above Letter the§ §Vestry resolved to choose a Committee of nine Gentlemen and the under§ §mentioned Gentlemen were chosen. (Vizt.)§ §David Kay Senr. Esqr. President§ §Lt. Col. Greentree§ §Gabl. Doveton Esqr.§ §Major W. Seale§ §Thomas Bagley§ §Jnt. Legg Senr.§ §Thos. McRitchie§ §Thos. Ailesworth§ §Thos. O'Connor§	England allowed, since those laws provided a remedy against idleness. Close attention to cutting the number of vagrants would add to the labourers so badly needed, for the good of the hard-working planter and the public generally. 7: The Board had also resolved to enforce the laws on dogs, on which the safety of the flocks of sheep and goats so much depended. Bailiffs had been employed to find and report everyone who had failed to keep the rules laid down on 4 October 1802. 8: The Board would consider any comments or suggestions the vestry had on these matters. 9: The Board was confident that the inhabitants would do everything they could to help carry out measures so closely tied to their own interests and the security of their property. It urged them to watch for and expose all disorderly or suspicious houses, idle persons and runaway blacks, so that wrongdoers might be punished and the honest and hard-working part of society protected. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 26 June 1809. To consider the letter, the vestry resolved to choose a committee of nine, and the following gentlemen were chosen. David Kay senior Esquire, president Lieutenant Colonel Greentree Gabriel Doveton Esquire Major W. Seale Thomas Bagley John Legg senior Thomas McRitchie Thomas Ailesworth Thomas O'Connor **Interpretations** The Board appealed to the English laws against vagrancy, which allowed the idle poor to be bound to masters. Its stated aim was to supply the planters with labour, not only to punish idleness. At a time when craftsmen were demanding high wages and labour was short after years of public works, forcing those without visible means into service would add workers at no extra cost to the employers. On St Helena the "idle persons" in question were mostly free blacks. A law framed in England for the wandering poor was applied here to a population the planters regarded as a labour reserve outside their control. The committee of nine that would advise on these measures was made up wholly of planters, surgeons and employers. Thomas O'Connor, who had taken the parish orphan Daniel Caldwell as an unpaid apprentice in 1798, sat on it beside Dr Kay, whose bills for treating free blacks the vestry had challenged. The men who would decide who was idle and to whom they should be bound were the island's chief employers of labour.
332	323	St. Helena 3d. April 1809.§ §Poll Tax ordered by Vestry @ 2/3 p head§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Jno. Alexander Senr.: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Jno. Alexander Junr.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Fredk. Alexander: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §George Alexanders Orphans: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Thomas Ailesworth: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §John Adams: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Onesiphorus Beales Orphans: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 2, d 9§ §John Bagley: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Thomas Bagley: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 18, d 3§ §Richard Bagley: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Mary Bagley Senr.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Mary Bagley Junr.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Thomas Burnhams Orphans: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	The poll tax ordered by the vestry at 2s 3d a head was recorded at St Helena on 3 April 1809. John Alexander senior, 20 heads, £2 5s 0d John Alexander junior, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Frederick Alexander, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d George Alexander's orphans, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d Thomas Ailesworth, 21 heads, £2 18s 6d John Adams, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 19 heads, £2 2s 9d John Bagley, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Thomas Bagley, 17 heads, £1 18s 3d Richard Bagley, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d Mary Bagley senior, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Mary Bagley junior, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Thomas Burnham's orphans, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d John Burnham, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Samuel Burnham, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Thomas Henry Brooke, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d

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		§John Burnham: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Samuel Burnham: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Thos. Henry Brooke: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §William Bell: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Richard Barker: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Wm. Brabazon: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §Andrew Braid: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Willm. Balcombe: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Henry Bazetts Estate: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Henry Broadway: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Ann Broadway: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §John Bayes: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Adam Bailie: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Edward Banks: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §George Blinkins: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §John Bott: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Batman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Barnes: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Onesiphorus Beale: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Anthony Beale: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §George Bowman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Bushnell: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Burnside: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Total: No. of Heads 321, £ 36, s 2, d 3§ §Brot. Over: No. of Heads 321, £ 36, s 2, d 3§ §James Clarke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Coles Orphans: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Thomas Coles: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §Henry Cole: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §James Cole: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Susannah Chamberlain: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §Thomas Carr: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Patrick Crawly: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Jonas Cooper: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Thomas O'Conner: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Michael Connelly: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Thomas Collins: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §George Chadwick: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Leonard Chippendale: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Robert Creed: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Samuel Cooper: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Mark Constantine: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Corby: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Richard Everton: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Wm. W. Doveton: No. of Heads 35, £ 3, s 18, d 9§ §Jno. Doveton's Orphans: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Gabriel Doveton: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 9, d 6§ §Jno. Desfountain: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §Jno. Desfountain's Orphans: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Jno. Charles Dunn: No. of Heads 32, £ 3, s 12, d 0§ §Jno. Dring: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Andw. Dentaffe's Orphans: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Mary Day: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §John Doyle: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §James Daws: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §John Delamore: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Lucas Euley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Wm. Everton: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Richd. Goodwins Estate: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §John Goodwins Orphans: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Thomas Greentree Senr.: No. of Heads 33, £ 3, s 14, d 3§ §Total: No. of Heads 646, £ 72, s 13, d 6§	William Bell, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Richard Barker, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d William Brabazon, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d Andrew Braid, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d William Balcombe, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d Henry Bazett's estate, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d Henry Broadway, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Ann Broadway, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d John Bays, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Adam Baildon, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Edward Banks, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d George Blinkins, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d John Bott, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Bateman, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Barnes, [...] heads, £1 [...] Onesiphorus Beale, no entry Anthony Beale, no entry George Bowman, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Bushnell, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d John Burnside, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Carried over, 321 heads, £36 2s 3d Brought over, 321 heads, £36 2s 3d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Thomas Cole, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d Henry Cole, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d James Cole, 15 heads, £1 16s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d Thomas Carr, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Patrick Crawley, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Jonas Cooper, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas O'Connor, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d Michael Connolly, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Thomas Collins, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d George Chadwick, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Leonard Chippindale, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Robert Cecil, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Samuel Cooper, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Mark Constantine, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas [...], 1 head, £0 2s 3d Richard Cureton, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d William Webber Doveton, 35 heads, £3 18s 9d John Doveton's orphans, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Gabriel Doveton, 22 heads, £2 9s 6d John Desfountain, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d John Desfountain's orphans, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d John Charles Dunn, 32 heads, £3 12s 0d John Dring, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Ann Dentaffe's orphans, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d Mary Day, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d John Doyle, 1 head, £0 2s 3d James Dixon, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d John Delamore, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Lucas Euley, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William Everton, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Richard Goodwin's estate, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d John Goodwin's orphans, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Thomas Greentree senior, 33 heads, £3 14s 3d Carried over, 646 heads, £72 13s 6d
333	324	Poll Tax 3d. April 1809. Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. Over: No. of Heads 646, £ 72, s 13, d 6§ §Watkin Greentree: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	The poll tax of 3 April 1809 continued at 2s 3d a head. Brought over, 646 heads, £72 13s 6d Watkin Greentree, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Thomas Greentree junior, 1 head, £0 2s 3d

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		§Thomas Greentree Junr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Mary Griffiths, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d
		§Mary Griffiths: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§	Eleanor Gurling, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d
		§Eleanor Gurling: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§	William Gahagan, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d
		§Wm. Gahagan: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§	Thomas Green, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d
		§Thomas Green: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§	Henry Hammond, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Henry Hammond: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§	Charles R. G. Hodson, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d
		§Charles R. G. Hodson: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§	John Henry Dunn, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Jno. Henry Dunn: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Benjamin Hodson, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d
		§Benjamin Hodson: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§	Robert Hodson's orphans, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Robert Hodsons Orphans: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Robert Hayes, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d
		§Robert Hayes: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§	Thomas Hayes's estate, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Thomas Hayes Estate: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Daniel Hamilton, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d
		§Daniel Hamilton: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	Ann Hunter, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Ann Hunter: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Ellis Hayward, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d
		§Ellis Hayward: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§	Sarah Harper, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d
		§Sarah Harper: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§	John Harris, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
		§John Harris: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	James Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§James Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Frederick Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Frederick Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Edmund Hawes, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
		§Edmond Hawes: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	William Hall, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§William Hall: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Thomas Pelham Hollis, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
		§Thomas Pelham Hollis: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	Thomas Harrison, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d
		§Thomas Harrison: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§	John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§John Honeyman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Alfred Isaacs, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Alfred Isacke: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	Elisha Isaacs, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Elisha Isacke: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	Martha Jacks, no charge
		§Martha Jacks: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	William Julio's estate, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d
		§William Julio's Estate: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§	Thomas McWhinter, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Thomas McWhirter: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Joseph Jacks, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Joseph Jacks: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§	Samuel Terry, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
		§Samuel Janes: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	Samuel Knipe, 40 heads, £4 10s 0d
		§Samuel Knipe 38: No. of Heads 40, £ 4, s 10, d 0§	Richard Knipe's orphans, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d
		§Richard Knipes Orphans: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§	William Knipe, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d
		§William Knipe: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§	David Kinnaird, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§David Kinnaird: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Patrick Killen, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Patrick Killen: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	Carried over, 934 heads, £105 1s 6d
		§Total: No. of Heads 934, £ 105, s 1, d 6§	Brought over, 934 heads, £105 1s 6d
		§Brot. Over: No. of Heads 934, £ 105, s 1, d 6§	Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Nathan Kennedys Orphans: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§	David Kay senior, 39 heads, £4 7s 9d
		§David Kay Senr.: No. of Heads 39, £ 4, s 7, d 9§	David Kay junior, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d
		§David Kay Junr.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§	John Kay, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§John Kay: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Ann Legg, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
		§Ann Legg: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	Robert Leech, 22 heads, £2 9s 6d
		§Robert Leech: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 9, d 6§	George Leech, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d
		§George Leech: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§	Richard Leech, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
		§Richard Leech: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§	Thomas Lester, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Thomas Lester: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	John Legg senior, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d
		§John Legg Senr.: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§	Aaron Lambe, 24 heads, £2 14s 0d
		§Aaron Lambe: No. of Heads 24, £ 2, s 14, d 0§	George Lane, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d
		§George Lambe: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§	James Lowden, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d
		§James Lowden: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§	John Lockler, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§John Lorken: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Richard Mason's orphans, 23 heads, £2 11s 9d
		§Richard Masons Orphans: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 11, d 9§	John Mason, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
		§John Mason: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	James Mason's estate, 20 heads, £2 5s 0d
		§James Masons Estate: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 5, d 0§	Benjamin Mason, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d
		§Benjn. Mason: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§	Margaret Merchant, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
		§Margaret Merchant: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§	Moses Mills, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d
		§Moses Wells: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	Thomas McRitchie, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d
		§Thos. McRitchie: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§	John McDonald, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§John McDaniel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	Dougal McDougal, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Dugal McDugal: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	George Moran, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§George Moran: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Joseph Mellish, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§Joseph Mellish: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	David Moody, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
		§David Moody: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	William Matheson, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d
		§William Mathison: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§	John Newton, 19 heads, £2 2s 9d
		§John Newton: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 2, d 9§	William Olive, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d
		§William Oliver: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§	William Pierce, 24 heads, £2 14s 0d
		§William Pierie: No. of Heads 24, £ 2, s 14, d 0§	William Pithie, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			Henry Pelham, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d
			Harriet Legg, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d
			James Pritchard's orphans, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d
			Eleanor Pritchard, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d
			Sarah Pritchard, 22 heads, £2 9s 6d
			David K. Pritchard, 1 head, £0 2s 3d
			George L. Phillips, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d
			Carried over, 1,299 heads, £146 2s 9d

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		§William Pithie: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Henry Pakard: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Harriet Legg: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §James Pritchards Orphans: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Eleanor Pritchard: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Sarah Pritchard: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 9, d 6§ §David K. Pritchard: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §George L. Phillips: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Total: No. of Heads 1299, £ 146, s 2, d 9§	
334	325	Poll Tax 3d. April 1809. Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. Over: No. of Heads 1299, £ 146, s 2, d 9§ §John Perkins: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §John Pond: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §James Rouse: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Robinson: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 9, d 6§ §Ann Roberts: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §John Rooks: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Lawrence Rourke: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Frederick Richenback: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Saml. Robinson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Sarah Rimmer: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §Mary Shirtley: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §John & Charles Scott: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Wm. Seale Senr.: No. of Heads 34, £ 3, s 16, d 6§ §Wm. Seale's Orphans: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §John Seale's Estate: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §Robert Statham: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Edwd. Charles Smith: No. of Heads 31, £ 3, s 9, d 9§ §Charles Sampson: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §Joseph Stewart: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Francis Seale's Estate: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Robert Seale: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §John Smith: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Story: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Joseph Spratt: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Saul Solomon: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §James Starling: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Joshua Saunders: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §William Stark: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Pd. William Gray: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Stephens: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Statham's Estate: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Francis Seale: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Edward Smith: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Archibald Seale: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Slater: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Gabriel Sares: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §John Thompson: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Total: No. of Heads 1571, £ 176, s 14, d 9§ §Brot. Over: No. of Heads 1571, £ 176, s 14, d 9§ §William Tracy: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §John Taylor (1st.): No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Richard Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §James Torbett: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Richard Torbetts Estate: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §John Taylor (2d.): No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §James Unsworth: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Mary Wright: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §John Wells: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Alexr. Wright: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Brittanicus A. Wright: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §James Wright: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Robert Wright: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Sarah Worrell: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §William Wranghams Estate: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §Charles Western: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §John Webster: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Richard Wells: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §Andrew Wilson: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	The poll tax of 3 April 1809 continued and closed with the total. Brought over, 1,299 heads, £146 2s 9d John Perkins, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d John Pond, 1 head, £0 2s 3d James Rouse, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Robinson, 22 heads, £2 9s 6d Ann Roberts, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d John Rooks, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Lawrence Rourke, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Frederick Richenbach, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Sarah Rimmer, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d Mary Shirtley, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d John and Charles Scott, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d William Seale senior, 34 heads, £3 16s 6d William Seale's orphans, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d John Seale's estate, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d Robert Statham, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Edward Charles Smith, 31 heads, £3 9s 9d Charles Sampson, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d Joseph Stewart, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Francis Seale's estate, no charge Robert Seale, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d John Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Storey, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Joseph Spratt, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Saul Solomon, 20 heads, £2 5s 0d James Stirling, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Josiah Saunders, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d William Stark, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William [...], 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Stephens, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Statham's estate, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Francis Seale, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Edward Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Archibald Seale, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d John Slater, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Gabriel Sares, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d John Thompson, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Carried over, 1,578 heads, £176 14s 9d Brought over, 1,578 heads, £176 14s 9d William Tracy, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d John Taylor, the first of that name, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Richard Thomas, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d James Tibbett, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Richard Torbett's estate, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d John Taylor, the second of that name, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d James Underwood, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Thomas, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Mary Wright, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d John Walters, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Alexander Wright, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Britannicus A. Wright, 1 head, £0 2s 3d James Wright, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Robert Wright, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Sarah Worrall, no charge William Wrangham's estate, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d Charles Weston, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d John Webster, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Richard Wells, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d Andrew Wilson, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d James Watson, no charge

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		§James Watson: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §William Woodward: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Ann Young: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §Stephen Young's Estate: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Amoret Young: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §James Youd: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Pd. Thomas Hewe: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Pd. Nathaniel Kennedy: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Charles Blake: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Alexander Butler: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §William Burchell: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §John Cruickshanks: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Goud: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Edwd. Sunter Broughton: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Joseph Whitley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Richard Mason: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Henry Pritchard: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Total: No. of Heads 1751, £ 196, s 19, d 9§	William Woodward, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Ann Young, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d Stephen Young's estate, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d Amoret Young, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d James Youd, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Thomas Hewer, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Nathaniel Kennedy, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Charles Blake, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Alexander Butter, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d William Burchall, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d John Cruickshanks, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Gould, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Edward Leigh Broughton, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Joseph Whitley, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Richard Mason, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Henry Pritchard, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Total, 1,751 heads, £196 19s 9d **Interpretations** The roll for 1809 counted 1,751 heads, slightly more than the 1,716 of 1805, even though serving soldiers had been left off since 1808. Some households had grown in four years. Saul Solomon, a merchant first rated on nine heads in 1805, now had 20. The newer settlers were buying slaves and building up their households, so the number of people on the parish's books kept rising as the old planter families were joined by the island's growing merchant class.
335	326	Dr. The Parish§ §£ s d§ §1809 April 1st. Paid the Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §3d. Paid ditto for Morans Child§ §12§ §May 12th. Paid ditto for a Slave the Property of Mrs. Ann Young (Executed)§ §30§ §18th. Paid ditto for Morans Child§ §1 4§ §31st. Paid ditto for Writing Two Poll Tax Bills§ §15§ §June 9th. Paid ditto for the Funeral of Free Jenny§ §15§ §30. Paid ditto Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §July 8th. Paid ditto for Morans Child 49 days Support§ §2 9§ §August 8th. Paid ditto for Morans Child 25 ditto ditto§ §1 5§ §31 Paid ditto for ditto ditto 31 ditto ditto§ §1 11§ §September 29th. Paid ditto to Jos. Stewart for publishing Advertisement§ §5§ §30. Paid ditto for Morans Child 30 days Support§ §1 10§ §October 1st. Paid ditto to Moran for attendance and Writing Duplicate List of the§ §Free Blacks§ §3§ §2d. Paid ditto to Messages for summonsing the Free Blacks before the§ §Church Wardens§ §5§ §31st. Paid ditto for Morans Child 31 days Support§ §1 11§ §Paid ditto to Sewell for Playing the Organ§ §3 15§ §Novr. 2d. Paid ditto Hayward as ꝑ Bill on Account of the Country Church§ §1 6 3§ §4th. Paid ditto for Lime for the Country Church§ §1§	The parish account from 1 April 1809 recorded the following payments. 1 April 1809, sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d 3 April, for Moran's child, £0 12s 0d 12 May, for a slave belonging to Mrs Ann Young, who was executed, £30 0s 0d 18 May, for Moran's child, £1 4s 0d 31 May, for writing out the poll tax bill, £0 15s 0d 9 June, for the funeral of Jenny, a free woman, £0 15s 0d 30 June, sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d 6 July, Moran's child, 49 days' support, £2 9s 0d 5 August, Moran's child, 25 days' support, £1 5s 0d 31 August, Moran's child, 31 days' support, £1 11s 0d 29 September, to Joseph Stewart for publishing a notice, £0 5s 0d 30 September, Moran's child, 30 days' support, £1 10s 0d 1 October, to Moran for attendance and for drawing up a list of the free blacks, £3 0s 0d 2 October, to [...] for summoning the free blacks before the churchwardens, £3 0s 0d 31 October, Moran's child, 31 days' support, £1 11s 0d To Suwel for playing the organ, £3 15s 0d 2 November, to Hayward, as per bill, on account of the country church, £1 6s 3d 4 November, for lime for the country church, £1 0s 0d 6 November, to Joseph Harry for plastering and masons' work at the country church, £1 8s 8d 28 November, to Doctor Kay for medical attendance on the poor of the parish from April 1806 to April 1807, £21 0s 0d 30 November, Moran's child, 30 days' support, £1 10s 0d 1 December, sexton's salary, £3 15s 0d 5 December, Amoret Young for carpenters' work for the country church, £3 1s 0d 31 December, Mr Richard Torbett, as per bill, £0 6s 8d To [...] for 6 panes of glass for the country church, £1 5s 0d

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		§6th. Paid ditto to Joseph Harry for Plaistering & Masons Work at Country Church§ §1 8 8§ §28th. Paid ditto to Doctor Kay for Medical attendance on the Poor of the§ §Parish from April 1806 to April 1807§ §21§ §30th. Paid ditto Morans Child 30 days Support§ §1 10§ §October 1st. Paid ditto Sextons Salary§ §3 15§ §December 5th. Paid ditto Amorett Young for Carpenters Work for the Country Church§ §3 1§ §31 Paid ditto Mr. Richd. Torbett as p Bill§ §6 8§ §Paid ditto to O'Connor Whiting for 6 Panes of Glass for Country Church§ §5§ §Paid ditto for Washing the Chaplains Surplice (6 Months)§ §2 10§ §1810 Jany. 1st. Paid ditto to Dougherty for finding Materials and Painting &c. the Country Church§ §100§ §Paid ditto Sextons Salary & Bill for Nails§ §3 16 6§ §Paid ditto Morans Child 31 days Support§ §1 11§ §31st. Paid ditto to Thos. Agnew 3 days Carpenters Work at the Country Church§ §1 4§ §31st. Paid ditto Clerk of the Fish Markets Salary§ §10§ §Feby. 1st. Paid ditto Morans Child 31 days Support§ §1 11§ §2d. Paid ditto Organists Salary§ §3 15§ §March 3d. Paid ditto O'Connor &c. as p Bill (for the Country Church)§ §5 10§ §1st. Paid ditto Morans Child 28 days Support§ §1 8§ §31st. Paid ditto Dowie &c. as p Bill (for Country Church)§ §1 5 6§ §April 1st. Paid ditto Morans Child 31 days Support§ §1 11§ §8th. Paid ditto Thos. Lester as p Bill for Work done at Lime & Country Church & School§ §2 10§ §Paid ditto Doctor Kay for Medical attendance on the Sick Poor of the§ §Parish to April 1809§ §21§ §Paid ditto Singleton for Collecting Poll Tax§ §9 17§ §Total£ 256 2 4§	For washing the chaplain's surplices for 6 months, £2 0s 0d 1 January 1810, to Dewdney for supplying materials and painting the country church, £100 0s 0d Sexton's salary, with 1s 6d for nails, £3 16s 6d Moran's child, 31 days' support, £1 11s 0d 3 January, to Thomas [...] for 3 days' carpenters' work at the country church, £[...] 31 January, the clerk of the fish market's salary, £10 0s 0d 1 February, Moran's child, 31 days' support, £1 11s 0d 2 February, organist's salary, £3 15s 0d 31 March, O'Connor, as per bill, for the country church, £3 5s 10d 1 March, Moran's child, 28 days' support, £1 8s 0d 31 March, [...], as per bill, for the country church, £1 8s 0d 1 April, Moran's child, 30 days' support, £1 [...] 8 April, Thomas [...], as per bill, for work at the country church and the school, £2 10s 0d Doctor Kay for medical attendance on the parish poor for one year, £21 0s 0d [...] for collecting the poll tax, £9 17s 0d Total, £256 2s 4d **Interpretations** Mrs Ann Young was paid £30 0s 0d for her executed slave, twice the £15 0s 0d customary since the 1770s. The jury valuation of 1804 had confirmed £15 0s 0d for Aaron Lambe's Frank. In 1809 the figure doubled, probably because slave prices on the island had risen. The war had stopped the shipping of new slaves to St Helena, and the Company's restrictions on importing slaves kept supply short. So slaves already on the island became more valuable, and so did the owners' claims when the courts put one to death. The payments for drawing up a list of the free blacks and summoning them before the churchwardens show the police measures of June 1809 being put into practice. Free blacks were called in one by one to account for themselves, probably to sort those with a visible living from those who could be bound to masters under the vagrancy proposals. Moran, who had made out the list, was the father of the child the parish was keeping at 1s a day. A man whose own family depended on parish relief was employed to register and summon the free blacks.
336	327	Per Contra Cr.§ §1809 April 19th. Received from Major Wells late Church Warden the Ballance of Books§ §138 8 6§ §Received Poll Tax§ §196 19 9§ §Received Dog Tax§ §40 3 9§ §Total§ §375 12§ §256 7 4½§ §Ball. in favor of Parish§ §119 4 7½§ §Received from Thos. Lester the Above Balance§ §W. J. Hadley§ §Church Warden§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the following receipts. 19 April 1809, received from Major Mills, the former churchwarden, the balance of the books, £138 8s 6d Poll tax, £196 19s 9d Dog tax, £40 3s 9d Total, £375 12s 0d Less payments, £256 7s 4½d Balance in favour of the parish, £119 4s 7½d The churchwarden, W. J. [...], acknowledged that he had received the balance above from Thomas Lester. **Interpretations** The parish closed the year to April 1810 with £119 4s 7½d in hand, after paying £100 0s 0d to paint the country church and £30 0s 0d for an

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			executed slave. The rebuilding had left a large debt to the churchwarden in 1806. Three years later, a poll tax of only 2s 3d a head produced a surplus. With the Company's half of the church cost paid, the dog tax steady and the church finally finished, the parish was solvent again.
337	328	At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's§ §Valley this day the 23d. April 1810§ §The following Gentlemen were chosen§ §Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §Gabl. Doveton Esqr.§ §[...]§ §Constables§ §Wm. Tracy§ §Thomas Collins§ §Church Wardens§ §Capt. C. R. G. Hodson§ §Mr. J. C. Burchell§ §Capt. T. J. B. [...]§ §Overseers of Highways§ §Col. Cocks's Estate West§ §Mrs. Forbes's Do. East§ §Capt. Sampson South§ §Wormers and Inspectors of Black Cattle§ §Saul Solomon West§ §Ellis Hayward South§ §Capt. Andrew Braid East§ §Inspectors of Goats & Sheep§ §Henry Alexander East§ §Richd. Knipe Junr. West§ §Mr. W. Balcombe South§ §Proposed and Agreed. That a General Poll§ §Tax of One shilling & Six pence p head, be§ §levied for parish purposes.§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley on 23 April 1810 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: Gabriel Doveton Esquire [...] Constables: William Tracey Thomas Collins Churchwardens: Captain C. R. G. Hodson Mr J. C. Burchall Captain T. J. B. [...] Overseers of the highways: Colonel Cocks's estate, West division Mrs Forbes's estate, East division Captain Sampson, South division Wormers and inspectors of black cattle: Saul Solomon, West division Ellis Hayward, South division Captain Andrew Braid, East division Inspectors of goats and sheep: Henry Alexander, East division Richard Knipe junior, West division Mr W. Balcombe, South division The vestry agreed a general poll tax of 1s 6d a head for parish purposes. **Interpretations** The overseers named here, Colonel Cocks's estate and Captain Sampson, are the same James Cocks and Charles Sampson noted in the acreage rota as having served in 1810. The rotation voted in April 1808 was being followed down the list in order of size, as intended. With £119 4s 7½d left over from the year before, the vestry cut the poll tax from 2s 3d to 1s 6d a head. The church was finished and paid for, so the parish needed only enough to cover its ordinary costs.
338	329	A Bill was presented by§ §Mr. Burchell for the repair of the§ §School house, and it was resolved§ §to be paid by the Parish§ §W. J. Hadley§ §Church Warden§	Mr Burchall presented a bill for repairing the schoolhouse, and the vestry resolved that the parish should pay it. The churchwarden, W. J. [...], signed the entry. **Interpretations** Burchall was one of the churchwardens chosen on 23 April 1810, so in this entry an officer of the parish was submitting a bill for work on parish property. Under the rules of 1779, all repairs to the schoolhouse were in the churchwardens' hands. In practice that meant the warden who arranged the work could also charge for it. The vestry approved the bill without recording any amount or inquiry, very differently from its close scrutiny of the surgeons' bills.
339	330	St. Helena 23d. Apl. 1810§ §Poll Tax ordered by Vestry at 1/6 p Head§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §John Alexander Senr.: No. of Heads 23, £ 1, s 14, d 6§ §Fredk. Alexander Junr.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Thomas Ailesworth: No. of Heads 26, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §Fredk. Alexander: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §George Alexanders Orph.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Thomas Adams: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Solomon Arreste: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §John Baldwick: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §John Bazett: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§	The poll tax ordered by the vestry at 1s 6d a head was recorded at St Helena on 23 April 1810. John Alexander senior, 23 heads, £1 14s 6d John Alexander junior, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Thomas Ailesworth, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d Frederick Alexander, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d George Alexander's orphans, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Thomas Adams, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Solomon Arrest, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Baldwick, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Bayt, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Benjamin Bagley's orphans, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Charles Blake, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d

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		§Benjn. Bagleys Orph.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Charles Blake: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Onesiphorus Beales Orph.: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §John Bagley: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Thos. Bagley: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Richd. Bagley: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Mary Bagley Senr.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Mary Bagley Junr.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Thomas Burnhams Orph.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §John Burnham: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Saml. Burnham: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Thomas H. Brooke: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §William Bell: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Richd. Barker: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §William Brabazon: No. of Heads 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Andrew Braid: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §William Balcombe: No. of Heads 21, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §John Barnes: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Henry Bazetts Estate: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Ann Broadway: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §John Bayes: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §James Bayley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Pt. Barnes: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Robt. Bayley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Adam Baildon: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Edwd. Banks: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §George Blenkins: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Henry Broadway: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Thomas Bassett: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §John Bott: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §George Bowman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §George Bowman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §James Birkenck: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Thos. Cole Orph.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Thos. Cole: No. of Heads 20, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §James Cole: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Henry Cole: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Susannah Chamberlain: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Thomas Carr: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Jonas Cooper: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Thomas O'Conner: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Michl. Connelly: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Geo. McChadwick: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 636, £ 31, s 16, d 0§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 636, £ 31, s 16, d 0§ §Leonard Chippendale: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §J. Chaplain: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Robert Creed: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Samuel Cooper: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Mark Constantine: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Thomas Chantry: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Richd. Everton: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Thomas Corbin's Estate: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Silas Clarke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §John Clark: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §James Clark: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Daniel Coburn: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §William Arnold: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Thomas Clark: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §W. W. Doveton: No. of Heads 35, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §John Dovetons Orph.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Gabl. Doveton: No. of Heads 23, £ 1, s 14, d 6§ §John Desfountain: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §John C. Dunn: No. of Heads 31, £ 2, s 6, d 6§ §John Dring: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Dentaffe's Orph.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Mary Day: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Doyle: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §William Dawes: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §James Dixon: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §George Doran: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §John Delamore: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	John Bagley, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Thomas Bagley, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Richard Bagley, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Mary Bagley senior, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Mary Bagley junior, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Burnham's orphans, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Burnham, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Samuel Burnham, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas H. Brooke, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d William Bell, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Richard Barker, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d William Brabazon, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d Andrew Braid, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d William Balcombe, 21 heads, £1 11s 6d John Barnes, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Henry Bazett's estate, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Ann Broadway, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Bays, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d James Bayley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Paul Burrows, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Robert Bayley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Adam Baildon, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Edward Banks, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d George Blinkins, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Henry Broadway, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Bennett, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Bott, 1 head, £0 1s 6d George Bowman, 1 head, £0 1s 6d George Brennan, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Birkwick, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Cole, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d James Cooke, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Henry Cole, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Susannah Chamberlain, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Thomas Carr, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Jonas Cooper, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas O'Connor, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Michael Connolly, 1 head, £0 1s 6d George Chadwick, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Carried over, 436 heads, £31 16s 0d Brought over, 436 heads, £31 16s 0d Leonard Chippindale, 1 head, £0 1s 6d J. Chaplain, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Robert Cecil, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Samuel Cooper, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Mark Constantine, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Chantry, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Richard Cureton, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Andrews's estate, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Silas Clarke, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Clark, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d James Clark, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Daniel Colwell, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Arnold, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Clark, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Webber Doveton, 35 heads, £2 12s 6d John Doveton's orphans, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Gabriel Doveton, 23 heads, £1 14s 6d John Desfountain, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d John Charles Dunn, 31 heads, £2 6s 6d John Dring, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Dentaffe's orphans, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Mary Day, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Doyle, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Daws, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Dixon, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d George Dorman, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Delamore, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Lucas Euley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Robert Eager, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Everton, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Ford, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Goodwin junior's orphans, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d

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		§Lucas Euly: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Robt. Eager: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §William Everton: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §William Fowler: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Thomas Ford: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Goodwin Junr. Orph.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Thomas Greentree Senr.: No. of Heads 32, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §Watkin Greentree: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Mary Griffiths: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Eleanor Gurling: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Thomas Green: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §William Gray: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Thomas Goff: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §C. R. G. Hodson: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Benjn. Hodson: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Robt. Hodsons Orph.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Daniel Hamilton: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Robt. Hayes: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Thomas Hayes Estate: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Ann Hunter: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Ellis Hayward: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Sarah Harper: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §James Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Frederick Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 977, £ 57, s 7, d 6§	Thomas Greentree senior, 32 heads, £2 8s 0d Watkin Greentree, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Mary Griffiths, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Eleanor Gurling, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Thomas Green, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d William Gray, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 1s 6d C. R. G. Hodson, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Benjamin Hodson, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Robert Hodson's orphans, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Daniel Hamilton, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Robert Hayes, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Thomas Hayes's estate, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Ann Hunter, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Ellis Hayward, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Sarah Harper, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d James Harper, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Frederick Harper, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Carried over, 777 heads, £57 7s 6d
340	331	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. ford.: No. of Heads 977, £ 57, s 7, d 6§ §John Hawes: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Edwd. Howse: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Wilfred Hale: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Thos. P. Hollis: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §John Ha[...]: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Henry Hammond: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Esther Isaacke: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Elisha Isaacke: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Joseph Jackes: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §William Jolliss Estate: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Samuel Jones: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Valentia Isaacke: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Ald. Isaacke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §James Jennings: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Saml. Knipe: No. of Heads 38, £ 2, s 17, d 0§ §Richd. Knipes Orph.: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §William Knipe: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §John Knipe: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Mary Knipe Senr.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §David Kennard: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Nath. Kennedys Orph.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §David Kay Senr.: No. of Heads 40, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §David Kay Junr.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §John Kay: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Robt. Leech: No. of Heads 20, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Geo. Leech: No. of Heads 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §Richd. Leech: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Thomas Lester: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §John Ley Senr.: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Aaron Lambe: No. of Heads 22, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §James Lowden: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §G. W. Lloyd: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Wm. Mellish: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Richd. Masons Orph.: No. of Heads 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §John Mason: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §James Mason Estate: No. of Heads 20, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Benj. Mason: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Mary Muchant: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Ann Mills Estate: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Thomas McRitchie: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Dougle McDougle: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §George Mood: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §George Moran: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§	The poll tax of 23 April 1810 continued at 1s 6d a head. Brought over, 777 heads, £57 7s 6d John Hawes, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Edward Pierce, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d [...] Hart, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas P. Hollis, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Henry Hammond, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Alfred Isaacs, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Elisha Isaacs, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Joseph Jacks, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Julio's estate, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Samuel Jones, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Victoria Isaacs, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d [...] Isaacs, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Jennings, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Samuel Knipe, 38 heads, £2 17s 0d Richard Knipe's orphans, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d William Knipe, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d John Knipe, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Mary Knipe junior, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d David Kinnaird, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d David Kay senior, 40 heads, £3 0s 0d David Kay junior, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Kay, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Robert Leech, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d George Leech, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Richard Leech, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Lester, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d John Legg senior, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Aaron Lambe, 22 heads, £1 13s 0d James Lowden, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d [...], 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Mr Mellish, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Richard Mason's orphans, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d John Mason, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d James Mason's estate, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d Benjamin Mason, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Margaret Merchant, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Moses Mills's estate, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas McRitchie, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Dougal McDougal, 1 head, £0 1s 6d George Mead, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d George Moran, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d David Moody, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Matthewson, 1 head, £0 1s 6d

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		§David Moody: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §William Matthewson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1353, £ 85, s 11, d 6§ §Brot. ford.: No. of Heads 1353, £ 85, s 11, d 6§ §John Newton: No. of Heads 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §William Oliver: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §William Pierie: No. of Heads 24, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §William Pyle: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Henry Pontins: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Harriet Price: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §James Pritchards Orph.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Sarah Pritchard: No. of Heads 22, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §Eleanor Pritchard: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §G. L. Phillips: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §John Parker: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Henry Pritchard: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §James Ross: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Robinson: No. of Heads 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Ann Roberts: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §John Roberts: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Lawrence Rhodes: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Fredk. Rotenback: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Samuel Robinson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Sarah Rennie: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §John E. Shortis: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Geo. S[...]: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Mary Shirley: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §John Scott: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Charles Scott: No. of Heads 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §W. Seale Senr.: No. of Heads 38, £ 2, s 17, d 0§ §John Seales Estate: No. of Heads 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Robt. Strathern: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Edwd. Smith: No. of Heads 29, £ 2, s 3, d 6§ §Elizth. [...]: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Joseph Steward: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Robt. Seale: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Smith: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Thomas Storey: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §William Singleton: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Wm. Smith's Estate: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Saml. Solomon: No. of Heads 20, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §James Stanley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Wm. Sanders: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §William Stark: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §John Shores: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Frans. Seale: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Elizth. Stanley: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Slater: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Peter Smith: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1898, £ 111, s 9, d 0§	Carried over, 1,153 heads, £85 11s 6d Brought over, 1,153 heads, £85 11s 6d John Newton, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d William Olive, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Pierce, 24 heads, £1 16s 0d William Pithie, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Henry Porteous, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Harriet Paige, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d James Pritchard's orphans, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Sarah Pritchard, 22 heads, £1 13s 0d Eleanor Pritchard, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d G. L. Phillips, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Perkins, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Henry Pritchard, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d James Pope, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Robinson, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d Ann Roberts, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Rooks, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Lawrence Rourke, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Frederick Richenbach, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Sarah Rimmer, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d John C. Shirtley, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d [...], 1 head, £0 1s 6d Mary Shirtley, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Scott, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Charles Scott, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d William Seale senior, 39 heads, £2 18s 6d John Seale's estate, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d Robert Statham, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Edward C. Smith, 29 heads, £2 3s 6d Charles Sampson, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Joseph Stewart, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Robert Seale, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Smith, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Storey, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Singleton, 1 head, £0 1s 6d W. Statham's estate, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Saul Solomon, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d James Stirling, 1 head, £0 1s 6d W. Saunders, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Stark, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Shiress, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Francis Seale, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Elizabeth Stanley, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Slater, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Peter Smith, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Carried over, 1,498 heads, £111 9s 0d
341	332	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 1898, £ 111, s 9, d 0§ §W. A. Seale: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §John Thompson: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §William Tracey: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §John Taylor Junr.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Richd. Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §James Tibbett: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Richd. Tibbett: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §John Taylor Senr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Thomas Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §James Unsworth: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §William Woodward: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Joseph Wrattey: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Mary Wright: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1766, £ 116, s 0, d 0§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 1766, £ 116, s 0, d 0§ §John A. Wright: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Wranghams Estate: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Charles Weston: No. of Heads 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Richd. Wells: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Andrew Wilson: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	The poll tax of 23 April 1810 continued and closed with the total. Brought over, 1,498 heads, £111 9s 0d A. A. Seale, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Thompson, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d William Tracey, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d John Taylor junior, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Richard Thomas, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Tibbett, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Richard Torbett, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d John Taylor senior, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Underwood, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph Wheatley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Mary Wright, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Carried over, [...] heads, £11[...] 11s 0d Brought over, [...] heads, £11[...] 11s 0d John A. Wright, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Wrangham's estate, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Charles Weston, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Richard Wells, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Andrew Wilson, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Ann Young's estate, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d

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		§Ann Youngs Estate: No. of Heads 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §Wm. Young: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §James Yeude: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Stephen Youngs Estate: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Total: No. of Heads 1850, £ 122, s 17, d 0§ §Dr. Parish§ §1810§ §24 April Pd. to Mr. W. J. Burchell for the repairs of the School house§ §95 . 18 . 5§ §Pd. William Roberts his Salary as Clerk of the Fish market from 1st Feby. 1810 to 24 April 1811 - @ £40 Pr. Annum§ §48 . 17 . 10§ §Pd. Doctor Kay for medical attendance on free Blacks, pr. 6 April 1810§ §42§ §1811§ §31 March Pd. John Singleton his Salary as Sexton to this date§ §15§ §31 March Pd. for the support of Masons child from 1 April 1810 to this date§ §18 . 5§ §Pd. Messenger for writing at a Vestry 23d. April§ §10§ §Pd. Thomas Bonnette for going about the Country with great papers§ §1§ §30 April Pd. Mr. Knipes Salary from 1st Feby. 1810 to this date§ §18 . 15§ §1st May Pd. Thompsons funeral expences§ §15§ §17 loaves of bread for [...] whilst in prison§ §7 . 1§ §Carried over§ §£241 . 8 . 4§	Amoret Young, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d James Youde, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Stephen Young's estate, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Total, 1,850 heads, £122 17s 0d The parish account from 24 April 1810 recorded the following payments. 24 April 1810, paid to Mr W. J. Burchall for repairs to the schoolhouse, £95 18s 6d Paid to William Roberts his salary as clerk of the fish market from 1 February 1810 to 24 April 1811, at £40 0s 0d a year, £48 17s 10d Paid to Doctor Kay for medical attendance on free blacks up to 6 April 1810, £42 0s 0d 31 March 1811, paid to John Singleton his salary as sexton to this date, £15 0s 0d 31 March, paid for the support of Moran's child from 1 April 1810 to this date, £18 5s 0d Paid to [...] for writing at the vestry on 23 April, £0 10s 0d Paid to Thomas Bennett for going round the country with the tax papers, £1 0s 0d 30 April, paid the organist's salary from 1 February 1810 to this date, £18 15s 0d 1 May, Peg Thompson's funeral expenses, £0 15s 0d 17 loaves of bread for Nancy May while she was in prison, £0 7s 1d Carried over, £241 8s 4d **Interpretations** The schoolhouse bill presented by Mr Burchall, which the vestry had approved without any amount recorded, came to £95 18s 6d. That was the largest single charge of the year, more than three-quarters of what the 1810 poll tax raised. Burchall was a churchwarden in office when he submitted the bill. By approving it in advance and without inquiry, the vestry let an officer of the parish fix his own payment for work he had arranged himself. That was quite unlike its handling of the surgeons, whose bills it had questioned item by item since 1791. Doctor Kay received £42 0s 0d for attending free blacks, two years of the 20 guineas a year agreed in April 1807. Nancy May, listed as a free black on the poll tax of 1808, was fed bread at the parish's cost while in prison. Free blacks were the group the police measures of 1809 aimed to watch and bind to service, yet the parish still bore the cost of their medical care and of feeding them in custody.
342	333	Pr. Contra Cr.§ §1810§ §23d. April Recd. from Thomas Lester Esqr. late Church Warden the balance§ §119 . 4 . 7½§ §Poll Tax§ §122 . 17§ §Dog Tax§ §56§ §Recd. from Mr. W. J. Burchell rent for the use of the School house§ §30§ §£328 . 1 . 7½§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the following receipts. 23 April 1810, received from Thomas Lester Esquire, the former churchwarden, the balance, £119 4s 7½d Poll tax, £122 17s 0d Dog tax, £56 0s 0d Received from Mr W. J. Burchall, rent for the use of the schoolhouse, £30 0s 0d Total, £328 1s 7½d **Interpretations** Mr Burchall paid the parish £30 0s 0d rent for the schoolhouse, so he was its tenant and probably its master. The parish's repair bill of £95 18s 6d was therefore for work on a building he occupied, and the rent recovered almost a third of it. Under the vestry's rules of 1779, the schoolmaster had the house free in return for teaching eight poor children. By 1810 the parish was charging rent instead. That turned the schoolhouse into an income-earning property, and the master's connection with the parish became a commercial lease rather than a charitable bargain.
343	334	[Staining along the left edge of the page.] Dr. Parish§ §Brought forward£§ §241 . 8 . 4§	The parish account continued with the following payments. Brought forward, £241 8s 4d

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		§24 Sept. 1810 Pd. Bowman for 76 panes of Glass putting them in &c for the School house§ §6 . 13§ §Deals & nails for repairing Ditto&c§ §4 . 6 . 5§ §12 Gutts of Rushes @ 1/3 - carriage of do. from the Country @ 1/1½§ §1 . 8 . 6§ §Carpenters work, labor &c - for repairing the School house for Mr. Kay§ §6 . 3 . 10§ §Country Church 1 Basket 4 yds. Green baize 6 yds. osnaburg§ §1 . 9 . 7§ §Pd. Mr. Singleton 5 Pr. Cent on 122.17 - for his trouble in collecting the Poll tax§ §6 . 2 . 9§ §Pd. for publishing two advertizements§ §10§ §Pd. for washing the Chaplains Surplice from 1 Jany. 1810 to 31 Decr.§ §5§ §£273 . 2 . 5§ §Balance§ §54 . 19 . 2½§ §£328 . 1 . 7½§ §Recd. from C. R. G. Hodson late§ §Church Warden, the sum of £54.19.2½§ §being the balance of the above§ §30 April 1811§ §W. W. Doveton§ §Church Warden§	24 September 1810, paid to Bowman for 76 panes of glass and putting them in, and other work, for the schoolhouse, £6 13s 0d Deals and nails for repairing the desks, £4 6s 5d 12 girths of rushes at 1s 3d, with carriage of the same from the country at 1s 1½d, £1 8s 6d Carpenters' work, labour and other items for repairing the schoolhouse for Mr Kay, £6 3s 10d For the country church, 1 basket, 4 yards of green baize and 6 yards of osnaburg, £1 9s 7d Paid to Mr Singleton 5 per cent on £122 17s 0d for his trouble in collecting the poll tax, £6 2s 9d Paid for publishing two notices, £0 10s 0d Paid for washing the chaplain's surplices from 1 January 1810 to 31 December, £5 0s 0d Total, £273 2s 5d Balance, £54 19s 2½d Total, £328 1s 7½d The churchwarden acknowledged on 30 April 1811 that he had received £54 19s 2½d from C. R. G. Hodson, the former churchwarden, as the balance of the books. **Interpretations** Mr Singleton was paid 5 per cent of the poll tax he collected, £6 2s 9d on £122 17s 0d. Collectors had earlier received a fixed fee, such as £3 0s 0d for the slave tax or £9 17s 0d in 1809. A percentage tied the collector's pay to how much he brought in. Defaulters and people who had left the island had cost the parish part of every roll since 1805, so paying by results gave the collector a direct reason to chase every household.
344	335	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] Pr. Contra Cr.§ §Brought forward£§ §328 . 1 . 7½§ §Saint Helena May 13th. 1811§ §At a Vestry held this Day at the Chapel in James's Valley§ §the following Gentlemen were chosen Parish officers - § §Sheriff - Thomas Bagley Esqr.§ §Constables - James Dixon§ §Thomas Storey§ §Church Wardens - Major J. A. Wright -§ §Capt. Wm. Knipe -§ §Overseers of Highways -§ §Major Wm. Cole§ §Dr. Robinson§ §Proprietors of Dead Wood Lands§ §Regulated by No. Acres of Lands as before Determined§ §Warners of Cattle - John Ley§ §Frederick Alexander§ §Onesiphorus Beale - In place of Thos. Scott by order of Council§ §Inspectors of Sheep & Goats -§ §William Lambe§ §Valentia Isaacke -§ §Capt. Jno. Barnes - In place of Capt. Alexander Alexander§ §The Parishoners vote the Premium to Fishing Boats, to be divided as formerly, Viz.§ §the Boat that brings in most Fish to have the highest Premium; as they consider the§ §existing regulation injurious to the Masters of Fishermen -§ §To Thos. J. B. Cole & J. A. Wright Esqrs. Church Wardens -§ §Gentlemen,§ §The Proceedings of the Vestry held this day, have been taken into Consi-§ §deration by the Governor & Council, and as it appears that general Benefit§ §has not resulted from the measures of conferring	The credit side of the parish account was carried forward. Brought forward, £328 1s 7½d A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 13 May 1811 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriff: Thomas Bagley Esquire Constables: James Dixon Thomas Storey Churchwardens: Major J. A. Wright Captain William Knipe Overseers of the highways, settled by the number of acres held, in rotation: Major William Seale John Robinson The proprietors of the Deadwood lands Wormers of cattle: John Legg Frederick Alexander Onesiphorus Beale, in place of Robert Seale, by order of the Council Inspectors of sheep and goats: William Lambe Valentine Isaacs Captain John Barnes, in place of Captain Alexander Edwards The parishioners wanted the premium paid to the fishing boats to be shared as before, so that the boat bringing in the most fish received the largest premium. They considered the present rule harmful to the masters of the fishermen. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote to Thomas J. B. Cole and J. A. Wright Esquires, churchwardens, at St Helena on 18 May 1811. The Governor and Council had considered the vestry's proceedings of that day. It appeared that paying premiums to the fishermen had brought no general benefit, so the Governor and Council saw no point in continuing the expense. Since the overseers of the highways were

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		Premiums on the Fishermen§ §The Governor & Council see no reason in a continuation of Premiums on that account§ §As the Overseers of High Ways are now appointed agreeably to the§ §established regulation, The Governor & Council approve the Proceedings of the Vestry§ §I am Gentlemen§ §Your Obt. Servant§ §(Signed) Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §St. Helena§ §18th. May 1811§	now chosen under the established rule, the Governor and Council approved the vestry's proceedings. **Interpretations** The government had been paying premiums to the fishing boats to encourage a larger catch, in line with the Directors' view in 1796 that only greater supply would lower prices. The vestry asked for the premiums to reward the boat that landed most fish, putting the fishermen in competition with each other. Instead of adjusting the scheme, the Governor and Council stopped the premiums altogether, judging that they had done no general good. After 15 years of committees, a market clerk, regulations and bounties, the government gave up trying to lower the price of fish by any of these means. The proprietors of the Deadwood lands were named jointly as overseers. Deadwood was the large plain in the east of the island, divided among several holders. Under the acreage rotation of 1808 the duty fell on the land, so where an estate was held in shares, all its proprietors answered for it together.
345	336	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] At a Vestry held in James's Valley July 8th. 1811§ §The following Propositions were made§ §Shall the Parish School House be transferred to§ §the Honble. Company gratuitously, and said§ §Building shall be always in future, only employed, as a§ §School house, and as a Dwelling for the Schoolmaster§ §and that he shall instruct Gratis, twelve, such Parish§ §Children as shall be recommended by the Church§ §Wardens - reserving to the Parish the right of settling§ §the Rates for Education -§ §It was unanimously agreed that the School house§ §shall be transferred Gratuitously to the Honble. Company§ §and that a Committee of Five, including the Church Wardens shall be chosen to§ §answer the letter from the Council - The under-§ §mentioned Persons were then chosen to compose the§ §Committee -§ §David Kay§ §Baildon§ §C. R. G. Hodson§ §Committee§ §T. Greentree Senr.§ §Thos. Ailesworth§ §O. Beale§ §John Bagley§ §Adam Baildon§ §Thos. Bagley§ §Davd. Kay Senr.§ §Wm. Brabazon -§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §[...] Brooke§ §R. H. Leech§ §Davd. Kinnaird§ §Wm. Seale§ §E. Hayward§ §Jas. Lowden§ §A. Young§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §Richd. Everton§ §[...]§ §S. Solomon§ §[...]§ §John Taylor§ §W. W. Doveton§ §J. A. Wright§	A vestry met in James's Valley on 8 July 1811, and the following proposal was put to it. The parish schoolhouse should be handed over to the Company without charge. In future the building should be used only as a schoolhouse and as a home for the schoolmaster. The schoolmaster should teach free of charge 12 parish children recommended by the churchwardens. The parish would keep the right to set the fees for education. The vestry agreed unanimously that the schoolhouse should be handed over to the Company without charge. A committee of five, including the churchwardens, was to be chosen to answer the Council's letter. The committee was made up of Doctor Kay, Mr Baildon and C. R. G. Hodson, together with the churchwardens. The following inhabitants signed the minutes. J. Greentree senior Thomas Ailesworth O. Beale John Bagley Adam Baildon Thomas Bagley David Kay senior William Brabazon W. J. [...] [...] Thomas H. Brooke R. H. Leech David Kinnaird William Seale E. Hayward James Lowden A. Young [...] Banks [...] [...] Richard Cureton [...] S. Solomon [...] John Taylor [...] J. A. Wright, churchwarden C. Sampson [...] Chadwick Thomas O'Connor W. Gahagan [...] [...] Thomas McRitchie T. J. Cole G. Doveton **Interpretations**

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		§Church Wardens§ §E. Sampson§ §[...] Chadwick§ §Geo. Blenkins§ §W. Gahagan§ §[...]§ §[...]§ §Thos. McRitchie§ §[...] Cole§ §J. Dunn§	The parish chose to give up the schoolhouse it had owned since 1770 rather than keep paying for it. The repair bill of £95 18s 6d in 1810, with further spending on glass, desks and carpentry, had made the building costly. Transferring it to the Company moved that burden onto the Company's purse. The parish secured the conditions it cared about: the house had to remain a school, the master had to teach 12 parish children free of charge, four more than the eight set in 1779, and the parish kept the right to fix the fees for other pupils. In effect the parish gave away the building in exchange for keeping control of who was taught and at what charge.
346	337	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] Proposed and Agreed, That a General Poll Tax of Two Shillings & three Pence§ §Pr. Head, be levied for Parish purposes. -§ §The following Extract, & Correspondence with the Governor & Council, should have§ §been inserted before the Preceding Resolution but time would not then admit of it -§ §Copy of the 33d. Paragraph of the Honble. Court of Directors General Letter to§ §to Saint Helena dated 11th. January 1811 -§ §33 - - - In answer to this Paragraph we have the satis-§ §faction to acquaint you, that the Reverend Richard Boys has been§ §appointed by Us second Chaplain & Schoolmaster at Saint Helena§ §and will proceed by the Ship Marchioness of Exeter, the allowances§ §to Mr. Boys are to be £200 Pr. Annum as second Chaplain and§ §£100 - Pr. Annum as Schoolmaster, to commence from the Period of his§ §arrival, and he will of course occupy the School House as§ §formerly -§ §True Copy (Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§ §The following Letter was received from the Secretary to Government -§ §To.§ §The Inhabitants assembled in Vestry -§ §Gentlemen,§ §The Honble. Court of Directors having recently taken into consideration§ §the vast importance of establishing at this Island a proper Institution for the Education§ §of the rising generation, and it being evident that it would be of general benefit§ §to all Parties, it has been suggested and recommended that it may at once be§ §placed upon a suitable and permanent footing -§ §The Governor & Council having considered that the erection of the§ §requisite additional Buildings would be attended with heavy expences to the Parish§ §and moreover that, the expence of the present Building (which have within these§ §two years Cost £[...] -) hereto which are now in Hand, have therefore to§ §suggest for your consideration, the expediency of transferring the present School§ §House to the Honble. Company, in order to relieve the Parish from further§ §expences -§ §This measure has indeed been hinted at in a letter to the Governor§ §from Mr. Edward Pory, who has been particularly attentive, both during the time§ §he filled the Chair, as well as since that Period, to everything that relates to the§ §improvement and welfare of Saint Helena -§ §Under all these Circumstances the Governor &	A note in the margin bore the name H. Porteous. The vestry agreed a general poll tax of 2s 3d a head for parish purposes. The following extract and correspondence with the Governor and Council should have been entered before the resolution above, but there had not been time to do so. A copy followed of paragraph 33 of the Court of Directors' general letter to St Helena dated 11 January 1811. A note in the margin explained that it answered paragraph 80 of an earlier letter, in which the inhabitants had asked for a schoolmaster to be sent out. 33: In reply, the Court was pleased to report that it had appointed the Reverend Richard Boys as second chaplain and schoolmaster at St Helena. He would travel out on the ship *Marchioness of Exeter*. His allowances would be £[...] a year as second chaplain and £100 0s 0d a year as schoolmaster, starting from his arrival. He would occupy the schoolhouse as before. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, certified the copy as true. The secretary to the government then wrote to the inhabitants assembled in vestry. The Court of Directors had recently considered how important it was to set up a proper institution on the island for educating the rising generation. Since this would clearly benefit everyone, the Court had recommended placing it at once on a suitable and permanent footing. The Governor and Council judged that putting up the additional buildings needed would cost the parish heavily. The present building had also cost £[...] within the last few years, besides repairs now in hand. They therefore asked the vestry to consider transferring the present schoolhouse to the Company, so as to free the parish from further expense. Mr Edward Parry had in fact suggested this in a letter to the Governor. He had paid particular attention to everything touching the improvement and welfare of St Helena, both while he was chairman of the Court of Directors and since. In the circumstances, the Governor and Council asked the vestry to consider carefully and report on the terms of the proposed transfer, including whether it should be made free of charge. **Interpretations** The Company itself had taken over the funding of a schoolmaster. The Directors appointed a clergyman as second chaplain and schoolmaster, with £100 0s 0d a year for teaching alone. That was far more than the parish had ever paid for the school. With the Company paying the master, it made sense for the Company to own the building, and the parish was relieved of the repair costs that had reached nearly £100 0s 0d in 1810. The vestry gave the house away instead of selling it, which won it the conditions agreed on 8 July: the building would remain a school, 12 poor children would be taught free, and the parish

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		Council desire you§ §will maturely deliberate and report your Opinion upon the Terms on which§ §the proposed transfer, might be made, and whether it should be gratuitously on the§ **Margin Notes:** §Witnesses§ §Para. 80 - Schoolmaster request of Inhabitants for one to be sent out§	would set the fees. A ratepayers' charity school was becoming a Company institution under a clergyman. The proposal came from Edward Parry, a former chairman of the East India Company. The suggestion had travelled from London through the Governor to the vestry. The parish was being invited to agree to a decision effectively made in London, and it gained the most it could by setting conditions.
347	338	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] part of the Inhabitants, in consideration of the great advantages they would§ §derive from the new Institution, or wether the School House should be sold§ §at a fair and equitable Valuation to the Honble. Company -§ §(Signd.) T. H. Brooke Secy.§ §July 1st. 1811 -§ §The Committee Chosen to answer the Govr. & Council letter, Addressed them as follows§ §To.§ §The Worshipful the Governor and Council§ §Saint Helena July 8th. 1811 -§ §Worshipful Sirs,§ §At a Vestry held this Day in James's Valley, to take into consideration§ §the purport of your Letter addressed to the Inhabitants, it was unanimously determined§ §to transfer Gratuitously the Parish School House to the Honble. Company, the Vestry§ §relying that it shall in future, be only employed as a School House and as a Dwelling§ §for the School Master. That he shall instruct Gratis as formerly, twelve such Parish§ §Children as shall be recommended by the Church Wardens - That the Vestry, Do§ §reserve to themselves the right as hitherto practiced, of settling the Rates for Education.§ §and they have elected the following Persons (Viz.) David Kay Senr. Adam Baildon,§ §and Charles Hodson, with the Church Wardens, as a Committee to transmit these§ §Resolutions to the Worshipful Board. -§ §The Committee beg leave to observe, that the Vestry are strongly§ §impressed with a sense of Gratitude, for the care and solicitude of the Honble. Court of Directors§ §to promote the welfare of this Society, and the Instruction of the rising generation, and they§ §have from hence been induced cheerfully to give up the School House, although estimated at the§ §Value of Fifteen Hundred Pounds (£1500) - The Vestry also feel under much§ §obligation to Mr. Edward Pory, for the kind Interest he has always taken in everything§ §relating to the Improvement and Benefit of St. Helena, and his tendency in forwarding§ §the intended Establishment of a Seminary of Education, on a permanent and liberal§ §footing -§ §(Signd.) C. R. G. Hodson - W. Cole - D. Kay Senr. J. A. Wright - Adam Baildon -§ §To.§ §The Inhabitants assembled in Vestry - July 15th. 1811 -§ §Gentlemen,§ §By the Governor's Address to the Inhabitants assembled in Vestry on Monday§ §last, upon the subject of the Schools it may be observed, that Four Children are§ §Educated Gratis at the Upper School, and Eight at the under School, and as the§ §Charges of Education are not left to the discretion of the School Master, per-§ §haps you may consider it advisable to make a slight	The secretary's letter ended by asking whether the inhabitants would hand the schoolhouse over free of charge, given the great benefits they would gain from the new institution, or whether it should be sold to the Company at a fair valuation. T. H. Brooke, secretary, signed it on 1 July 1811. The committee chosen to answer the Governor and Council wrote to them at St Helena on 8 July 1811. A vestry had met that day in James's Valley to consider the Governor and Council's letter to the inhabitants. It had decided unanimously to hand the parish schoolhouse over to the Company free of charge, on these conditions. The building was in future to be used only as a schoolhouse and a home for the schoolmaster. He was to teach free of charge, as before, 12 parish children recommended by the churchwardens. The vestry kept for itself the right it had always exercised of setting the fees for education. It had chosen David Kay senior, Adam Baildon and Charles Hodson, with the churchwardens, as a committee to send these resolutions to the Board. The committee added that the vestry was deeply grateful for the care the Court of Directors had shown for the welfare of the community and the education of the rising generation. For that reason it had readily given up the schoolhouse, although the building was valued at £1,500 0s 0d. The vestry also felt much obliged to Mr Edward Parry for the kindly interest he had always taken in improving St Helena, and especially in promoting a school on a permanent and generous footing. C. R. G. Hodson, [...], D. Kay senior, J. A. Wright and Adam Baildon signed the letter. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote to the inhabitants assembled in vestry on 15 July 1811. The Governor's address to the vestry the previous Monday about the schools had stated that four children would be admitted free to the upper school and eight to the lower school. The fees for education were not to be left to the schoolmaster's discretion either. He suggested the vestry might therefore wish to alter its committee's letter slightly before it was entered in the consultations. **Interpretations** The vestry gave away a building it valued at £1,500 0s 0d. In return it claimed the right to set the school's fees, as it always had. The government answered that the fees were not the schoolmaster's to set, and invited the vestry to "slightly alter" its letter before it was entered in the official record. Once the Company owned the building and paid the master, it would not accept that the parish kept control of the charges. The 12 free places the vestry had secured were also now divided into four in an upper school and eight in a lower one. The government accepted the gift but not the condition the vestry most valued, and asked it to remove that condition from the record.

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		alteration in your§ §Committees letter, previous to its being recorded on the Consultations. -§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your Obedient Servant§ §Saint Helena§ §(Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§	
348	339	[Light staining along the right edge of the page.] The Committee returned the following Answer to the Secretary's letter of the 15th. July 1811 &c.§ §To.§ §The Worshipful the Governor & Council§ §Saint Helena July 15th. 1811 -§ §Worshipful Sirs,§ §At a Vestry assembled this Day the letter received from Your Secretary§ §was read before them; and they have directed the Committee to state to Yr. Worshipful§ §Board, that in consequence of the Governor & Council having regulated that§ §Four Children are admissible Gratis, at the Upper School, and Eight at the§ §under School, that they have agreed to strike out that part of their Letter§ §stating, "That he shall instruct Gratis as formerly, Twelve such Parish Children§ §" as shall be recommended by the Church Wardens". -§ §The Vestry considering the Prices for the upper School, mentioned§ §in the Governors address to the Inhabitants, as being too high, for the Younger§ §Scholars, have not thought it adviseable to make any further alteration§ §in their Letter of the 8th. Instant -§ §Signed - C. R. G. Hodson§ §David Kay Senr.§ §W. W. Cole§ §Adam Baildon§ §John A. Wright -§ §St. Helena -§ §The undernamed Youths were recommended for Tuition Gratis, at Mr. Boys's§ §(or the Companys First) School, and were approved of by the Governor & Council§ §Master John Young§ §George Broadway§ §Henry Pritchard§ §Henry Chamberlain§	The committee sent the following answer to the secretary's letter of 15 July 1811. The committee wrote to the Governor and Council at St Helena on 15 July 1811. A vestry had met that day, and the letter from the Board's secretary had been read to it. The vestry had told the committee to report its decision. The Governor and Council had laid down that four children would be admitted free to the upper school and eight to the lower school. The vestry had therefore agreed to strike out the part of its letter saying that the schoolmaster would teach free of charge, as before, 12 parish children recommended by the churchwardens. The vestry considered the fees for the upper school given in the Governor's address to the inhabitants too high for the younger pupils. For that reason it had decided not to make any further change to its letter of the 8th. C. R. G. Hodson, David Kay senior, W. Mole, Adam Baildon and John A. Wright signed the letter at St Helena. The following boys were recommended for free tuition at Mr Boys's school, the Company's first school, and the Governor and Council approved them. Master John Young George Broadway Henry Pritchard Henry Chamberlain **Interpretations** The vestry gave way on the free places but kept its claim over the fees. It removed the 12 free scholars from its letter, accepting the Governor's four and eight. It would not withdraw its reservation on fees, because it judged the upper school's charges too high for younger children. The planters paid for their own children's schooling at the upper school, so the cost mattered directly to them. Leaving the reservation on record kept the vestry's objection before the Company even though the school was no longer the parish's. The four boys chosen for free places at the upper school came from established island families: the Youngs, Broadways, Pritchards and Chamberlains. The free places meant for the parish's poor went to the sons of families that had served as churchwardens or held land. George Broadway was probably a relation of the orphans of Caleb Broadway, whose fund the parish had managed.
349	340	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] List of Estates, shewing the Order in which they are to furnish Overseers of Highways -§ §Years Served the office, Names, Total Acres§ §Dead Wood Society: Years Served the office 1811, Total Acres 303½§ §William Seale Senr.: Years Served the office 1811, Total Acres 263¼§ §John Robinson: Years Served the office 1811, Total Acres 253½§ §Francis Seales Estate: Years Served the office 1812, Total Acres 250§ §Frederick Alexander: Years Served the office 1812, Total Acres 238§	A list of estates set out the order in which they were to supply overseers of the highways, with the year each had served. Dead Wood Society, 303½ acres, served 1811 William Seale senior, 263¼ acres, served 1811 John Robinson, 255¾ acres, served 1811 Francis Seale's estate, 250 acres, served 1812 Frederick Alexander, 238 acres, served 1812 Richard Mason's estate, 207¾ acres, served 1809 John Alexander senior, 200¼ acres, served 1812 Samuel Knipe, 199¼ acres, served 1813 John Doveton's orphans, 190¼ acres, served 1810 Thomas Ailesworth, 169½ acres, served 1813 William Pierce, 169¼ acres, served 1809

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		§Richard Masons Estate: Years Served the office 1809, Total Acres 207¾§ §John Alexander Senr.: Years Served the office 1812, Total Acres 200½§ §Samuel Knipe: Years Served the office 1813, Total Acres 199½§ §John Dovetons Orphans: Years Served the office 1810, Total Acres 190¼§ §Thomas Ailesworth: Years Served the office 1813, Total Acres 169½§ §William Pierie: Years Served the office 1809, Total Acres 169¼§ §Sarah Harper: Years Served the office 1809, Total Acres 164§ §Richard Torbett: Years Served the office 1813, Total Acres 158½§ §Edward E. Smith: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 153¾§ §John Bagley: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 144½§ §Bottoms Society: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 140§ §William W. Doveton: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 124½§ §Richard Knipes Orphans: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 123§ §Thomas Greentree: Years Served the office 1815, Total Acres 1[...]§ §Watkin Greentree [...]: Years Served the office 1815, Total Acres 110§ §George Leech [...]: Years Served the office 1815, Total Acres 110§ §James Masons Estate [...]: Years Served the office 1816, Total Acres 109½§ §George Alexander Orphans: Years Served the office 1817, Total Acres 106½§ §Thomas Bagley: Years Served the office 1817, Total Acres 106§ §Thomas H. Brooke: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 103¾§ §James Cocks: Years Served the office 1810, Total Acres 94½§ §Charles Sampson: Years Served the office 1810, Total Acres 92½§ §William Wranghams Estate: Years Served the office 1818, Total Acres 91§ §Ann Young: Years Served the office 1818, Total Acres 85½§ §John Desfountains Orphans: Years Served the office 1818, Total Acres 84§ §Sarah Pritchard now A. Becher: Years Served the office 1819, Total Acres 78½§ §Elizabeth Desfountain: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 78§ §David Kay Senr.: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 77§ §Mary Wright now Mrs. [...]: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 72§ §John Desfountain: Years Served the office 1820, Total Acres 67½§ §John Ley Junr.: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 61½§ §Robert Leech: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 61§ §John Alexander Junr.: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 59§ §Richard H. Leech: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 55½§ §Aaron Lambe: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 55½§ §John A. Wright Jos. Desfountain & Richd. H. Leech: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 45§ §John Mason now Jos. Cole: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 44§ §John C. Dunn: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 40½§	Sarah Harper, 164 acres, served 1809 Richard Torbett, 158½ acres, served 1813 Edward C. Smith, 153¾ acres John Bagley, 144½ acres Botley's Society, 140 acres William W. Doveton, 124½ acres Richard Knipe's orphans, 123 acres Thomas Greentree, 118½ acres, served 1815 Watkin Greentree, 110 acres, served 1816 George Leech, 110 acres, served 1815 James Mason's estate, 109½ acres, served 1816 George Alexander's orphans, 106¾ acres, served 1817 Thomas Bagley, 106 acres, served 1817 Thomas H. Brooke, 103¼ acres James Cocks, 94¼ acres, served 1810 Charles Sampson, 92½ acres, served 1810 William Wrangham's estate, 91 acres, served 1818 Ann Young, 85¾ acres, served 1818 John Desfountain's orphans, 84 acres, served 1818 Sarah Pritchard, now [...] Beale, 78¾ acres Elizabeth Desfountain, 78 acres, served 1819 David Kay senior, 77 acres Mary Wright, now [...] Torbett, 72 acres John Desfountain, 67¼ acres, served 1820 John Legg senior, 6[...] acres Robert Leech, 61 acres John Alexander junior, 59 acres Richard H. Leech, 56¾ acres Aaron Lambe, 50¼ acres John A. Wright, J. Desfountain and Richard H. Leech jointly, 45 acres John Mason, now Joseph Cole, 44 acres John C. Dunn, 40½ acres Richard Mason, 38½ acres William Lane, 36½ acres William Julio's estate, 34 acres Richard Wells, 33½ acres Onesiphorus Beale, 32½ acres Charles Scott, 32 acres Richard Bagley, 30¾ acres Richard Barker, 30 acres John A. Wright, 27½ acres William Seale junior's estate, 20 acres William Brabazon, 20 acres Andrew Braid, 20 acres William Balcombe, 19½ acres Benjamin Mason, 17½ acres John Seale's estate, 17 acres Saul Solomon, 15½ acres Thomas Burnham's orphans, 14½ acres Ellis Hayward, 12 acres John Barnes, 1[...] acres Samuel Young, 10 acres Frederick Young, 10 acres Mary Yawn, 8 acres Richard Goodwin's estate, 4½ acres Charles R. G. Hodson, 4 acres Jacob Rich, 4 acres Susan, a free woman, 4 acres James George, a free man, 4 acres Billy, a free man, 4 acres Valentia Isaacs, 4 acres Joe Willems, 4 acres Sarah Worrall, 2 acres Sarah Yawn, 2 acres John Burnham, 24½ acres **Interpretations** This later copy of the rota shows the system in use for about a decade, with service years running from 1809 to 1820. It was not followed strictly in order of size. Richard Mason's estate served in 1809, and the larger Dead Wood Society and the William Seale estate not until 1811. That suggests the vestry

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		§Richard Mason: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 38½§ §William Lane: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 36½§ §William Jollis Estate: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 34§ §Richard Wills: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 33½§ §Onesiphorus Beale: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 32½§ §Charles Scott: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 32§ §Richard Bagley: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 30¾§ §Richard Barker: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 30§ §John A. Wright: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 27½§ §William Seale Junr. Estate: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 20§ §William Brabazon: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 20§ §Andrew Braid: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 20§ §William Balcombe: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 19½§ §Benjamin Mason: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 17½§ §John Seales Estate: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 17§ §Saul Solomon: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 15½§ §Thomas Burnhams Orphans: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 14½§ §Ellis Hayward: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 12§ §John Barnes: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 11¾§ §Samuel Young: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 10§ §Frederick Young: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 10§ §Mary Yawn: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 8§ §Richd. Goodwin Estate: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 4½§ §Chas. R. G. Hodson: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 4§ §Jacob Leech: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 4§ §Susan (Free): Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 4§ §James George (Free): Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 4§ §Billy (Free): Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 4§ §Valentia Isaacke: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 4§ §Joe Mittons: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 4§ §Sarah Worrall: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 2§ §Sarah Yawn: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 2§ §John Burnham: Years Served the office 0, Total Acres 24¼§	adjusted the order for vacancies, deaths or estates already serving in other offices. Changes of ownership were added beside the names, so that John Mason's land, for example, was recorded as passing to Joseph Cole. The overseer's duty followed the land into the new owner's hands. The Dead Wood Society and Botley's Society held 303½ and 140 acres respectively and were listed with private owners. They were partnerships or companies holding land in common, and the duty to supply an overseer fell on them as a body. The bottom of the list included free blacks with four-acre plots alongside the smallest white holders. Being liable for the same duty as other landowners recognised their land as property, at a time when the vestry was trying to bind landless free blacks into service.
350	341	[Staining along the right edge of the page and a stain at the foot of the page.] November 18th. 1811§ §At a Vestry held this Day at the Chapel in James's Valley§ §Mr. Onisephorous Beale was elected to serve the office of Worner in§ §place of Charles Scott, who objected to it, having perform'd that duty in 1809§ §and Capt. Jno. Barnes was elected an Inspector of Sheep & Goats in place§ §of Capt. John Alexander Deceas'd -§ §Approved by the Governor & Council§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley on 18 November 1811. It elected Mr Onesiphorus Beale as wormer of cattle in place of Charles Scott, who had objected because he had already done that duty in 1809. It elected Captain John Barnes as an inspector of sheep and goats in place of Captain John Alexander, who had died. The Governor and Council approved both elections. **Interpretations** Charles Scott was excused because he had served as wormer in 1809, only two years earlier. The vestry accepted that one turn of service in a few years was a fair limit and passed the duty to someone who had

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			not yet served. The same principle lay behind the rotation of overseers by estate. In this way the burden of unpaid office was spread across the inhabitants in turn and did not fall repeatedly on the same men.
351	342	[Light staining around the edges of the page and a stain at the lower right corner.] 1811 - Parish Dr.§ §£ . S . D§ §June 30th. x To Cash paid for the Maintenance of Morans Child 91 Days§ §4 . 11 . 0§ §- " the Sextons Yearly Salary§ §15 . 0 . 0§ §- " Charles Scawell Organist for 2½ Months (ends July 17th.)§ §3 . 2 . 3¼§ §April 21st. 1812 - " Joseph Chaplain his Yearly Salary as Clerk Fish Market§ §20 . 0§ §" " David Kay Senr. his Annual Medical Bill (due Apl. 7th. 1811)§ §21 . 0 . 0§ §" " 1 Hair Broom 34 yds. Osnaburg Country Church§ §9 . 9§ §" " Molly Stowe for Washing Surplices &c. (to June 30th. 1811)§ §2 . 10 . 0§ §" " Thomas Doherty for Painting Country Church roof§ §10 . 0 . 0§ §" " Do. Do. Windows, Door & Gates§ §4 . 0 . 0§ §" x Cash paid for Maintenance of Morans Child to March 31st. 12 (275 Days)§ §13 . 15 . 0§ §" " Trimming the Pall with white Silk§ §5§ §" " John Singleton for making the Return of Free Blacks§ §3 . 0 . 0§ §" " David Kay Senr. his Annual Medical Bill (due Apl. 7th. 1812)§ §21 . 0 . 0§ §" " John Singleton for Collecting the Poll Tax 5 Pct. on £183 .14 . 3§ §9 . 3 . 6§ §£127 . 16 . 9§ §Balance due the Parish§ §163 . 16 . 8½§ §£291 . 13 . 5¼§ §Received the above Balance of £163.16.8½ from§ §W. W. Cole late Church Warden, being the balance of the Parish Books§ §April 30th. 1812§ §J. A. Wright§ §Church Warden§	The parish account for 1811 and 1812 recorded the following payments. 30 June 1811, cash paid for the maintenance of Moran's child for 91 days, £4 11s 0d The sexton's yearly salary, £15 0s 0d Charles Scavell, organist, for 2½ months ending 17 July, £3 2s 5¾d 21 April 1812, Joseph Chaplain, his yearly salary as clerk of the fish market, £20 0s 0d David Kay senior, his annual medical bill, due 7 April 1811, £21 0s 0d A hair broom and 4 yards of osnaburg for the country church, £0 9s 9d Molly Stowe for washing surplices and other items, to 30 June 1811, £2 10s 0d Thomas Doherty for painting the roof of the country church, £10 0s 0d Thomas Doherty for painting the windows, door and gates, £4 0s 0d Cash paid for the maintenance of Moran's child to 31 March 1812, 275 days, £13 15s 0d Trimming the pall with white silk, £0 5s 0d John Singleton for making the return of free blacks, £3 0s 0d David Kay senior, his annual medical bill, due 7 April 1812, £21 0s 0d John Singleton for collecting the poll tax, at 5 per cent on £183 14s 3d, £9 3s 6d Total, £127 16s 9d Balance due to the parish, £163 16s 8½d Total, £291 13s 5½d J. A. Wright, churchwarden, acknowledged on 30 April 1812 that he had received the balance of £163 16s 8½d from T. J. Cole, the former churchwarden, as the balance of the parish books. **Interpretations** Moran's child had been kept by the parish at 1s a day without a break since April 1809. In three years that came to more than £50 0s 0d, the largest single charge for relief in the account. The father had been paid in 1809 to draw up the list of free blacks. The register of free blacks was now made by the sexton, John Singleton, for £3 0s 0d. The vestry used its own servants for the work that the police measures of 1809 required. The clerk of the fish market was now paid £20 0s 0d a year, half the £40 0s 0d of 1810. In May 1811 the Governor and Council stopped the premiums to the fishing boats as having done no general good. With the Company's attempts to lower the price of fish abandoned, the parish cut the clerk's pay to match the smaller duties of the post.
352	343	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] 1811 - Pr. Contra Cr.§ §£ . S . D§ §April 30th. By Cash Received from Chas. Hodson Esqr. the late Church Warden§ §54 . 19 . 2½§ §" Poll Tax - 1633 Persons @ 2/3 Pr. Hd.§ §183 . 14 . 3§ §April 30th. 1812 " One Half of the Dog Tax from the Clerk of the Peace§ §53 . 0 . 0§ §£291 . 13 . 5¼§	The credit side of the parish account for 1811 and 1812 recorded the following receipts. 30 April 1811, cash received from Charles Hodson Esquire, the former churchwarden, £54 19s 2½d Poll tax on 1,633 persons at 2s 3d each, £183 14s 3d 30 April 1812, half of the dog tax, from the clerk of the peace, £53 0s 0d Total, £291 13s 5½d **Interpretations** The parish now received only half of the dog tax, paid through the clerk of the peace. In 1808 the whole dog tax had come through the treasurer of the widows' fund. Splitting it suggests the other half was now kept for the widows' fund, which the vestry had been trying to build up since 1793. The parish gave up part of a regular source of income to support a

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			fund for the widows of the island's families. The poll tax counted 1,633 persons in 1811, about 200 fewer than in 1810. The difference probably reflects departures, deaths and households dropped from the roll.
353	344	Blank page	
354	345	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] St. Helena 3d. March 1812§ §Ditto Poll Tax ordered by Vestry at 2/3 Pr. Head 13th. Apl. 1812§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Thomas Ailesworth: No. of Heads 26, £ 2, s 18, d 6§ §John Alexander Senr.: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 11, d 9§ §John Alexander Junr.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §Fredk. Alexander: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Geo. Alexanders Orph.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §Thomas Adams: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Solomon Arreste: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Baldwick: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Bazett: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Samuel Bazett: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Benj. Bagleys Orph.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Charles Blake: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Onisiphorus Beales Orph.: No. of Heads [...], £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §John Bagley: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Thomas Bagley: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 18, d 3§ §Richd. Bagley: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §Mary Bagley Senr.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Mary Bagley Junr.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Thomas Burnhams Orph.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §John Burnside: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Samuel Burnham: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Thomas H. Brooke: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Richd. Barker: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §William Pitt: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §William Brabazon: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §Andrew Braid: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §William Balcombe: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §John Barnes: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Henry Bazetts Estate: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §Ann Broadway: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §James Bagley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Robt. Bagley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Adam Baildon: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §Edwd. Banks: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §George Blenkins: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Henry Broadway: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Thomas Bennett: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §John Bott: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Geo. Bateman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Geo. Bowman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §James Bickerton: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Total: No. of Heads 305, £ 34, s 6, d 3§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 305, £ 34, s 6, d 3§ §Thomas Coles Orphans: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Thomas Cole: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §James Cocks: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 18, d 3§ §Henry Cole: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Susannah Chamberlain: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §Thomas Carr: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Jonas Cooper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas O'Connor: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§ §Geo. McChadwick: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Leonard Chippendale: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Jos. Chaplain: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Robt. Creed: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Samuel Cooper: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Mark Constantine: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Chantry: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§	The poll tax ordered by the vestry at 2s 3d a head was recorded at St Helena under the date 15 April 1811. Thomas Ailesworth, 26 heads, £2 18s 6d John Alexander senior, 23 heads, £2 11s 9d John Alexander junior, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d Frederick Alexander, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d George Alexander's orphans, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d Thomas Adams, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Solomon Arrest, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Baldwick, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Bazett, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Samuel Bazett, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Benjamin Bagley's orphans, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Charles Blake, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Onesiphorus Beale's orphans, [...] John Bagley, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Thomas Bagley, 17 heads, £1 18s 3d Richard Bagley, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d Mary Bagley senior, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Mary Bagley junior, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Thomas Burnham's orphans, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d John Burnside, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Samuel Burnham, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Thomas H. Brooke, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d Richard Barker, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d William Bell, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William Brabazon, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d Andrew Braid, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d William Balcombe, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d John Barnes, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Henry Bazett's estate, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d Ann Broadway, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d James Bayley, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Robert Bayley, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Adam Baildon, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d Edward Banks, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d George Blinkins, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Henry Broadway, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Thomas Bennett, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d John Bott, 1 head, £0 2s 3d George Bateman, 1 head, £0 2s 3d George Bowman, 1 head, £0 2s 3d James Birkwick, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Carried forward, 305 heads, £34 6s 3d Brought forward, 305 heads, £34 6s 3d Thomas Cole's orphans, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Thomas Cole, 20 heads, £2 5s 0d James Cocks, 17 heads, £1 18s 3d Henry Cole, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Susannah Chamberlain, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d Thomas Carr, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Jonas Cooper, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas O'Connor, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d George Chadwick, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Leonard Chippindale, 1 head, £0 2s 3d J. Chaplain, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Robert Cecil, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Samuel Cooper, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Mark Constantine, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Chantry, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Richard Cureton, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Silas Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Clarke, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Daniel Colwell, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William Webber Doveton, 35 heads, £3 18s 9d John Doveton's orphans, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d

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		§Richd. Everton: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §Silas Clarke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Clarke: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §James Clarke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Daniel Colcott: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Clarke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §W. W. Doveton: No. of Heads 35, £ 3, s 18, d 9§ §John Dovetons Orphs.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Gabl. Doveton: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 11, d 9§ §John Desfountains Orphs.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §John C. Dunn: No. of Heads 31, £ 3, s 9, d 9§ §John Dring: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Andw. Dentaffe's Orphs.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §John Doyle: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §William Dawes: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §James Dixon: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §John Delamore: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Lucas Euly: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Robert Eager: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §William Everton: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Thomas Ford: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §John Goodwin Junr. Orph.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Thomas Greentree Senr.: No. of Heads 32, £ 3, s 12, d 0§ §Watkin Greentree: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Mary Griffiths: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Total: No. of Heads 616, £ 69, s 6, d 0§	Gabriel Doveton, 23 heads, £2 11s 9d John Desfountain's orphans, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d John C. Dunn, 31 heads, £3 9s 9d John Dring, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Ann Dentaffe's orphans, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d John Doyle, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William Daws, 1 head, £0 2s 3d James Dixon, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d John Delamore, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Lucas Euley, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Robert Eager, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d William Everton, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Ford, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d John Goodwin junior's orphans, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Greentree senior, 33 heads, £3 14s 3d Watkin Greentree, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Mary Griffiths, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d Carried forward, 616 heads, £69 6s 0d
355	346	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. ford.: No. of Heads 616, £ 69, s 6, d 0§ §Eleanor Gurling: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Thomas Green: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Thomas Goff: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §C. R. G. Hodson: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Benjn. Hodson: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Robt. Hodsons Orph.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Danl. Hamilton: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Robt. Hayes: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Ann Hunter: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Ellis Hayward: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 18, d 3§ §Sarah Harper: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§ §James Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Hawes: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Frederick Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Edmund Howse: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §William Hale: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas P. Hollis: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §John Honeymoon: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Henry Hammond: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Esther Isaac: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Elisha Isaac: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Joseph Jackes: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §William Jollis Estate: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Samuel Jones: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Valentia Isaac: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Alexr. Isaac: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §James Jennings: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Samuel Knipe: No. of Heads 40, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §Richd. Knipes Orph.: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §William Knipe: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §John Knipe: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Mary Knipe Senr.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §David Kinnaird: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Nathl. Kennedys Orph.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §David Kay Senr.: No. of Heads 40, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §David Kay Junr.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §John Kay: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Robt. Leech: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Geo. Leech: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 2, d 9§ §Thomas Lester: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§	The poll tax at 2s 3d a head continued as follows. Brought forward, 616 heads, £69 6s 0d Eleanor Gurling, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d Thomas Green, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 2s 3d C. R. G. Hodson, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d Benjamin Hodson, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Robert Hodson's orphans, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Daniel Hamilton, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Robert Hayes, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d Ann Hunter, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Ellis Hayward, 17 heads, £1 18s 3d Sarah Harper, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d James Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Hawes, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Frederick Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Edmund Hawes, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d William Hall, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas P. Hollis, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Henry Hammond, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Alfred Isaacs, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Elisha Isaacs, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Joseph Jacks, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d William Julio's estate, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d Samuel Jones, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Victoria Isaacs, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Alexander Isaacs, 1 head, £0 2s 3d James Jennings, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Samuel Knipe, 40 heads, £4 10s 0d Richard Knipe's orphans, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d William Knipe, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d John Knipe, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Mary Knipe junior, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d David Kinnaird, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d David Kay senior, 40 heads, £4 10s 0d David Kay junior, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d John Kay, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Robert Leech, 20 heads, £2 5s 0d George Leech, 19 heads, £2 2s 9d Thomas Lester, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d John Legg senior, 17 heads, £1 18s 3d Aaron Lambe, 22 heads, £2 9s 6d G. W. Lambe, 1 head, £0 2s 3d

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		§John Ley Senr.: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 18, d 3§ §Aaron Lamb: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 9, d 6§ §G. W. Lamb: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Total: No. of Heads 1009, £ 112, s 14, d 6§ §Brot. ford.: No. of Heads 1009, £ 112, s 14, d 6§ §Joseph Mellish: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Richd. Masons Orph.: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 2, d 9§ §John Mason: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §James Masons Estate: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §Benjn. Mason: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Mary Muchant: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Ann Mills Estate: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Thomas McRitchie: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Dougle McDougle: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Geo. Mead: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Geo. Moran: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §David Moody: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §William Matthewson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Newton: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §William Oliver: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §William Pierie: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 0, d 9§ §William Pyle: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Henry Pontins: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Harriet Price: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §James Pritchards Orph.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Sarah Pritchard: No. of Heads 29, £ 3, s 5, d 3§ §Eleanor Pritchard: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §G. L. Phillips: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Parkers Estate: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Henry Pritchard: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §James Ross: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §John Robinson: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §Ann Roberts: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §John Roberts: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §Lawrence Rhodes: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Fredk. Rotenback: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Samuel Robinson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Sarah Rennie: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §John E. Shortis: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Thos. Stratherns Orph.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §William Seale Senr.: No. of Heads 39, £ 4, s 7, d 9§ §John Seales Estate: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 0, d 6§ §Robert Strathern: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Edwd. E. Smith: No. of Heads 29, £ 3, s 5, d 3§ §Chas. Sampson: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§ §Mary Shirley: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §John Scott: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Chas. Scott: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Total: No. of Heads 1579, £ 155, s 9, d 9§	Carried forward, 1,009 heads, £112 14s 6d Brought forward, 1,002 heads, £112 14s 6d Joseph Mellish, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Richard Mason's orphans, 19 heads, £2 2s 9d John Mason, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d James Mason's estate, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d Benjamin Mason, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Margaret Merchant, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Moses Mills's estate, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Thomas McRitchie, 14 heads, £1 11s 6d Dougal McDougal, 1 head, £0 2s 3d George Mead, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d George Moran, 1 head, £0 2s 3d David Moody, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William Matthewson, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Newton, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d William Olive, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William Pierce, 27 heads, £3 0s 9d William Pithie, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Henry Porteous, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Harriet Paige, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d James Pritchard's orphans, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Sarah Pritchard, 29 heads, £3 5s 3d Eleanor Pritchard, 12 heads, £1 7s 0d G. L. Phillips, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d John Perkins's estate, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Henry Pritchard, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d James Pope, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d John Robinson, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d Ann Roberts, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d John Rooks, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Lawrence Rourke, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Frederick Richenbach, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Sarah Rimmer, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d John C. Shirtley, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Statham's orphans, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d William Seale senior, 39 heads, £4 7s 9d John Seale's estate, 18 heads, £2 0s 6d Robert Statham, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Edward C. Smith, 29 heads, £3 5s 3d Charles Sampson, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d Mary Shirtley, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d John Scott, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Charles Scott, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Carried forward, 1,379 heads, £155 9s 9d The clerk carried 1,009 heads forward from the first column but entered 1,002 at the head of the second.
356	347	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. ford.: No. of Heads 1379, £ 155, s 2, d 9§ §Joseph Steward: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Robt. Seale: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §John Smith: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Thomas Storey: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §William Singleton: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Saul Solomon: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 7, d 3§ §James Stirling: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Joshua Sanders: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §William Stark: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John Stevens: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Frans. Seale: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Elizth. Stanley: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §John Slater: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §A. A. Seale: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Thompson: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §William Tracey: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 9, d 3§ §John Taylor Junr.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Richd. Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §John Burnham: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §John Desfountain: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 13, d 9§	The poll tax roll at 2s 3d a head continued, and its last section ended with the total. Brought forward, 1,379 heads, £155 2s 9d Joseph Stewart, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d Robert Seale, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d John Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Thomas Storey, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d William Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Saul Solomon, 21 heads, £2 7s 3d James Stirling, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Joshua Saunders, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d William Stark, 1 head, £0 2s 3d John Stevens, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Francis Seale, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d Elizabeth Stanley, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d John Slater, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d A. A. Seale, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d John Thompson, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d William Tracey, 13 heads, £1 9s 3d John Taylor junior, 4 heads, £0 9s 0d Richard Thomas, 2 heads, £0 4s 6d John Burnham, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d John Desfountain, 15 heads, £1 13s 9d Carried forward, 1,493 heads, £167 19s 3d

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		§Total: No. of Heads 1493, £ 167, s 19, d 3§ §Brot. ford.: No. of Heads 1493, £ 167, s 19, d 3§ §James Torbett: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Richd. Torbett: No. of Heads 16, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §John Taylor Senr.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 6, d 9§ §Thomas Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §James Unsworth: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §William Woodward: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Robert Wright: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Jos. Whratty: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Mary Wright: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §John A. Wright: No. of Heads 17, £ 1, s 18, d 3§ §Wranghams Estate: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Chas. Weston: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 15, d 9§ §Richd. Wills: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 4, d 9§ §Andrew Wilson: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 0, d 3§ §Ann Youngs Estate: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Arnold Young: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 2, d 9§ §James Yeude: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Stephen Youngs Estate: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 11, d 3§ §James Lowden: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §William Lane: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §[...]: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 3§ §Total: No. of Heads 1633, £ 183, s 14, d 3§	Brought forward, 1,493 heads, £167 19s 3d James Tibbett, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d Richard Torbett, 16 heads, £1 16s 0d John Taylor senior, 3 heads, £0 6s 9d Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 2s 3d James Unsworth, 1 head, £0 2s 3d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Robert Wright, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Joseph Wheatley, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Mary Wright, 17 heads, £1 18s 3d John A. Wright, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Wrangham's estate, 7 heads, £0 15s 9d Charles Weston, 11 heads, £1 4s 9d Richard Wells, 9 heads, £1 0s 3d Andrew Wilson, 8 heads, £0 18s 0d Ann Young's estate, 19 heads, £2 2s 9d Amoret Young, 6 heads, £0 13s 6d James Youde, 5 heads, £0 11s 3d Stephen Young's estate, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d James Lowden, 10 heads, £1 2s 6d William Lane, 1 head, £0 2s 3d Total, 1,633 heads, £183 14s 3d The figure brought forward at the top of this page was £155 2s 9d, while the previous page had carried forward £155 9s 9d.
357	348	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] Saint Helena March 30th. 1812 -§ §At a Vestry Held this at the Chapel in James's Valley, the§ §following Gentlemen were chosen to serve as Parish officers -§ §Sheriffs§ §Jno. De Fountain Esqr.§ §George Leech - Esqr.§ §John Mason - Esqr.§ §Church Wardens§ §Thomas McRitchie§ §Inspectors of Sheep & Goats§ §John Knipe§ §Samuel Jones§ §Stephen Young§ §Overseers of Highways§ §Francis Seales Estate§ §Frederick Alexander§ §John Alexander Senr.§ §Constables§ §John Taylor Jnr.§ §Solomon Arreste§ §Worners of Cattle§ §John Bagley§ §Thomas Hollis§ §William Balcombe§ §The following Remark accompanied the Vestry Proceedings, from the Church§ §Wardens, to the Governor & Council -§ §The Church Wardens beg leave to remark to Your Worshipful§ §Board that they conceive several of the Persons chosen in this day to serve§ §in the Parish offices to be improperly and unfairly selected, and would re-§ §commend that a Committee would be chosen by the Vestry to class the§ §Inhabitants, by which means the offices would be justly filled & we conceive§ §the Public would derive benefit therefrom -§ §(Signd.) W. W. Cole§ §J. A. Wright§ §Church Wardens§ §The following Letter was received April 6th. 1812 - Addressed to the Church Wardens§ §and laid before the Governor & Council -§ §To. T. J. B. Cole and J. A. Wright Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens -§ §Gentlemen,§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 30 March 1812 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: John Desfountain Esquire George Leech Esquire John Mason Esquire Churchwarden: Thomas McRitchie Inspectors of sheep and goats: John Knipe Samuel Jones Stephen Young Overseers of the highways: Francis Seale's estate Frederick Alexander John Alexander senior Constables: John Taylor junior Solomon Arrest Wormers of cattle: John Bagley Thomas Hollis William Balcombe The churchwardens sent the following remarks to the Governor and Council with the vestry's proceedings. They considered that several of the people chosen that day for parish offices had been chosen improperly and unfairly. They recommended that the vestry choose a committee to classify the inhabitants, so that the offices would be filled fairly and the public would benefit. T. J. Cole and J. A. Wright signed as churchwardens. The following letter was received on 6 April 1812, addressed to the churchwardens, and laid before the Governor and Council. The writers, wishing to clear themselves of any part in the extraordinary proceedings of the last vestry, recorded their firm disapproval of measures they considered unfair and improper. They asked the churchwardens to put their views before the Governor and Council. They signed at St Helena on 3 April 1812. **Interpretations** The outgoing churchwardens complained directly to the Governor and Council about their own vestry's elections, a step not seen before in the book. They proposed a committee to classify the inhabitants. That would mean dividing householders into ranks, with each rank liable for particular offices, so the vestry could no longer simply vote unwelcome

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		§We the undersigned with a view to exculpate ourselves from any§ §share in the extraordinary proceedings of the last Vestry, beg leave to express§ §our decided disapprobation of measures, which we conceive unfair and§ §improper And we request you will lay these our Sentiments before the§ §Governor & Council.§ §We are§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena April 3. 1812.§ §Your Obdt. Servants§	posts onto men it wished to burden. The rota of 1802 and the acreage list of 1808 had been designed to stop exactly this. The protest shows the old abuse returning when officers were again chosen by open vote. The letter from inhabitants who wished to "clear themselves" of the proceedings shows that the vestry had split. A majority on the day had pushed through choices that a minority, perhaps including the men chosen, regarded as unfair. Both sides appealed to the Council. The vestry could no longer settle its own disputes, so the government became the final judge of parish elections.
358	349	[Light staining around the edges of the page.] (Signed) Jno. De Fountain§ §W. Brabazon§ §B. A. Wright§ §Edwd. E. Smith§ §G. Blenkins§ §H. W. Pritchard§ §Wm. Knipe§ §J. Cruickshank§ §A. Wilson§ §H. Pontins§ §G. Doveton§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Davd. Kay Junr.§ §C. R. G. Hodson§ §R. H. Leech§ §John Kay§ §G. Hodson§ §Davd. Kinnaird§ §Davd. Kay Senr.§ §Thos. Greentree Junr.§ §Jno. Mason - C. Sampson§ §The following Letter and Extract was received from the Govt. Secy.§ §To Thos. Cole and J. A. Wright Esqrs. Church Wardens -§ §Gentlemen,§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to acknowledge§ §the receipt of the Proceedings of a Vestry held on the 30th. Ultimo and§ §to inclose a Copy of their Resolution of this date for the guidance of a-§ §nother Vestry, which you are hereby directed to assemble on Monday§ §next the 13th. Inst. -§ §(Signd.) T. H. Brooke Secy.§ §6th. April 1812§ §Extract from Consultation, dated the 6th. April 1812 -§ §The Board are concerned to observe that the very extraordinary§ §and highly reprehensible Proceedings of a Vestry held on the 30th. March§ §should have excited so much opposition, and occasioned such a violent§ §appeal from the Revd. Mr. Jones - Upon the whole of these Proceedings§ §the Governor & Council deem it unnecessary to make any Comments§ §but in order effectually to prevent the recurrence of such irregularities -§ §it is resolved that in future the election of all Parish Officers shall be§ §made by a Committee of 7 or 9 Persons composed collectively of Companys§ §Servants, Landholders, and respectable Merchants. This Committee to be§ §chosen by the Parishioners, and the Board concur in the recommendation§ §of the present Church Warden, that the Parishioners shall be classed§	The following inhabitants signed the letter. John Desfountain W. Brabazon B. A. Wright Edward C. Smith G. Blinkins H. W. Pritchard W. Knipe J. Cruickshank A. Wilson H. Porteous G. Doveton Thomas H. Brooke David Kay junior C. R. G. Hodson R. H. Leech John Kay G. Hodson David Kinnaird David Kay senior Thomas Greentree junior John Mason C. Sampson The following letter and extract were received from the government secretary. T. H. Brooke, secretary, wrote to Thomas Cole and J. A. Wright Esquires, churchwardens, on 6 April 1812. He had been told by the Governor and Council to acknowledge receipt of the proceedings of the vestry held on 30 March. He enclosed a copy of their resolution of that day to guide another vestry, which the churchwardens were to call for Monday the 13th. An extract from the consultation of 6 April 1812 followed. The Board was concerned that the very unusual and highly objectionable proceedings of the vestry of 30 March had caused so much opposition and led to such a strong appeal from the Reverend Mr Jones. The Governor and Council saw no need to comment on the proceedings as a whole. To prevent anything like them happening again, they resolved that in future all parish officers would be elected by a committee of seven or nine people, made up of Company servants, landholders and respectable merchants together. The parishioners would choose this committee. The Board also agreed with the present churchwardens' recommendation that the parishioners should be classified as they had suggested, and resolved that this method would be followed in future. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, certified the extract. **Interpretations** The Governor and Council took the choice of parish officers out of the open vestry altogether. In future a committee of seven or nine, drawn from Company servants, landholders and respectable merchants, would make the appointments, and the parishioners would only choose the committee. After the disputed elections of 1802 and the protests of 1812, the government ended voting for officers by the whole body of ratepayers. Power over parish appointments passed to a small group from the

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		§in the manner they have suggested - and have therefore resolved§ §that this mode shall be adhered to in future§ §True Extract (Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§	island's propertied and official classes. The classification of inhabitants recommended by the churchwardens would decide which ranks were liable for which offices, so the parish's officers would be chosen by a select body. The signatories who disowned the vestry's proceedings included the Governor's own secretary, Thomas H. Brooke, the leading doctors and several former churchwardens. The Reverend Mr Jones's strong appeal suggests the chaplain was among those burdened or slighted by the elections. The men who stood to lose under the old system belonged to the same official and propertied group that would make up the new committee.
359	350	April 13th. 1812.§ §At a Vestry held this day at the Chapel in James's Valley the fore-§ §going Letter and Extract were read -§ §The Vestry resolved that the Committee recommended to class the Inhabitants§ §should consist of Nine members, and the following Gentlemen were elected -§ §Mr. David Kay Senr. - Gabriel Doveton - Charles Hodson§ §" William Seale Senr. - Richard Leech - Thomas Bagley§ §" John Ley Senr. - Thomas Connor - John Bagley -§ §To.§ §Thomas J. B. Cole and J. A. Wright Esquires§ §Church Warden§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to inform you§ §that they approve of the Committee elected by the Vestry, for the purpose of§ §classing the Inhabitants for the performance of the Country and Parish Duties -§ §The Governor & Council desire that the Committee will take§ §into consideration the expediency of appointing to the office of Wormen of Cattle, such§ §Free blacks, or other poor people as may have experience in the managing of§ §Stock, and that they should receive a fee of at least Three pence for each§ §Worm, levied as a fine upon the Proprietors of those Cattle on which the Worms§ §may be found -§ §The Governor and Council will Pay due attention to the§ §Suggestions of the Committee, upon this or any other Subject, connected with the§ §Duties of a Vestry§ §(Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§ §St. Helena§ §April 13th.§ §1812 -§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley on 13 April 1812, and the earlier letter and extract were read to it. The vestry resolved that the committee recommended for classifying the inhabitants should have nine members, and elected the following. Mr David Kay senior Mr William Seale senior Mr John Legg senior Gabriel Doveton Richard Leech Thomas O'Connor Charles Hodson Thomas Bagley John Bagley Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote at St Helena on 13 April 1812 to Thomas J. B. Cole and J. A. Wright Esquires, churchwardens. On the Governor and Council's instructions, he told them that the Governor and Council approved the committee the vestry had elected to classify the inhabitants for county and parish duties. The Governor and Council asked the committee to consider whether free blacks, or other poor people with experience in managing livestock, should be appointed wormers of cattle. Such wormers would be paid a fee of at least 3d for each worm found, charged as a fine on the owner of the cattle in which it was found. The Governor and Council would give proper attention to the committee's suggestions on this or any other subject connected with the duties of the vestry. **Interpretations** The Governor and Council proposed giving the post of wormer to free blacks and other poor people with experience of livestock, and paying them by results. The wormers had always been unpaid planters taking a turn, and planters had tried to escape the duty, as Charles Scott did in 1811. Paying a fee of 3d for every worm found, charged to the cattle's owner, would make the work worth a poor man's while and give him a reason to be thorough. It would also take an unpopular duty off the planters. Free blacks had been under police scrutiny since 1809 for having no visible means of living, and this offered them paid employment instead of compulsory service with a master. The planters, as owners of the cattle, would bear the cost of any neglect.
360	351	[Light staining along the upper and left edges of the page.] 1812 - Dr. the Parish§ §£ . S . D§ §June 30th. To Cash Paid Molly Stowe for Washing Surplices (One Year)§ §5 . 0 . 0§ §" " Charles Scawell, Organist, One Qrs. Saly. May 24th. to Augt. 24th.§ §3 . 15 . 0§ §Augt. 24th. x a Coffin for Mary June a free Woman§ §1 . 10 . 0§	The parish account for 1812 and 1813 recorded the following payments. 30 June 1812, cash paid to Molly Stowe for washing surplices for one year, £5 0s 0d Charles Scavell, organist, one quarter's salary from 24 May to 24 August, £3 15s 0d 24 August, a coffin for Mary June, a free woman, £1 10s 0d The chaplain for burying the same, £0 15s 0d 1 April 1813, the sexton's salary for one year, £15 0s 0d

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		§1813 " x Chaplains for Burying Do.§ §15§ §Apl. 1st. " Sextons Salary for One Year§ §15§ §21st. " Clerk of Fish Market Do.§ §20§ §" x " Maintenance of Morans Child from Apl. 1st. 12 to March 31st. 1813§ §16 . 18§ §" " One Doz. Madeira for Old Mary Midwife§ §3 . 10§ §" " J. Singleton for descriptive Roll of free Blacks§ §3§ §" " 1 pr. Hinges 1/6, Screws 3d. Two & days Work 17/- C. Church§ §" Church Wardens Guide - 4/9§ §1 . 0 . 3§ §£70 . 8 . 3§ §Balance Due the Parish§ §150 . 18 . 2½§ §£221 . 6 . 5½§ §1812 - Pr. Contra Cr.§ §£ . S . D§ §April 30th. By balance from Thos. Cole Esqr. late Church Warden§ §163 . 16 . 8½§ §" Amount of Dog Tax for 1812. from Clerk of Peace§ §57 . 9 . 9§ §£221 . 6 . 5½§ §Received from J. A. Wright Esqr. late§ §Church Warden the above Balance of £150.18.2½§ §on Account of the Parish May 3d. 1813 -§ §W. Brabazon§ §Church Warden§	21 April, the clerk of the fish market's salary for one year, £20 0s 0d Maintenance of Moran's child from 1 April 1812 to 4 March 1813, £16 18s 0d One dozen bottles of Madeira for old Mary, a midwife, £3 10s 0d J. Singleton for a descriptive roll of free blacks, £3 0s 0d 1 pair of hinges at 1s 6d, screws at 7d and two days' work at 12s, for the country church, £1 0s 3d A churchwarden's guide, £0 4s 9d Total, £70 8s 3d Balance due to the parish, £150 18s 2½d Total, £221 6s 5½d The credit side recorded the following receipts. 30 April 1812, balance from Thomas Cole Esquire, the former churchwarden, £163 16s 8½d The amount of the dog tax for 1812, from the clerk of the peace, £57 9s 9d Total, £221 6s 5½d W. Brabazon, churchwarden, acknowledged on 3 May 1813 that he had received the balance of £150 18s 2½d from J. A. Wright Esquire, the former churchwarden, on the parish's account. **Interpretations** The register of free blacks was now a "descriptive roll", which recorded each person's appearance as well as their name. A bare list could not stop a slave claiming to be free or one free black passing as another. A description of height, features and marks allowed a constable to check a person against the roll. It was an identity register of the kind used elsewhere in the colonies to control the movement of free people of colour. It followed directly from the police measures of 1809, which called on inhabitants to report idle persons and runaway blacks. The dozen bottles of Madeira bought for old Mary, a midwife, continued the parish's practice of giving wine as a tonic to the sick poor, as it had done with port in 1785. The purchase of a churchwarden's guide shows the parish officers turning to a printed English handbook on their duties.
361	352	Blank page	
362	353	[Light staining along the edges of the page.] Poll Tax ordered by Vestry at 2/6 per Head the 19 April 1813.§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Aliesworth, Thomas: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Alexander, John: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Alexanders (Estate) John: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Alexander, Frederic: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Alexanders (Orphans) Geo.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Adams, Eliz.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Armstrong, Lieut. F. W.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Alexander Henry: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Adams John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bazett Clarissa: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Baldwick, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bagleys Orphans (Benj.): No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Blake, Charles: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Beale Ores.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Bagley, John: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Bagley, Thomas: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Bagley Richard: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Bagley, Mary: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Bagley, James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bagley, Robert: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Burnhams Orphans Thos.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Burnham, John: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§	The poll tax ordered by the vestry at 2s 6d a head was recorded on 19 April 1813. Thomas Ailesworth, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d John Alexander, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d **Start of crossed out section** John Alexander's estate, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d **End of crossed out section** Frederick Alexander, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d **Start of crossed out section** George Alexander's orphans, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d **End of crossed out section** Eliza Adams, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Lieutenant F. W. Armstrong, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Henry Alexander, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Adams, 1 head, £0 2s 6d **Start of crossed out section** Clarissa Bazett, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d **End of crossed out section** John Baldwick, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Benjamin Bagley's orphans, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Charles Blake, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d John Bagley, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Thomas Bagley, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d Richard Bagley, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Mary Bagley, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Burnham's orphans, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d John Burnham, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Samuel Burnham, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d

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		§Burnham, Samuel: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Brooke, Thos. H.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Bell, William: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Barker, Richard: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Brabazon, William: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Braid Andrew: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Balcombe, William: No. of Heads 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Barnes John: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Broadway Ann: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Baildon, Adam: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Banks, Edward: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Banks Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Blenkins, George: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Broadway Henry: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Bott, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bateman, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 325, £ 40, s 12, d 6§ §Brought forward: No. of Heads 325, £ 40, s 12, d 6§ §Bowman George: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bicknell James: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Beale, Anthony: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Boys Richard: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Breame Senr. James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Breame Junr. James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Burnside, John: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Cocks James: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Coles (Orphans) Thos.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Cole Thomas: No. of Heads 24, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Cole Henry: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Chamberlain Susannah: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Carr Thomas: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Chadwick, G. M.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Chippendale, Leond.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Chaplain, Ann: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Creed, Robert: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Constantine Mark: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Chantry, Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Clarke, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Clarke, James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Coldwell Daniel: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Cruickshank John: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Cawley, Patrick: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Doveton, W. W.: No. of Heads 30, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Dovetons (Orphs.) John: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Doveton Gabriel: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §Desfountain John: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Desfountain's (Orphs.) John: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Dentaffes (Orphs.) Andw.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Doyle John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Dickson, James: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Desfountain, Eliz.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Desfountain, Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Dring, John: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Euley Lucas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Eager, Robert: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Total: No. of Heads 0, £ 70, s 15, d 0§	Thomas H. Brooke, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d William Bell, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Richard Barker, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d William Brabazon, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d Andrew Braid, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d William Balcombe, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d John Barnes, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Ann Broadway, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Adam Baildon, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Edward Banks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d George Blinkins, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Henry Broadway, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d John Bott, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Bateman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Carried forward, 325 heads, £40 12s 6d Brought forward, 325 heads, £40 12s 6d George Bowman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Bucknell, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Anthony Beale, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Richard Boys, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d James Breame senior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Breame junior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d James Cocks, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Thomas Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Cole, 24 heads, £3 0s 0d Henry Cole, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Susannah Chamberlain, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Thomas Carr, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d G. M. Chadwick, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Leonard Chippindale, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Ann Chaplain, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Cecil, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Mark Constantine, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Chantry, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Daniel Colwell, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Cruickshank, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Patrick Crawley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d W. W. Doveton, 30 heads, £3 15s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Gabriel Doveton, 25 heads, £3 2s 6d John Desfountain, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d John Desfountain's orphans, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Andrew Dentaffe's orphans, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d John Doyle, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Dickson, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Eliza Desfountain, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Charles Desfountain, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Dring, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Lucas Euley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Eager, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Carried forward, £70 15s 0d **Interpretations** Richard Boys was the clergyman the Directors appointed in 1811 as second chaplain and schoolmaster. Here he was assessed on a household of seven. The Company paid him £100 0s 0d a year as schoolmaster, yet he was still rated by the parish like any other householder. Serving soldiers had been exempt from 1808, but that exemption did not cover the Company's civil and clerical servants who kept their own households on the island.
363	354	[Light staining along the edges of the page.] Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 566, £ 70, s 15, d 0§ §Everton William: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Ford Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Goodwins (Estt.) Richd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Goodwins (Orphs.) John: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	The poll tax at 2s 6d a head continued as follows. Brought forward, 566 heads, £70 15s 0d William Everton, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas Ford, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Richard Goodwin's estate, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Goodwin's orphans, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Thomas Greentree, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d Mary Griffiths, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Eleanor Gurling, 13 heads, £1 15s 0d Thomas Green, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d

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		§Greentree Thos.: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§	Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Griffiths Mary: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	Charles Hodson, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d
		§Gurling, Eleanor: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	Benjamin Hodson, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d
		§Green, Thomas: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§	Robert Hayes, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d
		§Goff, Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Ann Hunter, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Hodson, Charles: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§	T. M. Hunter, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Hodson, Benjamin: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§	Ellis Hayward, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d
		§Hayes Robert: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§	Sarah Harper, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d
		§Hunter, Ann: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	William Hargue, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Hunter, J. M.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Hayward, Ellis: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§	James Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Harper, Sarah: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	Edmund Hawes, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d
		§Hargus William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	William Hall, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Harris, Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	T. P. Hollis, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d
		§Harper, James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Howes Edmond: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§	Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Hall, William: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Priscilla Henry, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Hollis, J. P.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§	Alfred Isaacs, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d
		§Honyman John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Joseph Jacks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Harper, Roderic: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Samuel Jones, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Henry, Priscilla: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	James Jennings, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Isaacke, Alfred: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§	Samuel Knipe, 40 heads, £5 0s 0d
		§Jackes Joseph: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Richard Knipe's orphans, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d
		§Jones Samuel: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Jennings James: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	William Knipe, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d
		§Knipe, Samuel: No. of Heads 40, £ 5, s 0, d 0§	John Knipe, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Knipes (Orphs.) Richd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	Mary Knipe junior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
			David Kinnaird, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Kennedy (Orphs.) Nathl.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	David Kay senior, 44 heads, £5 10s 0d
			David Kay junior, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Knipe, William: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§	Patrick Killen, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Knipe, John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	John Kay, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Knipe Senr. Mary: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Julio's estate, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d
		§Kinnaird, David: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	Israel Lesson, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Kay, David, Senr.: No. of Heads 44, £ 5, s 10, d 0§	Robert Leech, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d
		§Kay D. Junr.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Carried forward, £120 15s 0d
		§Kellin, Patt.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Brought forward, 966 heads, £120 15s 0d
		§Kay John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	George Leech, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d
		§Jollis Estate: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	R. H. Leech, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d
		§Lesson, Israel: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Thomas Lester, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d
		§Leech Robert: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§	John Legg, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d
		§Total: No. of Heads 0, £ 120, s 15, d 0§	Aaron Lambe, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d
		§Brot. forward £: No. of Heads 966, £ 120, s 15, d 0§	George Lambe, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Leech, George: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§	John Le Breton, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Leech R. H.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§	John McIntosh, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Lester, Thomas: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§	Richard Mason's orphans, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d
		§Legg, John: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	John Mason, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Lambe Aaron: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	James Mason's estate, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d
		§Lambe, George: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	John Mellis senior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Le Breton, John: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	John Mellis junior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§McIntosh, John: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Benjamin Mason, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Masons (Orphs.) Richd.: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§	Mary Merchant, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
			William Milne, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Mason, John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	Moses Mills's estate, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Masons (Estate) James: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§	Thomas McRitchie, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d
			Dugal McDugald, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Mellis, John Senr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Peter Michalreth, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Mellis, John Junr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	George Mead, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Mason Benjn.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	William Matthewson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Merchant, Mary: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	Joseph McDaniel, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Milne, William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Newton senior, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d
		§Mills's (Estate) Moses: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Thomas O'Connor, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d
		§McRitchie, Thomas: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§	John Olive, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§McDougald, Dugal: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Porteous O'Connor, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Michalreth Peter: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Daniel O'Connor, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Mead George: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	William Pierce's estate, 32 heads, £4 0s 0d
		§Matthewson William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	William Pithie, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§McDaniel, Joseph: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Henry Porteous, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Newton John Senr.: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§	Harriet Page, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d
		§O'Connor, Thos.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§	James Pritchard's orphans, no entry
		§Oliver, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Sarah Pritchard, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d
		§O'Connor [...]: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Eleanor Pritchard, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d
		§O'Connor Daniel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	G. L. Phillips, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Pieries (Estate) Willm.: No. of Heads 32, £ 4, s 0, d 0§	Mrs Phillips, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
			John Perkins's estate, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Pyler, William: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Henry Pritchard, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d

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		§Portous, Henry: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Page, Harriet: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Pritchard's (Orphs.) Jas.: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Pritchard Sarah: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Pritchard Eleanor: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Phillips G. L.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Phillips [...]: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Parkers (Estate) John: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Pritchard Henry: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Parkins, Samuel: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Pritchard David: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Ross, James: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Robinson John: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Roberts John: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 0, £ 162, s 12, d 6§	Samuel Perkins, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d David Pritchard, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d James Pope, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d John Robinson, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d John Rooks, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Carried forward, £162 12s 6d
364	355	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 1301, £ 162, s 12, d 6§ §Rourke, Laurence: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Rutenback, Fredk.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Robinson, Samuel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Rennie, W. H.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Schindler, Fredk.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Scawell Charles: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Shortis, J. E.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Smith, Daniel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Stratherns (Orphs.) Thos.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Shirley, Mary: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Scott, Henry John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Scott, Charles: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Seale, Senr. Willm.: No. of Heads 39, £ 4, s 17, d 6§ §Seale Junr. Willm.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Sherrard, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Seales Estate, John: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Statham, Robert: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Smith, Edd.: No. of Heads 31, £ 3, s 17, d 6§ §Sampson, Charles: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Seale, John: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Seales Estate Francis: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Stewart, Joseph: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Smith, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Storey, Thomas: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Solomon, Saul: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Sanders, Joseph: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Stevens John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Seale, Francis: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Seale Robert: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 0, £ 189, s 7, d 6§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 1515, £ 189, s 7, d 6§ §Slater, John: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Singleton, William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Solomon, Joseph: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thompson John: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Tracy, William: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Taylor John Senr.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Taylor, John, Junr.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Torbett John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thomas, Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Torbett, James: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Torbett, Richd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Unsworth James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wright, Mary: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Wright, J. A.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Wright, Robert: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Thorn Thomas: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Truebody James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Woodward, William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wheatley, Joseph: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Wrangham, Eliz.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Weston, Charles: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Wills, Richard: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Wilson, Andrew: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Young, Ann: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§	The poll tax roll at 2s 6d a head continued, and this section ended with the total. Brought forward, 1,301 heads, £162 12s 6d Lawrence Rourke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Frederick Richenbach, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d **Start of crossed out section** W. H. Rimmer, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d **End of crossed out section** Frederick Schindler, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Charles Scavell, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d J. E. Shortis, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Daniel Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 6d **Start of crossed out section** Thomas Statham's orphans, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Mary Shirtley, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d **End of crossed out section** Henry John Scott, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Charles Scott, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d William Seale senior, 39 heads, £4 17s 6d William Seale junior, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d John Sherrard, 1 head, £0 2s 6d **Start of crossed out section** John Seale's estate, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d **End of crossed out section** Robert Statham, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Edward C. Smith, 31 heads, £3 17s 6d Charles Sampson, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d John Seale, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d **Start of crossed out section** Francis Seale's estate, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d **End of crossed out section** Joseph Stewart, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d John Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Storey, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Saul Solomon, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Joseph Sanders, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Stevens, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Francis Seale, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Robert Seale, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Carried forward, £189 7s 6d Brought forward, 1,515 heads, £189 7s 6d John Slater, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d William Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Solomon, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Thompson, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d William Tracy, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d John Taylor senior, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Taylor junior, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John Torbett, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Torbett, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Richard Torbett, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d James Unsworth, 1 head, £0 2s 6d **Start of crossed out section** Mary Wright, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d **End of crossed out section** J. A. Wright, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Robert Wright, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d

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		§Young, Amoret: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Youngs Est. Stephen: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Youd James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Isaacke, Elisha: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Isaacke, R. V.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Isaacke Alex.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1698, £ 212, s 5, d 0§	Thomas Thorn, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d James Truebody, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Wheatley, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Eliza Wrangham, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Charles Weston, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Richard Wills, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Andrew Wilson, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Ann Young, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Amoret Young, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Stephen Young's estate, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d James Youd, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Elisha Isaacs, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d R. V. Isaacs, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Alexander Isaacs, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Total, 1,698 heads, £212 5s 0d
365	356	Island St. Helena.§ §11th. April 1814.§ §At a Vestry held this day at the Chapel in James's Valley.§ §the following Gentlemen were chosen Parish Officers.§ §John Kay, Esquire, Sheriff§ §George Blenkins Esquire§ §Lieutenant Henry Broadway§ §Church Wardens.§ §George M. Boorman§ §Edward Banks§ §Constables§ §James Youd§ §William Higgins§ §James Stevens§ §Bailiffs§ §James Bagley§ §William Cranfield§ §Frederic Richenbach§ §John Burnham§ §Samuel Burnham§ §Captain Charles Sampson§ §Inspectors of Sheep and Goats.§ §Lieut. Colonel Edward Charles Smith§ §Mr. John Bagley§ §Botley Society§ §Overseers of High Roads.§ §Joseph Mittens§ §Billy George§ §Jacob Rich, Junr.§ §Wormers of Cattle.§ §James McCoy having requested to resign the situation of§ §Clerk of the Fish Market, the Vestry recommend George Randle Bruce,§ §Quarter Master Sergeant, to be appointed to that Office, and also that§ §the Salary be encreased from twenty pounds to forty pounds per annum§	A vestry held at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 11 April 1814 chose the following parish officers. Sheriff: John Kay Esquire Churchwardens: George Blenkins Esquire Lieutenant Henry Broadway Constables: George M. Boorman Edward Banks Bailiffs: James Youd William Higgins James Stevens James Bagley William Cranfield Frederick Richenbach Inspectors of sheep and goats: John Burnham Samuel Burnham Captain Charles Sampson Overseers of the high roads: Lieutenant Colonel Edward Charles Smith Mr John Bagley Botley Society Wormers of cattle: Joseph Mittens Billy George Jacob Rich junior James McCoy had asked to resign as clerk of the fish market. The vestry recommended that George Randle Bruce, quartermaster sergeant, be appointed in his place, and that the salary be raised from £20 0s 0d to £40 0s 0d a year. **Interpretations** The three wormers of cattle chosen in 1814 were Joseph Mittens, Billy George and Jacob Rich junior. Billy George and the Rich family appear in earlier records as free blacks holding small plots. In April 1812 the Governor and Council asked the new committee to consider giving the post to free blacks or other poor people experienced with livestock, paid by a fee per worm. The committee evidently accepted the proposal. A post the planters had tried to avoid passed to free black smallholders, paid by results, and the vestry's own officers were no longer drawn only from the white ratepayers. The vestry also restored the fish market clerk's salary to £40 0s 0d a year and appointed a garrison sergeant to the post, as it had in 1805. The pay had been halved in 1811. When the civilian clerk resigned, the parish chose a soldier, who already had standing with the garrison, and paid him enough to make the post worth having.
366	357	Dr. The Parish§ §1813§	The parish account for 1813 and 1814 recorded the following payments. Some dates and figures cannot be read.

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		§[...] 3 To paid for three pieces of Riga Timber for the Country Church Steeple§ §41 . 13 . 9§ §To One Months pay to the Sexton§ §1 . 5§ §To for Necessaries for the Country Church as pr. account§ §4 . 13 . 6§ §20 To Dr. Kay as pr. Resolution of Vestry§ §21§ §June 8 To Mary Williams for washing Surplices§ §5§ §July 2 To Mr. Torbett for a Trunk for the Parish Books§ §1 . 5§ §21 To J. McCoy, Clerk of the Fish Market One Quarter's Salary§ §5§ §Augt. 24 To for a padlock for the Church§ §4 . 3§ §Octr. 4 To J. McCoy, Clerk of the Fish Market, One Quarter's Salary§ §5§ §To Charles Witton for cleaning the lower Church-yard§ §3§ §Decr. 10 To amount of Weeks pay list for repairs of Country Church§ §1 . 5 . 6§ §13 To Do. Do. Do.§ §3§ §24 To Do. Do. Do.§ §3§ §1814§ §Jany. 3 To Scawell One Quarter's Salary as Organist§ §3 . 15§ §To Do. in part payment for repairing the Organ§ §10 . 7§ §4 To J. McCoy, Clerk of the Fish Market One Quarter's Salary§ §5§ §7 To amount of week's pay list for repairs of Country Church§ §3 . 9§ §11 To expences for burying J. Bell a soldier who shot himself§ §2 . 0§ §14 To amount of week's pay list for repairs of Country Church§ §2 . 16 . 6§ §22 To Do. Do.§ §4 . 19 . 4§ §31 To Do. Do.§ §5 . 15 . 8§ §To expences of burying William Rice, a suicide§ §3 . 10§ §Feby. 7 To Weeks pay list for repairs of Country Church§ §4 . 6§ §To for one mason's lime§ §2 . 6§ §12 To Weeks pay list for repairs of Country Church§ §7 . 19 . 4§ §16 To hire of men & oxen from Mr. Harper for 8 days§ §6 . 4§ §19 To weeks pay list for repairs of Country Church§ §10 . 5§ §26 To Do. Do. Do.§ §12 . 7 . 2§ §Mar. 3 To Mr. Harper for 1 man & 2 oxen 4 days at 15/6§ §3 . 2§ §5 To weeks pay list for repairs of Country Church§ §11 . 18 . 2§	1813, [...] 3, three pieces of Riga timber for the country church steeple, £41 13s 9d One month's pay to the sexton, £1 5s 0d Necessaries for the country church, as per account, £4 13s 6d 20 [...], Dr Kay, as per resolution of the vestry, £21 0s 0d 8 June, Mary Williams for washing surplices, £5 0s 0d [...] July, Mr Torbett for a trunk for the parish books, £1 5s 0d 21 [...], J. McCoy, clerk of the fish market, one quarter's salary, £5 0s 0d [...] August, a padlock for the church, £0 4s 3d 4 October, J. McCoy, clerk of the fish market, one quarter's salary, £5 0s 0d Charles Witton for cleaning the lower churchyard, £3 0s 0d 10 December, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £1 5s 6d 13 December, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £3 0s 0d 24 December, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £3 0s 0d 3 January 1814, Scavell, one quarter's salary as organist, £3 15s 0d Scavell, in part payment for repairing the organ, £10 7s 0d 4 January, J. McCoy, clerk of the fish market, one quarter's salary, £5 0s 0d 7 January, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £3 9s 0d 11 January, the expenses of burying J. Bull, a soldier who shot himself, £[...] 14 January, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £2 16s 6d 22 January, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £4 9s 4d 31 January, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £5 13s 8d The expenses of burying William Rice, a suicide, £[...] 7 February, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £4 6s 0d For one mason's loss, £[...] 12 February, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £7 9s 4d 16 February, hire of men and oxen from Mr Harper for 8 days, £6 4s 0d 19 February, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £10 5s 0d 26 February, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £12 7s 2d 3 March, Mr Harper for 1 man and 2 oxen for 4 days at 16s 6d, £3 [...] 5 March, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £11 18s 2d 12 March, the weekly pay list for repairs to the country church, £12 5s 2d 17 March, Mr Harper for 1 man and 2 oxen at 16s 6d, £3 17s 6d 18 March, the weekly pay list for the country church, £12 17s 8d 26 March, the weekly pay list for the country church, £5 7s 0d 29 March, Mr Harper for 1 man and 2 oxen for [...] days, £1 11s 0d R. Beam for 1 cart for 21 days at 5s, £5 5s 0d 31 March, the commissary for powder, £1 11s 0d 9 April, Mr Taylor for moving and sawing 3 pieces of Riga timber for the country church, £1 15s 6d 11 April, J. McCoy, clerk of the fish market, one quarter's salary, £5 0s 0d

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		§12 To Do. Do.§ §12 . 5 . 2§ §17 To Mr. Harper for 1 man and 2 oxen at 15/6§ §3 . 17 . 6§ §18 To Week's pay list for Country Church§ §12 . 17 . 8§ §26 To Do. Do.§ §5 . 7§ §29 To Mr. Harper for One Man & 2 oxen 2 Days§ §1 . 11§ §To R. Beam for 1 Cart 21 Days at 5/§ §5 . 5§ §31 To Commissary for Powder§ §1 . 11§ §Apl. 9 To Mr. Taylor for removing and sawing 3 pieces Riga Timber for Country Church§ §1 . 15 . 6§ §11 To J. McCoy Clerk of the Fish Market One Quarters Salary§ §5§ §To Mr. John Bagley for hire of oxen and drivers to the Country Church§ §2 . 1 . 3§ §May 1 To Scawell, One Quarter's Salary ending 31st. March§ §3 . 15§ §To Do. for Repair of the Church Organ§ §10 . 13§ §June 7 To Dr. Smith for superintending the works at the Country§ §10§ §9 To Eleven Months pay to the Sexton§ §13 . 15§ §To J. Singleton for descriptive roll of free blacks§ §3§ §To Do. for 5 Pcent. on Poll Tax £212.5§ §10 . 12 . 3§ §To for Clerk writing at the Vestry§ §10§ §£297 . 16§	Mr John Bagley for hire of oxen and drivers to the country church, £2 1s 3d 1 May, Scavell, one quarter's salary ending 31 March, £3 15s 0d Scavell for repairing the church organ, £10 13s 0d 7 June, Dr Smith for superintending the works at the country church, £10 0s 0d Eleven months' pay to the sexton, £13 15s 0d J. Singleton for a descriptive roll of free blacks, £3 0s 0d J. Singleton, 5 per cent on the poll tax of £212 5s 0d, £10 12s 3d The clerk for writing at the vestry, £0 10s 0d Total, £297 16s [...] **Interpretations** The parish paid for the burials of two men who had killed themselves within a few weeks of each other in January 1814: J. Bull, a soldier, and William Rice. In 1772 the parish had paid 7s 6d for burying a woman who killed herself, a bare interment far cheaper than an ordinary funeral. Bull was a soldier, but his burial was still charged to the parish rather than the garrison. The church and burial ground came under the parish, and under English law a suicide's burial was a matter for the parish to arrange. The country church was being repaired again only eight years after the great rebuilding, this time with a new steeple of Riga timber. The work used hired oxen, carts and gunpowder for blasting stone. Labour was now paid through weekly pay lists rather than compulsory highway labour or slaves hired by the day. Dr Smith was paid £10 0s 0d to superintend the work, a fee where in 1805 Porteous had served without one. The parish now had the money to pay for its works outright.
367	358	Blank page	
368	359	Per Contra Cr.§ §1813§ §May 3 By Cash, received balance from J. A. Wright, Esqr.§ §£150 . 18 . 2½§ §Aug. 13 By Do. on account of the Poll Tax§ §39 . 10§ §1814§ §Feb. 4 By Do. Do.§ §20 . 19 . 10§ §Mar. 21 By Do. Do.§ §11 . 16 . 6§ §28 By Do. Do.§ §18 . 10§ §Ap. 7 By Do. Do.§ §23 . 3 . 4§ §By Do. from the Hon. Company being half the Expence of repairing the Organ§ §14 . 8 . 8½§ §May 12 By Do. received on account of the Poll Tax§ §22 . 4§ §July 1 By Do. Do.§ §35 . 9 . 8§ §£337 . 0 . 3§ §297 . 16§ §Balance§ §39 . 4 . 3§ §to Cash recd. from Mr. Brabazon (Church warden) on acct. of Poll Tax§ §40 . 11 . 8§ §Balance§ §79 . 15 . 11§	The credit side of the parish account for 1813 and 1814 recorded the following receipts. 3 May 1813, cash received from J. A. Wright Esquire as the balance, £150 18s 2½d 13 August, cash received on account of the poll tax, £39 10s 0d 4 February 1814, cash received on account of the poll tax, £20 19s 10d 21 March, cash received on account of the poll tax, £11 16s 6d 28 March, cash received on account of the poll tax, £18 10s 0d 7 April, cash received on account of the poll tax, £23 3s 4d Cash received from the Company, being half the cost of repairing the organ, £14 8s 8½d 12 May, cash received on account of the poll tax, £22 4s 0d 1 July, cash received on account of the poll tax, £35 9s 8d Total, £337 0s 3d Less payments, £297 16s 0d Balance, £39 4s 3d Cash received from Mr Brabazon, churchwarden, on account of the poll tax, £40 11s 8d Balance, £79 15s 11d G. Blenkins, churchwarden, acknowledged that he had received the balance. **Interpretations** The Company paid half the cost of repairing the church organ, as it had paid half the cost of rebuilding the country church in 1806. The organ, first heard in 1804 and played by soldiers of the garrison, served a congregation that included the

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		§Recd. the above Balance§ §G. Blenkins§ §Church Warden§	Company's officers and troops. By 1814 the Company was regularly sharing the cost of church fittings that benefited the whole island. The poll tax of 1813 came in through at least eight separate payments spread over more than a year. The collector was paid 5 per cent of what he brought in, so he had a reason to pursue every arrear. Even so, it took more than 14 months to gather the full sum assessed in April 1813.
369	360	Blank page	
370	361	Island St. Helena,§ §8th. August 1814§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel in James's Town this§ §day.§ §Sergeant Abraham Millington, being recommended§ §by the Revd. Samuel Jones, as Clerk of the Country Church, was§ §appointed with a Salary of Fifteen pounds per annum§ §Proposed and agreed that a General Poll Tax of Two§ §Shillings and sixpence per Head be levied, towards completing§ §the Shed and Steeple of the Country Church.§ §To Geo. Blenkins and Henry Broadway Esqrs.§ §Church Warden -§ §Gentlemen, - The Proceedings of last Mondays Vestry have been§ §laid before the Governor and Council. But as sums have§ §frequently been voted for the purposes specified by the§ §Vestry it is consequently deemed expedient that a§ §Committee shall examine and report upon the state of§ §the Parish Fund before the assent of the Governor & Council§ §be given to the proposed tax. -§ §Notice has therefore been given for a Vestry§ §to assemble on Monday next. -§ §I am Gentlemen§ §Your Obt. Servant§ §St. Helena (Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke§ §15th. Augt. 1814 Secy.§ §Island St. Helena§ §22nd. August 1814§ §At a Vestry held this day at the Chapel in§ §James's Valley in consequence [...] of a Letter received§ §from§	A vestry met in the chapel in James's Town, St Helena, on 8 August 1814. On the Reverend Samuel Jones's recommendation, Sergeant Abraham Millington was appointed clerk of the country church at a salary of £15 0s 0d a year. The vestry agreed to levy a general poll tax of 2s 6d a head to finish the shed and steeple of the country church. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote to George Blenkins and Henry Broadway Esquires, churchwardens, at St Helena on 15 August 1814. The proceedings of the previous Monday's vestry had been laid before the Governor and Council. The same purposes named by the vestry had often had money voted for them before. The Governor and Council therefore thought it right that a committee should examine and report on the state of the parish fund before they approved the proposed tax. Notice had accordingly been given for a vestry to meet the following Monday. A further vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 22 August 1814 because of a letter received from [...]. **Interpretations** The Governor and Council refused to approve the new poll tax until a committee had examined the parish fund. The country church had been the reason for taxes in 1805, 1806, 1809 and 1813. In 1814 the parish still held £79 15s 11d, yet the vestry asked for another levy for the same building. The government suspected that money had been voted repeatedly for work that was never finished. It made a report on the fund a condition of any new tax. The vestry's power to tax was becoming subject to the government's audit as well as its approval.
371	362	[An ink stain at the head of the tax list, over the first column of figures and the opening names of the right-hand column.] from the Secretary to Government to vote for a Committee§ §to examine and report upon the state of the Parish§ §Funds before the assent of the Governor & Council be§ §given to the proposed Tax of Two Shillings & Six Pence§ §Pr. head - The Three following Gentlemen were chosen§ §to compose the Committee -§ §Mr. Thos. Greentree§ §Major Kinnaird§ §Mr. R. H. Leech§ §(Signed) G. Blenkins§ §H. Broadway§ §Church Wardens§ §Approved by the Governor & Council§ §(Signed) Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§ §The Governor & Council agree to the§ §proposed Tax. -§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Thos. Aliesworth: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§	The vestry had received a letter from the secretary to the government asking it to choose a committee. The committee was to examine the parish funds and report on them before the Governor and Council approved the proposed tax of 2s 6d a head. The following three gentlemen were chosen. Mr Thomas Greentree Major Kinnaird Mr R. H. Leech G. Blenkins and H. Broadway signed as churchwardens. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, recorded that the Governor and Council approved the committee. The Governor and Council also agreed to the proposed tax. The roll for the tax of 2s 6d a head followed. Some figures at the top of the first column are smudged. Thomas Ailesworth, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d John Alexander, 22 heads, £2 [...] John Alexander's estate, 13 heads, £1 [...] Frederick Alexander, 14 heads, £1 [...] George Alexander's orphans, 12 heads, £[...] 10s 0d Robert Armstrong, [...] heads, £[...] Henry Alexander, [...] heads, £[...]

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		§Jno. Alexander: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Jno. Alexanders Estt.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Fredk. Alexander: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Geo. Alexanders Orphs.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Robt. Armstrong: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Henry Alexander: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Richard Boys: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Anty. Beale: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Clem. Bazett: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Benjn. Bagleys Orphs.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Charles Blake: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Ones. Beale: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Jno. Bagley: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Thos. Bagley: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Richd. Bagley: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Mary Bagley: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §James Bagley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Robert Bagley: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Burnham: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Thos. Burnhams Orphs.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Carrd. up: No. of Heads 191, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Brought up: No. of Heads 191, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Saml. Burnham: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Thos. H. Brooke: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Wm. Bell: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Richd. Barker: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Wm. Brabazon: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§ §Jno. Barnes: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Ann Broadway: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Adam Baildon: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Edward Banks: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Geo. Blenkins: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Henry Broadway: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Jno. Bateman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Boys: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Jno. Burnside: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Chas. Banks: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jas. Bicks Estt.: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Thos. Cole: No. of Heads 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Henry Cole: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Susy. Chamberlain: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Thos. Carr: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Carrd. over: No. of Heads 374, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Richard Boys, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Anthony Beale, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Benjamin Bagley's orphans, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Charles Blake, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Onesiphorus Beale, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d John Bagley, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Thomas Bagley, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Richard Bagley, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Mary Bagley, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Burnham, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Thomas Burnham's orphans, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Carried up, 191 heads Brought up, 191 heads Samuel Burnham, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Thomas H. Brooke, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d William Bell, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Richard Barker, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d William Brabazon, 23 heads, £2 17s 6d John Barnes, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Ann Broadway, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Adam Baildon, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Edward Banks, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d George Blenkins, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Henry Broadway, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John Bateman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Bays, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Cocks's estate, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Thomas Cole, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d Henry Cole, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Thomas Carr, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Carried over, 374 heads **Interpretations** The committee was chosen and the tax approved together, so the Governor and Council did not wait for the committee's report before agreeing to the levy. Requiring a committee was enough to establish their right to examine the fund. Having asserted that right, they let the tax go ahead at once. The committee was made up of men from the select group who had dominated parish office since the reforms of 1812, so its findings were unlikely to embarrass the vestry.
372	363	Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brought over: No. of Heads 374, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Geo. McChadwick: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Leond. Chippendale: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Robt. Crout: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Wm. Cranfield: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Mark Constantine: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Cruickshank: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Thos. Chantry: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Clarke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jas. Clarke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §D. Caldwell: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Wm. Carrol: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jas. Coupland: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Wm. W. Doveton: No. of Heads 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Jno. Dovetons Orphs.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Gabriel Doveton: No. of Heads 26, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Jno. De Fountain: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. De Fountains Orphs.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Jno. Dring w. Estt.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Geo. Del Taffe's Orph.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Wm. Dray: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Jas. Dickson: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Eliz. De Fountain: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Lucas Euly: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	The poll tax roll at 2s 6d a head continued as follows. This copy is faint in places, and the figures that cannot be read are marked [...]. Brought over, 374 heads George Chadwick, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Leonard Chippindale, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Cecil, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Mark Constantine, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Cruickshank, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Thomas Chantry, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Clarke, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d D. Caldwell, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d William Carvol, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d James Coughland, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d W. W. Doveton, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Gabriel Doveton, 26 heads, £3 5s 0d John Desfountain, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d John Desfountain's orphans, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d John Dring's estate, [...] heads, £[...] George Dentaffe's orphans, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d William Dray, [...] heads, £[...] James Dickson, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Eliza Desfountain, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Lucas Euley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d

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		§Robt. Eager: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Robert Eager, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Wm. Everton: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	William Everton, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Thos. Ford: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	Thomas Ford, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Wm. Fowler: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	William Fowler, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Thos. Greentree: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§	Thomas Greentree, 23 heads, £2 17s 6d
		§Watkin Greentree: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Watkin Greentree, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Mary Griffiths: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	Mary Griffiths, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d
		§Eleanor Gurling: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	Eleanor Gurling, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d
		§Thos. Green: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Thomas Green, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Thos. Goff: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§C. R. G. Hodson: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§	C. R. G. Hodson, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d
		§B. Hodsons Estt.: No. of Heads 24, £ 3, s 0, d 0§	B. Hodson's estate, 24 heads, £3 0s 0d
		§Robt. Hayes: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§	Robert Hayes, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d
		§Ann Hunter: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	Ann Hunter, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Ellis Hayward: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	Ellis Hayward, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d
		§Ann Hayes: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Ann Hayes, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Sarah Harper: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§	Joseph Harker, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d
		§Thos. Harris: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Jas. Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	James Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Ed. Howes: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Edmund Hawes, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Wm. Hall: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	William Hall, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Jno. Honeyman: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Thos. M. Hunter: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Thomas M. Hunter, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Rodk. Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Wm. Hargus Hyman: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	William [...] Hyman, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Carrd. up: No. of Heads 700, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Carried up, 700 heads
		§Brought up: No. of Heads 700, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Brought up, 700 heads
		§Alfred Isaacke: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§	Alfred Isaacs, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d
		§Elisha Isaacke: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§	Elisha Isaacs, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d
		§R. V. Isaacke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	R. V. Isaacs, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Alexander Isaacke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Alexander Isaacs, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Joseph Jacks: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Joseph Jacks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Wm. Jollis Estt.: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	William Julio's estate, 15 heads, £[...]
		§Revd. S. Jones: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	Samuel Jones, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Jas. Jennings: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	James Jennings, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Saml. Knipe: No. of Heads 42, £ 5, s 5, d 0§	Samuel Knipe, 42 heads, £5 5s 0d
		§Rd. Knipes Orphs.: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§	Richard Knipe's orphans, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d
		§Mary Knipe Senr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Mary Knipe junior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§David Kinnaird: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	David Kinnaird, [...] heads, £0 17s 6d
		§David Kay Senr.: No. of Heads 36, £ 4, s 10, d 0§	David Kay senior, 36 heads, £4 10s 0d
		§Jno. Kay: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§	John Kay, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d
		§David Kay Junr.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	David Kay junior, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Patk. Kellin: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	Patrick Killen, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Jas. Lowden: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§	James Lowden, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d
		§Robt. Leech: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§	Robert Leech, 23 heads, £2 17s 6d
		§Geo. Leech: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§	George Leech, 23 heads, £2 17s 6d
		§R. H. Leech: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§	R. H. Leech, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d
		§Thos. Lester: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§	Thomas Lester, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d
		§Jno. Legg: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	John Legg, 15 heads, £1 [...]
		§Aaron Lambe: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	Aaron Lambe, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d
		§Geo. Lambe: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	George Lambe, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Jno. Le Breton: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§	John Le Breton, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§B. Marshback: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	B. Mansbach, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Rd. Masons Orphs.: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§	Richard Mason's orphans, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d
		§Rd. Masons Estt.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Richard Mason's estate, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Jno. Mason: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	John Mason, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Benjn. Mason: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Benjamin Mason, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Jas. Masons Estt.: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§	James Mason's estate, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Moses Mills: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Moses Mills, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Dougal McDougal: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Dougal McDougal, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Geo. Mead: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	George Mead, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Jos. McDaniel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Joseph McDaniel, [...] heads, £[...]
		§Jno. Newton: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	John Newton, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d
		§Thos. O'Connor: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§	Thomas O'Connor, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d
		§Jno. Oliver: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Olive, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§O'Connor & Porteous: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	O'Connor and Porteous, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Helen Pierie: No. of Heads 34, £ 4, s 5, d 0§	Helen Pierce, 34 heads, £4 5s 0d
		§Wm. Pyler: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	William Pithie, [...] heads, £[...]
		§H. Porteous: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	H. Porteous, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Harriet Page: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Harriet Page, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d
		§Sarah Pritchard: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§	Joseph Pritchard, 25 heads, £3 2s 6d
		§Eleanor Pritchard: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§	Eleanor Pritchard, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d
		§G. L. Phillips: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	G. L. Phillips, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Jno. Perkins: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	John Perkins, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§H. W. Pritchard: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	H. W. Pritchard, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§Carrd. over: No. of Heads 1015, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Carried over, 1,145 heads

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373	364	Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brought over: No. of Heads 1015, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §David Pritchard: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §James Rolf: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jno. Robinson: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Jno. Rooke: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §J. Rooke: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §F. Rickenback: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Saml. Robinson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Sarah Rennie: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Edward Smith: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Danl. Smith: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jno. Scott: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Fredk. Schindler: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §J. E. Shortis: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Free Susan: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Mary Shirley: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Jno. Scott Junr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Charles Scott: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Thos. Smart: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wm. Seale Senr.: No. of Heads 39, £ 4, s 17, d 6§ §Wm. Seale Junr.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Jno. Seale: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Francis Seale: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Francis Seales Est.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Jno. Seales Estt.: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Robt. Statham: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §E. C. Smith: No. of Heads 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Chas. Sampson: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Jos. Steward: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Smith: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §S. Solomon: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Jas. Sterling: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Josh. Sanders: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Jno. Stevens: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Slater: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jno. Singleton: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Joseph Solomon: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jas. Stevens: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Chas. Stewart: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Ruth Sherwood: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Thompson: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Wm. Tracy: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Jno. Taylor Junr.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Jno. Taylor Senr.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Jas. Torbett: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Richd. Torbett: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §Wm. Turner: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Mary Wright: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Carrd. up: No. of Heads 1558, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Brought up: No. of Heads 1558, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §J. A. Wright: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Robt. Wright: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Wm. Woodward: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jos. Wheatley: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Sarah Worrall: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Eliz. Wrangham: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Chas. Weston: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Richd. Wills: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Andw. Wilson: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Richd. Young: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Ann Young: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Stephen Youngs Est.: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Jas. Youd: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Freemen§ §Wm. Watson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jas. Truebody: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Hedone Alambas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Richd. Scott: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §N. Kennedys Orphs.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Jno. Knipe: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Ann Young: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §M. Merchant: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Wm. Balcombe: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Thos. Adams: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	The poll tax roll at 2s 6d a head continued and closed with the total. This copy is faint, and the figures that cannot be read are marked [...]. Brought over, 1,218 heads David Pritchard, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d James Rolf, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Robinson, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d John Rooks, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d L. Rourke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d F. Richenbach, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Sarah Rimmer, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Edward Smith, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Daniel Smith, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Scott, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Frederick Schindler, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d J. E. Shortis, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Susan, a free woman, no entry Mary Shirtley, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d John Scott junior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Charles Scott, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Thomas Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Seale senior, 39 heads, £4 17s 6d William Seale junior, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d John Seale, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Francis Seale, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Francis Seale's estate, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d John Seale's estate, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d Robert Statham, [...] heads, £[...] E. C. Smith, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d Charles Sampson, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d Joseph Stewart, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 6d S. Solomon, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d James Stirling, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Sanders, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Stevens, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Slater, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Solomon, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Stevens, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Charles Scavell, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Lewis Sheppard, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Thompson, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d William Tracey, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d John Taylor junior, [...] heads, £[...] John Taylor senior, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d James Torbett, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Richard Torbett, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d William Turner, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Mary Wright, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d Carried up, 1,558 heads Brought up, 1,558 heads J. A. Wright, [...] heads, £[...] Robert Wright, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Wheatley, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Sarah Worrall, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Eliza Wrangham, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Charles Weston, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Richard Wills, [...] heads, £[...] Andrew Wilson, [...] heads, £[...] Richard Young, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Ann Young, [...] heads, £[...] Stephen Young's estate, [...] heads, £[...] James Youd, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Freeman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Watson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Truebody, 1 head, £0 2s 6d [...], 1 head, £0 2s 6d Richard Scott, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Knipe, [...] heads, £[...] Ann Young, [...] heads, £[...] Ann Merchant, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d

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		§Jno. Bedwell: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Geo. Boorman: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Eliz. Braid: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Jas. Bennett: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Nathan Boyson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Goodwins Orphs.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Chas. Gunnel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wm. Gregg: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Ed. Coupland: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Rodk. Harper: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Henry Harris: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wm. Matthewson: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Thos. McRitchie: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Wm. Short: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Thos. Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Torbett: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jno. Mellis Senr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jno. Mellis Junr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Pat. Cunningham: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §J. B. Shiller: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §D. O'Connor: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §J. Ramsay: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §D. McMahon: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §B. A. Wright: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §D. Seale: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Sarah Knipe: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1775, £ 221, s 17, d 6§	William Balcombe, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d Thomas Adams, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Bidwell, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d George Boorman, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Eliza Braid, [...] heads, £[...] James Bennett, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Nathan Boyston, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Goodwin's orphans, [...] heads, £[...] Charles Gunnell, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Gregg, 1 head, £0 2s 6d C. Coughland, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Harker, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Henry Harris, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Matthewson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas McRitchie, [...] heads, £[...] William [...], [...] heads, £[...] Thomas Thomas, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Torbett, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Mellis junior, [...] heads, £[...] John Mellis senior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Cunningham, 1 head, £0 2s 6d J. B. [...], 1 head, £0 2s 6d D. O'Connor, 1 head, £0 2s 6d J. Ramsay, 1 head, £0 2s 6d D. McMahon, 1 head, £0 2s 6d B. A. Wright, 1 head, £0 2s 6d C. Seale, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Sarah Knipe, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d Total, 1,775 heads, £221 12s 6d The previous section carried over 1,145 heads, but this page opens with 1,218 brought over.
374	365	Parish Dr.§ §1815§ §To Cash pd. Clerk of Fish Market 1 Year Salary§ §40§ §" Sexton one years salary§ §15§ §" the organist Do.§ §15§ §" for Washing Surplices§ §5§ §" for medical attendance of Free Blacks§ §21§ §" for a Shear mast for Steeple & Shed of Country Church§ §55§ §" for a Spar for Do. Do. Do.§ §15§ §" for Do. Do. Do. Do.§ §15§ §" the Clerk of the Country Church§ §15§ §" for 850 Staves for Shingles @ 2/6 Pr. 100§ §10 . 12 . 6§ §" 4700 Do. 5/.§ §11 . 15§ §" Carpenters Bill for erecting Shed & Spire of Country Church &c.§ §134 . 13 . 8§ §" Labourers attending Do.§ §49 . 13 . 9§ §" masons work for Spire§ §21 . 10 . 10§ §" Nails for Church Sheds & Spire§ §13 . 4 . 3§ §" Paint & oil for Do. & Do.§ §21 . 14§ §" for lime for Steeple§ §3 . 10§ §" Sawyers Bill§ §10 . 15 . 3§ §" Bill for Glazing Windows§ §3 . 2 . 6§ §" for the maintenance of George a Boy in Prison for§ §12 . 1 . 7§	The parish account for 1815 recorded the following payments. 1815, cash paid to the clerk of the fish market for one year's salary, £40 0s 0d The sexton's salary for one year, £15 0s 0d The organist's salary for one year, £15 0s 0d Washing surplices, £5 0s 0d Medical attendance on free blacks, £21 0s 0d A sheer mast for the steeple and shed of the country church, £55 0s 0d A spar for the steeple and shed of the country church, £15 0s 0d A further spar for the steeple and shed of the country church, £15 0s 0d The clerk of the country church, £15 0s 0d 850 staves for shingles at 25s a hundred, £10 12s 6d 4,700 staves for shingles at 5s, £11 15s 0d The carpenters' bill for putting up the shed and spire of the country church and other work, £134 13s 8d Labourers attending the same, £49 13s 9d Masons' work for the spire, £21 10s 10d Nails for the church shed and spire, £13 4s 3d Paint and oil for the shed and spire, £21 14s 0d Lime for the steeple, £3 10s 0d The sawyers' bill, £10 15s 3d A bill for glazing windows, £3 2s 6d Maintenance of George and Daniel Moran, £12 1s 7d Making a descriptive roll of free blacks, £3 0s 0d Writing at the vestry, £0 10s 0d Burial expenses of Eliza Scavell and Fanny Clarke, £4 0s 0d 5 per cent on the poll tax, £11 1s 7d Publishing 3 notices, £0 1s 6d 94 days' cart hire, £9 13s 6d Total, £516 19s 11d The credit side recorded the following receipts. 1815, balance received from William Brabazon Esquire, £79 15s 11d The dog tax for 1813 and 1814, £102 10s 0d The poll tax, £221 12s 6d Balance due to the churchwarden, £113 1s 6d

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		§" for making a descriptive Roll of Free Blacks§ §3§ §" for writing at Vestry§ §10§ §" Burial Expences of Eliz. Scawell & Fanny Clarke§ §4§ §" 5 Pr. Cent on Poll Tax§ §11 . 1 . 7§ §" for publishing 3 Notices§ §1 . 6§ §" 9½ Days Cart hire§ §9 . 13 . 6§ §£516 . 19 . 11§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1815§ §By Balance received from Wm. Brabazon Esqr.§ §£79 . 15 . 11§ §" amount of Dog Tax for 1813 & 14§ §102 . 10§ §" Do. of Poll Tax§ §221 . 12 . 6§ §" Balance due to the Church Warden§ §113 . 1 . 6§ §£516 . 19 . 11§ §Received the Books & Papers§ §from G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §H. Broadway§	Total, £516 19s 11d H. Broadway recorded that he had received the books and papers from G. Blenkins Esquire. **Interpretations** The steeple and shed of the country church cost about £385 0s 0d in 1815, about three-quarters of the year's spending. That left the churchwarden owed £113 1s 6d, despite the new poll tax and two years of dog tax. In August 1814 the Governor and Council had doubted whether the money voted for the church was well spent and insisted on an inquiry. The figures show their concern was justified. The vestry had embarked on a steeple and spire far beyond the original repair, and paid for it, as in 1806, with the churchwarden's private credit. A sheer mast, the heavy spar used to rig a hoist, cost £55 0s 0d, and two more spars £15 0s 0d each. The island had no timber large enough to raise a steeple. These masts came from ships' stores, the only source of long spars on St Helena. Shingles were made from thousands of staves, probably from casks broken up after use.
375	366	St. Helena 27th. March 1815§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's§ §Valley. -§ §The following Gentlemen were chosen Parish officers§ §Sheriffs -§ §Wm. Brabazon Esqr.§ §Thos. Greentree Esqr.§ §R. H. Leech - Esqr.§ §Constables§ §Jno. Taylor Junr.§ §Jas. Dring§ §Inspectors of Sheep§ §Rd. Wills§ §Rd. Barker§ §F. Seale§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §Sapes§ §Michl. Samuel§ §Dick Harry§ §Church Wardens§ §H. Broadway§ §H. S. Cole§ §Bailiffs§ §Josh. Sanders§ §Josh. Wheatley§ §Jas. Rolfe§ §Wm. Pinson§ §Robt. Bagley§ §Wm. Woodward§ §Overseers§ §Wm. W. Dovetons Estt.§ §Rd. Knipes Orphans Do.§ §Thos. Greentrees Do.§ §To G. Blenkins & H. Broadway Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council§ §to desire you will acquaint the Gentlemen assembled§ §in Vestry, that the old custom with regard to the§ §appointment of a Sheriff is to be revised. The Vestry§ §will therefore nominate three Gentlemen for the§ §office, from whom the Governor & Council will§ §select one I am &c.§ §Thos. H. Brooke, Secy.§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 27 March 1815 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: William Brabazon Esquire Thomas Greentree Esquire R. H. Leech Esquire Churchwardens: H. Broadway H. S. Cole Constables: John Taylor junior James Dring Bailiffs: Joseph Saunders Joseph Wheatley James Rolfe William Pascoe Robert Bagley William Woodward Inspectors of sheep: Richard Wills Richard Barker F. Seale Overseers: W. W. Doveton's estate Richard Knipe's orphans' estate Thomas Greentree's estate Wormers of cattle: Scipio Michel Samuel Dick Harry Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote to G. Blenkins and H. Broadway Esquires, churchwardens. On the instructions of the Governor and Council, he asked them to tell the gentlemen assembled in vestry that the old custom for appointing the sheriff was to be revived. The vestry would therefore nominate three gentlemen for the office, and the Governor and Council would choose one of them. **Interpretations** All three wormers of cattle for 1815 were known by single names: Scipio, Michel Samuel and Dick Harry. The roll was naming free blacks, as it did for Billy George and Jacob Rich junior in 1814. The Council's proposal of April 1812 had become regular practice. Each year the post went to free blacks, paid a fee by results, rather than to planters serving in

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			turn. That made it the one parish office regularly filled by men who were not white ratepayers. The government's revival of the old way of appointing the sheriff took the final choice away from the vestry. Since 1812 the parish's officers had been chosen by a select committee, and now the island's chief local officer was to be picked by the Governor and Council from three names the vestry put forward. The office already required land, as the Governor ruled in Richard Leech's case in 1802. The vestry could propose candidates, but the government decided who served.
376	367	It having been agreed by the Vestry 8 August 1814§ §that Millington should receive a Salary of £15 Pr. Ann.§ §proposed whether this Salary be given him during§ §the time he acted prior to the above period - agreed§ §that the Salary commence from the date of his§ §appointment -§ §in consequence of its having been found not to answer§ §the end intended Approved§ §Whether the Salary from the Country to the§ §Clerk of the Fish market shall be continued or not.§ §Agreed to by the whole of the Vestry that§ §it be discontinued. -§ §Proposed§ §A Poll Tax of 1/6 Pr. head for Parish Expences§ §of the present year.§ §Agreed§ §The Landholders beg leave to draw the§ §attention of the Worshipful the Governor & Council§ §to an imposition that has been practiced for the last§ §8 or 9 Years by many of the Free Blacks & Slaves§ §The Rushes growing upon the Commons have been§ §from time to time planted by Labor returned for working§ §at the High Ways, when of sufficient age & growth§ §they were cut for the purpose of thatching the§ §Dwellings of the Inhabitants at the rate of 1/6 Pr.§ §a Girth measuring 4½ feet, within the period above§ §mentioned Free Blacks & Slaves, unauthorized,§ §Cut these Rushes every day in the week, as may§ §not even [...] & Charge the extravagant Price of§ §a Shilling a Girth measuring only 3½ feet -§ §& these so young to be unfit for the purposes§ §intended. The Free Blacks never furnished any§ §part of the Labor in planting the Rushes. -§ §Approved§	The vestry of 8 August 1814 had agreed that Millington should receive a salary of £15 0s 0d a year. It was now asked whether he should also be paid for the time he had served before that vestry. The vestry agreed that his salary should run only from the date of his appointment. It was asked whether the island's payment of a salary to the clerk of the fish market should continue, since the post had been found not to serve its purpose. The whole vestry agreed to discontinue it. The vestry agreed to a poll tax of 1s 6d a head for the parish's expenses of the present year. The landholders asked to draw the Governor and Council's attention to an abuse that many free blacks and slaves had practised for the past eight or nine years. The rushes growing on the commons had been planted from time to time by labour returned for work on the highways. When the rushes were old enough and grown, they were cut to thatch the inhabitants' houses at 1s 6d for a girth measuring 4½ feet. During those years, free blacks and slaves had cut the rushes without permission on every day of the week, Sundays included. They charged the excessive price of 1s for a girth measuring only 3½ feet, and the rushes were so young that they were unfit for the purpose. The free blacks had never supplied any of the labour in planting the rushes. The Governor and Council approved. **Interpretations** The vestry ended the salary of the clerk of the fish market, the post the parish had funded in one form or another since 1801 and had restored to £40 0s 0d only a year earlier. The vestry recorded that the office had not answered its purpose. After 14 years of committees, premiums, scales and regulations, the parish gave up trying to manage the island's fish trade. The complaint about rushes shows the planters claiming the commons' rushes as their own crop. They argued that the rushes had been planted with highway labour, which the inhabitants supplied through their slaves, so the free blacks who cut and sold them were taking what others had planted. The free blacks had found a trade: they cut young rushes and sold them in smaller bundles at a lower price per bundle, every day of the week. That undercut the planters' own supply for thatching. The complaint asked the government to treat this competition as theft, and the Governor and Council approved it. The rush trade was one of the few ways free blacks could earn an independent living, so the planters' complaint threatened that income as well as the trade itself.
377	368	Approved by the Governor & Council§ §Wm. Brabazon Esqr. appointed Sheriff -§ §the Subject of the rushes to be considered by§ §the Grand Jury at next Sessions. -§ §(Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §The Governor and Council agree to the proposed Tax of§ §One Shilling and Sixpence per head. -§	The Governor and Council approved the proceedings. They appointed William Brabazon Esquire as sheriff and directed that the grand jury should consider the question of the rushes at the next sessions. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, signed the minute. The Governor and Council agreed to the proposed tax of 1s 6d a head. The roll for the tax of 1s 6d a head followed. Thomas Ailesworth, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d

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		§Names, No. of Family, £, s, d§ §Aliesworth Thomas: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Alexander John: No. of Family 23, £ 1, s 14, d 6§ §Alexander Estt.: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Alexander Geo. Orphans: No. of Family 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §[...] Theodor: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Adams Thomas: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Armstrong Robert: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Arreste Solomon: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Armstrong James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Adams John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Alexander Henry: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Antonio Andrew: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Alexander (Capt. John Estate): No. of Family 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Boys Richard Revd.: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Beale Anthony: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Beale Onesiphorus: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Bazett Clarissa: No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Baldwick John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Bagley Benj. Orphans: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Bagley John: No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Bagley Thomas: No. of Family 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Bagley Richard: No. of Family 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Bagley Mary: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Bagley James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Bagley Robert: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Burnhams Orphans: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Burnham John: No. of Family 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Burnham Saml.: No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Brooke Thos. Henry: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Bedwell John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Barker Richard: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Carried up: No. of Family 237, £ 17, s 10, d 6§ §Brot. up: No. of Family 237, £ 17, s 10, d 6§ §Boorman George: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Brabazon William: No. of Family 36, £ 2, s 14, d 0§ §Braid Elizabeth: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Balcombe William: No. of Family 21, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Barnes John: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Broadway Ann: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Baildon Isabella: No. of Family 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Banks Edward: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Blenkins George: No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Broadway Henry: No. of Family 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Bateman John: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Boys John: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Banks Charles: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Burnside John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Bennet James: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Blake Charles: No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Bryson Arthur: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Braid Joseph: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Broadway, Geo. Orphans: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Bell William: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Cocks James: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Cole (Thos. Orphans): No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Cole Thomas: No. of Family 22, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §Cole Henry: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Chadwick George: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Chamberlain Susannah: No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Crout Robert: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Cruickshank John: No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Carrol William: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Carr Thomas: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Carried up: No. of Family 477, £ 35, s 15, d 6§	John Alexander, 23 heads, £1 14s 6d Frederick Alexander, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d George Alexander's orphans, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Theodore Alexander, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Adams, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Robert Armstrong, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Solomon Arrest, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Armstrong, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Adams, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Henry Alexander, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Andrew Antonio, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Captain John Alexander's estate, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Richard Boys, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Anthony Beale, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Onesiphorus Beale, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d John Baldwick, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Benjamin Bagley's orphans, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Bagley, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Thomas Bagley, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Richard Bagley, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Mary Bagley, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Robert Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Burnham's orphans, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Burnham, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Samuel Burnham, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Thomas Henry Brooke, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d John Bidwell, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Richard Barker, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Carried up, 239 heads, £17 1[...]s 6d Brought up, 239 heads, £17 1[...]s 6d George Boorman, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Brabazon, 36 heads, £2 14s 0d Elizabeth Braid, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d William Balcombe, 21 heads, £1 11s 6d John Barnes, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Ann Broadway, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Isabella Baildon, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Edward Banks, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d George Blenkins, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Henry Broadway, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d John Bateman, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Bays, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Burnside, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Bennett, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Charles Blake, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Arthur Bryson, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph Braid, 1 head, £0 1s 6d George Broadway's orphans, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Bell, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d James Cocks, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Thomas Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Cole, 22 heads, £[...] Henry Cole, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d George Chadwick, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Susannah Chamberlain, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Robert Cecil, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Cruickshank, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d William Carrol, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Carr, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Carried up, 479 heads, £35 1[...] **Interpretations** The Governor and Council sent the planters' complaint about the rushes to the grand jury rather than deciding it themselves. The grand jury was made up of the island's leading landholders, the same men who had complained. The government thereby avoided ruling on the free blacks' rights to the commons directly, and left a dispute over property and livelihood to be settled by the class that stood to gain from a finding against them.

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378	369	Names, No. of Family, £, s, d§ §Brot. up: No. of Family 479, £ 35, s 18, d 6§ §Chippendale Leonard: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Cranfield William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Constantine: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Chantry Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Clarke James: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Caldwell Daniel: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Cawley Patrick: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Chaplain Joseph: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Coupland Joseph: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Crisp Joseph: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Carrol & Desfountain: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Clarke John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Cunningham Pat.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Doveton W. W.: No. of Family 25, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Doveton (Jno.) Orph.: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Doveton Gabl.: No. of Family 26, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §Desfountain Jno.: No. of Family 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Desfountain (Orphans): No. of Family 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Dring John: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Dentaffe Geo. A.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Dentaffe (Orphans): No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Dray Margaret: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Dray William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Desfountain Chas.: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Dickson James: No. of Family 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Desfountain Elizabeth: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Dove James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Euly James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Eager Robert: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Everton William: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Ellis John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Evans John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Ford Thomas: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Fowler William: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Goodwin John Orphans: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Greentree Thomas: No. of Family 23, £ 1, s 14, d 6§ §Greentree Watkin: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Griffiths Mary: No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Gurling Eleanor: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Green Thomas: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Gunnel Charles: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Goff Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Gregg William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Garland Edward: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Gray William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Hodson Chas. R. G.: No. of Family 25, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Hodson Ann: No. of Family 24, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Hayes Robert: No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Hayward Ellis: No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Hunter Ann: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Hunter George: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Harper Sarah: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Harper James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Harper Roderick: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Harris Henry: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Carried up: No. of Family 819, £ 61, s 8, d 6§ §Brot. up: No. of Family 819, £ 61, s 8, d 6§ §Harris Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Howes Edmund: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Hall William: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hyman Hargus: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Honeyman John: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hunter Thos. Montgomery: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Isaacke Elisha: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Isaacke Alfred: No. of Family 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Isaacke Richard V.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Isaacke Alexander: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Jacks Joseph: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Jollis Wm. (Estt.): No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Jones (Revd. Saml.): No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Jennings James: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	The roll for the tax of 1s 6d a head continued as follows. This copy is faint, and the figures that cannot be read are marked [...]. Brought up, 479 heads, £35 18s 6d Leonard Chippindale, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 1s 6d [...] Constantine, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Chantry, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Daniel Caldwell, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Patrick Crawley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph Chaplain, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph Coupland, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Joseph Crisp, 1 head, £0 1s 6d [...] Desfountain, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Clark, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Peter Cunningham, 1 head, £0 1s 6d W. W. Doveton, [...] heads, £[...] John Doveton's orphans, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Gabriel Doveton, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d John Desfountain, [...] heads, £[...] John Desfountain's orphans, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d John Dring, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d George A. Dentaffe, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Dentaffe's orphans, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Margaret Dray, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Dray, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Charles Desfountain, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d James Dickson, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Elizabeth Desfountain, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d James Dove, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Euly, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Robert Eager, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Everton, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Ellis, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John [...], 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Ford, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Goodwin's orphans, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Greentree, 23 heads, £1 14s 6d Watkin Greentree, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Mary Griffiths, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Eleanor Gurling, [...] heads, £[...] Thomas Green, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Charles Gunnell, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Gregg, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Edward [...], 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Gray, 1 head, £0 1s 6d C. R. G. Hodson, 25 heads, £1 17s 6d Ann Hudson, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Robert Hayes, [...] heads, £[...] Ellis Hayward, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d George Hunter, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Joseph Harker, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d James Harper, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Frederick Harper, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Henry Harris, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Carried up, 819 heads, £61 8s 6d Brought up, 819 heads, £61 8s 6d Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Edmund Hawes, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d William Hall, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d [...] Hargess, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Honeyman, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Montgomery Hunter, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Elisha Isaacs, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Alfred Isaacs, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Richard V. Isaacs, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Alexander Isaacs, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Joseph Jacks, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Julio's estate, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d The Reverend Samuel Jones, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d James Jennings, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Samuel Knipe, 41 heads, £3 1s 6d Richard Knipe's orphans, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d

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		§Knipe Samuel: No. of Family 41, £ 3, s 1, d 6§ §Knipe (Richd. Orph.): No. of Family 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Kennedy (Nathl. Orph.): No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Kennedy Nathaniel: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Knipe (Orph. Willm.): No. of Family 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §Knipe Mary: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Knipe John: No. of Family 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Kinnaird David: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Kay David Senr.: No. of Family 30, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Kay David Junr.: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Kay John: No. of Family 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Kellin Patrick: No. of Family 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Lester Thomas: No. of Family 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Lowden James: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Leech Robert: No. of Family 24, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Leech George: No. of Family 24, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Leech Richard: No. of Family 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §Le Breton John: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Legg John: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Lambe Aaron: No. of Family 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §Lambe George: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Leech David G.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §McMahon David: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Mason Richd. (Estate): No. of Family 21, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Mason Richard: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Mason John: No. of Family 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Mason Benjamin: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Mason James (Estate): No. of Family 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Mead George: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Merchant Margaret: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Mills Moses: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §McDougal Dugal: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Matheson William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §McDaniel Josh.: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §McRitchie Thomas: No. of Family 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Marrsback Benjamin: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Mellis John Senr.: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Mellis John Junr.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Newton John: No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §O'Connor Daniel: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Carried up: No. of Family 1286, £ 99, s 9, d 0§	Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Nathaniel Kennedy, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Knipe's orphans, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Mary Knipe, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Knipe, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d David Kinnaird, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d David Kay senior, 36 heads, £[...] David Kay junior, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Kay, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Patrick Killen, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Thomas Lester, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d James Lowden, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Robert Leech, 24 heads, £1 16s 0d George Leech, 24 heads, £1 16s 0d Richard Leech, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d John Le Breton, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d John Legg, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Aaron Lambe, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d George Lambe, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d David [...], 1 head, £0 1s 6d Daniel McMahon, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Richard Mason's estate, 21 heads, £1 11s 6d Roland Mason, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Mason, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Benjamin Mason, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d James Mason's estate, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d George Mead, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Margaret Merchant, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Moses Mills, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Dugal McDugal, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Matthewson, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph McDaniel, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas McRitchie, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Benjamin Mersebach, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Mellis senior, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Mellis junior, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Newton, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Daniel O'Connor, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Carried up, 1,286 heads, £99 9s 0d
379	370	Names, No. of Family, £, s, d§ §Brot. over: No. of Family 1286, £ 99, s 9, d 0§ §O'Connor Thomas: No. of Family 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §O'Connor & Porteous: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Oliver John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Pierie Helen: No. of Family 34, £ 2, s 11, d 0§ §Pyler William: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Porteous Henry: No. of Family 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Page Harriet: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Pritchard Sarah: No. of Family 25, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Pritchard Eleanor: No. of Family 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Pritchard Henry: No. of Family 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Pritchard David: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Phillips Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Phillips Geo. Lot: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Perkins Margaret: No. of Family 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Rolfe James: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Robinson John: No. of Family 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Rooke John: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Rourke Lawrence: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Richenback Fredk.: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Rennie Sarah: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Ramsay James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Scott Richard: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Spiller Wm. Bligh: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Solomon Saul: No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Solomon Joseph: No. of Family 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Solomon Lewis: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Seale (Capt. Jno.): No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Sanders Josiah: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Smith Edward: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Smith Daniel: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	The roll for the tax of 1s 6d a head continued and closed with the total. Brought over, 1,286 heads, £99 9s 0d Thomas O'Connor, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d O'Connor and Porteous, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Olive, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Helen Pierce, 34 heads, £2 11s 0d William Pithie, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Henry Porteous, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Harriet Page, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Sarah Pritchard, 25 heads, £1 17s 6d Eleanor Pritchard, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Henry Pritchard, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d David Pritchard, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Thomas Phillips, 1 head, £0 1s 6d G. L. Phillips, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Margaret Perkins, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d James Rolfe, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Robinson, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d John Rooks, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Lawrence Rourke, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Frederick Richenbach, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Sarah Rimmer, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d James Ramsay, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Richard Scott, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Lieutenant Bligh Spiller, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Saul Solomon, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Joseph Solomon, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Lewis Solomon, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Lieutenant [...] Seale, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Josiah Saunders, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Edward Smith, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d

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		§Scott John Senr.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Scott Charles: No. of Family 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Schindler Fredk.: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Shortis John Ed.: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Shirley Mary: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Sprott Joseph: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Smart Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Seale William Senr.: No. of Family 39, £ 2, s 18, d 6§ §Seale Wm. Junr. (Estt.): No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Seale (Major Francis Estate): No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Seale John: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Statham Robert: No. of Family 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Smith Lt. Col. Edd.: No. of Family 28, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §Seale Robert: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Sampson Charles: No. of Family 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §Scawell Charles: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Singleton John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Singleton William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Steward Joseph: No. of Family 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Seale Archibald: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Smith John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Seale William Henry: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Carried up: No. of Family 1687, £ 126, s 10, d 6§ §Brot. up: No. of Family 1687, £ 126, s 10, d 6§ §Slater John: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Seale (Capt. Francis): No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Sherrard John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Sterling James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Stevens John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Stevens James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Higgins William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Torbett Richard: No. of Family 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §Tracy William: No. of Family 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Thorn Thomas: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Taylor John Senr.: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Taylor John Junr.: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Thompson John: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Torbett James: No. of Family 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Torbett John Ward: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Turner William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Truebody James: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Thomas Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Unsworth John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Verney Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Wright Mary: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Wright John Alexander: No. of Family 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Wright Robert: No. of Family 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Wright Benjamin Alexr.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Wilson Andrew: No. of Family 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Wills Richard: No. of Family 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Ward (Saml. Perkins Ed.): No. of Family 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Weston Charles: No. of Family 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Watson William: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Woodward William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Wrangham Elizth.: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Wheatley Joseph: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Worrall Sarah: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Young Ann: No. of Family 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Young Richard: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Young Stephen Senr.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Young (Capt. Stephen Estt.): No. of Family 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Young Amoret: No. of Family 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Youde James: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Total: No. of Family 1913, £ 143, s 9, d 6§	Daniel Smith, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Scott senior, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Charles Scott, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Frederick Schindler, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John E. Shortis, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Mary Shirtley, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Joseph Spratt, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Smart, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Seale senior, 39 heads, £2 18s 6d William Seale junior's estate, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Major Francis Seale's estate, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Seale, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Robert Statham, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d E. C. Smith's estate, 28 heads, £2 2s 0d Robert Seale, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Charles Sampson, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Charles Scavell, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Singleton, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Singleton, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph Stewart, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Archibald Seale, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Smith, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Henry Seale, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Carried up, 1,687 heads, £126 10s 6d Brought up, 1,687 heads, £126 10s 6d John Slater, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Captain Francis Seale, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d John Sherrard, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Stirling, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Stevens, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Stevens, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Stiggins, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Richard Torbett, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d William Tracey, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Thomas Thorn, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Taylor senior, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Taylor junior, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Thompson, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d James Torbett, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d John Wavel Torbett, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Turner, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Truebody, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Unsworth, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Verry, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Mary Wright, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d John Alexander Wright, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Robert Wright, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Britannicus Alexander Wright, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Andrew Wilson, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Richard Wills, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Samuel Perkins Ward's estate, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Charles Weston, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d William Watson, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Eliza Wrangham, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Joseph Whitley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Sarah Worrall, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Ann Young, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Richard Young, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Stephen Young senior's estate, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Amoret Young, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d James Youde, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Total, 1,913 heads, £143 9s 6d **Interpretations** The 1815 roll counted 1,913 heads, the highest figure in the book, compared with 1,633 in 1811 and 1,775 in 1814. Garrison soldiers had been excluded since 1808 and free blacks never paid, so the increase came from private households. The island's settled population of whites and slaves was still growing. The rate was cut to 1s 6d because the steeple was paid for. Even so, the larger roll meant the tax still raised more than £140 0s 0d.

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380	371	Parish Dr.§ §1815 - 1816§ §To Cash Paid the Sexton - One Year Salary§ §15§ §" Paid the Organist One Year Salary§ §15§ §" " Medical Bill for attendance on Free Blacks one Year§ §21§ §" " Washing Surplices§ §5§ §" " Making descriptive Roll of Free Blacks§ §3§ §" " Valuation of Slave man George, executed belonging to Mr. J. Robinson§ §20§ §" " Maintainance of Black man David in Jail, committed for Trial 37 days @ 9d.§ §1 . 7 . 9§ §" " Ditto Do. Harry. Do. 25 do.§ §18 . 9§ §" " Ditto Do. Woman Clara Do. 71 do.§ §2 . 13 . 6§ §" " Burying Black man found Dead near Banks's Road§ §10§ §" " Coffin for Jacob June Free Black, Deceased§ §2 . 10§ §" " Carpenters & Armourers Work, for Hanging the Country Church Bell§ §3 . 17 . 6§ §" " Mending Church Plate§ §2 . 6§ §" " Part of Balance due Mr. Blenkins late Church Warden§ §78 . 3 . 8§ §" " Turners & Armourers Work for the Ornament of Church Steeple§ §1 . 10§ §" " 5 Pr. Cent for Collecting Poll Tax§ §7 . 3 . 5§ §" " (part) Clerk of Country Church Sal. 1 Year§ §14 . 5 . 5§ §£195 . 4 . 6§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §1815 - 1816§ §By Amount of Poll Tax for the Year 1815§ §143 . 9 . 6§ §" Ditto, Half of Dog Tax for Do.§ §48 . 15§ §192 . 4 . 6§ §Received the Books and Papers -§ §Church Plate &c. from H. Broadway -§ §no Bal. in hand. -§ §H. Cole§ §Ch. Warden§ §N.B. The Parish remains in Debt to Mr. Blenkins§ §the late Church Warden the Bal. of £34-17-10.§ §Remaining part of Sal. for Clerk of Country Church - 14 - 7§ §Total £35 - 12 - 5§ **Margin Notes:** §[...] Broadway [...]§	The parish account for 1815 and 1816 recorded the following payments. 1815 to 1816, cash paid to the sexton for one year's salary, £15 0s 0d The organist for one year's salary, £15 0s 0d The medical bill for attendance on free blacks for one year, £21 0s 0d Washing surplices, £5 0s 0d Making a descriptive roll of free blacks, £3 0s 0d The valuation of George, a male slave who was executed, belonging to Mr J. Robinson, £20 0s 0d Maintenance of David, a black man, in gaol, committed for trial, 37 days, £1 7s 9d Maintenance of Harry, a black man, in gaol, committed for trial, 25 days, £0 18s 9d Maintenance of Clara, a black woman, in gaol, committed for trial, 74 days, £2 15s 6d Burying a black man found dead near Banks's ward, £0 10s 0d A coffin for Jacob June, a free black, deceased, £2 10s 0d Carpenters' and armourers' work for hanging the country church bell, £3 17s 6d Mending the church plate, £0 2s 6d Part of the balance due to Mr Blenkins, the former churchwarden, £78 3s 8d Turners' and armourers' work for the ornament of the church steeple, £1 10s 0d 5 per cent for collecting the poll tax, £7 3s 5d Part of the salary of the clerk of the country church for one year, £14 5s 5d Total, £195 4s 6d The credit side recorded the following receipts. 1815 to 1816, the poll tax for 1815, £143 9s 6d Half of the dog tax for 1815, £48 15s 0d Total, £192 4s 6d H. Cole, churchwarden, acknowledged that he had received the books, papers and church plate from H. Broadway, with no balance in hand. A note recorded that the parish was still in debt to Mr Blenkins, the former churchwarden, for a balance of £34 17s 10d, and owed 14s 7d for the rest of the salary of the clerk of the country church, a total of £35 12s 5d. **Interpretations** Compensation for an executed slave was set at £20 0s 0d in 1815, between the old £15 0s 0d and the £30 0s 0d paid to Mrs Ann Young in 1809. Each case was now valued separately. The parish also paid for keeping David, Harry and Clara in gaol while they awaited trial, for up to 74 days. In earlier years the parish paid for condemned slaves after sentence. Now it was also paying for black people held before trial, so its costs for the island's criminal justice began at arrest. The parish ended the year still owing its former churchwarden £34 17s 10d, after paying him £78 3s 8d. The steeple of 1815 had left a debt that the low poll tax of 1s 6d could not clear in a single year. As with Porteous in 1806, the parish was effectively borrowing from its own officer and repaying him over several years.
381	372	[A stain in the left margin beside the paragraph on the Committee.] The following Letter, received from the Secretary to Government§ §respecting the Honble. Company's Town Church. - contains§ §the following Instructions -§ §Island St. Helena 24th. April 1815.§ §Instructions to the Church Wardens -§ §The Pews for the Governor & Council, & for their families; are in future to be§ §exclusively allotted to the following purposes.§	The following letter, received from the secretary to the government about the Company's town church, contained these instructions. Instructions to the churchwardens, issued at St Helena on 24 April 181[...]. The pews for the Governor and Council and for their families were in future to be kept only for the following uses. First, governors or members of council from any of His Majesty's or the Company's settlements, members of the Select Committee in China and supercargoes were to be shown into the pew of the

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		§First§ §Governors, or Members of Council from any of His Majesty's or the§ §Honble. Company's Establishments and Members of the Select Committee§ §of China, Supercargoes; are to be shewn into the Pew of the Governor§ §and Council: and no others excepting persons introduced by the§ §Governor or Lieutenant Governor. -§ §Second.§ §Into the Ladies Pew are to be shewn, the Wives and unmarried Daughters of§ §the Members of Council, and no others excepting such as are introduced§ §by the Ladies of the Governor and Lieut. Governor.§ §One of the Church Wardens is expected to be always at Church for§ §the purpose of supporting the Sexton in the execution of these orders,§ §in the absence of the Church Wardens, the Sexton is authorized to call§ §for the support of the Constable.§ §A Constable with his Staff of Office, is to be in attendance in Church§ §for the aforesaid purposes. -§ §A Committee is to assemble, consisting of the two Church Wardens, the Senior§ §Chaplain, and the two senior Civil, and the two senior Military Officers; to§ §make a suitable allotment of the other Pews, for the reception of Strangers§ §and the accommodation of Company's Servants, and other Inhabitants with§ §their families; which allotment when approved by Government, will be§ §executed and supported by the Church Wardens and Constable.§ §By order of the Governor and Council§ §(Signed) Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §The Undermentioned Gentlemen Composed the Committee.§ §The Revd. S. Jones did not attend nor approve of the Report of the Committee§ §Mr. G. Doveton§ §Mr. Brooke§ §Major Kinnaird§ §Major Hodson§ §Captain Broadway§ §Captain H. Cole§ §Church Wardens§ §N.B. A Printed Copy of the Regulations as approved of by the Govr. & Council§ §are appended to the end of this Register. -§	Governor and Council. Nobody else was to be admitted to it except people introduced by the Governor or the Lieutenant Governor. Secondly, the wives and unmarried daughters of members of council were to be shown into the ladies' pew. Nobody else was to be admitted except those introduced by the wives of the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor. One of the churchwardens was expected to be at church at all times to support the sexton in carrying out these orders. When no churchwarden was present, the sexton could call on the constable for help. A constable with his staff of office was to attend church for these purposes. A committee was to meet, made up of the two churchwardens, the senior chaplain, the two senior civil servants and the two senior military officers. It was to allot the other pews suitably, to seat strangers and to accommodate the Company's servants and other inhabitants with their families. Once the government approved the allotment, the churchwardens and the constable would put it into effect and enforce it. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, signed the instructions by order of the Governor and Council. The following gentlemen made up the committee. The Reverend S. Jones Mr G. Doveton Mr Brooke Major Kinnaird Major Hodson Captain Broadway, churchwarden Captain H. Cole, churchwarden A note beside the Reverend S. Jones's name recorded that he did not attend and did not approve of the report of the committee. A further note recorded that a printed copy of the regulations, as approved by the Governor and Council, was attached at the end of the register. **Interpretations** The seating in the town church now set out the island's official ranks in plan. The Governor and Council's pew was reserved for governors and councillors of other settlements, members of the Select Committee in China and supercargoes. Supercargoes were the senior commercial officers in charge of a ship's cargo, the men who managed the Company's tea trade at Canton. They passed through St Helena on the homeward ships, and placing them in the Governor's own pew showed their standing in the Company's service. A churchwarden, the sexton and a constable with his staff were to make sure no one sat above their rank. The rest of the pews were allotted by a committee of officials and officers, not by the parish. The Reverend Samuel Jones did not attend the committee and disapproved of its report. In 1812 he had appealed strongly against the vestry's elections, and now he objected to a seating plan drawn up by civil servants and soldiers for the church he served. The instructions came from the Governor and Council, so the chaplain had no power to change them.
382	373	Henry Broadway - and Henry Cole Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen.§ §A Member of Council having observed that the work at the§ §Country Church has been not only executed in an unworkmanlike manner - but§ §left unfinished so that the building is liable to serious injury from the approaching§ §rains, I am directed by the Governor & Council to	Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote to Henry Broadway and Henry Cole Esquires, churchwardens, on 31 January 1816. A member of the Council had noticed that the work on the country church had been done badly. It had also been left unfinished, so the building could be seriously damaged by the coming rains. The Governor and Council therefore told the churchwardens to give the matter their immediate and particular attention. If the state of the funds or any other reason made it necessary, the

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		call your immediate and§ §particular attention to this subject. If it shall be deemed necessary by you§ §from the State of the Funds or any other cause to call a Vestry for the consideration§ §of this subject, & if it shall appear that the Funds at your disposal have been§ §duly realized and judiciously applied, they will be ready on the recommendation§ §of the Vestry to take into consideration whether any aid ought to be afforded on the§ §part of the Honble. Company. -§ §I am Gentlemen Your Obedt. Servt.§ §31st. Jany. 1816 -§ §(Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke - Secy.§ §Military Duty occasioning the Removal of Sergt. Millington§ §he could no longer continue the office of Clerk of the Country Church -§ §Sergeant Croft, was therefore appointed by the Recommendation of the§ §Senr. Chaplain, to fill that office - upon the same Salary -§	churchwardens could call a vestry to consider the problem. If it then appeared that the money at their disposal had been properly collected and wisely spent, the Governor and Council would be ready, on the vestry's recommendation, to consider whether the Company should give any help. Sergeant Millington's military duties had moved him elsewhere, so he could no longer serve as clerk of the country church. On the senior chaplain's recommendation, Sergeant Croft was appointed to the post at the same salary. **Interpretations** The Governor and Council found the country church's new steeple and shed badly built and left unfinished, little more than a year after the parish had spent about £385 0s 0d on them. In August 1814 the government had doubted whether the money voted for the church was well spent. Now it offered help, but only if the vestry could show its funds had been "duly realised and judiciously applied". The Company had paid half the cost of the rebuilding in 1806. This time it made any further support depend on the parish proving that it had managed the earlier money properly. The parish had relied on soldiers of the garrison as church clerks, organists and market clerks since the 1790s. The post of clerk of the country church changed hands when Sergeant Millington was posted elsewhere, so it depended on military postings the parish did not control.
383	374	Island St. Helena. 16th. April 1816.§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's Valley the§ §following Persons, were chosen Parish Officers. - (viz.)§ §Sheriffs§ §Thos. Greentree§ §B. A. Wright§ §R. H. Leech§ §to be selected by the Govr. and Council§ §Church Wardens.§ §Henry Cole§ §Thos. O'Connor§ §Bailiffs.§ §Thos. Thomas§ §Jas. Sterling§ §Jas. Smith§ §Leond. Chippendale§ §Patk. Crawley§ §Jas. Bicknell§ §Constables§ §John Dring§ §Danl. Caldwell§ §Overseers of High Ways.§ §Watkin Greentree§ §Jno. Lascelles Estate§ §Jas. Masons Estate§ §Wormers of Cattle.§ §Billy Bright§ §James George§ §Saml. Robinson§ §The Sheriffs are elected by Vote agreeably to the Boards Instructions§ §at last Vestry, and the other Parish Offices by Rotation. -§ §The Church Wardens beg to move the attention of the Vestry to the§ §condition of the Country Church, which remains in an unfinished state;§ §and for the preservation of what has already been done, as well to prevent§ §injury by neglect or delay, and also to complete what remains unfinished they§ §now lay before the Vestry, a Report of the State of the Country Church, with an§ §estimate of the probable expence of finishing and	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 16 April 1816 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs, one to be selected by the Governor and Council: Thomas Greentree B. A. Wright R. H. Leech Churchwardens: Henry Cole Thomas O'Connor Constables: John Dring Daniel Caldwell Bailiffs: Thomas Thomas James Stirling James Smith Leonard Chippindale Patrick Crawley James Bucknell Overseers of the highways: Watkin Greentree John Leech's estate James Mason's estate Wormers of cattle: Billy Hughes James George Samuel Robinson The sheriffs were chosen by vote, as the Board had instructed at the last vestry, and the other parish officers by rotation. The churchwardens asked the vestry to consider the state of the country church, which was still unfinished. The work already done needed protecting from damage through neglect or delay, and what was left had to be completed. They laid before the vestry a report on the church's condition, with an estimate of £121 0s 0d for finishing it and putting it in full repair. The parish had been in debt and the previous year's funds had not been enough to put anything towards this. Much time had therefore been lost. Unless the church was quickly finished in a lasting way, the damage and the resulting costs would grow.

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		putting it in complete repair§ §the Amount of which is £ 121. 0. 0 -§ §The Parish being in Debt the Funds of the last Year was not sufficient to§ §furnish any sums toward the object, in consequence of which much time§ §has been lost, and unless the Church be speedily finished in a permanent§ §manner, the injury and consequent expences will encrease -§ §For which purposes and the ordinary expences of the Parish, a Poll Tax of two§ §Shillings and Six pence is proposed & agreed to; as a less sum than that§ §arising from such a Tax will suffice. - subject to the approval of the Govr. & Council§ §The Worshipful Board, in a late Letter to the Church Wardens§ §on the subject of the Parish Funds and State of the Country Church, have§ §been pleased to signify, that if upon the Report of the Vestry, it should seem§ §necessary; they would take into consideration whether any assistance to§ §the Parish should be furnished on the part of the Honble. Company.§	To meet this and the parish's ordinary expenses, the vestry proposed and agreed a poll tax of 2s 6d a head, or less if a smaller sum from such a tax would be enough. The tax was subject to the approval of the Governor and Council. In a recent letter to the churchwardens about the parish funds and the state of the country church, the Board had said that if the vestry's report showed it was needed, it would consider whether the Company should help the parish. **Interpretations** Daniel Caldwell, the parish orphan apprenticed to Thomas O'Connor in 1798, was chosen constable in 1816. In the same year O'Connor himself was a churchwarden. The boy the parish had kept from 1788 and bound to a tailor's shop was now one of its officers, serving beside the master who had taken him without a premium. This was a rare case of the parish's own relief raising a child into its body of ratepayers and officers. James George was among the wormers of cattle. On the acreage list he appears as a free man with four acres, so the post was going regularly to free black smallholders. The vestry put the estimate of £121 0s 0d to finish the church before the Board. In January the Board had made any help from the Company depend on the parish showing that its funds had been well spent. By presenting a full report and estimate, the vestry met that condition and opened the way to a Company contribution.
384	375	Captain Henry Cole who succeeds to the office of Head Church Warden,§ §begs leave to represent, that his Military Duties will have a tendency to prevent§ §him from paying that attention to the affairs of the Parish, which the§ §office of Church Warden requires of him - & therefore begs to decline§ §that office. -§ §The Undermentioned Persons were absent from the Vestry. -§ §Jno. Baldrick§ §Saml. Burnham§ §Thos. Harris§ §Richd. Isacke§ §Jno. Mellis Senr.§ §Jno. Mellis Junr.§ §Chas. Scott§ §Robt. Seale§ §Richd. Torbett§ §Chas. Blake§ §Jas. Clarke§ §Davd. Kay Junr.§ §John Kay§ §Jno. Oliver§ §Henry Pritchard§ §Chas. Scawell§ §Wm. Singleton§ §Richd. Young§ §Patk. Crawley§ §Wm. Everton§ §Davd. Leech§ §Benj. Mason§ §Jno. Robinson§ §Louis Solomon§ §Arch. Seale§ §Jas. Sterling -§ §Stephen Young§ §To Henry Broadway and Henry Cole Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens -§ §Gentlemen§ §The Proceedings of the Vestry held on Monday last§ §having been laid before the Governor and Council; I am directed§ §to acquaint you that they are approved. - Mr.	Captain Henry Cole had become head churchwarden. He told the vestry that his military duties would probably stop him giving the parish's affairs the attention a churchwarden owed them, and he therefore asked to decline the office. The following persons were absent from the vestry. John Baldrick Samuel Burnham Thomas Harris Richard Isaacs John Mellis senior John Mellis junior Charles Scott Robert Seale Richard Torbett Charles Blake James Clarke David Kay junior John Kay William Olive Henry Pritchard Charles Scavell William Singleton Richard Young Patrick Crawley William Everton David Leech Benjamin Mason John Robinson Lewis Solomon Archibald Seale James Stirling Stephen Young Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote to Henry Broadway and Henry Cole Esquires, churchwardens, at St Helena on 19 April 1816. The proceedings of the previous Monday's vestry had been laid before the Governor and Council, who approved them. Mr Greentree had been selected as sheriff. The Board had also decided that Captain H. Cole must either serve as churchwarden himself or provide an approved substitute. **Interpretations**

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		Greentree has§ §been selected as Sheriff. - and the Board have resolved that§ §Captain H. Cole is either to fill the office of Church Warden in§ §person, or provide an approved substitute. -§ §I am Gentlemen§ §Your Most Obedt. Servt.§ §St. Helena§ §19th. April 1816.§ §(Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§	The vestry now listed by name the 27 inhabitants who stayed away. In 1800 the vestry had asked for power to fine absent members 40s, and in 1793 it had complained that many inhabitants neglected its meetings. A written list of absentees made the duty to attend a matter of record. The men named could be singled out for fines or for unwelcome offices. The Board would not let Captain Cole refuse the post of churchwarden, even though he cited his military duties. It required him to serve or to supply an approved substitute. That was the condition the vestry had imposed on Major Seale in 1798, when he was ill. Military rank did not excuse an inhabitant from parish office; it only allowed him to pay someone else to serve in his place.
385	376	Island St. Helena 17th. March 1817§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's Valley the follow-§ §ing letter was received from the Secretary to Government.§ §(Copy)§ §To§ §Henry Cole, and Thos. O'Connor, Esquires, Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen,§ §The Governor and Council being about to apply to the§ §Honble. Court of Directors to send out an Organist in the room§ §of C. Scawell who has resigned, and reflecting that it will be§ §difficult to induce a properly qualified person to come to this Island§ §on so small a Salary as £30 - Pr. annum, it is proposed to encrease§ §it to £50 - - and the Governor and Council trust that the Vestry§ §will readily accede to half this additional expence being defrayed§ §by the Parish, particularly when it is considered that the Honble.§ §Court of Directors liberally took upon themselves the whole of the§ §expence of purchasing the Organ and sending it out.§ §I am,§ §Gentlemen,§ §Your obedt. Servant,§ §St. Helena,§ §17 March 1817.§ §(Signd.) Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§ §The Requisition contained in the foregoing Letter being put§ §to the Vote it was unanimously agreed that one half of the additional Sum§ §of Twenty Pounds proposed for the Salary of an Organist shall be furnished§ §by the Parish.§ §It was farther agreed in Vestry to beg leave to call the attention§ §of Government to the encreased number of Dogs upon the Island and request§ §the Dog Regulations may be strictly enforced.§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 17 March 1817, and the following letter from the secretary to the government was read to it. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote to Henry Cole and Thomas O'Connor Esquires, churchwardens, at St Helena on 17 March 1817. The Governor and Council were about to ask the Court of Directors to send out an organist to replace C. Scavell, who had resigned. They thought it would be hard to persuade a properly qualified person to come to the island for a salary as small as £30 0s 0d a year. They therefore proposed to raise it to £50 0s 0d. They trusted that the vestry would readily agree that the parish should pay half of the extra cost, especially as the Court of Directors had generously paid the whole cost of buying the organ and sending it out. The vestry voted on the request in the letter and agreed unanimously that the parish should pay half of the proposed extra £20 0s 0d for the organist's salary. The vestry also agreed to draw the government's attention to the growing number of dogs on the island and to ask that the dog regulations be strictly enforced. **Interpretations** The Company was raising church music on St Helena to a professional standard. The Directors had paid for the organ, and the government now wanted a trained organist from England instead of the garrison soldiers who had played it since 1804. It reckoned that only a higher salary would bring a qualified man so far. The parish had paid organists since the start, and the Company asked it to bear half the increase, to which the vestry agreed without dispute. The church's music, like its seating, was shaped by the government, with the parish contributing to the cost. The dog laws had been enforced since the 1780s through taxes, declarations, informers' rewards and destruction of strays. In 1801 the roll counted 172 dogs, fewer than in 1791. By 1817 the vestry reported that the number was rising again and asked the government to enforce the regulations strictly. The parish's own officers could no longer keep the dogs down, so control passed to the government.
386	377	Island St. Helena, 31st. March 1817§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's§ §Valley, a Letter from the Governor and Council was laid before the§ §Vestry, proposing whether Charles Scawell should be re-elected as§ §Organist on the Salary of £50. Pr. annum, or whether a qualified§ §person should be sent for from England for that situation.§ §It was agreed that the situation of Organist should remain§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 31 March 1817. A letter from the Governor and Council was laid before it, asking whether Charles Scavell should be re-elected as organist at a salary of £50 0s 0d a year or whether a qualified person should be sent for from England. The vestry agreed that the post of organist should stay vacant until a suitable person could be sent from England. A letter from the Reverend Richard Boys was also laid before the vestry. He proposed that the military band, which was playing for the church

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		§vacant 'till a proper person should be sent from England.§ §Also a Letter was laid before the Vestry from the Revd. Rd.§ §Boys, proposing to allow the Military Band who perform the Church§ §Service the Parish Share of the Organist's Salary.§ §It was agreed that the Military Band should receive that§ §Salary from the time they commenced performing that Service,§ §until an Organist arrive from England.§	services, should receive the parish's share of the organist's salary. The vestry agreed that the band should receive that salary from the time it began playing for the services until an organist arrived from England. **Interpretations** The vestry chose to leave the organist's post empty rather than reappoint Charles Scavell, the island man who had played since at least 1810, at the higher salary. It preferred to wait for a trained organist from England. The parish's share of the salary went meanwhile to the garrison's military band, so church music now depended on the garrison as the clerks' posts did.
387	378	Poll Tax ordered by Vestry the 16th. April 1816. at 2/6 Pr. Head§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Aliesworth Thomas: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Alexander Frederick: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Alexander, John (Estate): No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Alexander Henry: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Adams, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Armstrong James: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Adams Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Alexander, Geo. (Orphs.): No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Alexander John: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Boys Richard: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Beale Anthony: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Beale Onesiphorus: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Bazett, Clarissa: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Baldrick, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bagley's Benjn. Orphans: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Bagley John: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Bagley Thomas: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Bagley Richard: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Bagley Mary: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Bagley, James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bagley, Robert: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Burnham, John: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Burnham, Saml.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Brooke, Thos. H.: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Bidwell, Jonathan: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bell, William: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Barker, Richard: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §Boorman, George: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Brabazon, William: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §Braid, Elizabeth: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Balcombe, William: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§ §Barnes, John: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Broadway, Ann: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Banks Edward: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Broadway Henry: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Boyes, John: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Blenkins, George: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Banks Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Burnside, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bennett, James: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Blake Charles: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Bruce, G. R.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Cocks James: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Cole, Thos. (Orphans): No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Carrd. forward: No. of Heads 366, £ 45, s 15, d 0§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 366, £ 45, s 15, d 0§ §Cole, Thomas: No. of Heads 30, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Cole, Henry: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Chamberlain, Susanna: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Chadwick, Agnes: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Crout, Robert: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Cruickshank, John: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Carrol, William: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Carr, Thomas: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	The poll tax ordered by the vestry on 16 April 1816 at 2s 6d a head was recorded as follows. Thomas Ailesworth, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Frederick Alexander, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d John Alexander's estate, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Henry Alexander, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d John Adams, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Armstrong, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas Adams, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d George Alexander's orphans, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d John Alexander, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d Richard Boys, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Anthony Beale, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Onesiphorus Beale, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d John Baldrick, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Benjamin Bagley's orphans, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d John Bagley, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Thomas Bagley, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Richard Bagley, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Mary Bagley, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Burnham, [...] heads, £1 [...] Samuel Burnham, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Thomas H. Brooke, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Jonathan Bidwell, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Bell, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Richard Barker, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d George Boorman, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d William Brabazon, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d Elizabeth Braid, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d William Balcombe, 27 heads, £3 7s 6d John Barnes, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Ann Broadway, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Edward Banks, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Henry Broadway, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d John Bays, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d George Blenkins, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Burnside, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Bennett, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Charles Blake, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d G. R. Bruce, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Cocks, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Thomas Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Carried forward, 366 heads, £45 15s 0d Brought forward, 366 heads, £45 15s 0d Thomas Cole, 30 heads, £3 15s 0d Henry Cole, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Susannah Chamberlain, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Agnes Chadwick, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Robert Cecil, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d John Cruickshank, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d William Carrol, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas Carr, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Leonard Chippindale, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Chantry, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d

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		§Chippendale, Leonard: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Cranfield, William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Chantry, Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Clarke, James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Clarke, Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Caldwell, Daniel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Crawley, Patrick: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Coupland, Mary: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Carrol & De Fountaine: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Cole, Joseph: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Doveton, W. W.: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§ §Doveton John (Orphans): No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Doveton, Gabriel: No. of Heads 24, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §De Fountaine, John: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §De Fountaine Jno. (Orphans): No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Dring, John: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Den Taffe's, A. (Orphans): No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Dickson, James: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Dray, Margt.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §De Fountaine, Charles: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §De Fountaine Eliz.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Eager, Robert: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Everton William: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Fowler William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Ford Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Greentree, Thomas: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 17, d 6§ §Gurling, Eleanor: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Griffiths Mary: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Greentree, Watkin: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Green, Thomas: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Goff, Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Gates, Nicholas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Giles, Thomas: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Greenland, Edward: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Carrd. forward: No. of Heads 663, £ 82, s 12, d 6§	Thomas Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Daniel Caldwell, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Patrick Crawley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Mary Coupland, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Carroll P. Desfountain, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Cole, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d W. W. Doveton, 27 heads, £3 7s 6d John Doveton's orphans, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Gabriel Doveton, 24 heads, £3 0s 0d John Desfountain, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d John Desfountain junior's orphans, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d John Dring, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d A. Dentaffe's orphans, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d James Dickson, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Margaret Dray, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Charles Desfountain, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Eliza Desfountain, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Robert Eager, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d William Everton, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Ford, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Greentree, 22 heads, £2 17s 6d Eleanor Gurling, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Mary Griffiths, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Watkin Greentree, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Green, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Nicholas Gates, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Giles, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Edward Greenland, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Carried forward, 663 heads, £82 12s 6d
388	379	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Harris, Thomas Brot. forward: No. of Heads 663, £ 82, s 17, d 6§ §Hodson, C. R. G.: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §Hodson, Ann: No. of Heads 26, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Hayes, Robert: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Hunter, Ann: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Hayward Ellis: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Harper, Sarah: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Harper, James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Harper, Roderick: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Harris, Henry: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Howes, Edmund: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Hall, William: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Honeyman, John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Isaacke, Elisha: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Isaacke, R. V.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Isaacke, Matilda: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jacks, Joseph: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jollis William (Estate): No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Isaacke, Alfred: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Knipe, Saml.: No. of Heads 41, £ 5, s 2, d 6§ §Knipe, Rd. Orphans: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Kennedy, D. Nath.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Knipe, Sarah: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Knipe, John: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Knipe, Mary Junr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Kinnaird, David: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Kay, David, Senr.: No. of Heads 42, £ 5, s 5, d 0§ §Kay, David, Junr.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Kay, John: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Kellin, Patrick: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Knipe, Richd. H. Senr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Lester, Thomas: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Lowden, James: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	The poll tax at 2s 6d a head continued. Brought forward, 663 heads, £82 17s 6d Thomas Harris, no entry C. R. G. Hodson, 25 heads, £3 2s 6d Ann Hodson, 26 heads, £3 5s 0d Robert Hayes, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Ann Hunter, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Ellis Hayward, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Sarah Harper, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d James Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Henry Harris, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Edmund Hawes, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d William Hall, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Elisha Isaacs, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d R. V. Isaacs, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Matilda Isaacs, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Jacks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Julio's estate, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Alfred Isaacs, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Samuel Knipe, 41 heads, £5 2s 6d Richard Knipe's orphans, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Sarah Knipe, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d John Knipe, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Mary Knipe junior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d David Kinnaird, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d David Kay senior, 42 heads, £5 5s 0d David Kay junior, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Kay, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Patrick Killen, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Richard H. Knipe senior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Lester, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d James Lowden, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Robert Leech, 24 heads, £3 0s 0d

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		§Leech, Robert: No. of Heads 24, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Leech, Geo.: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §Leech, R. H.: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §Le Breton, John: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Legg, John: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Lambe, Aaron: No. of Heads 24, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Lambe, G. J.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Masons Rd. Orphans: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§ §Mason, John: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Mason, Richd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Carrd. forwd.: No. of Heads 1139, £ 142, s 7, d 6§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 1139, £ 142, s 7, d 6§ §Mason, Benj.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Mason, James, Estate: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Merchant, Margaret: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Mills, Maria: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Mead, George: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §McDougald Dugal: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Matthewson, William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §McDaniel, Joseph: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §McRitchie, Thos.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Newton, John: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §O'Connor, Daniel: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §O'Connor Thomas: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Oliver John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §O'Connor & Porteous: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Emens, John: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Pierie, Helena: No. of Heads 35, £ 4, s 7, d 6§ §Pyle, William: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Porteous Henry: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Page, Harriet: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Pritchard, Sarah: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Pritchard, Eleanor: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Pritchard Henry: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Pritchard, D. H.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Phillips G. L.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Perkins Estate, John: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Roberts Ann: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Rose James: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Robinson John: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §Rooke John: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Rourke, Laurence: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Reichenbach Fredk.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Robinson Saml.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Seale J. W.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Solomon Saul: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Solomon Jos.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Solomon Lewis: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Sanders Joseph: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Smith Dan.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Smith E. C.: No. of Heads 31, £ 3, s 17, d 6§ §Seale, W. Senr.: No. of Heads 37, £ 4, s 12, d 6§ §Seale, Francis, Estate: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Seale John Do.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Carrd. forwd.: No. of Heads 1513, £ 188, s 15, d 0§	George Leech, 25 heads, £3 2s 6d R. H. Leech, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d John Le Breton, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d John Legg, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Aaron Lambe, 24 heads, £3 0s 0d G. J. Lambe, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Richard Mason's orphans, 23 heads, £2 17s 6d John Mason, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Richard Mason, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Carried forward, 1,139 heads, £142 7s 6d Brought forward, 1,139 heads, £142 7s 6d Benjamin Mason, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d James Mason's estate, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d Margaret Merchant, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Maria Mills, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d George Mead, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Dugal McDugald, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Matthewson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph McDaniel, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas McRitchie, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d John Newton, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Daniel O'Connor, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Thomas O'Connor, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d John Olive, 1 head, £0 2s 6d O'Connor and Porteous, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John Ensom, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Helena Pierce, 35 heads, £4 7s 6d William Pithie, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Henry Porteous, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Harriet Page, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Sarah Pritchard, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d Eleanor Pritchard, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d Henry Pritchard, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d D. K. Pritchard, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d G. L. Phillips, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d John Perkins's estate, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Ann Roberts, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d James Rolfe, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Robinson, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d John Rooks, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Lawrence Rourke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Frederick Richenbach, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d J. W. Seale, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Saul Solomon, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Joseph Solomon, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Lewis Solomon, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Sanders, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Daniel Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 6d E. C. Smith, 31 heads, £3 17s 6d William Seale senior, 37 heads, £4 12s 6d Francis Seale's estate, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Seale, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Carried forward, 1,5[...] heads, £18[...] The previous page carried forward £82 12s 6d, but this page brings forward £82 17s 6d.
389	380	Continued§ §Names, No. of Family, £, s, d§ §Brought forward: No. of Family 1510, £ 188, s 15, d 0§ §Seale, Robert Francis: No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Seale Archibald: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Seale William, Junr.: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Seale, Francis: No. of Family 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Scott, John, Senr.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Scott, John, Junr.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Stewart, Joseph: No. of Family 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Shortis, John Edwd.: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Spratt, William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Scott, Charles: No. of Family 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Smart, Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Statham, Robt.: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Sampson, Charles: No. of Family 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§	The poll tax at 2s 6d a head continued and closed with the total. Brought forward, 1,510 heads, £188 15s 0d Robert Francis Seale, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Archibald Seale, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Seale junior, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Francis Seale, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d John Scott senior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Scott junior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Stewart, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d John Edward Shortis, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d William Spratt, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Charles Scott, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Thomas Smart, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Statham, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Charles Sampson, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d Charles Scavell, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d John Singleton, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d

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		§Scawell, Charles: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Singleton, John: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Singleton, William: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Slater, John: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Storey, Thomas: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Smith, John: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Torbett, Richd.: No. of Family 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Tracy, William: No. of Family 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Thorn, Thomas: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Taylor, John, Senr.: No. of Family 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Carrd. forward: No. of Family 1656, £ 207, s 0, d 0§ §Brot. forward: No. of Family 1656, £ 207, s 0, d 0§ §Taylor, John, Junr.: No. of Family 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Thompson, John: No. of Family 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Torbett, James: No. of Family 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Torbett, J. W.: No. of Family 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Truebody, James: No. of Family 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Thomas, Thomas: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Worrall, Sarah: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Wright, Mary: No. of Family 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Wright, J. A.: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Wright, Robt.: No. of Family 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Wills, Richd.: No. of Family 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Ward, Saml. Perkins: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Weston, Charles: No. of Family 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Wrangham, Eliz.: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Wheatley, Joseph: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Watson, William: No. of Family 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Young, Ann: No. of Family 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Young, Stephen: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Young, Richd.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Young, Steph. Estate: No. of Family 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Youd, Jas. Chas.: No. of Family 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Young, Amoret: No. of Family 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Total: No. of Family 1806, £ 225, s 15, d 0§	William Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Slater, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Thomas Storey, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Smith, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Richard Torbett, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d William Tracey, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Thomas Thorn, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Taylor senior, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Carried forward, 1,656 heads, £207 0s 0d Brought forward, 1,656 heads, £207 0s 0d John Taylor junior, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John Thompson, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d James Torbett, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d J. W. Torbett, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d James Truebody, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Sarah Worrall, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Mary Wright, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d J. A. Wright, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Robert Wright, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Richard Wills, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Samuel Perkins Ward, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Charles Weston, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Eliza Wrangham, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Joseph Wheatley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Watson, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Ann Young, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d Stephen Young, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Richard Young, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Stephen Young's estate, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d James Charles Youd, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Amoret Young, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Total, 1,806 heads, £225 15s 0d
390	381	Island Saint Helena April 7th. 1817§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's§ §Valley the following Persons were chosen Parish§ §Officers viz.§ §Sheriffs§ §Charles Blake Esqr.§ §William Balcombe Esqr.§ §Anthony Beale Esqr.§ §Church Wardens§ §Thomas O'Connor§ §James Torbett§ §Constables§ §John Sherrard§ §Joseph Solomon§ §Overseers of High-ways§ §Geo. Alexander's Orphans§ §Thos. Bagley Esqr.§ §Thos. Brooke Esqr.§ §It was resolved that the Poll Tax of One§ §Shilling and Sixpence per Head be levied§ §for the current Expences of the present Year.§	A vestry met at the chapel in James's Valley, St Helena, on 7 April 1817 and chose the following parish officers. Sheriffs: Charles Blake Esquire William Balcombe Esquire Anthony Beale Esquire Churchwardens: Thomas O'Connor James Torbett Constables: John Sherrard Joseph Solomon Overseers of the highways: George Alexander's orphans Thomas Bagley Esquire Thomas Brooke Esquire The vestry resolved to levy a poll tax of 1s 6d a head for the current year's expenses.
391	382	Parish Dr.§ §£ . S . D§ §1817§ §Maintenance of Collins Family in Gaol§ §21 . 11 . 3§ §July 7 To Mr. Boys for repairing Chapel yards§ §4§ §To Coloured Cloth for Riva hire§ §3§ §To [...]§ §15§ §Sept. 1 Free Cesar funeral§ §3 . 15§ §One Quarter Salary for Organist§ §12 . 10§ §Paid Cesar by order of Council§ §3 . 6§	The parish account for 1816 and 1817 recorded the following payments. This copy is faint, and the figures that cannot be read are marked [...]. Maintenance of Collins's family in gaol, £21 11s 3d 7 July, to Mr Boys for repairing the chapel yard, £4 [...] To Colebrook Smith for horse hire, £3 [...] 1 September, the funeral of Cesar, a free black, £[...] 15s 0d One quarter's salary for the organist, £3 15s 0d Paid to Cesar by order of the Council, £1[...] 6s 0d 30 September, one quarter's salary to the sexton, £3 15s 0d To the sexton for the return of free blacks, £3 0s 0d Carpenters' bill for the steeple, £15 15s 0d

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		§30 One Quarter Salary to Sexton§ §3 . 15§ §To Sexton for return of free blacks§ §3 . 0§ §Carpenters Bill for Steeple§ §15 . 15§ §Masons Work§ §10 . 16§ §Labourers Do.§ §3 . 10§ §To Burman for Country church§ §40 . 0 . 0§ §Octr. 1 One Quarter Salary for Organist§ §3 . 15§ §Hays funeral§ §15§ §Sergt. Thompsons do.§ §15§ §Mr. Westons bill§ §1 . 10 . 9§ §One Quarter washing§ §1 . 5§ §Stanfords funeral§ §15§ §7 Pr. Cent collecting Tax on £225-15§ §16 . 16 . 7½§ §Harry Labourer§ §18§ §April 7 - Cesar four Weeks§ §1 . 8§ §Westons bill§ §2 . 10 . 3§ §Singleton 3 Quarters Salary§ §11 . 5§ §Summons for Nonpayment of Poll Tax§ §10§ §Sergt. Price Writing 3 Times for Parish§ §1 . 10 . 0§ §3 Quarters washing Surplices§ §3 . 15§ §Mary Lewis Childs funeral§ §15§ §Rachael Hillmans do.§ §15§ §Charlotte Lawrences do.§ §15§ §Poll Tax uncollected due by Singleton§ §16½ . 1 . 10½§ §179 . 1 . 10½§ §Balance due§ §74 . 3 . 1½§ §253 . 5§ §Received the Books, with the Church Plate,§ §which leaves a balance in favor of the Parish of Seventy§ §four Pounds, three shillings & three half pence, due from Captain§ §Henry S. Cole.§ §Thos. O'Connor§ §Church Warden§	Masons' work, £10 16s 0d Labourers' work, £3 10s 0d To Duncan for the country church, £40 0s 0d 1 October, one quarter's salary for the organist, £3 15s 0d Hayes's funeral, £0 15s 0d Sergeant Thompson's funeral, £0 15s 0d Mr Weston's bill, £1 10s 9d One quarter's washing, £1 5s 0d Stanford's funeral, £0 15s 0d 7½ per cent for collecting the tax on £225 15s 0d, £16 18s 7½d Harry, a labourer, £0 18s 0d 7 April, Cesar for work, £1 [...] Weston's bill, £2 10s 0d Singleton, 3 quarters' salary, £11 5s 0d Summonses for non-payment of the poll tax, £0 10s 0d Sergeant Price for writing 3 times for the parish, £1 10s 0d 3 quarters' washing of surplices, £3 15s 0d Funeral of Mary Lewis's child, £0 15s 0d Funeral of Rachael Hillman's child, £0 15s 0d Funeral of Charlotte Lawrence's child, £0 15s 0d Poll tax uncollected, due from Singleton, £1[...] 1s 10½d Total, £179 1s 10½d Balance due, £74 3s 1½d Total, £253 5s 0d Thomas O'Connor, churchwarden, acknowledged receiving the books with the church plate. They left a balance of £74 3s 1½d in favour of the parish, due from Captain Henry S. Cole. **Interpretations** The collector's commission rose from 5 per cent to 7½ per cent. The parish also paid for summonses against people who had not paid the poll tax, and part of the tax was still uncollected and owed by the collector. The 2s 6d rate of 1816 was the highest since the church rebuilding. Collecting it now needed a larger incentive and court process. Even then the collector could not bring in the whole sum, and the shortfall was recorded as his debt to the parish. The parish paid £21 11s 3d to keep Collins's whole family in gaol, a large sum for a single case. A family imprisoned together with no other means of support became the parish's charge. Since 1809 the parish had been paying for people held in custody, whether free blacks or accused slaves. Here it was supporting a white household as well.
392	383	Parish Cr.§ §£ . S . D§ §Amount of Poll Tax§ §225 . 15§ §Dog Tax§ §27 . 10 . 0§ §253 . 5 . 0§ §£253 . 5§ **Margin Notes:** §[...] ✓§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the following receipts. Poll tax, £225 15s 0d Dog tax, £27 10s 0d Total, £253 5s 0d **Interpretations** The dog tax brought the parish only £27 10s 0d, against £48 15s 0d the year before. The vestry had complained in March 1817 that dogs were increasing. The fall was therefore not a sign that the number of dogs had dropped. It suggests the tax was not being collected properly from the owners of the growing number of dogs, which was why the vestry asked the government to enforce the regulations strictly.

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393	384	Poll Tax ordered by Vestry April 7th. 1817. at 1/6 per head§ §Names, No. of heads, £, s, d§ §John Alexanders: No. of heads 25, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Alexanders Estate John: No. of heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Alexander Frederick: No. of heads 20, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Alexander George Orpt.: No. of heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Alexander Henry: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Aliesworth Thomas: No. of heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Ashton C. G.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Armstrong Robt.: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Adams Thos.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Breame Senr. Thos. R.: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Breame Junr. Thos. R.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Boys Richd.: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Beale Onesiphorus: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Beale Antony: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Bazett Clarissa: No. of heads 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Bagley's Orphans, Benjamin: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Bagley John: No. of heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Bagley Thos.: No. of heads 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Bagley Richard: No. of heads 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Bagley Mary: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Bagley Jas.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Bagley Robt.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Burnham John: No. of heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Burnham's Orphans, Thos.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Burnham Samuel: No. of heads 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Brooke Thos. H.: No. of heads 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Bidwell Jonathan: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Bell Wm.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Barker Richd.: No. of heads 24, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Boorman George M.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Broadway Ann: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Broadway Henry: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Banks Edwd.: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Blenkins George: No. of heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Balcombe W.: No. of heads 36, £ 2, s 14, d 0§ §Boys John: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Banks Chas.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Carried forward: No. of heads 343, £ 25, s 14, d 6§ §Brought forward: No. of heads 343, £ 25, s 14, d 6§ §Barnes John: No. of heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Burnside John: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Baldick John: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Bennett Jas.: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Blake Chas.: No. of heads 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Bruce George R.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Bicknell Jas.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Balcombe, Cole & Co.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Braid Andrew: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Brabazon Wm.: No. of heads 25, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Cocks Jas.: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Coles Orphans Thos.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Cole Thos.: No. of heads 31, £ 2, s 6, d 6§ §Cole Henry: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Chamberlain Susannah: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Chadwick Agnes: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Crout Robt.: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Cruickshanks John: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Carroll Wm.: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Carr Thos.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Chippendale Leonard: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Cranfield Wm.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Chantry Thos.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Clarke Jas.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Caldwell Daniel: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Crawley Patrick: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Cole Joseph: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Coupland Mary: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Doveton W. W.: No. of heads 30, £ 2, s 5, d 0§	The vestry set a poll tax on 7 April 1817 at 1s 6d a head. Each householder was charged on the number of heads listed against their name. John Alexander, 25 heads, £1 17s 6d John Alexander's estate, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Frederick Alexander, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d Captain George Alexander, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Henry Alexander, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Alsworth, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d C. G. Ashton, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Robert Armstrong, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Adams, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas R. Breame senior, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas R. Breame junior, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Robert Boys, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d [...] Beale, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Antony Beale, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Clarissa Bazett, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Benjamin Bayliss's orphans, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Bagley, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Thomas Bagley, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d Richard Bagley, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Mary Bagley, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Robert Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Burnham, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Thomas Burnham's orphans, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Samuel Burnham, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Thomas H. Brooke, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d Jonathan Bidwell, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Bell, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Richard Barker, 24 heads, £1 16s 0d George M. Burman, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Ann Broadway, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Henry Broadway, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Edward Banks, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d George Blenkins, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d William Balcombe, 36 heads, £2 14s 0d John Byas, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Carried forward, 343 heads, £25 14s 6d Brought forward, 343 heads, £25 14s 6d John Barnes, no entry John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Baldick, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Bennett, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Charles Blake, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d George R. Bruce, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Birchell, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Balcombe, Cole and Company, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Andrew Brand, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d William Brabazon, 25 heads, £1 17s 6d James Cocks, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Charles Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Cole, 31 heads, £2 6s 6d Henry Cole, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Agnes Chadwick, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Robert Croot, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Cruickshank, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d William [...], 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Carr, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Leonard Chippendale, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Chantry, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Daniel Caldwell, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Patrick Crawley, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph Cole, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Mary Copeland, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d W. W. Doveton, 30 heads, £2 5s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Gabriel Doveton, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d John De Fountain, 21 heads, £1 11s 6d John De Fountain's orphans, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d

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		§Dovetons John Orphans: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Doveton Gabriel: No. of heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Desfountain John: No. of heads 21, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Desfountains Orphans John: No. of heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Desfountain Chas.: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Desfountain Elizth.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Dring John: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Carried forward: No. of heads 575, £ 44, s 7, d [...]§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§ §✓ ✓ ✓ ✓§ §[...]§	Charles De Fountain, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Elizabeth De Fountain, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Dring, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Carried forward, 598 heads, £44 17s 0d **Interpretations** The rate of 1s 6d a head was nine times the 2d a head charged in 1778. The roll also covered much more than a small church levy. It brought in £225 15s 0d, the full poll tax shown on the credit side of the 1816 to 1817 account. By this time the poll tax had become the parish's main source of income. Earlier, the parish had relied on interest from the poor's fund loans and on communion collections. The charges show that the heads counted were the people in each household, slaves included, and not only free adults. William Balcombe was assessed on 36 heads and Thomas Cole on 31. Neither could have had a free household of that size. The tax therefore fell most heavily on the large slaveholding planters and merchants. Balcombe, Cole and Company was also charged as a firm. Daniel Caldwell, the former parish orphan, appeared as a householder liable for 5 heads.
394	385	Poll tax continued§ §Names, No. of heads, £, s, d§ §Brought forward: No. of heads 598, £ 44, s 17, d 0§ §Dentaffes Orphans Andw.: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Dray Margaret: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Dray Wm.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Dickson Jas.: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Dunn John C.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Dove Jas.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Everton Wm.: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Fowler Robt.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Fowler Wm.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Greentree Thos.: No. of heads 26, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §Griffiths Mary: No. of heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Gurling Eleanor: No. of heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Green Thos.: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Gunnell Chas.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Gough Thos.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Giles Thos.: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Greenland Edwd.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Gates Nicholas: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Hodson Chas.: No. of heads 25, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Hodsons Orphans Benjn.: No. of heads 26, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §Hayes Robt.: No. of heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Hunter Ann: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Hayward Ellis: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Harper Sarah: No. of heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Harper Roderick: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Harris Thos.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Harris Henry: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Howes Edmund: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Hockwell Sarah: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hall Wm.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Isaacke Alfred: No. of heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Isacke R. Valentia: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Honeyman John: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Jacks Joseph: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Carried forward: No. of heads 819, £ 61, s 5, d 6§ §Brought forward: No. of heads 819, £ 61, s 16, d 6§ §Jollis Estate Wm.: No. of heads 16, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Knipes Estate Wm.: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Knipe Samuel: No. of heads 39, £ 2, s 18, d 6§ §Knipes Orphans Rd.: No. of heads 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Knipe Richard H.: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Knipe John: No. of heads 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Knipe Mary junior: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Kennedy Orphans Nathl.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Kay David Senr.: No. of heads 41, £ 3, s 1, d 6§ §Kay David Junr.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§	The poll tax roll continued with the following entries. Brought forward, 598 heads, £44 17s 0d Andrew Dentaffe's orphans, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Margaret Dray, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Dray, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d James Dickson, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d John C. Dunn, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d James Dove, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Everton, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Robert Fowler, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Greentree, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d Mary Griffiths, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Eleanor Gurling, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Thomas Green, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Charles Gunnell, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Gough, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Giles, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Edward Greenland, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Nicholas Gates, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Charles Hodson, 25 heads, £1 17s 6d Benjamin Hodson's orphans, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d Robert Hayes, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Ann Hunter, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Ellis Hayward, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Sarah Harper, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Henry Harris, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Edward Howes, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Sarah Hockwell, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Hall, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Alfred Isaacke, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d R. Valentia Isaacke, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph Jacks, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Carried forward, 819 heads, £61 8s 6d Brought forward, 819 heads, £61 8s 6d William Julie's estate, 16 heads, £1 4s 0d William Knipe's estate, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Samuel Knipe, 29 heads, £2 3s 6d Richard Knipe's orphans, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d Richard H. Knipe, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d John Knipe, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Mary Knipe junior, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Matthew Kennedy's orphans, 1 head, £0 1s 6d David Kay senior, 41 heads, £3 1s 6d David Kay junior, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d John Kay, 8 heads, £0 12s 0d Patrick Kellen, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d

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		§Kay John: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Kellin Patrick: No. of heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Lester Thos.: No. of heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Lowden Jas.: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Leech Robt.: No. of heads 25, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Leech R. H.: No. of heads 20, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Leech's Orphans George: No. of heads 25, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Le Breton John: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Legg John: No. of heads 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Lamb Wm.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Lamb Aaron: No. of heads 20, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Lamb G. V.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Mason Wm.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Masons Orphans Rd.: No. of heads 20, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Masons Orphans John: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Mason Benjamin: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Masons Estate Jas.: No. of heads 22, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §Merchant Margaret: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Mills Maria: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Mead George: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §McDougal Dougal: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §McDaniel Joseph: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §McRitchie Thos.: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Marsback Priscilla: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Total: No. of heads 1113, £ 90, s 0, d 0§	Thomas Lister, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d James Lowden, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Robert Leech, 25 heads, £1 17s 6d R. H. Leech, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d George Leech's orphans, 25 heads, £1 17s 6d John Le Breton, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Legg, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d William Lamb, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Aaron Lamb, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d G. V. Lamb, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Mason, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Robert Mason's orphans, 20 heads, £1 10s 0d John Mason's orphans, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Benjamin Mason, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d James Mason's estate, 22 heads, £1 13s 0d Margaret Merchant, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Anne Mills, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d George Meek, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Dougal McDougal, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Joseph McDaniel, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas McRitchie, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Priscilla Mirabach, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Carried forward, [...] heads, £90 0s 0d **Interpretations** The roll charged orphans and the estates of the dead on the same terms as living householders. The Hodson, Leech, Mason and Knipe orphans were among the larger payers. Benjamin Hodson's orphans paid for 26 heads and George Leech's orphans for 25. These entries probably counted the slaves who belonged to the orphans. Guardians or executors kept the slaves working on the children's behalf, and the parish taxed them like any other holding. The children's dependence did not earn them any relief, even though the parish existed partly to care for the poor and the orphaned.
395	386	Poll tax continued -§ §Names, No. of heads, £, s, d§ §Brought forward: No. of heads 1118, £ 90, s 0, d 0§ §Mellis Senr. John: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Moore Edwd.: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Newton Senr. John: No. of heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Newton Junr. John: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §O'Connor Thos.: No. of heads 21, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §O'Connor Daniel: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Oliver Wm.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §O'Connor & Carroll: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Owens John: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Pyle John: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Pierie Helena: No. of heads 22, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §Pyler Wm.: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Porteous Henry: No. of heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Page Harriet: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Pritchard Sarah: No. of heads 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Pritchard Eleanor: No. of heads 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Pritchard H. W.: No. of heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Pritchard D. H.: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Phillips G. L.: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Pinson Wm.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Roberts Wm.: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Rolfe Jas.: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Robinson John: No. of heads 18, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Rookes John: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Rourke Lawrence: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Roberts Samuel: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Reath P. M.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Story Thos.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Seale J. W.: No. of heads 6, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Seale Senr. Wm.: No. of heads 32, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §Seales Estate Francis: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Seales Estate John: No. of heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Seale Robt. Francis: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Seale A. H.: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Seale Francis: No. of heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Solomon Saul: No. of heads 14, £ 1, s 1, d 0§	The poll tax roll continued with the following entries. Brought forward, 1,118 heads, £90 0s 0d John Miller senior, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Edward Moss, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Newton senior, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d John Newton junior, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas [...], 21 heads, £1 11s 6d Daniel [...], 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Oliver, 1 head, £0 1s 6d O'Connor and Carroll, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Onions, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Oyle, 1 head, £0 1s 6d [...] Pierie, 22 heads, £1 13s 0d William [...], 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Henry Porteous, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Harriet Pye, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d Sarah Pritchard, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d Eleanor Pritchard, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d H. R. Pritchard, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d D. K. Pritchard, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d G. L. Phillips, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d William Pruen, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Roberts, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d James Royle, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Robinson, 18 heads, £1 7s 0d John R[...], 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Lawrence Rourke, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Samuel Roberts, 1 head, £0 1s 6d P. M. Reath, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Thomas Story, 1 head, £0 1s 6d J. W. Seale, 6 heads, £0 9s 0d William Seale senior, 32 heads, £2 8s 0d Francis Seale's estate, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Seale's estate, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Robert Francis Seale, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d A. H. Seale, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Francis Seale, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d Saul Solomon, 14 heads, £1 1s 0d

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		§Total: No. of heads 1329, £ 112, s 7, d 6§ §Brought forward: No. of heads 1329, £ 112, s 7, d 6§ §Solomon Jos.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Solomon Lewis G.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Saunders Jos.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Smith E. C.: No. of heads 26, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §Smith Daniel: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Scott John: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Steward Jos.: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Shortis J. E. D.: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Spratt Jas.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Scott Chas.: No. of heads 11, £ 0, s 16, d 6§ §Statham Robt.: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Sampson Chas.: No. of heads 19, £ 1, s 8, d 6§ §Scawell Chas.: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Singleton John: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Singleton Wm.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Sterling Jas.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Spalding Francis: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Scott Richard: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Stephens George: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Slater John: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Sherrard John: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Smith John: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Torbett Richd.: No. of heads 21, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Torbett Jas.: No. of heads 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Torbett J. W.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Tracy Wm.: No. of heads 13, £ 0, s 19, d 6§ §Thorne Thos.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Taylor John Junr.: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Thompson John: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Truebody Jas.: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Thomas Thos.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Viveiros B. J.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Unsworth Jas.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Woodward Wm.: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Wright Mary: No. of heads 17, £ 1, s 5, d 6§ §Wright J. A.: No. of heads 12, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Total: No. of heads 1540, £ 128, s 5, d 0§	Carried forward, 1,329 heads, £112 7s 6d Brought forward, 1,329 heads, £112 7s 6d James Solomon, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Lewis G. Solomon, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d James Saunders, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Smith and Company, 26 heads, £1 19s 0d Daniel Smith, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Scott, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Steward, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d J. E. Shortis, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d James Spratt, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d Charles Scott, 11 heads, £0 16s 6d Peter Statham, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Charles Simpson, 19 heads, £1 8s 6d Charles Sewell, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d John Singleton, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Singleton, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Sterling, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Francis Spalding, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Richard Scott, 1 head, £0 1s 6d George Stephens, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Slater, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d John Steward, 1 head, £0 1s 6d John Smith, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Robert Torbett, 21 heads, £1 11s 6d James Torbett, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d J. W. Torbett, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d William Tracy, 13 heads, £0 19s 6d Thomas Thorne, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Taylor junior, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d John Thompson, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d James Truebody, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 1s 6d B. J. Vernon, 1 head, £0 1s 6d James Unsworth, 1 head, £0 1s 6d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Mary Wright, 17 heads, £1 5s 6d J. S. Wright, 12 heads, £0 18s 0d Carried forward, 1,540 heads, £128 5s 0d The total of 1,118 heads and £90 0s 0d brought forward here completes the figure left unread at the foot of the previous page.
396	387	Poll tax continued§ §Names, No. of heads, £, s, d§ §Brought forward: No. of heads 1540, £ 128, s 5, d 0§ §Wright Robt.: No. of heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Worrall Sarah: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Wills Richd.: No. of heads 10, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Ward Saml. Perkins: No. of heads 5, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Weston Charles S.: No. of heads 15, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Watson Wm.: No. of heads 4, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Wrangham Elizth.: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Wager Maria: No. of heads 7, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Total: No. of heads 1607, £ 133, s 5, d 6§ §Brought forward: No. of heads 1607, £ 133, s 5, d 6§ §Wheatley Joseph: No. of heads 3, £ 0, s 4, d 6§ §Young Stephen: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Young Richard: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Young Amt.: No. of heads 9, £ 0, s 13, d 6§ §Young's Estate - Stephen: No. of heads 8, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Youd Jas. Chas.: No. of heads 2, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Young John: No. of heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 6§ §Total: No. of heads 0, £ 135, s 3, d 0§	The poll tax roll ended with the following entries and the final total. Brought forward, 1,540 heads, £128 5s 0d Robert Wright, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d Sarah Worrall, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Richard Wills, 10 heads, £0 15s 0d Samuel Perkins Ward, 5 heads, £0 7s 6d Charles J. Weston, 15 heads, £1 2s 6d William Watson, 4 heads, £0 6s 0d Elizabeth Wrangham, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Maria Wager, 7 heads, £0 10s 6d Carried forward, 1,607 heads, £133 5s 6d Brought forward, 1,607 heads, £133 5s 6d Joseph Wheatley, 3 heads, £0 4s 6d Stephen Young, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Richard Young, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Ann Young, 9 heads, £0 13s 6d Stephen Young's estate, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d James Charles Youd, 2 heads, £0 3s 0d John Young, 1 head, £0 1s 6d Total, £135 3s 0d No total of heads was entered against the final sum. **Interpretations** The roll set at 1s 6d a head on 7 April 1817 came to £135 3s 0d. That was well below the £225 15s 0d of poll tax shown on the credit side of the 1816 to 1817 account. The earlier comment that this roll produced that £225 15s 0d is therefore wrong. The larger sum came from the previous year's assessment, so the rate set in April 1817 must have been lower than the one before it. Even so, the poll tax was still the parish's largest single source of income.

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397	388	Dr. Parish§ §Date, £ . S . D§ §1817§ §April 19 For the burial of Hoff§ §1 . 10 . 0§ §" George Scotts funeral§ §15 . 0§ §21 " Mary Thomas§ §15 . 0§ §" Margaret Seales child§ §15§ §28 " Eliza Fesfers funeral§ §15 . 0§ §Septr. 6 " 1 Quire of Writing paper§ §3 . 0§ §" Cash to Mrs. Weager at 12/- per time [...] Maria§ §10 . 0§ §15 " 6 Sheets of Paper for list of Free blacks§ §2 . 6§ §17 " 1 Blanket for Martha Seville§ §10 . 0§ §" 2 lbs. Candles for do.§ §4 . 0§ §" ½ Gallon of Wine for do.§ §4 . 6§ §22 Cash to Mrs. Clarke for attendance on do.§ §1§ §" 1 lb. Cotts Nails for do.§ §2 . 6§ §" to Jos. Goodman for summoning free blacks in the Country§ §1§ §" To Wm. Williamson for do.§ §15 . 0§ §" 6½ lbs. rope for the Country church yard§ §9 . 9§ §October 1 " Mr. Boorman for work done at the Country church§ §35 . 19§ §" Mr. Smith for coffins for free blacks§ §2§ §" Pd. Mr. Torbett for necessaries for Martha Seville§ §1 . 3 . 4§ §1818§ §Janry. 5 " John Singleton for a descriptive list of free blacks§ §3§ §" Funeral Expences of H. Easthorpe (Free)§ §15 . 0§ §Febry. 23 " Do. Catharine Plato§ §15 . 0§ §" Hannah Franks child§ §15 . 0§ §" Paid the Garrison band for one year to Jany. 1st.§ §15 . 0 . 0§ §" Washing the Surplices for one year§ §5§ §" To Cesar from 7th. April 1817. to 31st. March 1818§ §" 51 Weeks at 7/.§ §17 . 17 . 0§ §" Sergt. Croft, one years Salary as Clerk & Sexton§ §30 . 0 . 0§ §" To collecting Poll Tax§ §10 . 2 . 6§ §" Mr. Westons bill for maintenance of free blacks in Gaol from 7 April 1817. to 31st. March 1818§ §28 . 17 . 9§ §£166 . 15 . 4§ §Parish Contra Cr.§ §Date, £ . S . D§ §Amount of Poll Tax§ §135 . 3§ §Do. of Dog Tax§ §44 . 1 . 6§	The parish account for 1817 to 1818 set its spending against its receipts as follows. Debit 1817, burial of Huff, £1 10s 0d 19 April 1817, George Scott's funeral, £0 15s 0d 21 April 1817, Mary Thomas's funeral, £0 15s 0d 21 April 1817, funeral of Margaret Seale's child, £0 15s 0d 28 April 1817, Eliza Fisher's funeral, £0 15s 0d 6 September 1817, 1 quire of writing paper, £0 3s 0d 6 September 1817, cash paid to Mrs Weager at a fixed charge each time for [...] slaves, £0 10s 0d 15 September 1817, 6 sheets of paper for the list of free blacks, £0 2s 6d 17 September 1817, 1 blanket for Martha Seville, £0 10s 0d 17 September 1817, 2 lb of candles for Martha Seville, £0 4s 0d 17 September 1817, half a gallon of wine for Martha Seville, £0 4s 6d 22 September 1817, cash to Mrs Clarke for nursing Martha Seville, £1 0s 0d 22 September 1817, 1 lb of coffin nails for Martha Seville, £0 2s 6d 22 September 1817, Joseph Goodman for summoning the free blacks in the country, £1 0s 0d 22 September 1817, William Williamson for summoning the free blacks, £0 15s 0d 22 September 1817, 6½ lb of rope for the country church, £0 9s 9d 1 October 1817, Mr Burgoyne for work at the country church, £35 19s 0d 1 October 1817, Mr Smith for coffins for free blacks, £2 0s 0d 1 October 1817, Mr Torbett for supplies for Martha Seville, £1 3s 4d 5 January 1818, John Singleton for a descriptive list of free blacks, £3 0s 0d 5 January 1818, funeral of H. Easthorpe, a free black, £0 15s 0d 5 January 1818, funeral of Catherine Plato, £0 15s 0d 23 February 1818, funeral of Hannah Franks's child, £0 15s 0d 23 February 1818, the garrison band for one year to 1 January, £15 0s 0d 23 February 1818, laundering the surplice for one year, £5 0s 0d 23 February 1818, Louis Cesar from 7 April 1817 to 31 March 1818, 51 weeks at 7s a week, £17 17s 0d 23 February 1818, Sergeant Croft, one year's salary as clerk and sexton, £30 0s 0d 23 February 1818, collecting the poll tax, £10 2s 6d 23 February 1818, Mr Withers's bill for keeping free blacks in gaol from 1 April 1817 to 31 March 1818, £28 17s 9d Total, £166 15s 4d Credit Poll tax, £135 3s 0d Dog tax, £44 1s 6d Balance owed by Captain H. Cole, former churchwarden, £74 3s 1½d Total, £253 7s 7½d Less spending, £166 15s 4d Balance, £86 12s 3½d **Interpretations** The surplus of £86 12s 3½d existed mostly on paper. Captain Henry S. Cole's debt of £74 3s 1½d was the same sum shown as due from him in the 1816 to 1817 account. A year later it still had not been paid. The churchwardens could have written the debt off or left it out until it was recovered. Instead

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		§Balance due by Capt. H. Cole former Church Warden§ §74 . 3 . 1½§ §£253 . 7 . 7½§ §166 . 15 . 4§ §£86 . 12 . 3½§	they carried it forward as income. Without it, the year's real cash surplus was only about £12. The dog tax rose to £44 1s 6d from £27 10s 0d the year before. The vestry had complained in March 1817 that dogs were increasing and had asked for the rules to be enforced strictly. The rise suggests that the pressure worked and that owners who had escaped the tax were now paying it. Free blacks took up a growing share of the parish's spending. The parish paid for compiling, summoning and listing them, for burying them and for keeping some of them in gaol. Mr Withers's bill for their imprisonment alone came to £28 17s 9d. Together these items made the poll tax pay for police work as well as charity. The descriptive list made by John Singleton served to identify and control free blacks rather than to relieve them. Martha Seville's entries trace a pauper's last illness. The parish paid for her blanket, candles, wine and nursing, and the coffin nails show that she died in its care. Louis Cesar's weekly 7s ran for the whole parish year and was probably a standing allowance to a dependant. The entry gives no reason for it.
398	389	Saint Helena March 23rd. 1818§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's Valley§ §the following Persons were chosen Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §B. A. Wright Esqr.§ §A. Beale Esqr.§ §A. Porteous Esqr.§ §Church Wardens§ §James Torbett§ §Richard Torbett§ §Constables§ §John Burnside§ §Thomas Goff§ §After which a Committee was chosen consisting of§ §the following Persons for the purpose of classing§ §the Inhabitants for Parish duties -§ §David Kay Senr.§ §Majr. C. R. G. Hodson§ §Majr. Wm. Seale§ §Mr. John Legg§ §Mr. John Bagley§ §Lieut. James Torbett§ §Mr. Richard Torbett§ §Bailiffs§ §Elected by the Sheriff§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §Francis [...]§ §[...] Black§ §Overseers of High-ways§ §William Wranghams Estate§ §Ann Youngs Estate§ §John Desfountain's Orphans§ §It was resolved that a Poll-Tax of Two Shillings§ §and six pence per Head be levied for the current§ §Expences of the present Year§ §There was also pre=§	Saint Helena March 23rd. 1818§ §At a Vestry held at the Chapel in James's Valley§ §the following Persons were chosen Parish Officers§ §Sheriffs§ §B. A. Wright Esqr.§ §A. Beale Esqr.§ §A. Porteous Esqr.§ §Church Wardens§ §James Torbett§ §Richard Torbett§ §Constables§ §John Burnside§ §Thomas Goff§ §After which a Committee was chosen consisting of§ §the following Persons for the purpose of classing§ §the Inhabitants for Parish duties -§ §David Kay Senr.§ §Majr. C. R. G. Hodson§ §Majr. Wm. Seale§ §Mr. John Legg§ §Mr. John Bagley§ §Lieut. James Torbett§ §Mr. Richard Torbett§ §Bailiffs§ §Elected by the Sheriff§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §Francis [...]§ §[...] Black§ §Overseers of High-ways§ §William Wranghams Estate§ §Ann Youngs Estate§ §John Desfountain's Orphans§ §It was resolved that a Poll-Tax of Two Shillings§ §and six pence per Head be levied for the current§ §Expences of the present Year§ §There was also pre=§
399	390	presented at the Vestry held this day a Letter§ §from the Inhabitants of which the annexed§ §is a Copy.§ §To the Church-wardens of the Parish§ §of the Island of St. Helena§ §Gentlemen§ §We the undersigned Inhabitants§ §of the said Parish beg leave to lay before you this§ §Day at Vestry the following statement which we§ §hope you will be pleased to lay before His Excellency§ §the Governor & Council for their kind consideration§ §that is to say as the Population of the Island is great§	The vestry on 23 March 1818 also received a letter from the inhabitants, and a copy was entered in the book. It was addressed to the churchwardens of the parish of St Helena. The inhabitants asked the churchwardens to put a statement before Governor Lowe and the Council at the vestry. They pointed out that the island's population was large at the time. Very few fish were being caught or brought to market. Fish had become very expensive because the boats could no longer go to their old fishing grounds. The petitioners asked the Board to look at the problem favourably. They proposed that the boats be

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		§at present and the very small portion of Fish§ §caught or brought to Market and the enormous§ §Price charged for fish in consequence of the fishing§ §Boats not being allowed to go to their old and§ §former fishing Grounds.§ §We therefore humbly hope§ §the Worshipful Board will be pleased to take§ §this matter into their kind consideration and§ §allow the Boats to go in Squadrons as they§ §formerly did in Charge of such persons, such§ §boats or in any other way as the Board may,§ §or shall think proper as well for the safe-§ §guard of the Island and the Interest of the In-§ §habitants -§ §Signed§ §J. E. Youd§ §John Rookes§ §Alfred Isaacke§ §Wm. Tracy§ §Saul Solomon§ §Wm. Gordon§ §Dl. Caldwell§ §William Everton§ §Jos. Saunders§ §Thos. Goff§ §E. Banks§ §Wm. Seale§ §Chas. Banks§ §J. Dring§ §Henry Alexander§ §J. Steward former§ §Clerk of the Fish Market§ §Law. Rourke§ §John Honeyman§ §John Singleton§ §Edwd. Greenland§ §T. Green§ §John Bayes§ §Wm. Roberts§ §F. Stewart§ §Wm. Dray§ §Robt. Horsey§ §G. M. Boorman§ §J. Sherwood§ §Wm. Watson§ §J. W. Daniel§ §Benjn. Mason§ §Jas. Unsworth§ §R. H. Knipe Senr.§ §Amoretta Young§ §Chas. Scott§ §Wm. Seale Senr.§ §Saml. Knipe§ §Thos. Aliesworth§ §C. Gunnell Junr.§ §Saml. Burnham§ §James Truebody§ §William Rookes§ §G. Rookes§ §J. Goodman§ §E. Smith§ §H. Horrot§ §Rd. Scott§ §William Cranfield§ §D. Moody§ §Wm. Chesse§ §Jas. Clarke§ §Edmond Howes§ §John Legg§ §J. Wheatley§ §H. Seale§	allowed out in groups again, as they had been before. Each group would go under the charge of people or boats chosen by the Board, or under any other arrangement it thought fit. The petitioners argued that such a scheme would protect the island and serve the inhabitants' interests at the same time. The letter carried the following signatures. J. C. Youd John Rapkes Alfred [...] William Tracy Saul Solomon William Gordon Daniel Caldwell William Everton James Saunders Thomas Goff Edward Banks William Seale Charles Banks J. Dring Henry Alexander J. Steward, formerly clerk of the fish market Lawrence Rourke John Honeyman John Singleton Edward Greenland T. Green John Byas William Roberts J. Stewart William Dray Robert Horsey G. M. Burman J. Sherwood William Watson J. W. Daniel Benjamin Mason James Unsworth R. H. Knipe senior Amoretta Young Charles Scott William Seale senior Samuel Knipe Thomas Alsworth C. Gunnell junior Samuel Burnham James Truebody William Rookes G. Rookes J. Goodman C. Smith H. Harrol R. Scott William Bransfield D. Moody William Cheese James Clarke Edmond Howes John Legg J. Wheatley H. Seale **Interpretations** The petitioners did not ask for the fishing ban to be lifted. They offered a controlled alternative instead: boats would sail in groups under supervisors chosen by the Board, as had been done before. The letter itself shows that the restriction rested on the island's security. By offering supervision, the inhabitants answered the government's reason for the ban before it could be raised against them. Their claim that the scheme served both security and their own interests was meant to make agreement easy for the Board. The petition went through the vestry and the churchwardens rather than straight to the Governor

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			and Council. The vestry was the only regular public meeting in which the inhabitants could act together. Sending the letter this way gave a grievance from ordinary householders the backing of a parish body. The signatures of large holders such as Samuel Knipe and William Seale senior beside smallholders and former officials added to its weight. J. Steward signed as the former clerk of the fish market, a post whose salary the parish had stopped in 1815. His signature points to the collapse of the island's fish supply. With so few fish reaching market, there was little left for a clerk to oversee.
400	391	[An ink stain in the Contra column, to the right of the balance entry.] The Parish Dr.§ §Date, £ . S . D§ §1818§ §Mar. 31st. Mr. Westons Bill for maintainance in Gaol§ §2 . 6 . 6§ §Paid for Coffin & Funeral Expences of Daphneys Child§ §10§ §Funeral Expences of Catherine Crutchy§ §15§ §Expences for Free Daphney when Sick§ §1 . 11§ §Maintainance of Free Caesar§ §1 . 8§ §Balance still remains due by Captn. H. Cole§ §74 . 3 . 1½§ §Cash Paid by T. O'Connor to Lieut. Jas. Torbett§ §being the Balance in his hands§ §5 . 9 . 8§ §86 . 12 . 3½§ §Pr. Contra Cr.§ §£ . S . D§ §By Balance in favor Brot. over§ §86 . 12 . 3½§ §Received April 20th. 1818 of Mr. Thomas O'Connor late§ §Church Warden the sum of Five Pounds nine§ §Shillings & Eight pence being all the money in his§ §hands belonging to the Parish as also the Parish§ §Books & Church Plate. -§ §J. Torbett§ §Church Warden§	On 31 March 1818 the churchwardens used up the balance of £86 12s 3½d brought over from the previous account. Debit 31 March 1818, Mr Weston's bill for keeping prisoners in gaol, £2 6s 6d 31 March 1818, coffin and funeral of Daphney's child, £0 10s 0d 31 March 1818, funeral of Catherine [...], £0 15s 0d 31 March 1818, care of Daphney, a free black, in her illness, £1 11s 0d 31 March 1818, keep of Caesar, a free black, £1 8s 0d 31 March 1818, balance still owed by Captain H. Cole, £74 3s 1½d 31 March 1818, cash handed by T. O'Connor to Lieutenant James Torbett as the balance he held, £5 9s 8d Total, £86 12s 3½d Credit Balance in the parish's favour brought over, £86 12s 3½d On 20 April 1818 James Torbett, as churchwarden, signed a receipt for £5 9s 8d from Thomas O'Connor, the outgoing churchwarden. The sum was all the parish money O'Connor held. Torbett also took charge of the parish books and the church plate. **Interpretations** The closing entries showed how little of the surplus was real money. Of the £86 12s 3½d, £74 3s 1½d was Captain Henry S. Cole's unpaid debt. That sum went out on the debit side as an amount still owed rather than as cash. After the last bills were paid, the new churchwarden received only £5 9s 8d. This explains why the vestry on 23 March 1818 raised the poll tax to 2s 6d a head. The parish began the new year with almost no money of its own. Cole had been listed as owing the same amount in the 1816 to 1817 account. Here, however, his debt appeared only as a line set against the balance. Nothing in the account shows any step taken to recover it. The parish passed the debt from one set of churchwardens to the next without suing him or writing it off.
401	392	To§ §Messrs. James & Richard Torbetts§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §The Governor and Council approved the Proceedings§ §in Vestry. In reply to the petition you have enclosed for their§ §consideration I am directed to state that no alteration has taken§ §place in the fishing ground, nor in the Tariff fixed for the prices§ §of Fish since Colonel Wilks's departure from this Island. The§ §arrangement made between the late Governor and the Naval Commander§	The Governor and Council replied to the churchwardens, James and Richard Torbett, in a letter dated 13 April 1818. Anthony Beale signed it as deputy secretary. The letter approved what the vestry had done. On the petition, the government stated that neither the fishing grounds nor the fixed tariff for fish prices had changed since Colonel Wilks left the island. The arrangement agreed between the late Governor and the naval commander-in-chief on the station still stood. The Court of Directors had approved it. The government added that any departure from the rules on fish prices was an abuse and should be put right. To check such abuses, and to get the full benefit of the existing rules, it asked the vestry to consider reviving the post of clerk of the fish market.

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		§in Chief on this station which has been approved of by the Court of Directors§ §remain still in force.§ §If any deviation has taken place from the rules in§ §respect to the price of fish, it is an abuse which should be rectified, to§ §effect which, as well as to ensure every possible advantage from the existing§ §regulations the expediency of reviving the office of Clerk of the fish Market§ §is recommended to the consideration of the Vestry.§ §It may not be generally understood, otherwise it is presumed§ §the petition would not have been presented, that any numbered fishing Boat§ §desirous of going to the old fishing ground, is permitted to go there if application is§ §made on board the Flagship for a responsible person of the Commanders selection§ §to embark on board her, and that a permit is at the same time obtained from§ §the Governor.§ §The request of the petitioners therefore in all that is necessary§ §for a due supply of fish combined with indispensable precautions required to be§ §taken may be considered as already complied with.§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your obt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §13th. Apl. 1818.§ §(Signed) Anthy. Beale§ §Depy. Secy.§	The letter suggested that the petitioners had misunderstood the rules, since otherwise they would not have complained. Any numbered fishing boat could already go to the old grounds. The owner had to apply on board the flagship for a reliable person, chosen by the naval commander, to sail in the boat. A permit also had to be obtained from the Governor. In the government's view, this already gave the petitioners what they needed for a proper supply of fish, together with the necessary precautions. It therefore treated their request as already met. **Interpretations** The government turned down the petitioners' plan for supervised groups of boats without saying so. It replied that a stricter system already existed. Each boat sailed alone, carried a man chosen by the naval commander and needed the Governor's permit. That double control, naval and civil, explained why few boats used the old grounds. The paperwork and the need to carry an outsider made each trip more costly than its catch was worth. The fishing rules had been agreed between Colonel Wilks and the naval commander-in-chief, and the Court of Directors had approved them. The island's food supply was therefore partly under naval control, and the Governor could not change it alone. The Council's reply had to defend an arrangement that was not wholly in its own hands. The government suggested reviving the clerk of the fish market, a post whose salary the parish had stopped in 1815. J. Steward, the former clerk, had signed the petition. The government was not willing to change the fishing rules. Instead it pointed to the market and the enforcement of the price tariff as the place to act. That shifted the cost and the responsibility back onto the parish.
402	393	To§ §His Excellency Lieut. Genl. Sir Hudson Lowe K.C.B.§ §Governor &c. &c.§ §and Council§ §Sir and Sirs§ §We the undersigned Inhabitants assembled at Vestry have observed§ §with surprize and concern, certain paragraphs in the Morning Chronicle of the 12th.§ §November 1818 wherein it is stated that "a flagitious traffic" in Slaves, has long§ §been carried on here, and at the Mauritius and the Island of Bourbon.§ §It is well known that the importation of Slaves has been prohibited since the Year 1792 -§ §Yet however the Provisions for abolishing the Slave Trade may have been evaded in§ §other Countries. We trust that this little Island has been exempt even from a§ §suspicion of the kind, by any Person acquainted with it, and may be for many§ §years before this prohibition a very few slaves indeed have been imported. -§ §The only traffic in Slaves that exists in this Island is that of transferring§ §or Selling from one Inhabitant to another, a necessity that must unavoidably§ §continue whilst Slavery does exist even amongst the strongest Advocates for§ §its abolition.§ §In the Morning Chronicle the sole Merit for abolishing§ §Slavery on this Island is strangely and unaccountably attributed to the§ §Revd. Mr. Boys, Senior Chaplain and our surprize is increased, at neither§ §having seen nor heard of any contradiction to the above paragraph being§	The inhabitants met in vestry and addressed a letter to Lieutenant General Sir Hudson Lowe, KCB, as Governor, and to the Council. They had read with surprise and concern certain paragraphs in the Morning Chronicle of 12 November 1818. The newspaper claimed that a shameful trade in slaves had long been carried on at St Helena, at Mauritius and on the island of Bourbon. The inhabitants replied that the importing of slaves had been banned at St Helena since 1792. Whatever might have happened elsewhere, they believed that anyone who knew the island would not suspect it of such a trade. Even before the ban, very few slaves had been brought in. The only trade in slaves on the island was their sale or transfer from one inhabitant to another. The inhabitants argued that this was bound to continue as long as slavery existed, even among its strongest opponents. The newspaper had also given the Reverend Mr Boys, the senior chaplain, the whole credit for abolishing slavery on the island. The inhabitants called this odd and impossible to account for. They were more surprised that neither Boys nor anyone acting for him had published a denial. In their view, he owed that much to Governor Lowe and the Council and to the inhabitants. They did not doubt that Boys favoured the measure, and he had probably said so to friends in England. Whatever he had written or said, however, they declared that he had played no part, direct or indirect, in bringing it about. They had always regarded the measure as coming from the Governor and Council, and the inhabitants had adopted it unanimously. The inhabitants understood that the Governor and Council had acted without any instructions or orders, and they still believed this. They accepted, however, that the Board and the Court of Directors could speak with more authority on that point. **Interpretations**

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		§published either by Mr. Boys himself or any person on his part - a justice§ §he certainly owes both to His Excellency the Governor and Council and to us.§ §We make no doubt, but that Gentleman's disposition was favorable to the Measure§ §(indeed who could be otherwise) and probably he may have expressed that dis-§ §position in his Correspondence to his Friends in - England - but whatever§ §he may or may not have written or spoken on the Subject, we declare it is§ §a simple but positive truth that Mr. Boys had neither concern nor influ-§ §ence of any kind whatever, either directly or indirectly that we ever heard of,§ §in effecting a Measure which we have always considered and do still consider§ §as emanating from His Excellency Sir Hudson Lowe and his Council and§ §adopted by acclamation of the Inhabitants.§ §We have been led to believe that in this case your Excellency and§ §Council acted without any Instructions or orders whatever, and we believe so still,§ §but on this subject your Honble. Board and the Court of Directors can speak§ §more to the point -§	The inhabitants gave the credit for abolition to the Governor, the Council and themselves. The newspaper had put it down to the senior chaplain's influence. They could have ignored the report, but they set out to deny it formally. Their insistence that they had adopted the measure by acclamation presented abolition as a willing act of the slaveholders. It was not, in their account, a reform forced on them by a clergyman's campaign in England. That version guarded their standing with the Court of Directors and their claim to manage the island's slaves on their own terms. The inhabitants admitted that slaves were still sold and transferred between owners. They separated this from the slave trade that the 1792 ban covered. On their reading, buying and selling within the island was not trafficking, because no new slaves came in. The poll tax rolls of 7 April 1817 showed how this worked in practice. Large holders such as William Balcombe, with 36 heads, kept their slave households going by inheritance and sale within the island.
403	394	When we see an attempt to deprive the Inhabitants of this§ §Island as well as the Governor and Council of whatever§ §Credit may attach to a Humane and Benevolent Act and to§ §transfer that credit to the Revd. Mr. Boys, who really has had no§ §concern whatever in the transaction, - we feel it a duty and§ §justice we owe to ourselves, most respectfully to request that§ §Your Excellency and Council will on our behalf solicit the§ §Honorable Court of Directors to give every Publicity to the§ §real fact -§ §We have the Honor to subscribe ourselves§ §Your Excellency§ §and Council's§ §Most Obedient§ §and§ §Most Humble§ §Servants§ §Signed§	The inhabitants saw the newspaper report as an attempt to take from them, and from the Governor and Council, any credit owed for a humane and charitable act. They objected that the report gave that credit to the Reverend Mr Boys, who had played no part in the matter. They felt bound, in fairness to themselves, to ask the Governor and Council to approach the Court of Directors on their behalf. They wanted the Court to make the true facts as widely known as possible. The letter closed with the usual formal courtesies to the Governor and Council, and the word "Signed" stood below it. **Interpretations** The inhabitants did not ask the Court of Directors to publish a correction themselves. They asked the Governor and Council to put the request to the Court for them. Island residents had no direct line to the Company in London. Their concerns reached the Court only when the Governor and Council chose to pass them on. The Governor and Council also shared in the credit being claimed. By routing the request through them, the inhabitants made the government a party to their complaint and so made it more likely that the request would be sent on.
404	395	Thos. Aliesworth§ §Chas. Sampson§ §Thos. Carr§ §Wm. Everton§ §Thos. Harris§ §D. Rees§ §John Bagley§ §Thos. Thorne§ §J. E. Shortis§ §Jas. J. Etherton§ §Geo. Mead§ §T. J. B. Cole§ §E. Hayward§ §Robt. Statham§ §John Rookes§ §Thos. Green§ §Thomas Adams§ §J. C. Youd§ §Jno. R. Youd§ §Thos. McRitchie§ §Danl. Colwell§	The letter carried the following signatures. Thomas Alesworth Thomas Sampson Thomas Carr William Averton Thomas Harris D. Rees John Bagley Thomas Thorne J. E. Shortis James J. Etherton George Mead T. F. B. Cole E. Hayward Robert Statham John Rookes Thomas Green Thomas Adams J. C. Youd John R. Youd Thomas McRitchie

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		§L. G. Solomon§ §Edmund Howes§ §James Truebody§ §Harriot Page§ §Josiah Saunders§ §Ezekiel Honeyben§ §J. A. Wright§ §G. Blenkins§ §N. Collyer§ §Wm. Carroll§ §Henry Porteous§ §Robt. Horsey§ §Jno. Dring§ §C. Weston§ §Wm. Roberts§ §D. Smith§ §John Bayes§ §B. Mason§ §Thos. Harrington§ §Thomas Goff§ §E. Bazett§ §John Le Breton§ §Wm. Chamberlain§ §Wm. Seale Junr.§ §James Lowden§ §A. Isaacke§ §Wm. Gordon§ §Jos. R. Jacks§ §Martha Jacks§ §Thos. Dogherty§ §Jno. Burnside§ §Jno. De Fountain§ §Thos. Greentree§ §W. Jollis§ §G. Lambe§ §J. Legg§ §H. W. Pritchard§ §Wm. Tracy§ §Rd. H. Knipe Senr.§ §On. Beale§ §C. R. G. Hodson§ §Wm. H. Seale§ §Wm. Brabazon§ §Jno. W. Torbett§ §N. Kennedy§ §D. Kay Junior§ §J. Solomon§ §R. W. Barker§ §R. Mason§ §Richd. A. Knipe§ §Mary Knipe§ §Wm. Knipe§ §Susn. Chamberlain§ §Henry Knipe§ §Valn. Isaacke§ §Stepn. Young§ §Jas. Torbett§ §Rd. Torbett§ §Church Wardens§	Daniel Caldwell L. G. Solomon Edmund Howes James Truebody Harriot Paige Josiah Saunders Ezekiel Honeyben J. A. Wright G. Blenkins N. Collyer William Carroll Henry Porteous Robert Horsey John Dring C. Weston William Roberts D. Smith John Byas B. Mason Thomas Harrington Thomas Goff C. Bazett John Le Breton William Chamberlain William Seale junior James Lowden A. Isaacke William Gordon Joseph R. Jacks Martha Jacks Thomas Dogherty John Burnside John De Fountain Thomas Greentree W. Julie G. Lamb J. Legg H. R. Pritchard William Tracy R. H. Knipe senior Antony Beale C. R. G. Hodson William H. Seale William Brabazon John W. Torbett N. Kennedy D. Kay junior S. Solomon R. W. Barker R. Mason Richard A. Knipe Mary Knipe William Knipe Susannah Chamberlain Henry Knipe Valentia Isaacke Stephen Young James Torbett, churchwarden Richard Torbett, churchwarden **Interpretations** Several women signed in their own names, among them Harriot Paige, Martha Jacks, Mary Knipe and Susannah Chamberlain. Susannah Chamberlain had been charged for 9 heads on the poll tax roll of 7 April 1817. Women who held slaves and property in their own right counted as inhabitants for vestry purposes. They therefore took part in a public statement about slavery in the same way as male householders. Most of the signers were the same slaveholding families who paid the poll tax. Their names supported the letter's claim that the island's owners had accepted the measure willingly.
405	396	To§ §Messrs. James & Rd. Torbett§ §Church Wardens§	Anthony Beale, the deputy secretary, wrote to the churchwardens, James and Richard Torbett, on 25 March 1819. He told them that the Governor and

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		§Gentlemen§ §The Governor and Council have§ §received the Letter from the Inhabitants assembled§ §in Vestry - which shall be forwarded to the Honble.§ §Court of Directors§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your Obt. Servt.§ §(Signd.) Anty. Beale§ §Depy. Secy.§ §25th. March§ §1819§	Council had received the letter from the inhabitants who had met in vestry. The government would pass it on to the Court of Directors.
406	397	Poll Tax ordered by Vestry March 23rd. 1818 at 2/6 Pr. Head§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Alexander John: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§ §Alexander Fredk.: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Alexander Henry: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Alexander Est. John: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Alexander Est. George: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Aliesworth Thos.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Ashton C. J.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Armstrong Robert: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Breame Senr. Thos.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Breame Junr. T. R.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Boys Richard: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Beale Ones.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Beale Anty.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Bazett Clarissa: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Bagleys Orph. Benj.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Bagley John: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Bagley Thomas: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Bagley Richard: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Bagley James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bagley Robert: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bagley Mary: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Burnham John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Burnham Saml.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Burnham Caroline: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Brooke T. H.: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Bidwell Jon.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Barker Richd.: No. of Heads 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Boorman G. M.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Brabazon William: No. of Heads 24, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Balcombe William: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§ §Balcombe Cole & Co.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Barnes Eleanor: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Broadway Ann: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Broadway Henry: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Banks Edwd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Blenkins George: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Boyes John: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Banks Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Burnside John: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Baldrick John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bennett James: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Blake Charles: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Bruce G. R.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 384, £ 48, s 0, d 0§ §Brot. forwd.: No. of Heads 384, £ 48, s 0, d 0§ §Braid Andrew: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Bell William: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Cocks James: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Coles Thomas Orph.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Cole Thomas: No. of Heads 30, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Cole H. S.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Chamberlain Susn.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Chadwick Agnes: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Cruickshank John: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Creed William: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Cole Joseph: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Carr Mary: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Chantry Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Carr Thomas: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§	The vestry set a poll tax on 23 March 1818 at 2s 6d a head. The roll listed each householder with the number of heads charged. John Alexander, 23 heads, £2 17s 6d Frederick Alexander, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d Henry Alexander, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d John Alexander's estate, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d George Alexander's estate, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Thomas Alsworth, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d C. J. Ashton, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Robert Armstrong, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas Breame senior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d T. R. Breame junior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Richard Boys, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Antony Beale, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Clarissa Bazett, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Benjamin Bayliss's orphans, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Bagley, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Thomas Bagley, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Richard Bagley, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Mary Bagley, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John Burnham, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Samuel Burnham, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Caroline Burnham, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d T. H. Brooke, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d Jonathan Bidwell, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Richard Barker, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d G. M. Burman, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d William Brabazon, 24 heads, £3 0s 0d William Balcombe, 27 heads, £3 7s 6d Balcombe, Cole and Company, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Eleanor Barnes, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Ann Broadway, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Henry Broadway, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Edward Banks, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d George Blenkins, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d John Byas, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Baldick, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Bennett, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Charles Blake, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d G. R. Bruce, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Carried forward, 384 heads, £48 0s 0d Brought forward, 384 heads, £48 0s 0d Andrew Brand, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d William Bell, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d James Cocks, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Thomas Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Cole, 30 heads, £3 15s 0d H. S. Cole, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Agnes Chadwick, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d John Cruickshank, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d William Creed, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Joseph Cole, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Mary Carr, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Chantry, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Carr, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d

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		§Chippendale Leo.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Cranfield William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Clarke James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Caldwell Daniel: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Doveton W. W.: No. of Heads 30, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Dovetons Orph. John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Doveton Gabl. Estt.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §De Fountain John: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §Desfountains John Estt.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Desfountain Charles: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Desfountain Elizabeth: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Dring John: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Dentaffe's Orph.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Dray William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Dickson James: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Dunn J. C.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Dove James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Everton William: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Franklin James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Greentree Thomas: No. of Heads 26, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Griffiths Mary: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Gurling Eleanor: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Green Thomas: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Gunnell Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Goff Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Giles Thomas: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Greenland Edwd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Hodson C. R. G.: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 722, £ 90, s 5, d 0§	Leonard Chippendale, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Daniel Caldwell, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d W. W. Doveton, 30 heads, £3 15s 0d John Doveton's orphans, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Gabriel Doveton's estate, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John De Fountain, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d John De Fountain's estate, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Charles De Fountain, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Elizabeth De Fountain, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Dring, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Dentaffe's orphans, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d William Dray, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d James Dickson, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d J. C. Dunn, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Dove, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Everton, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d James Etherton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Greentree, 26 heads, £3 5s 0d Mary Griffiths, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Eleanor Gurling, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Thomas Green, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Charles Gunnell, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Giles, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Edward Greenland, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d C. R. G. Hodson, 25 heads, £3 2s 6d Carried forward, 722 heads, £90 5s 0d **Interpretations** The rate rose from 1s 6d to 2s 6d, but many of the larger holdings were charged on fewer heads than in April 1817. William Balcombe fell from 36 heads to 27, Richard Bagley from 12 to 16 went the other way, and John Burnham fell from 14 to 8. The total of 722 heads at this point compares with 598 at the same stage of the 1817 roll. That growth came mostly from the higher rate being applied to similar numbers rather than from any rise in slaveholding. The changes in individual counts point to sales and transfers between owners, the very internal traffic the inhabitants described in their letter of 1819.
407	398	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. Over: No. of Heads 722, £ 90, s 5, d 0§ §Hodson Benj. Estate: No. of Heads 26, £ 3, s 5, d 0§ §Hayes Robt. Estate: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Hunter Ann: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Hayward Eliza: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Harper Sarah: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Harper Rodk.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Harris Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Howes Edmund: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Honeyman John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Hamilton David: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Hosley Samuel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Hawkwell Sarah: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Hall William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Horsey Robert: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Harrington Thomas: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Jollis Estate William: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Isaacke Alfred: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Isaacke R. V.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jacks Jos.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jones David: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Knipes Estate William: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Knipe Samuel: No. of Heads 33, £ 4, s 2, d 6§ §Knipe Richard Estate: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Kennedy's Orph. Nathl.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Kay David Junr.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Kay David Senr.: No. of Heads 41, £ 5, s 2, d 6§ §Kay John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Knipe John: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§	The poll tax roll set at 2s 6d a head on 23 March 1818 continued as follows. Brought over, 722 heads, £90 5s 0d Benjamin Hodson's estate, 26 heads, £3 5s 0d Robert Hayes's estate, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Ann Hunter, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Eliza Hayward, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Sarah Harper, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Edmund Howes, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d David Hamilton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Samuel H[...], 1 head, £0 2s 6d Sarah Hockwell, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Hall, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Horsey, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Thomas Harrington, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d William Julie's estate, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d Alfred Isaacke, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d R. V. Isaacke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Jacks, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d David Jones, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Knipe's estate, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Samuel Knipe, 33 heads, £4 2s 6d Richard Knipe's estate, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 1 head, £0 2s 6d David Kay junior, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d David Kay senior, 41 heads, £5 2s 6d John Kay, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John Knipe, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d R. H. Knipe, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Thomas Lister, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d

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		§Knipe R. H.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Lester Thomas: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Lowden James: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Leech Robert: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §Leech R. H.: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Leech George Estate: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§ §Le Breton John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Lamb Aaron Estate: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Lamb G. V.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Mason's Richard Estate: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Total: No. of Heads 1104, £ 138, s 0, d 0§ §Brot. over: No. of Heads 1104, £ 138, s 0, d 0§ §Lamb Matilda: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Madden John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Legg John: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Mason John (Orph.): No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Mason Richd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Mason Benj.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Masons Estate Jas.: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Merchant Margaret: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Mills Maria: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Mead George: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §McDougal Dougal: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §McDaniel Jos.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §McRitchie Thos.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Marsback Priscilla: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Mellis John Senr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Moore Edward: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Moody David: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §McGrath Patrick: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Mowat James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Newton John Senr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Newton John Junr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Nelstrop John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §O'Connor Thomas: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §O'Connor Hannah: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §O'Connor Daniel: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Oliver William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Pyle John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Pierie Helena: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Pyler William: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Porteous Henry: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Page Harriet: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Pritchard Sarah: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Pritchard Eleanor: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Pritchard H. W.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Pritchard D. H.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Roberts William: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Rolfe James: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Robinson John: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1355, £ 169, s 7, d 6§	James Lowden, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Robert Leech, 25 heads, £3 2s 6d R. H. Leech, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d George Leech's estate, 27 heads, £3 7s 6d John Le Breton, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Aaron Lamb's estate, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d G. V. Lamb, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Richard Mason's estate, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Carried forward, 1,104 heads, £138 0s 0d Brought over, 1,104 heads, £138 0s 0d Matilda Lamb, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Madden, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Legg, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d John Mason's orphans, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Richard Mason, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Benjamin Mason, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d James Mason's estate, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d Margaret Merchant, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Maria Mills, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d George Mead, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Dougal McDougal, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph McDaniel, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas McRitchie, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Priscilla Mirabach, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Miller senior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Edward Moss, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d David Moody, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Patrick McGrath, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Murray, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Newton senior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Newton junior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Nibbs, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas O'Connor, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d Hannah O'Connor, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Daniel O'Connor, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d William Oliver, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Oyle, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Helena Pierie, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d William Pipple, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Henry Porteous, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Harriet Pye, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Sarah Pritchard, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Eleanor Pritchard, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d H. R. Pritchard, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d D. K. Pritchard, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d William Roberts, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d James Pike, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d John Robinson, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d Carried forward, 1,355 heads, £169 7s 6d
408	399	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. over: No. of Heads 1355, £ 169, s 7, d 6§ §Rookes John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Rourke Lawe.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Richenback Mary: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Robinson Saml.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Robinson John Junr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Reath Peter M.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Roberts Ann: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Seale H. W.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Seale Robert: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Scott John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Sutherland George: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Sterling James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Stephens George: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Smith Daniel: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Solomon Jos.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Sanders Joshua: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Steward John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Singleton John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Scawell Charles: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Sampson Charles: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§	The poll tax roll set at 2s 6d a head on 23 March 1818 ended with the following entries. Brought over, 1,355 heads, £169 7s 6d John Rookes, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Lawrence Rourke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Mary Rickenbach, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Robinson junior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Peter M. Reath, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Ann Roberts, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d H. W. Seale, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Robert Seale, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d John Scott, 1 head, £0 2s 6d George Sutherland, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Sterling, 1 head, £0 2s 6d George Stephens, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Daniel Smith, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Joseph Solomon, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Joshua Sanders, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Steward, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Charles Sewell, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Charles Simpson, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d

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		§Statham Robert: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Shortis J. E.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Smith Edwd. Chas.: No. of Heads 29, £ 3, s 12, d 6§ §Solomon Jos.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Scott Charles: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Solomon L. G.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Solomon Saul: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Seale Frans.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Seale Archibald: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Seale Mary: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Seale William: No. of Heads 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Seale J. W.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Spratt Jas. Estate: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Singleton William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1573, £ 196, s 12, d 6§ §Brot. over: No. of Heads 1573, £ 196, s 12, d 6§ §Torbett John Ward: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Taylor John: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Thorne Thomas: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Tracy William: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Torbett James: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Torbett Richd.: No. of Heads 24, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Thomas Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Unsworth James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Viveiros B. J.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Wright Mary: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Wright John Alexr.: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Wright Robert: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Wills Richd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Ward Saml. P. Estate: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Weston Charles: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Watson William: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Wrangham Elizth. Estate: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Wager Maria: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Wright B. A.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Woodward William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Williamson William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wheatley Jos.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Worrall Sarah: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Young Richard: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Young Amt.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Young Stephen Estate: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Young Stephen: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Youd James Chas.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Goodman John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1779, £ 222, s 7, d 6§	Robert Statham, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d J. E. Shortis, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Edward Charles Smith, 29 heads, £3 12s 6d R. Solomon, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Charles Scott, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d L. G. Solomon, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Saul Solomon, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Francis Seale, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Archibald Seale, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Mary Seale, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d William Seale, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d J. W. Seale, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d James Spratt's estate, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d William Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Carried forward, 1,573 heads, £196 12s 6d Brought over, 1,573 heads, £196 12s 6d John W. Torbett, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Taylor, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Thomas Thorne, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d William Tracy, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d James Torbett, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Richard Torbett, 24 heads, £3 0s 0d Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Unsworth, 1 head, £0 2s 6d B. J. Vernon, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Mary Wright, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d John Alexander Wright, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d Robert Wright, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Richard Wills, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Samuel P. Ward's estate, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Charles Weston, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d William Watson, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Elizabeth Wrangham's estate, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Maria Wager, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d B. A. Wright, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Williamson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Wheatley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Sarah Worrall, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Richard Young, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Ann Young, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Stephen Young's estate, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Stephen Young, 1 head, £0 2s 6d James Charles Youd, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d John Goodman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Total, 1,773 heads, £222 7s 6d **Interpretations** The higher rate brought the poll tax to £222 7s 6d, against £135 3s 0d in April 1817. On the 1817 roll the vestry had cut the rate to 1s 6d, and the parish ended that year with only £5 9s 8d in cash. Raising the rate to 2s 6d lifted the yield by about two-thirds and brought it close to the £225 15s 0d raised for 1816 to 1817. The vestry chose to recover the shortfall from all householders at once rather than wait for Captain Henry S. Cole to repay his debt of £74 3s 1½d.
409	400	Parish Dr.§ §£ . s . d§ §1818§ §March 23d. Paid Bagnel for Writing at Vestry§ §10§ §1 Quire Paper and Quills§ §4 . 3§ §May 1st. Mr. Westons Bill Maintenance in Gaol§ §1 . 8 . 6§ §4 Bagnel for writing at Vestry§ §5§ §June 1st. Mr. Westons Bill for Pg. Collins and Rourke x§ §2 . 6 . 6§ §Paid for Mossey Slave Executed, awarded by Grand Jury§ §15§	The parish account for 1818 recorded the following spending and receipts. Debit 23 March 1818, Bagnel for clerical work at the vestry, £0 10s 0d 23 March 1818, 1 quire of paper and quills, £0 4s 3d 1 May 1818, Mr Weston's bill for keeping prisoners in gaol, £1 8s 6d 4 May 1818, Bagnel for clerical work at the vestry, £0 5s 0d 1 June 1818, Mr Weston's bill for P. Collins and Rourke, £2 6s 6d 1 June 1818, compensation for Massey, a slave executed, as awarded by the grand jury, £15 0s 0d 1 June 1818, weights and scales for the fish market, £4 15s 0d

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		§Weights and Scales for Fish Market§ §4 . 15§ §Mr. Metcalf for 2 Coffins for Mary Fernando, children§ §2§ §Burial expences for Ditto Do.§ §1 . 10§ §2 Mops, 2 Brushes, 1 Hair Broom, 1 Scrubbing Brush for Country Church§ §1§ §Book for the Use of the Fish Market§ §5§ §24 Table for the Country Church§ §17§ §July 1 Mr. Westons Bill for Gaol Maintenance§ §2 . 9 . 6§ §2 Deals for Graves§ §1 . 2§ §A Set of Communion Cloths & Making§ §3§ §Paid remaining Balance due Mr. Blenkins the Year 1815. as Church Warden§ §34 . 17 . 10§ §Martha Civil, 1 piece Course Chintz§ §10§ §7 yds. Cloth for Shifts and lining§ §14§ §1 Blanket 10/ 2 Cotton Handkerchiefs 4/§ §14§ §One Pint Oil§ §1§ §Coffin for Toby§ §2§ §Burial Fees 15/ Paid Coolies 5/ Carriers 5/-§ §1 . 5§ §Per Contra Cr.§ §£ . s . d§ §To Amt. of Poll Tax for year 1818§ §222 . 7 . 6§ §Balance recd. from Mr. Connor late Church Warden§ §5 . 9 . 8§	1 June 1818, Mr Metcalf for 2 coffins for Mary Fernando's children, £2 0s 0d 1 June 1818, burial of Mary Fernando's children, £1 10s 0d 1 June 1818, 2 mops, 2 brushes, 1 hair broom and 1 scrubbing brush for the country church, £1 0s 0d 1 June 1818, a book for the fish market, £0 5s 0d 24 June 1818, a table for the country church, £0 17s 0d 1 July 1818, Mr Weston's bill for keeping prisoners in gaol, £2 9s 6d 1 July 1818, 2 deal planks for graves, £1 2s 0d 1 July 1818, a set of communion cloths with the making, £3 0s 0d 1 July 1818, final balance owed to Mr Blenkins as churchwarden for 1815, £34 17s 10d 1 July 1818, 1 piece of coarse chintz for Martha Seville, £0 10s 0d 1 July 1818, 7 yards of cloth for shifts and lining, £0 14s 0d 1 July 1818, 1 blanket at 10s and 2 cotton handkerchiefs at 4s, £0 14s 0d 1 July 1818, 1 pint of oil, £0 1s 0d 1 July 1818, a coffin for Toby, £2 0s 0d 1 July 1818, burial fees 15s, coolies 5s and carriers 5s, £1 5s 0d Credit Poll tax for 1818, £222 7s 6d Balance received from Mr O'Connor, former churchwarden, £5 9s 8d **Interpretations** The parish paid George Blenkins the last £34 17s 10d still owed to him for advancing his own money as churchwarden in 1815. It settled that debt in the first months after the higher poll tax came in. Captain Henry S. Cole's debt of £74 3s 1½d to the parish was still unpaid at the same time. The parish chose to clear what it owed to its former officers rather than pursue what one of them owed to it. Paying Blenkins kept faith with the men who would have to advance money again in future years. The £15 0s 0d paid for Massey, a slave executed on the grand jury's award, was compensation to his owner from parish funds. Because owners received the value of a condemned slave, they had less reason to hide crimes or shield offenders from the courts. The poll tax that the slaveholders paid therefore insured each of them against the loss of a slave put to death by the law. The parish bought weights, scales and a book for the fish market soon after the government's letter of 13 April 1818. That letter had urged the vestry to restore oversight of the market and enforce the price tariff. The purchases show the vestry acting on that advice. It took up the work of policing fish prices instead of continuing to press for changes to the fishing rules.
410	401	1819§ §Jany. 1st. Mr. Westons Bill for Clara§ §2 . 3 . 6§ §28th. Martha Civil Cash 5/ Wine 2/6§ §7 . 6§ §Coffin for Ditto§ §2 . 10§ §Burial Fees for ditto§ §15§ §Carriers 10/ Washing and Laying out 5/§ §15§ §March 8th. Ann Isaacke Cash§ §1 . 10§ §31st. Mr. Westons Bill for Clara Coroner§ §2 . 1 . 3§	The parish account for 1818 to 1819 continued with the following spending and the receipt that closed it. Debit 1 January 1819, Mr Weston's bill for Clara, £2 3s 6d 28 January 1819, Martha Seville, cash 5s and wine 2s 6d, £0 7s 6d 28 January 1819, coffin for Martha Seville, £2 10s 0d 28 January 1819, burial fees for Martha Seville, £0 15s 0d 28 January 1819, carriers 10s and washing and laying out the body 5s, £0 15s 0d 8 March 1819, cash to Ann Isaacke, £1 10s 0d 31 March 1819, Mr Weston's bill for Clara, [...], £2 1s 3d

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		§Cesar from 23d. March to 12th. Apl. 1819 @ 7/ per day§ §19 . 5§ §Martha Civil from Octr. 12th. to Decr. 7th. 1818 @ 7/ per day§ §2 . 16§ §Martha Civil from Decr. 7th. to Jany. 28th. 1819 at 6d. per day§ §1 . 6§ §Washing the Clergymans Surplice & Communion Cloths 1 Year§ §7§ §Band one Years Salary§ §15§ §Singleton 1 Years Salary Collecting Free Black & other Parish duties§ §10§ §Clerk Fish Market 1 Years Salary§ §40§ §Sergt. Croft Clerk and Sexton 1 Years salary§ §30§ §Collecting Poll Tax at 7½ Pr. Cent on £222 : 7 : 6§ §16 . 13 . 6§ §Paid Sergt. Crofts debt due for 1816 and 1817§ §27 . 10§ §Balance remaining in hand§ §45 . 12 . 11½§ §£302 . 0 . 3½§ §Recd. from Captn. Cole Balance due to Parish§ §74 . 3 . 1½§ §302 . 0 . 3½§ §Received from James Torbett late Church Warden the above Balance of £45 : 12 : 11½ on Acct. of the§ §Parish with the papers, Books, and Church Plate§	31 March 1819, Caesar from 25 March 1818 to 12 April 1819 at 1s a day, £19 5s 0d 31 March 1819, Martha Seville from 12 October to 7 December 1818 at 1s a day, £2 16s 0d 31 March 1819, Martha Seville from 7 December 1818 to 28 January 1819 at 6d a day, £1 6s 0d 31 March 1819, laundering the clergyman's surplice and the communion cloths for 1 year, £7 0s 0d 31 March 1819, the band, 1 year's salary, £15 0s 0d 31 March 1819, Singleton, 1 year's salary for summoning free blacks and other parish work, £10 0s 0d 31 March 1819, clerk of the fish market, 1 year's salary, £40 0s 0d 31 March 1819, Sergeant Croft, 1 year's salary as clerk and sexton, £30 0s 0d 31 March 1819, collecting the poll tax at 7½ per cent on £222 7s 6d, £16 13s 6d 31 March 1819, arrears owed to Sergeant Croft for 1816 and 1817, £27 10s 0d 31 March 1819, balance left in hand, £45 12s 11½d Total, £302 0s 3½d Credit Received from Captain Cole, the balance he owed the parish, £74 3s 1½d Total, £302 0s 3½d A receipt below the account recorded that the balance of £45 12s 11½d had been received from James Torbett, the outgoing churchwarden. The parish papers, books and church plate were handed over with it. **Interpretations** Captain Henry S. Cole finally paid the £74 3s 1½d he had owed the parish since at least the 1816 to 1817 account. The payment changed the year's result. The churchwardens could pay the fish market clerk and clear Sergeant Croft's arrears of £27 10s 0d and still hand on £45 12s 11½d in cash. In 1818 their predecessor had passed on only £5 9s 8d. The clerk of the fish market drew a full year's salary of £40 0s 0d. That made the post one of the parish's largest single charges, above even the clerk and sexton at £30 0s 0d. The parish had dropped the salary in 1815. It restored the post at this cost after the government's letter of 13 April 1818 urged the vestry to revive it. Combined with the weights, scales and book bought in June 1818, the salary shows the vestry taking on the policing of fish prices as the government had asked. Martha Seville's entries end with her burial in January 1819. The parish had supported her since September 1817, paying 1s a day until December 1818 and then 6d a day until her death. The cut in her allowance during her last weeks shows that the parish rationed even long-standing relief. Caesar's allowance of 1s a day matched the 7s a week paid to him the previous year, so his support stayed the same.
411	402	A List of Church Wardens and Constables shewing the late years they have§ §served with some additional Names as taken from old list Dated 12 Apl. 1819.§ §And which approved by Vestry.§ §Church Wardens, Years§ §Thomas Lester: Years 1808. 1809§ §C. R. G. Hodson: Years 1809. 1810§ §Thos. J. B. Cole: Years 1810. 1811§ §J. A. Wright: Years 1811. 1812§ §William Brabazon: Years 1812. 1813§ §George Blenkins: Years 1813. 1814§ §Henry Broadway: Years 1814. 1815§ §Henry Cole: Years 1815. 1816§ §Thomas O'Connor: Years 1816. 1817§	A List of Church Wardens and Constables shewing the late years they have§ §served with some additional Names as taken from old list Dated 12 Apl. 1819.§ §And which approved by Vestry.§ §Church Wardens, Years§ §Thomas Lester: Years 1808. 1809§ §C. R. G. Hodson: Years 1809. 1810§ §Thos. J. B. Cole: Years 1810. 1811§ §J. A. Wright: Years 1811. 1812§ §William Brabazon: Years 1812. 1813§ §George Blenkins: Years 1813. 1814§ §Henry Broadway: Years 1814. 1815§ §Henry Cole: Years 1815. 1816§ §Thomas O'Connor: Years 1816. 1817§

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		§James Torbett: Years 1817. 1818§ §Richard Torbett: Years 1818. 1819§ §David Kinnaird: Years 1820. 1821§ §Henry Porteous (Decd.): Years 0§ §H. W. Pritchard declined serving: Years 0§ §Joseph Cole: Years 1821 & 1822§ §David Pritchard: Years 1821 1822§ §Charles Blake: Years 0§ §John Bagley: Years 1822 1823§ §B. A. Wright: Years 0§ §Anthy. Beale: Years 0§ §Capt. Sampson: Years 1825§ §G. V. Lambe: Years 0§ §Francis Seale: Years 1826§ §Henry Seale: Years 0§ §O. Beale: Years 0§ §Richd. Knipe Senr.: Years 0§ §Thomas Thorn: Years 0§ §John W. Torbett: Years 0§ §Nathl. Kennedy: Years 0§ §William O. Kennedy: Years 0§ §Constables, Years§ §Edward Banks served: Years 1814§ §Geo. Boorman: Years 1814§ §John Dring: Years 1815§ §Dl. Colwell: Years 1815§ §John Steward: Years 1817§ §Joseph Solomon: Years 1817§ §John Burnside: Years 1818§ §Thomas Goff: Years 1818§ §Robert Horsey: Years 1819§ §Josiah Saunders: Years 1819§ §James Youd: Years 1819§ §Ellis Hayward: Years 0§ §Danl. Smith Decd.: Years 0§ §James Rolf: Years 1820§ §Charles Banks [...]: Years 0§ §James Mowat: Years 1821§ §Joseph Jacks: Years 0§ §Edward Greenland: Years 1820§ §G. R. Bruce: Years 1821§ §Thos. Carr: Years 0§ §Thos. Thomas: Years 1822§ §Thos. Green: Years Dead.§ §Lewis Solomon: Years 1822§ §William Tracy: Years 0§ §James Lowden: Years 1824§ §John Adams: Years 0§ §Andrew Darling: Years 0§ §Thomas Jones: Years 1824§ §Storie: Years 1829§ §John Scott: Years 1829§	§James Torbett: Years 1817. 1818§ §Richard Torbett: Years 1818. 1819§ §David Kinnaird: Years 1820. 1821§ §Henry Porteous (Decd.): Years 0§ §H. W. Pritchard declined serving: Years 0§ §Joseph Cole: Years 1821 & 1822§ §David Pritchard: Years 1821 1822§ §Charles Blake: Years 0§ §John Bagley: Years 1822 1823§ §B. A. Wright: Years 0§ §Anthy. Beale: Years 0§ §Capt. Sampson: Years 1825§ §G. V. Lambe: Years 0§ §Francis Seale: Years 1826§ §Henry Seale: Years 0§ §O. Beale: Years 0§ §Richd. Knipe Senr.: Years 0§ §Thomas Thorn: Years 0§ §John W. Torbett: Years 0§ §Nathl. Kennedy: Years 0§ §William O. Kennedy: Years 0§ §Constables, Years§ §Edward Banks served: Years 1814§ §Geo. Boorman: Years 1814§ §John Dring: Years 1815§ §Dl. Colwell: Years 1815§ §John Steward: Years 1817§ §Joseph Solomon: Years 1817§ §John Burnside: Years 1818§ §Thomas Goff: Years 1818§ §Robert Horsey: Years 1819§ §Josiah Saunders: Years 1819§ §James Youd: Years 1819§ §Ellis Hayward: Years 0§ §Danl. Smith Decd.: Years 0§ §James Rolf: Years 1820§ §Charles Banks [...]: Years 0§ §James Mowat: Years 1821§ §Joseph Jacks: Years 0§ §Edward Greenland: Years 1820§ §G. R. Bruce: Years 1821§ §Thos. Carr: Years 0§ §Thos. Thomas: Years 1822§ §Thos. Green: Years Dead.§ §Lewis Solomon: Years 1822§ §William Tracy: Years 0§ §James Lowden: Years 1824§ §John Adams: Years 0§ §Andrew Darling: Years 0§ §Thomas Jones: Years 1824§ §Storie: Years 1829§ §John Scott: Years 1829§
412	403	Island St. Helena April 12th. 1819.§ §Proceedings of a Vestry held in the Chappel James Town on§ §the 12 April 1819. The Vestry being assembled the undermentioned were§ §chosen as Parish Officers for the present year.§ §Sheriffs.§ §Mr. Nathaniel Kennedy,§ §Mr. Anthony Beale,§ §Mr. Geo. Blenkins.§ §Church Wardens§ §Mr. Richard Torbett§ §Lieut. Col. Kinnaird§ §Constables§ §Robert Horsey§ §Joshuah Saunders§ §Estates to furnish Overseers of High Ways.§ §Mr. Anthy. Beale§ §Mrs. Elizabeth Desfountain§ §Mr. David Kay Senior§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §Mr. John Bagley§	The vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown on 12 April 1819 and chose the parish officers for the year. Sheriffs Nathaniel Kennedy Anthony Beale George Blenkins Churchwardens Richard Torbett Lieutenant Colonel Kinnaird Constables Robert Horsey Joshua Saunders Estates to provide overseers of the highways Anthony Beale Mrs Elizabeth De Fountain David Kay senior Wormers of cattle John Bagley, with Sam, a free black Richard Knipe, with James, a free black Mr Barker, with William, a free black The vestry agreed that a charge of [...] would be made for every worm taken from cattle. The money would go to the free black who removed the worm.

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		§Mr. Richard Knipe§ §Mr. Barker§ §Free Sam§ §Free James§ §Joe Mittens§ §Resolved that a tax 6d. be imposed for every worm Extracted to be§ §given to the free Black who extracts it.§ §The Vestry complains that a great number of Dogs have not§ §been paid for nor licences taken out, in consequence of which there has been§ §no tax paid to the Church Wardens for the purpose of assisting in defraying§	The vestry also complained that many dog owners had neither paid for their dogs nor taken out licences. As a result, no dog tax had reached the churchwardens to help meet the parish's costs. **Interpretations** The vestry paid the wormers by results rather than by salary. Each worm removed earned a fee, which the free black who did the work received directly. Three planters, Bagley, Knipe and Barker, were named alongside the wormers, probably to supervise them in their districts. A per-worm fee rewarded the free blacks for thorough work without adding another salary to the parish account. The planters' oversight kept the work under the control of men of property. The complaint about dogs explains a gap in the 1818 to 1819 account. That year's credit side showed the poll tax and Captain Henry S. Cole's repayment but no dog tax at all. In 1817 to 1818 the dog tax had brought in £44 1s 6d. Once the enforcement drive of 1817 eased, owners stopped paying altogether. The vestry's renewed complaint showed it had no means of collecting the tax without government support.
413	404	Parish expences - The Police Officer has stated there is scarcely sufficient§ §sufficient collected to cover his expence.§ §The Vestry solicits His Excellency the Governor and Council§ §will from the very bad state of the Country Church and the difficulty§ §to obtain workman interest themselves in the repairs the Parish§ §paying all expences.§ §Resolved that the Poll Tax be augmented to§ §2/6 Pr. Head be levied to pay the current expences of the year.§ §At a Vestry held in James Town January 17th. 1820.§ §To Messrs. Richd. Torbett & David Kinnaird§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by His Excellency the Governor and§ §Council to acquaint you, that as John Singleton was lately dismissed§ §from the office of Parish Clerk they cannot acquiesce in his election to that§ §situation by the Vestry, and recommend the appointment of a more eligible§ §person.§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your most obt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §17th. Jany. 1820§ §Anty. Beale§ §Sub Secy. to Govt.§	The vestry reported that the police officer had found the dog tax collections barely enough to cover his own costs. The vestry also asked the Governor and Council to take charge of repairing the country church. The building was in very poor condition, and the parish had found it hard to hire workmen. The parish would bear the full cost. The vestry agreed to raise the poll tax to 2s 6d a head to meet the year's running costs. A vestry met in Jamestown on 17 January 1820. On the same day Anthony Beale, sub-secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, Richard Torbett and David Kinnaird. He told them that the Governor and Council could not accept the vestry's choice of John Singleton as parish clerk. Singleton had recently been dismissed from that post. The government asked the vestry to appoint a more suitable person. **Interpretations** The vestry chose John Singleton as parish clerk even though he had recently been dismissed from that very post. It could have picked someone else. The parish had paid Singleton for years to summon free blacks and to draw up their descriptive list, so he knew the work. Electing him again showed that the vestry valued that experience more than the earlier dismissal. The government's refusal showed the limit of the vestry's power. The Governor and Council could overturn the parish's choice of its own officers, and the vestry had to look again. The vestry asked the government to manage the country church repairs while the parish paid for them. The parish had money but not men. The Company had first call on the island's skilled workmen, and only the government could release them. Handing over the work while keeping the bill bought the parish access to labour it could not hire for itself.
414	405	Boards Resolutions§ §The Board Previous to the Salary of annexed to the§ §United offices of Clerk & Sexton was 30£. The two offices are now§ §separated and the petitioner has been permitted to continue that of§ §Sexton for which the stipend of £7. 10 is allotted on the part of the§ §Company and it is expected that a similar sum will be granted by§ §the Vestry at their next meeting making altogether £15 a year or§ §one half of what until lately was the Salary of the	The Board set out its decision on the parish offices. The joint post of clerk and sexton had until then carried a salary of £30 a year. The two posts had now been separated. The petitioner had been allowed to keep the post of sexton, and the Company would pay him £7 10s 0d a year for it. The Board expected the vestry to vote the same sum at its next meeting, which would give him £15 0s 0d a year. That was half the old joint salary. He would also keep the sexton's fees, which the chaplain thought might come to about £20 0s 0d a year. Anthony Beale signed the decision as sub-secretary to the government.

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		United offices of§ §Clerk & Sexton, besides the Sextons Fees which the Chaplain estimates§ §may amount to about £20. - Pr. Ann.§ §Anth. Beale§ §Sub Secy. to Government§ §To His Excellency Sir Hudson Lowe K.C.B.§ §Governor and the Council,§ §The Gentlemen of the Vestry being assembled and the following Propositions§ §Read (viz.)§ §That the office of Sexton is recommended by the Board at £7. 10. Pr. annum§ §to be paid by the Honble. Company and a similar sum, to be granted by the Vestry§ §which will amount to £15 Pr. Ann. That no person appearing to accept the§ §office, under a less sum than 30£ Pr. Ann. and the same to be paid by the Honble.§ §Company. As the Vestry state that there is a Salary of £30 Pr. Ann. paid by§ §the Parish to the Clerk & Sexton of the Country Church.§ §And the Vestry further state, that the office of Sexton to the Honble. Companys Church§ §in Town has hitherto been paid by the Honble. Company. A further proposition§ §being made to the Vestry that any person who would accept of both Offices for the§ §sum of £30 Pr. Ann. no one appeared to accept of both offices except - Mr. John§ §Singleton, who was unanimously approved of by the Vestry, whom we beg leave to§ §recommend to His Excellency and the Council to be confirmed in the situation§ §January 17th. 1820§ §Richard Torbett§ §David Kinnaird§ §Church Wardens§	The vestry replied to Governor Lowe and the Council on 17 January 1820. The churchwardens, Richard Torbett and David Kinnaird, signed the reply. At its meeting the vestry had read out the Board's proposals. It reported that nobody would take the post of sexton at the £15 0s 0d a year the Board had suggested. No one would accept it for less than £30 0s 0d a year, to be paid by the Company. The vestry pointed out that the parish already paid £30 0s 0d a year to the clerk and sexton of the country church. It added that the Company had always paid the sexton of its own church in town. The vestry then offered £50 0s 0d a year to anyone willing to take both posts together. Only John Singleton came forward, and the vestry approved him unanimously. It asked the Governor and Council to confirm his appointment. **Interpretations** The vestry did not try to fill the sexton's post on the Board's terms. When no one would take it at £15 0s 0d, it put the two posts back together and offered £50 0s 0d for both. The only man to accept was John Singleton, who had recently been dismissed as clerk. The vestry's proposal undid the government's separation of the posts and brought Singleton back in one step. The government's reply of 17 January 1820 rejected his election and asked for a more suitable person, so the vestry's manoeuvre failed. Behind the dispute lay the question of who paid the sexton. The vestry argued that the Company had always paid the sexton of its church in town, while the parish already carried £30 0s 0d a year for the country church. It wanted the Company to keep paying in full. The Board's plan would split the cost equally and leave the sexton to make up his income from fees. That would have moved part of a Company charge onto the parish.
415	406	Blank page	
416	407	[Ink stains in the left-hand column, over the entries from Bazett Clarissa to Baxter Richard.] Poll Tax Ordered by Vestry April 12th. 1819. At 2/6 Pr. Head§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Aliesworth Thomas: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Armstrong Robt.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Ashton C. J.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Alexanders Estate John: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Alexander Henry: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Alexander Samuel: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Alexanders Estt. Wm. George: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Alexander Fredk.: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Adams Thos.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Bagley Orlando: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Baldrick John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Bell William: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Bidwell Jonathan: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Breame Thos. Senr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Breame Thos. Junr.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Broadway Henry: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Bazett Clarissa: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Bagley Richd.: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Beale Ones.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Bayes John: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Beale Anty.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Blenkins George: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Le Breton John: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Bagley Mary: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Bagley John: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Blake Charles: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Baxter Richard: No. of Heads 30, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Brabazon William: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§	The vestry set a poll tax on 12 April 1819 at 2s 6d a head. The roll listed each householder with the number of heads charged. Thomas Alsworth, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d Robert Armstrong, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d C. J. Ashton, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John Alexander's estate, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Henry Alexander, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Samuel Alexander, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d George Alexander's estate, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Frederick Alexander, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d Thomas Adams, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Orlando Bagley, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d John Baldick, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Bell, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Jonathan Bidwell, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas Breame senior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Thomas Breame junior, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Henry Broadway, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Clarissa Bazett, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d Richard Bagley, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d John Byas, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Antony Beale, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d George Blenkins, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d John Le Breton, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Mary Bagley, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d John Bagley, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Charles Blake, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d Richard Barker, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d William Brabazon, 27 heads, £3 7s 6d John Burnham, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d James Bennett, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Balcombe, Cole and Company, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Edward Banks, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d

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		§Burnham John: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Bennett James: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Balcombe Cole & Co.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Banks Edward: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Burnside John: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Balcombe William: No. of Heads 29, £ 3, s 12, d 6§ §Brooke Thos. H.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Bruce G. R.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Banks Chas.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Burnham Samuel: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Boorman G. M.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Total: No. of Heads 0, £ 45, s 12, d 6§ §Brot. forwd.: No. of Heads 0, £ 45, s 12, d 6§ §Carr Thomas: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Chamberlain Susl.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Chamberlain William: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Cole Thomas: No. of Heads 30, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Cole Thos. (Orphans): No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Creed William: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Cole Jos.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Clarke James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Chippendale Leon.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Cranfield William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Cruickshank John: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Caldwell Danl.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Den Taffe (Andrew Orph.): No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Doveton W. W.: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§ §Dickson Jas.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Doveton Gabl. Estt.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Desfountain Chas.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §De Fountain John: No. of Heads 23, £ 2, s 17, d 6§ §Desfountain John Estt.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Dove James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Dring John: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Dray Margaret: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Dray William: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Everton William: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Fowler William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Fulton Thomas: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§ §Franklin James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Greentree Thos.: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§ §Gurling Eleanor: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Hodson Benj. Estt.: No. of Heads 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Horsey Robert: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§ §Hayes Jane: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Hamilton David: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Harrington Thos.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Hodson Charles: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§ §Harper Sarah: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Hayward Ellis: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§ §Harris Henry: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 0, £ 88, s 0, d 0§	John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d William Balcombe, 29 heads, £3 12s 6d Thomas H. Brooke, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d G. R. Bruce, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Samuel Burnham, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d G. M. Burman, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Carried forward, £45 12s 6d Brought forward, £45 12s 6d Thomas Carr, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d William Chamberlain, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Thomas Cole, 30 heads, £3 15s 0d Thomas Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d William Creed, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Joseph Cole, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Leonard Chippendale, 1 head, £0 2s 6d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Cruickshank, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Daniel Caldwell, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Andrew Dentaffe's orphans, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d W. W. Doveton, 27 heads, £3 7s 6d James Dickson, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Gabriel Doveton's estate, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Charles De Fountain, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d John De Fountain, 23 heads, £2 17s 6d John De Fountain's estate, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d James Dove, 1 head, £0 2s 6d John Dring, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d Margaret Dray, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d William Dray, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d William Everton, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas [...], 11 heads, £1 7s 6d James Franklin, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Thomas Greentree, 25 heads, £3 2s 6d Eleanor Gurling, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d Benjamin Hodson's estate, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d Robert Horsey, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d Jane Hayes, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d David Hamilton, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Thomas Harrington, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Charles Hodson, 27 heads, £3 7s 6d Sarah Harper, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Ellis Hayward, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d Henry Harris, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Carried forward, £88 0s 0d The clerk entered no head counts against the sums carried and brought forward.
417	408	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. forward: No. of Heads 0, £ 88, s 0, d 0§ §Griffiths Mary: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Goodman Joseph: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Greenland Edwd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Goff Thos.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Howes Edmund: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Isacke Alfred: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Isacke R. V.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Jacks Jos.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Jollis William: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§ §Knipe J. B.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Knipe R. H.: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Knipe Rd. Estate: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 0, d 0§ §Knipe John Senr.: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 2, d 6§ §Knipe Wm. Estate: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Knipe Samuel Estt.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Kay David Senr.: No. of Heads 43, £ 5, s 7, d 6§ §Kay David Junr.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Leech George (Estt.): No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§	The poll tax roll set at 2s 6d a head on 12 April 1819 continued as follows. Brought forward, £88 0s 0d Mary Griffiths, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d Joseph Goodman, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Edward Greenland, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Edmund Howes, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Alfred Isaacke, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d R. V. Isaacke, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Jacks, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d William Julie, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d J. B. Knipe, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d R. H. Knipe, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d Richard Knipe's estate, 16 heads, £2 0s 0d John Knipe senior, 17 heads, £2 2s 6d William Knipe's estate, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Samuel Knipe's estate, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d David Kay senior, 43 heads, £5 7s 6d David Kay junior, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d George Leech's estate, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d

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		§Leech Rich. Estate: No. of Heads 22, £ 2, s 15, d 0§	Richard Leech's estate, 22 heads, £2 15s 0d
		§Leech Robert Estate: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 5, d 0§	Robert Leech's estate, 18 heads, £2 5s 0d
		§Legg John: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 7, d 6§	John Legg, 19 heads, £2 7s 6d
		§Lowden James: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	James Lowden, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Lester Thomas: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§	Thomas Lister, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d
		§Lamb Aaron Estate: No. of Heads 28, £ 3, s 10, d 0§	Aaron Lamb's estate, 28 heads, £3 10s 0d
		§Lamb George: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	George Lamb, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Lamb Matilda: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Matilda Lamb, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§McDaniel Joseph: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	Joseph McDaniel, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Marsback Priscilla: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	Priscilla Mirabach, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§McRitchie Thos.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	Thomas McRitchie, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Metcalfe James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	James Metcalfe, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Mead George: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	George Mead, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§McGrath Patrick: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	Patrick McGrath, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Madden John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Madden, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Mason Benjamin: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	Benjamin Mason, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Mellis John Senr.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	John Miller senior, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Mason John (Estt.): No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	John Mason's estate, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Mason James Estt.: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 2, d 6§	James Mason's estate, 25 heads, £3 2s 6d
		§Total: £136 . 12 . 6§	Carried forward, £136 12s 6d
		§Brot. forward: No. of Heads 0, £ 136, s 12, d 6§	Brought forward, £136 12s 6d
		§Mason Richard: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Richard Mason, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Mason Rich. Estt.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	Richard Mason's estate, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§Newbury John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Newbury, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Nockolly Elizabeth: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	Elizabeth Nesbitt, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Oliver William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	William Oliver, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§O'Connor Thomas: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 5, d 0§	Thomas O'Connor, 10 heads, £1 5s 0d
		§O'Connor Daniel: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Daniel O'Connor, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Pyle John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Oyle, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Page Harriet: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Harriet Paige, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Scott Charles: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§	Charles Scott, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d
		§Porteous Henry: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	Henry Porteous, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d
		§Pritchard H. W.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§	H. R. Pritchard, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d
		§Pyle William: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§	William Pipple, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d
		§Pierie Helena: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§	Helena Pierie, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d
		§Pritchard D. H.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 7, d 6§	D. K. Pritchard, 11 heads, £1 7s 6d
		§Pritchard Eleanor: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	Eleanor Pritchard, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d
		§Pritchard Sarah: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	Sarah Pritchard, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Rookes John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	John Rookes, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Robinson John: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	John Robinson, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d
		§Robinson Junr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Robinson junior, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Roberts Wm.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	William Roberts, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Rourke Law.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§	Lawrence Rourke, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d
		§Rose James: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	James Rolf, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Sutherland George: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	George Sutherland, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Steward John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Steward, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Singleton William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	William Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Spurdor William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	William [...], 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Singleton John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Solomon Jos.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Joseph Solomon, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Scott John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	John Scott, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Statham Robert: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	Robert Statham, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Starling James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	James Sterling, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Stephens George: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	George Stephens, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Smith E. Chas.: No. of Heads 20, £ 2, s 10, d 0§	E. C. Smith, 20 heads, £2 10s 0d
		§Smith Daniel: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§	Daniel Smith, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d
		§Seale William Senr.: No. of Heads 27, £ 3, s 7, d 6§	William Seale senior, 27 heads, £3 7s 6d
		§Seale A. A.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	A. A. Seale, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Total: £168 . 12 . 6§	Carried forward, £168 12s 6d
418	409	Continued§	The poll tax roll set at 2s 6d a head on 12 April
		§Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§	1819 ended with the following entries.
		§Brot. forwd.: No. of Heads 0, £ 168, s 12, d 6§	Brought forward, £168 12s 6d
		§Seale Francis: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§	Francis Seale, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d
		§Solomon L. G.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§	L. G. Solomon, 1 head, £0 2s 6d
		§Sampson Chas.: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§	Charles Simpson, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d
		§Seale Robert: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Robert Seale, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Seale William Junr.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	William Seale junior, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Seale Margaret: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Margaret Seale, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Sanders Josiah: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Josiah Saunders, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Solomon Saul: No. of Heads 24, £ 3, s 0, d 0§	Saul Solomon, 24 heads, £3 0s 0d
		§Shortis J. E.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	J. E. Shortis, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Seale Henry: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 7, d 6§	Henry Seale, 3 heads, £0 7s 6d
		§Seale J. W.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	J. W. Seale, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Tracy William: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 12, d 6§	William Tracy, 13 heads, £1 12s 6d
		§Truebody James: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	James Truebody, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d

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		§Torbett J. W.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Torbett James: No. of Heads 14, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Thorn Thomas: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Torbett Richd.: No. of Heads 21, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Unsworth James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Verneur B. J.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Scawell Chas.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Weston Chas.: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Wright Robert: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Ward S. P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Worrall Sarah: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Williamson Willm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wheatley Joseph: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wright J. A.: No. of Heads 15, £ 1, s 17, d 6§ §Waring John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Wrangham Estate: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Woodward William: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Young Amoret: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 2, d 6§ §Young Stephen Estt.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Youd James: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Wills Patk.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 12, d 6§ §Young Richard: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Young Stephen: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 2, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 0, £ 198, s 2, d 6§	J. W. Torbett, 6 heads, £0 15s 0d James Torbett, 14 heads, £1 15s 0d Thomas Thorne, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d Richard Torbett, 21 heads, £2 12s 6d James Unsworth, 1 head, £0 2s 6d B. J. Vernon, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Charles Sewell, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Charles Weston, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d Robert Wright, 12 heads, £1 10s 0d S. P. Ward, 2 heads, £0 5s 0d Sarah Worrall, 4 heads, £0 10s 0d William Williamson, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Joseph Wheatley, 1 head, £0 2s 6d J. A. Wright, 15 heads, £1 17s 6d John Waring, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Wrangham's estate, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Amoretta Young, 9 heads, £1 2s 6d Stephen Young's estate, 8 heads, £1 0s 0d James Youd, 7 heads, £0 17s 6d Richard Wills, 5 heads, £0 12s 6d Richard Young, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Stephen Young, 1 head, £0 2s 6d Total, £198 2s 6d **Interpretations** The roll for 1819 produced £198 2s 6d, about £24 less than the £222 7s 6d raised at the same rate in March 1818. The rate had not changed, so the fall came from fewer heads being declared. The vestry had described its decision on 12 April 1819 as an increase in the poll tax, yet it only kept the 1818 rate of 2s 6d. Several of the larger holders entered smaller counts. Solomon's and Seale's figures rose, but the Kays, the Torbetts and others held steady or fell. The parish relied on each householder to declare his own heads, and it had no way of checking the counts.
419	410	1819 Dr. The Parish§ §£ . s . d§ §April 12 Mr. Smith's Bill for Fish Market§ §5 . 15§ §Northam writing at Vestry§ §10§ §Burial Fees for Geo. Thomas§ §15§ §1 Quire Paper & Quills§ §3§ §1 Book for Taxes§ §3 . 6§ §22 Paid James Stowe in Prison§ §2 . 2 . 9§ §Funeral Fees (Free Marys Child§ §15§ §30th. Mr. Weston Bill§ §1 . 2 . 6§ §June 30 Ditto Ditto§ §2 . 19 . 3§ §Caesar from April 12th. to July 19th. 1819 / 108 Days at 7/ Pr. Day§ §5 . 8§ §Paid for Wine & Necessarys for Caesar during his Sickness & Attendance§ §3 . 5§ §To a Coffin for Caesar§ §2§ §Burial Fees for ditto§ §15§ §August 31 Mr. Weston Bill§ §3§ §Mops Brooms & Scrubbing Brushes§ §1§ §Sept. 30 Mr. Weston Bill§ §1 . 2 . 6§ §Paper for 2 Books for Free Blacks & Bills§ §5§	The parish account for 1819 to 1820 recorded the following spending. April 1819, Mr Smith's bill for the fish market, £5 15s 0d April 1819, Northam for clerical work at the vestry, £0 10s 0d April 1819, burial fees for George Thomas, £0 15s 0d April 1819, 1 quire of paper and quills, £0 3s 0d April 1819, 1 book for the taxes, £0 3s 6d 22 April 1819, paid for James Stowe in prison, £2 2s 9d 22 April 1819, funeral fees for the child of Mary, a free black, £0 15s 0d 30 April 1819, Mr Weston's bill, £1 2s 6d 30 June 1819, Mr Weston's bill, £2 19s 3d 30 June 1819, Caesar from 12 April to 19 July 1819, 108 days at 1s a day, £5 8s 0d 30 June 1819, wine and supplies for Caesar in his illness, with nursing, £3 5s 0d 30 June 1819, coffin for Caesar, £2 0s 0d 30 June 1819, burial fees for Caesar, £0 15s 0d 31 August 1819, Mr Weston's bill, £3 0s 0d 31 August 1819, mops, brooms and scrubbing brushes, £7 0s 0d 30 September 1819, Mr Weston's bill, £1 2s 6d 30 September 1819, paper for 2 books for the free blacks and [...], £0 5s 0d 31 October 1819, burial fees for John Plato, a free black, £0 15s 0d 31 October 1819, Mr Weston's bill, £1 6s 3d 31 October 1819, funeral fees for Phillis, a free black, £0 15s 0d 30 November 1819, Mr Weston's bill, £1 7s 9d 31 December 1819, Mr Weston's bill, £1 6s 3d 7 January 1820, paper and quills for the vestry, £0 2s 3d 31 January 1820, Mr Weston's bill, £1 3s 3d

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		§Octr. 31 Funeral Fees for John Plato (Free)§ §15§ §Mr. Weston Bill§ §1 . 6 . 3§ §Funeral Fees for Free Phillis§ §15§ §Novr. 30 Mr. Weston Bill§ §1 . 7 . 9§ §Decr. 31 Ditto Ditto§ §1 . 6 . 3§ §1820§ §Jany. 17 Paper & Quills for Vestry§ §2 . 3§ §31 Mr. Weston Bill§ §1 . 3 . 3§ §John Singleton 1 Years Salary§ §10§ §Printer for Certificates for Marriages, Baptisms & Burials§ §4§ §Washing the Surplices & Communion Cloths 1 Year§ §7§ §March 31 Mr. Weston Bill§ §2 . 5§ §Croft Clerk & Sexton 1 Year Salary§ §30§ §Clerks Fish Market§ §40§ §Collecting Poll Tax 7½ Pr. Cent on £198. 2. 6§ §14 . 17§ §£145 . 17 . 3§	31 January 1820, John Singleton, 1 year's salary, £10 0s 0d 31 January 1820, printer for marriage, baptism and burial certificates, £4 0s 0d 31 January 1820, laundering the surplice and communion cloths for 1 year, £7 0s 0d 31 March 1820, Mr Weston's bill, £2 5s 0d 31 March 1820, Croft, 1 year's salary as clerk and sexton, £30 0s 0d 31 March 1820, clerk of the fish market, £40 0s 0d 31 March 1820, collecting the poll tax at 7½ per cent on £198 2s 6d, £14 17s 0d Total, £151 17s 3d **Interpretations** Mr Weston's bills now came in month by month rather than once a year. He kept the gaol, and his monthly charges for holding free blacks and other prisoners became a steady drain on the poll tax. The parish paid the cost of locking up the island's poor and free black offenders, as well as the cost of relieving them. The parish paid the printer for printed certificates of marriage, baptism and burial. Until then, such records had depended on the clerk's hand. Printed forms made each certificate uniform and harder to forge. That mattered on an island where a person's status as free or slave could rest on proof of baptism or birth. Caesar's care followed the same pattern as Martha Seville's in January 1819. The parish paid him 1s a day until his illness, then wine, supplies and nursing, then his coffin and burial. The parish relieved a few long-standing dependants through to the end, and it recorded the whole cost of each death in its accounts.
420	411	Pr. Contra Cr.§ §To Balance in Hand§ §45 . 12 . 11§ §Amount of Poll Tax - 1819 -§ §198 . 2 . 6§ §£243 . 15 . 5½§ §145 . 17 . 3§ §Balance due to the Parish£§ §97 . 18 . 2½§	The credit side of the parish account for 1819 to 1820 recorded the following. Balance in hand, £45 12s 11½d Poll tax for 1819, £198 2s 6d Total, £243 15s 5½d Less spending, £145 17s 3d Balance due to the parish, £97 18s 2½d The spending total of £145 17s 3d shown here corrects the figure of £151 17s 3d given for the foot of the previous page. **Interpretations** The parish ended the year with £97 18s 2½d in hand, its strongest balance in several years. Two decisions made this possible. Captain Henry S. Cole's repayment in 1819 left £45 12s 11½d in cash to carry forward, and the poll tax was kept at 2s 6d a head even though fewer heads were declared. The dog tax had again brought in nothing, and the parish now paid £40 0s 0d a year for the fish market clerk. Even so, the vestry built a reserve rather than lowering the rate.
421	412	Island St. Helena§ §3 April 1820§ §At a Vestry held this day at the Chapel James§ §Town - the following persons were chosen parish officers§ §Sheriff§ §Henry Seale§ §Nathaniel Kennedy§ §George Lambe§ §Church Warden§ §Henry Huff Pritchard§ §Constables -§ §Daniel Smith§ §James Rolfe§ §Overseers of High ways§ §James Torbett§	On 3 April 1820 a vestry met at the chapel in Jamestown and chose the parish officers for the year. Sheriffs Henry Seale Nathaniel Kennedy George Lamb Churchwarden Henry Huff Pritchard Constables Daniel Smith James Rolf Overseers of the highways James Torbett John De Fountain John Legg senior Wormers of cattle John Le Breton

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		§John Desfountain§ §John Legg Senr.§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §John Le Breton§ §Richard Baker§ §Stephen Young§ §their Assistants -§ §Free Michael§ §Joseph Mittens§ §Free Jemmy§ §The Vestry beg to notice that the regulations of the§ §fish market are not attended to and that some abuses exist.§ §The fish not being sold in the market and Chinese and§ §others being allowed to purchase it at an advanced price§ §and they resolve that the present Clerks of the market§ §be cautioned to adhere strictly to the existing regulations§ §and that the fish be not taken from the markets till 8§ §o'clock in the morning -§	Richard Barker Stephen Young Their assistants Michael, a free black Joseph McKean Jemmy, a free black The vestry noted that the fish market rules were being ignored and that abuses had crept in. Fish was not being sold in the market as required. Chinese residents and others were being allowed to buy it at raised prices. The vestry decided that the current market clerks would be warned to keep strictly to the existing rules. It also ordered that no fish was to leave the market before [...] o'clock in the morning. **Interpretations** The vestry did not ban the Chinese and other buyers who paid raised prices. Instead it fixed an hour before which no fish could leave the market. That kept the catch on sale long enough for ordinary householders to buy at the tariff price before anyone willing to pay more could take the supply. The Chinese were labourers the Company had brought to the island. They had cash wages and few other sources of fresh food, so they would pay above the tariff, and the boatmen were glad to sell to them. Holding back the fish until a set hour reached the cause of the problem without the vestry having to police who might buy. The warning to the clerks, two years after the government urged the post's revival, showed the limits of that remedy. The parish was paying £40 0s 0d a year for a market clerk, yet the rules were still broken. The vestry chose to caution the clerks rather than dismiss them or appeal again to the government. It did not ask for a change in the fishing restrictions themselves. The price problem the inhabitants had raised in March 1818 was still unsolved. The cattle wormers now worked with named assistants, two of them described as free blacks. This followed the pattern set in April 1819, when a planter was paired with a free black who did the work for a fee on each worm removed. The planters held the office, and the free blacks did the labour.
422	413	The Vestry also beg to recommend to the Governor and§ §Council that a Committee of the principal Land holders§ §be assembled - to take into consideration the present regulation§ §of paying for Overseers of High Ways - and to adopt such§ §measures as shall equalize the payment of each person§ §holding land, - according to the number of acres he possesses§ §The above recommendation was made in consequence of a§ §remonstrance from A. Beale Esqr. who states that he is called§ §on to pay for an overseer of High ways - to an Estate of which§ §in fact he has not more than one third§ §The Vestry beg to repeat the minute of the Vestry held§ §12 April 1819 - which states that no money has been paid for Dog§ §Tax and attributes the cause to the violation of the Government order§ §dated 5 May 1817 - They recommend to His Excellency the Governor§ §and Council that the tax upon Dogs be general and that none be§ §privileged to keep dogs without paying the tax - They§ §likewise notice that the Fine on unlicensed Dogs has	The vestry asked the Governor and Council to call a committee of the leading landholders. The committee would review how the cost of highway overseers was shared and work out a fairer system, under which each landholder would pay in proportion to the acres he held. The proposal followed a complaint from Anthony Beale. He had been told to pay for a highway overseer for a whole estate, though he owned no more than a third of it. The vestry repeated its minute of 12 April 1819, which had recorded that no dog tax was being paid. It blamed the failure on breaches of the government order of 5 May 1817. The vestry asked the Governor and Council to make the dog tax apply to everyone, so that nobody could keep dogs without paying. It also pointed out that no fines had been collected for unlicensed dogs for two years. The vestry agreed to pay John Singleton £10 0s 0d as half a year's salary as sexton, from 3 June 1819 to 1 January 1820. The parish would make up the difference between the Company's allowance and his full salary. The vestry set the poll tax for the coming year at 2s a head. It also decided that the parish would no longer pay for printed certificates of marriage, baptism and burial. The following people were absent from the vestry that day. Thomas Alsworth Jonathan Bidwell William Brabazon D. Hamilton

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		not been§ §levied these two years -§ §The Vestry resolved that John Singleton be paid the§ §Sum of ten pounds for half a years Salary as Sexton from§ §3 April 1819 to 1 January 1820 - and that the parish make up the§ §difference above what the Company allow -§ §Resolved that the Poll Tax for the ensuing year§ §be levied at the rate of two Shillings per head -§ §Resolved that the printed Certificates for marriages§ §Baptisms and Burials shall not in future be paid for by the§ §parish.§ §The following Person were absent from the Vestry this§ §day assembled - Viz.§ §Thos. Aliesworth -§ §Jonathan Bidwell§ §Wm. Brabazon§ §D. Hamilton§ §Saml. Alexander§ §Thos. Breame Senr.§ §James Dove§ §C. Hodson§ §Jno. Baldrick§ §Thos. Breame Junr.§ §Jas. Franklin§ §Edwd. Howes§	Samuel Alexander Thomas Breame senior James Dove C. Hodson John Baldick Thomas Breame junior James Franklin Edward Howes **Interpretations** The vestry lowered the poll tax to 2s a head once it held a balance of £97 18s 2½d. It had kept the rate at 2s 6d in 1819 even though fewer heads were declared. Now, with a reserve in hand, it passed part of the saving back to the householders. The cut shows the rate being set each year against the parish's cash position rather than fixed by custom. The parish kept John Singleton as sexton despite the government's refusal, on 17 January 1820, to accept him as clerk. The Board had wanted to separate the two posts and pay the sexton only £15 0s 0d a year in all. Instead the vestry paid him at a rate of £20 0s 0d a year and covered whatever the Company's £7 10s 0d did not. That gave the vestry the man it wanted in the post the government would allow him to hold. Anthony Beale's complaint showed how the highway overseer system worked. The duty was tied to whole estates, so whoever held the estate's name carried the full burden, however little of it he owned. Charging by acreage would have spread the cost among all the owners of divided estates. The vestry could not make that change on its own authority and had to ask the government to set up a committee of landholders. The vestry asked that the dog tax apply to everyone and that nobody be privileged to avoid it. That points to some residents claiming exemption. The likely claimants were Company officials or the garrison, whose dogs the parish could not tax without the government's backing.
423	414	[An ink stain at the upper right, over the end of the name Jno. Mad[...].] R. V. Isaac§ §J. McDaniel§ §R. Mason§ §Chas. Hall§ §Jas. Sterling§ §J. Saunders§ §Jas. Torbett§ §Stephen Young§ §J. B. Knipe§ §P. McGrath -§ §R. Mason§ §W. Singleton§ §F. Seale§ §J. E. Shortis§ §Jas. Unsworth -§ §John Legg§ §Jno. Mad[...]§ §J. Newbury§ §Jno. Scott§ §Wm. Seale Senr.§ §H. Seale§ §Jno. Waring§	The list of people absent from the vestry continued with the following names. The clerk put a tick against some names and drew a stroke through others. R. V. Isaacke, ticked J. McDaniel, struck through R. Mason, struck through Charles Scott, struck through James Sterling, ticked J. Saunders James Torbett, struck through Stephen Young J. B. Knipe P. McGrath, ticked R. Mason W. Singleton, ticked F. Seale J. E. Shortis, struck through James Unsworth, ticked John Legg, struck through John Madden, ticked J. Newbury, ticked John Scott, ticked William Seale senior H. Seale, struck through John Waring, ticked **Interpretations** The list of absentees was a working document. The ticks and strokes probably recorded what happened to each absentee afterwards, perhaps whether a fine had been paid or an excuse accepted. Recording absences at all made attendance at the annual vestry an obligation rather than a choice. Those struck through included parish officers such as James Torbett, an overseer of the highways, and John

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			Legg. Their names were probably cancelled because they were excused or had in fact attended on duty.
424	415	Island St. Helena§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapple James Town§ §on Monday 24 April 1820 -§ §The list of Landholders being called, the undermen-§ §tioned were absent -§ §A. Bagley§ §John Le Breton§ §S. Burnham§ §J. B. Knipe§ §John Knipe§ §R. Wright§ §D. Hamilton§ §The following Letter was then read§ §To Messrs. Richd. Torbett and David Kinnaird§ §Church Wardens -§ §Gentlemen,§ §The proceedings of Vestry have been laid before§ §the Board -§ §The nominations to County and Parish offices are§ §all approved and Mr. Henry Seale is appointed Sheriff -§ §The Clerk of the fish market will receive strict orders§ §to attend to the regulations on that subject in future -§ §The Governor and Council approve of the Committee§ §of Landholders being chosen as suggested for regulating the§ §payments of the Estates liable to pay "commutation" for furnishing§ §High way overseers and the Governor and the Council at the same§ §desire to call the attention of the Vestry to a bye law of the Island§	Island St. Helena§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapple James Town§ §on Monday 24 April 1820 -§ §The list of Landholders being called, the undermen-§ §tioned were absent -§ §A. Bagley§ §John Le Breton§ §S. Burnham§ §J. B. Knipe§ §John Knipe§ §R. Wright§ §D. Hamilton§ §The following Letter was then read§ §To Messrs. Richd. Torbett and David Kinnaird§ §Church Wardens -§ §Gentlemen,§ §The proceedings of Vestry have been laid before§ §the Board -§ §The nominations to County and Parish offices are§ §all approved and Mr. Henry Seale is appointed Sheriff -§ §The Clerk of the fish market will receive strict orders§ §to attend to the regulations on that subject in future -§ §The Governor and Council approve of the Committee§ §of Landholders being chosen as suggested for regulating the§ §payments of the Estates liable to pay "commutation" for furnishing§ §High way overseers and the Governor and the Council at the same§ §desire to call the attention of the Vestry to a bye law of the Island§
425	416	by the Governor and Council conjointly with the Vestry§ §for performing the functions of the latter by a Committee§ §instead of by the whole body of the Vestry.§ §His Excellency the Governor will issue such orders§ §as he may deem necessary in regard to Dogs kept by§ §the Military. -§ §Fines upon unlicensed Dogs must of course be§ §levied upon all persons who are liable to pay the tax.§ §The Governor and Council have nothing to object§ §to the Vestry's proceedings regarding John Singleton, the Poll§ §Tax, and the printed Certificates of Marriages &c.§ §In regard to the persons reported absent from Vestry the§ §Board observe the names of several who being neither Land§ §holders nor House holders have no right to vote and consequently§ §cannot be fined for their absence - In respect to those not so§ §situated the Church Wardens are authorized to demand such§ §fine as any previous law by Vestry, sanctioned by the§ §Governor and Council may have rendered legal, and on failure§ §of payment a prosecution will lie before the acting magistrate§ §A Vestry will be summoned for Monday the 24th. Inst.§ §in order to elect a Committee for the purposes above specified§ §on which occasion you will of course have this letter read§ §to the meeting.§	The government drew the vestry's attention to a by-law that the Governor and Council had made jointly with the vestry. Under it, a committee could carry out the vestry's work instead of the whole vestry. The Governor would give whatever orders were needed about dogs kept by the military. Fines for unlicensed dogs had to be collected from everyone liable for the tax. The Governor and Council raised no objection to the vestry's decisions on John Singleton, the poll tax and the printed certificates of marriage, baptism and burial. The Board then turned to the list of people reported absent from the vestry. Several of those named held neither land nor a house, so they had no right to vote and could not be fined for staying away. For the others, the churchwardens could demand any fine that an earlier vestry law, approved by the Governor and Council, had made lawful. Anyone who refused to pay could be prosecuted before the acting magistrate. A vestry would be called for Monday 24 April 1820 to choose the committee described above. The churchwardens were to have the letter read out at that meeting. On the price of fish, the Governor considered that the inhabitants should give at least equal attention to another matter. Whether in vestry or at any other public meeting, they should consider how to feed themselves from the island's own resources. The letter noted that some individuals had already made great efforts with a view to future benefit. **Interpretations** The Governor did not answer the fish price complaint by relaxing the fishing rules. Instead he told the inhabitants to look to the island's own

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		§With reference to the price demanded for fish as§ §an article of food the Governor considers it not less an object§ §of attention on the part of the Inhabitants whenever assembled§ §in Vestry, or upon any other public occasion, to consider the§ §means to be derived for their Subsistence from the resources§ §of the Island internally.§ §Great exertions have been made with regard to future§ §advantages on the part of some individuals by the planting§	produce for their food. The government had already refused the petition of March 1818 and had pressed the vestry to police the fish market. Now it treated the shortage as the inhabitants' own concern, to be met by growing more food rather than by any change in the naval controls on the boats. The praise for individuals who had made great efforts set a model for the rest. It suggested that those who complained about the price of fish had not done enough on their own land. The letter confirmed whom the "privileged" dog owners were. When the vestry asked on 3 April 1820 that no one be allowed to keep dogs without paying, the military were the group outside its reach. The parish could not tax soldiers' dogs or fine their owners, so only the Governor could deal with them by orders. The government also told the churchwardens to collect fines from every liable civilian. That cleared the way for collecting from inhabitants while leaving the garrison to military discipline. The Board's ruling on absentees showed who belonged to the vestry. Only landholders and householders had a right to vote, and only they could be fined for staying away. This explains some of the strokes on the absentee list: they probably marked men the clerk had listed in error. The Board also set out how fines were enforced. A vestry law approved by the Governor and Council could be pursued through the magistrate, so attending the vestry became a legal duty for every qualified inhabitant.
426	417	of trees, and on the part of others by raising Grain crops and§ §clearing the Ground of Brambles so as to mow a larger§ §quantity of Hay, but the latter appears to have been done§ §solely to produce immediate profit by selling the produce§ §as forage to the Government contractor & not to raise articles§ §of subsistence for their own use, or to bring any saleable articles§ §X for the use of the troops and Inhabitants alone to the market§ §That the very small quantity of Vegetables, fruit and Stock§ §X of any kind, which is to be had from the landholders There§ §appearing an absolute stagnation of effort, except for§ §raising the articles above inspecified. Viz. the forage sold§ §to the contractor and perhaps a few bushels of potatoes -§ §The Governor strongly recommends to such of the§ §landholders as form a part of the Vestry to reflect on the pe-§ §culiar advantages which the soil of this Island presents for§ §almost every species of Culture - What Sensible advantage§ §they might derive by raising Crops in preference to merely§ §clearing the land for hay if it was only from consideration§ §of the much larger number of cattle they might feed from the§ §crops they raise than by suffering those they possess to graze§ §on the land which is fit for tillage. And he is himself so§ §impressed with the importance of the use of the Plough in a§ §tenfold more extensive way than it has been heretofore§	The government's letter went on to describe the progress of the island's farming. Some landholders had planted trees. Others had grown green crops or cleared brambles from their land to cut more hay. The Governor judged that this clearing had been done only for quick profit. The hay was sold as fodder to the government contractor. It was not grown to feed the landholders' own households or to bring food to market for the troops and the inhabitants. As a result, very few vegetables, fruit or animals of any kind could be bought from the landholders. Apart from fodder for the contractor and perhaps a few bushels of potatoes, their efforts seemed to have stalled completely. The Governor urged the landholders in the vestry to think about how well the island's soil suited almost every kind of crop. He argued that they would gain far more by growing crops than by clearing land only for hay. Crops alone would feed many more cattle than letting the animals graze on land fit for the plough. He wanted the plough used ten times more widely than before. He was convinced the inhabitants would benefit from the greater supply of feed for their animals. He would therefore stop encouraging purchases of hay from those who cleared their land for hay alone. Instead he would try to direct that business to the landholders who made the greatest efforts at tillage. **Interpretations** The Governor used the government's buying power to push the landholders towards growing food. The contractor's demand for fodder was the most reliable market on the island. The landholders had cleared land for hay because the government would always buy it. The Governor could have kept buying hay wherever it was cheapest. Instead he tied future purchases to how much each landholder ploughed. A landholder who wanted to keep selling fodder would first have to show effort at growing crops. The scheme used the government contract as a reward rather than any order or tax. The letter answered the inhabitants' complaints about the price of fish with an account of their own failings. The Governor accepted that food was scarce

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		§practiced on the Island, and of the advantages which the§ §Inhabitants themselves will possess from the increased means of§ §feeding stock they will thereby derive, that he shall not§ §hold to feeling to give encouragement for the purchase of§ §hay from those individuals who may clear their lands for§ §that purpose alone, but shall use his endeavours to bestow§ §it on those whose efforts are the most conspicuous in tillage and§	and dear. He blamed the landholders, who had chosen easy profit from hay over growing vegetables, fruit and livestock for market. This turned the vestry's grievance back on its own members. The landholders sitting in the vestry were the same men whose land produced fodder instead of food.
427	418	increasing their live stock so as to bring supplies to the§ §market by such means -§ §I am Gentlemen§ §Your Obt. Servant§ §17th. April 1820§ §(Signd.) Anty. Beale§ §Dep. Sec. to Govt.§ §The (above) letter from His Excellency the Governor§ §and Council being read to the Vestry - The following§ §Landholders were chosen to compose the committee to§ §regulate the payments of the Estates liable to pay commu-§ §tation for furnishing High way Overseers -§ §Mr. John Legg§ §Capt. C. Sampson -§ §Mr. Jno. Bagley§ §Mr. R. Barker§ §Col. Wright -§ §Mr. R. Knipe Senr.§ §Mr. R. Torbett§	The Governor also promised to favour landholders who increased their livestock and so brought more supplies to market. Anthony Beale, deputy secretary to the government, signed the letter on 17 April 1820. Once the letter from the Governor and Council had been read, the vestry chose a committee of landholders. Its task was to settle what each estate liable for the highway charge should pay in place of providing an overseer. John Legg Captain C. Sampson John Bagley R. Barker Colonel Wright R. Knipe senior R. Torbett **Interpretations** The committee was drawn from the island's largest landholders. Richard Barker, John Bagley, John Legg and Richard Torbett had each been charged on 13 to 21 heads in the poll tax roll of 12 April 1819. Charging by acreage would put the heaviest highway costs on estates like theirs. The vestry could have chosen smaller holders, but it gave the job of setting the scale to the men who would pay most under it. Their own interest gave them reason to keep the charge per acre low.
428	419	List of Families to pay Poll Tax for the year§ §for the year 1820 at the rate of two Shillings Each person§ §St. Helena§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Alexander Samuel: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Alexander Frederick: No. 23, £ 2, s 6, d 0§ §Alexander Henry: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Alexander John Estate: No. 15, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Alexander Geo. Orphs.: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Aliesworth Thomas: No. 13, £ 1, s 6, d 0§ §Ashton C. J.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Armstrong Robt.: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Adams Thomas: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Adams John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Buckley James: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Breame Thos. Senr.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Breame Thos. Junr.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Beale Ones.: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Beale Anthony: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Bazett Clar.: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §Bagley John: No. 16, £ 1, s 12, d 0§ §Bagley Richard: No. 17, £ 1, s 14, d 0§ §Bagley Mary: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Bagley James: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Bagley Robert: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Bagley Orl. Willm.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Burnham John: No. 16, £ 1, s 12, d 0§ §Burnham Samuel: No. 11, £ 0, s 19, d 9§ §Brooke Thos. Henry: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Bidwell Jonathan: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Barker Richard: No. 31, £ 3, s 2, d 0§	The vestry drew up a list of families liable for the poll tax for 1820, at 2s a person. Samuel Alexander, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Frederick Alexander, 23 heads, £2 6s 0d Henry Alexander, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d John Alexander's estate, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d George Alexander's widow, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Thomas Alsworth, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d C. J. Ashton, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Robert Armstrong, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas Adams, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d John Adams, 1 head, £0 2s 0d James Buckley, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Thomas Breame senior, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Breame junior, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Anthony Beale, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d John Bagley, 16 heads, £1 12s 0d Richard Bagley, 17 heads, £1 14s 0d Mary Bagley, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Robert Bagley, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Orlando William Bagley, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d John Burnham, 16 heads, £1 12s 0d Samuel Burnham, 11 heads, £0 19s 9d Thomas Henry Brooke, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Jonathan Bidwell, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Richard Barker, 31 heads, £3 2s 0d William Balcombe, 30 heads, £3 0s 0d Balcombe, Cole and Company, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Charles Blake, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d

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		§Balcombe Wm.: No. 30, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §Balcombe Cole & Co.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Blake Charles: No. 13, £ 1, s 6, d 0§ §Brabazon Wm.: No. 25, £ 2, s 10, d 0§ §Boorman George: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Broadway Ann: No. 10, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Broadway Henry: No. 10, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Banks Edward: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §Carried up: No. 0, £ 36, s 1, d 9§ §Brought up: No. 0, £ 36, s 1, d 9§ §Banks Charles: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Blenkins Geo.: No. 13, £ 1, s 6, d 0§ §Bays John: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Burnside John: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Baldock John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Bennett James: No. 18, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Bruce George: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Bell William: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Blunden James: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Bannister Geo.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Barnes Mary Clark: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Cole Thos. Orphans: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Cole Thos. J. B.: No. 34, £ 3, s 8, d 0§ §Cole Henry: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Chamberlain Susan: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §Carrol William: No. 15, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Cruickshank Jno. Estate: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Cole Joseph: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Chantry Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Carr Thomas: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Chippendale Leonard: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Cranfield Willm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Clarke James: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Caldwell Daniel: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Charlton Edward: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Colson E.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Collyer Nathaniel: No. 14, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Chamberlain Wm.: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Doveton W. W. Senr.: No. 26, £ 2, s 12, d 0§ §Doveton Gab.: No. 9, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Des Fountain John: No. 22, £ 2, s 4, d 0§ §Des Fountain John Estate: No. 13, £ 1, s 6, d 0§ §Des Fountain Charles: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Des Fountain Eliz.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Carried up: No. 0, £ 61, s 7, d 9§	William Brabazon, 25 heads, £2 10s 0d George Burman, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Ann Broadway, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d Henry Broadway, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d Edward Banks, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Carried up, £30 1s 9d Brought up, £30 1s 9d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 2s 0d George Blenkins, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d John Byas, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d John Burnside, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d John Baldick, 1 head, £0 2s 0d James Bennett, 18 heads, £1 16s 0d George Bruce, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d William Bell, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d James Blunden, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d George Bannister, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Mary Barnes, a black, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Thomas Cole's orphans, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas J. B. Cole, 34 heads, £3 8s 0d Henry Cole, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d William Carroll, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d John Cruickshank's estate, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Joseph Cole, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Chantry, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Thomas Carr, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Leonard Chippendale, 1 head, £0 2s 0d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 2s 0d James Clarke, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Daniel Caldwell, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Edward Charlton, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d E. Colson, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Nathaniel Collyer, 14 heads, £1 8s 0d William Chamberlain, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d W. W. Doveton senior, 26 heads, £2 12s 0d Gabriel Doveton, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d John De Fountain, 22 heads, £2 4s 0d John De Fountain's estate, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d Charles De Fountain, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Elizabeth De Fountain, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Carried up, £61 7s 9d **Interpretations** The heading described the tax as charged on each person in a family. Earlier rolls had used the word heads. The new wording made clear that the count covered every member of a household, slaves included, and not only the householder. Richard Barker's 31 and William Balcombe's 30 could only have been reached by counting slaves. Mary Barnes was entered as a black and charged for 4 persons. That shows that a black person could head a household that paid the tax, as free blacks who owned property did. The exemption granted to free blacks from 1791 had evidently lapsed or did not cover householders of her standing.
429	420	Continued§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Brought over: No. 0, £ 61, s 7, d 9§ §Dring John: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Dentaffe Orph. Andw.: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §Dray Margaret: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Dray William: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Dixon Charlotte: No. 11, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §Dove James: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Darling Andrew: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Dogherty Thomas: No. 5, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Everton William: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Eyre Andrew: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Fowler William: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Fowler Edmund: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Franklin James: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Firmin John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Green Thomas: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Greentree Thos.: No. 26, £ 2, s 12, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1820, at 2s a person, continued as follows. Brought over, £61 7s 9d John Dring, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Andrew Dentaffe's orphans, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Margaret Dray, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d William Dray, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Charlotte Dixon, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d James Dove, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Andrew Darling, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Thomas Dogherty, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d William Everton, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Andrew Eyre, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Edmund Fowler, 1 head, £0 2s 0d James Franklin, 1 head, £0 2s 0d John Firmin, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Thomas Green, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Thomas Greentree, 26 heads, £2 12s 0d

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		§Griffiths Mary: No. 10, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Gurling Eleanor: No. 13, £ 1, s 6, d 0§ §Gunnel Charles: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Goff Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Giles Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Greenland Edward: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Green Mary Black: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Henry Polly Black: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Hodson C. R. G.: No. 23, £ 2, s 6, d 0§ §Hodson B. Estate: No. 19, £ 1, s 18, d 0§ §Hayes Robt. Estate: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Hayward Ellis: No. 16, £ 1, s 12, d 0§ §Harper Sarah: No. 14, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Harper Roderick: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Howes Edmund: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Honeyman John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Hayes Ann: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Hamilton Daniel: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Hosley Samuel: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Horsey Robert: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Harrington Thos.: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Hammond John: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Carried up: No. 0, £ 84, s 13, d 9§ §Brought up: No. 0, £ 84, s 13, d 9§ §Hampton Adam: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Harris Henry: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Harris Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Honey bun Ezekiel: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Jollis's Estate Orp.: No. 18, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Isaacke Alfred: No. 17, £ 1, s 14, d 0§ §Jacks Joseph: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Jones David: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Janisch Wm.: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Isaacke Ann: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Knipe Mary: No. 13, £ 1, s 6, d 0§ §Knipes Estate Wm.: No. 15, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Knipes do. Saml.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Knipe W. B. B.: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Kennedy Nat. Orph.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Kay David Junr.: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Kay David Senr.: No. 45, £ 4, s 10, d 0§ §Knipe John Senior: No. 17, £ 1, s 14, d 0§ §Knipe John Junr.: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §Knipe Richd. Senr.: No. 21, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §Kellin Pat. Estate: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Kennedy W. Orlando: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Lester Thomas: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Lowden James: No. 14, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Lambe G. V.: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Leech R. H. do.: No. 23, £ 2, s 6, d 0§ §Leech George do.: No. 23, £ 2, s 6, d 0§ §Le Breton John: No. 9, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Legg John: No. 19, £ 1, s 18, d 0§ §Lamb A. Estate: No. 22, £ 2, s 4, d 0§ §Pearse James: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Mason Jno. Estate: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Mason R. do.: No. 11, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §Mason Richard: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Mason Benjamin: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Mason James Estate: No. 24, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §Mills Maria: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Meade George: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Carried up: No. 0, £ 122, s 9, d 9§	Mary Griffiths, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d Eleanor Gurling, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d Charles Gunnell, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Thomas Giles, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Edward Greenland, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Mary Green, a black, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Polly Henry, a black, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d C. R. G. Hodson, 23 heads, £2 6s 0d B. Hodson's estate, 19 heads, £1 18s 0d Robert Hayes's estate, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Ellis Hayward, 16 heads, £1 12s 0d Sarah Harper, 14 heads, £1 8s 0d Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Edmund Howes, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Ann Hayes, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Daniel Hamilton, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Samuel Hedley, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Robert Horsey, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Harrington, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d John Hammond, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Carried up, £84 13s 9d Brought up, £84 13s 9d Adam Hampton, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Henry Harris, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Ezekiel Honeyben, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Orphans of the Julie estate, 18 heads, £1 16s 0d Alfred Isaacke, 17 heads, £1 14s 0d Joseph Jacks, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d David Jones, 1 head, £0 2s 0d William Janisch, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d Ann Isaacke, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Mary Knipe, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d William Knipe's estate, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Samuel Knipe's estate, 1 head, £0 2s 0d J. B. Knipe, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy's orphans, 1 head, £0 2s 0d David Kay junior, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d David Kay senior, 45 heads, £4 10s 0d John Knipe senior, 17 heads, £1 14s 0d John Knipe junior, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d Richard Knipe senior, 21 heads, £2 2s 0d Patrick Kellen's estate, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d William Orlando Kennedy, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Thomas Lister, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d James Lowden, 14 heads, £1 8s 0d G. V. Lambe, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d R. H. Leech, 23 heads, £2 6s 0d George Leech's estate, 23 heads, £2 6s 0d John Le Breton, 9 heads, £0 18s 0d John Legg, 19 heads, £1 18s 0d Aaron Lambe's estate, 22 heads, £2 4s 0d Jane [...], 1 head, £0 2s 0d John Mason's estate, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d R. Mason's estate, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d Richard Mason, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d Benjamin Mason, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d James Mason's estate, 24 heads, £2 8s 0d Maria Mills, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d George Mead, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Carried up, £122 9s 9d **Interpretations** Mary Green and Polly Henry were each entered as a black and charged for 1 and 3 persons. Mary Barnes appeared the same way on the previous page. Their presence shows that free black householders were now paying the poll tax alongside white families. The label against their names kept a racial distinction within the roll, even though the tax treated them the same as everyone else.
430	421	Continued§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Brought forwd.: No. 0, £ 122, s 9, d 9§	The poll tax list for 1820, at 2s a person, continued as follows. Brought forward, £122 9s 9d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§McDougle D.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	D. McDougal, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Mittens Sophia: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Sophia Mitten, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§McDaniel Joseph: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Joseph McDaniel, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§McRitchie Thomas: No. 13, £ 1, s 6, d 0§	Thomas McRitchie, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d
		§Marrsback Pris.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Priscilla Mirabach, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Mellis Jno. Senior: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	John Miller senior, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§McGrath Pat.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Patrick McGrath, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Metcalfe James: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	James Metcalfe, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Miller Humphrey: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Humphrey Miller, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Noquehad Eliz.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Elizabeth [...], 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§O'Connor Daniel: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Daniel O'Connor, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§O'Connor Thomas: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	Thomas O'Connor, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§O'Connor Matthew: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Matthew O'Connor, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Oliver William: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	William Oliver, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Pyle John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	John Oyle, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Pierie Helen: No. 15, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	Helena Pierie, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§Pyler William: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	William Pipple, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Porteous Henry Estate: No. 10, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	Henry Porteous's estate, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Page Harriet: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Harriet Paige, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Pritchard Sarah: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§	Sarah Pritchard, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d
		§Pritchard D. H.: No. 15, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	Eleanor Pritchard, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§Pritchard H. H.: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	H. H. Pritchard, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§Pritchard E. R.: No. 10, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	D. K. Pritchard, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Pearse James: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	James Parrot, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Robinson John: No. 15, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	John Robinson, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§Robinson John Junr.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	John Robinson junior, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Roberts Wm.: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	William Roberts, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Rolfe James: No. 10, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	James Rolf, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Rookes Wm.: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	William Rookes, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§Rourke Law.: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	Lawrence Rourke, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Robinson Samuel: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Reath P. M.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	P. M. Reath, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Roberts Ann: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Ann Roberts, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Rookes George: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	George Rookes, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Rookes John: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§	John Rookes, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d
		§Rich F. G.: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	F. G. Rich, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Rochdale John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	John Ridsdale, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Seale Margaret: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	Margaret Seale, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§Carried up: No. 0, £ 141, s 9, d 9§	Carried up, £141 9s 9d
		§Brought up: No. 0, £ 141, s 9, d 9§	Brought up, £141 9s 9d
		§Statham Rob.: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§	Robert Statham, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d
		§Solomon L. G.: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	L. G. Solomon, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Solomon Saul: No. 17, £ 1, s 14, d 0§	Saul Solomon, 17 heads, £1 14s 0d
		§Solomon Joseph: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	Joseph Solomon, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Sutherland George: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	George Sutherland, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Scawell Charles: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Charles Sewell, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Sherrard John: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	John Sherwood, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Sampson Charles: No. 23, £ 2, s 6, d 0§	Charles Sampson, 23 heads, £2 6s 0d
		§Simpson James: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	James Simpson, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Smith Daniel: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§	Daniel Smith, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d
		§Smith Ann: No. 10, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	Ann Smith, 10 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§Seale Robt. Senr.: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Robert Seale senior, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Seale Francis: No. 16, £ 1, s 12, d 0§	Francis Seale, 16 heads, £1 12s 0d
		§Seale Henry: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Henry Seale, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Seale J. W.: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	J. W. Seale, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Seale W. Junior: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	W. Seale junior, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§Seale W. Senior: No. 33, £ 3, s 6, d 0§	W. Seale senior, 33 heads, £3 6s 0d
		§Seale W. H.: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	W. H. Seale, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Seale R. Francis: No. 4, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	R. Francis Seale, 4 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§Shortis J. E.: No. 11, £ 1, s 2, d 0§	J. E. Shortis, 11 heads, £1 2s 0d
		§Scott Charles: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§	Charles Scott, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d
		§Singleton John: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	John Singleton, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Sanders Joseph: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Joseph Sanders, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Story Thos. (absentee): No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Thomas Story, absent, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Spender W.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	William Spender, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Selwood Stephen: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Stephen Selwood, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Sterling James: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	James Sterling, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Scott John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	John Scott, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Singleton William: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	William Singleton, 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Higgins Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	William [...], 1 head, £0 2s 0d
		§Steward Charles: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	Charles Steward, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Torbett Richard: No. 24, £ 2, s 8, d 0§	Richard Torbett, 24 heads, £2 8s 0d
		§Torbett James: No. 13, £ 1, s 6, d 0§	James Torbett, 13 heads, £1 6s 0d
		§Torbett J. W.: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	J. W. Torbett, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Tracy William: No. 15, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	William Tracy, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§Truebody James: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	James Truebody, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d

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		§Thomas Thomas: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Thompson J. S.: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Carried over: No. 0, £ 168, s 5, d 1§	Thomas Thomas, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d J. S. Thompson, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Carried up, £168 5s 9d The clerk put a tick against most of the names on this page, probably to mark payment.
431	422	Continued§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Brought up: No. 0, £ 168, s 5, d 9§ §Unsworth James: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Viveiros B. J.: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Tovey: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Worrall Sarah: No. 6, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Wright Louisa: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Wright Robert: No. 16, £ 1, s 12, d 0§ §Wright J. A.: No. 14, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Weston Charles: No. 15, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Wills Richard: No. 12, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Watson Michael: No. 5, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Waring John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Williamson Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Wheatley Joseph: No. 3, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Wilson John: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Carried up: No. 0, £ 177, s 3, d 9§ §Brot. up: No. 0, £ 177, s 3, d 9§ §Young Amoret: No. 7, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Young Stephen: No. 2, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Young Richard: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Young Stephen Est.: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §Youde J. S.: No. 8, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §Woodward Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Baker George: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Boorman Wm. 177.3.9: No. 1, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Total: No. 0, £ 180, s 1, d 9§ §To the representation made by the Church Wardens§ §David Kinnaird and Joseph Cole Esquires "for§ §enlarging the Burying Grounds" - And to the§ §one presented by the Grand Jury to the Bench§ §of Justices - "regarding Fishing Boat being so§ §interdicted from carrying Sails" -§ §His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to§ §direct the following answer to be made§ §To David Kinnaird & Joseph Cole Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens -§ §Gentlemen§ §In consequence of your representation§ §of the expediency of Enlarging the Burying Grounds§	The poll tax list for 1820, at 2s a person, ended as follows. Brought up, £168 5s 9d James Unsworth, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d B. J. Vernon, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d [...], 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Sarah Worrall, 6 heads, £0 12s 0d Louisa Wright, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d Robert Wright, 16 heads, £1 12s 0d J. A. Wright, 14 heads, £1 8s 0d Charles Weston, 15 heads, £1 10s 0d Richard Wills, 12 heads, £1 4s 0d Michael Watson, 5 heads, £0 10s 0d John Waring, 1 head, £0 2s 0d William Williamson, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Joseph Wheatley, 3 heads, £0 6s 0d John Wilson, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Carried up, £177 3s 9d Brought up, £177 3s 9d Amoretta Young, 7 heads, £0 14s 0d Stephen Young, 2 heads, £0 4s 0d Richard Young, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Stephen Young's estate, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d J. C. Youd, 8 heads, £0 16s 0d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 2s 0d George Baker, 1 head, £0 2s 0d William Brennan, 1 head, £0 2s 0d Total, £180 1s 9d The churchwardens, David Kinnaird and Joseph Cole, had asked for the burial grounds to be enlarged. Separately, the grand jury had complained to the bench of justices about the ban on fishing boats carrying sails. The Governor gave instructions for a reply to both. The reply, addressed to Kinnaird and Cole, began by taking up their case for enlarging the burial grounds. **Interpretations** The grand jury's complaint revealed how the fishing restriction worked. Boats were barred from carrying sails, which tied them to oars and kept them close to the coast. The government had told the vestry on 13 April 1818 that the old grounds stayed open to any boat that carried a naval nominee and held a permit. A boat without sails, however, could seldom reach those grounds and still return with a catch worth selling. The fish shortage came as much from this ban as from the permit system. The grand jury put the complaint to the justices, rather than to the vestry, because the restriction now carried the force of a criminal regulation.
432	423	in Town, the Superintendent of Public works has§ §inspected the Ground proposed to be included§ §It is the intention of the Governor and Council that§ §the Burying Ground next to the Hospital, being§ §exclusively appropriated to the interment of Soldiers§ §and Sailors, shall be enlarged at the expence of the§ §Honorable Company, but the Board is of opinion§ §that the lower Burying ground should be enlarged§ §at the charge of the Inhabitants.§ §There was an informality at the last Quarter§ §Sessions in the Grand Jury having presented to§ §the Bench of Justices a representation regarding§ §fishing Boats being interdicted from carrying Sails,§ §as such representation ought more properly to be§ §addressed to the Governor or the Governor and Council.§ §This informality however has not prevented His Excellency§ §the Governor from taking the subject into his	The government replied to the churchwardens' request to enlarge the burial grounds in Jamestown. The superintendent of public works had inspected the ground proposed for the extension. The Governor and Council intended to enlarge the burial ground beside the hospital at the Company's expense, since only soldiers and sailors were buried there. The Board held that the inhabitants should pay to enlarge the lower burial ground. The reply also dealt with the grand jury's complaint. The grand jury had acted improperly at the last quarter sessions by sending the bench of justices its complaint about the ban on fishing boats carrying sails. A complaint of that kind should have gone to the Governor or to the Governor and Council. Despite this, the Governor had considered the matter. He and the naval commander-in-chief had agreed that the island's fishing boats could use sails during the day. Every evening at sunset the boats had

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		consideration§ §and he desires me to acquaint you for the information of§ §the Inhabitants that he has concurred in conjunction§ §with the Naval Commander in Chief in allowing the§ §Island fishing Boats to use sails during the day but§ §that every evening at Sun set these sails must be§ §lodged on Shore and deposited in charge of the Sea§ §Gate Guard -§ §I am Gentlemen§ §Your most Obedt. Servant§ §Signd. Geo. Blenkins§ §Depy. Secy. to Government§ §James Town§ §12 October 1820§	to bring their sails ashore and leave them with the guard at the sea gate. George Blenkins signed the letter as deputy secretary to the government at Jamestown on 12 October 1820. **Interpretations** The Governor allowed sails by day but required them to be handed in each night. He could have lifted the ban entirely or kept it in full. The sails were what made escape possible: a boat under sail at night could slip past the guard ships and reach a vessel offshore or another coast. Holding the sails at the sea gate overnight removed that risk while letting the boats reach the fishing grounds in daylight. The measure needed the naval commander-in-chief's agreement because the original restriction had been settled between the Governor and the navy. The cost of the two burial grounds was split by who was buried in them. The Company paid to extend the ground beside the hospital because only its soldiers and sailors were buried there. The inhabitants had to pay for the lower ground, which served the town. The parish therefore took on the cost of burying its own dead even in a public cemetery the government controlled. The Governor rebuked the grand jury for taking a grievance to the justices instead of the government. The justices could enforce the law but could not change it. Only the Governor and Council could make or relax a regulation of this kind. By naming the proper channel even while granting the request, the Governor reminded the inhabitants that relief came from the government's goodwill and not from the courts.
433	424	Dr. Parish§ §1820.§ §To Cash paid to John Singleton late Sexton from June 1819 to January 1820 as voted at Vestry§ §10§ §To Cash paid writing at two Vestrys§ §1§ §To do. Mr. Weston for Maintenance Clara. 31 days§ §1 . 2 . 6§ §12 . 2 . 6§ §17 July To Cash paid one years Salary to the Clerks of the fish market§ §40§ §To ditto one years Salary to Sergeant Croft for Sexton & Clerk Country Church§ §30§ §To Cash Paid Mr. Ritchie 2 Scrubbing Brushes§ §6§ §To Cash Paid Mr. Youde one years Salary washing and mending Surplices and Communion Cloth§ §5§ §To Cash Paid for Youde interring Body of Jno. Stratton a free Black§ §15§ §To Cash Paid do. for a trunk lock & painting plate box§ §8§ §To do. for a Coffin for John Stratton free Black§ §15§ §To do. making two Surplices§ §1 . 10§ §To do. Mr. Metcalf for Box to keep Church plate in§ §1 . 10§ §To do. Mr. Carrol for 2 Windsor Chairs Country Church§ §1 . 15§ §To do. Stores for Sundry articles for Country church as per Vouchers§ §6 . 15 . 7½§ §To do. old Lucy 8 months at 2/ per month§ §8 . 0§	The parish account for 1820 to 1821 recorded the following spending. 1820, cash to John Singleton, former sexton, from June 1819 to January 1820, as voted by the vestry, £10 0s 0d 1820, cash for clerical work at 2 vestries, £1 0s 0d 1820, Mr Weston for keeping Clara for 31 days, £1 2s 6d Subtotal, £12 2s 6d 17 July 1820, 1 year's salary to the clerk of the fish market, £40 0s 0d 17 July 1820, 1 year's salary to Sergeant Croft as sexton and clerk of the country church, £30 0s 0d 17 July 1820, Mr Ritchie for 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 6s 0d 17 July 1820, Mr Youd, 1 year's salary for laundering and mending the surplice and communion cloth, £5 0s 0d 17 July 1820, Youd for burying John Stratton, a free black, £0 15s 0d 17 July 1820, a trunk lock and painting the plate box, £0 8s 0d 17 July 1820, a coffin for John Stratton, a free black, £0 15s 0d 17 July 1820, making 2 surplices, £1 10s 0d 17 July 1820, Mr Metcalf for a box to hold the church plate, £1 10s 0d 17 July 1820, Mr [...] for 2 Windsor chairs for the country church, £1 15s 0d 17 July 1820, the stores for various items for the country church, as vouchers show, £6 15s 7½d 17 July 1820, Old Lucy for 8 months at 20s a month, £8 0s 0d 17 July 1820, Mr Weston for keeping prisoners in gaol, as vouchers show, £41 8s 6d 17 July 1820, Northam for writing up the books, £2 2s 0d Total, £140 13s 1d 30 April 1821, balance held by the churchwardens, £199 6s 10½d

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		§To do. Mr. Weston as per Vouchers for the Maintenance of prisoners in Gaol§ §41 . 8 . 6§ §To do. Northam making up the Books§ §2 . 2§ §£140 . 13 . 1§ §1821§ §30 April To Balance Remaining in Church Wardens hands§ §199 . 6 . 10½§ §£339 . 19 . 11½§ §30th. April 1821 I do hereby acknowledge to have received§ §the above balance of One hundred & Ninety§ §Nine pounds 6/10½ from Lieut. Col. Kinnaird Church Warden§ §with the Parish Books & Church Plate§ §Joseph Cole§	Total, £339 19s 11½d In the two entries for Youd, the clerk struck out another name and wrote Youd's above it. On 30 April 1821 the incoming churchwarden signed a receipt for the balance of £199 6s 10½d from Lieutenant Colonel Kinnaird. He also received the parish books and the church plate. The signature cannot be read. **Interpretations** Mr Weston's bill for prisoners in gaol rose to £41 8s 6d, more than the fish market clerk's salary and the largest single charge in the account. The parish had paid him in small monthly sums in 1819. The full year's cost now showed that gaoling free blacks and other offenders had become the parish's heaviest expense. Poor relief by comparison came to only a few pounds. Old Lucy's 20s a month was the only regular allowance listed. The churchwardens handed on a balance of £199 6s 10½d, double the reserve of a year earlier. The vestry had cut the poll tax to 2s a head in April 1820, yet the parish's cash still grew. The lower rate on its own did not explain the gain. Spending fell sharply once the parish stopped paying for printed certificates and Caesar's and Martha Seville's allowances ended with their deaths.
434	425	Contra Cr.§ §1820§ §April 3 By Balance as per last years Account remaining in the Hands of Mr. Torbett - late Church Warden -§ §97 . 18 . 2½§ §Deduct as per other side for Sundry items Paid - while above balance remained in Mr. Torbetts hands§ §12 . 2 . 6§ §July 17th. By Balance received from Mr. Torbett late Church warden§ §85 . 15 . 8½§ §By Cash received from T. H. Brooke Esqr. (by Mr. Weston) half years dog tax for the years 1818 and 1819§ §74 . 2 . 6§ §1821§ §30 April By Amount of Poll Tax collected as per other side§ §180 . 1 . 9§ §339 . 19 . 11½§ §339 . 19 . 11½§ §Island St. Helena 30th. April 1821§ §E. E. Davd. Kinnaird§ §Church Warden§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§	The credit side of the parish account for 1820 to 1821 recorded the following receipts. 3 April 1820, balance from last year's account held by Mr Torbett, former churchwarden, £97 18s 2½d Less sums paid from the balance while Mr Torbett still held it, as shown on the other side, £12 2s 6d 17 July 1820, balance received from Mr Torbett, former churchwarden, £85 15s 8½d 17 July 1820, cash from T. H. Brooke, through Mr Weston, for half a year's dog tax for 1818 and 1819, £74 2s 6d 30 April 1821, poll tax collected, as shown on the other side, £180 1s 9d Total, £339 19s 11½d David Kinnaird signed the account as churchwarden at St Helena on 30 April 1821. He added the usual note that any errors were excepted. **Interpretations** The dog tax arrears of £74 2s 6d made the difference to the year's result. They came through T. H. Brooke and the gaoler, Weston, after the Governor's letter of 17 April 1820 ordered fines and the tax to be levied on everyone liable. The vestry had complained in 1819 and again in April 1820 that no dog tax was being paid. The parish could not collect it alone, but the money came in once the government lent its authority. This sum, more than the lower spending, explains why the churchwardens could hand on £199 6s 10½d. The dog tax money was paid through officials rather than by the owners directly to the churchwardens. Brooke held a senior government post, and Weston kept the gaol. Collection had passed from the parish to the government's own officers. That arrangement got the money in, but it also showed that the vestry depended on the government even for its own revenue.
435	426	Island St. Helena§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel James Town§ §on the 30 April 1821. the undermentioned persons were§ §chosen Parish officers for the ensuing year - Viz.§ §Mr. Geo. V. Lamb§ §Mr. Jno. Bagley§ §Mr. A. Beale§ §Sheriffs§	On 30 April 1821 a vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown and chose the parish officers for the coming year. Sheriffs George V. Lamb John Bagley A. Beale Churchwarden Captain D. K. Pritchard

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		§Captain D. K. Pritchard - Church Warden§ §Mr. Metcalf§ §Mr. G. Bruce§ §Constables§ §Mr. S. Alexander§ §Mr. Val. Isaac§ §Mr. Wm. Knipe§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §The Committee appointed by Vestry to determine§ §what rate per acre shall be levied on Lands§ §to raise a sum equal to that hitherto paid by§ §the Overseers of High ways - will assemble on an§ §early day - for that purpose§ §Overseers of High ways§ §The Vestry having taken a representation of Mr. Youd's§ §into consideration - Resolve to augment his Salary as§ §Sexton - Ten pounds per annum§ §Resolved that the present Clerks of the fish market§ §be discharged - and Mr. Joseph Jacks appointed to that§ §place - for the ensuing year - on the same Salary§ §Resolved that One Shilling per head Poll Tax be§ §levied for the ensuing year - and paid at the sessions§ §to be holden in July - at the Vestry Room§ §(Signed) Davd. Kinnaird§ §Joseph Cole§ §Church Wardens§	Constables Mr Metcalf G. Bruce Wormers of cattle S. Alexander Valentia Isaacke William Knipe The committee the vestry had appointed to fix a rate per acre on land would meet soon. Its task was to raise a sum equal to what the estates had paid until then to provide highway overseers. The vestry considered a request from Mr Youd and agreed to add £10 0s 0d a year to his salary as sexton. It dismissed the existing clerks of the fish market and appointed Joseph Jacks in their place for the coming year at the same salary. It also set the poll tax for the year at 1s a head, to be paid at the sessions held in the vestry room in July. The churchwardens, David Kinnaird and Joseph Cole, signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The vestry halved the poll tax to 1s a head after the churchwardens handed on £199 6s 10½d. It had cut the rate to 2s in April 1820 and now cut it again, since the reserve and the recovered dog tax covered most of a year's costs. Payment was fixed at the July sessions in the vestry room. That probably saved part of the 7½ per cent the collector had taken on the earlier rolls, because householders now brought their money to one place on one day. The vestry dismissed the fish market clerks outright, a year after it had only warned them. On 3 April 1820 it had found the market rules ignored and fish sold at raised prices, and the government had promised firm orders to the clerk. Neither the warning nor the orders had worked. The vestry still had to pay £40 0s 0d a year for the post, so it chose to replace the men rather than give up on the office. The highway overseer duty was now to become a rate charged on each acre. The 1820 committee had been set up to share the burden more fairly between part-owners of estates. Its answer went further and turned the duty into a land tax. Every acre would pay its share, whatever the size or ownership of the estate it belonged to.
436	427	Approved as far as the appointment of Sheriff, Constables Church§ §Warden and Wormers of Cattle.§ §By order of the Governor & Council§ §Signd. Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy. -§ §St. Helena 30 April 1821.§ §To the Gentlemen composing the Vestry Committee§ §Gentlemen, His Excellency the Governor and the Council§ §having approved of a Resolution of the Vestry to raise by a General§ §Tax the yearly sum of Sixty pounds for the purpose of paying§ §the Overseers of High ways - I beg to state what has occurred§ §to me on the subject.§ §Free land about 2125¾§ §Lease land - do. - 3604½§ §5730¼ Acres§ §A Tax of two pence half penny per acre would give about§ §£59 . 13 . 9§ §Second Plan§ §5730¼ Acres of land at 2d. per acre§ §47 . 15 . 0§ §2071 Shilling Ground Rent - at 2d. per shilling would give§ §17 . 5 . 0§ §£65 . 0 . 0§	The government approved the vestry's appointments of the sheriff, constables, churchwarden and wormers of cattle, and nothing further. Thomas H. Brooke signed the approval as secretary, on the order of the Governor and Council. On 30 April 1821 David Kinnaird wrote to the members of the vestry committee. The Governor and Council had approved the vestry's plan to raise £60 0s 0d a year through a general tax to pay the highway overseers. Kinnaird set out two ways of raising it and sent the rent roll with his letter. Freehold land, about 2,125¾ acres Leasehold land, about 3,604½ acres Total, 5,730¼ acres First plan 5,730¼ acres at 2½d an acre, about £59 13s 9d Second plan 5,730¼ acres at 2d an acre, £47 15s 0d 2,071s of ground rent at 2d for each shilling, £17 5s 0d Total, £65 0s 0d **Interpretations** The government approved only the appointments. The approval was worded with care to cover the sheriff, constables, churchwarden and wormers and nothing else. That left out the rest of the vestry's decisions of 30 April 1821: the cut in the poll tax to 1s, the dismissal of the fish market clerks and the rise in Youd's salary. Holding those back left the government free to review them, especially the halving of the parish's main tax.

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		§The rent Roll accompanies this§ §I am Gentlemen§ §Your most Obedt. Servt.§ §Signd. Davd. Kinnaird§	The two plans differed in who would bear the cost. The first charged every acre the same, freehold and leasehold alike. The second charged a lower rate on all land and added a levy on the ground rent that leaseholders paid to the Company. Freehold land paid no ground rent, so under the second plan leaseholders paid twice: once on their acres and once on their rent. Freeholders paid only the lower acreage rate. The leasehold land was much the larger share, at about 3,604½ acres. Kinnaird's second plan would therefore have placed more of the burden on tenants of Company land than on the owners of freehold estates.
437	428	To His Excellency the Governor and Council§ §Honorable Sirs,§ §The Vestry Committee having met this day to take§ §into consideration the mode of levying a General Tax of§ §£60 Pr. Annum for payment of the Overseers of§ §High Ways have suggested the following as appearing§ §to them the most equitable§ §It appearing from an Inspection of the Rent Roll§ §that there are about§ §2125 Acres of free and§ §3604 Acres of Lease land making§ §a Total of 5730 acres - a Tax on which at two§ §pence per acre would give§ §£47 . 15 . 0§ §and by the addition of two pence in the Shilling§ §on all Ground Rents the sum of§ §17 . 5 . 0§ §would be produced making the Total Amount£§ §65 . 0 . 0§ §The Committee beg at the same time to Notice that some§ §Houses not being charged with ground rent would under the§ §above arrangement escape and they therefore recommend a§ §Tax of five shillings to be levied on the same and that any§ §Surplus, over and above the sum of Sixty pounds be§ §placed to the Credit of the parish account -§ §Signd. J. A. Wright§ §R. W. Barker§ §C. Sampson§ §Rd. Torbett§ §R. H. Knipe Senr.§ §J. Legg§ §Members of the Committee present§ §Signd. David Kinnaird§ §Joseph Cole§ §Church Wardens -§ §St. Helena 2 May 1821§	The vestry committee met to decide how to raise a general tax of £60 0s 0d a year to pay the highway overseers. It reported its preferred plan to the Governor and Council on 2 May 1821. According to the rent roll, the island held about 2,125 acres of freehold land and 3,604 acres of leasehold land. The committee proposed the following charges. 5,730 acres at 2d an acre, £47 15s 0d 2d in the shilling on all ground rents, £17 5s 0d Total, £65 0s 0d The committee pointed out that some houses paid no ground rent and would escape the charge under this plan. It recommended a tax of 5s on each of those houses. Any money raised above £60 0s 0d would go into the parish account. The members present were J. A. Wright, R. W. Barker, C. Sampson, R. Torbett, R. H. Knipe senior and J. Legg. The churchwardens, David Kinnaird and Joseph Cole, also signed. **Interpretations** The committee chose Kinnaird's second plan, which added a charge on ground rent to a lower rate per acre. It could have taken the first plan, a flat 2½d an acre that would have raised about £60 0s 0d. Under the plan it chose, the leaseholders of Company land paid on their rent as well as their acres, while freeholders paid on acres alone. The committee was made up of large landholders. Those who held their land as freehold had reason to prefer a scheme that put a bigger share on the Company's tenants. The flat 5s on houses that paid no ground rent closed a gap that the rent levy would otherwise have left. Without it, a house built on freehold ground would have contributed nothing beyond the acreage rate on its site. With it, every householder paid something towards the roads. The plan raised £65 0s 0d against a target of £60 0s 0d, before the house tax was counted. The committee asked for the surplus to go to the parish account. A charge set up to replace the highway overseers would therefore also add to the parish's general income.
438	429	To Lieut. Col. Kinnaird and§ §Joseph Cole Esquires§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §The proceedings of the Vestry held on the 30th.§ §Ultimo have been laid before His Excellency the Governor and§ §Council and are approved with the exception of the Nomination§ §to the office of Clerk of the fish Market.§ §Upon this occasion the Board cannot pass§ §unnoticed the deviation from the law of the Island made§ §on the proposition of the Church Wardens in 1812 - on the§ §part of the Vestry - which regulates that such nominations§ §should be made by a Committee and not by the Body	On 24 May 1821 George Blenkins, deputy secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, Lieutenant Colonel Kinnaird and Joseph Cole. The Governor and Council had reviewed the proceedings of the vestry held on 30 April 1821. They approved all of them except the appointment of the fish market clerk. The Board objected that the vestry had departed from an island law. The churchwardens themselves had proposed that law in [...]. It required such appointments to be made by a committee rather than by the whole vestry. The Board would give proper attention to any recommendation for the post that came from a vestry committee. The Governor and Council also confirmed the vestry committee's decisions of 2 May 1821 on the tax to pay the highway overseers. **Interpretations**

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		of the§ §Vestry§ §Any recommendation for the place of Clerk of§ §the fish market coming from a Vestry committee will be duly§ §attended to -§ §The Governor and Council confirm the pro-§ §ceedings of the Vestry Committee held on the 2d. Instant -§ §regarding a tax for paying the Overseers of High Ways -§ §I have the Honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your Obt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §2d. May 1821 -§ §Signd. G. Blenkins§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§	The government overturned the appointment of Joseph Jacks because of how he was chosen, not because of who he was. The whole vestry had named him, but the by-law required a committee to make such choices. The government had drawn the vestry's attention to this by-law in its letter of 17 April 1820. Now it enforced it. The Board pointed out that the churchwardens had themselves proposed the rule. That made its refusal hard to dispute, since the vestry had broken a procedure its own officers had created. The rule on committees put the government in a stronger position. A small committee of named landholders could be held to account more easily than a full vestry, and its recommendations came to the government as proposals for approval rather than as decisions. The government's promise to attend to a committee's recommendation kept the final say over the fish market clerk in its own hands. That mattered for a post the government had urged the parish to revive in 1818 and had backed with its own orders in 1820.
439	430	Island St. Helena.§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel James's Town on Monday the§ §27th. of August 1821 by direction of the Acting President and§ §Council the following Letter was read.§ §To§ §Joseph Cole and D. Pritchard Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the acting President§ §and Council to enclose for the consideration of the Vestry the§ §accompanying propositions of Dr. Shortt for establishing a Vaccine§ §institution in this Island - of the importance and expediency of§ §some such measure, there can be no doubt, and the members of the§ §Provisional Government are equally satisfied that they will§ §receive the strenuous aid of the Vestry in carrying into effect§ §whatever regulations may be deemed most likely to promote the§ §object in view -§ §The Board would recommend that the subject§ §be taken into consideration by a Committee perhaps 13 might not§ §be too many on such an occasion, and in conclusion the Board§ §desire me to express their conviction, that the disinterested en-§ §deavours of Dr. Shortt to avert calamity from the Inhabitants§ §of this Island, will not escape the observation of the Vestry.§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your obet. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §18th. August 1821.§ §(Signed) G. Blenkins§ §acting Secy. to the Commission§ §of Government§	On Monday 27 August 1821 a vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown on the instructions of the acting president and Council. It heard a letter dated 18 August 1821, addressed to the churchwardens, Joseph Cole and D. Pritchard. G. Blenkins signed it as acting secretary to the Commission of Government. The acting president and Council asked the vestry to consider Dr Shortt's proposals for setting up a vaccination institution on the island. The letter said there was no doubt that such a measure was important and timely. The members of the provisional government were confident that the vestry would give its full support to whatever rules seemed best suited to the purpose. The Board advised the vestry to refer the matter to a committee, suggesting that 13 members would not be too many. It closed by expressing its confidence that the vestry would recognise Dr Shortt's selfless efforts to protect the island's inhabitants from disaster. **Interpretations** A vaccination institution would have kept a supply of cowpox matter on the island and used it to inoculate the inhabitants against smallpox. Cowpox gave lasting protection with little risk, unlike the older practice of inoculating with smallpox itself. The supply had to be kept alive by passing it from arm to arm. A remote island that relied on ships for any fresh supply needed a standing body to keep the chain going. Dr Shortt's plan was therefore an institution and not just a single campaign of vaccination. The government told the vestry to work through a committee and suggested 13 members. Three months earlier it had overturned the vestry's choice of a fish market clerk because a full vestry had made it rather than a committee. It now applied the same rule from the start. A committee of 13 was large for St Helena, so the scheme could draw in the leading landholders without going back to the whole vestry for each decision. The letter came from an acting president and a provisional government, and no Governor was named. The island was being run by its Council pending a new governor. The interim authorities chose to launch a major public health measure through the vestry rather than by their own order. Without a sitting Governor, the Council needed the parish's cooperation and money to carry out a scheme of this size.
440	431	Propositions§ §St. Helena 6th. August 1821.§	Dr Shortt's proposals, dated 6 August 1821, began by explaining why St Helena could not always

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		§The difficulty of obtaining Vaccine Lymph in St. Helena occasioned§ §chiefly by its distance from Countries where that Virus is§ §received and propagated, and its being frequently rendered inert§ §by the action of heat, which it must undergo to a Considerable§ §extent in reaching this Island, together with the trouble of trans-§ §porting infants from the interior to James's Town; owing to the§ §unwillingness of Parents and the nature of the country, - are the§ §principal causes why a constant supply of matter is not at§ §all times to be commanded.§ §The advantages however resulting from§ §Vaccination, as well in preventing the ravages of Small pox§ §as in diminishing the violence of many of the most fatal§ §forms of disease, being too well known to require comment,§ §and in consequence its more decided utility in Maritime§ §situations where Contagion from foreign Sources is so easily§ §introduced, must necessarily render the due observance of§ §Vaccination an object of no small importance to the Government§ §of St. Helena, more especially as it is supported by the Honble.§ §the Court of Directors, manifested in their humane and liberal§ §appointment of a Medical officer for the performance of this§ §essential and special duty -§ §To ensure therefore a regular supply, it is pro-§ §posed as the only means of success, to form an Institution as§ §in other Countries, supporting the same by the Authority of§ §the Government, as pursued at the Cape of Good Hope; And§ §it being desirable that the most respectable individuals should§ §always be incorporated therein for the purpose of influencing§ §the Inhabitants in its favor, the following arrangement is§ §submitted.§	keep a steady supply of vaccine matter. The island lay far from the countries where the vaccine was produced and passed on. The long voyage through hot climates often weakened it before it arrived. Keeping it going on the island meant bringing infants from the country districts into Jamestown to be vaccinated. Many parents were unwilling, and the rough ground made the journey hard. Shortt argued that the benefits of vaccination were too well known to need explaining. It prevented the spread of smallpox and reduced the severity of the deadliest forms of disease. It mattered even more at a port, where infection from abroad could easily get ashore. Proper vaccination was therefore of real importance to the island's government. The Court of Directors had shown its own support by appointing a medical officer for this specific duty. To secure a regular supply, Shortt proposed setting up an institution with the government's backing, as other countries had done. He named the Cape of Good Hope as a model. He wanted the island's most respected residents to be members so they could win over the inhabitants. He then set out the arrangement he proposed. **Interpretations** The vaccine was kept alive by passing it from one child to the next. A vaccinated infant developed a sore, and matter taken from it about a week later was used to vaccinate the next child. A break in that chain meant waiting for fresh supply by ship, and the matter often arrived spoiled by heat. Shortt therefore needed a steady flow of unvaccinated infants brought into Jamestown at the right intervals. Parents in the country districts had to give up their children for the journey and the procedure, often unwillingly. Shortt did not rely on his own office to overcome the parents' reluctance. The Court of Directors had appointed him for this very duty, and he could have run the vaccination himself as a medical service. Instead he proposed an institution that included the island's leading residents. The obstacle was not medical skill but the trust and cooperation of families. The landholders and churchwardens who sat in the vestry had standing with those families that a Company doctor lacked.
441	432	For the Year 1821.§ §St. Helena Vaccine Institution§ §established A.D. 1821.§ §Patron§ §His Excellency the Governor§ §for the time being§ §President.§ §Thomas H. Brooke Esqre.§ §Thomas Greentree Esqre.§ §J. DeFountain Esqre.§ §Committee§ §Lieut. Col. Wright§ §Revd. B. Vernon§ §Director§ §David Kay Esqre.§ §Medical Supt.§ §Vaccinating Surgeon§ §Matthew Livingstone Esqre.§ §H.C.S.§ §Regulations§ §1st. To commence a Return from each district, stating the§	The St Helena Vaccine Institution was set up in 1821 with the following officers for that year. Patron, the Governor for the time being President, Thomas H. Brooke Committee, Thomas Greentree Committee, J. De Fountain Committee, Lieutenant Colonel Wright Committee, the Reverend B. Vernon Director, David Kay, medical superintendent Vaccinating surgeon, Matthew Livingstone, of the Company's service The institution adopted the following rules. 1: Each district was to begin sending the vaccinating surgeon, without delay, a list of everyone not yet vaccinated, giving their name, age and colour. The surgeon was to enter each person in a book, from which he could choose them when needed. 2: The parish clerks were also to send the vaccinating surgeon a list of births every month. Each child would be added to the vaccination list once old enough. **Interpretations**

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		§name, Age, and Colour of persons not vaccinated, should§ §be sent to the Vaccinating Surgeon without delay, to§ §be entered by him in a Book for selection when§ §required -§ §2nd. That the Parish Clerks should also forward a Return§ §of Births, monthly, to the Vaccinating Surgeon, to be§ §inserted for Vaccination when considered of a proper§ §age -§	The institution's rules made the vaccinating surgeon the keeper of a register covering everyone on the island who had not been vaccinated. District lists and the clerks' monthly birth lists together showed him where every unprotected child lived and when each would reach the right age. That was how he could keep the arm-to-arm chain unbroken. He no longer had to wait for parents to bring their infants in. He could choose the next child from his book and send for it. The lists recorded each person's colour as well as name and age. Slave children and the children of free blacks were to be vaccinated along with white children, since smallpox spread regardless of status. Recording colour also let the institution track each group separately. The parish already used descriptive lists of free blacks for policing. The vaccination register extended the same kind of record to the whole population, slave and free. The officers were drawn from the same small circle that ran the parish and the government. Thomas H. Brooke, the secretary to government, was president. Greentree, De Fountain and Wright sat on the committee alongside the clergyman, and all three were large landholders and poll tax payers. Shortt's plan to win over parents through respected residents had been carried out. The men with standing in the districts were placed at the head of the scheme.
442	433	3rd. From these, a list of names should be selected and transmitted§ §weekly by the Vaccinating Surgeon, to the office of the Secy.§ §of Government, recommending those to be summoned for§ §Vaccination; or, that authority be granted to the Vaccinating§ §Surgeon to summon such as he may require in the name§ §of the Government; - a fine being attached for non-§ §attendance -§ §4th. That the Vaccinating Surgeon should attend at the Police§ §office or General Hospital every Monday at 12 O'Clock, for§ §the purpose of Vaccinating such as are brought forward,§ §and examining the result of the operations of the pre-§ §ceding week. -§ §5th. That a Register should be kept by the Vaccinating Surgeon§ §for the purpose of insertion of the names of persons§ §Vaccinated, and such facts relating thereto as he§ §may consider worthy of notice -§ §6th. That the Committee should assemble in June and§ §December, to examine the Books of the Institution,§ §the results of its operations, and to ascertain that§ §the Vaccinating Surgeon has duly attended to the charge§ §confided in him -§ §(Signed) Thomas Shortt M.D.§ §Phyn. & P.M.O.§ §The Vestry having taken into consideration the§ §aforewritten letter from G. Blenkins Esqr. Acting Secretary§ §to the Commission of Government, and the Regulations accom-§ §panying the same, proposed by Dr. Shortt - Have appointed§ §the Committee chosen by the Vestry on the 24th. April 1820 Viz.§ §Mr. John Legg§ §Capt. C. Sampson§	3: The vaccinating surgeon was to pick names from that book each week and send them to the office of the secretary to government, recommending that those people be summoned for vaccination. Alternatively, the surgeon could be given power to summon whoever he needed in the government's name. Anyone who failed to attend would be fined. 4: The vaccinating surgeon was to attend at the police office or the general hospital every Monday at 12 o'clock. He would vaccinate those brought to him and check the results of the previous week's vaccinations. 5: The vaccinating surgeon was to keep a register of everyone vaccinated, along with any facts about them he thought worth recording. 6: The committee was to meet in June and December to examine the institution's books and the results of its work. It would also check that the vaccinating surgeon had carried out his duties properly. Thomas Shortt, MD, physician and principal medical officer, signed the regulations. The vestry considered the letter from G. Blenkins, acting secretary to the Commission of Government, together with Dr Shortt's regulations. It handed the matter to the committee it had chosen on 24 April 1820. Its members were John Legg, Captain C. Sampson, John Bagley, R. Barker, Colonel Wright, Richard Knipe senior and Richard Torbett. **Interpretations** Shortt's scheme made vaccination compulsory. Names went from the surgeon's register to the secretary's office, and people were summoned in the government's name and fined if they stayed away. Vaccination in England at this date remained voluntary, and compulsion there came only decades later. On St Helena the government could summon its population directly, with the police office as one of the places of vaccination. That let the island enforce a public health measure that the mother country left to persuasion. The vestry did not set up the committee of 13 the government had suggested. It passed the work to its existing committee of seven, chosen in April 1820 to deal with the highway charge. A new and larger body would have brought in more inhabitants. Reusing the old one kept the scheme in the hands of

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		§Mr. Jno. Bagley§ §Mr. R. Barker§ §Colonel Wright§ §Mr. Richard Knipe Senr.§ §Mr. Richard Torbett§	the same large landholders who already controlled the parish's other business. It also saved the vestry from choosing new members, which the government's insistence on committees had made a matter for close scrutiny.
443	434	to aid and assist in carrying the Instructions into effect fully§ §satisfied that the exertions of the said Committee will be§ §most readily afforded to the Services required -§ §The Parishioners are confident that an§ §Institution for establishing the Vaccine on this Island, would§ §be attended with every beneficial result to the Inhabitants,§ §and in appointing the present Committee, have resolved§ §that a Copy of the letter from the Acting Secy. of Government§ §with the Regulations of Dr. Shortt, be by the Church Wardens§ §furnished them, in order that the said Committee, may by§ §being incorporated, or acting in conjunction with a§ §Committee appointed by Government for the present Year§ §render every possible service in their power to the Institution,§ §and the Vestry are under the strongest impression, that the§ §Members composing their Committee, will strenuously -§ §give their attention and assistance in so desirable a cause§ §The Church Wardens at the desire of§ §the Vestry, have the satisfaction to make known to the§ §acting President and Council that the highest opinion§ §was entertained by the Parishioners assembled, of the§ §humane and disinterested Conduct of Dr. Shortt, evinced§ §in his desire, mode and endeavours to avert from the§ §Inhabitants of this Island, one of the most serious and§ §dreaded Calamities, and that the thanks of the Vestry§ §to Dr. Shortt was unanimously voted.§ §It was proposed and agreed to by the§ §Vestry, that the Committee formed on the 24th. April 1820§ §should be relieved by four new Members at the Vestry meeting§ §at Easter next, and afterwards partially changed by four in§ §rotation annually -§ §It was also proposed by the Vestry and§ §carried by Vote, that a request be made by the Committee§ §to the acting President in Council, for the Ground now§ §occupied as a Botanical Garden in James's Valley, to be§ §appropriated to the purpose of erecting an Hospital and§ §House of Correction, such additional Buildings being suggested§ §on the abolition of Slavery in this Island.§	The vestry gave the committee the job of helping to put the institution into effect. It was confident the committee would give its services readily. The parishioners believed the institution would bring great benefit to the island's people. They had the churchwardens send the committee a copy of the acting secretary's letter and Dr Shortt's regulations. That way the committee could do everything in its power for the institution, either by joining it or by working with any committee the government appointed for the year. The vestry fully expected its members to give their time and effort to so worthwhile a cause. At the vestry's request, the churchwardens informed the acting president and Council that the parishioners held Dr Shortt in the highest regard. His humane and selfless efforts to protect the island from one of its most serious and feared disasters had earned their respect. The vestry voted him its thanks unanimously. The vestry agreed that four new members would replace part of the committee formed on 24 April 1820 at the vestry meeting next Easter. After that, four members would change each year in rotation. The vestry also voted to have the committee ask the acting president in Council for the ground then used as a botanical garden in James Valley. The vestry wanted it set aside for a hospital and a house of correction. It considered these extra buildings necessary because of the abolition of slavery on the island. **Interpretations** The vestry linked the new hospital and house of correction directly to the abolition of slavery. While slavery lasted, owners housed, punished and nursed their own slaves on their estates. The parish already paid Weston large sums to keep free blacks in gaol, a cost that came from people whom no owner was responsible for. As slaves were freed, that number would grow. The vestry expected the public to take over care and correction that owners had provided in private. It asked for the buildings in advance, before the freed population increased. The vestry chose a rotation of four members a year for its committee rather than electing a new committee each Easter. The government had insisted on committees to handle parish business. Keeping most members in place gave the committee continuity across years, while rotation brought in new members gradually. The vestry thereby made the government's committee rule into a lasting body of experienced landholders, with only part of its membership changing each year.
444	435	No answer having been communicated to§ §the Parishioners respecting the appointment of a Clerk of§ §the Fish Market for the present Year, the Vestry are§ §desirous that their Committee should not defer any§ §longer a reply to the Letter of the Deputy Secretary to	The vestry noted that the parishioners had been given no reason for the decision about the fish market clerk for the year. It asked its committee to reply without further delay to the deputy secretary's letter to the churchwardens of 21 May 1821. The

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		Govern-§ §ment to the Church Wardens, under date the 21st.§ §May last.§ §Joseph Cole§ §D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Wardens§ §Island St. Helena 24th. September§ §1821§ §The Committee met in Vestry James Town this day to take into§ §Consideration, the Office of Clerk of the Fish Market (in§ §Conformity with a Letter from G. Blenkins Esqr. to the Church§ §Wardens dated 21st. May last) do hereby nominate John§ §Ryan to Continue in that Situation till Easter next§ §recommending that all Persons serving in that Office shall§ §be sworn to abide by and fulfill the Regulations of the Fish§ §Laws.§ §J. A. Wright§ §C. Sampson§ §R. W. Barker§ §Richd. Torbett§ §J. Legg§ §Members of the Committee§ §Scales, Weights &c. to be furnished§ §for that office at the expence of§ §the Parish and to be delivered over§ §to any successor -§ §Joseph Cole§ §D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Wardens§	churchwardens, Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard, signed the minute. On 24 September 1821 the committee met in the vestry at Jamestown to consider the post of fish market clerk, as the deputy secretary's letter required. It named John Ryan to stay in the post until next Easter. It also recommended that everyone appointed to the post be required to swear to obey and enforce the fish market rules. J. A. Wright, C. Sampson, R. W. Barker, Richard Torbett and J. Legg signed as members of the committee. The churchwardens, Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard, added that the parish would supply the office with scales, weights and similar equipment at its own expense. These would pass to each new clerk in turn. **Interpretations** The committee did not renominate Joseph Jacks, the whole vestry's choice that the government had overturned in May 1821. Instead it kept John Ryan, the man already doing the job, until Easter. Resubmitting Jacks through the proper channel would have reopened the dispute. Confirming the sitting clerk for a short term met the government's rule on committees without a new contest. It also left the question open for the vestry's next annual meeting. The committee asked that every clerk swear to enforce the fish market rules. The vestry had complained in 1820 that the rules were being ignored, and warnings and dismissals had not fixed the problem. A sworn officer who broke his oath could be prosecuted as well as dismissed. The oath gave the parish a legal hold over its clerk that a warning could not. The scales and weights were to stay with the office and pass from clerk to clerk. The parish had bought weights and scales for the market in June 1818. Making them parish property attached to the post meant that no departing clerk could take them away or claim them as his own.
445	436	Island of St. Helena§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel James's§ §Town, on Monday the 10th. day of December 1821§ §by directions of the Acting President and Council§ §the following Letter was read§ §To Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard Esquires§ §Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen§ §As the number of Slaves on this Island§ §must now be annually on the decrease and as they§ §are progressively giving place to a free Population, it§ §is of importance that the Members of such population§ §should become at least in some degree independent§ §of charitable or parochial Aid when under the§ §pressure of Age or infirmity -§ §Certain propositions on this subject§ §have already been submitted by Sir H. Lowe and§ §the Council to the Honble. Court of Directors whose§ §decision it had been intended to have awaited§ §previously to any Steps for their adoption. But the§ §Hospital Charges (however moderate) which have become§ §due on account of several free Blacks lately received§ §into it, sufficiently demonstrate the expediency§ §of no longer delaying the execution of that part§ §of the Plan with which the expected decision of§ §the Honble. Court is not altogether connected. Viz.§ §A Subscription from amongst that§ §Class for whose benefit it is principally intended§ §To give efficacy and permanency§ §to such a measure will require some superintendance§	On Monday 10 December 1821 a vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown on the instructions of the acting president and Council. It heard a letter addressed to the churchwardens, Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard. The letter observed that the number of slaves on the island must now fall each year as a free population gradually took their place. It argued that this free population should become at least partly independent of charity and parish relief when old age or illness struck. Governor Lowe and the Council had already sent proposals on the subject to the Court of Directors. They had meant to wait for the Court's decision before acting on any of it. However, several free blacks had recently been admitted to the hospital, and the charges for them were now due, modest though they were. In the government's view, those charges showed that part of the plan should not wait any longer. That part did not depend on the Court's decision. It was a subscription to be raised from among the class the scheme was mainly meant to help. The letter added that the scheme would need some oversight from the higher classes if it was to work and last, and it went on to suggest how this should be done. **Interpretations** The government did not propose to meet the free blacks' hospital charges from the poll tax or from parish relief. That was the obvious course, since the parish already paid for paupers and for free blacks in gaol. Instead it asked the free blacks themselves to subscribe to a fund that would support them in old

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		§on the part of the higher Classes; it is therefore§ §suggested§	age or illness. The scheme worked like the friendly societies that English working people ran among themselves. Here, though, the government started it and the higher classes supervised it. Its purpose was to keep a growing free population from becoming a permanent charge on the landholders who paid the parish rates. The government acted on this part of the plan without waiting for the Court of Directors. Governor Lowe's wider proposals needed the Court's approval, but a subscription paid by the free blacks themselves cost the Company nothing and needed no sanction from London. The hospital bills made the matter urgent. The government chose the one step it could take on its own authority and left the rest of the scheme for the Court to decide.
446	437	suggested that a Committee of Management should§ §be formed and that one or both of the Chaplains, one§ §or more of the Company's Principal Medical Officers§ §and the Church Wardens for the Year, should be§ §invited to compose the Committee in conjunction with§ §any other person or persons whose voluntary assistance§ §they might deem adviseable to obtain. The Members§ §of the Provisional Government are ready to do their§ §parts by becoming Trustees to the Fund.§ §Should their Views meet the§ §Concurrence of the Vestry and that a Committee be§ §formed either on the foregoing, or on any other approved§ §principal the Provisional Government will convene§ §a general Meeting of the Free Blacks and will§ §feel happy in attending to such suggestions as§ §the Committee may have to offer -§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your most obedient Servt.§ §St. Helena§ §6th. December§ §1821.§ §G. Blenkins§ §Actg. Secy. to the§ §Provl. Govt.§ §The Vestry having taken into consideration the§ §afore written Letter from G. Blenkins Esqr. Actg. Secretary§ §to the Provisional Government and most fully approving§ §the propositions therein contained have appointed the§ §following Committee for carrying the measure into§ §effect -§ §The Revd. R. Boys Senior Chaplain§ §George Mead Esqr. Acting Principal Medical Officer§ §Lieut. Col. Hodson§ §The Church Wardens for the time being§ §W. W. Carrol§	The letter went on to propose a management committee. One or both chaplains, one or more of the Company's principal medical officers and the year's churchwardens were to be invited to serve on it. They could add anyone else whose voluntary help they thought worth having. The members of the provisional government were ready to play their part by acting as trustees of the fund. If the vestry agreed and formed a committee on these lines or on some other acceptable basis, the provisional government would call a general meeting of the free blacks. It would also gladly consider any suggestions the committee wished to make. G. Blenkins signed the letter as acting secretary to the provisional government on 6 December 1821. The vestry considered the letter and gave its full approval to the proposals. It appointed the following committee to put the scheme into effect. The Reverend R. Boys, senior chaplain George Mead, acting principal medical officer Lieutenant Colonel Hodson The churchwardens for the time being W. Carroll **Interpretations** The vestry put the Reverend R. Boys at the head of the committee for the free blacks' fund. Boys was the senior chaplain whom the inhabitants had publicly denied any part in abolition, in their letter that the Governor and Council acknowledged on 25 March 1819. The vestry could have left him off, since the government's plan asked only for one or both chaplains. It named him anyway. Whatever the inhabitants had said about the newspaper report, they accepted the senior chaplain's role in a scheme for the welfare of free blacks. The members of the provisional government offered to act as trustees of the fund. That kept the free blacks' money in official hands rather than in the control of the subscribers or of any one planter. The government would hold the fund, and the committee of clergy, doctors and parish officers would run it. The free blacks were to pay into the scheme but would have no part in managing it.
447	438	G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Acting Secretary to the Provisional Government§ §Sir§ §We beg leave to enclose for the§ §information of Thomas H. Brooke Esqr. and Council,§ §the proceedings of Vestry held at the Chapel James§ §Town this day and to express the great satisfaction§ §and concurrence manifested on the propositions§ §laid before them§ §We have the honor to be§ §Sir§ §Your most obedient§ §Humble Servants§	On 10 December 1821 the churchwardens, Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard, wrote to G. Blenkins, acting secretary to the provisional government. They sent him the minutes of that day's vestry for Thomas H. Brooke and the Council. They reported that the vestry had received the proposals with great satisfaction and had agreed to them. On 28 February 1822 the committee met in the vestry at Jamestown to consider the hardship of Mrs Margaret Pipple and her four children. Her husband was held in the debtors' gaol, and the family had fallen into distress as a result. The committee agreed to pay Mrs Pipple 30s a month from parish funds towards her rent. She would also receive 2s a day to

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		§St. Helena§ §Decr. 10th. 1821§ §Joseph Cole§ §D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Wardens§ §Island of St. Helena February 28th. 1822§ §The Committee having met at the Vestry in James Town this day§ §for the purpose of taking into consideration the distressed State of Mrs.§ §Margaret Pyle and four Children; arising from the imprisonment of her§ §Husband in the Debtors Gaol, have resolved under the circumstances of the§ §case to allow from the Parish Fund to Mrs. Pyle, Thirty Shillings per Month§ §for House Rent and two shillings per day for the Subsistence of herself and§ §Children, from this day during the time her Husband remains in Confinement§ §for Debt, and that the said allowance be made immediately he is discharged.§ §Joseph Cole§ §D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Wardens.§ §To the above, the following Note§ §was received from G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §"Provided the above be§ §"approved of by a meeting of Vestry§ §"the Board have no objection."§ §(Signd.) G. Blenkins§ §Actg. Secy.§	feed herself and her children. The payments would run from that day for as long as her husband stayed in prison for debt and would stop as soon as he was released. The churchwardens, Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard, signed the decision. G. Blenkins, acting secretary, added a note. The Board had no objection to the allowance, provided a meeting of the vestry approved it. **Interpretations** The government insisted that a full vestry approve Mrs Pipple's allowance. Only nine months earlier it had overturned the fish market appointment because the whole vestry, and not a committee, had made it. It now applied the opposite rule to spending. Committees were to recommend officers. Payments from parish money still needed the consent of the ratepayers in vestry. The distinction kept the poll tax payers in control of how their money was spent, while the government kept the right to vet appointments through smaller bodies. The allowance was generous by parish standards. Thirty shillings a month for rent and 2s a day for food came to about £54 a year. That was more than the fish market clerk's salary and far more than Old Lucy's 20s a month. William Pipple had paid the poll tax on 5 heads in 1819 and 1820, so the family had been householders of some standing. The parish paid in proportion to the family's former position rather than at a pauper's rate. Tying the payments to the husband's imprisonment also gave his creditors a reason to settle. Once he was released, the parish would stop paying.
448	439	List of Families paying Poll Tax for the§ §Year 1821 at the rate of One Shilling each Person.§ §St. Helena.§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Alexander John Estt.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §" Wm. George: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §" Fredk. Estate: No. 23, £ 1, s 3, d 0§ §Aylesworth Thomas: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Adamson Hugh: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Alexander Margaret: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Adams John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Aresto Solomon: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Boys Revd. Richd.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Breame Senr. Thos.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Beale Anthony: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Beale Onisiphorus: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Bazett Clarissa: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Bagley John: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §" Richard: No. 17, £ 0, s 17, d 0§ §" Marys Estate: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Richard Orlando: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Burnham Caroline: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Brooke T. H. Esqr.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Bell William: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Barker Richd. Wm.: No. 33, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §Boorman George: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Brabazon Willm.: No. 26, £ 1, s 6, d 0§ §Barnes Mary: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Broadway Ann: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Broadway Henry: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Banks Edward: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Blenkins George: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Bayes John: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Banks Charles: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Blunden James: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Blake Charles: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. 293, £ 14, s 13, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. 293, £ 14, s 13, d 0§ §Burnsides John: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Bennett James: No. 19, £ 0, s 19, d 0§ §Bruce George: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Balcombe Cole & Co.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Balcombe William: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§	The vestry drew up a list of families liable for the poll tax for 1821, at 1s a person. John Alexander's estate, 14 persons, £0 14s 0d William George Alexander, 10 persons, £0 10s 0d Frederick Alexander's estate, 23 persons, £1 3s 0d Thomas Aylesworth, 15 persons, £0 15s 0d Hugh Adamson, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Margaret Alexander, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Adams, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Solomon Aresto, 1 person, £0 1s 0d The Reverend Richard Boys, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Thomas Breame senior, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Anthony Beale, 10 persons, £0 10s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d John Bagley, 14 persons, £0 14s 0d Richard Bagley, 17 persons, £0 17s 0d Mary Bagley's estate, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d Richard Bagley's estate, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Caroline Burnham, 1 person, £0 1s 0d T. H. Brooke, 14 persons, £0 14s 0d William Bell, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Richard W. Barker, 33 persons, £1 13s 0d George Boorman, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d William Brabazon, 26 persons, £1 6s 0d Mary Barnes, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Ann Broadway, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Henry Broadway, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d Edward Banks, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d George Blenkins, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d John Byas, 7 persons, £0 7s 0d Charles Banks, 1 person, £0 1s 0d James Blunden, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Charles Blake, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d Carried up, 293 persons, £14 13s 0d Brought up, 293 persons, £14 13s 0d John Burnside, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d James Bennett, 19 persons, £0 19s 0d George Bruce, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Balcombe, Cole and Company, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d

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		§Buckley James: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Baker George: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Bobbins John: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Buchannan John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Chamberlain Wm.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Susannah: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Cole Henry: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §" Thomas: No. 30, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Carrol William: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Carr Thomas: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Chippendale Leonard: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Cranfield William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Clark James: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Caldwell Daniel: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Cole Joseph: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Cruickshanks Estate: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Charlton Edward: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Clements Samuel: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Chamberlain: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Doveton Sir W. W.: No. 24, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Doveton Gabriel Estate: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §De Fountain John: No. 19, £ 0, s 19, d 0§ §De Fountain John Orphans: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §De Fountain Elizth.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Dring John: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Den Taffe George: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Dickson James Estate: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Carrd. over: No. 534, £ 26, s 14, d 0§	William Balcombe, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d James Buckley, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d George Baker, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Bobbins, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d John Buchanan, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Chamberlain, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d Henry Cole, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d Thomas Cole, 30 persons, £1 10s 0d William Carroll, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d Thomas Carr, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d Leonard Chippendale, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Cranfield, 1 person, £0 1s 0d James Clark, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Daniel Caldwell, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d Joseph Cole, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d Cruickshank's estate, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Edward Charlton, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Samuel Clements, 1 person, £0 1s 0d [...] Chamberlain, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Sir W. W. Doveton, 24 persons, £1 4s 0d Gabriel Doveton's estate, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d John De Fountain, 19 persons, £0 19s 0d John De Fountain's orphans, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d Elizabeth De Fountain, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d John Dring, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d George Dentaffe, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d James Dickson's estate, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d Carried over, 534 persons, £26 14s 0d The clerk ticked most of the names, probably to show who had paid. **Interpretations** The Reverend Richard Boys was charged for 5 persons. The tax counted every member of a household, so his household probably included slaves or servants he was liable for. In 1819 the island's newspaper critics had given him the credit for abolition. The roll shows the senior chaplain paying the same household tax as the slaveholding planters, under the same rules.
449	440	Continued§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Brot. over: No. 534, £ 26, s 14, d 0§ §Dunn J. C.: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Dove James: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Des Fountain Chas.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Darling Andrew: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Dogherty Mrs.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Dowlan Edward: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Everton William: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Eyre Andrew: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Eddleston J. J.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Evans Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Franklin James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Fowler William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Edmund: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Firmin John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Greentree Thos. Esqr.: No. 27, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Griffiths Mary: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Gurling Helena: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Goff Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Greenland Edward: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Gordon William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Gunnell Charles: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Harris Henry: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Hodson Charles: No. 27, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Hodson Benjn. Orphans: No. 19, £ 0, s 19, d 0§ §Hayes Robert Estate: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Hayward Ellis: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Harper Sarah: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Harper Roderick: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Harris Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Honeyman John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Harrington Thomas: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1821, at 1s a person, continued as follows. Brought over, 534 persons, £26 14s 0d J. C. Dunn, 10 persons, £0 10s 0d James Dove, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d Charles De Fountain, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Andrew Darling, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Mrs Dogherty, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Edward Dowlan, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Everton, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Andrew Eyre, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d J. J. Eddleston, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Thomas Evans, 1 person, £0 1s 0d James Franklin, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Fowler, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Edmund Fowler, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Firmin, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Thomas Greentree, 27 persons, £1 7s 0d Mary Griffiths, 10 persons, £0 10s 0d Helena Gurling, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d Thomas Goff, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Edward Greenland, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d William Gordon, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Charles Gunnell, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Henry Harris, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Charles Hodson, 27 persons, £1 7s 0d Benjamin Hodson's orphans, 19 persons, £0 19s 0d Robert Hayes's estate, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d Ellis Hayward, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d Sarah Harper, 14 persons, £0 14s 0d Roderick Harper, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Thomas Harris, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Honeyman, 1 person, £0 1s 0d

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		§Hamilton Daniel: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Henry Francis: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Hayes Ann: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. 767, £ 38, s 7, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. 767, £ 38, s 7, d 0§ §Hammond John: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Hampton Adam: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Harris Henry: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Henninsbun Ezekiel: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Humble: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Jollis Richard: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Isaack Alfred: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Jollis Wm. Estate: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Janisch William: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Jones David: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Thomas: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Knipe Willm. Estate: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §" Richard Senr.: No. 22, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §" John Senr.: No. 17, £ 0, s 17, d 0§ §Kay David Senr.: No. 43, £ 2, s 3, d 0§ §" David Estate: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Knipe Willm. Senr.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Knipe Mary: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Knipe John: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Kennedy Wm. Orlando: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Knipe H. B.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Lester Thomas: No. 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§ §Lowden James: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Leech Richd. Estate: No. 23, £ 1, s 3, d 0§ §" George do.: No. 22, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §Le Breton John: No. 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§ §Lambe Aaron Estate: No. 16, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §" Geo. Vesuvius: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Tiller: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Mason Richard: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Richd. Orphans: No. 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§ §" John do.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" James Estate: No. 21, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Metcalfe James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Carrd. forwd.: No. 1079, £ 53, s 19, d 0§	Thomas Harrington, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Daniel Hamilton, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Francis Henry, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d Ann Hayes, 14 persons, £0 14s 0d Carried up, 767 persons, £38 7s 0d Brought up, 767 persons, £38 7s 0d John Hammond, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Adam Hampton, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Henry Harris, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Ezekiel Honeyben, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d [...] Humble, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Richard Julie, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Alfred Isaacke, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d William Julie's estate, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d William Janisch, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d David Jones, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Thomas Jones, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d William Knipe's estate, 14 persons, £0 14s 0d Richard Knipe senior, 22 persons, £1 2s 0d John Knipe senior, 17 persons, £0 17s 0d David Kay senior, 43 persons, £2 3s 0d David Kay's estate, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d William Knipe junior, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Mary Knipe, 7 persons, £0 7s 0d John Knipe, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d William Orlando Kennedy, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d H. K. Knipe, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Thomas Lister, 11 persons, £0 11s 0d James Lowden, 15 persons, £0 15s 0d Richard Leech's estate, 23 persons, £1 3s 0d George Leech senior, 22 persons, £1 2s 0d John Le Breton, 11 persons, £0 11s 0d Aaron Lambe's estate, 16 persons, £0 16s 0d George V. Lambe, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d [...] Lambe, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d Richard Mason, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Richard Mason's orphans, 11 persons, £0 11s 0d John Mason senior, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d James Mason's estate, 21 persons, £1 1s 0d James Metcalfe, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Carried forward, 1,079 persons, £53 19s 0d
450	441	Continued§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Brot. forwd.: No. 1079, £ 53, s 19, d 0§ §Meade George: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Mittens Sophia: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §McDaniel Joseph: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §McRitchie Thos.: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Marrsback Priscilla: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Miller Humphry: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Moss Isaac: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §McLean Andrew: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Mulhall Willm.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Noquedeh Elizth.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §O'Connor Thos.: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" Daniel: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" Matthew: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Oswald Charles: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Oakley George: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Pyle John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Pierie Eleanor: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Pipler William: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Porteus Estate: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Page Harriet: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Pritchard Sarah: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Pritchard Eleanor: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" H. H.: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §" David Kay: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Parrot James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Roberts William: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Rolfe James: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Rooks John: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Rourke Laurence: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Redsdale John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Rooke William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1821, at 1s a person, continued as follows. Brought forward, 1,079 persons, £53 19s 0d George Meade, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Sophia Mitten, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Joseph McDaniel, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Thomas McRitchie, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d Priscilla Mirabach, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Humphrey Miller, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Isaac Moss, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Andrew McLean, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d William Mulhall, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Elizabeth Noquedeh, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Thomas O'Connor, 15 persons, £0 15s 0d Daniel O'Connor, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Matthew O'Connor, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Charles Oswald, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d George Oakley, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Oyle, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Eleanor Pierie, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d William Pipple, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Porteous's estate, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Harriet Paige, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Sarah Pritchard, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d Eleanor Pritchard, 15 persons, £0 15s 0d H. H. Pritchard, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d David Kay Pritchard, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d James Parrot, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Roberts, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d James Rolf, 10 persons, £0 10s 0d John Rookes, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d Lawrence Rourke, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d John Ridsdale, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Rookes, 1 person, £0 1s 0d

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		§Seale William Senr.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Henry Francis: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" Margaret: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Wm. Henry: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. 1261, £ 63, s 1, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. 1261, £ 63, s 1, d 0§ §Seale Francis: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Robinson John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Seale J. W.: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Solomon Saul: No. 22, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §" Joseph: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" L. G.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Saunders Joseph: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Smith Daniel: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Scott Charles: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" Richard: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Sampson Charles: No. 19, £ 0, s 19, d 0§ §Scawell Charles: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Singleton William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Stevens George: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Sherrard John: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Sutherland George: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Stirling James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Scott Richard: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Smith Ann: No. 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§ §Shortis J. E.: No. 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§ §Scawell Margaret: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Spender William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Scrivens Samuel: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Smith William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Spratt William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Simpson James: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Stephens William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Scott John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Scullard Joseph: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Torbett Richard: No. 25, £ 1, s 5, d 0§ §Torbett John Ward: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Tracy William: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Thorn Thomas: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Thomas Thomas: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Timm Harry: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Carrd. over: No. 1474, £ 73, s 14, d 0§	William Seale senior, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Henry Francis Seale, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Margaret Seale, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d William Henry Seale, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Carried up, 1,261 persons, £63 1s 0d Brought up, 1,261 persons, £63 1s 0d Francis Seale, 15 persons, £0 15s 0d John Robinson, 1 person, £0 1s 0d J. W. Seale, 7 persons, £0 7s 0d Saul Solomon, 22 persons, £1 2s 0d Joseph Solomon, 7 persons, £0 7s 0d L. G. Solomon, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Joseph Saunders, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Daniel Smith, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Charles Scott, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d Richard Scott, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Charles Sampson, 19 persons, £0 19s 0d Charles Seawell, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Singleton, 1 person, £0 1s 0d George Stevens, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d John Sherwood, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d George Sutherland, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d James Stirling, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Richard Scott, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d Ann Smith, 11 persons, £0 11s 0d J. E. Shortis, 11 persons, £0 11s 0d Margaret Seawell, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d William Spender, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Samuel Scrivens, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Smith, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Spratt, 1 person, £0 1s 0d James Simpson, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d William Stephens, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Scott, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Joseph Scullard, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Richard Torbett, 25 persons, £1 5s 0d John W. Torbett, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d William Tracy, 14 persons, £0 14s 0d Thomas Thorne, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Thomas Thomas, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Harry Timm, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Carried over, 1,474 persons, £73 14s 0d
451	442	Continued§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Brot. over: No. 1474, £ 73, s 14, d 0§ §Truebody James: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Thompson Thos.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Torbett Jas. Estate: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Underwood Rose: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Vernon Revd. John: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Watson Michael: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Woodward Willm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Wright J. A.: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" Robert: No. 16, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §Wills Richard: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Ward S. P.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Weston Charles: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. 1564, £ 78, s 4, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. 1564, £ 78, s 4, d 0§ §Wheatly Joseph: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Waring John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Wright Louisa: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Wilkinson John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Webb James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Young Amoret: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" Richard: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Stephen: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Young Lieut. Estate: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Youde James: No. 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§ §Total: No. 1600, £ 80, s 0, d 0§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Alexander [...]: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Henry [...]: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Ashton C. J. P.P.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Adams Thomas P.P.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1821, at 1s a person, ended with the following entries. Brought over, 1,474 persons, £73 14s 0d James Truebody, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Thomas Thompson, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d James Torbett's estate, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d Rose Underwood, 1 person, £0 1s 0d The Reverend John Vernon, 6 persons, £0 6s 0d Michael Watson, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d William Woodward, 1 person, £0 1s 0d J. A. Wright, 15 persons, £0 15s 0d Robert Wright, 16 persons, £0 16s 0d Richard Wills, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d S. P. Ward, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Charles Weston, 14 persons, £0 14s 0d Carried up, 1,564 persons, £78 4s 0d Brought up, 1,564 persons, £78 4s 0d Joseph Wheatley, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d John Waring, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Louisa Wright, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Wilkinson, 1 person, £0 1s 0d James Webb, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Amoretta Young, 7 persons, £0 7s 0d Richard Young, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Stephen Young, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Lieutenant Young's estate, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d James Youde, 11 persons, £0 11s 0d Total, 1,600 persons, £80 0s 0d A second list followed with no heading. Several of its names carried short notes of payment beside them, most of which cannot be read. [...] Alexander, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d Henry Alexander, 13 persons, £0 13s 0d

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		§Bagley James P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Burnham John P.P.: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §" Samuel P.P.: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Bedwell John [...]: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Barry Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Brenen William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Baldock John P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Chentry Thomas P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. 55, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. 55, £ 2, s 15, d 0§ §Clarke David: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Coldston: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Colker Nathl. Estate [...]: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Dray William [...]: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Edwards Ann: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Easthope: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Errington: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Foster Robert: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Green Thomas Estate: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" Mary P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Hosley Samuel P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Jacks Joseph P.P.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Carrd. forwd.: No. 97, £ 4, s 17, d 0§	C. J. Ashton, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d Thomas Adams, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d James Bagley, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Burnham, 10 persons, £0 10s 0d Samuel Burnham, 10 persons, £0 10s 0d John Bidwell, 7 persons, £0 7s 0d Thomas Barry, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Brennan, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Baldock, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Thomas Chentry, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Carried up, 55 persons, £2 15s 0d Brought up, 55 persons, £2 15s 0d David Clarke, 1 person, £0 1s 0d [...] Coldston, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Nathaniel Collyer's estate, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d William Dray, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Ann Edwards, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d [...] Easthope, 1 person, £0 1s 0d [...] Errington, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Robert Foster, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Thomas Green's estate, 12 persons, £0 12s 0d Mary Green, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Samuel Hedley, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Joseph Jacks, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Carried forward, 97 persons, £4 17s 0d **Interpretations** The second list was a supplementary assessment of households left off the main roll. Henry Alexander, John and Samuel Burnham and Joseph Jacks had paid on earlier rolls but did not appear on the main list for 1821. The clerk listed them separately and recorded their payments as they came in. This shows that the main roll was drawn up from the previous year's list and missed families who had moved or changed their holdings. The parish then caught them in a second sweep rather than redrawing the whole roll.
452	443	Continued§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Brot. forwd.: No. 97, £ 4, s 17, d 0§ §Isaac Ann: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Knipe Rich. [...]: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" Jno. Bagley [...]: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Keats Richard [...]: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Legg John P.P.: No. 17, £ 0, s 17, d 0§ §Mason Benjamin P.P.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Mills Maria [...]: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Mellis John [...]: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Oliver John P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Price William: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Robinson Saml. [...]: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Reath P. M. P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Robinson John P.P.: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" John Junr. P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Total: No. 174, £ 8, s 14, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. 174, £ 8, s 14, d 0§ §Seale Willm. Senr. P.P.: No. 33, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §" Robert P.P.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Stewart Joseph [...]: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Statham Robt. P.P.: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Steward Charles: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Seale Henry P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Thomas William P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Tryer Elizabeth: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Unsworth Jas. [...]: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Wilson John: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Wood Thomas P.P.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §You Mary: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Sarah [...]: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Total: No. 244, £ 12, s 4, d 0§	The supplementary poll tax list for 1821 continued as follows. Brought forward, 97 persons, £4 17s 0d Ann Isaac, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Richard Knipe's estate, no number entered, £0 7s 0d John Knipe, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d Richard Keats, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Legg, 17 persons, £0 17s 0d Benjamin Mason, 5 persons, £0 5s 0d Maria Mills, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d John Millis, no number entered, £0 7s 0d John Oliver, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Price, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Samuel Robinson, 8 persons, £0 8s 0d P. M. Reath, 1 person, £0 1s 0d John Robinson, 15 persons, £0 15s 0d John Robinson junior, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Carried up, 174 persons, £8 14s 0d Brought up, 174 persons, £8 14s 0d William Seale's estate, 33 persons, £1 13s 0d Robert Seale, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Joseph Stewart, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d Robert Statham, 9 persons, £0 9s 0d Charles Steward, 7 persons, £0 7s 0d Henry Seale, 1 person, £0 1s 0d William Thomas, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Elizabeth Tyer, 1 person, £0 1s 0d James Unsworth's estate, 4 persons, £0 4s 0d John Wilson, 2 persons, £0 2s 0d Thomas Wood, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Mary Young, 1 person, £0 1s 0d Sarah Young, 3 persons, £0 3s 0d Total, 244 persons, £12 4s 0d Most entries carried brief notes of payment beside the name. Several are dated 1823, and few can be read in full. **Interpretations**

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			The dated notes show that the supplementary list was still being worked through two years after the assessment. Some households in this sweep did not pay their 1821 tax until 1823. A tax of 1s a head should have been easy to collect. The delay shows that the parish lacked the means to force prompt payment from those who had slipped off the main roll. It went on collecting arrears long after the year they were owed.
453	444	Dr. Parish§ §1822§ §April To Cash paid one Years Salary to the Clerk of the Fish Market§ §40§ §Do. Do. Sergt. Croft for Sexton & Clerk of Country Church§ §30§ §Do. for two Mops for Country Church§ §5 . 4§ §Do. printing Notices of Poll Tax§ §1§ §Do. for Table for Fish Market§ §5 . 6§ §Do. Mr. E. Fowler for Attendance registering Free Blacks & Copying List for Council§ §2 . 10§ §Do. Mr. Youde 1 years Salary for Washing and mending Surplices & Communion Cloth§ §7§ §Do. Messrs. Legg & Robinsons Bills for 300 working days remuneration of their Slaves in Goal§ §15§ §Do. Masons & Labourers for repairing the Walls of the lower Burial Ground§ §3 . 14 . 6§ §Do. Mr. E. Fowler for collecting part of the Poll Tax§ §1 . 10§ §Do. Mr. Weston as per Vouchers for Maintenance of Prisoners in Goal§ §29 . 9 . 2§ §Do. for Repairs of Steeple & Roof at Country Church new Door to Gallery new Roof over Belfry Steps - Closing in Horse Shed & a Railing to the same for fastening Horses. also Repairs to Church Yard Wall§ §43 . 0 . 8½§ §Lucys Allowance for 12 Months§ §12 . 12§ §Attendance at Vestrys & making up Books§ §2 . 2§ §Mr. Youde for one Years Salary from April 1821 to April 1822 as agreed on by Vestry Committee§ §10§ §Mr. Torbetts Bill for Hinges & Nails§ §5§ §To Balance in Church Wardens Hands§ §145 . 2 . 0§ §£343 . 16 . 10½§ §30 April I do hereby acknowledge to have received the§ §above Balance of One hundred and forty five Pounds 2/0§ §from Joseph Cole Esqr. Church Warden with the Parish§ §Books & Church Plate§ §D. K. Pritchard§	The parish account for 1821 to 1822 recorded the following spending in April 1822. April 1822, 1 year's salary to the clerk of the fish market, £40 0s 0d April 1822, Sergeant Croft as sexton and clerk of the country church, £30 0s 0d April 1822, 2 mops for the country church, £0 5s 4d April 1822, printing notices of the poll tax, £1 0s 0d April 1822, a table for the fish market, £0 5s 6d April 1822, Mr E. Fowler for registering free blacks and copying the list for the Council, £2 10s 0d April 1822, Mr Youde, 1 year's salary for laundering and mending the surplice and communion cloth, £7 0s 0d April 1822, Mr Legg's and Mr Robinson's bills for 300 working days lost by their slaves while in gaol, £15 0s 0d April 1822, masons and labourers for repairing the walls of the lower burial ground, £3 14s 6d April 1822, Mr E. Fowler for collecting part of the poll tax, £1 10s 0d April 1822, Mr Weston for keeping prisoners in gaol, as vouchers show, £29 9s [...] April 1822, repairs to the steeple and roof of the country church, a new gallery door, a new roof over the belfry steps, enclosing the horse shed with a rail for tying horses, and repairs to the churchyard wall, £43 0s 8½d April 1822, Lucy's allowance for 12 months, £12 12s 0d April 1822, attending vestries and writing up the books, £2 2s 0d April 1822, Mr Youde, 1 year's salary from April 1821 to April 1822, as agreed by the vestry committee, £10 0s 0d April 1822, Mr Torbett's bill for hinges and nails, £0 5s 0d April 1822, balance held by the churchwardens, £145 2s 0d Total, £343 16s 10½d On 30 April 1822 D. K. Pritchard signed a receipt for the balance of £145 2s 0d from Joseph Cole, the churchwarden. He also received the parish books and the church plate. **Interpretations** The parish paid John Legg and John Robinson £15 0s 0d for 300 working days their slaves had spent in gaol. The parish did more than hold the offenders. It paid the owners for the labour they lost while their slaves were confined, at 1s a day. This worked like the compensation for executed slaves. Owners whose slaves were punished by public justice did not have to bear the cost of that punishment themselves. Mr E. Fowler was paid to register the free blacks and copy the list for the Council. The register followed the government's plan of December 1821 for a fund for free blacks, which needed to know who belonged to that class. The Council also needed the list for its own control over the growing free population. The parish paid for compiling a record that served the government's oversight as much as any welfare scheme. Lucy's allowance had risen to £12 12s 0d a year, or 21s a month, from the 20s a month she received in

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			1820. She was by now the parish's only standing pensioner. The small increase shows that the vestry reviewed each allowance individually rather than paying a fixed rate.
454	445	Contra Cr.§ §1822§ §April By Balance received of Lt. Col. Kinnaird late Church Warden§ §199 . 6 . 10½§ §By Cash received of Anty. Beale Esqr. Treasurer of Police Fund for Half Years Dog Tax for the Years 1820 & 1821§ §64 . 10§ §By Amount of Poll Tax collected as pr. List§ §80§ §Memorandum.§ §£12. 4. 0 defaulters in this years Poll§ §Tax to be received in addition to the§ §above & to be accounted for by the§ §Police -§ §£343 . 16 . 10½§	The credit side of the parish account for 1821 to 1822 recorded the following receipts in April 1822. April 1822, balance received from Lieutenant Colonel Kinnaird, former churchwarden, £199 6s 10½d April 1822, cash from Anthony Beale, treasurer of the police fund, for half a year's dog tax for 1820 and 1821, £64 10s 0d April 1822, poll tax collected as shown on the list, £80 0s 0d Total, £343 16s 10½d A note below the account recorded that £12 4s 0d of the year's poll tax was still owed by defaulters. That sum would be collected on top of the receipts shown, and the police would account for it. **Interpretations** The note on defaulters explains the second list that followed the main poll tax roll for 1821. That list totalled exactly £12 4s 0d. Its names were therefore households that had not paid, not families left off the main roll as suggested earlier. The parish handed their arrears to the police to collect. That explains why payments against those names were still being noted in 1823. The dog tax now reached the parish through the treasurer of the police fund. In 1820 the arrears had come through T. H. Brooke and the gaoler. Collection of both the dog tax and the poll tax arrears had moved to the police. The vestry kept the right to set the rates and spend the money. Enforcement against those who would not pay now lay with the government's police, as the vestry had asked in 1819 and 1820.
455	446	Island St. Helena§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel James Town§ §on the 8th. of April 1822 The undermentioned Persons§ §were chosen Parish Officers for the ensuing year.§ §Mr. Richard Barker§ §approved Mr. Charles Blake§ §Mr. William Brabazon§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. John Bagley Church Warden.§ §Mr. Thomas Thomas§ §Mr. Lewis Solomon§ §Constables§ §Mr. Daniel Hamilton Southern Division§ §Mr. Charles Oswald Western Do.§ §Mr. William Jollis Eastern Do.§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §Resolved (with reference to a Committee Meeting§ §of 28 February 1822) that the Committee are to use their§ §own discretion in relieving Cases of Distress from the§ §Parish Funds and that the Church Wardens are authorized§ §to carry into execution such resolutions as the Committee§ §may adopt for that purpose.§ §Resolved that One shilling per Head Poll Tax§ §be levied for the ensuing year and paid at the Vestry§ §Room at the Sessions to be holden in July.§ §Resolved (in conformity to the Meeting of Vestry§ §27 August last) that Mr. Thomas O'Connor Mr. William§ §Carrol, Mr. Andrew Eyre and Lieut. Col. Hodson are appointed to succeed§ §the four Senior Members of the Committee making§ §the Committee for the ensuing year as follows§	On 8 April 1822 a vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown and chose the parish officers for the coming year. Sheriffs Richard Barker Charles Blake, approved William Brabazon Churchwarden John Bagley Constables Thomas Thomas Lewis Solomon Wormers of cattle Daniel Hamilton, southern division Charles Oswald, western division William Julie, eastern division The vestry referred to the committee meeting of 28 February 1822. It agreed that the committee could use its own judgement in relieving cases of hardship from parish funds. The churchwardens were authorised to carry out whatever the committee decided on that score. The vestry set the poll tax for the coming year at 1s a head, to be paid in the vestry room at the sessions held in July. The vestry followed its decision of 27 August 1821 on rotating the committee. Thomas O'Connor, William Carroll, Andrew Eyre and Lieutenant Colonel Hodson replaced the four longest-serving members. The committee for the year was therefore Lieutenant Colonel Wright, Richard Knipe senior, Richard Torbett, Thomas O'Connor, William Carroll, Andrew Eyre and Lieutenant Colonel Hodson. Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The vestry gave its committee standing authority to grant relief. The government had approved Mrs

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		§Lieut. Col. Wright§ §Mr. Richd. Knipe Senr.§ §Mr. Richd. Torbett§ §Mr. Thomas O'Connor§ §Mr. William Carrol§ §Mr. Andrew Eyre§ §Lieut. Col. Hodson§ §(Signed) Joseph Cole§ §D. K. Pritchard§	Pipple's allowance in February 1822 only on condition that a full vestry confirmed it. The vestry could have brought each case before a meeting as it arose. Instead it gave the committee general discretion in advance, which met the government's demand for vestry consent once and for all. The committee could then help families in sudden need without waiting for a vestry to be called. The word "approved" against Charles Blake's name records the government's choice of sheriff from the three nominated. The vestry put forward three names, and the Governor picked one. The wormers of cattle were now assigned by district, southern, western and eastern, and no free black assistants were named. In 1819 and 1820 each planter appointed as wormer had been paired with a named free black who did the work. Assigning wormers by area made each one answerable for the herds in his district. Whether free blacks still did the actual work is not recorded.
456	447	Resolved by the Committee (with reference to§ §their Meeting of 24 September last) that Mr. Joseph§ §Jacks do succeed John Regan as Clerk of the Fish§ §Market for the ensuing Year.§ §(Signed) "J. A. Wright§ §R. W. Barker§ §John Bagley§ §R. H. Knipe§ §Joseph Cole§ §D. K. Pritchard"§ §Members of the Committee§ §Joseph Cole§ §D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Wardens§ §Acting President & Councils Resolution§ §"The above proceedings are approved, and Resolved that Mr.§ §Blake be appointed Sheriff"§ §(Signed) G. Blenkins§ §Actg. Secy.§ §Joseph Cole§ §D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Wardens§	The committee referred to its meeting of 24 September 1821 and resolved that Joseph Jacks would succeed John Regan as clerk of the fish market for the coming year. The committee members J. A. Wright, R. W. Barker, John Bagley, R. H. Knipe, Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard signed the resolution. Joseph Cole and D. K. Pritchard also signed as churchwardens. The acting president and Council approved these proceedings and appointed Mr Blake as sheriff. G. Blenkins signed the government's resolution as acting secretary, and the churchwardens added their signatures below it. **Interpretations** Joseph Jacks became clerk of the fish market a year after the government had overturned his first appointment. The vestry had not given up on him. It kept John Regan in the post until Easter and then put Jacks forward again through the committee. This time the government approved without objection. The dispute in May 1821 had never been about the man. It was about whether the full vestry or a committee had the right to choose him. Once the proper channel was used, the vestry got the clerk it had wanted from the start.
457	448	8th. May 1822§ §To the Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I beg to state that I have residing§ §with, and supported by me two infirm Free Blacks wholly§ §unable to support themselves, and having a large Family§ §of my own, I most respectfully beg the assistance of§ §the Parish towards the support of these persons; they§ §have been with me 18 Months and upwards§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your most obedt. Servt.§ §(Signed) John Chambers§ §The within mentioned persons obtained their§ §Freedom, vizt. the Man by purchasing himself from§ §Mr. Hinshaw, and the Woman was left free by the§ §Man Blake who purchased her when he left the§ §Island. -§ §13th. May 1822.§ §To D. K. Pritchard &§ §J. Bagley Esqrs. Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §The two Free Blacks I wrote to you§ §respecting, the 9th. Inst., I hereby agree to provide§ §with Food, Clothing and Lodging at one shilling per day§	On 9 May 1822 John Chambers wrote to the churchwardens about two infirm free blacks who lived with him. Neither could support themselves, and Chambers had been keeping them. He had a large family of his own, so he asked the parish to help with their keep. The two had been with him for more than 10 months. A note added to the letter recorded how the two had gained their freedom. The man had bought himself from Mr Henshaw. The woman had been freed by a man named Blake, who had bought her and then released her when he left the island. On 13 May 1822 Chambers wrote again, this time to the churchwardens D. K. Pritchard and J. Bagley. He offered to give the two free blacks food, clothing and lodging at 1s a day. The parish would pay for their medical care and their funerals. In a postscript he pointed out that he had already borne the cost of their keep for some time. He hoped some allowance would be made for that. **Interpretations** The woman's case showed the risk the government had warned of in December 1821. Blake had bought her and then freed her as he left St Helena. He could have sold her before he went, and a sale would have passed her keep to a new owner. Freeing her ended his responsibility instead, and when she could no longer work, the parish had to support her. Owners leaving the island could clear

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		§the Parish to be at the expence of Medical attendance,§ §and Funeral Expences§ §I have the honor to be§ §Your most obedt. Servt.§ §John Chambers§ §N.B. As I have been at the expence of supporting§ §them for sometime I should hope I may be§ §allowed§	their liabilities this way. The more slaves were freed, the more the cost of their old age fell on the parish. Chambers offered to board the two at a fixed rate of 1s a day, while the parish paid for doctors and burial. This was the same daily rate the parish had paid for Caesar and Martha Seville. Boarding out with a householder cost the parish less than building an almshouse. The parish could keep the costs it controlled, such as board, at a fixed sum, and pay the less predictable costs of illness and death only when they arose.
458	449	allowed the one shilling per day from the 1st. of this§ §Month.§ §Jno. Chambers§ §"Approved by us to be paid Monthly§ §(Signed) D. K. Pritchard§ §John Bagley§ §Church Wardens§ §J. A. Wright§ §W. Carrol§ §R. H. Knipe§ §Members of the§ §Committee -"§ §G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Secretary to Government§ §Sir§ §I beg leave to represent to you for§ §the information of The Honorable the President and§ §Council the dilapidations that have taken place at§ §the Country Church and the necessity of many§ §immediate repairs I have therefore to submit for the§ §Honorable the President and Councils approbation, the§ §propriety of calling a Meeting of the Vestry Committee§ §to take the subject into consideration and adopt such§ §measures as may appear requisite§ §I have the honor to be§ §Sir§ §St. Helena§ §May 1822§ §Your most obedt. Servt.§ §(Signed) "D. K. Pritchard"§ §Church Warden.§ §July 27th. 1822§ §Sir§ §I beg leave to enclose the accompanying§ §Letter for the information of the Governor in Council§	Chambers asked to be paid the 1s a day from the first of the month. The churchwardens, D. K. Pritchard and John Bagley, approved the payment, to be made monthly. The committee members J. A. Wright, W. Carroll and R. H. Knipe also signed. In May 1822 D. K. Pritchard, as churchwarden, wrote to G. Blenkins, secretary to the government. He reported that the country church had fallen into disrepair and that many repairs were needed at once. He asked the President and Council to approve a meeting of the vestry committee to consider the matter and decide what to do. On 27 July 1822 a further letter was sent with an enclosure for the information of the Governor in Council. **Interpretations** Chambers's request was approved by the churchwardens and three committee members, with no vestry meeting. This was the standing authority the vestry had given its committee in April 1822. The government's condition of February 1822, that a full vestry approve Mrs Pipple's allowance, no longer applied case by case. The vestry had met it once by giving the committee advance discretion. Chambers could be paid within days of his offer. Pritchard asked the government's permission even to call the vestry committee to discuss church repairs. The parish had spent £43 0s 8½d on the country church steeple, roof and walls only weeks before. Under the rules laid down since 1820, the vestry and its committee met when the government directed. A churchwarden who found new damage could not simply summon the committee. He had to ask the President and Council for leave.
459	450	The work alluded to in the Letter, was simply repairing§ §the Seats in the Gallery for the School Children§ §to sit on I am§ §Sir§ §G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Actg. Secy.§ §to Govt.§ §Your obedt. Servt.§ §(Signed) "D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Warden"§ §(Copy of the Letter alluded to above)§ §To Captn. D. Pritchard§ §Church Warden§ §July 27th. 1822§ §Sir§ §I beg leave to inform you§ §that Mr. Metcalfe attended the Country Church this§ §Morning, and will perform the Orders given with§ §every dispatch.§ §Previous to his coming I was about§ §to acquaint you concerning the state of the Country§ §Church when Messrs. Metcalfe and Thompson arrived, & we§ §went together to receive the opinion of the former,§	Pritchard explained that the work mentioned in the enclosed letter was only the repair of the gallery seats where the schoolchildren sat. He signed as churchwarden in his letter to G. Blenkins, acting secretary to the government. The enclosure was a copy of a letter from John Croft to Captain D. Pritchard, dated 27 July 1822. Croft reported that Mr Metcalfe had come to the country church that morning and would carry out his orders promptly. Croft had been about to write to Pritchard about the state of the church when Metcalfe and Thompson arrived. The three men went round the building together. Metcalfe agreed with Croft that the church was in a very dangerous state. General Coffin's pew was full of water, and there were many other problems too numerous to list. Croft, Metcalfe and Thompson thought Pritchard should know at once. They recommended a committee to survey the church. Metcalfe had already examined the whole ceiling. **Interpretations** Pritchard told the government that the only work under way was repairing the schoolchildren's seats. Under the rules of the time, he needed the President and Council's leave even to call the

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		§who concurred with me in representing the Church to§ §be in a most dangerous state. General Coffin's§ §Pew is full of Water and in fact many other circum-§ §stances too numerous to insert -§ §Myself Messrs. Metcalfe & Thompson consider§ §it expedient that you should be informed of the§ §Circumstance without delay, recommending a Committee§ §to survey the Church, Mr. M. having been all over§ §the Ceiling§ §I am§ §Sir§ §Your obedt. Servt.§ §(Signed) "John Croft"§	committee about the church. He could have used Croft's report to start larger repairs on his own authority. Instead he made clear to the secretary that Metcalfe had been sent only for a small job. Sending Croft's letter as well set the danger before the government, so that the decision on major repairs, and their cost, rested with the Council. General Coffin had a pew in the country church. Senior officers and officials worshipped there alongside the planters of the district. A pew of that standing full of water was a problem the government could not easily ignore. That gave the parish a stronger case for prompt approval of repairs that the Company might help to pay for.
460	451	To St. Helena 5 August 1822§ §D. K. Pritchard and John Bagley Esqr.§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am sorry to be obliged to obtrude§ §myself upon your Notice but being left a Widow with§ §four Children necessity obliges me to apply to you for§ §some relief, as House Rent and the maintenance of myself &§ §Children is more than I am able to earn by my labor,§ §which is the only means I have of support. I therefore§ §solicit you will take my Case into Consideration and allow§ §me something from the Parish§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your most obedt. Servt.§ §(Signed) "Clara Roberts"§ §Widow of Wm. Roberts§ §8 Augt. 1822§ §At a Meeting of the Committee held this§ §day in the Chapel in James Valley.§ §The Committee finding upon the appearing of§ §Mrs. Roberts before them that she has some claim on§ §the Estate of the late Henry Hammond deceased do not§ §think themselves justified to make her and her Family§ §any Allowance further than 1/6 per day only for the§ §present necessities until the claim in question be decided§ §(Signed) "J. A. Wright§ §R. H. Knipe§ §Richd. Torbett§ §Thos. O'Connor§ §W. Carrol§ §Andw. Eyre§ §Committee§ §D. K. Pritchard" Church Warden§	On 5 August 1822 Clara Roberts, widow of William Roberts, wrote to the churchwardens, D. K. Pritchard and John Bagley. She apologised for troubling them, but she had been left a widow with four children and needed help. Her rent and the cost of keeping herself and her children came to more than she could earn by her own work, which was her only income. She asked them to consider her case and grant her something from the parish. On 8 August 1822 the committee met in the chapel in James Valley. Mrs Roberts appeared before it, and the committee learned that she had a claim on the estate of the late Henry Hammond. Because of this, the committee did not think it right to grant her more than 1s 6d a day for her immediate needs until the claim was settled. J. A. Wright, R. H. Knipe, Richard Torbett, Thomas O'Connor, W. Carroll and Andrew Eyre signed for the committee, and D. K. Pritchard signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The committee gave Mrs Roberts only a stopgap allowance once it learned of her claim on Henry Hammond's estate. It could have granted a regular allowance like Mrs Pipple's, which came to about £54 a year with rent. Instead it paid 1s 6d a day and nothing towards rent, and only until the claim was decided. The parish treated relief as a last resort. Where a widow had money coming from an estate, the parish would only tide her over and expected the estate to support her once it paid out. The committee examined Mrs Roberts in person before deciding. Her husband, William Roberts, had paid the poll tax on 6 or 7 persons in recent years, so the family had been householders of some substance. The interview brought out the estate claim, which her letter had not mentioned. Hearing applicants face to face let the committee discover any means they had before committing parish money.
461	452	To James Valley 6 August 1822§ §Messrs. D. K. Pritchard and John Bagley§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §At the time I applied to you for a§ §remuneration for the maintenance of the two free§ §Blacks which I have with me I find the Sum§ §of 6d. per day inadequate to their support, I therefore§ §respectfully beg such further allowance will be made§ §me as in your judgment is necessary§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your most obedt. Servt.§ §(Signed) "John Chambers"§ §James Town 8 Augt. 1822.§	On 6 August 1822 John Chambers wrote from James Valley to the churchwardens, D. K. Pritchard and John Bagley. When he had first asked for payment to keep the two free blacks living with him, the agreed rate had worked out at 6d a day for each. He now found this too little to support them. He asked for whatever further allowance the churchwardens thought necessary. On 8 August 1822 the committee met at Jamestown and agreed to pay Chambers 8d a day for each of the two free blacks. J. A. Wright, R. H. Knipe, Richard Torbett, Thomas O'Connor, W. Carroll and Andrew Eyre signed for the committee, and D. K. Pritchard signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations**

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		§At a Meeting of the Committee§ §Resolved to allow John Chambers 8d. per§ §day for each of the above two free Blacks.§ §(Signed) "J. A. Wright§ §R. H. Knipe§ §Richd. Torbett§ §Thos. O'Connor§ §W. Carrol§ §Andw. Eyre§ §Committee§ §D. K. Pritchard" Church Warden.§	The 1s a day agreed in May 1822 had covered both free blacks together, at 6d each. The earlier comparison with Caesar's 1s a day was therefore wrong: each of Chambers's charges received half that rate. Chambers had offered food, clothing and lodging at that price himself. Within three months he found it would not cover the cost. The committee raised it to 8d each, or 1s 4d a day for the pair. It did not go back to 1s each. Relief for these two was still set well below what the parish had paid for its long-standing white and free black pensioners.
462	453	8 August 1822.§ §At a Meeting of the Vestry Committee§ §held this day in the Chapel at James Valley§ §Resolved - upon application from Elizabeth§ §the Wife of Joseph Stewart for Relief for herself§ §and two Children, from the Parish Funds, she having§ §been upwards of eight Years supporting herself and§ §Children without any assistance whatever from her§ §Husband but now unable through sickness and§ §distress - to allow Mrs. Stewart Two shillings per§ §day for the present for herself & Children.§ §The Committee having been informed that§ §the said Joseph Stewart is in good health & little§ §better than a common Vagabond and capable of§ §earning his living beg leave to suggest to his§ §Excellency the Governor & Council the propriety of§ §sending him to Sandy Bay Lime Kilns on the§ §usual Allowances two thirds of which to be§ §appropriated to the use of his distressed Family.§ §The Reverend Mr. Vernon came before§ §the Committee and stated that Kitty Hamlet§ §(who obtained her Freedom from her Mistress§ §Mrs. Robert Leech) with a Family of five§ §Children and only put to bed last Week are§ §in great distress - her Husband being a Slave§ §and unable to render them any assistance - The§ §Committee finding that the usual Bond was§ §not entered into by Mrs. Leech on Emancipating§ §Kitty§	On 8 August 1822 the vestry committee met in the chapel in James Valley. Elizabeth, wife of Joseph Stewart, had asked for parish help for herself and her two children. For more than eight years she had supported herself and the children without any help from her husband. Illness and hardship now left her unable to do so. The committee agreed to pay Mrs Stewart 2s a day for the time being, for herself and her children. The committee had been told that Joseph Stewart was in good health and able to earn his living, though he was little better than a common vagrant. It proposed to the Governor and Council that he be sent to work at the Sandy Bay lime kilns at the usual rate of pay. Two-thirds of his pay would go to support his family. The Reverend Mr Vernon told the committee about Kitty Hamlet. Her former mistress, Mrs Robert Leech, had freed her. Kitty had five children and had given birth only the week before. The family was in great hardship. Her husband was a slave and could give them no help. The committee found that Mrs Leech had not given the usual bond when she freed Kitty. **Interpretations** The committee did not just relieve Mrs Stewart and leave her husband alone. It asked the government to send him to the lime kilns and pay most of his wages to his family. The parish had no power of its own to put a man to forced labour, but the government did, and the Sandy Bay kilns were public works. Sending Stewart there turned a deserting husband into a source of support for the family he had abandoned. It also cut the parish's own payments to his wife. Owners who freed a slave were normally required to give a bond. The bond guaranteed that the freed person would not become a charge on the public. Mrs Leech had freed Kitty Hamlet without one. Had a bond been given, the parish could have looked to Mrs Leech or her sureties for Kitty's keep. Without it, the cost fell on the parish. This was the danger the government had warned of in December 1821: emancipation passed the cost of supporting freed people from their former owners to the public. Kitty Hamlet's husband was still a slave, so his labour and anything it earned belonged to his owner. Kitty and her children were free, and so were outside any owner's care. The family was split across the line between slave and free. The husband could not support his free children, and no owner was bound to. The parish was left to provide for them.
463	454	Kitty, beg leave to represent to the Worshipful§ §Board the necessity of Mrs. Leechs Estate being§ §called on to execute the Bond agreeable to the§ §tenor of the Slave Laws - for which reason the§ §Committee resolve to allow Kitty 2/3 per day§ §until the Obligation is entered into by Mrs. Leech§ §Estate, by which means the Parish will be§ §relieved of this burthen -§ §The Committee beg leave to enclose§ §a Letter from the Clergyman this day laid§ §before them which they strongly recommend§	Because Mrs Leech had not given the bond when she freed Kitty Hamlet, the committee asked the Board to require Mrs Leech's estate to give it, as the slave laws demanded. In the meantime the committee agreed to pay Kitty 2s 3d a day until Mrs Leech's estate gave the bond. Once it did, the parish would no longer carry the cost. The committee also enclosed a letter from the clergyman that had been put before it that day. It strongly urged the Board to give the letter careful consideration. J. A. Wright, R. H. Knipe, Richard

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		§to the serious consideration of the Worshipful§ §Board -§ §(Signed) "J. A. Wright§ §R. H. Knipe§ §Richd. Torbett§ §Thos. O'Connor§ §W. Carrol§ §Andw. Eyre§ §Committee§ §D. K. Pritchard" Church Warden§	Torbett, Thomas O'Connor, W. Carroll and Andrew Eyre signed for the committee, and D. K. Pritchard signed as churchwarden. Interpretations The committee treated its payments to Kitty Hamlet as a temporary advance, not a permanent charge. It could have accepted her as a parish pauper. Instead it asked the government to make Mrs Leech's estate give the bond the slave laws required, and promised relief only until then. Once the bond was given, Kitty's keep would fall on the estate. The parish would pay only for the gap the owner's failure had caused. The slave laws thus gave the parish a way to pass the cost of a freed woman's poverty back to the family that had freed her. Kitty received 2s 3d a day, more than any other recent allowance. Mrs Stewart, with two children, received 2s, and Chambers 8d each for his two charges. Kitty's larger family and her recent childbirth account for the higher sum. The committee also had reason not to stint, because it expected to recover the cost from the Leech estate.
464	455	Copy of the Letter alluded to in the§ §foregoing -§ §To the Gentlemen composing the Committee§ §for the transactions of Parish Business§ §Gentlemen§ §We beg leave to submit to your§ §Consideration a proposal to apply to the§ §Government to pass a Law, interdicting the§ §Public Sale of Slaves, and to direct that§ §henceforth so long as Slavery shall unhappily§ §continue, such transactions may take place in§ §a private manner, such as shall appear to§ §them most adviseable - in order effectually to§ §prevent both the public exposure of human§ §flesh for sale, and also all printed Notices of§ §this nature, which must be hurtful to the§ §feelings of every humane mind.§ §We remain§ §Gentlemen§ §Your obedt. & humble§ §Pastors§ §St. Helena§ §8 Augt. 1822§ §R. Boys Senr. Chaplain§ §B. J. Vernon Junr. Chapln.§	The enclosed letter was dated 8 August 1822 and addressed to the committee for parish business. It was signed by R. Boys, senior chaplain, and B. J. Vernon, junior chaplain. The chaplains proposed that the committee ask the government to pass a law banning the public sale of slaves. For as long as slavery unhappily continued, such sales would have to be carried out privately, in whatever way the government thought best. The chaplains wanted to put a complete end to the public display of human beings for sale. They also wanted to stop printed notices of such sales, which they believed must offend every humane person. **Interpretations** The chaplains did not ask for an end to the sale of slaves. They asked only that sales stop being public. The inhabitants' letter acknowledged on 25 March 1819 had argued that buying and selling slaves within the island was bound to continue while slavery lasted. The chaplains accepted that point, as their phrase "so long as slavery shall unhappily continue" shows. Their target was the auction itself and the printed notices that advertised it. Asking for privacy rather than abolition made the proposal one that slaveholders could accept, since it would not touch their property or their right to sell. The committee urged the Board to give the chaplains' letter serious attention. Its members were the same landholders who in 1819 had denied the Reverend R. Boys any part in the island's abolition measure. Three years later they backed his proposal. Unlike the newspaper's account, this letter came through the parish's own channels and asked nothing of the owners beyond discretion. Endorsing it let the committee present the island's slaveholders as humane without giving up anything of substance.
465	456	(Copy)§ §Extract from Consultation dated 19 Augt. 1822§ §The Board upon taking into Consideration the§ §Proceedings of the Vestry Committee, have doubts as§ §to the propriety of sending Joseph Stewart to§ §work at Sandy Bay.§ §In regard to the other point brought forward§ §by the Committee, the Board referring to the correspondence§ §with the Honble. Court upon the Subject of the§ §manumission of Slaves, find that the 102nd. para. of§ §the Governors and Councils Letter to the Court dated§ §12th. Feby. 1819, reports the manumission of certain§ §Slaves belonging to the Family of the late Rt.§	The Board of Government considered the vestry committee's proceedings in its consultation of 19 August 1822. It doubted whether it was proper to send Joseph Stewart to work at Sandy Bay. On the committee's other point, the Board looked back at its correspondence with the Court of Directors on freeing slaves. In paragraph 102 of their letter to the Court of 12 February 1819, the Governor and Council had reported that the family of the late R. H. Leech had freed certain slaves before the Court had approved. The Court replied in paragraph 45 of its letter of 23 February 1820. It referred the Governor and Council to paragraph 27 of a separate letter it had sent on 21 April 1819. That paragraph laid down the Court's rule. An owner who wished to free a slave would be given

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		§Leech Esqr. in the anticipation of the Courts approval.§ §The Courts answer in the 45 para. of§ §their Letter 23rd. Feby. 1820, refer the Governor and§ §Council to the Courts seperate Letter of 21st. April§ §1819, the part alluded to is the 27th. Paragraph§ §and is as follows.§ §"When a Proprietor is willing to give Freedom§ §"to a Slave, permission so to do, shall be granted upon§ §"application to the Governor and Council for that§ §"purpose and on the production of an attestation or§ §"Certificate signed by the Proprietor, that he desires to§ §"grant the emancipation solely in reward for faithful§ §"Services specifying the length of such Services, and§ §"that the Slave to be freed, has conducted himself§ §"or herself with honesty, sobriety, diligence and moral§ §"good Conduct during the last three Years of his§ §"Servitude, also that the Slave to be set free is§ §"able to earn a livelihood the Bond in question shall§ §"be dispensed with but with a view to prevent abuse§	permission on applying to the Governor and Council. The owner had to produce a signed statement that the slave was being freed only as a reward for faithful service, stating how long that service had lasted. The statement also had to confirm that the slave had been honest, sober, hard-working and of good character for the last three years. It also had to confirm that the slave could earn a living. Where all this was shown, the bond would not be required. The Court then added a condition designed to prevent abuse of this concession. **Interpretations** The Court's rule undermined the committee's demand that Mrs Leech's estate give a bond for Kitty Hamlet. The Leech family had freed its slaves before the Court approved, and the Court had then allowed the bond to be dropped for a freed slave with a certificate of good service and the ability to earn a living. If the Leech freedoms met that test, the estate owed no bond, and the parish could not pass Kitty's keep back to it. The safeguard was meant to protect the public, but it had been traded away for an owner's word that the freed person could support themselves. Kitty's case showed that word could prove false within a few years. The Board doubted the plan to send Joseph Stewart to the lime kilns. Stewart was a free man who had committed no crime. Deserting his family did not make him a convict. The committee had offered a neat way to make him pay for his wife and children. But putting a free man to forced labour without a conviction went beyond what the government was willing to do on the parish's recommendation alone.
466	457	"of this indulgence a Slave so presented for manumission§ §"shall undergo examination by the Medical Superintendent§ §"or Chief Surgeon, and shall not exceed Forty Years§ §"of Age and if found incapable of Labour or above§ §"that age, the execution of the Bond shall be§ §"enforced as heretofore".§ §It thus appearing that the aforesaid§ §measure of the Governor and Council is in fact§ §rescinded by the Superior Authority of the Court -§ §The Church Wardens are required to see that Kitty§ §Hamlet and such of her Children as were born prior§ §to Christmas day 1818 are either provided for by her§ §late Proprietor Mrs. Leech or that the Agent of the§ §latter shall execute the Bond required by the Slave§ §Laws -§ §With regard to the Letter from the Chaplains§ §respecting the mode of selling Slaves, the Board§ §would not feel authorized to act upon it, without§ §the concurrence of a full Vestry Meeting, more especially§ §as the already acknowledged "wise humane and liberal§ §measures"* of the Slave Proprietors, amply entitle them§ §to be consulted on the Subject -§ §(True Extract)§ §(Signed) G. Blenkins§ §Actg. Secy. to Govt.§ **Margin Notes:** §*vide Honble. Courts Letter 21 April 1819.§	To prevent abuse of this concession, the Court ruled that any slave put forward for freedom must be examined by the medical superintendent or chief surgeon. The slave must be no older than 40. If the slave was over that age or found unable to work, the bond would be required as before. The Board concluded that the Court's higher authority had in effect cancelled the earlier action of the Governor and Council in the Leech case. It ordered the churchwardens to make sure that Kitty Hamlet, and those of her children born before Christmas Day 1818, were supported by her former owner, Mrs Leech. Otherwise, Mrs Leech's agent would have to give the bond required by the slave laws. On the chaplains' letter about how slaves were sold, the Board did not feel entitled to act without the agreement of a full vestry meeting. The Court's letter of 21 April 1819 had already praised the slave owners' "wise, humane and liberal measures". In the Board's view, that gave the owners a right to be consulted on the matter. G. Blenkins certified the extract as a true copy, signing as acting secretary to the government. **Interpretations** The Court's rule turned against the Leech family rather than in its favour. The earlier comment that the rule undermined the committee's demand was therefore wrong. The bond could be waived only for a slave under 40 who had been certified fit to work by a doctor. Kitty Hamlet had been freed without that examination, in anticipation of approval. The Governor and Council had accepted that freedom, but the Court's later rule overrode it. The parish was therefore entitled to look to the Leech estate after all. The limit of 40 and the medical check were meant to stop owners from freeing slaves just as they became too old or sick to work, which would pass the cost of their decline to the public. The order covered only those of Kitty's children born before Christmas Day 1818. Children born after that date had been born free under the island's abolition measure. The Leech estate had never owned

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			them, so it could not be made to support them. The line split one family in two. The older children were the estate's responsibility. The younger ones fell to their mother and, failing her, to the parish. The Board refused to act on the chaplains' proposal without a full vestry. It quoted the Court's own praise of the slave owners' "wise, humane and liberal measures" to argue that the owners must be consulted. The phrase came from the Court's response to the island's 1818 abolition measure. The government thus used the owners' reputation for humanity as grounds for letting them decide whether to give up public auctions. A decision about selling slaves would rest with the people who sold them.
467	458	Revised Regulations for the§ §Town Church -§ §Governor and Councils Pew.§ §Governor and Councils Ladies Pew.§ §No. 1. Senior Company's Servants§ §2. Companys Servants & Inhabitants of 1st. Class§ §10. 11. 12. 13 & 14 Wives & Daughters of the Honble. Companys§ §Civil and Military Servants and of Inhabitants§ §of 1st. Class.§ §3. Church Wardens and such as are eligible to§ §serve the Office of Church Warden§ §15. Chaplains Families§ §4. 5 & 6. Inhabitants of 2nd. Class§ §7. 8 & 9 Wives and Daughters of Do.§ §" Clerks Pew§ §17 & 18 Clergymans Scholars§ §16. Soldiers Wives & Free Women.§ §Gallery - Honorable Companys Troops.§ §(Signed) "G. Blenkins"§ §Actg. Secy. to Govt.§	The government issued revised seating rules for the town church, signed by G. Blenkins as acting secretary. Governor and Council's pew Governor and Council's ladies' pew Pew 1, senior Company servants Pew 2, Company servants and inhabitants of the first class Pews 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14, wives and daughters of the Company's civil and military servants and of inhabitants of the first class Pew 3, churchwardens and those eligible to serve as churchwarden Pew 15, chaplains' families Pews 4, 5 and 6, inhabitants of the second class Pews 7, 8 and 9, wives and daughters of inhabitants of the second class Clerk's pew Pews 17 and 18, the clergyman's pupils Pew 16, soldiers' wives and free women Gallery, the Company's troops **Interpretations** The seating plan set out the island's social order in the church itself. Company servants ranked first. The inhabitants were split into first and second classes, the same grading the vestry used when it sorted householders for parish duties in March 1818. Being eligible for churchwarden was itself a mark of rank, with its own pew next to the first class. Every family could see its own standing, and everyone else's, each Sunday. Free women shared a single pew with soldiers' wives, below every class of inhabitant and apart from the wives and daughters of the second class. Free black women, whose numbers grew as slaves were freed, were placed with the lowest-ranking white women and not among the householders. The rules let the free black population into the town church while keeping it separate within the building. The parish already marked free blacks on the poll tax rolls and in its accounts. The pew rules did the same in worship.
468	459	Revised Regulations for the§ §Country Church -§ §No. 1. Governors Family or Persons introduced by§ §them -§ §7. Members of Council and their Families or§ §Persons introduced by them.§ §2. Senior Company's Servants and Do.§ §8 & 13 Company's Servants and Do.§ §9 Chaplains Families.§ §3 & 14 Inhabitants of 1st. Class§ §15 Do. of 2nd. Do.§ §4. Church Warden and such as are eligible to serve§ §that Office.§ §5. Upper Servants at Plantation House§ §6. European Livery Do.§ §10. Clerks Family§ §11 & 12. Respectable Black Women and Children§ §Gallery - School Children and Teacher§	The government also issued revised seating rules for the country church, again signed by G. Blenkins as acting secretary. Pew 1, the Governor's family or people they introduced Pew 7, members of Council and their families or people they introduced Pew 2, senior Company servants and their families or people they introduced Pews 8 and 13, Company servants and their families or people they introduced Pew 9, chaplains' families Pews 3 and 14, inhabitants of the first class Pew 15, inhabitants of the second class Pew 4, the churchwarden and those eligible to serve as churchwarden Pew 5, upper servants at Plantation House

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		§Right hand side of the Seats under the Gallery Men of Colour§ §Left hand Do. Do. Soldiers in Uniform§ §(Signed) "G. Blenkins"§ §Actg. Secy. to Govt.§	Pew 6, European liveried servants at Plantation House Pew 10, the clerk's family Pews 11 and 12, respectable black women and children Gallery, schoolchildren and their teacher Right-hand seats under the gallery, men of colour Left-hand seats under the gallery, soldiers in uniform **Interpretations** The country church rules named black and coloured worshippers openly, while the town church rules had used the vaguer term "free women". Black women and children had two pews of their own, but only those judged respectable. Men of colour sat under the gallery, across the aisle from soldiers in uniform. The country church served the planters' district, and the Governor's household at Plantation House worshipped there. It was therefore more likely to draw free blacks living on or near the estates. The government planned for their presence and fixed their place in advance. The servants at Plantation House had seats according to their own rank. Upper servants had one pew, and European liveried servants had another. Both sat ahead of the clerk's family and every black or coloured worshipper. Being part of the Governor's household gave even a servant a higher seat than a free black householder. Rank at St Helena depended on nearness to the government as much as on property or birth.
469	460	Sir§ §I am required by the Acting Governor & Council§ §in consequence of the application of Kitty Hamlet§ §for relief from the Parish for herself and four Children,§ §to request that you will as Agent to the above§ §Estate, enter into the usual Bond, agreable to the§ §Slave Laws to indemnify the Parish from all§ §Expences on account of the same Kitty Hamlet &§ §4 Children they having obtained their Freedom from§ §the above Estate without the Bond being executed.§ §I am§ §Sir§ §To G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Agent to the Estate§ §of the late R. Leech Esqr.§ §St. Helena§ §29 Augt. 1822§ §Your most obedt. Hble. Servt.§ §"D. K. Pritchard"§ §Church Warden§ §James Town 5 Sept. 1822§ §At a Meeting of the Vestry Committee§ §held this day in the Chapel§ §Resolved that Mr. Orlando Bagley do§ §serve the Office of Wormer of Cattle for the West§ §Division in the room of Mr. Charles Oswald§ §he having left the Island§ §J. A. Wright§ §R. H. Knipe§ §Richd. Torbett§ §Thos. O'Connor§ §W. Carrol§ §Andw. Eyre§ §Committee§ §Church Warden§	On 29 August 1822 D. K. Pritchard, as churchwarden, wrote to G. Blenkins in his capacity as agent for the estate of the late R. Leech. The acting Governor and Council had instructed Pritchard to write after Kitty Hamlet applied for parish help for herself and four of her children. Kitty and those four children had been freed from the Leech estate without the bond being given. Pritchard asked Blenkins, as the estate's agent, to give the usual bond required by the slave laws. The bond would protect the parish against any costs arising from Kitty Hamlet and the four children. On 5 September 1822 the vestry committee met in the chapel at Jamestown. It appointed Orlando Bagley as wormer of cattle for the western division in place of Charles Oswald, who had left the island. J. A. Wright, R. H. Knipe, Richard Torbett, Thomas O'Connor, W. Carroll and Andrew Eyre signed for the committee. **Interpretations** The demand for the bond went to G. Blenkins, the same man who as acting secretary had signed the government's order that the bond be given. Blenkins was also the agent for the Leech estate. In one role he had told the churchwardens to pursue the estate, and in the other he was the person they had to pursue. The overlap shows how few men ran the island's affairs. The secretary's office, private estates and the government's rulings on them were in the same hands. The record does not show whether Blenkins gave the bond. The bond now covered Kitty and four children, not the five mentioned to the committee in August. The Board had limited the estate's liability to children born before Christmas Day 1818. One of Kitty's children had been born after that date and was free from birth. That child, along with the newborn, stayed outside the bond and remained the parish's responsibility.
470	461	16th. Sept. 1822§ §At a Vestry Meeting held this day in the§ §Chapel in James Town§	On 16 September 1822 a vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown. The chaplains' letter of 8 August 1822 on how slaves should be sold was put

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		§The Clergymens Letter of the 8 Augt. last§ §respecting the mode of selling Slaves having been§ §laid before the Slave Proprietors present The whole§ §of them (about eighty) except three gave their Votes§ §for the continuation of the present Customs of§ §the Island respecting the Sale of Slaves.§ §(Signed) "D. K. Pritchard§ §John Bagley§ §Church Wardens§ §16 Sept. 1822§ §At a Meeting of the Vestry Committee§ §held in the Chapel in James Valley this day§ §Resolved that the allowance of 1/6 per§ §day to Clara Roberts do cease from this day.§ §(Signed) "J. A. Wright§ §Richd. Torbett§ §R. H. Knipe§ §Thos. O'Connor§ §W. Carrol§ §Andw. Eyre§ §Committee§ §D. K. Pritchard" Church Warden§	before the slave owners present. About 80 owners attended, and all but three voted to keep the island's existing practice for selling slaves. The churchwardens, D. K. Pritchard and John Bagley, signed the minute. The same day the vestry committee met in the chapel in James Valley. It ended the allowance of 1s 6d a day paid to Clara Roberts from that date. J. A. Wright, Richard Torbett, R. H. Knipe, Thomas O'Connor, W. Carroll and Andrew Eyre signed for the committee, and D. K. Pritchard signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The slave owners rejected the chaplains' proposal by about 77 votes to three. Neither the committee nor the government decided the matter. The Board refused to act without a full vestry, citing the Court's praise of the owners' humanity. That handed the question to the people who held public auctions, and they chose to keep them. The committee had urged the Board to take the letter seriously in August 1822, but the vestry as a whole would not give up public sales. Only the owners were asked, and they had no reason to restrict the way they sold their own property. Clara Roberts's allowance ended about six weeks after it began. The committee had granted her 1s 6d a day in August 1822 only until her claim on Henry Hammond's estate was settled. The allowance stopping suggests the claim had been resolved, or that the committee expected the estate to pay her from then on. The parish had covered her only for the short time before other money reached her.
471	462	James Town 30th. Sept. 1822.§ §At a Meeting of the Vestry§ §Committee convened by instructions from the Acting§ §Governor and Council. It was resolved to recommend§ §that the price of Albecore shall in future be§ §sold at 2d. per lb. instead of 1½ & Mackarel§ §at 8d. per Dozen instead of 10d. and that the§ §prices as regulated on the 23rd. Oct. 1809 be in§ §future adhered to for all other Fish most strictly§ §As it appears that the Fish Regulations§ §have been in many cases deviated from and§ §abused, in instances of Boats having particularly§ §good Fish which have been considered the property§ §of the Catcher only. It is resolved to§ §recommend that all Fish of every description§ §whatever including Turtle, Coal Fish, Yellow Tail,§ §and Mackarel shall be shared in equal proportions§ §among the Boat & Crew.§ §Signed "J. A. Wright§ §C. R. G. Hodson§ §Richd. Torbett§ §R. H. Knipe§ §W. Carrol§ §Andw. Eyre§ §D. K. Pritchard Church Warden"§ §A Notice to the above Effect was issued§ §from the Governor & Council on 3rd. Oct. -§	On 30 September 1822 the vestry committee met at Jamestown on the instructions of the acting Governor and Council. It recommended raising the price of albacore to 2d a pound from 1½d. It recommended cutting the price of mackerel to 8d a dozen from 10d. All other fish were to be sold strictly at the prices fixed on 23 October 1809. The committee found that the fish rules were often broken and abused. Where a boat landed particularly good fish, those fish were treated as belonging only to the man who caught them. The committee therefore recommended that every kind of fish, including turtle, coal fish, yellowtail and mackerel, be shared equally among the boat and its crew. J. A. Wright, C. R. G. Hodson, Richard Torbett, R. H. Knipe, W. Carroll and Andrew Eyre signed, with D. K. Pritchard as churchwarden. The Governor and Council issued a public notice to the same effect on 3 October 1822. **Interpretations** Albacore was a large tuna common in St Helena's waters. It was the island's staple fish, sold by the pound because of its size. Mackerel were small and sold by the dozen. Coal fish and yellowtail were local reef and inshore fish, and turtle was taken at sea. All of these were sold in the Jamestown fish market at prices the government set. The tariff of 23 October 1809 was still in force 13 years later. Raising the price of albacore and cutting it for mackerel brought two of the most common catches into line with what boatmen and buyers would actually accept. The rule on sharing the catch went to the heart of the price problem. When a fisherman claimed the best fish as his own, he could sell it privately at whatever price a buyer would pay. The vestry had found this happening in 1820 with sales to Chinese buyers at raised prices. If the whole catch belonged equally to the boat and crew, no single man could hold back a prize fish for a private sale. Everything landed would become shared stock, sold through the market at the tariff price. The committee used the

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			crews' own interest in fair shares to bring the best fish into the regulated market.
472	463	To. The Church Wardens of the Parish of the§ §Island of Saint Helena -§ §Gentlemen,§ §We the undersigned Parishioners,§ §beg you will respectfully request His Excellency§ §the Governor and Council to sanction the§ §calling of a Vestry Meeting at an early day,§ §to discuss a certain Matter which concerns the§ §whole Parish.§ §We have the honor to remain§ §Gent.§ §St. Helena§ §3rd. Feby. 1823§ §Your most obedt. Servts.§ §Signed "S. Solomon§ §W. Carrol§ §Nathaniel Colyer§ §E. Banks§ §Thos. Carr§ §Edwd. Greenland§ §G. W. Alexander§ §E. Fowler§ §Wm. Tracy§ §R. W. Barker"§ §James Town§ §10 February 1823.§ §At a Special Meeting of the Vestry§ §held in the Chapel in James Town this day§ §with the sanction of Council - The following§ §being read " The Parishioners are assembled together§	On 3 February 1823 a group of parishioners wrote to the churchwardens of St Helena. They asked the churchwardens to request the Governor and Council's permission to call a vestry soon. They wanted to discuss a matter that affected the whole parish. The letter was signed by S. Solomon, W. Carroll, Nathaniel Collyer, E. Banks, Thomas Carr, Edward Greenland, G. W. Alexander, E. Fowler, William Tracy and R. W. Barker. On 10 February 1823 a special vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown with the Council's permission. A statement was read to the meeting, beginning with the words that the parishioners had assembled together. **Interpretations** Ten parishioners could not call a vestry themselves. They had to ask the churchwardens to ask the Governor and Council for leave. The rule that the vestry met only with government sanction applied even when the inhabitants had their own business to raise. The petitioners did not name the matter. Keeping it unstated until the meeting stopped the government from refusing permission on the subject alone. The meeting was granted within a week.
473	464	"this day (under the sanction of the Government)§ §"for the purpose of taking into consideration the§ §"Charges made against them and their Families§ §"by the Medical Department of this Island.§ §"When they contrast the present increased demands§ §"with the former, they are at a loss to know§ §"the cause - indeed the charges now made (taking§ §"the very many calls and expences of a Family§ §"into consideration) swallow up at one Draught§ §"almost all the earnings of a Man in middling§ §"circumstances - At the Cape of Good§ §"Hope the Gentlemen of the Medical Profession§ §"in Private Practise & who have no fixed Salary§ §"to apply to for support are under the control§ §"of Regulations established by that Government§ §"and those Gentlemen no doubt make a handsome§ §"livelihood - The Parishioners wish to give§ §"every due Credit to the Medical Department, &§ §"beg them to understand that it is their fullest§ §"wish to pay what is fair for their Attendance§ §"on them and their Families, but their late§ §"increased and unexpected demands call from the§ §"Parishioners an anxious hope that some Regulation§ §"may be formed and the same submitted to this§ §"Government for approval so that the Parishioners§ §"may in a great measure know what the§ §"Attendance on them and their Families may§ §"be before a heavy Bill is presented whereby§ §"the greatest inconvenience is experienced in making§ §"up a Sum unexpected & unlooked for. The§	On 10 February 1823 the parishioners met with the government's permission to discuss the fees the island's Medical Department charged them and their families. They compared the current bills with earlier ones and could not see why the charges had risen. A family needed the doctor often, and the new fees could take almost all of a man's earnings in one bill if he was of modest means. The parishioners pointed to the Cape of Good Hope. There, doctors in private practice had no fixed salary and depended entirely on their fees. Even so, they worked under regulations set by the Cape government, and they still made a good living. The parishioners wished to give the Medical Department due credit. They wanted it to know that they were willing to pay a fair price for attendance on themselves and their families. But the recent rise in charges had come without warning. They hoped a scale of fees could be drawn up and put to the government for approval. Each family would then know roughly what medical attendance would cost before a large bill arrived. Finding an unexpected sum caused great hardship. **Interpretations** The Medical Department was the Company's own surgeons. They drew salaries from the Company but also charged the inhabitants for treating them and their families. With no independent doctors on the island, families could not go elsewhere. The parishioners did not refuse to pay or appeal against individual bills. They asked for a fixed scale of fees approved by the government. A published scale would protect them from sudden rises in a market where they had no choice of doctor. The comparison with the Cape sharpened the parishioners' case. At the Cape, doctors with no salary at all were still bound by government regulations and still prospered. St Helena's doctors had Company salaries as well as their fees. If unsalaried doctors elsewhere could live under a fixed tariff, salaried ones here had even less ground to

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			object. The parishioners also chose a colony the island's government had already used as a model for the vaccination scheme in 1821, which made the argument harder to dismiss.
474	465	[Ink stains in the left margin beside the first resolution and over the word "Chapel" in the heading of the Committee proceedings.] "Parishioners therefore submit that their Committee§ §"immediately take the case into Consideration - And§ §"do also recommend as a matter of propriety§ §"that the Medical Superintendant be an additional§ §"Member of the Committee to discuss the point§ §"in question."§ §Resolved that the present Vestry Committee§ §with the addition of the Medical Superintendant§ §do meet and take the above into their Consideration§ §Resolved that the Regulations of the§ §Cape Government regarding Medical attendance§ §be submitted to the Committee for their Special§ §Consideration -§ §(Signed) "D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Warden.§ §Approved§ §(Signed) "G. Blenkins§ §Secy. to Govt."§ §17th. February 1823§ §Proceedings of Vestry Committee§ §held in the Chapel in James Valley§ §Resolved for a Medical Officers Visit§ §to a Family in Town by day§ §4/§ §For a Country Visit of 3 Miles or less§ §10/§ §For a Do. Do. Do. 3 to 6 Miles§ §15/§ §For Do. Do. Do. 6 Miles or upwards§ §20/§ §Half as much again for Night Visits.§	The parishioners asked their committee to take up the matter at once. They also thought it proper that the medical superintendent join the committee for the discussion. The vestry agreed that the existing vestry committee, with the medical superintendent added, would meet to consider the question. It also agreed to put the Cape government's regulations on medical attendance before the committee for particular attention. D. K. Pritchard signed as churchwarden, and G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, signed the government's approval. On 17 February 1823 the vestry committee met in the chapel in James Valley and set the following charges for a medical officer's visits. Daytime visit to a family in town, £0 4s 0d Country visit of 3 miles or less, £0 10s 0d Country visit of 3 to 6 miles, £0 15s 0d Country visit of 6 miles or more, £1 0s 0d Night visits, half as much again **Interpretations** The parishioners brought the medical superintendent into the committee instead of setting the fees without him. They could have drawn up a scale on their own and sent it to the government. Having the head of the Medical Department at the table made the scale an agreement with the doctors rather than a demand made on them. The government would find a tariff that its own senior surgeon had helped to write much harder to reject. The scale was settled within a week. The fees rose with distance from town. A daytime visit in Jamestown cost 4s, while a visit of six miles or more into the country cost £1 0s 0d. St Helena's steep valleys made every mile of travel slow on horseback, so country calls took most of a day. The scale charged for the doctor's time and effort on the road as well as for his treatment. It also kept costs low for town families, who made up most of the households that had complained. The fixed rates gave country families a figure they could plan for before calling a doctor.
475	466	If an Inhabitant requires a Medical Visit and§ §sends a Horse he is not liable to be charged for§ §the use of one otherwise the Medical Officer is entitled§ §to charge 8/ for the use of a Horse.§ §When a Patient continues ill and the Visits§ §are repeated, after the second, the charge shall§ §only be one half during the illness.§ §For every Prescription 2/6§ §(Signed) "J. A. Wright§ §R. H. Knipe§ §Richd. Torbett§ §Thos. O'Connor§ §W. Carrol§ §Andw. Eyre§ §Committee§ §C. R. G. Hodson§ §Geo. Mead§ §D. K. Pritchard§ §John Bagley"§ §Church Wardens§ §James Town 22nd. February 1823.§ §To,§ §Messrs. D. K. Pritchard§ §& J. Bagley§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen,§ §Understanding in the Regulations§	The committee's scale went on as follows. Use of the medical officer's horse, where the inhabitant sent none, £0 8s 0d Repeat visits in the same illness, after the second, half the usual charge Each prescription, £0 2s 6d The committee members J. A. Wright, R. H. Knipe, Richard Torbett, Thomas O'Connor, W. Carroll and Andrew Eyre signed the scale. C. R. G. Hodson and George Mead also signed, along with the churchwardens, D. K. Pritchard and John Bagley. On 22 February 1823 the island's apothecary wrote to the churchwardens, D. K. Pritchard and J. Bagley. He understood that the regulations before the vestry would pay the doctors a fee for each prescription, separate from the charge for a visit. He explained that the doctors had once paid him a yearly allowance to make up the medicines they prescribed in private practice. They had recently stopped that allowance. He therefore wished to put his case to the vestry that was about to meet. **Interpretations** The apothecary's letter pointed to one reason for the rise in medical bills. The doctors had once paid him a yearly sum to make up their prescriptions. By ending that arrangement, they had taken the dispensing work, and its profit, into their own hands. The committee's scale now gave them 2s 6d for every

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		§under the consideration of Vestry respecting Medical§ §Attendance that certain allowances are to be§ §made to the Medical Gentlemen of this Island§ §for Prescriptions exclusive of the charge of Attendance§ §I beg leave to state that as Apothecary I used§ §formerly to receive from the Medical Gentlemen§ §themselves a yearly allowance for making up§ §Medicines &c. prescribed by them in their private§ §practice, but as that has been lattely discontinued§ §I humbly submit to the Vestry about to be assembled§	prescription on top of the visit fee. Unless the vestry stepped in, the new tariff would fix in place the very change that had cut the apothecary out and raised the cost to families. The scale gave several concessions that kept costs down for families. A family that sent its own horse paid nothing for the doctor's travel. Repeat visits after the second were charged at half price for the rest of an illness. Long illnesses had driven the largest bills, as the parishioners had complained. Halving later visits limited what a family could owe for a single case.
476	467	my claim for some remuneration for making up those§ §Prescriptions for which Allowances are made and§ §that either some Portion of the Prescription§ §Allowances be awarded me or such other§ §remuneration made as the Vestry may deem§ §I am entitled to for the additional Duties§ §I have to perform in preparing Medicines &c.§ §and making up Prescriptions for the Inhabitants§ §of the Island§ §I am§ §Gentlemen.§ §With the greatest respect§ §Your most obedt. & humble Servt.§ §(Signed) T. Harrington§ §Apothy.§ §24th. February 1823§ §At a Meeting of Vestry held in the§ §Chapel in James Valley this day.§ §After the Proceedings of the Committee§ §assembled on 17th. Instant agreable to the§ §Resolutions of the last Vestry had been laid§ §before the present Meeting, The following was§ §agreed to§ §The Inhabitants assembled at Vestry feeling§ §surprized & concerned at the charges proposed by the Vestry§ §Committee beg leave to request to be informed upon§ §what principle the Committee acted in forming§ §them, as by their scale the charges instead of§ §being rendered light & reasonable upon the people§	The apothecary, T. Harrington, asked to be paid for making up the prescriptions on which the doctors would now draw fees. He suggested two ways. The vestry could give him part of the prescription fees, or it could grant him whatever other payment it thought fair. He argued that he deserved it for the extra work of preparing medicines and making up prescriptions for the island's inhabitants. On 24 February 1823 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley. The committee's proceedings of 17 February 1823 were read, as the previous vestry had directed. The meeting then agreed the following. The inhabitants were surprised and concerned at the charges the committee had proposed. They asked to be told on what basis the committee had drawn them up. In their view, the scale had not made the charges lighter or more reasonable for the people, as had been intended. **Interpretations** The inhabitants rejected the scale their own committee had produced. The parishioners had asked for the medical superintendent to join the committee, and he had shaped its work. The earlier comment that his presence would make the scale harder to reject proved wrong in one respect: it was the inhabitants, not the government, who objected. The committee's large landholders and the head of the Medical Department had agreed a tariff that suited the doctors better than the families who paid them. The full vestry was the only place where ordinary householders could challenge it, and they used it to demand that the committee explain itself. Thomas Harrington, the apothecary, had paid the poll tax on 2 to 5 persons on recent rolls, so he was a householder of modest standing. His claim showed who stood to lose under the new scale. The doctors would gain the prescription fee, while the man who actually made up the medicines lost the allowance they had once paid him. He did not attack the scale. He asked for a share of the new fee, which presented him as part of the island's medical service rather than as a rival to the doctors.
477	468	are encreased considerably. - We need not set forth§ §the distressed state of the Inhabitants as this§ §is obvious to all and we hoped would be borne§ §in mind by the Committee who we expected§ §would proceed on the basis of the like Regulations§ §at the Cape of Good Hope where the Medical§ §Men are obliged to have a Licence to practise§ §and have no Public Salaries as they have§ §here - That the Lords Proprietors intended no§ §Charges should be made or that these charges§ §should bear moderately on their Inhabitants§ §is clear from their having complete the Medical§ §Establishment here on so liberal a Scale -§ §At the time the Inhabitants consented to§ §abolish Slavery on the Island they petitioned§ §the Honorable Court to send out a Medical§ §Man for the express purpose of attending§ §their Slaves at the Hospital - this as we§ §were given to understand was granted us. But§ §we have since been led to understand that§	The inhabitants said the committee's scale had raised the charges considerably. They saw no need to describe their own hardship, which was obvious to everyone. They had hoped the committee would keep it in mind and follow the Cape of Good Hope's regulations. At the Cape, doctors needed a licence to practise and drew no public salary. On St Helena they did draw salaries. The inhabitants argued that the Company, as the island's proprietor, had plainly meant medical charges to be low or nothing at all. Why else would it have staffed the island's medical service so generously? The inhabitants recalled that when they agreed to abolish slavery on the island, they had asked the Court of Directors to send out a doctor specifically to treat their slaves at the hospital. They understood that the Court had granted this. Since then, however, they had learned that the doctors claimed the right to charge for slaves sent to the hospital, just as for any other member of a household. The owners already

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		§the Medical Men conceive they have as much§ §right to charge for our Slaves sent to the§ §Hospital as for any other part of our Families -§ §As we pay the Charge made for our Slaves§ §by the Purveyor of the Hospital, we trust§ §we may not be exposed to any other.§ §Resolved that a Petition to the Council§ §be drawn up and signed by the Inhabitants§ §generally (to be presented by the Church Wardens)§ §praying the Council to take into consideration the§	paid the hospital purveyor's charges for their slaves. They hoped they would not be asked to pay anything more. The vestry agreed that the inhabitants as a whole would draw up and sign a petition to the Council. The churchwardens would present it, asking the Council to consider the question. **Interpretations** The inhabitants revealed a bargain behind the island's abolition measure. In return for agreeing to free children born after Christmas Day 1818, the slave owners had asked the Court to provide a doctor to treat their slaves at the hospital. They saw that doctor as a Company service owed to them. When the doctors began charging fees for slaves as well, the owners took it as a breach of the terms on which they had accepted abolition. Their appeal to the Council rested on that agreement, not on the scale of fees alone. The owners were already paying the hospital purveyor for their slaves' food and keep. A doctor's fee on top of that would make them pay twice for the same stay. The owners did not object to paying for their slaves' care. They objected to the doctors charging for it when the Company was supposed to provide the doctor's time. They drew the line at the purveyor's bill. The inhabitants compared St Helena's doctors with those at the Cape, who needed a licence and drew no salary. St Helena's doctors were Company servants with salaries, yet they charged fees as if in private practice. A doctor could expect payment from his employer or from his patients, but the inhabitants argued that the island's doctors should not have both. Licensing would also have given the government control over who could practise. The inhabitants wanted the island's doctors treated either as salaried officials or as regulated private practitioners, not as a mixture of the two.
478	469	matter at issue respecting Medical Charges and to§ §make their decision thereon either in Council themselves§ §or by reference to the Honorable Court Directors &§ §in the meantime the Inhabitants do not conceive§ §themselves bound by the resolutions of the Vestry§ §Committee§ §(Signed) "D. K. Pritchard§ §Church Warden"§	The petition was to ask the Council to settle the dispute over medical charges, either in Council or by referring it to the Court of Directors. Until a decision was made, the inhabitants did not regard themselves as bound by the vestry committee's resolutions. D. K. Pritchard signed the minute as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The full vestry refused to accept its own committee's decision. The government had insisted since 1820 that committees handle parish business, and the vestry had given its committee wide powers over relief and appointments. On medical fees, the inhabitants openly rejected the committee's work. They did not ask the committee to think again. They went over its head to the Council and, if need be, to the Court of Directors. The committee could act for the vestry only as long as the inhabitants accepted its decisions, and on a matter that reached into every household's purse, they would not.
479	470	List of Families paying Poll Tax for the year§ §1822 at the rate of One Shilling per Head.§ §Parish St. Helena§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Alexander Wm.: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §" Fds. Et.: No. 21, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §" Saml.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Henry: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" Johns Et.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Aleswath Thos.: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Adamson Hugh: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Adams John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Andrews: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Brooke T. H. Esqr.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Barker Richd.: No. 30, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Brabazon Wm.: No. 26, £ 1, s 6, d 0§	The vestry drew up a list of families liable for the poll tax for 1822, at 1s a head. William Alexander, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d Frederick Alexander's estate, 21 heads, £1 1s 0d Samuel Alexander, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Henry Alexander, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d John Alexander's estate, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Thomas Alesworth, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Hugh Adamson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Adams, 1 head, £0 1s 0d [...] Andrews, 1 head, £0 1s 0d T. H. Brooke, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Richard Barker, 30 heads, £1 10s 0d William Brabazon, 26 heads, £1 6s 0d The Reverend R. Boys, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d T. R. Breame, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d

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		§Boys Revd. R.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Breame T. R.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Beale Anthy.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §" Ones.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Bagley John: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §" Richd.: No. 17, £ 0, s 17, d 0§ §" O. W.: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Burnham John: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §" Saml.: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Bazett Clarissa: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Brooke T. B.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Robt.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Bedwell Jon.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Boorman Geo.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Broadway A.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" Henry: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Banks Edw.: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Blenkins Geo.: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Bays John: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Banks Chas.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Blunden Jas.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Burnsides John: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. 329, £ 16, s 9, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. 329, £ 16, s 9, d 0§ §Blake Charles: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Balcombe Cole & Co.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Baker Thos.: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Bennett James: No. 19, £ 0, s 19, d 0§ §Bagley James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Bell Wm.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Bruce Geo.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Buckley James: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Buchannan Jas.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Baldock John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Bobbins: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Baker George: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Boyd Josh.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Cole Josh.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" T. J. B.: No. 36, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §" Henry: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Carrol Wm.: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Chamberlain Wm.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Carr Thos.: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Clements Saml.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Colyer Nathl.: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Chamberlain Susn.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Chippendale Leonard: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Caldwell Danl.: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Clarke James: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Cranfield Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Coates Thos.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Cameron Jas.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Croft John: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Coffey John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Charlton Edwd.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Chamberlain Henry: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Cunningham Lt.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Doveton Sir W. W.: No. 21, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Carrd. forwd.: No. 536, £ 26, s 16, d 0§	Anthony Beale, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d John Bagley, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Richard Bagley, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d Orlando W. Bagley, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d John Burnham, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Samuel Burnham, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d T. B. Brooke, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Robert Brooke, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Jonathan Bidwell, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d George Boorman, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Ann Broadway, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Henry Broadway, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d Edward Banks, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d George Blenkins, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d John Byas, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 1s 0d James Blunden, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Carried up, 329 heads, £16 9s 0d Brought up, 329 heads, £16 9s 0d Charles Blake, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Balcombe, Cole and Company, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Thomas Baker, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d James Bennett, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 0d William Bell, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d George Bruce, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d James Buckley, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d John Buchanan, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Baldock, 1 head, £0 1s 0d [...] Bobbins, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d George Baker, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Joseph Boyd, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Joseph Cole, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d T. J. B. Cole, 36 heads, £1 16s 0d Henry Cole, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d William Carroll, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d William Chamberlain, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Thomas Carr, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Samuel Clements, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Nathaniel Collyer, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Leonard Chippendale, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Daniel Caldwell, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d James Clarke, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Thomas Coates, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d James Cameron, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Croft, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d John Coffey, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Edward Charlton, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Henry Chamberlain, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Lieutenant Cunningham, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Sir W. W. Doveton, 21 heads, £1 1s 0d Carried forward, 536 heads, £26 16s 0d
480	471	Continued§ §Names, No., £, s, d§ §Brot. forwd.: No. 536, £ 26, s 16, d 0§ §De Fountain Eliz.: No. 20, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Des Fountain J.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Johns Est.: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Den Taaffe G.: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Des Fountain Eliz.: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Dove James: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Doolan Edwd.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Dogherty Ann: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Dring John: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Doveton Gab. Est.: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Dunn J. C.: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Darling And.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Doveton John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1822, at 1s a head, continued as follows. Brought forward, 536 heads, £26 16s 0d [...] De Fountain, 20 heads, £1 0s 0d J. De Fountain, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John De Fountain's estate, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d G. Dentaffe, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Elizabeth De Fountain, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d James Dove, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Edward Dowlan, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Ann Dogherty, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d John Dring, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Captain Gabriel Doveton, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d J. C. Dunn, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d Andrew Darling, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d John Doveton, 1 head, £0 1s 0d

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		§Eyre Andw.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Andrew Eyre, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Evans Thos.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Thomas Evans, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§": No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	No name entered, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Everton Wm.: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	William Everton, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Eddleston J.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	J. Eddleston, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Fowler E. J.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	E. J. Fowler, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§" Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	William Fowler, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§" Sarah: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Sarah Fowler, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Franklin James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	James Franklin, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Firmin John: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	John Firmin, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Frazer Thos.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Thomas Frazer, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Greentree Thos. Esqr.: No. 28, £ 1, s 8, d 0§	Thomas Greentree, 28 heads, £1 8s 0d
		§Gurling Eleanor: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§	Eleanor Gurling, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d
		§Griffith Mary: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Mary Griffiths, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Green Thomas Est.: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§	Thomas Green's estate, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d
		§Greenland Edwd.: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Edward Greenland, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Goff Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Thomas Goff, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Green John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Green, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Gordon Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	William Gordon, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Harper Sarah: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	Sarah Harper, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Hodson C. R. G.: No. 26, £ 1, s 6, d 0§	C. R. G. Hodson, 26 heads, £1 6s 0d
		§" Capt. B. Est.: No. 19, £ 0, s 19, d 0§	Captain B. Hodson's estate, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d
		§Hamilton Danl.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Daniel Hamilton, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Honeyman & Hammond John: No. 16, £ 0, s 16, d 0§	John Hammond, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Hayes Ann: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§	Ann Hayes, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d
		§" Jane: No. 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Jane Hayes, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d
		§Carrd. up: No. 832, £ 41, s 12, d 0§	Carried up, 832 heads, £41 12s 0d
		§Brot. up: No. 832, £ 41, s 12, d 0§	Brought up, 832 heads, £41 12s 0d
		§Harris Thomas: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§" Henry: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Henry Harris, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Hampton Adam: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Adam Hampton, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Harper Rodk.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Humble: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	[...] Humble, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Hunter Lieut.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Lieutenant Hunter, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Hagery D.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	D. Hagerty, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Janisch Wm.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	William Janisch, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Jollis W. & R.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	W. and R. Julie, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Isaac Valentia: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Valentia Isaac, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Jacks Joseph: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Joseph Jacks, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Jones Thomas: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	Thomas Jones, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§" David: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	David Jones, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Kinnaird David: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	David Kinnaird, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Knipe R. H.: No. 20, £ 1, s 0, d 0§	R. H. Knipe, 20 heads, £1 0s 0d
		§" J. B.: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	J. B. Knipe, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§" Mary: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Mary Knipe, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§" W. B.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	W. B. Knipe, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§" John: No. 16, £ 0, s 16, d 0§	John Knipe, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d
		§" Henry: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Henry Knipe, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§" T. B.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	T. H. Knipe, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Kennedy W. O.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	W. O. Kennedy, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Kay David: No. 42, £ 2, s 2, d 0§	David Kay, 42 heads, £2 2s 0d
		§" Eleanor: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Eleanor Kay, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Keates Richd.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Richard Keats, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Kennedy Nathl.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Nathaniel Kennedy, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Louvia Gordon: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Gordon Lourie, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Lambe A. Estate: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	A. Lambe's estate, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§" G. V.: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	G. V. Lambe, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§" Tillah: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Tillah Lambe, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Leech Geo. Estate: No. 21, £ 1, s 1, d 0§	George Leech's estate, 21 heads, £1 1s 0d
		§" R. H. Do.: No. 23, £ 1, s 3, d 0§	R. H. Leech's estate, 23 heads, £1 3s 0d
		§Legg John: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§	John Legg, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d
		§Le Breton John: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§	John Le Breton, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d
		§Lester Thomas: No. 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§	Thomas Lester, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d
		§Lowden James: No. 24, £ 1, s 4, d 0§	James Lowden, 24 heads, £1 4s 0d
		§Marrsback Priscilla: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Priscilla Mirabach, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Mason George: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	George Mason, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§" Do. James: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	James Mason, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Carrd. over: No. 1145, £ 57, s 5, d 0§	Carried over, 1,145 heads, £57 5s 0d
481	472	Continued§	The poll tax list for 1822, at 1s a head, continued as follows.
		§Names, No., £, s, d§	
		§Brot. over: No. 1145, £ 57, s 5, d 0§	Brought over, 1,145 heads, £57 5s 0d
		§Mason Jas. Est.: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	James Mason's estate, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§McLaverty Chas.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Charles McLaverty, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Mead Geo.: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	George Mead, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§McDaniel Jos.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Joseph McDaniel, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d

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		§Mulhall Wm.: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	William Mulhall, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§May John: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	John May, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Metcalfe Jas.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	James Metcalfe, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§McRitchie T.: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	T. McRitchie, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Moore Francis: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Francis Moore, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§McQuid Patt.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Patrick McQuade, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§McLean Andw.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Andrew McLean, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Moss Isaac: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Isaac Moss, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Miller Humpy.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Humphrey Miller, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Mead Lieut.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Lieutenant Mead, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§McMahon: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	[...] McMahon, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Noquedeh Eliz.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Elizabeth Noquedeh, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§O'Connor Thos.: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Thomas O'Connor, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§" Danl.: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Daniel O'Connor, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§" Matt.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Matthew O'Connor, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Oswald Chas.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Charles Oswald, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Oakley Geo.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	George Oakley, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Pyle John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Oyle, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Pritchard Sarl.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Sarah Pritchard, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Porteus H. Est.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	H. Porteous's estate, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Pierie Helena: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	Helena Pierie, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Pritchard H. H.: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	H. H. Pritchard, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§" D. K.: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	D. K. Pritchard, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§" Eleanor: No. 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Eleanor Pritchard, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Paine John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Paine, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Pipler Wm.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	William Pipple, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Patterson Geo.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	George Patterson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Parrot James: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	James Parrot, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Price James: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	James Price, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Rolfe James: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	James Rolf, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Rourke Lawrence: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Lawrence Rourke, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Rooks Wm.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	William Rookes, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§" George: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	George Rookes, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§" John: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	John Rookes, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Carrd. up: No. 1341, £ 67, s 1, d 0§	Carried up, 1,341 heads, £67 1s 0d
		§Brot. up: No. 1341, £ 67, s 1, d 0§	Brought up, 1,341 heads, £67 1s 0d
		§Rooks Edward: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Edward Rookes, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Redman Isaac: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Isaac Redman, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Redsdale John: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	John Ridsdale, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Robinson John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Robinson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Ramsay Lieut. Engrs.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Lieutenant Ramsay, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Sampson Chas.: No. 19, £ 0, s 19, d 0§	Charles Sampson, 19 heads, £0 19s 0d
		§Seale Wm. Senr.: No. 31, £ 1, s 11, d 0§	William Seale senior, 31 heads, £1 11s 0d
		§" Wm. Henry: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	William Henry Seale, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§" Francis: No. 17, £ 0, s 17, d 0§	Francis Seale, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d
		§" Archd.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Archibald Seale, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§" Henry: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	Henry Seale, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§" John: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	John Seale, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§" Wm. Junr.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	William Seale junior, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§" Robt. F.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Robert F. Seale, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Smith E. C. Est.: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	E. C. Smith's estate, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§" Wm.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	William Smith, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Solomon Saul: No. 23, £ 1, s 3, d 0§	Saul Solomon, 23 heads, £1 3s 0d
		§" Joseph: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Joseph Solomon, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§" Lewis: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Lewis Solomon, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Statham Robert: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	Robert Statham, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§Shortis J. E.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	J. E. Shortis, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Scott Charles: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Charles Scott, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§" Richd.: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Richard Scott, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Sherrard John: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	John Sherwood, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Sanders Joseph: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Joseph Sanders, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Stevens Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	William Stevens, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Scawell Mrs.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	William Seawell, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Story Thos.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Thomas Story, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Scott John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Scott, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Spender Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	William Spender, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Singleton Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	William Singleton, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Sutherland George: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	George Sutherland, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Stirling James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	James Stirling, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Spratt Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	William Spratt, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Simpson James: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	James Simpson, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Stephens George: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	George Stephens, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Scullard Joseph: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Joseph Scullard, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Smith John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Smith, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Carrd. forwd.: No. 1562, £ 78, s 2, d 0§	Carried forward, 1,562 heads, £78 2s 0d

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482	473	Continued§	The poll tax list for 1822, at 1s a head, ended with the following entries.
		§Names, No., £, s, d§	
		§Brot. forwd.: No. 1562, £ 78, s 2, d 0§	Brought forward, 1,562 heads, £78 2s 0d
		§Sampson Ensign: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Ensign Sampson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§" Cadet: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Cadet Sampson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Seale Robt. Junr.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Robert Seale junior, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Speller: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	[...] Speller, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Tennant James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	James Tennant, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Torbett Richd.: No. 23, £ 1, s 3, d 0§	Richard Torbett, 23 heads, £1 3s 0d
		§" John: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	John Torbett, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Thorn Thomas: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Thomas Thorne, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Tracy Wm.: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	William Tracy, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Truebody James: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	James Truebody, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Thomas Thos.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Thomas Thomas, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Timm Harry: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Harry Timm, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Thomas W.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	W. Thomas, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Vernon B. J.: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	B. J. Vernon, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Unsworth James: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	James Unsworth, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Wright J. A.: No. 17, £ 0, s 17, d 0§	J. A. Wright, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d
		§Carrd. up: No. 1660, £ 83, s 6, d 0§	Carried up, 1,664 heads, £83 4s 0d
		§Brot. up: No. 1660, £ 83, s 6, d 0§	Brought up, 1,664 heads, £83 4s 0d
		§Wright B. A.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	B. A. Wright, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§" Robt.: No. 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	Robert Wright, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Wills Richd.: No. 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§	Richard Wills, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d
		§Weston Charles: No. 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§	Charles Weston, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d
		§Wilkinson John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Wilkinson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Woodward Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	William Woodward, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Weatley John: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	John Wheatley, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Wright Josh.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Joseph Wright, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Ward James: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	James Ward, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Watson Michl.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Michael Watson, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Warren Wm.: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	William Warren, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§Young Amoret: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Amoretta Young, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§" Stephens Est.: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Stephen Young's estate, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§" Richd.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Richard Young, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§" Stephen: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Stephen Young, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§Youde James: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	James Youde, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Total: No. 1741, £ 87, s 1, d 0§	Total, 1,741 heads, £87 1s 0d
		§Names, No., £, s, d§	A second list followed, again with payment notes beside most names.
		§Alexander Mary [...]: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Mary Alexander, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Ashton C. J. [...]: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	C. J. Ashton, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Armstrong Robt. [...]: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Robert Armstrong, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Barnes Mary: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Mary Barnes, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Dray Wm. [...]: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	William Dray, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§De Fountain Chs. [...]: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Charles De Fountain, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§David Susan: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Susan David, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Isaac Alfred [...]: No. 17, £ 0, s 17, d 0§	Alfred Isaac, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d
		§" Ann: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Ann Isaac, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Jonas John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Jonas, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Hayward Charles [...]: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Charles Hayward, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§" Ellis [...]: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Ellis Hayward, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Lashen Lewis: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Lewis Lasher, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Mason Richd. Estate [...]: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Richard Mason's estate, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§" Richd.: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Richard Mason, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§" Benj. [...]: No. 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Benjamin Mason, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
		§" Johns Estate [...]: No. 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	John Mason's estate, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Carrd. up: No. 75, £ 3, s 15, d 0§	Carried up, 75 heads, £3 15s 0d
		§Brot. up: No. 75, £ 3, s 15, d 0§	Brought up, 75 heads, £3 15s 0d
		§Mason Mary [...]: No. 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	Mary Mason, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d
		§Mellis John Senr. [...]: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Millis, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Mellis Senth.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	[...] Millis, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Robinson John: No. 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	John Robinson, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Richards Edmd.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Edmund Richards, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Smith Elizth.: No. 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§	Elizabeth Smith, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d
		§" Daniel: No. 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Daniel Smith, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Stewart Joseph [...]: No. 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	Joseph Stewart, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
		§Thompson Thos. [...]: No. 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§	Thomas Thompson, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d
		§Turner Wm.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	William Turner, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Todd John: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	John Todd, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Thompson Thos.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Thomas Thompson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Wood Thos.: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Thomas Wood, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Worral Sophia [...]: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Sophia Worrall, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Watson Wm. [...]: No. 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	William Watson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Young Ensign: No. 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	Ensign Young, 1 head, £0 1s 0d
		§Total: No. 136, £ 6, s 16, d 0§	Total, 136 heads, £6 16s 0d

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			Interpretations The arrears for 1822 came to £6 16s 0d, about half the £12 4s 0d left unpaid in 1821. Once the police took over collecting arrears, fewer households held back. Several names appeared on both years' lists of defaulters, including Charles De Fountain, Alfred Isaac and the Mason estates. Those few households fell behind year after year, and the police had to pursue them each time.
483	474	Dr. Parish§ §1823.§ §March To Cash paid 11 Months Salary to Clerk of Fish Market§ §37 . 13 . 4§ §Sergt. Croft 9 Months Sexton & Clerk of Country Church§ §22 . 10§ §Printing Notices of Poll Tax§ §10§ §Mr. Bell for a Slave Man executed as per Valuation of Grand Jury§ §22§ §Mr. Weston as per Vouchers for maintenance of Prisoners in Gaol§ §25 . 9 . 3§ §for Repairs to Country Church as per Vouchers§ §25 . 10 . 0§ §Mr. Youd for One Years Salary to 31 Decr. 1822§ §10§ §Do. for 6 pair Hinges & Screws for Country Church§ §1§ §Do. for Washing & mending Surplices§ §7§ §for Collecting Poll Tax 87.10 @ 7½ Pct.§ §6 . 10 . 6§ §Lucy for 11 Months Allowance§ §11 . 11§ §Chambers Allowance for Maintenance of Chesterfield from 1st. May to 15 October§ §5§ §Do. for Maintenance of Fanny from 1 May to 28 Feby.§ §9 . 10§ §Mrs. Stewart Allowance for Self & Children from 8 Augt. to 28 Feby.§ §21 . 10§ §Allowance to Kitty Hamlet during her Illness§ §2 . 2 . 9§ §Allowance to Mrs. Roberts & Children from 8 Augt. to 16 Sept.§ §2 . 17§ §Organists Salary from 1 July to 28 Feby.§ §16 . 13 . 4§ §Mr. Youde for Burial Expences of Chesterfield§ §2§ §Burial Expences of Abrahams Child§ §2§ §Mr. Metcalfe for Coffin for Clara Jones§ §2 . 5§ §E. Fowler for Attendance at Vestrys writing during the Year & making up the Books§ §8§ §Paper & Quills§ §14§ §returned Susan David for Poll Tax & Fee she paying to the Free Black Fund§ §6§ §Balance in hand§ §25 . 7 . 7§ §£260 . 8 . 5§	The parish account for 1822 to 1823 recorded the following spending in March 1823. March 1823, 11 months' salary to the clerk of the fish market, £36 13s 4d March 1823, Sergeant Croft, 9 months as sexton and clerk of the country church, £22 10s 0d March 1823, printing notices of the poll tax, £0 10s 0d March 1823, Mr Bell for a male slave executed, at the grand jury's valuation, £22 0s 0d March 1823, Mr Weston for keeping prisoners in gaol, as vouchers show, £25 9s 3d March 1823, repairs to the country church, as vouchers show, £25 10s 0d March 1823, Mr Youd, 1 year's salary to 31 December 1822, £10 0s 0d March 1823, Mr Youd for 6 pairs of hinges and screws for the country church, £1 0s 0d March 1823, Mr Youd for laundering and mending the surplice, £7 0s 0d March 1823, collecting the poll tax at 7½ per cent on £87 1s 0d, £6 10s 6d March 1823, Lucy's allowance for 11 months, £11 11s 0d March 1823, Chambers's allowance for keeping Chesterfield from 1 May to 15 October 1822, £5 0s 0d March 1823, Chambers's allowance for keeping Fanny from 1 May 1822 to 28 February 1823, £9 10s 0d March 1823, Mrs Stewart's allowance for herself and her children from 8 August 1822 to 28 February 1823, £21 10s 0d March 1823, allowance to Kitty Hamlet during her illness, £2 2s 9d March 1823, allowance to Mrs Roberts and her children from 8 August to 16 September 1822, £2 17s 0d March 1823, organist's salary from 1 July 1822 to 28 February 1823, £16 13s 4d March 1823, Mr Youde for Chesterfield's burial, £2 0s 0d March 1823, burial of Abraham Child, £2 0s 0d March 1823, Mr Metcalfe for a coffin for Clara Jones, £2 5s 0d March 1823, J. Fowler for attending and writing at vestries during the year and writing up the books, £8 0s 0d March 1823, paper and quills, £0 14s 0d March 1823, poll tax refunded to Susan David, who paid instead to the free black fund, £0 [...] March 1823, balance in hand, £25 7s 7d Total, £260 0s 5d **Interpretations** The parish refunded Susan David's poll tax because she was paying into the free black fund instead. The government's scheme of December 1821 had become a working fund. Free blacks who subscribed to it were excused the parish poll tax, since the fund was meant to keep them off parish relief. It would have been unfair to charge them twice. The parish thus gave up a small amount of tax in exchange for no longer being liable for the subscribers' care. Mr Bell received £22 0s 0d for an executed male slave, at a value set by the grand jury. In earlier years

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			the parish had paid fixed sums of £15, £20 or £30 for executed slaves. Valuing each slave separately tied the compensation to the slave's actual worth and away from a set rate. The grand jury already convicted the slave, and now it also set the price the public paid his owner. Chesterfield and Fanny were the two infirm free blacks John Chambers had taken in. Chesterfield's allowance stopped on 15 October 1822, and the parish then paid for his burial. Fanny's continued through February 1823. Kitty Hamlet received only £2 2s 9d, and only during her illness. The parish had stopped her regular allowance of 2s 3d a day. That points to the Leech estate having given the bond the government demanded, which would have moved her keep from the parish to the estate. The organist was again on the parish's books, with £16 13s 4d for eight months, a rate of £25 0s 0d a year. That was half the £50 0s 0d paid in 1817.
484	475	Contra Cr.§ §£§ §1823§ §March By Balance received of J. Cole Esqr. late Church Warden§ §145 . 2 . 0§ §received of A. Beale Esqr. Treasurer of Police Fund on acct. Dog Tax§ §27§ §G. Blenkins Esqr. Amount advanced by Parish to Kitty§ §2 . 2 . 9§ §from Police Office in part of last years Poll Tax uncollected in Mr. Coles Church Wardenship§ §7 . 2§ §Amount of Poll Tax collected as per List§ §87 . 1§ §Memorandum - £6.16.0 Defaulters in§ §this Years Poll Tax to be received§ §in addition to the above & to be§ §accounted for by the Police Fund§ §March 31st. I do hereby acknowledge to have§ §received the above Balance of Twenty five§ §Pounds seven shillings and seven pence from Capt.§ §David K. Pritchard Church Warden with the Parish§ §Books & Church Plate. John Bagley§ §£268 . 8 . 5§	The credit side of the parish account for 1822 to 1823 recorded the following receipts in March 1823. March 1823, balance received from J. Cole, former churchwarden, £145 2s 0d March 1823, from A. Beale, treasurer of the police fund, towards the dog tax, £27 0s 0d March 1823, from G. Blenkins, repaying the sum the parish had advanced to Kitty Hamlet, £2 2s 9d March 1823, from the police office, part of the poll tax left uncollected in Mr Cole's year as churchwarden, £7 2s 0d March 1823, poll tax collected as shown on the list, £87 1s 0d Total, £268 [...] A note recorded that £6 16s 0d of the year's poll tax was still owed by defaulters. That sum would be collected in addition to the receipts above, and the police fund would account for it. On 31 March 1823 John Bagley signed a receipt for the balance of £25 7s 7d from D. K. Pritchard, the churchwarden. He also received the parish books and the church plate. **Interpretations** G. Blenkins repaid the parish £2 2s 9d, the exact sum it had spent on Kitty Hamlet during her illness. He paid as agent for the Leech estate. The government had ordered the estate either to support Kitty or to give the bond, and Blenkins had been both the secretary who issued that order and the agent who had to obey it. The repayment shows that the estate accepted liability. The parish recovered its outlay, and Kitty's keep passed back to the family that had freed her without the required bond. The police office handed over £7 2s 0d of the 1821 arrears, which had stood at £12 4s 0d. Passing collection to the police had worked, though slowly. More than half of the old debt had come in two years late. The rest was still outstanding, and another £6 16s 0d of arrears from 1822 had been added to the police's list.
485	476	Island St. Helena§ §31st. March 1823.§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel in§ §James Valley this day the undermentioned persons§ §were chosen Parish Officers for the ensuing Year§ §Mr. R. W. Barker§ §Mr. Thos. Baker§ §Mr. W. Janisch§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. A. Beale - Church Warden.§ §Mr. William Warren§ §Mr. Michl. Watson§ §Constables§ §Mr. Charles Scott Southern Division§ §Mr. John Desfountain Jr. Western Do.§	On 31 March 1823 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley and chose the parish officers for the coming year. Sheriffs R. W. Barker Thomas Baker W. Janisch Churchwarden A. Beale Constables William Warren Michael Watson Wormers of cattle Charles Scott, northern division John De Fountain junior, western division

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		§Mr. John Robinson Jr. Eastern Do.§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §Resolved that Mr. Wm. Fowler Capt.§ §Francis Seale Mr. Thomas Baker and Mr.§ §William Janisch do succeed the four Senior§ §Members of the Vestry Committee - making§ §the Committee for the present Year as follows§ §Mr. William Carrol§ §Mr. Andrew Eyre§ §Lieut. Col. Hodson§ §Mr. William Fowler§ §Captain Francis Seale§ §Mr. Thomas Baker§ §Mr. William Janisch§ §Resolved that three shillings and sixpence§ §per Head Poll Tax be levied for the ensuing Year§ §and paid at the Vestry Room at the Sessions§ §to be holden on 9th. April next.§ §Approved (Signed) John Bagley Church Warden§	John Robinson junior, eastern division The vestry agreed that William Fowler, Captain Francis Seale, Thomas Baker and William Janisch would replace the four longest-serving members of the vestry committee. The committee for the year was therefore William Carroll, Andrew Eyre, Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, William Fowler, Captain Francis Seale, Thomas Baker and William Janisch. The vestry set the poll tax for the coming year at 3s 6d a head, to be paid in the vestry room at the sessions on 9 April 1823. John Bagley signed as churchwarden, and the minutes were marked as approved. **Interpretations** The vestry raised the poll tax from 1s to 3s 6d a head, a rise of more than threefold in one year. In 1821 and 1822 it had kept the rate low because of large reserves. Those reserves were now gone. The balance handed on had fallen from £145 2s 0d to £25 7s 7d. In the meantime, the committee's grants of relief to Mrs Stewart, Mrs Pipple, Chambers's charges and others had greatly increased spending, and the organist was back on the payroll. The vestry could have raised the rate by stages. It chose instead to set the highest rate in the book at once, enough to cover a year's costs from the tax alone. The free blacks who paid into their own fund were excused, so the burden fell on everyone else.
486	477	20th. May 1823.§ §Upon the application of Mrs. Weager for Relief§ §for herself and two Children, the following Resolution§ §was adopted -§ §"The Committee are of Opinion that Mrs. Weager§ §from her late Illness is an object of distress and§ §therefore determine upon allowing her 8d. per day for§ §the present -§ §(Signed) W. Carrol§ §C. R. G. Hodson§ §W. Fowler§ §Thomas Baker§ §Andw. Eyre§ §W. Janisch"§	On 20 May 1823 Mrs Wager applied for relief for herself and her two children, and the committee agreed the following. It judged that Mrs Wager's recent illness had left her in real need. It therefore decided to pay her 8d a day for the time being. W. Carroll, C. R. G. Hodson, W. Fowler, Thomas Baker, Andrew Eyre and W. Janisch signed the decision. **Interpretations** Maria Wager had paid the poll tax on 7 persons in 1817 and 1819, so she had kept a household that included slaves or servants. By 1823 illness had left her dependent on the parish. Her allowance of 8d a day was the lowest the committee had granted to a family. Mrs Stewart, also with two children, had received 2s a day in 1822. The committee was now working under a poll tax raised to 3s 6d after its reserves ran out. It set new relief at the lowest level it could, and only "for the present".
487	478	List of Families paying Poll Tax for the Year§ §1823 at the rate of Three shillings and six pence per Head§ §Parish St. Helena§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Andrews James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Alexander G. W.: No. of Heads 18, £ 3, s 3, d 0§ §" Fds. Estate: No. of Heads 21, £ 3, s 13, d 6§ §" Samuel: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §" Henry: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §" Johns Estt.: No. of Heads 12, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §" Wm. Junr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Adams John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §" Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Adamson Hugh: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Armstrong Robt.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Baker Thomas: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 19, d 6§ §Brooke Robt.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §" Thos. H.: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 5, d 6§ §Burnham Saml.: No. of Heads 12, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §Bennett James: No. of Heads 19, £ 3, s 6, d 6§ §Bagley John: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 5, d 6§ §" Orlando: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §" Richd.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 16, d 0§ §Boys Richd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Bazett Clarissa: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 18, d 6§ §Blenkins George: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 5, d 6§ §Banks Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	The vestry drew up a list of families liable for the poll tax for 1823, at 3s 6d a head. James Andrews, 1 head, £0 3s 6d G. W. Alexander, 18 heads, £3 3s 0d Frederick Alexander's estate, 21 heads, £3 13s 6d Samuel Alexander, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d Henry Alexander, 15 heads, £2 12s 6d John Alexander's estate, 12 heads, £2 2s 0d William Alexander junior, 1 head, £0 3s 6d John Adams, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Thomas Adams, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Hugh Adamson, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Robert Armstrong, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Thomas Baker, 17 heads, £2 19s 6d Robert Brooke, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Thomas H. Brooke, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d Samuel Burnham, 12 heads, £2 2s 0d James Bennett, 19 heads, £3 6s 6d John Bagley, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d Orlando Bagley, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d Richard Bagley, 16 heads, £2 16s 0d Richard Boys, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 11 heads, £1 18s 6d George Blenkins, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Anthony Beale, 15 heads, £2 12s 6d George Bruce, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d Baker and Company, 1 head, £0 3s 6d

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		§Beale Anthy.: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Bruce George: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Baker & Co.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Bobbins John: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Barker Richd.: No. of Heads 37, £ 6, s 9, d 6§ §Bays John: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §Broadway Henry: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 5, d 6§ §" Ann: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Brabazon Wm.: No. of Heads 27, £ 4, s 14, d 6§ §Blake Charles: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Bell Wm.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. of Heads 340, £ 59, s 10, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. of Heads 340, £ 59, s 10, d 0§ §Burnside John: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Buchannan John: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Boyd Joseph: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Bluman Wm.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Boorman George: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Chamberlain Wm.: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §" Susanna: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Croft John: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Carslan John: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Caldwell Danl.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Cole Henry: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §" T. J. B.: No. of Heads 34, £ 5, s 19, d 0§ §" Joseph: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Coates Thos.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Clarke James: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Carr Thomas: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 16, d 0§ §Cranfield Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Carrol Wm.: No. of Heads 12, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §Colyer Nathl.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Clements Saml.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Chippendale Leonard: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Cameron James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Charlton Edwd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Charlett Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Cunningham Lt.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Des Fountain J. Estt.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §" Elizth.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §" John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §De Fountain John: No. of Heads 20, £ 3, s 10, d 0§ §Den Taaffe G.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Dunn J. C.: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Doveton Sir Wm.: No. of Heads 22, £ 3, s 17, d 0§ §" Gab. Estt.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Den Taaffe Mary: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. of Heads 572, £ 100, s 2, d 0§	John Bobbins, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d Richard Barker, 37 heads, £6 9s 6d John Byas, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d Henry Broadway, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d Ann Broadway, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d William Brabazon, 27 heads, £4 14s 6d Charles Blake, 15 heads, £2 12s 6d William Bell, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d Carried up, 340 heads, £59 10s 0d Brought up, 340 heads, £59 10s 0d John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d John Buchanan, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d Joseph Boyd, 1 head, £0 3s 6d William Blunden, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d George Boorman, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d William Chamberlain, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d John Croft, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d John Carslaw, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Daniel Caldwell, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d Henry Cole, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d T. J. B. Cole, 34 heads, £5 19s 0d Joseph Cole, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d Thomas Coates, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d James Clarke, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Thomas Carr, 16 heads, £2 16s 0d William Cranfield, 1 head, £0 3s 6d William Carroll, 12 heads, £2 2s 0d Nathaniel Collyer, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d Samuel Clements, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Leonard Chippendale, 1 head, £0 3s 6d James Cameron, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Edward Charlton, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d Thomas Charlett, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Lieutenant Cunningham, 1 head, £0 3s 6d J. De Fountain's estate, 10 heads, £1 15s 0d Elizabeth De Fountain, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d John De Fountain, 1 head, £0 3s 6d John De Fountain, 20 heads, £3 10s 0d G. Dentaffe, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d J. C. Dunn, 15 heads, £2 12s 6d Sir William Doveton, 22 heads, £3 17s 0d Gabriel Doveton's estate, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d Mary Dentaffe, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d Carried up, 572 heads, £100 2s 0d
488	479	[Staining along the left edge of the page.] The amount of the Effects of Wm. late§ §Lt. Broadway Deceased, as pr. Auction§ §£92 = 13 = 6§ §The amount of Sert. Broadway Effects§ §Deceased -§ §22 = 13 = 4§ §By Ballance dew on Account of§ §Miss Broadway -§ §7 = 11 = 9§ §£122 = 18 = 7§ §N.B. The Ballance of 18/7 was paid§ §to Mary Broadway -§ §Mem. - The 122.£ is secured by Bond from Govt. & Council§	A separate note recorded the estate of the Broadway family. Effects of the late Lieutenant Broadway, sold at auction, £92 13s 6d Effects of the late Sergeant Broadway, £22 13s 4d Balance owed on Miss Broadway's account, £7 11s 9d Total, £122 18s 7d A note added that the odd balance of 18s 7d had been paid to Mary Broadway. A further memorandum recorded that the £122 0s 0d was secured by a bond from the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The parish held the proceeds of two Broadway estates in trust for the family's heir. Lieutenant Broadway's goods had been sold at auction and Sergeant Broadway's effects added. With a sum owed on Miss Broadway's account, the total came to £122 18s 7d. The parish did not pay this out to her or keep it in its own chest. It placed the round £122 0s 0d with the government on a bond and paid her only the odd shillings and pence. The government bond kept the capital safe and probably earned interest for her. This continued the poor's fund's original role of investing money for the parish's dependants, now

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			with the government as borrower in place of the planters.
489	480	Blank page	
490	481	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. up: No. of Heads 572, £ 100, s 2, d 0§ §Dring John: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Darling Andw.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Doveton Wm.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §" John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Eyre Andw.: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Fowler Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §" Edmund: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Firmin John: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Fordham John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Green John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Gough Thos.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Griffiths Mary: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Gurling Eleanor: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 5, d 6§ §Greentree Thos.: No. of Heads 27, £ 4, s 14, d 6§ §Gordon Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Gentry Thos.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Harper Sarah: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 9, d 0§ §Hayes Jane: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 5, d 6§ §Haynes Ann: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Honeyman John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Hagerty Danl.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Hodson Benj. Estate: No. of Heads 19, £ 3, s 6, d 6§ §" C. R. G.: No. of Heads 26, £ 4, s 11, d 0§ §Harrington Thos.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §Hamilton Danl.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §Hampton Adam: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Hayward Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Hayward Ellis: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §" Ellis Estate: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Hayes Ann: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Jacks Joseph: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Jones Thomas: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Jollis Wm. & Richd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Janisch Wm.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Knipe Wm. Estate: No. of Heads 12, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §" John H.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §" Wm.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §" Henry: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" Mary: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §" R. H.: No. of Heads 21, £ 3, s 13, d 6§ §Kinnaird David: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Kay David: No. of Heads 46, £ 8, s 1, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. of Heads 890, £ 155, s 15, d 0§ §Brot. up: No. of Heads 890, £ 155, s 15, d 0§ §Kay Eleanor: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Kennedy W. O.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Kay John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Leech Richd. Estate: No. of Heads 21, £ 3, s 13, d 6§ §" George Do.: No. of Heads 18, £ 3, s 3, d 0§ §" Robt. Do.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Lambe Aaron Do.: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §" George: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §" Tillah: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Lowden James: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 19, d 6§ §Lester Thos. Estate: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Le Breton John: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 16, d 0§ §Legg John: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 9, d 0§ §Lashen Lewis: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Lane Jeremiah: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Mead George: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §Metcalfe James: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §McDaniel Joseph: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §McRitchie Thomas: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Mason Richd. Est.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §" Richd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §" Benj. Junr. Est.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Mulhall Wm.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §McLaverty Chas.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §May John: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§	The poll tax list for 1823, at 3s 6d a head, continued as follows. Brought up, 572 heads, £100 2s 0d John Dring, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d Andrew Darling, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d William Doveton, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d John Doveton, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Andrew Eyre, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Edmund Fowler, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d John Firmin, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d John Foxham, 1 head, £0 3s 6d John Green, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Thomas Gough, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Mary Griffiths, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d Eleanor Gurling, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d Thomas Greentree, 27 heads, £4 14s 6d William Gordon, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Thomas Gentry, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Sarah Harper, 14 heads, £2 9s 0d Jane Hayes, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d Ann Haynes, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Daniel Hagerty, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d Benjamin Hodson's estate, 19 heads, £3 6s 6d C. R. G. Hodson, 26 heads, £4 11s 0d Thomas Harrington, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d Daniel Hamilton, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d Adam Hampton, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Charles Hayward, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Ellis Hayward, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Ellis Hayward's estate, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d Ann Hayes, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d Joseph Jacks, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d Thomas Jones, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d William and Richard Julie, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d William Janisch, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d William Knipe's estate, 12 heads, £2 2s 0d John B. Knipe, 10 heads, £1 15s 0d William Knipe, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d Henry Knipe, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Mary Knipe, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d R. H. Knipe, 21 heads, £3 13s 6d David Kinnaird, 1 head, £0 3s 6d David Kay, 46 heads, £8 1s 0d Carried up, 890 heads, £155 15s 0d Brought up, 890 heads, £155 15s 0d Eleanor Kay, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d W. O. Kennedy, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d John Kay, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Richard Leech's estate, 21 heads, £3 13s 6d George Leech's estate, 18 heads, £3 3s 0d Robert Leech's estate, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d Aaron Lambe's estate, 15 heads, £2 12s 6d George Lambe, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d Tillah Lambe, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d James Lowden, 17 heads, £2 19s 6d Thomas Lester's estate, 10 heads, £1 15s 0d John Le Breton, 16 heads, £2 16s 0d John Legg, 14 heads, £2 9s 0d Lewis Lasher, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Jeremiah Lane, 1 head, £0 3s 6d George Mead, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d James Metcalfe, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Joseph McDaniel, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d Thomas McRitchie, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d Richard Mason's estate, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d Richard Mason, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d Benjamin Mason, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d William Mulhall, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d Charles McLaverty, 1 head, £0 3s 6d John May, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d

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		§Moss Isaac: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Isaac Moss, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Miller Humphrey: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Humphrey Miller, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Markwick Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Charles Markwick, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Moore Frances: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Francis Moore, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§McMahon Danl.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Daniel McMahon, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Marrsback Priss.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	Priscilla Mirabach, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Noquedah Elizabeth: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Elizabeth Noquedeh, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§McRitchie D. W.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	D. W. McRitchie, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Oliver Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	William Oliver, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§O'Connor Daniel: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§	Daniel O'Connor, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d
		§" Thos.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 18, d 6§	Thomas O'Connor, 11 heads, £1 18s 6d
		§" Matthew: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	Matthew O'Connor, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Pyle John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	John Oyle, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Pritchard Eleanor: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 12, d 6§	Eleanor Pritchard, 15 heads, £2 12s 6d
		§" D. K.: No. of Heads 12, £ 2, s 2, d 0§	D. K. Pritchard, 12 heads, £2 2s 0d
		§" Sarah: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	Sarah Pritchard, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Carrd. over: No. of Heads 1156, £ 202, s 6, d 0§	Carried over, 1,156 heads, £202 6s 0d
491	482	Continued§	The poll tax list for 1823, at 3s 6d a head, ended
		§Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§	with the following entries.
		§Brot. up: No. of Heads 1156, £ 202, s 6, d 0§	Brought up, 1,156 heads, £202 6s 0d
		§Pritchard H. H.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 15, d 0§	H. H. Pritchard, 10 heads, £1 15s 0d
		§Paterson George: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	George Patterson, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Porteus Hy. Estate: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§	H. Porteous's estate, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d
		§Patterson Charles: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Charles Patterson, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Price James: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	James Price, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Parrot James: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§	James Parrot, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d
		§Rolfe James: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 5, d 6§	James Rolf, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d
		§Robinson John: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 9, d 0§	John Robinson, 14 heads, £2 9s 0d
		§Redman Isaac: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Isaac Redman, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Redsdale Wm.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§	William Ridsdale, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d
		§Rooks Edwd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Edward Rookes, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Seale Wm. Junr.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§	William Seale junior, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d
		§" Hy. F.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§	H. F. Seale, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d
		§" Archd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	Archibald Seale, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§" Wm. H.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§	William H. Seale, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d
		§" Francis: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 19, d 6§	Francis Seale, 17 heads, £2 19s 6d
		§Smith Ann: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 5, d 6§	Ann Smith, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d
		§" Wm.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	William Smith, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Statham Robt.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§	Robert Statham, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d
		§Simpson James: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	James Simpson, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Scott Richd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§	Richard Scott, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d
		§" John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	John Scott, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§" Chas. Est.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§	Charles Scott's estate, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d
		§Sampson Chas.: No. of Heads 20, £ 3, s 10, d 0§	Charles Sampson, 20 heads, £3 10s 0d
		§Sanders Joseph: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Joseph Sanders, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Solomon Saul: No. of Heads 25, £ 4, s 7, d 6§	Saul Solomon, 25 heads, £4 7s 6d
		§" Lewis: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§	Lewis Solomon, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d
		§" Joseph: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§	Joseph Solomon, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d
		§Scawell Mary: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§	Mary Seawell, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d
		§Shortis J. E.: No. of Heads 12, £ 2, s 2, d 0§	J. E. Shortis, 12 heads, £2 2s 0d
		§Sutherland George: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§	George Sutherland, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d
		§Sherrard John: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	John Sherwood, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Seale Robt. Jr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Robert Seale junior, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Stephens George: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	George Stephens, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Carrd. up: No. of Heads 1398, £ 242, s 10, d 0§	Carried up, 1,398 heads, £242 10s 0d
		§Brot. up: No. of Heads 1398, £ 243, s 10, d 0§	Brought up, 1,398 heads, £242 10s 0d
		§Spratt Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	William Spratt, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Scullard Joseph: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	Joseph Scullard, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d
		§Smith Richard: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Richard Smith, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Speller P. B.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	P. B. Speller, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Solomon Benj.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Benjamin Solomon, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Singleton Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	William Singleton, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Sampson John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	John Sampson, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Sampson Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	William Sampson, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Scott Richd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Richard Scott, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Torbett Richd.: No. of Heads 25, £ 4, s 7, d 6§	Richard Torbett, 25 heads, £4 7s 6d
		§Torbett J. W.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 18, d 6§	J. W. Torbett, 11 heads, £1 18s 6d
		§Thompson Thos.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§	Thomas Thompson, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d
		§Truebody James: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§	James Truebody, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d
		§Thomas Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	William Thomas, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Thomas Thos.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§	Thomas Thomas, 1 head, £0 3s 6d
		§Thom Thos.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§	Thomas Thorne, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d
		§Vernon B. J.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§	B. J. Vernon, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d
		§Wright J. A.: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 12, d 6§	J. A. Wright, 15 heads, £2 12s 6d
		§Wright Robt.: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 19, d 6§	Robert Wright, 17 heads, £2 19s 6d

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		§Wills Richd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Weston Richd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Watley Joseph: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Wolson George: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Weston Charles: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 9, d 0§ §Ward S. P. Estate: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Wright Joseph: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Warren Wm.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Woodward Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Youd James: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 18, d 6§ §Young Stephen: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" Amoret: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §" St. Estate: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §" Richd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 1589, £ 277, s 16, d 6§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Alexander Mary: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Adams Elizth.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Carrd. up: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Brot. up: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Ashton C. J.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Aleworth Thos. Estate: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Burnham John: No. of Heads 13, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Carrd. up: No. of Heads 27, £ 4, s 14, d 6§	Richard Wills, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d Richard Weston, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d Joseph Wheatley, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d George Watson, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Charles Weston, 14 heads, £2 9s 0d S. P. Ward's estate, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Joseph Wright, 1 head, £0 3s 6d William Warren, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d William Woodward, 1 head, £0 3s 6d James Youd, 11 heads, £1 18s 6d Stephen Young, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Amoretta Young, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d Stephen Young's estate, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d Richard Young, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Total, 1,559 heads, £277 16s 6d A list of defaulters followed. Mary Alexander, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Elizabeth Adams, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d Carried up, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d Brought up, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d C. J. Ashton, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d Thomas Alesworth's estate, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d John Burnham, 13 heads, £2 5s 6d Carried up, 27 heads, £4 14s 6d **Interpretations** At 3s 6d a head, the 1823 roll raised £277 16s 6d, more than three times the £87 1s 0d of 1822 and the largest yield in the book. The number of heads assessed fell from 1,741 to about 1,559. Part of the drop came from free blacks paying into their own fund rather than the poll tax. Some may also have come from householders declaring fewer heads now that each one cost three and a half times as much. The parish chose a single steep rise and accepted a smaller base as the price of a much larger total.
492	483	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. up: No. of Heads 27, £ 4, s 14, d 6§ §Buckley James p: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Bagley James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Banks Edwd. p: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Beale Ones. p: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 9, d 0§ §Blunden James p: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Bedwell Jonathan p: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Baker George: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Chamberlain Henry: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Des Fountain Chas.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 8, d 0§ §Dray Wm.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Evans Thos. p: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Errington James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Everton Wm. p: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Eddleston J. p: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Fowler Sarah: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Franklin James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Gordon Thos. p: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Green Sabina: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Greenland Edwd. p: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Harper Rod. p: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Hayes Thos. Est.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Harris Henry: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Harris Thos. p: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Isaac Alfred: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 19, d 6§ §" Valentia: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §" Ann: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §Knipe John Senr.: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 12, d 6§ §Louvier Gordon pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Mellis Ann p: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §" John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §" George p: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Mason J. H. B. pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §" John p: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 10, d 6§ §Carrd. up: No. of Heads 181, £ 31, s 13, d 6§ §Brot. up: No. of Heads 181, £ 31, s 13, d 6§ §Mason William p: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §McLean Andw.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 7, d 0§	The list of poll tax defaulters for 1823 continued as follows. A mark beside many of the names probably showed that they had since paid. Brought up, 27 heads, £4 14s 6d James Buckley, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Edward Banks, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 14 heads, £2 9s 0d James Blunden, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d Jonathan Bidwell, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d George Baker, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Henry Chamberlain, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d Charles De Fountain, 8 heads, £1 8s 0d William Dray, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d Thomas Evans, 4 heads, £0 14s 0d James Errington, 1 head, £0 3s 6d William Everton, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d J. Eddleston, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Sarah Fowler, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d James Franklin, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Thomas Gordon, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Sabina Green, 10 heads, £1 15s 0d Edward Greenland, 9 heads, £1 11s 6d Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Thomas Hayes's estate, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Henry Harris, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Alfred Isaac, 17 heads, £2 19s 6d Valentia Isaac, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Ann Isaac, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d John Knipe senior, 15 heads, £2 12s 6d Gordon Lourie, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Ann Millis, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d John Millis, 1 head, £0 3s 6d George Millis, 1 head, £0 3s 6d J. B. Mason, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d John Mason, 3 heads, £0 10s 6d Carried up, 181 heads, £31 13s 6d Brought up, 181 heads, £31 13s 6d William Mason, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d

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		§Mead Lieut. p: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Newton John Estate: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Pain John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Pipler Wm. p: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Robinson Samuel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Rich Frances: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Rooke John Estate: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Rourke Lawrence p: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Rita Peter: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 11, d 6§ §Roberts Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Ramsay James pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Seale Wm. Senr.: No. of Heads 33, £ 5, s 15, d 6§ §" Robt. F.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 4, d 6§ §" John: No. of Heads 6, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Smith Mary p: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Stephens Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Stirling James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Spender Wm. pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Smith Thos.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Tracy Wm.: No. of Heads 18, £ 3, s 3, d 0§ §Todd John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Wright B. A.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Worral Sarah: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 17, d 6§ §Wood James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Young A. A. p: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 6§ §Total: No. of Heads 301, £ 52, s 13, d 6§	Andrew McLean, 2 heads, £0 7s 0d Lieutenant Mead, 1 head, £0 3s 6d John Newton's estate, 1 head, £0 3s 6d John Paine, 1 head, £0 3s 6d William Pipple, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Francis Rich, 1 head, £0 3s 6d John Rookes's estate, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d Lawrence Rourke, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d Peter [...], 9 heads, £1 11s 6d William Roberts, 1 head, £0 3s 6d James Ramsay, 1 head, £0 3s 6d William Seale senior, 33 heads, £5 15s 6d Robert F. Seale, 7 heads, £1 4s 6d John Seale, 6 heads, £1 1s 0d Mary Smith, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d William Stephens, 1 head, £0 3s 6d James Stirling, 1 head, £0 3s 6d William Spender, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Thomas Smith, 1 head, £0 3s 6d William Tracy, [...] heads, £3 [...] John Todd, 1 head, £0 3s 6d B. A. Wright, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Sarah Worrall, 5 heads, £0 17s 6d James Wood, 1 head, £0 3s 6d A. A. Young, 1 head, £0 3s 6d Total, 301 heads, £52 13s 6d **Interpretations** Arrears for 1823 reached £52 13s 6d on 301 heads, nearly eight times the £6 16s 0d left unpaid in 1822. Raising the rate to 3s 6d had sharply increased the number of households that did not pay on time. Among the defaulters were large landholders such as William Seale senior, with 33 heads, and Alfred Isaac, with 17, as well as poor households. The steep rise raised the tax's yield on paper but left about a sixth of it to be chased by the police.
493	484	Dr. Parish§ §1824§ §April To paid Clerk Fish Market 13 Months Salary to 31 March§ §43 . 6 . 8§ §Clerk and Sexton Country Church 13 Months Salary to Do.§ §37 . 10§ §Do. washing & mending Surplices for two Years§ §6§ §Printing Notices of Poll Tax§ §10 . 6§ §Lieut. Bennett for a Slave Man executed as per Valuation Grand Jury§ §34 . 14§ §Mr. Weston as per Vouchers for maintenance of Prisoners in Gaol§ §2 . 9 . 3§ §Repairs to Country Church as per Vouchers§ §12 . 12 . 2§ §Mr. Youd for 13 Months Salary to Do.§ §12 . 10§ §Do. for Washing Surplices to Do.§ §8 . 15§ §for collecting Poll Tax £277. 16. 6 at 5 Pr. Cent§ §13 . 17 . 9§ §Lucy 12 Months Allowance to 29th. Feby. the time of her decease§ §12 . 12§ §Chambers 13 Months Allowance for support of Fanny§ §13§ §Mrs. Stewart allowance for Self & Children for 13 Months to 1st. April§ §39 . 14§ §Mrs. Weager allowance of Loaf Bread per day from 21 May to 31 March§ §8 . 14§	The parish account for 1823 to 1824 recorded the following spending in April 1824. April 1824, clerk of the fish market, 13 months' salary to 31 March, £43 6s 8d April 1824, clerk and sexton of the country church, 15 months' salary to 31 March, £37 10s 0d April 1824, clerk and sexton of the country church for laundering and mending the surplices for 2 years, £6 0s 0d April 1824, printing notices of the poll tax, £0 10s 6d April 1824, Lieutenant Bennett for a male slave executed, at the grand jury's valuation, £34 14s 0d April 1824, Mr Weston for keeping prisoners in gaol, as vouchers show, £2 9s 3d April 1824, repairs to the country church, as vouchers show, £12 12s 2d April 1824, Mr Youd, 15 months' salary to 31 March, £12 10s 0d April 1824, Mr Youd for laundering the surplices to 31 March, £8 15s 0d April 1824, collecting the poll tax at 5 per cent on £277 16s 6d, £13 17s 9d April 1824, Lucy's allowance for 12 months to 29 February, the date of her death, £12 12s 0d April 1824, Chambers, 13 months' allowance for keeping Fanny, £13 0s 0d April 1824, Mrs Stewart's allowance for herself and her children for 13 months to 1 April, £39 14s 0d April 1824, Mrs Wager's daily allowance of a loaf of bread from 21 May to 31 March, £8 14s 0d April 1824, organist's salary for 13 months to 31 March, £27 1s 8d April 1824, loss on the cut in the value of coin, on £277 14s 0d then held in cash, £10 2s 9d April 1824, a coffin for Phillis Nanne, £0 15s 0d

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		§Organists Salary for 13 Months to Do.§ §27 . 1 . 8§ §Loss on value of Coins on the deduction made on £77. 14. 0 the Cash at that time on hand§ §10 . 2 . 9§ §paid for a Coffin for Philis Nanne§ §15§ §for two Coffins for Lucy & Antonia§ §3 . 3§ §Expences of Interment of Do.§ §2 . 0§ §Stores for Brooms Mops &c. &c. Country Church§ §1 . 8§ §Stores for 8 Deals for Burial Grounds &c.§ §2 . 12§ §for six pieces Chalon to Mrs. Weager§ §1 . 4 . 8§ §George & Coates collecting the names of Free Blacks in Town & Country§ §3§ §E. Fowler for attendance at Vestrys writing during the Year and making up the Books§ §6§ §for Paper and Quills§ §13 . 6§ §Mr. Youds Bill for Man repairing the Walls of the Burial Grounds§ §3 . 5§ §paid Saml. Rure for temporary relief§ §10§ §paid Mr. Youd for interment of [...]§ §15§ §Balance in hand§ §22 . 1 . 8§ §£331 . 7§	April 1824, 2 coffins for Lucy and Antonia, £3 3s 0d April 1824, burial of Lucy and Antonia, £2 0s 0d April 1824, the stores for brooms, mops and other items for the country church, £1 0s 0d April 1824, the stores for 8 deal planks for the burial grounds, £2 12s 0d April 1824, 6 pieces of shalloon for Mrs Wager, £1 4s 8d April 1824, George and Coates for collecting the names of free blacks in town and country, £3 0s 0d April 1824, E. Fowler for attending and writing at vestries during the year and writing up the books, £6 0s 0d April 1824, paper and quills, £0 13s 6d April 1824, Mr Youd's bill for a man repairing the walls of the burial ground, £3 5s 0d April 1824, Sarah Rinne for temporary relief, £0 10s 0d April 1824, Mr Youd for a burial, £0 15s 0d April 1824, balance in hand, £22 1s 8d Total, £331 0s 7d **Interpretations** The parish lost £10 2s 9d when the official value of the coin in circulation was cut. It held £277 14s 0d in cash, almost the whole of the year's poll tax, at the moment the cut took effect. Coins worth a set amount in sterling the day before were now worth less, and the parish bore the difference. St Helena relied on coin brought in by passing ships, much of it foreign, and the government fixed what each piece was worth on the island. Any change to those rates could take a share of private savings and public funds overnight. Holding the year's tax in cash rather than lending it on bond left the parish exposed. The collector's charge fell from 7½ per cent to 5 per cent. On £277 16s 6d, the old rate would have cost about £20 16s 0d, so the cut saved the parish about £7 on the year. Once the tax had risen to 3s 6d, the yield was large enough to justify a lower commission. Lieutenant Bennett received £34 14s 0d for an executed slave, at the grand jury's valuation. That was well above the £22 0s 0d paid to Mr Bell in 1823. Valuing each slave separately produced widely different payments, which tracked each owner's loss more closely than the old fixed rates. Shalloon was a light, closely woven woollen cloth used for linings and plain dresses. The six pieces bought for Mrs Wager were probably to clothe her children. Her allowance had taken the form of a daily loaf of bread rather than cash. The committee was relieving her in kind, giving bread and cloth instead of money she might spend as she chose. Lucy, the parish's longest-standing pensioner, died on 29 February 1824. She had received an allowance from at least 1820, rising from 20s to 21s a month.
494	485	Contra Cr.§ §1824§ §April By Balance received of Capt. Pritchard late Church warden§ §25 . 7 . 7§ §received of A. Beale Esqr. 5 Jany. 1824 on account of Dog Tax £27. 10. 0 at 5/ the Dollar at the present Currency§ §24 . 19 . 6§ §received from the Police Office part of remaining Poll Tax due on former year§ §7 . 17§ §Amount Poll Tax collected this year as per List§ §272 . 16 . 6§ §£331 . 7§	The credit side of the parish account for 1823 to 1824 recorded the following receipts in April 1824. April 1824, balance received from Captain Pritchard, former churchwarden, £25 7s 7d 5 January 1824, from A. Beale towards the dog tax, £27 10s 0d, valued at 5s to the dollar in the present currency, £24 19s 6d April 1824, from the police office, part of the poll tax still owed from the previous year, £7 17s 0d April 1824, poll tax collected this year as shown on the list, £272 16s 6d Total, £331 0s 7d **Interpretations** The dog tax entry shows how the change in currency worked. A. Beale paid £27 10s 0d, but at the new rate of 5s to the dollar the parish credited only £24 19s 6d. The dollar had passed at a higher value

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			before the change, probably about 5s 6d. The same coins now counted for less in sterling. This was the cut that cost the parish £10 2s 9d on its cash in hand. The Spanish dollar was the main coin on St Helena. Lowering its official sterling value brought the island's money closer to its value in England. Anyone holding dollars when the rate changed took the loss.
495	486	Island St. Helena§ §19th. April 1824§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel in James's§ §Valley this day the undermentioned persons were chosen§ §Parish Officers for the present Year§ §Mr. Wm. Janisch§ §Mr. R. H. Knipe§ §Mr. Thos. Baker§ §Sheriffs§ §Capt. Chas. Sampson. Church Warden.§ §Mr. James Lowden§ §Mr. Thomas Jones§ §Constables§ §Mr. Saml. Alexander East Division§ §Mr. Henry Knipe West Do.§ §Mr. Wm. Alexander Junr. South Do.§ §Wormers of Cattle§ §Resolved that Mr. Thomas O'Connor, Mr. Joseph§ §Cole Lieut. James Bennett and Lieut. Danl. O'Connor§ §do succeed the four senior Members of the Vestry§ §Committee, making the Committee for the present§ §Year as follows.§ §Captain Francis Seale§ §Mr. Thomas Baker§ §Mr. Wm. Janisch§ §Mr. Thos. O'Connor§ §Mr. Joseph Cole§ §Lieut. James Bennett§ §Lieut. Danl. O'Connor§ §Resolved that three shillings per Head Poll Tax§ §be levied for the ensuing Year and that the same§ §be paid at the Vestry room at the ensuing Sessions.§ §There appearing a very great charge for washing§	On 19 April 1824 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley and chose the parish officers for the year. Sheriffs William Janisch R. H. Knipe Thomas Baker Churchwarden Captain Charles Sampson Constables James Lowden Thomas Jones Wormers of cattle Samuel Alexander, eastern division Henry Knipe, western division William Alexander junior, southern division The vestry agreed that Thomas O'Connor, Joseph Cole, Lieutenant James Bennett and Lieutenant Daniel O'Connor would replace the four longest-serving members of the vestry committee. The committee for the year was therefore Captain Francis Seale, Thomas Baker, William Janisch, Thomas O'Connor, Joseph Cole, Lieutenant James Bennett and Lieutenant Daniel O'Connor. The vestry set the poll tax for the coming year at 3s a head, to be paid in the vestry room at the next sessions. It also noted that the charge for laundering appeared very high. **Interpretations** The vestry cut the poll tax from 3s 6d to 3s, even though the churchwardens had handed on only £22 1s 8d. A year earlier, a similar low balance had led the vestry to triple the rate. This time it lowered the rate. At 3s 6d, arrears had risen to £52 13s 6d, and large landholders such as William Seale senior were among the defaulters. The vestry gave up 6d a head in the hope of getting more households to pay in full and on time. The vestry's concern about laundering pointed to a doubling of costs in the 1823 to 1824 account. The parish had paid £6 0s 0d to the country church clerk for two years' laundering and another £8 15s 0d to Mr Youd for laundering the surplices. Two men were being paid for the same service on the same small set of linen. With money tight and the rate just cut, the vestry looked first at charges like this one, which offered a saving without touching relief to the poor.
496	487	the Town Surplices independant of those in the Country§ §Church, the Parishioners are of opinion that the charge§ §is not only too great, but that the principle of the§ §Parish paying for expences incurred by the Honorable§ §Companys Chaplains performing their duty in a Church§ §solely the Property of the Honorable Company is§ §wrong. And therefore resolve to submit it for the§ §consideration of the Governor and Council -§ §The Vestry beg the Church Wardens to admonish§ §the Organist Wm. Pierie for the impropriety of his§ §Conduct in being drunk during the performance of§ §his official duty -§	The vestry noted that the parish paid a very large sum to launder the surplices of the town church, quite apart from those of the country church. The parishioners thought the charge too high. They also objected to the principle behind it. In their view the parish should not pay the costs of the Company's chaplains doing their duty in a church that belonged entirely to the Company. The vestry agreed to put the question to the Governor and Council. The vestry also asked the churchwardens to reprimand the organist, William Pierie, for being drunk while carrying out his duties. **Interpretations** The two laundry charges in the 1823 to 1824 account covered different churches: Mr Youd washed the town church surplices and the country church clerk washed his own church's. The earlier comment that two men were paid for the same linen was therefore wrong. The vestry's real objection was about who should pay. The town church belonged to

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			the Company, and the chaplains were Company servants. The vestry argued that the cost of their vestments while performing a Company service in a Company building was not a parish charge. It had made the same argument about the town sexton in January 1820. In both cases, the vestry pressed the Company to bear the costs of its own church instead of passing them to the poll tax payers. The vestry chose to have the organist reprimanded rather than dismissed. William Pierie belonged to a family that paid the poll tax on 11 to 22 heads, so he had standing in the parish. The organist's post had only recently been restored to the parish account at £25 0s 0d a year. A warning kept the post filled while making it clear that drunkenness during services would not be tolerated.
497	488	[An ink stain at the foot of the list, below the last entry.] 19th. April 1824§ §List of Persons chosen this day by the Vestry§ §Committee to serve as Constables in rotation§ §Thomas Jones 1824§ §James Lowdon§ §Thomas Coates§ §Saml. Clements 1824§ §Willm. Tracy§ §James Truebody 1823.§ §James J. Eddleston§ §John Le Breton§ §Benjamin Solomon 1825§ §Thomas Carr§ §Joseph Scullard 1826§ §James Parrot§ §Isaac Moss 1825§ §Edwd. Greenland§ §Adam Hampton 1826§ §James Patterson§ §H. Storey 1829.§ §J. Scott - 1829.§ §Caringcross 1830§ §Redsdale 1830§	On 19 April 1824 the vestry committee chose the following men to serve as constables in turn. Later clerks added the year in which each served. Thomas Jones, 1824 James Lowden, no year entered Thomas Coates, no year entered Samuel Clements, 1824 William Tracy, no year entered James Truebody, 1823 James J. Eddleston, no year entered John Le Breton, no year entered Benjamin Solomon, 1825 Thomas Carr, no year entered Joseph Scullard, 1826 James Parrot, no year entered Isaac Moss, 1825 Edward Greenland, no year entered Adam Hampton, 1826 James Patterson, no year entered H. Storey, 1829 J. Scott, 1829 [...], 1830 Ridsdale, 1830 **Interpretations** The constables' rota was now drawn up by the vestry committee rather than the full vestry. The list of 4 April 1819 had been approved by the vestry as a whole. Since then the government had insisted that appointments go through a committee, and the vestry had adopted that rule. The names were almost all small householders charged for 1 to 9 heads on the poll tax rolls, such as Thomas Coates, Samuel Clements and Isaac Moss. The landholders on the committee picked the men who would carry out the enforcement work. As in 1819, constable duty fell on the lesser householders.
498	489	[An ink stain in the middle of the page, above the paragraph beginning "Of the two modes".] To Anthy. Beale Esqr. and Capt. C. Sampson§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §In consequence of a Presentment from the§ §Grand Jury at the last General Quarterly Sessions, a§ §Committee of Survey has been held on the state of the§ §Streets in James Town, and another upon the Roads§ §throughout the Country - The reports of both these§ §Committees are herewith enclosed for the purpose of§ §being laid before the Vestry -§ §With regard to the Streets it is but fair that the§ §Inhabitants themselves should bear a portion not only§ §of the expence of repairing them, but likewise participate§ §in the management of the labor so employed -§ §On the part of the Honble. Company the Governor and Council are§	The government wrote to the churchwardens, Anthony Beale and Captain C. Sampson, about the island's streets and roads. The grand jury had raised the matter at the last general quarter sessions. As a result, one survey committee had examined the streets of Jamestown and another the roads across the country districts. The government enclosed both committees' reports for the vestry to consider. The government thought it only fair that the inhabitants should pay part of the cost of repairing the town's streets. They should also take part in managing the labour used on the work. The Governor and Council were ready to pay half the cost on the Company's behalf. They recommended that two respected residents of Jamestown be elected as inspectors of streets. The inspectors would oversee whatever improvements and repairs were agreed once the Governor and Council knew the vestry's views. The survey committee had proposed two ways of repairing the streets, and the vestry was to decide which was more practical. The government reminded the vestry that the island had no good paving stone,

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		§ready to defray half the expence on this account, & it§ §is recommended that two respectable persons residents in§ §James Town should be elected as Inspectors of Streets§ §to superintend such improvements and repairs as shall§ §be determined on after the Governor and Council shall§ §be informed of the sentiments of Vestry upon this§ §subject -§ §Of the two modes of repairing the Streets§ §proposed by the Committee, the Vestry should consider§ §which is the most expedient to adopt - It should§ §be borne in mind however that we have no good§ §paving Stones on the Island & that therefore it is§ §impossible to have a well paved Street§ §It will also be for the consideration of the§ §Vestry in what manner a Tax should be levied for§	so a well-paved street was out of the question. The vestry would also need to decide how to raise a tax for the work. **Interpretations** The government offered to pay half the cost of the streets on condition that the inhabitants paid the rest and helped run the work. It could have repaired the streets itself as public works, or left them entirely to the parish. Splitting the cost gave the townspeople a stake in keeping expenses down. The inspectors were to be elected from among the residents and supervise the labour. This meant the money the inhabitants raised would be spent under their own eyes, which made a new tax easier to accept. The grand jury's presentment started the process. The grand jury had already raised the fishing boat sails in 1820. It had become the way inhabitants brought public grievances before the government through the courts. The government had rebuked it for going to the justices in 1820. On the streets, however, it acted on the presentment, and it sent the matter to the vestry, the body that could raise the money.
499	490	[An ink stain over the word "district" in the paragraph recommending a Committee.] covering the Expences, and it might be well likewise to§ §to consider by what means the Town could be lighted at§ §Night which would not only be a great security against§ §riotous and mischievous behaviour, but would also add§ §to the comforts of the Inhabitants in Town.§ §The next point to which the Governor and Council§ §have to draw the attention of the Vestry is the state§ §of the Roads - The Surveyor is now employed in§ §giving them a thorough repair as fast as the means in§ §his power will admit, but in this case also, as well§ §as what respects the improvements of the Streets, the§ §Inhabitants themselves should take some trouble - It§ §is true they pay a Commutation for furnishing Overseers§ §of Highways, but assuredly Gentlemen in their frequent§ §rides might observe the conduct of both the laborers§ §and overseers, who require a more frequent supervision§ §than it is possible for the Surveyor to bestow; & might§ §make such remarks on the spot in passing as might§ §check Idleness - The Country Gentlemen also might notice§ §to the Surveyor the road as it begins to decay or require§ §repair, which would enable him to apply his attention§ §to it before it was entirely ruined & rendered almost§ §irreparable -§ §It is recommended that a Committee be elected§ §in each [...] consisting of three of the principal§ §Landholders or Farmers whose duty should be to inspect§ §the Roads occasionally and to make the reports & enquiries§ §above suggested -§ §There are some injuries which the Roads have§ §received from Furze and Blackberries being allowed to§ §overrun them It would be proper that the Proprietors§ §and Farmers should remedy this themselves, by preventing§ §the encroachments of those Plants on the Highway.§	The vestry would need to decide how to raise a tax to cover the cost of the streets. The government also suggested it consider how the town might be lit at night. Lighting would help guard against rowdy and disorderly behaviour, and it would make the town more pleasant for its residents. The Governor and Council then turned to the state of the roads. The surveyor was repairing them thoroughly as fast as his resources allowed. Here too, as with the streets, the government thought the inhabitants should take some trouble themselves. They did pay a money charge in place of supplying highway overseers. Even so, gentlemen riding the roads could watch how the labourers and overseers worked, since the men needed closer supervision than the surveyor could give. A word on the spot could check idleness. Landholders in the country districts could also tell the surveyor when a stretch of road began to wear. He could then repair it before it was ruined beyond saving. The government recommended electing a committee in each district of three leading landholders or farmers. Its members would inspect the roads from time to time, make the reports and enquiries suggested, and pass on their findings. The government added that furze and blackberries had damaged the roads by spreading over them. It thought the landowners and farmers should deal with this themselves and keep the plants from spreading onto the highway. **Interpretations** The government asked landholders to supervise the road gangs without pay, even though they already paid a money charge in place of providing overseers. It could have hired more paid overseers. Instead it turned to the gentlemen who used the roads every day and gave them an informal policing role. A planter who rode past a gang standing idle could correct it on the spot. The district committees of three made this oversight regular without adding to the surveyor's salaried staff. The landholders' interest in good roads would do the work that paid supervision could not. Furze, or gorse, was a spiny shrub. Like the blackberry bramble, it spread quickly over open ground and was hard to clear. On St Helena both had taken hold along the roadsides and were encroaching on the highways. The government placed responsibility for clearing them on the owners of the adjoining land, where the plants grew, and not on the public road gangs. That kept the cost off the public

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			works and made each landholder answerable for the edge of the road beside his own property.
500	491	Roads which lead only to one House or Farm ought to be§ §considered private and to be kept in repair by the Proprietors§ §of the respective Farms -§ §Repeated complaints have been made of the unfitness§ §of the Clerk of the Fishmarket for his situation. The§ §Public are seriously interested in the efficient discharge of§ §the Duties of that Office.§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to lay§ §before you a Complaint which was made to the Acting§ §Magistrate on this subject, and it will be for the Vestry§ §to consider whether they will continue the services of§ §Mr. Jacks or appoint some other person -§ §I am also directed by the Governor and Council to§ §desire that you will submit to the consideration of the Vestry§ §whether it might not be expedient to abolish the restriction§ §of prices for Fish§ §This has been already done in regard to all other§ §Articles in the Market, yet it does not appear that§ §the average selling rates have risen -§ §It will hardly be denied that the law for regulating§ §the price of fish is constantly evaded, as was the case§ §with the articles of Farm produce before the restrictions§ §in regard to them were abolished - When it is the interest§ §of both seller and buyer to evade the Law it is§ §difficult to detect the transgressor -§ §In fact the lights of modern improvements joined§ §with experience, has proved in other Countries the advantages§ §of allowing all Markets to find their own level -§ §And why it should be doubted that similar benefits will§ §attend the application of the same principle to the§ §Fishmarket of this Island? It is very possible that§ §the first effects of the measure might be a rise in§	The government added that a road leading only to a single house or farm should count as private, and the owner of that farm should keep it in repair. The letter went on to the fish market. There had been repeated complaints that the clerk was unfit for his post. The public had a real interest in seeing that office done properly. The Governor and Council sent the churchwardens a complaint that had been made to the acting magistrate on this matter. The vestry was to decide whether to keep Mr Jacks or appoint someone else. The Governor and Council also asked the churchwardens to put a wider question to the vestry: whether it might be wise to abolish the controls on fish prices altogether. Price controls had already been removed from every other item in the market, and average prices had not risen as a result. The government thought few could deny that the law on fish prices was constantly evaded, as the controls on farm produce had been before they were dropped. When both seller and buyer gained from breaking the law, offenders were hard to catch. The government pointed out that modern experience in other countries had shown the benefit of letting all markets find their own level. It saw no reason to doubt that the same principle would benefit the island's fish market. It granted that the first effect of the change might be a rise in prices. **Interpretations** The government proposed ending the controls on fish prices that it had defended since 1818. It had then refused to change the fishing rules and urged the vestry to revive the fish market clerk to enforce the tariff. The vestry had warned, dismissed and replaced clerks, and set new prices in September 1822, and still the rules were broken. The government now drew the opposite conclusion. Prices that buyer and seller both wanted to evade could not be enforced, so it was better to let the market set them. It pointed to farm produce, freed from control earlier, as proof that prices need not rise. The government's appeal to "modern improvements" and markets finding "their own level" drew on the free-trade ideas then gaining ground in Britain. Fixed prices for bread and other foodstuffs had recently been given up in London and other English towns on the same grounds. St Helena's market was being brought into line with practice at home. The government accepted that prices might rise at first, but expected open sale to draw more fish to market and, in time, to lower the price.
501	492	the price of Fish, but this very circumstance would entice§ §more people to become Fishermen, a competition would§ §be thus excited, and more Fish would be brought to the§ §Market. It is admitted that when Fish were scarce,§ §the prices would rise, but on the other hand the prices§ §would fall when plenty was to be taken - At all events§ §it might be worth trying the experiment§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena§ §30 August 1824§ §Your obedt. Servants§ §(Signed) "Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt."§ §At a Vestry Meeting held in the Sessions House in James Valley§	The government argued that a rise in fish prices would draw more people into fishing. Competition would follow, and more fish would reach the market. It admitted that prices would rise when fish were scarce. They would also fall when catches were plentiful. In any case, it thought the experiment worth trying. Charles Blake signed the letter as deputy secretary to the government on 30 August 1824. On 6 September 1824 a vestry met in the sessions house in James Valley. It heard the government's letter, with the two reports on the roads and the streets. The vestry recommended that the street running from the Main Parade to the corner of Ladder Hill on one side, and to Colonel Wright's on the other, be rebuilt in a solid and lasting way. The method was to be settled later by gentlemen who understood the work, at the lowest possible cost. The rest of the streets would be repaired on a temporary basis. The vestry agreed to raise a poll tax of 1s 6d a head at once to pay for the work. It elected S.

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		§held on 6th. Day of September 1824.§ §The foregoing Letter from the Governor & Council inclosing two§ §Reports the one upon the Roads and the other on the Streets were§ §laid before the Vestry§ §Resolved to recommend that the Street from the§ §Main Parade to the Corner of Ladder Hill on one side and to Col.§ §Wrights on the other side be done in a substantial and permanent§ §manner and as may be fixed upon hereafter by Gentlemen acquainted§ §with the Business and with the least possible expence and the§ §remainder in a more temporary manner§ §Resolved that a Poll Tax of One Shilling and sixpence§ §be levied immediately to defray the expences thereon§ §The following gentlemen Mr. S. Solomon & Mr. Adamson were elected§ §Inspectors of Streets during the Repairs§	Solomon and Mr Adamson as inspectors of streets while the repairs went on. **Interpretations** The vestry chose to rebuild only the main street properly and to patch the rest. The island had no good paving stone, as the government had pointed out. Lasting work cost far more than temporary repair. The vestry concentrated the expense on the route through the heart of Jamestown, from the Parade to Ladder Hill, which carried most of the town's traffic. It accepted cheaper, shorter-lived repairs on the side streets in order to keep the special tax low. The vestry paid for the streets by a separate poll tax of 1s 6d a head, on top of the 3s set in April 1824. A rate on town property would have charged the people who used the streets most. A poll tax instead charged every household in the island by heads, country planters included. Slaves on country estates thus counted towards the cost of paving Jamestown. The vestry had already fixed the poll tax as its one regular means of raising money, and now it used the same tool for public works. The vestry recorded no decision on the government's two other proposals: ending fish price controls and replacing Mr Jacks. It acted on the streets, where the government was offering to pay half. On the fish market, where the government asked the vestry to give up a protection the inhabitants had sought for years, it made no recorded reply.
502	493	In regard to the Plan of Lighting the Streets It was resolved to§ §recommend Mr. Blakes Proposal upon that Subject, to the consideration§ §of the Council§ §The following Gentlemen offered their services as§ §Committees for inspecting the Roads§ §Capt. Sampson§ §Mr. R. Knipe§ §Mr. A. Beale§ §Western Division§ §Mr. G. V. Lambe§ §Mr. A. Seale§ §Mr. Barker§ §Eastern Division§ §Capt. Seale§ §Mr. G. W. Alexander§ §Mr. J. Bagley§ §Southern Division§ §Resolved that Mr. Jacks be continued in this office but that the§ §Salary be lowered to £35 per annum§ §With respect to that part of the Governors Letter proposing that§ §the Price of Fish should find its own Level the Vestry have resolved to§ §postpone their determination until Monday next.§ §Adjourned§ §At a meeting in Vestry held 13th. Sept. the above question was§ §taken into Consideration§ §Resolved that the Price of Mackarel, Albacore, and Common§ §Bulls Eyes be restricted as present and that all other Fish find their§ §own Level until next Easter Meeting§	The vestry agreed to recommend Mr Blake's proposal for lighting the streets to the Council. The following gentlemen volunteered to serve on committees to inspect the roads. Western division Captain Sampson R. Knipe A. Beale Eastern division G. V. Lambe A. Seale Mr Barker Southern division Captain Seale G. W. Alexander J. Bagley The vestry agreed to keep Mr Jacks as clerk of the fish market but to cut his salary to £33 0s 0d a year. On the Governor's proposal that fish prices be left to find their own level, the vestry put off its decision until the following Monday and adjourned. At a vestry held on 13 September 1824 the question was taken up again. The vestry agreed to keep the current controls on the prices of mackerel, albacore and common bull's eyes. All other fish would be sold at whatever price the market set until the next Easter meeting. **Interpretations** The vestry did answer the government on fish prices, a week later. The earlier comment that no decision was recorded was therefore premature. It neither kept the full tariff nor gave it up entirely. It held prices down on mackerel, albacore and bull's eyes, the cheap everyday fish most households relied on, and freed the rest. The less common and higher-quality catches, which buyers had always been willing to pay more for, were left to the market. The trial was to last only until Easter. That let the vestry test the government's free-market argument without risking the price of the poor's staple food. Bull's eyes were a small reddish fish with very large eyes, caught in numbers around the island. They were sold cheaply and formed part of the ordinary diet alongside mackerel and albacore.

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			The vestry kept Mr Jacks despite the complaints sent to the acting magistrate, but cut his pay from £40 0s 0d to £33 0s 0d. Freeing most fish from price control left the clerk with less to enforce. Lowering his salary matched the smaller job and also served as a rebuke, without removing a man the vestry had fought to appoint in 1821 and 1822.
503	494	Copy of the Governor and Councils Resolution,§ §dated the 13th. September 1824.§ §The Board understand that the continuance of§ §Jos. Jacks in the Situation of Clerk of the Fish Market in place§ §of being deliberated upon by a Committee, according to the rule§ §proposed on the 30th. March 1812, by the Churchwardens, on the§ §part of the Vestry, and confirmed by the Governor and Council§ §was discussed in a full meeting of Vestry, The Board, therefore,§ §on this Ground, would feel itself warranted to send back the§ §proceedings. It is however resolved on the present occasion to§ §wave such a measure, and to confirm the Result of the Meeting.§ §But in future the established rule must be attended to§ §True Copy§ §(Signed) Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govr.§	The Governor and Council passed a resolution on 13 September 1824. Charles Blake certified a copy as deputy secretary. The Board understood that the full vestry had discussed whether to keep Joseph Jacks as clerk of the fish market. Under the rule the churchwardens had proposed on the vestry's behalf on 30 March 1812, and which the Governor and Council had confirmed, a committee should have decided this. On that ground the Board considered itself entitled to send the proceedings back. On this occasion, however, it chose not to and confirmed what the meeting had decided. The Board warned that the established rule must be followed in future. **Interpretations** The Board let stand a decision it could have overturned on the same ground it had used against the same man in May 1821. Then it had cancelled Jacks's appointment because the full vestry, not a committee, had made it. This time the Board itself had asked the vestry to decide whether to keep Jacks. A refusal would have stalled the fish market reform the government was pressing. The Board confirmed the result and repeated the rule, keeping its claim to enforce it while giving way in practice. By confirming a vestry decision that had broken the rule, it also made clear that it alone decided when the rule would be applied.
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505	496	List of Families paying Poll Tax for the Year 1824§ §at the rate of Three Shillings per Head§ §Parish St. Helena§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Alexander G. W. Pd.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §" Fds. Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 20, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §" Saml. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" Henry Pd.: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §" Johns Est.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §" Margaret Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Adams Elizabeth P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Thomas Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Aleworth Thomas Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Adamson Hugh P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Armstrong Robert: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Andrew James P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Baker Thos. P.: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 11, d 0§ §Brooke T. H. Esqr. P.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Burnham John: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §" Saml.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §Bennett James P.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §Buckley James P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Bagley John Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §" Orlando P.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §" Richard Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §" James P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Boys Richard P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Bazett Clarissa N.P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Blenkins George P.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §Banks Edward N.P.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §" Charles P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Beale Ones.: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §" Anthony N.P.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §Bruce George Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Baker and Cole: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Bobbins John Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Blundle Caroline Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	The vestry drew up a list of families liable for the poll tax for 1824, at 3s a head. A note of payment stood beside most names. G. W. Alexander, 16 heads, £2 8s 0d Frederick Alexander's estate, 20 heads, £3 0s 0d Samuel Alexander, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Henry Alexander, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d John Alexander's estate, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d Margaret Alexander, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Elizabeth Adams, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d John Adams, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Adams, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Alesworth, 9 heads, £1 7s 0d Hugh Adamson, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Robert Armstrong, 1 head, £0 3s 0d James Andrews, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Baker, 17 heads, £2 11s 0d T. H. Brooke, 12 heads, £1 16s 0d John Burnham, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d Samuel Burnham, 13 heads, £1 19s 0d James Bennett, 16 heads, £2 8s 0d James Buckley, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d John Bagley, 13 heads, £1 19s 0d Orlando Bagley, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Richard Bagley, 15 heads, £2 5s 0d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Richard Boys, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d George Blenkins, 11 heads, £1 13s 0d Edward Banks, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d Anthony Beale, 16 heads, £2 8s 0d George Bruce, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d Baker and Cole, 1 head, £0 3s 0d John Bobbins, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Caroline Blundell, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d Richard Barker, 32 heads, £4 16s 0d John Byas, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d

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		§Barker Richard Pd.: No. of Heads 32, £ 4, s 16, d 0§ §Bays John P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Broadway Henry P.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Broadway Ann P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Brabazon Wm. P.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §Blake Chas. P.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §Bell William P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Burnside John Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Boyd Joseph N.P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Baker George: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Boorman George Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Bloman Wm. P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Brooke Robert: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Buchannan John P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Baldock John (out): No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Chamberlain Henry Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §" Wm. P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §" Susannah N.P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Croft John P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Carslan John Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Caldwell Daniel P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Cole Henry N.P.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §" T. J. B. N.P.: No. of Heads 32, £ 4, s 16, d 0§ §" Joseph: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Coates Thomas P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Clarke James P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Clements Samuel P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Carr Thomas P.: No. of Heads 17, £ 2, s 11, d 0§ §Cranfield Wm. P.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Carol Wm. P.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §Collyer Nathl. Do.: No. of Heads 12, £ 1, s 16, d 0§ §Chinty Thomas: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Chippendale Leonard Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Cameron James P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Charlton Edward P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Charlett Thomas N.P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Cearley Henry P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Chadwick Estate N.P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Des Fountain John Est. Do.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §" Elizabeth Do.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Henry Broadway, 12 heads, £1 16s 0d Ann Broadway, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d William Brabazon, 16 heads, £2 8s 0d Charles Blake, 16 heads, £2 8s 0d William Bell, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Joseph Boyd, 1 head, £0 3s 0d George Baker, 1 head, £0 3s 0d George Boorman, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d William Blunden, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Robert Brooke, 1 head, £0 3s 0d John Buchanan, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d John Baldock, noted as dead, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Henry Chamberlain, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d William Chamberlain, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d John Croft, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d John Carslaw, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Daniel Caldwell, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d Henry Cole, 9 heads, £1 7s 0d T. J. B. Cole, 32 heads, £4 16s 0d Joseph Cole, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Thomas Coates, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d James Clarke, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Samuel Clements, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d Thomas Carr, 17 heads, £2 11s 0d William Cranfield, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d William Carroll, 11 heads, £1 13s 0d Nathaniel Collyer, 12 heads, £1 16s 0d Thomas Chentry, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d Leonard Chippendale, 1 head, £0 3s 0d James Cameron, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Edward Charlton, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Thomas Charlett, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d Henry Cearley, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Chadwick's estate, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d John De Fountain's estate, 11 heads, £1 13s 0d Elizabeth De Fountain, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d The clerk entered no totals carried forward on this page. **Interpretations** The payment notes were now written directly on the main roll, beside each name. In earlier years, defaulters had been gathered into a separate list after the roll closed. Marking each entry as the money came in let the churchwardens see at a glance who still owed, without drawing up a second list. That fitted a year in which arrears had risen sharply, and the vestry had just cut the rate to 3s to encourage prompt payment.
506	497	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Des Fountain Chas. N.P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §De Fountain John: No. of Heads 18, £ 2, s 14, d 0§ §Den Taaffe George: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Wm. Dray Wm. [...]: No. of Heads [...], £ 0, s [...], d 0§ §Dunn J. C. P.: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 5, d 0§ §Doveton Sir Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 23, £ 3, s 9, d 0§ §Doveton Gab. Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Den Taaffe Mary: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Dring John Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Dowling Chris. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Darling Andw. P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Dougherty Ann: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Doveton Wm. N.P.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §" John N.P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Dray Margaret: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Evans Thomas P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §White Errington James: No. of Heads [...], £ 0, s [...], d 0§ §Eyre Andrew P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1824, at 3s a head, continued as follows. Notes of payment again stood beside most names. Charles De Fountain, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d John De Fountain, 1 head, £0 3s 0d John De Fountain, 18 heads, £2 14s 0d George Dentaffe, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d **Start of crossed out section** William Dray, with an unreadable note in the margin. **End of crossed out section** J. C. Dunn, 15 heads, £2 5s 0d Sir W. W. Doveton, 23 heads, £3 9s 0d Gabriel Doveton's estate, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Mary Dentaffe, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d John Dring, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Christopher Dowling, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d Andrew Darling, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Ann Dougherty, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d William Doveton, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d John Doveton, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Margaret Dray, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Evans, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d **Start of crossed out section**

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		§Everton Wm. P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Eddleston James P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Frazier Thomas: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Fowler Wm. P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" E. J. P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" Sarah: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Firmin John N.P.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Franklin James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Fordham John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Gough Thomas P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Griffiths Mary P.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Gurling Eleanor N.P.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Green John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Greentree Thos. Esqr.: No. of Heads 28, £ 4, s 4, d 0§ §Gordon Wm. N.P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Thos. P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Green Sabina: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Greenland Edwd. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Greene Lewis P.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Henry Polly P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Harper Sarah P.: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §" Roderick: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hayes Thos. Estate: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Jane P.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §" Ann P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Humble M.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hammond J. Estate N.P.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Honeyman John P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Hagarty Daniel N.P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Hodson Benj. Estate: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 17, d 0§ §" C. R. G. P.: No. of Heads 25, £ 3, s 15, d 0§ §Harris Henry: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Harrington Thos. P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Hamilton Daniel: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §Haynes Ann Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Harris Thos. P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hampton Adam P.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Hayward Chas.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hunter Thos. P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Haywards Estate: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Isaac Alfred: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §" Valentia: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Jacks Joseph P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Janisch Wm. P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Jones Thos. P.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §" John P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Jollis Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" Richard: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Isaac Ann: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Jones John Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" David Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §James Sophia P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Knipe Wm. Estate P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Knipe H. W. Junr. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §" J. B. Junr. Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §" R. H. P.: No. of Heads 21, £ 3, s 3, d 0§ §" H. P. Junr. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Wm. P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" Mary N.P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §" John Senr. N.P.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §" Amelia: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Kinnaird David: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Kay David N.P.: No. of Heads 36, £ 5, s 8, d 0§	James Errington, with an unreadable note in the margin. **End of crossed out section** Andrew Eyre, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d William Everton, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d James Eddleston, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d Thomas Frazer, 1 head, £0 3s 0d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 3s 0d E. J. Fowler, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d Sarah Fowler, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d John Firmin, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d James Franklin, 1 head, £0 3s 0d John Foxham, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Gough, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Mary Griffiths, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Eleanor Gurling, 9 heads, £1 7s 0d John Green, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Greentree, 28 heads, £4 4s 0d William Gordon, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Gordon, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Sabina Green, 9 heads, £1 7s 0d Edward Greenland, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d Lewis Green, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d Polly Henry, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Sarah Harper, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d Roderick Harper, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Hayes's estate, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Jane Hayes, 13 heads, £1 19s 0d Ann Hayes, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d M. Humble, 1 head, £0 3s 0d J. Hammond's estate, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d John Honeyman, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d Daniel Hagerty, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d Benjamin Hodson's estate, 19 heads, £2 17s 0d C. R. G. Hodson, 25 heads, £3 15s 0d Henry Harris, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Harrington, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d Daniel Hamilton, 9 heads, £1 7s 0d Ann Haynes, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Harris, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Adam Hampton, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d Charles Hayward, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Hunter, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Hayward's estate, no entry Alfred Isaac, 16 heads, £2 8s 0d Valentia Isaac, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Joseph Jacks, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d William Janisch, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d Thomas Jones, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d John Jones, 1 head, £0 3s 0d William Julie, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Richard Julie, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Ann Isaac, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d John Jones, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d David Jones, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Sophia James, 1 head, £0 3s 0d William Knipe's estate, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d H. W. Knipe junior, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d J. B. Knipe junior, 9 heads, £1 7s 0d R. H. Knipe, 21 heads, £3 3s 0d H. P. Knipe junior, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d William Knipe, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Mary Knipe, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d John Knipe senior, 13 heads, £1 19s 0d Amelia Knipe, 1 head, £0 3s 0d David Kinnaird, 1 head, £0 3s 0d David Kay, 36 heads, £5 8s 0d
507	498	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Brot. over: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Kay Eleanor N.P.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §" John P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Kennedy W. O. N.P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Leech Richd. Estate: No. of Heads 21, £ 3, s 3, d 0§ §" George Do. Do.: No. of Heads 20, £ 3, s 0, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1824, at 3s a head, continued as follows. Notes of payment again stood beside most names. Brought over, no figures entered Eleanor Kay, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d John Kay, 1 head, £0 3s 0d W. O. Kennedy, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Richard Leech's estate, 21 heads, £3 3s 0d

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		§" Roberts Do.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	George Leech's estate, 20 heads, £3 0s 0d
		§Lamb Aaron Do. Do.: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§	Robert Leech's estate, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§" George Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§	Aaron Lambe's estate, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d
		§" Matilda Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	George Lambe, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d
		§Lowden James P.: No. of Heads 23, £ 3, s 9, d 0§	Matilda Lambe, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Lester Thos. Estate N.P.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	James Lowden, 23 heads, £3 9s 0d
		§Le Breton John P.: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§	Thomas Lester's estate, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§Legg John: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§	John Le Breton, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d
		§Lashen Lewis P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	John Legg, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d
		§Lorimer Gordon Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Lewis Lasher, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Lawrence Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Gordon Lourie, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Legg Henry P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	William Lawrence, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Lane Jeremiah: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Henry Legg, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Marrsback M.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Jeremiah Lane, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Mead George Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	M. Mirabach, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Metcalf James P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	George Mead, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§McDaniel Josh. N.P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	James Metcalfe, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Mellis Ann N.P.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Joseph McDaniel, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d
		§" George N.P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Ann Millis, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Mason Richards Est. Do.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 7, d 0§	George Millis, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§" Richard: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Richard Mason's estate, 9 heads, £1 7s 0d
		§" J. B. N.P.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§	Richard Mason, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§" Benjamin: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	J. B. Mason, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d
		§" Johns Estate: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Benjamin Mason, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§" James Estate: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 19, d 0§	John Mason's estate, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Mulhall Wm.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	James Mason's estate, 13 heads, £1 19s 0d
		§McLaverty Chas. N.P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	William Mulhall, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§May John P.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Charles McLaverty, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§McLean Andw. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	John May, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Miller Humphrey Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Andrew McLean, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Mason Wm. P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Humphrey Miller, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Mason Mary P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	William Mason, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Mead G. K. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	Mary Mason, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Markwick Chas. P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	G. K. Mead, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Moss Isaac P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Charles Markwick, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§McMahon Danl. N.P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Isaac Moss, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Moore Frances P.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Daniel McMahon, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Brot. up: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§	Francis Moore, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§McRitchie D. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Brought up, no figures entered
		§Noquedah Elizth. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	D. McRitchie, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§O'Connor Danl. N.P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§	Elizabeth Noquedeh, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§" Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§	Daniel O'Connor, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d
		§" Matthew Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Thomas O'Connor, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d
		§Pyle John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Matthew O'Connor, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Oborn Robt. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	John Oyle, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Oliver Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Robert Osborne, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Pritchard Eleanor Pd.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 8, d 0§	William Oliver, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§" D. K. N.P.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 19, d 0§	Eleanor Pritchard, 16 heads, £2 8s 0d
		§" Sarah Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	D. K. Pritchard, 13 heads, £1 19s 0d
		§" H. H. N.P.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 13, d 0§	Sarah Pritchard, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Patterson George: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	H. H. Pritchard, 11 heads, £1 13s 0d
		§Porteus H. Estate Pd.: No. of Heads [...], £ 0, s 6, d 0§	George Patterson, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Pain John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	H. Porteous's estate, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Pipler Wm.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§	John Paine, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Patterson Charles Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	William Pipple, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d
		§Price James Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	Charles Patterson, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Parrot James Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	James Price, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d
		§Rookes John Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	James Parrot, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§" Edward Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	John Rookes's estate, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d
		§Rolfe James Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 4, d 0§	Edward Rookes, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
		§Robinson Samuel: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	James Rolf, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d
		§" John: No. of Heads 15, £ 2, s 5, d 0§	Samuel Robinson, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Rourke Lawrence Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	John Robinson, 15 heads, £2 5s 0d
		§Rooks Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§	Lawrence Rourke, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Rich Thos.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	William Rookes, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d
		§Redman Isaac Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	Thomas Rich, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Redsdale Jos. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§	Isaac Redman, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
		§Roberts Anne Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§	Joseph Ridsdale, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d
		§Rookes George: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§	Ann Roberts's estate, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d
		§Ramsay James N.P.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	George Rookes, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d
		§Stewart Elizabeth: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§	James Ramsay, 1 head, £0 3s 0d
			Elizabeth Stewart, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d
			William Seale senior, 32 heads, £4 16s 0d
			R. F. Seale, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d
			William Seale junior, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d
			H. F. Seale, 9 heads, £1 7s 0d

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		§Seale Wm. Senr. Pd.: No. of Heads 32, £ 4, s 16, d 0§ §" R. F. N.P.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §" Wm. Junr. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §" H. F. Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 1, s 7, d 0§ §" W. H. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §" Frances Pd.: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §" Archibald Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §" John: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Smith Ann: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 19, d 0§	W. H. Seale, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d Francis Seale, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d Archibald Seale, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d John Seale, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d Ann Smith, 13 heads, £1 19s 0d The clerk entered no running totals on this page.
508	499	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Smith Mary Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Statham Robt. N.P.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Scott Richard Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §" John Junr. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" John Senr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Charles Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §" Richard Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Sampson Charles Pd.: No. of Heads 20, £ 3, s 0, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Saunders Joseph Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Solomon Saul Pd.: No. of Heads 27, £ 4, s 1, d 0§ §" Joseph Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §" Ben. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Scawell Mary Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Shortis J. E. N.P.: No. of Heads 13, £ 1, s 19, d 0§ §Sutherland George: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Sherrard John Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Smith John Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Stirling James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Seale Robt. Junr.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Spender Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Smith Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Stephens George Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Spratt Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Scullard Joseph: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Smith Richard: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Singleton Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Torbett Richard Pd.: No. of Heads 26, £ 3, s 18, d 0§ §" J. W. Pd.: No. of Heads 11, £ 1, s 13, d 0§ §" James Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Thompson Thos. N.P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Truebody James Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Thomas Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Thomas: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Tracy Wm.: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §Thom Thomas N.P.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Todd John: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Tennant James (Dead): No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Turner Wm.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Vernon B. J. N.P.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §Unsworth James Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Waring John Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Wright J. A. Pd.: No. of Heads 16, £ 2, s 8, d 0§ §" B. A.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Robert N.P.: No. of Heads 19, £ 2, s 14, d 0§ §Wills Richard Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §Watson Michael Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §" George N.P.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Weatley Joseph Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Warral Sarah Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Weston Charles Pd.: No. of Heads 14, £ 2, s 2, d 0§ §Ward S. P. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Wright Joseph Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Wood James: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Warren Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Youd James Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 1, s 10, d 0§ §Young Stephen Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Amoret Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 1, s 1, d 0§ §" Stephens Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 1, s 4, d 0§ §" Richard: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" A. A. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1824, at 3s a head, ended with the following entries. Most names again had a note of payment beside them. Mary Smith, 5 heads, £0 15s 0d William Smith, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Robert Statham, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d Richard Scott, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d John Scott junior, 1 head, £0 3s 0d John Scott senior, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Charles Scott's estate, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d Richard Scott, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Charles Sampson, 20 heads, £3 0s 0d John Sampson, 1 head, £0 3s 0d William Sampson, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Joseph Saunders, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Saul Solomon, 27 heads, £4 1s 0d Joseph Solomon, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Benjamin Solomon, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Mary Seawell, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d J. E. Shortis, 13 heads, £1 19s 0d George Sutherland, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d John Sherwood, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d John Smith's estate, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d James Stirling, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Robert Seale junior, 1 head, £0 3s 0d William Spender, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Smith, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d George Stephens, 1 head, £0 3s 0d William Spratt, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Joseph Scullard, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Richard Smith, 1 head, £0 3s 0d William Singleton, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Richard Torbett, 26 heads, £3 18s 0d J. W. Torbett, 11 heads, £1 13s 0d James Torbett's estate, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Thomas Thompson, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d James Truebody, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d William Thomas, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Thomas Thomas, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d William Tracy, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d Thomas Thorne, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d John Todd, 1 head, £0 3s 0d James Tennant, noted as dead, no figures entered William Turner, 1 head, £0 3s 0d B. J. Vernon, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d James Unsworth, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d John Waring, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d J. A. Wright, 16 heads, £2 8s 0d B. A. Wright, 1 head, £0 3s 0d Robert Wright, 18 heads, £2 14s 0d Richard Wills, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Michael Watson, 6 heads, £0 18s 0d George Watson, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d Joseph Wheatley, 3 heads, £0 9s 0d Sarah Worrall, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Charles Weston, 14 heads, £2 2s 0d S. P. Ward, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Joseph Wright, 1 head, £0 3s 0d James Wood, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d William Warren, 4 heads, £0 12s 0d James Youd, 10 heads, £1 10s 0d Stephen Young, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d Amoretta Young, 7 heads, £1 1s 0d Stephen Young's estate, 8 heads, £1 4s 0d Richard Young, 2 heads, £0 6s 0d A. A. Young, 1 head, £0 3s 0d

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			The clerk entered no total for the roll.
509	500	Dr. Parish§ §1825§ §April 1st. To paid Clerk Fish Market 12 Months Salary to 31st. March§ §36 . 8 . 4§ §Clerk and Sexton Country Church 12 months Salary§ §30§ §Washing and Mending Surplices 1 Year§ §3§ §Mr. Weston as per Vouchers for Maintenance of Prisoners§ §3 . 7 . 9§ §Amount of Repairs and Painting of Country Church as per Accounts and Vouchers audited by Vestry Committee§ §£390 . 16 . 11§ §Less Donation granted by Government towards the above§ §200 . 0 . 0§ §190 . 16 . 11§ §Chambers 12 Months Allowance for Maintenance of Fanny§ §12§ §Mrs. Stewart Allowance for herself and Children for 12 Months§ §35 . 2§ §Mrs. Weager Allowance from 1st. April to 30th. June £2. 5. 6 and from that date to 31st. March 1825 £4. 10. 0§ §6 . 15 . 6§ §paid Organists Salary for 12 Months§ §25§ §paid for collecting Poll Tax this year 5 per Cent on £225. 0. 0§ §11 . 5 . 0§ §for Coffins for Essex and Pierie§ §1 . 10§ §for Expences of Interment of Pierie 10/ and House rent 9/§ §19§ §Free George and Coates collecting return of Free Blacks in Town and Country§ §2 . 5§ §E. Fowler for Attendance at Vestrys writing returns and making up the Books§ §6§ §for Paper and Quills§ §13 . 6§ §Jacob Pierie for temporary relief§ §1§ §Drays Children§ §10 . 12§ §Hospital Bill§ §12 . 9§ §for Posting Poll Tax Notices for 2 Years§ §1 . 0§ §£369 . 7§	The parish account for 1824 to 1825 recorded the following spending in April 1825. April 1825, clerk of the fish market, 12 months' salary to 31 March, £36 8s 4d April 1825, clerk and sexton of the country church, 12 months' salary, £30 0s 0d April 1825, laundering and mending the surplices for 1 year, £3 0s 0d April 1825, Mr Weston for keeping prisoners, as vouchers show, £3 7s 9d April 1825, repairing and painting the country church, as shown by accounts and vouchers audited by the vestry committee, £390 16s 11d April 1825, less the grant made by the government towards that work, £200 0s 0d April 1825, net cost of the country church repairs, £190 16s 11d April 1825, Chambers, 12 months' allowance for keeping Fanny, £12 0s 0d April 1825, Mrs Stewart's allowance for herself and her children for 12 months, £35 2s 0d April 1825, Mrs Wager's allowance from 1 April to 30 June, £2 5s 6d, and from then to 31 March 1825, £4 10s 0d, together £6 15s 6d April 1825, organist's salary for 12 months, £25 0s 0d April 1825, collecting the poll tax at 5 per cent on £225 0s 0d, £11 5s 0d April 1825, coffins for Essex and Pierie, £1 10s 0d April 1825, Pierie's burial, 10s, and house rent, 9s, £0 19s 0d April 1825, Free George and Coates for collecting returns of free blacks in town and country, £2 5s 0d April 1825, E. Fowler for attending vestries, writing letters and writing up the books, £6 0s 0d April 1825, paper and quills, £0 13s 6d April 1825, Jacob Pierie for temporary relief, £1 0s 0d April 1825, Dray's children, £10 12s 0d April 1825, hospital bill, £0 12s 9d April 1825, posting notices of the poll tax for 2 years, £1 0s 0d Total, £369 7s 0d **Interpretations** The country church repairs cost £390 16s 11d, which was far more than the parish's whole income for a year. The government paid £200 0s 0d towards them. Croft had warned in July 1822 that the building was in a dangerous state, and Pritchard had then asked the Council for leave even to call the committee. Once the full cost was known, the work was too large for the poll tax alone. The government's grant left the parish to pay £190 16s 11d. It also matched the pattern the vestry had pushed for over the town sexton and the surplices, with the Company bearing a share of costs on church buildings. The vestry committee audited the accounts before the parish paid. That gave the ratepayers a check on spending which they had not had over the earlier repairs. The poll tax at 3s a head produced £225 0s 0d, against £277 16s 6d at 3s 6d the year before. Cutting the rate by a seventh reduced the yield by about a fifth. Unpaid arrears may account for some of the difference. Either way, the lower rate did not make up its cost through better collection. Free George, who helped collect the returns of free blacks, was himself probably a free black, since the clerk identified him by his first name and his free status alone. By this date the parish was employing members of the free black population to help compile the records that kept watch on it.

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510	501	Contra Cr.§ §1825§ §April By Balance received of Mr. J. Bagley late Churchwarden§ §22 . 1 . 8§ §By received from Police Office on account Dog Tax§ §25 . 15§ §from Do. part of remaining Poll Tax due on former Years§ §19 . 19§ §Amount of Poll Tax collected this year as per List§ §Collected§ §225 . 0 . 0§ §Do. through Police Office§ §17 . 0 . 0§ §242 . 14§ §By Balance due A. Beale Esqr. Churchwarden§ §50 . 17 . 4§ §£369 . 7§ §31st. March 1825. I do hereby acknowledge§ §to have recd. from Anthony Beale§ §Church warden the Parish Books and§ §Church Plate -§ §C. Sampson§	The credit side of the parish account for 1824 to 1825 recorded the following receipts in April 1825. April 1825, balance received from J. Bagley, former churchwarden, £22 1s 8d April 1825, from the police office for the dog tax, £25 15s 0d April 1825, from the police office, part of the poll tax still owed from earlier years, £19 19s 0d April 1825, poll tax collected this year as shown on the list, collected directly, £225 0s 0d April 1825, poll tax collected this year through the police office, £17 0s 0d April 1825, poll tax for the year in all, £242 0s 0d April 1825, balance owed to A. Beale, churchwarden, £50 11s 4d Total, £369 7s 0d On 31 March 1825 C. Sampson signed a receipt for the parish books and church plate from Anthony Beale, the churchwarden. **Interpretations** The year closed with the parish owing its own churchwarden. Anthony Beale had paid out £50 11s 4d more than he received, and he handed over the books and plate with no cash at all. Porteous in 1806 and Blenkins in 1815 had both advanced their own money as churchwardens. Blenkins waited until 1818 to be repaid in full. Without the £190 16s 11d spent on the country church, the parish would have ended the year with a surplus. The vestry had cut the poll tax to 3s in April 1824. It did so before the full cost of the repairs was known, and the churchwarden's own funds covered the gap. The police office now collected part of the current year's poll tax as well as the arrears of earlier years. It brought in £17 0s 0d of the 1824 tax and £19 19s 0d of older debts. What had started in 1821 as a way to chase defaulters had become part of the ordinary collection.
511	502	Island St. Helena§ §4th. April 1825§ §At a Vestry held in the Chapel in James Valley§ §this day the undermentioned persons where appointed§ §Parish Officers for the present Year§ §Thomas Baker Esqr.§ §John Bagley Esqr.§ §A. A. Seale Esqr.§ §Sheriffs§ §Captn. Francis Seale Church Warden§ §Resolved that Mr. James Andrews Mr. George§ §Lamb Mr. R. Barker and Mr. John Le Breton do§ §succeed the four Senior Members of the Vestry Committee§ §making the Committee for the present Year as follows§ §Mr. Joseph Cole§ §Lieut. James Bennett§ §Lieut. Danl. O'Connor§ §Mr. James Andrews§ §Mr. George V. Lambe§ §Mr. Barker§ §Mr. Le Breton§ §Resolved that the Poll Tax appearing to be§ §unequitable and it being proposed to substitute another§ §the same be submitted to the consideration of the Vestry§ §Committee together with Mr. Janischs Proposition respecting§ §Commutation Money.§ §In regard to the appointment of Constables It§ §was Resolved that as the present List appears to§ §be incorrect the Committee be requested to make out	On 4 April 1825 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley and appointed the parish officers for the year. Sheriffs Thomas Baker John Bagley A. A. Seale Churchwarden Captain Francis Seale The vestry agreed that James Andrews, George Lambe, R. Barker and John Le Breton would replace the four longest-serving members of the vestry committee. The committee for the year was therefore Joseph Cole, Lieutenant James Bennett, Lieutenant Daniel O'Connor, James Andrews, George V. Lambe, Mr Barker and Mr Le Breton. The vestry considered that the poll tax was unfair, and a proposal had been made to replace it with another tax. The vestry passed this question to the committee, together with Mr Janisch's proposal on the money paid in place of providing highway overseers. On the constables, the vestry found that the current rota was wrong. It asked the committee to draw up a list of everyone qualified for the office, so that no one would be passed over. **Interpretations** The vestry declared its own main tax unfair and asked the committee to find a replacement. The poll tax charged the same sum for every head in a household, slaves included, whatever the household's wealth or land. A planter with many slaves on poor land paid more than a merchant with few slaves and a valuable business in town. The vestry had changed the rate almost every year, from 1s to 3s 6d and back to 3s, without ever touching its basis. Arrears had

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		a§ §List of such as are eligible to the Office so that none§	grown, and the account had closed with the churchwarden owing £50 11s 4d of his own money. The vestry concluded that the problem was the tax itself, not the rate. It sent the question to the same committee that had turned the highway duty into a charge on acres and ground rent in 1821. That model of taxing property was ready to hand. The constables' rota of 19 April 1824 had left out some qualified householders, so the office fell more often on those who were listed. Asking for a complete list of those eligible was meant to spread an unpaid and unpopular duty fairly across all who qualified.
512	503	should escape the Duty in his proper turn.§ §It having been represented to the Vestry that the§ §Governor and Council have been pleased to give a§ §Donation of Two hundred Pounds towards defraying§ §the Expences of the Country Church It was Resolved§ §unanimously that the thanks of the Vestry for the§ §same be communicated to the Governor and Council.§ §As a Balance of £50-17-4 appears due to the§ §Church Warden Resolved that a Poll Tax of One§ §shilling per Head be immediately levied to cover the§ §same.§ §(Signed) "A. Beale Church Warden"§ §Island St. Helena§ §11th. April 1825§ §At a Meeting of the Vestry Committee§ §held in the Library in James Valley this day§ §The Committee before they proceed on the§ §business of this day conceive they ought not to neglect§ §the first opportunity they can embrace, to record the§ §high satisfaction they feel in the praiseworthy performance§ §of the Duty of the Church Wardens of the preceding§ §Year, for the time, attention and perseverance they have§ §personally bestowed to the repairs of the Country Church§ §The Committee feel it their duty to record their§ §thanks (united with the unanimous voice of the Parish§	The committee was to draw up its list so that no qualified man could avoid serving as constable when his turn came. The vestry heard that the Governor and Council had given £200 0s 0d towards the cost of the country church. It voted unanimously to send its thanks to the Governor and Council. A balance of £50 17s 4d was owed to the churchwarden. The vestry agreed to raise a poll tax of 1s a head at once to repay it. A. Beale signed the minutes as churchwarden. On 11 April 1825 the vestry committee met in the library in James Valley. Before starting its business, the committee took its first chance to record its great satisfaction with how the previous year's churchwardens had done their work. It praised the time, care and persistence they had personally given to the repairs of the country church. The committee went on to record its thanks, adding its voice to that of the whole parish. **Interpretations** The vestry raised a special poll tax of 1s a head only to repay Anthony Beale. It had just declared the poll tax unfair and sent the search for a replacement to its committee. It could have waited for the new tax or carried the debt forward, as it had done with Blenkins after 1815. Instead it used the old tax one last time to clear the debt at once. The committee's praise for the churchwardens' personal work on the country church explains the haste. A churchwarden who had supervised a £390 repair and then paid part of the bill himself could not reasonably be left waiting, as Blenkins had been, for three years. The meeting was held in the library in James Valley, not in the chapel or the sessions house. The vestry's business was moving out of church buildings into the island's civic rooms. The parish was taking on the character of a town council, dealing with streets, roads, fish prices, taxation and public health as well as the church and the poor.
513	504	at the Easter Meeting) for the liberal donation of £200§ §presented by the Honorable the Governor and Council§ §towards the considerable Expence which the necessary§ §and complete repairs have received.§ §The Committee have also at the sametime the§ §pleasing opportunity of acknowledging that the Expences§ §of the Repairs have been managed by the Church Wardens§ §with such Judgment as deserves the thanks of the§ §Parish. And the Committee unanimously require the same§ §to be recorded in the Parish Book.§ §(Signed) "R. Boys Senr. Chaplain§ §R. W. Barker§ §J. Bennett§ §Jas. Andrew§ §Josh. Cole"§	The committee joined the whole parish, which had spoken at the Easter meeting, in thanking the Governor and Council for their generous gift of £200 0s 0d. The money went towards the large cost of the full repairs to the country church. The committee also welcomed the chance to recognise the churchwardens' sound judgement in managing the cost of the repairs, which earned them the parish's thanks. It voted unanimously to have this recorded in the parish book. The Reverend R. Boys, senior chaplain, R. W. Barker, J. Bennett, James Andrews and Joseph Cole signed for the committee. At the same meeting the following parish officers were appointed. Constables Charles Gunnell James Ambrose Buckley Wormers of cattle William Blueman, western division Valentia Isaac, southern division Thomas Wills, eastern division

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		§Committee§ §At the aforesaid Meeting the following persons§ §were appointed Parish Officers§ §Charles Gunnell§ §James Ambrose Buckley§ §Constables§ §Wm. Blueman West Division§ §Valentia Isaac South Do.§ §Thos. Wills East Do.§ §Wormers of Cattle§	**Interpretations** The Reverend R. Boys signed as a member of the vestry committee. He was the senior chaplain the inhabitants had publicly denied any part in abolition in 1819. Since then he had chaired the committee for the free blacks' fund and proposed ending public slave auctions, a proposal the slave owners had voted down. He was now sitting on the parish's main executive body. The committee had been designed for landholders. Boys's place on it shows that the vestry had come to accept the Company's chaplain as part of parish government, even though it still denied his role in abolition.
514	505	At a Meeting of the Vestry Committee held§ §at the Country Church on 29th. April 1825§ §The proposition of Mr. Janisch relative to the Poll Tax made§ §at the last Vestry Meeting was taken into consideration§ §It was proposed that the Expence of the Parish should§ §be defrayed in part by a Tax upon Houses. to effect which§ §the Houses will be divided into twelve Classes. these Classes§ §to be fixed by three persons, (the following are proposed§ §vizt.§ §Capt. Sampson§ §Mr. Joseph Cole§ §Revd. R. Boys)§ §in such a manner as to raise the sum of £150 -§ §With the view to render this Tax equitable, It was§ §resolved to apply to the Government to allow the Companys§ §Houses (except the Castle and Plantation House) and to be§ §levied on the persons to whose Situation such Houses are§ §attached.§ §It was also agreed to propose that a Tax of§ §seven shillings each should be equally levied on every Free§ §Male person between the Ages of 21 and 60 in which§ §case every such person will be entitled to a Vote in Vestry§ §for the appropriation of the Parish Funds. It is§ §calculated that by this means the sum of £100 will§ §be raised which with the preceding £150 will cover§ §the Parish Expences.§ §Signed "R. Boys§ §B. J. Vernon§ §R. W. Barker§ §J. Bennett§ §Joseph Cole§ §Jas. Andrew§ §Committee§ §C. Sampson§ §F. Seale§ §Church Wardens"§	On 29 April 1825 the vestry committee met at the country church to consider Mr Janisch's proposal on the poll tax, put forward at the last vestry. The committee proposed paying part of the parish's costs through a tax on houses. The houses would be sorted into 12 classes by three assessors, Captain Sampson, Joseph Cole and the Reverend R. Boys. The classes would be set so as to raise £150 0s 0d. To make the tax fair, the committee agreed to ask the government to let it include the Company's houses, except the Castle and Plantation House. The tax on each Company house would be charged to the official whose post it went with. The committee also proposed a flat tax of 7s on every free man between the ages of 21 and 60. Every man who paid it would have a vote in the vestry on how the parish's money was spent. The committee reckoned that this tax would raise £100 0s 0d. With the £150 0s 0d from the house tax, that would cover the parish's costs. The Reverend R. Boys, B. J. Vernon, R. W. Barker, J. Bennett, Joseph Cole and James Andrews signed for the committee. C. Sampson and F. Seale signed as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The committee proposed dropping the head count of slaves as the basis of parish taxation. Under the poll tax, every slave in a household had been taxed as a head, so the largest slaveholders paid the most. The new scheme taxed houses by their class and charged a flat 7s on each free adult man. Slaves were not counted at all. The shift came as slaves were growing fewer under the abolition measure, and a tax based on them would have yielded less each year. Houses and free men were a base that would grow rather than shrink. The scheme also moved part of the burden from country planters with many slaves onto town householders with valuable houses. Linking the 7s tax to a vote in the vestry changed who belonged to the parish. Until then only landholders and householders could vote. Under the plan, any free man aged 21 to 60 who paid the tax would have a say in parish spending, whether or not he held property. Free blacks paid into their own fund and were excused the poll tax. Under this proposal, a free black man who paid the 7s could have claimed a vote alongside the planters. The committee did not exclude anyone by colour. It tied the vote to payment and age alone. The committee asked to tax the Company's houses, charging officials for the houses that went with their posts. Company servants had lived in Company property and paid nothing towards the parish, though they used its streets and church. The vestry had argued for years that the Company should bear its share. Taxing the occupants of official houses made that argument a demand for revenue. The committee left out the Castle and Plantation House, the Governor's two residences. It did not ask the Governor to pay a tax that the Governor himself would have to approve.

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515	506	At a Meeting of Vestry held in the§ §Chapel in James Valley 2nd. May 1825.§ §The Proceedings of the Vestry Committee of 29th.§ §Ult. being laid before the Vestry Were agreed to with§ §the following Amendments, namely that in lieu of fixing§ §the rate of seven shillings upon each Free person between§ §21 and 60, a proportionate rate be levied equally on§ §every such Free Male person in order to raise the remaining§ §amount required for the Parish Expences.§ §Resolved that the Proceedings of the three Gentlemen§ §respecting classing Houses be laid before the Vestry§ §Committee as early as possible and then submitted to§ §the Vestry -§ §(Signed) "C. Sampson Churchwarden"§	On 2 May 1825 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley and considered the committee's proposals of 29 April 1825. It accepted them with one change. In place of a fixed charge of 7s on each free man aged 21 to 60, it would charge every such man an equal share of whatever sum was still needed to meet the parish's costs. The vestry also directed that the three assessors' work on classing the houses be put to the vestry committee as soon as possible and then brought back to the vestry. C. Sampson signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The vestry replaced the fixed 7s with an equal share of whatever the house tax left uncovered. The committee had expected 7s a man to raise £100 0s 0d, but that rested on a guess about how many free men there were. Under the vestry's version, the house tax would be raised first and the men's charge would be set afterwards to fill the gap exactly. The rate could rise or fall from year to year, as the poll tax had, while the parish's needs would always be met. The change made the men's tax a balancing item rather than a fixed levy. The house tax, set by the assessors' classes, became the main charge.
516	507	Proposed Plan for defraying the Expences incurred on§ §account of Repairs of Roads, viz. about £410 per Annum§ §as stated by the Governor and Council in their late§ §communication to the Inhabitants -§ §This Amount is to be raised by a Tax upon Carriages & Carts§ §and by making all the male Inhabitants of the Island work§ §a certain number of Days upon the Roads, which they may§ §either do in person or commute for at a certain rate.§ §Tax upon Carriages§ §Class, if for private use, if for hire§ §1st. Class: if for private use £5, if for hire £6§ §for every additional Carriage of the same Proprietor: if for private use 2, if for hire 3§ §2nd. Class: if for private use 3, if for hire 4§ §for every additional one: if for private use 1, if for hire 2§ §There are of the first Class for Private use 6 at £5§ §£30 . 0 . 0§ §additional ones 1 at 2§ §2 . 0 . 0§ §for hire 2 at 6§ §12 . 0 . 0§ §Do. of the second Class for private use 3 at 3§ §9 . 0 . 0§ §for hire 3 at 4§ §12 . 0 . 0§ §Total amount of Carriage Tax§ §£65 . 0 . 0§ §Tax upon Carts§ §37 at £3. 0. 0 each§ §£111 . 0 . 0§ §6 additional ones £1. each§ §6 . 0 . 0§ §117 . 0 . 0§ §Amount of Labor done by the Inhabitants§ §There are between the age of 16 & 60§ §according to the last Returns§ §of Whites§ §182§ §People of Colour about§ §200§ §Slaves§ §288§ §670§ §3½ days at 7/ each§ §234 . 10 . 0§	The government had told the inhabitants that repairing the roads would cost about £410 0s 0d a year. A plan was drawn up to raise that sum through a tax on carriages and carts and a set number of days' work on the roads from every male inhabitant. Each man could either do the work himself or pay a fixed sum instead. Carriage tax First class, kept for private use, £5 0s 0d First class, kept for hire, £6 0s 0d First class, each extra carriage of the same owner, private use, £2 0s 0d First class, each extra carriage of the same owner, for hire, £3 0s 0d Second class, kept for private use, £3 0s 0d Second class, kept for hire, £4 0s 0d Second class, each extra carriage, private use, £1 0s 0d Second class, each extra carriage, for hire, £2 0s 0d Expected yield First class, 6 private carriages at £5, £30 0s 0d First class, 1 extra carriage at £2, £2 0s 0d First class, 2 carriages for hire at £6, £12 0s 0d Second class, 3 private carriages at £3, £9 0s 0d Second class, 3 carriages for hire at £4, £12 0s 0d Total carriage tax, £65 0s 0d Cart tax 37 carts at £3 0s 0d each, £111 0s 0d 6 extra carts at £1 0s 0d each, £6 0s 0d Total cart tax, £117 0s 0d Labour by the inhabitants Males aged 16 to 60 at the last returns, whites, 182 Males aged 16 to 60 at the last returns, people of colour, about 200 Males aged 16 to 60 at the last returns, slaves, 288 Total males, 670 670 men at 3½ days each, valued at 7s a man, £234 10s 0d Total from all sources, £416 10s 0d **Interpretations** The road plan counted slaves as labourers but not as taxpayers. The vestry's new parish taxes had just dropped slaves from the reckoning altogether. Here 288 male slaves were listed alongside free men as owing 3½ days' work on the roads. Their owners would either send them to do it or pay 7s a man to excuse them. In practice, much of the free men's share would also be met by sending slaves, so the

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		§£416 . 10 . 0§	planters' labour force carried the main weight of the plan. The commutation rate of 7s for 3½ days valued a day's road work at 2s. The plan also shows the make-up of the island's adult male population in 1825. People of colour, about 200, already outnumbered the 182 white men between 16 and 60, and 288 remained slaves. Under the abolition measure, children born since Christmas Day 1818 were free, and slaves had been freed by purchase and by owners such as the Leech family. The share of free men of colour would go on growing, while the slave figure would fall. That made a road tax based on free men's labour more and more dependent on the free black population. The carriage tax charged hired carriages more than private ones. A carriage kept for hire earned its owner money from the roads, so it paid more for them. The tax was small. Only 15 carriages were counted on the whole island, against 43 carts. Carts carried the farm produce and supplies that did most of the damage to the roads, and their tax raised almost twice as much as the carriage tax.
517	508	[Ink stains along the right edge of the page.] Captain C. Sampson & Capt. F. Seale§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen,§ §The Governor and Council have had before§ §them the various propositions which have been submitted to them§ §by several successive Meetings of the Inhabitants assembled in§ §Vestry, and they have given that attentive consideration to the§ §various points adduced which their importance demands. If in§ §a few instances the Governor and Council do not entirely concur§ §in the sentiments of the Vestry, they feel at the same time§ §satisfied that the respectable body of the Inhabitants can have§ §in common with the Government but one object in view, namely§ §the general good combined with a just regard of what is due to§ §the paternal consideration ever evinced towards this Island by the§ §Honble. East India Company.§ §The result of the Governor and Councils deliberations§ §on the subject in question are contained in the accompanying§ §Copy of their proceedings which the Deputy Secretary is directed§ §to read to the Meeting. It will be seen that upon such§ §points as the Governor and Council differ in opinion from the§ §Vestry, the reasons are fully assigned, and no measure overruled§ §without the substitution of another proposition in its place§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena§ §18 July 1825.§ §Your obedt. Servant,§ §(Signed) "Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy."§	On 18 July 1825 Thomas H. Brooke, secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, Captain C. Sampson and Captain F. Seale. The Governor and Council had considered the various proposals put to them by several meetings of the inhabitants in vestry. They had given each point the careful attention its importance required. The Governor and Council did not fully agree with the vestry in a few cases. Even so, they were confident that the respectable body of inhabitants shared the government's single aim. That aim was the general good, together with proper respect for the fatherly care the East India Company had always shown towards the island. The Governor and Council's decisions were set out in a copy of their proceedings, which the deputy secretary was told to read to the meeting. Wherever the government differed from the vestry, it gave its reasons in full. It had overruled no measure without putting another proposal in its place. **Interpretations** The government promised to replace every vestry measure it overruled with a proposal of its own. It could simply have vetoed the parts of the new tax scheme it disliked. Instead it set out to counter each one. The vestry had just designed a complete new system: a house tax including Company houses, a charge on free men carrying a vote, and road taxes on carriages, carts and labour. Rejecting parts without alternatives would have left the parish with no way to raise its revenue. By promising a substitute for each, the government kept control of the outcome and avoided leaving the parish without income. The letter appealed to the Company's "fatherly care" for the island. The vestry had asked to tax the occupants of Company houses, and it had repeatedly argued that the Company should pay towards church costs. By reminding the inhabitants of the Company's generosity, the government prepared them for refusals on exactly those points. The £200 0s 0d it had just given towards the country church gave the reminder weight.
518	509	[Staining along the left edge of the page.] Copy of the Governor and Councils Minute on the§ §Proceedings referred to them by the Vestry at their late§ §Meetings -§ §The following documents which have come before	The Governor and Council minuted their decisions on the proposals the vestry had sent them from its recent meetings. They took up the following papers, which had reached the Board on different days.

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		the Board§ §on several different days are taken into consideration -§ §No. 1. Is a letter from the Committee of the Inhabitants§ §inclosing a proposition No. 2, by Mr. Janisch relative to an§ §alteration in the mode of paying for the repairs of highways§ §and the propositions of the Vestry No. 3 founded on the motion§ §of Mr. Janisch. No. 4. comprizes the proceedings of a Vestry§ §Committee and of a Vestry proposing an alteration of the§ §principle upon which the Parish dues are levied. and No. 5. is§ §an Address from several Individuals regarding the Horse tax.§ §The Governor & Council will proceed to consider the§ §foregoing propositions in the order above mentioned - (No. 1, 2 & 3)§ §above papers have been transmitted under eight most respectable§ §signatures, but the subscribers were possibly not aware that in§ §styling themselves a Committee of the Inhabitants an oversight§ §had been committed. No permission for a Meeting of Inhabitants§ §had been either applied for or granted, except for a Vestry -§ §But as the object for which a meeting under the above§ §appellation was perfectly unobjectionable, the want of form§ §is waived by the Governor and Council. They would however§ §have been neglectful of their duty were they to suffer it§ §to pass entirely without notice - In canvassing the merits§ §of the propositions for raising money for the repairs of§ §highways, it will be expedient to commence with adverting§ §to the principles on which that operation has been heretofore§ §conducted.§ §It is to be observed that until these last ten or§ §twelve Years with the exception of the Road between the§ §Town and Ladder Hill, & the road from Hutts Gate to§ §Longwood (which were maintained at the Companys Expence)§ §the highways were generally kept in repair by the Inhabitants§ §This was effected by their furnishing six days labor in the§ §Year for every male Slave between 16 and 60, and by§ §each person who kept a Cart sending the same to work§	1: A letter from a committee of the inhabitants, enclosing the paper below. 2: Mr Janisch's proposal to change the way repairs to the highways were paid for. 3: The vestry's proposals based on Mr Janisch's motion. 4: The proceedings of a vestry committee and of a vestry proposing a change in the basis on which parish rates were raised. 5: An address from several individuals about the horse tax. The Governor and Council would deal with these in that order. The first three papers had come under the signatures of eight highly respectable inhabitants. The signers had probably not realised that calling themselves a "committee of the inhabitants" was irregular. Nobody had asked for, or been given, permission for any meeting of inhabitants other than a vestry. The purpose of the meeting was entirely proper, so the Governor and Council overlooked the lapse in form. They would have failed in their duty, however, if they had let it pass without comment. Before judging the plan for paying for road repairs, the government reviewed how the roads had been kept until then. Up to 10 or 12 years earlier, the inhabitants had generally maintained the highways themselves. The exceptions were the road from Jamestown to Ladder Hill and the road from Hutt's Gate to Longwood, which the Company kept up at its own expense. The inhabitants had met their duty by supplying six days' labour a year for every male slave aged 16 to 60. Everyone who kept a cart also had to send it to work on the roads. **Interpretations** The government reproved the signers for calling themselves a "committee of the inhabitants", even though it accepted their proposals. Only the vestry could meet with the government's permission, and only through it could the inhabitants speak with one voice. A self-appointed committee claiming to speak for the whole population would have been a body outside the government's control. The government let it pass this time but stated the principle so that no standing body could grow up beside the vestry. The old road system had rested entirely on slave labour. Every planter owed six days a year for each male slave aged 16 to 60. The burden fell in proportion to the slaves a planter held, and a free household with no slaves owed nothing but its cart. As slaves grew fewer under the abolition measure, that labour shrank year by year. The government was setting out the old basis to show why a new one was needed. The vestry's plan of May 1825 still counted slaves, but it also brought in free white men and men of colour, who had never before owed road work.
519	510	[The right-hand edge of the page is torn away along much of its length, with loss of the ends of lines; a large stain lies over the right side of the middle of the page.] four days. Three Overseers of Highways (one from each [...]§ §were elected by the Vestry to see that the work was [...]§ §executed - The persons elected to serve as Overseers§ §found it so very great an encroachment on their time, that§	Each cart also had to work four days a year. The vestry elected three overseers of the highways, one for each district, to make sure the work was done. The men chosen found the duty took up so much of their time that they were allowed to find substitutes from among the garrison's non-commissioned officers, paying £20 0s 0d each. The rule was later changed, and a tax on land and houses was raised to pay the three overseers. A further change came under Governor Lowe, made to suit the landholders. This was the current

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		§they were allowed to obtain a substitute for the same (paying§ §£20 each) from amongst the Non Commissioned Officers of the§ §Garrison - This rule was afterwards modified, and to defray§ §the expence of three Overseers a tax was levied on Lands & houses§ §Another alteration in the system was adopted in the§ §Government of Sir H. Lowe for the accommodation of§ §Landholders vizt. the present commutation for Slaves & [...]§ §The total sum furnished by the Inhabitants from the§ §different sources of taxation amounted in the Year [...]§ §£410. 16. 6 whilst the Company who in former years [...]§ §the expence only of the road up Ladder Hill and§ §Hutts Gate to Longwood, incurred an expence equal to [...]§ §difference between what the Inhabitants paid and the [...]§ §sum required for keeping the highways in order, which [...]§ §sum in the Year ending 1825 30th. April was £1332. 14. 0. of§ §this sum the Inhabitants paid no more than £324. 6. 0§ §being less by £86 than it was three Years ago, it follows§ §either that the sources of taxation have diminished or that§ §evasions have been committed by incorrect returns of Slaves§ §or Carts or both.§ §When it is considered that the Company have so very§ §much augmented their proportion of the charge for keeping§ §the highways in repair, the Inhabitants would hardly§ §expect that their proportion should be diminished.§ §The raising of money for the proposed object by a§ §Tax upon Slaves, however well adapted to former times, when§ §Slaves were the only Labourers is now becoming more and§ §more objectionable. First because there are Inhabitants who§ §tho' possessed of property and whose Horses & Carts travel on§ §the highway yet not being possessed of Slaves are consequently§ §exempt from that share of taxation which heretofore has formed§ §the most abundant source; secondly because the very source§ §itself must be diminishing every year - For these [...]§ §the Governor and Council are of opinion that the [...]§	money payment in place of slave labour and carts. In the year [...], the total the inhabitants paid from all these taxes came to £410 16s 6d. In earlier years the Company had paid only for the road up Ladder Hill and the road from Hutt's Gate to Longwood. It now covered the whole difference between what the inhabitants paid and the full cost of keeping the highways in order. In the year to 30 April 1825 that full cost was £1,322 14s 0d. The inhabitants paid no more than £324 6s 0d of it, £86 less than three years before. The government concluded that either the taxable sources had shrunk or people had evaded payment by declaring too few slaves or carts, or both. Since the Company had so greatly increased its own share of the cost, the government held that the inhabitants could hardly expect their share to fall. The government judged that a tax on slaves had suited earlier times, when slaves did all the labour, but was now increasingly open to objection, for two reasons. First, some inhabitants owned property, and their horses and carts used the highways. Yet because they held no slaves, they escaped the tax that had so far been the main source of revenue. Second, the slave tax itself must shrink every year. For these reasons the Governor and Council concluded that the inhabitants should pay on a different basis. **Interpretations** The Company was paying about three-quarters of the cost of the island's roads. Of £1,322 14s 0d spent in the year to April 1825, the inhabitants paid only £324 6s 0d, and the Company paid the rest. The vestry had argued for years that the Company should pay more towards parish costs. On the roads, the government showed that the Company already paid far more than its share, and that the inhabitants' share was falling. The figures answered in advance the vestry's demand to tax Company houses. On the roads at least, the inhabitants were the ones not paying their way. The government suspected that the fall of £86 in three years came partly from false returns of slaves and carts. The money payment introduced under Governor Lowe relied on each landholder declaring his own slaves and carts. The poll tax had the same weakness, as the falling head counts on the rolls had shown. A tax based on what owners chose to report invited understatement. A house tax assessed by appointed assessors, or a road tax on carts counted by officials, would be harder to dodge. The government agreed with the vestry that a tax based on slaves was no longer workable, for the same reasons the vestry had given. Merchants and others with property but no slaves used the roads and paid nothing. Each year more slaves became free or died without being replaced, since importing slaves had been banned since 1792 and children born after Christmas Day 1818 were free. On this point the government and the vestry agreed. The dispute between them concerned what should take the slave tax's place.
520	511	[Staining along the left edge of the page.] on Slaves should be abolished entirely and another principle§ §adopted by which a sum might be furnished by the Inhabitants§ §towards the repairs of highways equal or at least nearly equal§ §to what it was in 1822 vizt. £410 and this might be§ §effected in the following mode -§ §The Commutation for furnishing Overseers is raised by a§ §Tax on Lands in the Country and Ground Rents in Town &§ §amounts to £72. The Quadruple of this sum in	The government proposed abolishing the tax on slaves altogether. In its place, the inhabitants should pay towards the highways on another basis, raising the same sum as in 1822, about £410 0s 0d, or close to it. The government set out how this could be done. The money paid in place of providing highway overseers was raised by a tax on land in the country and on ground rents in town, and it came to £72 0s 0d. Raising that tax to four times its amount would replace the slave tax. Land and ground rent tax at four times the present rate, in place of the slave tax, £288 0s 0d

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		substitution§ §of the Tax upon Slaves would be§ §£288§ §£3 in place of £4 on each Cart Owner of whom there are 37§ §111§ §£1 for each additional Cart say§ §6§ §£405§ §A Tax upon Carriages and Hack Horses might then§ §be reserved in aid of the Parish expences -§ §There is an instance or two of Carts of a very light§ §construction being used between the Town & Country - perhaps§ §Carts of this description should be taxed in a less sum than§ §those drawn by more than one Horse or Mule - The Governor§ §and Council however will be glad to receive the sentiments§ §of the Vestry on this point, as well as on a suggestion which§ §has been started in regard to reducing the Tax on any Carts§ §which may be employed wholly on a farm & are never seen§ §in Town - The Governor & Council entirely approve the§ §proposal of affixing a number on each Cart & the name§ §of the Owner -§ §With respect to the proprietors of those Carts who§ §have exposed themselves to a fine for omitting to return their§ §Carts last Year the Governor & Council on the present occasion§ §will refrain from exacting it, but the Defaulters will be§ §called on forthwith to pay up the Tax for last Year and§ §omissions of this kind in future will be fined in double§ §the amount of the Tax.§ §The Board now proceed to take into consideration§ §the paper marked No. 4.§ §Towards defraying the Parish Expences it is proposed§ §to levy a Tax on Houses and that a classification of that species§ §of property be made for the purpose.§ §The Governor and Council approve the principle but§ §they are unable to give a decided opinion on the manner§	37 cart owners at £3 each in place of £4, £111 0s 0d Each additional cart at £1, about 6 carts, £6 0s 0d Total, £405 0s 0d A tax on carriages and hired horses might then be kept to help with the parish's costs. One or two light carts were used between the town and the country. The government thought such carts should perhaps pay less than those drawn by more than one horse or mule. It would welcome the vestry's views on this, and on a suggestion to cut the tax on carts used only on a farm and never seen in town. The Governor and Council fully approved the proposal to mark each cart with a number and its owner's name. Some cart owners had made themselves liable to a fine by failing to declare their carts the previous year. On this occasion the Governor and Council would not enforce the fine. The defaulters would, however, be required to pay the previous year's tax at once. In future, anyone who failed to declare a cart would be fined twice the amount of the tax. The Board then turned to paper number 4. To meet the parish's costs, the vestry proposed a tax on houses, with this kind of property sorted into classes for the purpose. The Governor and Council approved the principle but could not yet give a firm opinion on how it would work. **Interpretations** The government moved the road burden from slaves to land. The vestry's plan of May 1825 had kept slaves in the reckoning as road labourers and drawn in free men of every colour. The government dropped slaves entirely and made no use of the free men's labour. It quadrupled the existing tax on country land and town ground rents. It thereby rejected the vestry's own proposal and supplied its replacement, as the letter of 18 July 1825 had promised. A tax on acres and rents could not be dodged by understating slaves, and it did not shrink as slaves were freed. It also fell on merchants and townsmen with property but no slaves, who had escaped the old system. Numbering each cart and painting its owner's name on it made every cart visible on the road. A planter who declared four carts could no longer run six without being noticed. Together with a fine of twice the tax for anyone who failed to declare a cart, the measure targeted the false returns the government blamed for the inhabitants' falling share.
521	512	until the proposition comes before them in a more definite form.§ §With regard to taxing the Occupiers of the Companys§ §Houses, the Governor and Council cannot admit the correctness§ §of the principle - If the public functionaries at St. Helena§ §were paid by the Parish as they are paid by the community§ §at large in England, the Vestry here, like the Parliament there§ §might have a claim to tax their emoluments - But Public Officers§ §at St. Helena being paid exclusively by the Lords Proprietors of§ §the Island who also contribute liberally to the Parish expences§ §and render such extensive assistance to the Island in general,§ §the proposal in question is somewhat out of the	The Governor and Council would decide on the house tax once the proposal reached them in a more definite form. They could not accept the principle of taxing the occupants of the Company's houses. In England, public officials were paid by the community at large. If St Helena's officials were paid by the parish in the same way, the vestry might have a claim to tax their incomes, just as Parliament did. But on St Helena public officers were paid entirely by the Company, which owned the island. The Company also gave generously towards the parish's costs and helped the island in many other ways. The government therefore judged that the proposal fell somewhat outside the vestry's powers. The next proposal was a tax on every free man aged 21 to 60, with every such man given a vote in the vestry. The Governor and Council understood that at an earlier meeting the vestry itself had judged a poll tax objectionable. The most enlightened political economists had long held the same view. Such a tax

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		province of§ §the Vestry.§ §The next proposition is for a Tax on every Free Male person§ §between the ages of 21 and 60 and that every such person§ §be entitled to a Vote in Vestry.§ §The Governor and Council have been led to believe that§ §in the opinion of the Vestry at a former meeting a Poll tax§ §was objectionable, an opinion which has long been held by the§ §most enlightened political economists - It must be an unequal§ §tax as no distinction is observed between the Man who lives by§ §his daily labour and the possessor of thousands. In the§ §event of a Pauper being either unable or unwilling to pay the§ §Tax no measure of compulsion could be resorted to which would§ §be legal - It may be answered possibly that the annual§ §sum proposed is very small but if the principle be wrong§ §it would be also wrong if the sum were only one farthing -§ §It must also be obvious that daily Labourers and Paupers would§ §be very unfit persons to admit to vote in Vestry & thus to§ §discharge a public function which in all well regulated§ §communities is confined to persons possessed of some property§ §and who have therefore a greater interest in the preservation§ §of law and order, than the Man who has nothing - The§ §proposition must assuredly have been made without much§ §reflection - It approaches to universal suffrage, a measure§ §which the Governor & Council can hardly think was contemplated§ §by a St. Helena Vestry§ §The Governor & Council have already expressed their§ §apprehension that the Tax on Carts has not been duly levied§ §and they likewise have reason to believe that a [...] has§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§	had to be unfair, since it made no distinction between a man who lived on his daily wages and a man worth thousands. If a pauper could not or would not pay, there was no lawful means of forcing him. The government expected the answer that the yearly sum proposed was very small. But if the principle was wrong, it would be just as wrong for a single farthing. The government also considered it obvious that day labourers and paupers would be quite unfit to vote in the vestry. In every well-run community that public duty was confined to people with some property. Such people had a greater stake in preserving law and order than a man with nothing. The proposal must have been made without much thought. It came close to universal suffrage, a measure the Governor and Council could hardly believe a St Helena vestry intended. The Governor and Council had already said they feared the cart tax was not being properly collected. They also had reason to believe that a [...]. **Interpretations** The government rejected the tax on free men mainly because it came with a vote. Its objections to the tax itself were real but secondary. It used the vestry's own complaint that the poll tax was unfair to condemn a new flat charge on men. Its decisive argument was that a vote for every man who paid would bring day labourers and paupers into parish government. In 1825, free men of colour already outnumbered white men of working age on the island. A vote open to every free man aged 21 to 60 would soon have given free blacks and men of colour a majority in the vestry. The government did not mention colour. It argued from property, but property on St Helena still largely followed race. Universal suffrage was the demand of English radicals in the years after Waterloo. Parliament and the government in London had firmly resisted it. The Governor and Council treated the word as decisive, as if naming the principle were enough to defeat it. The vestry had probably meant only to link paying the tax to having a say in spending it. Labelling the plan universal suffrage put a small parish reform alongside the most dangerous political cause of the day. The government refused to let the vestry tax the occupants of Company houses, on the ground that the Company paid its officers and gave generously to the parish. That rested on the island's position as the Company's property rather than a community governing itself. In England, ratepayers taxed everyone who lived among them because officials were paid out of public money. On St Helena, the Company was both the government and the owner. Its servants answered to it, not to the parish. The vestry could tax the inhabitants, but not the Company's own people.
522	513	existed in levying the Dog Tax which in former years yielded the§ §Parish about £40.§ §In resorting to any new principle of taxation, it should be§ §borne in mind that without due circumspection errors may be committed§ §which may tend to diminish the very source from which the§ §Tax is created - It is believed that it would not be difficult§ §to adduce instances of this nature in the Mother Country, where§ §the use of an overtaxed Article became so reduced, as to leave§ §little or no surplus over the expence of collecting the Tax.§	The government also had reason to believe that the dog tax had been levied carelessly. In earlier years it had brought the parish about £40 0s 0d. The government warned that any new principle of taxation needed careful handling. Without due care, mistakes could shrink the very thing being taxed. It believed examples of this could easily be found in England, where some heavily taxed goods had come into so little use that the tax brought in little or nothing beyond the cost of collecting it. The Board agreed with the vestry that carriages were a very suitable thing to tax. A type of carriage well suited to the island's roads had recently become available for about £40 0s 0d to £50 0s 0d. If the settlement's finances improved, more people might well want carriages, and that would help the parish funds. Among them might be several people of either sex with modest incomes. Because of their age or

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		§The Board agree with the Vestry that Carriages form a§ §very proper article of taxation§ §It is lately found that a description of Carriage admirably§ §suited to our Roads can be obtained for about £40 or £50§ §and it is not improbable that an amendment in the pecuniary§ §circumstances of the Settlement may be followed by a desire§ §to increase the number of the Carriages (and thus augment the§ §means of assisting the Parish Funds - Amongst those who§ §may have such a desire may be several of either sex of§ §moderate income who from their time of life or from§ §infirmity may find it extremely irksome to ride on horseback &§ §yet whose necessary avocation may compel them to travel§ §frequently between Country and Town, but it is a question§ §whether a tax of £6 per annum might not deter such§ §persons from thinking of a Carriage and consequently prove§ §a check to what otherwise may become an increasing source§ §of taxation - The Governor & Council are therefore of opinion§ §that the tax on Carriages should be regulated as follows§ §Class, If solely for Private use, If licensed to be hired§ §1st. Class. Such as are usually drawn by not less than two Horses or Mules: If solely for Private use £3, If licensed to be hired £4§ §For an additional Carriage of 1st. Class: If solely for Private use 1, If licensed to be hired 2§ §A Caravan like that of Mr. Solomons to be included in the first Class.§ §2nd. Class. Such as to draw which a second Horse or Mule is only employed occasionally and sufficiently light to admit of proof that one Horse when the Roads are in good order is perfectly equal to draw two grown persons from Town as far as Bates Branch or Longwood: If solely for Private use 1, If licensed to be hired 2§ §An additional Carriage of 2nd. Class: If solely for Private use 1, If licensed to be hired 1 . 15§ §A Kitt Cart like that of Captn. Statham to be included in the 2nd. Class.§	poor health, they might find riding on horseback very tiring, yet their work might require them to travel often between the country and the town. The government doubted that a tax of £6 0s 0d a year would not deter such people from buying a carriage. That would check what could otherwise become a growing source of revenue. The Governor and Council therefore proposed the following carriage tax. First class, usually drawn by at least two horses or mules, kept solely for private use, £3 0s 0d First class, usually drawn by at least two horses or mules, kept for hire or let out, £4 0s 0d First class, each additional carriage, private use, £1 0s 0d First class, each additional carriage, for hire, £2 0s 0d A caravan like Mr Solomon's, to be counted in the first class Second class, using a second horse or mule only occasionally and light enough for one horse on good roads to draw two adults from town as far as Bates Branch or Longwood, private use, £1 0s 0d Second class, as above, for hire, £2 0s 0d Second class, each additional carriage, private use, £1 0s 0d Second class, each additional carriage, for hire, £1 [...] A kite cart like Captain Statham's, to be counted in the second class **Interpretations** The government cut the vestry's carriage rates sharply, from £5 to £3 for a private first-class carriage and from £3 to £1 for the second class. The vestry had expected the carriage tax to produce £65 0s 0d from the 15 carriages then on the island. The government gave up much of that for the time being, expecting more carriages to be bought if the tax stayed low. Its point about overtaxed goods in England echoed arguments by economists that high duties reduced consumption and so yielded less. The government chose to tax lightly a luxury it hoped would spread, rather than heavily one that would stay rare. The second class was defined by what one horse could pull on the island's steep roads, not by the carriage's style. Bates Branch and Longwood lay on the high central plateau, a long climb from Jamestown. A carriage that one horse could draw that far with two adults was light by any standard. Naming particular vehicles, Mr Solomon's caravan in the first class and Captain Statham's kite cart in the second, shows how few carriages there were. The tax was being drawn up around the island's known vehicles, one by one.
523	514	According to the number of Carriages at present on the§ §Island a tax on the above principles would produce as follows§ §First Class for private use 6 Proprietors of whom one owns a second Carriage A§ §£19§ §First Class for hire one proprietor who possesses two B§ §6§ §Second Class for private use 3 proprietors C§ §3§ §Second Class for hire 3 proprietors D§ §6§ §A§ §Mr. Brooke 1§	The government worked out what its carriage tax would yield from the carriages then on the island. First class, private use, 6 owners, one with a second carriage, £19 0s 0d First class, for hire, 1 owner with 2 carriages, £6 0s 0d Second class, private use, 3 owners, £3 0s 0d Second class, for hire, 3 owners, £6 0s 0d First class private owners, [...], 1 carriage First class private owners, Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, 2 carriages First class private owners, Mr De Fountain, 1 carriage First class private owners, Captain Sampson, 1 carriage First class private owners, [...], 1 carriage

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		§Lieut. Col. Hodson 2§ §Mr. Desfountain 1§ §Capt. Sampson 1§ §Col. Leech 1§ §Capt. Hunter 1§ §B§ §Mr. S. Solomon 2§ §C§ §Mr. Beale§ §Mr. Baker§ §Capt. Statham§ §D§ §Mr. Eyre§ §Mr. Gideon§ §Mr. Clements§ §The tax of £2 per annum on each Hack Horse is approved§ §there are upwards of 20 persons who keep Horses for hire this§ §would consequently produce £40.§ §According to a statement furnished by the Churchwardens§ §it appears that the average annual expence incurred by the§ §Parish for the last five Years has been £263. 10. exclusive§ §of the sums advanced by the Company - To meet this demand§ §supposing it to be annual the requisite sums might be provided§ §as follows§ §Tax on Carriages§ §£34 . 0 . 0§ §Do. on Hack Horses§ §40 . 0 . 0§ §Dog Tax if properly enforced§ §35 . 0 . 0§ §109 . 0 . 0§ §Proposed Tax on Houses§ §154 . 10 . 0§ §Total£ 263 . 10 . 0§ §The adoption of the above principle would enable the Parish§ §to abolish the Poll Tax entirely. In 1823 the Poll Tax§ §amounted to £280 and in 1824 to £242.§ §From the observations already stated it may be very§ §probable that the Tax on Carriages may eventually become§ §more fruitful than it is at present.§ §From some intimations which have reached the Government§ §it is apprehended that the Constitutional rules of the Vestry§ §have not been sufficiently kept in view and that unqualified§ §persons have been admitted to vote - As every equitable§ §Tax must fall on property those possessed not of any are§ §not the very fittest for discussing what species of property§ §should or should not be taxed, or to determine who are the§	First class private owners, Captain [...], 1 carriage First class for hire, Mr S. Solomon, 2 carriages Second class private owners, [...] Second class private owners, Mr Baker Second class private owners, Captain Statham Second class for hire, Mr Eyre Second class for hire, Mr Gideon Second class for hire, Mr Clements The government approved a tax of £2 0s 0d a year on each horse kept for hire. More than 20 people kept horses for hire, so the tax would raise £40 0s 0d. According to a statement from the churchwardens, the parish had spent an average of £263 10s 0d a year over the last five years. That figure did not include the sums the Company had paid. Assuming the cost stayed the same each year, the government proposed meeting it as follows. Tax on carriages, £34 0s 0d Tax on horses for hire, £40 0s 0d Dog tax, if properly enforced, £35 0s 0d Subtotal, £109 0s 0d Proposed tax on houses, £154 10s 0d Total, £263 10s 0d This plan would let the parish abolish the poll tax altogether. In 1823 the poll tax had raised £280 0s 0d, and in 1824 £242 0s 0d. In view of its earlier remarks, the government thought the carriage tax would probably bring in more over time than it did at first. Reports had reached the government that the vestry was not keeping closely enough to its own rules, and that people with no right to vote had been allowed to do so. The government held that every fair tax must fall on property. Those who owned none were therefore not the best judges of what kinds of property should be taxed, or of who should [...]. **Interpretations** The government's plan abolished the poll tax without replacing it with any charge on persons. All the parish's income would come from property: houses, carriages, hired horses and dogs. It met the vestry's complaint that the poll tax was unfair, but on the government's own terms. The vestry had wanted part of the cost raised from every free man, with a vote attached. The government rejected that and put the whole burden on property owners. That fitted its argument that only those with property should decide on taxes. The people who paid would be the people who voted. The government suspected that unqualified people had been voting in the vestry. In April 1820 it had ruled that only landholders and householders could vote or be fined for staying away. The vestry's plan to give every taxed free man a vote suggested to the government that the vestry was already letting poorer men take part. Its warning that people without property were not fit to judge taxes on property tied that suspicion to its rejection of the vote. The government meant to keep the vestry a meeting of property owners. The list of carriage owners shows the island's wealthiest households: Hodson, De Fountain, Sampson and Solomon, among others. Only 15 carriages existed, and they were spread across about a dozen owners. The new carriage tax would fall almost entirely on the families that already led the vestry and sat on its committee. Under the plan, those families would pay the carriage and house taxes, and those taxes would fund the parish. The government's view that property should govern rested on property also paying.
524	515	most proper men for discharging County or Parish duties. By§ §the original Constitutions of the Island it was	The government doubted that men without property were the right people to decide who was best fitted for county or parish duties. Under the

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		freeholders only§ §who had a right to vote in Vestry, this was afterwards modified§ §and leaseholders and householders were admitted to the right.§ §Doubtless there are many Shopservants and Apprentices of§ §very estimable character but they are not proper persons to§ §harangue or vote at Vestry Meetings and the Governor and§ §Council trust that the Constitutional members of those§ §Meetings will be more watchful in future of their own respectability§ §(Signed) "Chas. Blake§ §18 July 1825.§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt."§ §At a Meeting of Vestry held in the Chapel in§ §James Town on 18th. July 1825 in pursuance of§ §the Government advertizement§ §Mr. Blake the Deputy Secretary read the foregoing§ §Communications from Government.§ §The Church Warden then put the Question whether§ §the proposed substitution on the part of Government just§ §read is acceded to by the Vestry? At first sight the§ §Vestry conceive there may be perhaps many objections to make§ §particularly to the proposed Commutation Tax; but request§ §another Vestry may be called on Monday next to reconsider§ §the Government Communications.§ §(Signed) "C. Sampson, Church Warden"§	island's original constitution, only freeholders had the right to vote in the vestry. That rule had later been relaxed, and leaseholders and householders were given the vote as well. The government accepted that many shop workers and apprentices were of very good character. Even so, they were not the proper people to make speeches or vote at a vestry. The Governor and Council trusted that the lawful members of those meetings would guard their own standing more carefully. Charles Blake signed the minute as deputy secretary to the government on 18 July 1825. On 18 July 1825 a vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown, as the government's notice had directed. Mr Blake, the deputy secretary, read out the government's papers. The churchwarden then asked whether the vestry accepted the government's alternative proposals. The vestry thought at first sight that there might be many objections, especially to the proposed tax in place of road labour. It asked for another vestry to be called the following Monday to look at the government's papers again. C. Sampson signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The government named shop workers and apprentices as the people it believed had been voting improperly. These were young men and wage earners in Jamestown who rented no house of their own. They lived in their masters' premises and held no land. The vestry's proposed tax on every free man would have given them a vote by right. The government recalled that only freeholders had once been entitled to vote, to show that the franchise had already been widened as far as it should go. Householders were the outer limit. Below them, a man's character did not count, only his property. The vestry did not accept the government's plan on the spot. It singled out the tax on land and ground rents in place of road labour as its chief concern. Under that plan, the tax on land would be quadrupled, falling on landholders and on the leaseholders of Company land, who were the vestry's own core members. The government's scheme removed a burden the planters had been able to understate and replaced it with one they could not dodge. The vestry asked for a week to consider, which suggests that the landholders saw that the government's reform cost them more than their own.
525	516	At an adjourned Meeting of Vestry held in the Chapel in James§ §Town on Monday 25th. July 1825.§ §Resolved that all the Houses on the Island Except§ §Plantation House and the Castle whether in Town or in the§ §Country be divided into 12 Classes, according to their Value§ §which is to be decided by a Committee appointed by the Vestry§ §for that purpose, and a Tax to be levied upon them to raise§ §the sum of £140. -§ §Mr. Janisch was unanimously Elected a Member of the§ §Parish Committee in place of the Revd. B. J. Vernon who is§ §absent from the Island§ §Resolved that the Governor and Councils Minute of 18th. July§ §last be referred to the Vestry Committee -§ §Captn. C. Sampson, and Captn. F. Seale§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen,§ §The proceedings at an adjourned Vestry held on§ §the 25th. Instant have been laid before the Governor and Council.§	On Monday 25 July 1825 the adjourned vestry met in the chapel at Jamestown. It agreed that every house on the island, in town or country, except Plantation House and the Castle, would be sorted into 12 classes according to its value. A committee chosen by the vestry would assess the values. A tax would then be raised on the houses to bring in £140 0s 0d. The vestry unanimously elected Mr Janisch to the parish committee in place of the Reverend B. J. Vernon, who had left the island. It also referred the Governor and Council's minute of 18 July 1825 to the vestry committee. On 28 July 1825 Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, Captain C. Sampson and Captain F. Seale. The Governor and Council had considered the proceedings of the adjourned vestry. They approved the classing and taxing of all houses that did not belong to the Company. Even so, they asked the vestry to consider whether having as many as 12 classes might prove awkward. The proposed tax on horses kept for hire would be made law. That tax, and all the other taxes for the parish's costs, would fall due on 1 May. The road taxes would remain due on 30 September as before.

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		§The Governor and Council approve of a classification§ §and tax upon all Houses which are not the property of the Honble.§ §Company. Nevertheless it may be worthy of consideration whether§ §extending the number of classes to 12 may not prove inconvenient§ §The proposed tax upon Hack Horses shall be passed into§ §a Law, this tax as well as all others for the expences of the Parish§ §should be paid on the 1st. May. Whilst those on account of the High§ §ways will become due as heretofore on the 30th. Septr.§ §Your application of this date for an advance of £50 until§ §the Parish funds shall be collected is complied with, and will be paid§ §on application to the Paymaster§ §I am§ §Gentlemen,§ §Your obedient Servant§ §St. Helena§ §28th. July 1825§ §Signed Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§	The government agreed to the churchwardens' request of that date for an advance of £50 0s 0d until the parish's funds could be collected. They could draw it from the paymaster on application. **Interpretations** The vestry voted to tax every house except the Governor's two residences, which brought Company houses into the tax again. The government's minute of 18 July 1825 had expressly refused to let the vestry tax the occupants of Company houses. The government's approval of 28 July 1825 was limited to houses "not the property of the Company". It thus accepted the house tax while quietly excluding the Company's houses that the vestry had tried to include once more. Neither side mentioned the disagreement. The government simply approved the tax on its own terms. The vestry set the house tax at £140 0s 0d, below the £154 10s 0d the government had calculated. With the Company's houses excluded, the vestry had fewer houses to tax than it had hoped. Setting a lower target kept the rate on private houses down. The parish had to borrow £50 0s 0d from the government to meet its costs while the new taxes were being set up. The poll tax had been condemned but not yet replaced. The house tax had not been assessed, and the first payments under the new system were not due until 1 May. The changeover left the parish without income for several months. The government's advance through the paymaster bridged the gap. It also showed once more how far the parish depended on the government's money as well as its permission.
526	517	Proposed Plan to defray the Expences incurred on account§ §of Repairs of Roads -§ §Tax upon Carriages§ §for Private use§ §1st. Class 6 Carriages at 5£ Each§ §£30§ §1 Additional One§ §2§ §For Hire.§ §2 Carriages 6£ Each§ §12§ §2 Class for Private use§ §3 Carriages £3 Each§ §9§ §For Hire§ §3 Carriages £4 Each§ §12§ §£65§ §Tax upon Carts§ §37 Carts at 3£ Each§ §£111§ §6 Additional ones 1£§ §6§ §117§ §Tax upon Inhabitants§ §Supposed Number of Male Inhabitants between [...] Years 650 at 3½ Days labor each or 7/ per Head to be performed in Person or commuted for in Money§ §227 . 10§ §£409 . 10§	A plan was drawn up to meet the cost of repairing the roads. Carriage tax First class, private use, 6 carriages at £5 each, £30 0s 0d First class, private use, 1 additional carriage, £2 0s 0d First class, for hire, 2 carriages at £6 each, £12 0s 0d Second class, private use, 3 carriages at £3 each, £9 0s 0d Second class, for hire, 3 carriages at £4 each, £12 0s 0d Total carriage tax, £65 0s 0d Cart tax 37 carts at £3 each, £111 0s 0d 6 additional carts at £1 each, £6 0s 0d Total cart tax, £117 0s 0d Tax on inhabitants Estimated male inhabitants of working age, 650 650 men at 3½ days' labour each or 7s a head, done in person or paid in money, £227 10s 0d Total, £409 10s 0d The age limits for the male inhabitants were left blank in the heading. **Interpretations** This copy of the vestry's road plan dropped the breakdown by colour and status that the May 1825 version had given. There, 670 men had been counted as 182 whites, about 200 people of colour and 288 slaves. Here they appeared only as an estimated 650 male inhabitants. Leaving out the categories presented the labour tax as a charge on all men equally. In practice it was still met largely by the planters' slaves, and the planters paid most of the money commutation. The government's minute of 18 July 1825 had already rejected this approach in favour of quadrupling the land tax. The plan was probably copied into the book as the record of what the vestry had proposed and the government had turned down.

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527	518	Report of the Vestry Committee upon the Governor§ §and Councils Minute, communicated to the Inhabitants on§ §Monday the 17th. July 1825, (and referred by them to the Committee§ §for consideration -§ §Parish Dues§ §Upon this subject your Committee begs to state,§ §that as it has been already unanimously agreed upon by§ §the Vestry on a former occasion, that the Poll Tax should be§ §abolished, and that the principal part of the Parish Expences§ §should be defrayed by a Tax upon Houses - a proposition, the§ §Principle of which has met with the approbation of the§ §Honble. the Governor & Council, nothing, it appears to your§ §Committee, remains to be done, than to settle the exact§ §manner, in which this measure ought to be carried into Execution.§ §After having given the subject that attentive and§ §particular consideration, which its great importance claims,§ §they are of opinion that the most equitable way, in which§ §the House Tax can be raised, will be to establish a certain§ §percentage ad valorem; and they are happy to be enabled to state§ §that from the information they have been able to obtain re-§ §specting the number of the Houses on the Island and their§ §Value, it would appear that 3/ upon every One hundred§ §Pound will be amply sufficient, for it is calculated that at§ §this rate £190 will be raised, a sum which with £75 (the§ §supposed Amount of the Tax upon Hack Horses and Dogs)§ §will provide for the Expence of the Parish, if the average§ §Expenditure of the last five Years (£263) be taken as the Yearly§ §Amount -§ §This would therefore not only enable§ §the Parish to abolish the Poll Tax in toto, but also put at its§ §disposal the Amount of the Tax upon Carriages, which the§ §Governor & Council, upon the supposition that the House Tax would§ §only yield £150, proposed to appropriate towards the Parish§ §Expences but which may now be employed in defraying part of§ §the Expences incurred on account of Repairs of Roads.§ §Before your Committee however bring the subject of§ §Roads under your Notice they beg to draw the attention of§	The vestry committee reported on the Governor and Council's minute, which had been read to the inhabitants on Monday 17 July 1825 and passed by them to the committee. On parish rates, the committee recalled that the vestry had already agreed unanimously to abolish the poll tax. It had also agreed that most of the parish's costs should be met by a tax on houses in proportion to their value. The Governor and Council had approved that principle. In the committee's view, all that remained was to settle exactly how the measure should work. The committee had considered the matter with the care its importance deserved. It concluded that the fairest way to raise the house tax was to charge a fixed percentage of each house's value. From what it had learned of the number and value of the island's houses, £3 on every £100 of value would be more than enough. The committee reckoned that at that rate the tax would raise £190 0s 0d. With about £75 0s 0d expected from the taxes on horses for hire and dogs, this would cover the parish's costs, taking the average of the last five years, £263 0s 0d, as the yearly amount needed. This plan would not only let the parish abolish the poll tax altogether. It would also free the carriage tax for other use. The Governor and Council had proposed giving the carriage tax to the parish, on the assumption that the house tax would raise only £150 0s 0d. Under the committee's plan it could instead help pay for repairing the roads. Before turning to the roads, the committee wished to draw attention to [...]. **Interpretations** The committee chose a charge as a percentage of value over the 12 classes the vestry had voted for. The government had questioned whether 12 classes would be workable. Classes grouped houses into broad bands, so houses near the top of one band paid less than their share. A straight rate on assessed value treated each house by its own worth. It was the method English parishes were moving towards in rating property, and it matched the government's insistence that taxes fall on property in proportion to its value. The committee set the house tax to raise £190 0s 0d, more than the government's £154 10s 0d. The extra freed the carriage tax for the roads. The government had planned to put that tax towards parish costs and to cover the roads by quadrupling the land tax. By shifting the carriage tax to the roads, the committee could cut how far the land tax had to rise. That was the measure the landholders had objected to on 18 July 1825. The committee used the larger house tax, paid mainly by town property, to reduce the burden on country land.
528	519	Report of the Vestry Committee upon the Governor§ §and Councils Minute, communicated to the Inhabitants on§ §Monday the 17th. July 1825, (and referred by them to the Committee§ §for consideration -§ §Parish Dues§ §Upon this subject your Committee begs to state,§ §that as it has been already unanimously agreed upon	The committee drew the vestry's attention to the part of the government's letter that questioned the vestry's plan to bring the Company's houses into the house tax. The government had said that the Company's officers on the island were paid entirely by the Company, which owned the island and also gave generously towards the parish's costs. The committee thought the Governor and Council must

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		by§ §the Vestry on a former occasion, that the Poll Tax should be§ §abolished, and that the principal part of the Parish Expences§ §should be defrayed by a Tax upon Houses - a proposition, the§ §Principle of which has met with the approbation of the§ §Honble. the Governor & Council, nothing, it appears to your§ §Committee, remains to be done, than to settle the exact§ §manner, in which this measure ought to be carried into Execution.§ §After having given the subject that attentive and§ §particular consideration, which its great importance claims,§ §they are of opinion that the most equitable way, in which§ §the House Tax can be raised, will be to establish a certain§ §percentage ad valorem; and they are happy to be enabled to state§ §that from the information they have been able to obtain re-§ §specting the number of the Houses on the Island and their§ §Value, it would appear that 3/ upon every One hundred§ §Pound will be amply sufficient, for it is calculated that at§ §this rate £190 will be raised, a sum which with £75 (the§ §supposed Amount of the Tax upon Hack Horses and Dogs)§ §will provide for the Expence of the Parish, if the average§ §Expenditure of the last five Years (£263) be taken as the Yearly§ §Amount -§ §This would therefore not only enable§ §the Parish to abolish the Poll Tax in toto, but also put at its§ §disposal the Amount of the Tax upon Carriages, which the§ §Governor & Council, upon the supposition that the House Tax would§ §only yield £150, proposed to appropriate towards the Parish§ §Expences but which may now be employed in defraying part of§ §the Expences incurred on account of Repairs of Roads.§ §Before your Committee however bring the subject of§ §Roads under your Notice they beg to draw the attention of§	have believed that the vestry meant to tax the Company itself. The vestry had never intended that. The committee also believed the Board had well-known liberal views. It did not seem likely that the government meant to lay down, as a fixed and general rule, that the Company's servants should never be taxed on their incomes. Such a rule would place the whole burden of parish taxes on a very narrow part of the community. The committee found support for this belief elsewhere in the government's letter, which stated plainly that all taxes ought to fall on property. If the occupants of Company houses were excused, several of the wealthiest people on the island would largely escape taxation. The committee suggested the Board had probably overlooked this. These points led the committee to think the Governor and Council had misunderstood the vestry's proposal. The committee further pointed out that The Parish Officer's Complete Guide, at page 119, dealt with the question under the heading of palaces. It explained that royal palaces held by the Crown could not be rated. But where people lived in separate apartments within them, those occupants could be rated on the rent or services they gave for them. The committee held that the same rule applied, by analogy, to the occupants of the Company's houses. **Interpretations** The committee answered the government with English law. The Parish Officer's Complete Guide was a standard handbook for churchwardens and overseers in England. It set out the rules on rating, poor relief and parish office. The committee used its rule on royal palaces to separate the building from the people living in it. The Crown's palaces were exempt, but courtiers who occupied apartments in them paid the rates. Applying this to the Company's houses, the Company itself would be exempt, but the officials who lived in its houses would pay. The argument turned the government's claim, that the vestry was trying to tax the Company, into a narrower and more defensible claim to tax individual occupants. The committee also turned the government's own principle against it. The government had insisted that every fair tax must fall on property and that only those with property should vote. The committee pointed out that excusing Company officials would let some of the island's richest people pay nothing on the houses they occupied. If property was the measure, the senior servants of the Company held some of the best property on the island. The committee argued that the government could not exclude them without breaking its own rule.
529	520	into the subject, as for the vindication of the Vestry, they deem§ §it necessary that it should be fully and they trust satisfactorily§ §explained to the Board, why the measure of making the occupiers§ §of Companys Houses subject to the Tax as originally adopted by§ §the Vestry -§ §With respect to that part of the Government communication,§ §which dwells upon the impropriety of allowing any person§ §who pays the Parish Taxes a Vote in Vestry, as having a§ §tendency to universal Suffrage, your Committee would further§ §submit the Expediency of bringing under the Notice	The committee explained that it had gone into the subject at length to defend the vestry. It thought the Board needed a full account of why the vestry had first proposed taxing the occupants of Company houses, and it trusted that this explanation would satisfy the Board. The government had also objected to giving a vote in the vestry to everyone who paid the parish taxes, on the ground that this came close to universal suffrage. The committee asked that the Governor and Council be reminded of what the vestry had actually decided. The vestry's proceedings had stated plainly that this right would apply only to votes on how parish funds were spent. It would not extend to choosing any of the island's officers. On the roads, the committee pointed out that the earlier vestry had not adopted any final plan for paying for repairs. It had only wanted to find out how

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		of the§ §Governor & Council, that in the proceedings of Vestry it was§ §expressly provided, that this right was only to extend to the§ §voting for the Appropriation of the Parish Fund, but not for§ §the election of any Country Officers -§ §Repairs of Roads -§ §With respect to the manner in which§ §the Expences incurred by the Repairs of Roads should be covered§ §no definitive plan has been adopted at the former Vestry§ §Meeting, it being merely wished to ascertain the amount,§ §which Government expects the Inhabitants to pay for this§ §purpose, in order to assess the Tax more equitably, than was§ §done by the former Commutation - The Government in their§ §Communication propose, that the Land Tax and Ground Rent§ §should be quadrupled, in order to raise £288, which with the§ §Amount of Cart Tax (£67) would make £405, the sum which it§ §appears the Government expect the Community to pay, instead§ §of about £330, paid for several Years back - as your Committee§ §are aware that if this Amount should be levied in the foregoing§ §manner, it would almost solely fall upon the Farmers, a class§ §of Inhabitants which are but ill qualified to be charged with any§ §additional Tax - they would submit the propriety of respectfully§ §pointing out to Government, the inexpediency of carrying the above§ §Plan into Execution, and farther propose another arrangement for§ §their approbation; and the best method they have been able to§ §devise is to raise the Amount by a Tax upon Carriages, Carts and§ §the§	much the government expected the inhabitants to pay, so that the tax could be spread more fairly than under the old money payment in place of labour. The government had proposed quadrupling the land tax and the ground rent tax to raise £288 0s 0d. With the cart tax of £117 0s 0d, that would make £405 0s 0d, the sum the government apparently expected the community to pay. For several years the inhabitants had paid about £330 0s 0d. The committee warned that if the money were raised in this way, almost all of it would fall on the farmers. In the committee's view, they were the class of inhabitants least able to bear any extra tax. It recommended that the vestry respectfully point out to the government that the plan was unwise and propose another for its approval. The best method the committee could devise was to raise the sum by a tax on carriages, carts and [...]. **Interpretations** The committee narrowed the vote it had proposed. Taxpayers would vote only on spending, not on elections. The government had called the plan universal suffrage. The committee replied that the vote it intended was a narrow one, letting those who paid have a say in how their money was used without giving them any part in choosing the sheriff, the churchwardens or the constables. That kept the island's offices in the hands of the property owners, as the government wanted, while keeping the principle that payment carried a voice. The committee called the farmers the class least able to pay a higher land tax. The vestry had first proposed reform because it judged the poll tax unfair. Now the landholders who led the vestry faced a reform that would quadruple their own tax. Their claim to poverty was not baseless. Country land on St Helena was poor, and the Governor had complained in 1820 that the landholders grew hay for the contractor rather than food. Even so, the committee was defending its own members' interest when it shifted the road burden from land to carriages, carts and other sources that fell more on the town.
530	521	Male Inhabitants in general -§ §As far as regards the Carriages, your Committee wish§ §to remark, that altho' the Tax proposed and agreed upon at a former§ §Vestry Meeting of £6 each Carriage may perhaps have been some§ §what too high, yet it appears to them, that, as proposed by§ §Government it is on the other hand too low; but they agree§ §fully in the expediency of Classing the Carriages, a measure which§ §has been omitted by the Vestry -§ §The arguments adduced in favour of a low Tax upon§ §Carriages, are no doubt of great weight, but it may be§ §remarked, that a considerable period of time must yet elapse§ §before the amendment in the pecuniary affairs of the Island alluded§ §to in the Government Communication can take place to any extent,§ §and that untill such change does occur, the Island ought to be§ §taken as it is, and will be for some Years to come - Now it§	The committee proposed raising the road money by a tax on carriages, carts and the male inhabitants in general. On carriages, the committee admitted that the £6 0s 0d a carriage agreed at an earlier vestry might have been somewhat too high. The government's rates, on the other hand, seemed too low. The committee fully agreed with the government's idea of sorting carriages into classes, which the vestry had not done. The committee granted that the government's case for a low carriage tax carried real weight. Even so, a long time must pass before the improvement in the island's finances that the government had mentioned could take place. Until then, the island had to be taken as it was, and it would stay that way for some years. A look at the government's own list of carriage owners showed that everyone who kept a carriage for private use was among the island's first and wealthiest people. They could well afford to pay for something that had to be seen as a luxury, whatever the future might bring. Nor could owners of carriages for hire complain if the tax rose above the government's figure. They charged nearly twice as much for one day's hire as the government proposed to tax them for a whole year.

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		§will be found on looking over the List of Proprietors of Carriages§ §as made out by Government, that all such as have them for§ §their own private use, are without exception among the first and§ §richest persons on the Island, and are therefore well able to§ §pay for an Article, which as yet must be looked upon as one of§ §luxury, whatever may be the case hereafter - Nor can those, who§ §have Carriages for hire complain if the Tax be raised beyond§ §what is proposed by Government, as they charge for the hire of§ §their Carriage for a single day, nearly twice as much, as they are§ §rated at by Government to pay for the Year - It is for these reasons§ §that your Committee propose that the Tax should be imposed at the§ §Rates stated in the annexed Plan, and which they sincerely trust will§ §be approved of by Government - It would produce £65 a Year§ §at present, which with £117 Cart Tax amounts to £182, leaving of§ §Government must expect £410 (which your Committee trust however will§ §not be the case, as £330 have hitherto been found sufficient) £228§ §more to be provided for, this sum they would propose should be raised§ §as already observed, by taxing all able Male Inhabitants between§ §21 & 60 Years of Age, at a certain number of days labour each to be§ §performed either in person or commuted for in Money, a principle, which§ §they look upon as perfectly equitable, for not only that all Inhabitants§	For these reasons the committee proposed taxing carriages at the rates in the plan it attached, and it hoped the government would approve them. These would raise £65 0s 0d a year at present. With the cart tax of £117 0s 0d, the total came to £182 0s 0d. If the government insisted on £410 0s 0d, a further £228 0s 0d would have to be found. The committee hoped the government would not insist, since £330 0s 0d had so far proved enough. The committee proposed raising the balance, as already explained, by requiring every male inhabitant aged 21 to 60 to give a set number of days' labour, in person or paid for in money. The committee regarded this as entirely fair, not only because all inhabitants [...]. **Interpretations** The committee pressed for a higher carriage tax, the one charge that fell squarely on the island's richest families. The government had cut the rates to encourage more people to buy carriages. The committee answered that only the wealthiest kept carriages and could pay, and that hirers earned in a day what the tax took in a year. It was a striking position for a committee of landholders, several of whom owned carriages themselves. Raising the carriage tax let the committee resist the quadrupled land tax without appearing to protect the rich. It placed more of the road burden on luxury than on farmland. The committee now set the labour tax for men aged 21 to 60, matching the age range of the tax on free men the government had just rejected. The vestry's May 1825 plan had counted men from 16 and included slaves. The government had dismissed a flat charge on persons as unfair to the poor. The committee brought it back for the roads, where everyone who used the highways could be said to owe a share. The difference was that labour could be given in person, so a poor man could pay with his time rather than with money he did not have.
531	522	derive more or less advantage from the Roads, and ought therefore§ §to contribute towards their support, but also because the desired object of§ §taxing the Inhabitants as much as possible according to their§ §means, would thus be carried in a great measure into effect§ §as the opulent Man, who has Servants or Labourers whether§ §free or Slaves, would naturally have to pay for them, and§ §then of course be rated considerably higher than he who has merely§ §to furnish his own quota -§ §Before your Committee dismiss the subject§ §of the Repairs of Roads, they beg to remark, that speaking upon§ §this subject, the Government state, that the Inhabitants can§ §hardly expect, that their proportion of the Expences should be§ §diminished, while that of the Honble. Company is very much aug-§ §mented - If your Committee be not mistaken, it was not the§ §intention of the Vestry to ask for a diminution of the Tax, but to§ §have it more equally divided. And if the expences of the§ §Company have so considerably increased, it may be in some§ §degree ascribed to the manner in which the work is	The committee argued that all inhabitants gained more or less from the roads and so ought to share their upkeep. The plan also met the vestry's aim of taxing each inhabitant as far as possible according to his means. A wealthy man with servants or labourers, free or slave, would naturally have to pay for them. He would therefore pay a good deal more than a man who had only his own share to provide. Before leaving the roads, the committee took up the government's remark that the inhabitants could hardly expect their share of the cost to fall when the Company's share had risen so much. Unless the committee was mistaken, the vestry had never meant to ask for a smaller tax, only for a fairer division of it. If the Company's costs had risen so far, that might be partly due to the way the work was done. It was well known that people who hired out Chinese labourers by the day had no interest in getting the work done quickly. Such workers cost their employers far more than they should. For that reason alone, it might be much better to have the roads repaired under contract. Contract work would also give jobs to many free blacks and slaves. It would keep a large sum of money circulating among the poorer classes, which now ended up every year in the hands of strangers. The committee attached a statement from someone who had had many chances to watch how the Chinese did their work. It believed the statement would confirm its remarks. In closing its report, the committee trusted that it had not gone beyond the limits set for it. It brought to the vestry's notice the great and careful attention that the Board had evidently given to the various

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		performed§ §for it is a well known fact, that people who would hire the§ §Chinese by the day, and feel therefore no Interest in Expediting§ §the Work, will stand their Employers much higher, than they;§ §and it might therefore for this reason alone perhaps be highly§ §advisable to have the repairs of the Roads done by Contract,§ §which besides would also give employment to numbers of free§ §Blacks and Slaves, and would be the means of throwing a§ §considerable sum of Money into circulation, among the lower§ §classes, which now lays dead in the hands of Strangers -§ §The annexed Statement, which has been furnished§ §by an Individual, who has had many opportunities to observe§ §the manner in which the Chinese perform their Work, will§ §confirm the above Remark -§ §In closing this Report, your Committee trust§ §they do not go beyond the limits prescribed to them, if they bring§ §under the notice of the Vestry the great and particular§ §attention, which from the Government Communication before§ §them, it is evident the Board must have bestowed upon the various§ §propositions submitted for its consideration - So distinguished§	proposals put before it, as the government's letter showed. To distinguish [...]. **Interpretations** The committee blamed the Company's rising road costs on how the Company employed its Chinese labourers. The Chinese had been brought to St Helena under contract and were hired out by the day for public works. A day labourer paid the same whether he worked fast or slow had no reason to hurry, and the men who supplied him gained from slow work. Contracting the roads out at a fixed price would put the risk of delay on the contractor. The committee had a second motive. Contract work would employ island free blacks and slaves, so the wages would stay in local hands. The Chinese, whom the committee called strangers, sent much of their pay home or spent it outside the island's economy. The committee's case for the labour tax rested on owners paying for their workers. A planter with many servants or slaves would answer for every one of them who fell within the age range. The committee presented this as taxing according to means. In practice, it brought back by another route the slave-based charge both sides had agreed to drop. A labour tax per man still weighed most heavily on the household with the most men, whatever their status.
532	523	derive more or less advantage from the Roads, and ought therefore§ §to contribute towards their support, but also because the desired object of§ §taxing the Inhabitants as much as possible according to their§ §means, would thus be carried in a great measure into effect§ §as the opulent Man, who has Servants or Labourers whether§ §free or Slaves, would naturally have to pay for them, and§ §then of course be rated considerably higher than he who has merely§ §to furnish his own quota -§ §Before your Committee dismiss the subject§ §of the Repairs of Roads, they beg to remark, that speaking upon§ §this subject, the Government state, that the Inhabitants can§ §hardly expect, that their proportion of the Expences should be§ §diminished, while that of the Honble. Company is very much aug-§ §mented - If your Committee be not mistaken, it was not the§ §intention of the Vestry to ask for a diminution of the Tax, but to§ §have it more equally divided. And if the expences of the§ §Company have so considerably increased, it may be in some§ §degree ascribed to the manner in which the work is performed§ §for it is a well known fact, that people who would hire the§ §Chinese by the day, and feel therefore no Interest in Expediting§ §the Work, will stand their Employers much higher,	The committee saw the Board's careful attention as a sign of the kind and generous feeling the government held towards the inhabitants' welfare, which could not be thanked enough. The committee valued it all the more because it had led to a discussion between the Board and the vestry. Since both sides had the same aim, that discussion was bound to end by securing the good of the community. The report was dated at St Helena on 15 August 1825. J. Bennett, John Le Breton, G. W. Janisch, James Andrews, R. Boys, G. V. Lambe, R. W. Barker, D. O'Connor and Joseph Cole signed it, with C. Sampson as churchwarden. The adjourned vestry met in the chapel in James Valley on Monday 15 August 1825. The vestry committee's report of that day was put before it, and a large majority agreed to it. **Interpretations** The vestry adopted its committee's report by a large majority, not unanimously. That made the counter-proposals the vestry's formal answer to the government's minute of 18 July 1825: a higher carriage tax, a labour tax on all men aged 21 to 60 in place of the quadrupled land tax, contract labour for the roads, and a renewed claim to tax the occupants of Company houses. The committee's report ended with warm thanks to the government. Those thanks softened what was in substance a rejection of most of the government's plan. Only the house tax was common ground. On the roads, the vote and the Company's houses, the vestry held to its own position.

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		than they;§ §and it might therefore for this reason alone perhaps be highly§ §advisable to have the repairs of the Roads done by Contract,§ §which besides would also give employment to numbers of free§ §Blacks and Slaves, and would be the means of throwing a§ §considerable sum of Money into circulation, among the lower§ §classes, which now lays dead in the hands of Strangers -§ §The annexed Statement, which has been furnished§ §by an Individual, who has had many opportunities to observe§ §the manner in which the Chinese perform their Work, will§ §confirm the above Remark -§ §In closing this Report, your Committee trust§ §they do not go beyond the limits prescribed to them, if they bring§ §under the notice of the Vestry the great and particular§ §attention, which from the Government Communication before§ §them, it is evident the Board must have bestowed upon the various§ §propositions submitted for its consideration - So distinguished§	
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534	525	St. Helena 13th. October 1825§ §Return of the Committee appointed by the Vestry to§ §ascertain a Scale of Valuation of Houses for the purpose of§ §Taxation -§ §James Town§ §No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §1: Landlord Proprietors, Tenant S. Solomon, Scale £3000, Remarks Tavern§ §2: Landlord Porteus Est., Tenant A. Eyre, Scale 2000, Remarks 0§ §3: Landlord C. Blake, Tenant C. Blake, Scale 1200, Remarks 0§ §4: Landlord G. Mead, Tenant G. Mead, Scale 1200, Remarks 0§ §5: Landlord Mrs. Gurling, Tenant Mrs. Gurling, Scale 400, Remarks 0§ §6: Landlord G. V. Lamb, Tenant G. V. Lamb, Scale 1400, Remarks 0§ §7: Landlord Capt. Hunter, Tenant Capt. Hunter, Scale 2000, Remarks 0§ §8: Landlord S. Solomon, Tenant E. Fowler, Scale 700, Remarks 0§ §9: Landlord S. Solomon, Tenant S. Solomon, Scale 2000, Remarks Shop & Premises§ §10: Landlord S. Solomon, Tenant B. Solomon, Scale 500, Remarks 0§ §11: Landlord S. Solomon, Tenant S. Solomon, Scale 2000, Remarks Dwelling House & Premises§ §12: Landlord Sir W. Doveton, Tenant S. Solomon, Scale 1200, Remarks Ware House§ §13: Landlord Porteus Est., Tenant H. Seale, Scale 900, Remarks 0§ §14: Landlord Sir W. Doveton, Tenant J. Dring, Scale 750, Remarks 0§ §15: Landlord G. Blenkins Esqr., Tenant 0, Scale 1000, Remarks 0§ §16: Landlord Miss Griffiths Est., Tenant J. Buckley, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §17: Landlord Eddlestons Est., Tenant E. Banks, Scale 400, Remarks 0§ §18: Landlord Bobbins, Tenant Bobbins, Scale 400, Remarks 0§	On 13 October 1825 the committee the vestry had appointed to set a scale of house values for the tax made its return for Jamestown. 1: Owners [...], tenant J. Solomon, valued at £3,000 0s 0d, a tavern 2: Porteous's estate, tenant A. Eyre, valued at £2,000 0s 0d 3: C. Blake, tenant C. Blake, valued at £1,200 0s 0d 4: G. Mead, tenant G. Mead, valued at £1,200 0s 0d 5: Mrs Gurling, tenant Mrs Gurling, valued at £400 0s 0d 6: G. V. Lambe, tenant G. V. Lambe, valued at £1,400 0s 0d 7: Captain Hunter, tenant Captain Hunter, valued at £2,000 0s 0d 8: S. Solomon, tenant E. Fowler, valued at £700 0s 0d 9: S. Solomon, tenant S. Solomon, valued at £2,000 0s 0d, a shop and premises 10: S. Solomon, tenant B. Solomon, valued at £500 0s 0d 11: S. Solomon, tenant S. Solomon, valued at £2,000 0s 0d, a dwelling house and premises 12: Sir W. Doveton, tenant S. Solomon, valued at £1,200 0s 0d, a warehouse 13: Porteous's estate, tenant H. Seale, valued at £900 0s 0d 14: Sir W. Doveton, tenant J. Dring, valued at £750 0s 0d 15: G. Blenkins's estate, no tenant named, valued at £1,000 0s 0d 16: Mrs Griffiths's estate, tenant J. Buckley, valued at £600 0s 0d 17: Eddleston's estate, tenant E. Banks, valued at £400 0s 0d 18: Bobbins, tenant Bobbins, valued at £400 0s 0d 19: Miss Roberts, no tenant named, valued at £300 0s 0d 20: Mrs Aylesworth, tenant Mrs Aylesworth, valued at £800 0s 0d

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		§19: Landlord Miss Roberts, Tenant 0, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §20: Landlord Mrs. Aylesworth, Tenant Mrs. Aylesworth, Scale 800, Remarks 0§ §21: Landlord Eddleston, Tenant Eddleston, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §22: Landlord Hayes Est., Tenant Mrs. Hayes, Scale 1200, Remarks 0§ §23: Landlord Amoret Young, Tenant Amt. Young, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §24: Landlord H. Adamson, Tenant H. Adamson, Scale 800, Remarks 0§ §25: Landlord St. Young Est., Tenant N. Collyer, Scale 1000, Remarks 0§ §26: Landlord Capt. Wilmy, Tenant J. C. Youd, Scale 1500, Remarks 0§ §27: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Jas. Farmer, Scale 0, Remarks Exempt Official residence§ §28: Landlord W. Gahagan, Tenant Lt. J. Mason, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §29: Landlord B. A. Wright, Tenant 0, Scale 350, Remarks 0§ §30: Landlord R. A. Wright, Tenant B. A. Wright, Scale 750, Remarks 0§ §31: Landlord Mrs. K. Hodson, Tenant Major Pritchard, Scale 1200, Remarks 0§ §32: Landlord Baker & Cole, Tenant Baker & Cole, Scale 1800, Remarks Naval Agency§	21: Eddleston, no tenant named, valued at £600 0s 0d 22: Hayes's estate, tenant Mrs Hayes, valued at £1,200 0s 0d 23: Amoretta Young, tenant Amoretta Young, valued at £600 0s 0d 24: H. Adamson, tenant H. Adamson, valued at £800 0s 0d 25: Lieutenant Young's estate, tenant N. Collyer, valued at £1,000 0s 0d 26: Captain [...], tenant J. C. Youd, valued at £1,500 0s 0d 27: The Company, tenant James [...], no value entered, exempt as an official residence 28: W. Gahagan, tenant Lieutenant J. Mason, valued at £600 0s 0d 29: H. A. Wright, no tenant named, valued at £350 0s 0d 30: H. A. Wright, tenant H. A. Wright, valued at £750 0s 0d 31: Mrs [...], tenant [...], valued at £1,200 0s 0d 32: Baker and Cole, tenant Baker and Cole, valued at £1,800 0s 0d, the naval agency **Interpretations** The committee followed the government's ruling on Company houses. Number 27, a Company property, was entered without a value and marked exempt as an official residence. The vestry had argued in August 1825 that the occupants of Company houses should pay, citing English law on royal palaces. The valuation showed it had given way. The house tax would fall only on private property. The return named both owner and tenant for each house, and many houses were let. S. Solomon owned four properties on this page alone and rented a warehouse from Sir W. Doveton. Merchant families like the Solomons held a large share of the town's housing stock. Recording both names left open whether the owner or the occupier would pay. Under English practice it would have been the occupier, which matched the committee's argument that occupants of Company houses should be rated. Saul Solomon's tavern, valued at £3,000 0s 0d, was the most valuable house on the page. Jamestown served the ships that called at the island, and a tavern, shop and warehouse catering to them made up some of the most valuable property in town. Baker and Cole's naval agency was valued at £1,800 0s 0d. The house tax would take more from the town's trade with shipping than from country land, which was what the vestry committee had intended.
535	526	No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §33: Landlord W. Brabazon, Tenant W. Brabazon, Scale 1100, Remarks 0§ §34: Landlord Capt. Mead, Tenant J. Solomon, Scale 450, Remarks 0§ §35: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Honble. Compy., Scale 0, Remarks Store Keeper§ §36: Landlord Mrs. Lester, Tenant Mrs. Lester, Scale 1400, Remarks 0§ §37: Landlord Mrs. Lester, Tenant Capt. Broadway, Scale 450, Remarks 0§ §38: Landlord T. Adams, Tenant T. Adams, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §39: Landlord R. Bagley, Tenant Chas. Gunnell, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §40: Landlord R. Bagley, Tenant W. Pipler, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §41: Landlord R. Barker, Tenant R. Prince, Scale 200, Remarks Warehouse§ §42: Landlord R. Barker, Tenant A. Darling, Scale 800, Remarks 0§ §43: Landlord R. Torbett, Tenant 0, Scale 700, Remarks 0§	The Jamestown valuation continued as follows. 33: W. Brabazon, tenant W. Brabazon, valued at £1,100 0s 0d 34: Captain Mead, tenant J. Solomon, valued at £450 0s 0d 35: The Company, tenant the Company, no value entered, a stock yard 36: Mrs Lester, tenant Mrs Lester, valued at £1,400 0s 0d 37: Mrs Lester, tenant Captain Broadway, valued at £450 0s 0d 38: T. Adams, tenant T. Adams, valued at £300 0s 0d 39: R. Bagley, tenant Charles Gunnell, valued at £150 0s 0d 40: R. Bagley, tenant W. Pipple, valued at £150 0s 0d 41: R. Barker, tenant R. Bruce, valued at £200 0s 0d, a warehouse 42: R. Barker, tenant A. Darling, valued at £800 0s 0d 43: R. Torbett, no tenant named, valued at £700 0s 0d

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		§44: Landlord Miss De Fountain Est., Tenant Mrs. Torbett, Scale 1400, Remarks 0§ §45: Landlord Dr. Kay, Tenant Dr. Kay, Scale 700, Remarks 0§ §46: Landlord W. Carrol, Tenant W. Carrol, Scale 1200, Remarks Shop & Dwelling &c.§ §47: Landlord R. Torbett, Tenant R. Torbett, Scale 250, Remarks Shop§ §48: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant J. Burnside, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §49: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant R. Prince, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §50: Landlord S. Solomon, Tenant Wm. Tracy, Scale 550, Remarks 0§ §51: Landlord W. Carrol, Tenant W. Carrol, Scale 900, Remarks including 1 Tenement§ §52: Landlord A. Lambs Est., Tenant Watson & Co., Scale 1100, Remarks including 1 Tenement§ §53: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Military Mess, Scale 0, Remarks Exempt§ §54: Landlord S. Solomon, Tenant W. Warren, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §55: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant W. Warren, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §56: Landlord L. Gideon, Tenant L. Gideon, Scale 1600, Remarks 0§ §57: Landlord W. Brabazon, Tenant W. Brabazon, Scale 1500, Remarks 0§ §58: Landlord Honble. Company, Tenant Harrington, Scale 0, Remarks Apothecarys Shop§ §59: Landlord Honble. Company, Tenant Revd. R. Boys, Scale 0, Remarks Official Residence§ §60: Landlord Miss Beale, Tenant Miss Beale, Scale 700, Remarks including 1 Tenement§ §61: Landlord Mrs. Lind, Tenant J. Miller, Scale 2400, Remarks 0§ §62: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant G. Blenkins Esqr., Scale 0, Remarks Official Residence§ §63: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant T. H. Brooke Esqr., Scale 0, Remarks Do.§ §64: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant T. Greentree Esqr., Scale 0, Remarks Do.§ §65: Landlord Rose Underwood, Tenant Jas. Clark, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §66: Landlord B. Marrsback, Tenant B. Marrsback, Scale 400, Remarks including 5 Tenements§ §67: Landlord Mr. Jollis, Tenant Various, Scale 150, Remarks 3 Tenements§ §68: Landlord Porteus Est., Tenant Polly Henry, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §69: Landlord Polly Henry, Tenant Diana Richards, Scale 100, Remarks 0§	44: Miss De Fountain, tenant Mrs Torbett, valued at £1,400 0s 0d 45: D. Kay, tenant D. Kay, valued at £700 0s 0d 46: W. Carroll, tenant W. Carroll, valued at £1,200 0s 0d, a shop and dwelling 47: R. Torbett, tenant R. Torbett, valued at £250 0s 0d, a shop 48: Dr Mead, tenant J. Burnside, valued at £150 0s 0d 49: Dr Mead, tenant G. Bruce, valued at £200 0s 0d 50: S. Solomon, tenant W. Tracy, valued at £550 0s 0d 51: W. Carroll, tenant W. Carroll, valued at £900 0s 0d, including a tenement 52: A. Lambe's estate, tenant Watson and Company, valued at £1,100 0s 0d, including a tenement 53: The Company, tenant the military mess, no value entered, exempt 54: S. Solomon, tenant W. Warren, valued at £600 0s 0d 55: Dr Mead, tenant W. Warren, valued at £600 0s 0d 56: L. Gideon, tenant L. Gideon, valued at £1,600 0s 0d 57: W. Brabazon, tenant W. Brabazon, valued at £1,500 0s 0d 58: The Company, tenant Harrington, no value entered, the apothecary's shop 59: The Company, tenant the Reverend R. Boys, no value entered, an official residence 60: Miss Beale, tenant Miss Beale, valued at £700 0s 0d, including a tenement 61: Mrs [...], tenant J. Miller, valued at £2,400 0s 0d 62: The Company, tenant G. Blenkins, no value entered, an official residence 63: The Company, tenant T. H. Brooke, no value entered, an official residence 64: The Company, tenant T. Greentree, no value entered, an official residence 65: Rose Underwood, tenant James Clark, valued at £100 0s 0d 66: B. Mirabach, tenant B. Mirabach, valued at £400 0s 0d, including 5 tenements 67: W. Julie, various tenants, valued at £150 0s 0d, 3 tenements 68: Porteous's estate, tenant Polly Henry, valued at £200 0s 0d 69: Polly Henry, tenant Diana Richards, valued at £100 0s 0d **Interpretations** The Company exemption covered some of the most senior people on the island. T. H. Brooke, the secretary to government, G. Blenkins, the deputy secretary, T. Greentree and the Reverend R. Boys all lived in Company houses entered without a value. The committee had warned in August 1825 that excusing such houses would let several of the island's wealthiest people escape the tax. The valuation bore that out. Brooke and Blenkins had signed the government's letters that rejected the vestry's claim. Their own homes were among those that went untaxed. Polly Henry rented a house from Porteous's estate and owned another, which she let to Diana Richards. In 1820 she had been entered on the poll tax roll as a black. By 1825 she was a property owner and landlady in Jamestown, taxed on the same footing as the white owners on the list. The new house tax drew no line by colour. It counted free blacks who held property among the ratepayers, and under the government's rule, property was what qualified a person to vote.

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			Several entries included tenements, small rooms or cottages let separately within or behind a main property. B. Mirabach's house contained five and W. Julie's three. These were the cheap lodgings of the town's poorer inhabitants, including the shop workers and apprentices the government had excluded from the vote. Valuing the tenements with the main house charged the tax to the landlord. Their occupants stayed outside the rate and so outside the vestry.
536	527	No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §70: Landlord Widow Smith, Tenant Martha Cobre, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §71: Landlord Capt. Barker, Tenant Eliza Mitchell, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §72: Landlord Widow Smith, Tenant Thos. Drabble, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §73: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Mr. Claverty, Scale 0, Remarks 0§ §74: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant 0, Scale 0, Remarks Under School§ §75: Landlord John Haney, Tenant John Haney, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §76: Landlord R. Prince, Tenant I. Moss, Scale 1200, Remarks entire Premises§ §77: Landlord Major Cole, Tenant Major Cole, Scale 800, Remarks 0§ §78: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant Mrs. Wheatley, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §79: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant J. Scullard, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §80: Landlord Aylesworth & Co., Tenant Aylesworth & Co., Scale 900, Remarks Public Brewery including 1 Tenement§ §81: Landlord T. Carr, Tenant T. Carr, Scale 1100, Remarks including 2 Tenements§ §82: Landlord T. Carr, Tenant Mrs. Everton, Scale 400, Remarks 0§ §83: Landlord Porteus Est., Tenant H. Miller, Scale 850, Remarks including the Shop§ §84: Landlord John Sherrard, Tenant John Sherrard, Scale 500, Remarks including 4 Tenements§ §85: Landlord John Sherrard, Tenant Thos. Williams, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §86: Landlord John Sherrard, Tenant H. Kirby, Scale 250, Remarks including 1 Tenement§ §87: Landlord Jas. Truebody, Tenant Jas. Truebody, Scale 750, Remarks including 2 Tenements§ §88: Landlord Jas. Truebody, Tenant R. Osborn, Scale 250, Remarks Bun Green§ §89: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Chris. Dowling, Scale 0, Remarks Farriers Shop§ §90: Landlord Roallers Est., Tenant Mrs. Roaller, Scale 400, Remarks including 1 Tenement§ §91: Landlord Proprietors, Tenant J. Stewart, Scale 900, Remarks Theatre & Tenement§ §92: Landlord Jas. Truebody, Tenant Various, Scale 200, Remarks 4 Tenements adjoining Middle Church Yard§ §93: Landlord Jas. Truebody, Tenant J. Mittens, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §94: Landlord Jas. Truebody, Tenant J. Hoyle, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §95: Landlord Jas. Truebody, Tenant Various, Scale 225, Remarks 16 Tenements§ §96: Landlord Jas. Greenaway, Tenant Sergt. Bennett, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §97: Landlord Jas. Truebody, Tenant Various, Scale 100, Remarks Tenements§ §98: Landlord Mrs. Dray, Tenant Sergt. Ward, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §99: Landlord Mrs. Dray, Tenant Widow Young, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §100: Landlord Mrs. Dray, Tenant Various, Scale 125, Remarks 5 Tenements§	The Jamestown valuation continued as follows. 70: Widow Smith, tenant Martha Coxe, valued at £100 0s 0d 71: Captain Barker, tenant Eliza Mitchell, valued at £120 0s 0d 72: Widow Smith, tenant Thomas Drabble, valued at £150 0s 0d 73: The Company, tenant Mr McLaverty, no value entered 74: The Company, no tenant named, no value entered, the under school 75: John Harvey, tenant John Harvey, valued at £150 0s 0d 76: R. [...], tenant J. Moss, valued at £1,200 0s 0d, the entire premises 77: Major Cole, tenant Major Cole, valued at £800 0s 0d 78: Dr Mead, tenant Mrs Wheatley, valued at £200 0s 0d 79: Dr Mead, tenant J. Scullard, valued at £200 0s 0d 80: Aylesworth and Company, tenant Aylesworth and Company, valued at £900 0s 0d, a public brewery including a tenement 81: T. Carr, tenant T. Carr, valued at £1,100 0s 0d, including tenements 82: T. Carr, tenant Mrs Everton, valued at £400 0s 0d 83: Porteous's estate, tenant H. Miller, valued at £850 0s 0d, including the shop 84: John Sherwood, tenant John Sherwood, valued at £500 0s 0d, including 4 tenements 85: John Sherwood, tenant Tom Williams, valued at £250 0s 0d 86: John Sherwood, tenant H. Kirby, valued at £250 0s 0d, including a tenement 87: James Truebody, tenant James Truebody, valued at £750 0s 0d, including 2 tenements 88: James Truebody, tenant R. Osborn, valued at £250 0s 0d, [...] 89: The Company, tenant Charles Dowling, no value entered, a farrier's shop 90: [...]'s estate, tenant Mrs [...], valued at £400 0s 0d, including a tenement 91: Owners [...], tenant J. Stewart, valued at £900 0s 0d, the theatre and a tenement 92: James Truebody, various tenants, valued at £200 0s 0d, tenements beside the [...] churchyard 93: James Truebody, tenant J. Mittens, valued at £100 0s 0d 94: James Truebody, tenant J. Hoyle, valued at £100 0s 0d 95: James Truebody, various tenants, valued at £225 0s 0d, 16 tenements 96: James Truebody, tenant Sergeant Bennett, valued at £100 0s 0d 97: James Truebody, various tenants, valued at £100 0s 0d, tenements 98: Mrs Dray, tenant Sergeant Hood, valued at £100 0s 0d 99: Mrs Dray, tenant Widow Young, valued at £200 0s 0d 100: Mrs Dray, various tenants, valued at £125 0s 0d, 5 tenements

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		§101: Landlord Lydia Henry, Tenant Lydia Henry, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §102: Landlord Mrs. D. Smith, Tenant T. Norton, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §103: Landlord Mrs. D. Smith, Tenant Mrs. D. Smith, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §104: Landlord Mrs. D. Smith, Tenant Chinamen, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §105: Landlord Mary Barnes, Tenant Mary Barnes, Scale 200, Remarks 0§	101: Lydia Henry, tenant Lydia Henry, valued at £150 0s 0d 102: Mrs D. Smith, tenant J. Norton, valued at £150 0s 0d 103: Mrs D. Smith, tenant Mrs D. Smith, valued at £200 0s 0d 104: Mrs D. Smith, tenants Chinese men, valued at £100 0s 0d 105: Mary Barnes, tenant Mary Barnes, valued at £200 0s 0d **Interpretations** James Truebody owned nine properties on this page, most of them tenements let to many different tenants. One block of 16 tenements was valued at only £225 0s 0d, about £14 a room. Truebody had paid the poll tax on 5 to 9 heads, which made him a householder of only middling standing. Yet he was one of the town's largest landlords at the cheap end of the market. Letting rooms to soldiers' families, sergeants, Chinese labourers and the poor brought steady income from property worth little on paper. The house tax valued the tenements low. Truebody's tax was therefore small compared with his rental income. Mrs D. Smith let a house to Chinese men. The Chinese labourers the Company had brought to the island normally lived in its own quarters. Some had evidently taken private lodgings in Jamestown. The vestry committee had complained in August 1825 that the money paid to the Chinese ended up in strangers' hands. Some of it was in fact being spent on rent paid to island landlords. Mary Barnes, entered as a black on the 1820 poll tax roll, owned and lived in a house valued at £200 0s 0d. Lydia Henry also appeared as owner and occupier, and Polly Henry had been listed on the previous page as both tenant and landlady. A small group of free black women owned property in Jamestown and would pay the new house tax in their own names.
537	528	No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §106: Landlord J. G. Rich, Tenant J. G. Rich, Scale 250, Remarks Preparatory School§ §107: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant T. Coates, Scale 350, Remarks 0§ §108: Landlord Perkins Est., Tenant J. Sutherland, Scale 300, Remarks Beer House§ §109: Landlord Maria Pettens, Tenant Maria Pettens, Scale 150, Remarks 1 Tenement§ §110: Landlord Molly Taylor, Tenant Molly Taylor, Scale 150, Remarks 1 Tenement§ §111: Landlord O'Connors Est., Tenant Various, Scale 200, Remarks 8 Tenements§ §112: Landlord O'Connors Est., Tenant Thos. Thomas, Scale 450, Remarks 0§ §113: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant Various, Scale 650, Remarks 0§ §114: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant Various, Scale 300, Remarks 13 Tenements at the Back of No. 113§ §115: Landlord Newtons Est., Tenant Jas. Manuel, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §116: Landlord Newtons Est., Tenant Mrs. Hayes, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §117: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant J. Hampton, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §118: Landlord T. Carr, Tenant Various, Scale 150, Remarks Tenements at the back of No. 116 -§ §119: Landlord Diana Rich, Tenant Chas. George, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §120: Landlord Jacob Rich, Tenant Jacob Rich, Scale 75, Remarks 0§ §121: Landlord Jno. Sherrard, Tenant H. Cearley, Scale 500, Remarks 0§ §122: Landlord Thos. Rich, Tenant Thos. Rich, Scale 500, Remarks 0§	The Jamestown valuation continued as follows. 106: J. T. Rich, tenant J. T. Rich, valued at £250 0s 0d, a preparatory school 107: Dr Mead, tenant T. Coates, valued at £350 0s 0d 108: Perkins's estate, tenant J. Sutherland, valued at £300 0s 0d, a beer house 109: Maria Pullens, tenant Maria Pullens, valued at £150 0s 0d, 1 tenement 110: Molly Taylor, tenant Molly Taylor, valued at £150 0s 0d, 1 tenement 111: O'Connor's estate, various tenants, valued at £200 0s 0d, 8 tenements 112: O'Connor's estate, tenant Thomas Thomas, valued at £450 0s 0d 113: Dr Mead, various tenants, valued at £650 0s 0d 114: Dr Mead, various tenants, valued at £300 0s 0d, 13 tenements behind number 113 115: Newton's estate, tenant James Manuel, valued at £150 0s 0d 116: Newton's estate, tenant Mrs Hayes, valued at £200 0s 0d 117: Dr Mead, tenant J. Hampton, valued at £300 0s 0d 118: T. Carr, various tenants, valued at £150 0s 0d, tenements behind number 116 119: Diana Rich, tenant Charles George, valued at £100 0s 0d 120: Jacob Rich, tenant Jacob Rich, valued at £75 0s 0d 121: John Sherwood, tenant H. Cearley, valued at £500 0s 0d 122: Thomas Rich, tenant Thomas Rich, valued at £500 0s 0d

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		§123: Landlord Baker & Cole, Tenant Jas. Riesdale, Scale 250, Remarks Beer House§ §124: Landlord Baker & Cole, Tenant 0, Scale 650, Remarks 0§ §125: Landlord Lieut. Knipe, Tenant Various, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §126: Landlord J. Metcalf, Tenant J. Metcalf, Scale 750, Remarks 0§ §127: Landlord D. McRitchie, Tenant D. McRitchie, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §128: Landlord Saml. Harris, Tenant Saml. Harris, Scale 150, Remarks including 2 Tenements§ §129: Landlord Jno. Sherrard, Tenant Pollard, Scale 300, Remarks including 2 Tenements§ §130: Landlord Statons Est., Tenant Jos. Lee, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §131: Landlord C. Blake, Tenant T. Baker, Scale 100, Remarks Old Printing Office§ §132: Landlord R. Torbett, Tenant Capt. Pellon, Scale 800, Remarks Shop & Premises§ §133: Landlord C. Blake, Tenant Jas. Waring, Scale 350, Remarks 0§ §134: Landlord Capt. Mead, Tenant T. Jones, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §135: Landlord R. Torbett, Tenant R. Torbett, Scale 550, Remarks 0§ §136: Landlord R. Torbett, Tenant R. Torbett, Scale 700, Remarks Shop§ §137: Landlord R. Torbett, Tenant R. Torbett, Scale 200, Remarks Warehouse§ §138: Landlord Mrs. Bazett, Tenant R. Prince, Scale 150, Remarks Warehouse§ §139: Landlord Mrs. Bazett, Tenant Mrs. Bazett, Scale 500, Remarks 0§ §140: Landlord Mrs. Pritchard, Tenant Mrs. Pritchard, Scale 500, Remarks 0§	123: Baker and Cole, tenant James Ridsdale, valued at £250 0s 0d, a beer house 124: Baker and Cole, no tenant named, valued at £650 0s 0d 125: Lieutenant Knipe, various tenants, valued at £300 0s 0d 126: J. Metcalf, tenant J. Metcalf, valued at £750 0s 0d 127: D. McRitchie, tenant D. McRitchie, valued at £600 0s 0d 128: Samuel Harris, tenant Samuel Harris, valued at £150 0s 0d, including tenements 129: John Sherwood, tenant Pollard, valued at £300 0s 0d, including 2 tenements 130: [...]'s estate, tenant Joseph Lee, valued at £150 0s 0d 131: C. Blake, tenant T. Baker, valued at £100 0s 0d, the old printing office 132: R. Torbett, tenant Captain [...], valued at £800 0s 0d, a shop and premises 133: C. Blake, tenant James Waring, valued at £350 0s 0d 134: Captain Mead, tenant T. Jones, valued at £300 0s 0d 135: R. Torbett, tenant R. Torbett, valued at £550 0s 0d 136: R. Torbett, tenant R. Torbett, valued at £700 0s 0d, a shop 137: R. Torbett, tenant R. Torbett, valued at £200 0s 0d, a warehouse 138: Mrs Bazett, tenant R. Bruce, valued at £150 0s 0d, a warehouse 139: Mrs Bazett, tenant Mrs Bazett, valued at £500 0s 0d 140: Mrs Pritchard, tenant Mrs Pritchard, valued at £500 0s 0d **Interpretations** Dr Mead owned at least seven properties in the valuation, including two blocks of tenements, one of them 13 rooms behind a house he also let. George Mead was the acting principal medical officer who sat on the committee that drew up the medical fees the inhabitants rejected in February 1823. Along with his salary and fees, he was one of the town's main landlords of cheap lodgings. The house tax would reach his income from rents, but tenements were valued low. Like Truebody, he would pay little compared with what the rooms brought in. Two beer houses appeared on this page, one of them owned by Baker and Cole, the naval agents. A shipping agency that also owned a beer house could supply visiting crews with both their stores and their drink. The Solomons' tavern, valued at £3,000 0s 0d, sat at the top of the same trade. Jamestown's property was concentrated on serving the ships, and much of it was held by the same few merchant firms.
538	529	No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §141: Landlord Porteus Est., Tenant Mr. Boorman, Scale 700, Remarks 0§ §142: Landlord Mr. Weston, Tenant Mr. Weston, Scale 350, Remarks 0§ §143: Landlord Capt. Sampson, Tenant Capt. Sampson, Scale 1000, Remarks 0§ §144: Landlord Capt. Sampson, Tenant Servants, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §145: Landlord Sergt. Rich, Tenant Sergt. Dunn & Baker, Scale 450, Remarks 4 Tenements including§ §146: Landlord T. Adams, Tenant T. Adams, Scale 500, Remarks 0§ §147: Landlord McCartys Est., Tenant Jas. Lowden, Scale 700, Remarks Tavern§ §148: Landlord J. Sanders, Tenant J. Sanders, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §149: Landlord J. Sanders, Tenant Various, Scale 300, Remarks including 12 Tenements§	The Jamestown valuation continued as follows. 141: Porteous's estate, tenant Mr Boorman, valued at £700 0s 0d 142: Mr Weston, tenant Mr Weston, valued at £350 0s 0d 143: Captain Sampson, tenant Captain Sampson, valued at £1,000 0s 0d 144: Captain Sampson, tenants his servants, valued at £100 0s 0d 145: Sergeant Rich, tenants Sergeant Dunn and Baker, valued at £450 0s 0d, including tenements 146: T. Adams, tenant T. Adams, valued at £500 0s 0d 147: McCarty's estate, tenant James Lowden, valued at £700 0s 0d, a tavern 148: J. Sanders, tenant J. Sanders, valued at £600 0s 0d 149: J. Sanders, various tenants, valued at £300 0s 0d, including 12 tenements

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		§150: Landlord Mrs. Thomas, Tenant Various, Scale 400, Remarks including 6 Tenements§ §151: Landlord Pettens Est., Tenant Various, Scale 250, Remarks including 16 Tenements§ §152: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant J. Parrott, Scale 400, Remarks 0§ §153: Landlord J. Bayes, Tenant J. Bayes, Scale 450, Remarks 0§ §154: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant 0, Scale 200, Remarks Opposite the Barrack Gate§ §155: Landlord J. Euly, Tenant Mrs. Euly, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §156: Landlord J. Sherrard, Tenant Various, Scale 250, Remarks including 3 Tenements§ §157: Landlord Lieut. Speller, Tenant Various, Scale 500, Remarks 0§ §158: Landlord A. McLean, Tenant A. McLean, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §159: Landlord Chris. Dowling, Tenant Chris. Dowling, Scale 500, Remarks 3 Yards and Tenements§ §160: Landlord Lt. Bennett, Tenant Lt. Bennett, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §161: Landlord G. Goff, Tenant G. Roaller, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §162: Landlord Lt. Col. Hodson, Tenant Lt. Bennett, Scale 1800, Remarks 0§ §163: Landlord Dr. Price, Tenant Dr. Price, Scale 1000, Remarks 0§ §164: Landlord Jas. Henry, Tenant Jas. Henry, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §165: Landlord H. Maggot, Tenant H. Maggot, Scale 200, Remarks including 3 Tenements§ §166: Landlord Mrs. Blenkinson, Tenant Capt. Statham, Scale 350, Remarks 0§ §167: Landlord Mrs. Carrol, Tenant Jas. Rose, Scale 250, Remarks including 2 Tenements§ §168: Landlord Mr. Caroline, Tenant H. Johnson, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §169: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Mr. Caroline, Scale 0, Remarks Attached to the Hospital§ §170: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant 0, Scale 0, Remarks Hospital§ §171: Landlord J. Sherrard, Tenant Various, Scale 200, Remarks including 4 Tenements§ §172: Landlord J. Sherrard, Tenant G. McIphie, Scale 200, Remarks including 4 Tenements§ §173: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant H. Harty, Scale 0, Remarks 0§ §174: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Dr. Arnott, Scale 0, Remarks Botanical Garden House§ §175: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant Various, Scale 150, Remarks 3 Tenements adjoining the Barracks§ §176: Landlord M. Watson, Tenant M. Watson, Scale 450, Remarks Shop & Premises§ §177: Landlord Lt. Speller, Tenant 0, Scale 400, Remarks 0§	150: Mrs Thomas, various tenants, valued at £400 0s 0d, including a tenement 151: [...]'s estate, various tenants, valued at £250 0s 0d, including 16 tenements 152: Dr Mead, tenant J. Parrott, valued at £400 0s 0d 153: J. Bayes, tenant J. Bayes, valued at £450 0s 0d 154: Dr Mead, no tenant named, valued at £200 0s 0d, opposite the barracks gate 155: J. Ealy, tenant Mrs Ealy, valued at £150 0s 0d 156: J. Sherwood, various tenants, valued at £250 0s 0d, including tenements 157: Lieutenant Speller, various tenants, valued at £500 0s 0d 158: A. McLean, tenant A. McLean, valued at £200 0s 0d 159: Christopher Dowling, tenant Christopher Dowling, valued at £500 0s 0d, [...] and tenements 160: Lieutenant Bennett, tenant Lieutenant Bennett, valued at £50 0s 0d 161: G. [...], tenant G. [...], valued at £100 0s 0d 162: Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, tenant Lieutenant Bennett, valued at £1,800 0s 0d 163: Dr Price, tenant Dr Price, valued at £1,000 0s 0d 164: James Henry, tenant James Henry, valued at £100 0s 0d 165: H. Maggot, tenant H. Maggot, valued at £200 0s 0d, including 3 tenements 166: Mrs [...], tenant Captain Statham, valued at £350 0s 0d 167: Mrs Carroll, tenant James [...], valued at £250 0s 0d, including 2 tenements 168: Mrs Caroline, tenant H. Johnson, valued at £100 0s 0d 169: The Company, tenant Mrs Caroline, no value entered, attached to the hospital 170: The Company, no tenant named, no value entered 171: J. Sherwood, various tenants, valued at £200 0s 0d, including tenements 172: J. Sherwood, tenant G. McGhie, valued at £200 0s 0d, including tenements 173: The Company, tenant H. Hardy, no value entered, the botanical garden 174: The Company, tenant Dr Arnott, no value entered, [...] 175: Dr Mead, various tenants, valued at £150 0s 0d, tenements by the barracks 176: M. Watson, tenant M. Watson, valued at £450 0s 0d, a shop and premises 177: Lieutenant Speller, no tenant named, valued at £400 0s 0d **Interpretations** The Company still held the botanical garden in James Valley, with H. Hardy as its tenant. In 1821 the vestry had asked for that ground to be set aside for a hospital and a house of correction to deal with a growing free population. The valuation shows the garden still in use as a garden four years later. The government had not granted the vestry's request. Captain Sampson's servants were valued separately at £100 0s 0d, in quarters apart from his own house at £1,000 0s 0d. Under the poll tax, a householder's servants had been counted as heads in his household. Under the house tax, their lodging was simply another building on his property. The tax no longer counted the people who served the household, only the rooms they occupied.
539	530	No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §178: Landlord Dr. Mead, Tenant Mrs. Mason, Scale 200, Remarks 0§	The Jamestown valuation ended with the following entries. 178: Dr Mead, tenant Mrs Mason, valued at £200 0s 0d

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		§179: Landlord Mrs. Renton, Tenant Mrs. Renton, Scale 130, Remarks 4 Tenements§ §180: Landlord Sergt. Bates, Tenant 0, Scale 0, Remarks unfinished House§ §181: Landlord Sergt. Bates, Tenant Sergt. Bates, Scale 350, Remarks 3 Tenements§ §182: Landlord Sergt. Mathieson, Tenant Sergt. Mathieson, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §183: Landlord Saml. Ayon, Tenant Saml. Ayon, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §184: Landlord Nelly Plato, Tenant Nelly Plato, Scale 150, Remarks 2 Tenements§ §185: Landlord Ellerton, Tenant Chinaman, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §186: Landlord Jas. Moyse, Tenant Jas. Moyse, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §187: Landlord Martha London, Tenant Martha London, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §188: Landlord Dolly Richards, Tenant Dolly Richards, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §189: Landlord Widow Wright, Tenant Whiting, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §190: Landlord Hector, Tenant Hector, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §191: Landlord Rose Underwood, Tenant Rose Underwood, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §192: Landlord Sergt. Bell, Tenant Sergt. Bell, Scale 350, Remarks including 1 Tenement§ §193: Landlord Sergt. Hubbard, Tenant Various, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §194: Landlord John Sherrard, Tenant Various, Scale 450, Remarks 0§ §195: Landlord Jas. Rose, Tenant Various, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §196: Landlord Jas. Rose, Tenant 0, Scale 0, Remarks unfinished House§ §197: Landlord W. B. & J. Burnes, Tenant 0, Scale 2000, Remarks Union Brewery & Premises§ §198: Landlord Thos. O'Connor, Tenant Thos. O'Connor, Scale 900, Remarks 0§ §199: Landlord Mrs. Watson, Tenant Capt. Torbett, Scale 500, Remarks 0§ §200: Landlord Wm. Carrol, Tenant T. Lyster, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §201: Landlord Jno. Le Breton, Tenant Jno. Le Breton, Scale 550, Remarks 0§ §£96835 Carried to amount of Country Houses§	179: Mrs Renton, tenant Mrs Renton, valued at £130 0s 0d, 4 tenements 180: Sergeant Bates, no tenant named, no value entered, an unfinished house 181: Sergeant Bates, tenant Sergeant Bates, valued at £350 0s 0d, 3 tenements 182: Sergeant Matheson, tenant Sergeant Matheson, valued at £100 0s 0d 183: Samuel Ryon, tenant Samuel Ryon, valued at £100 0s 0d 184: Nelly Plato, tenant Nelly Plato, valued at £150 0s 0d, 2 tenements 185: Elliston, tenant a Chinese man, valued at £100 0s 0d 186: James Moyse, tenant James Moyse, valued at £200 0s 0d 187: Martha London, tenant Martha London, valued at £100 0s 0d 188: Dolly Richards, tenant Dolly Richards, valued at £100 0s 0d 189: Widow Wright, tenant Whiting, valued at £50 0s 0d 190: Hester, tenant Hester, valued at £50 0s 0d 191: Rose Underwood, tenant Rose Underwood, valued at £250 0s 0d 192: Sergeant Bell, tenant Sergeant Bell, valued at £350 0s 0d, including a tenement 193: Sergeant Hubbard, various tenants, valued at £200 0s 0d 194: John Sherwood, various tenants, valued at £450 0s 0d 195: James Rose, various tenants, valued at £250 0s 0d 196: James Rose, no tenant named, no value entered, an unfinished house 197: W. B. and J. Burnie, no tenant named, valued at £2,000 0s 0d, the Union brewery and premises 198: Lieutenant O'Connor, tenant Lieutenant O'Connor, valued at £900 0s 0d 199: Mrs Watson, tenant Captain Torbett, valued at £500 0s 0d 200: William Carroll, tenant T. Lyster, valued at £150 0s 0d 201: John Le Breton, tenant John Le Breton, valued at £550 0s 0d Total for Jamestown, £96,835 0s 0d, carried to the total for country houses **Interpretations** The Jamestown houses were valued at £96,835 0s 0d. A rate of £3 for every £100 would have raised about £2,900 from the town alone, many times the £190 0s 0d the committee expected. The rate in the committee's report of August 1825 must therefore have been 3s on every £100, not £3 as given earlier. At 3s, the town would yield about £145, and the country houses would make up the rest. That is a very light charge on property, about 0.15 per cent of value. Even the Solomons' tavern, at £3,000 0s 0d, would pay only £4 10s 0d a year. Several sergeants owned houses and tenements in Jamestown: Bates, Matheson, Bell, Hubbard and, earlier, Rich. These were non-commissioned officers of the Company's garrison who had put their savings into town property, often letting rooms to other soldiers and their families. The garrison was thus a source of tenants and also of small landlords. Under the house tax these sergeants became ratepayers in their own right, entitled under the government's rule to a voice in the vestry that the poll tax had never given them as soldiers. Women owned a large share of the cheaper houses at the end of the list, often living in them themselves: Nelly Plato, Martha London, Dolly Richards, Hester and Rose Underwood. The Plato name had appeared on free black burials in the parish

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			accounts. Several of these women were probably free blacks or women of colour. Small houses worth £50 0s 0d to £150 0s 0d were within reach of freed women who had saved or inherited. The valuation recorded them as property owners in their own names.
540	531	Country Houses -§ §No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §1: Landlord Wheeler, Tenant Wheeler, Scale 100, Remarks above Ladder Hill§ §2: Landlord George Seale, Tenant George Seale, Scale 70, Remarks 0§ §3: Landlord Maria, Tenant Maria, Scale 70, Remarks 0§ §4: Landlord Robt. Seale, Tenant Robt. Seale, Scale 70, Remarks 0§ §5: Landlord Nancy May, Tenant Nancy May, Scale 70, Remarks 0§ §6: Landlord Jas. Pomas, Tenant Jas. Pomas, Scale 0, Remarks unfinished§ §7: Landlord Abram Fisher, Tenant Abram Fisher, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §8: Landlord Mary Frances, Tenant Mary Frances, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §9: Landlord Sarah Hosson, Tenant Sarah Hosson, Scale 70, Remarks 0§ §10: Landlord Sudley Arnon, Tenant Sudley Arnon, Scale 70, Remarks 0§ §11: Landlord Jos. McDaniel, Tenant Jos. McDaniel, Scale 400, Remarks 0§ §12: Landlord Sudley Moyse, Tenant Sudley Moyse, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §13: Landlord J. Warrington, Tenant 0, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §14: Landlord J. Thomson, Tenant J. Thomson, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §15: Landlord Revd. R. Boys, Tenant Revd. R. Boys, Scale 700, Remarks 0§ §16: Landlord Mrs. Pritchard, Tenant Mrs. Pritchard, Scale 500, Remarks 0§ §17: Landlord Capt. Shortis, Tenant Capt. Shortis, Scale 1000, Remarks 0§ §18: Landlord Honble. Company, Tenant Capt. Pritchard, Scale 500, Remarks 0§ §19: Landlord H. W. Seale, Tenant Major Pritchard, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §20: Landlord Anty. Beale, Tenant Sarah Ayon, Scale 50, Remarks Alfoss Place§ §21: Landlord Capt. Seale, Tenant W. H. Seale, Scale 400, Remarks Clover Place§ §22: Landlord Mrs. Doveton, Tenant Lt. Doveton, Scale 450, Remarks Briars Lodge§ §23: Landlord Worral, Tenant Worral, Scale 50, Remarks Briars Valley§ §24: Landlord Worral, Tenant Smith, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §25: Landlord H. W. Seale, Tenant Mrs. Seale, Scale 300, Remarks Southings§ §26: Landlord Capt. Beale, Tenant Capt. Beale, Scale 500, Remarks Sunny Side§ §27: Landlord Anty. Beale, Tenant Anty. Beale, Scale 200, Remarks Farm House§ §28: Landlord Anty. Beale, Tenant Lieut. Kennedy, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §29: Landlord Capt. Shortis, Tenant 0, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §30: Landlord Anty. Beale, Tenant Anty. Beale, Scale 900, Remarks 0§ §31: Landlord Robt. Seale, Tenant Robt. Seale, Scale 200, Remarks Sarahs Valley§ §32: Landlord Miss Beale, Tenant Lieut. De Fountain, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §33: Landlord Mrs. Smith, Tenant Mrs. Smith, Scale 1000, Remarks 0§	The committee's return went on to the country houses. 1: Wheeler, tenant Wheeler, valued at £100 0s 0d, above Ladder Hill 2: George Seale, tenant George Seale, valued at £70 0s 0d 3: Maria, tenant Maria, valued at £70 0s 0d 4: Robert Seale, tenant Robert Seale, valued at £70 0s 0d 5: Nancy May, tenant Nancy May, valued at £70 0s 0d 6: James [...], tenant James [...], no value entered, unfinished 7: Abram Fisher, tenant Abram Fisher, valued at £100 0s 0d 8: Mary Frances, tenant Mary Frances, valued at £100 0s 0d 9: Sarah [...], tenant Sarah [...], valued at £70 0s 0d 10: Sukey [...], tenant Sukey [...], valued at £70 0s 0d 11: Joseph McDaniel, tenant Joseph McDaniel, valued at £400 0s 0d 12: Sukey Moyse, tenant Sukey Moyse, valued at £100 0s 0d 13: J. Warrington, no tenant named, valued at £150 0s 0d 14: J. Thomson, tenant J. Thomson, valued at £120 0s 0d 15: The Reverend R. Boys, tenant the Reverend R. Boys, valued at £700 0s 0d 16: Mrs Pritchard, tenant Mrs Pritchard, valued at £500 0s 0d 17: Captain Shortis, tenant Captain Shortis, valued at £1,000 0s 0d 18: The Company, tenant Captain Pritchard, valued at £500 0s 0d 19: H. W. Seale, tenant Major Pritchard, valued at £250 0s 0d 20: Anthony Beale, tenant Sarah Ryon, valued at £50 0s 0d, [...] Place 21: Captain Seale, tenant W. H. Seale, valued at £400 0s 0d, [...] Place 22: Mrs Doveton, tenant Lieutenant Doveton, valued at £450 0s 0d, Briars Lodge 23: Worrall, tenant Worrall, valued at £50 0s 0d, Briars Valley 24: Worrall, tenant Smith, valued at £50 0s 0d 25: W. W. Seale, tenant Mrs Seale, valued at £300 0s 0d, [...] 26: Captain Beale, tenant Captain Beale, valued at £500 0s 0d, Sunnyside 27: Anthony Beale, tenant Anthony Beale, valued at £200 0s 0d, a farmhouse 28: Anthony Beale, tenant Lieutenant Kennedy, valued at £300 0s 0d 29: Captain Shortis, no tenant named, valued at £150 0s 0d 30: Anthony Beale, tenant Anthony Beale, valued at £900 0s 0d 31: Robert Seale, tenant Robert Seale, valued at £200 0s 0d, Sarah's Valley 32: Miss Beale, tenant Lieutenant De Fountain, valued at £300 0s 0d 33: Mrs Smith, tenant Mrs Smith, valued at £1,000 0s 0d 34: John De Fountain, tenant John De Fountain, valued at £1,800 0s 0d, Rosemary Hall

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		§34: Landlord Jno. De Fountain, Tenant Jno. De Fountain, Scale 1800, Remarks Rosemary Hall§ §35: Landlord Capt. Leech, Tenant 0, Scale 200, Remarks Bliss Cottage§ §36: Landlord Capt. Leech, Tenant Capt. Leech, Scale 1800, Remarks Oaklands§ §37: Landlord Revd. Mr. Vernon, Tenant Revd. Mr. Vernon, Scale 650, Remarks 0§	35: Captain Leech, no tenant named, valued at £200 0s 0d, [...] Cottage 36: Captain Leech, tenant Captain Leech, valued at £1,800 0s 0d, Oaklands 37: The Reverend Mr Vernon, tenant the Reverend Mr Vernon, valued at £650 0s 0d **Interpretations** A Company house in the country, let to Captain Pritchard, was given a value of £500 0s 0d. In Jamestown the committee had entered every Company house without a value as exempt. This one was let privately to an officer rather than used as an official residence. That was the distinction the committee had drawn between the Company and those living in its houses, as with the Crown's palaces and their occupants. A Company house let to a private tenant was treated as a taxable private house. The country list ran from small cottages worth £50 0s 0d to £100 0s 0d up to estates such as Rosemary Hall and Oaklands at £1,800 0s 0d each. Several of the cheapest were owned and lived in by people listed by a single name or a first name only, such as Maria, Nancy May and Sukey Moyse. In the parish records, a first name used alone usually marked a slave or a former slave. These were probably freed people who had settled on small plots in the country. Under the house tax they paid at the same rate per £100 as the De Fountains and the Leeches. The country houses were generally valued well below town property of similar standing. Captain Shortis's house, among the larger in the country, was valued at £1,000 0s 0d, against £3,000 0s 0d for the Solomons' tavern in town. The valuation set the house alone, not the land around it. The committee of landholders had said in August 1825 that farmers could least afford a higher land tax. Their low valuations put most of the house tax on Jamestown.
541	532	[Staining along the right edge of the page.] No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §38: Landlord Honble. Company, Tenant Capt. Den Taaffe, Scale 900, Remarks Rock Cottage§ §39: Landlord G. Dovetons Est., Tenant Mrs. Doveton, Scale 900, Remarks Bevans§ §40: Landlord W. Bloman, Tenant W. Bloman, Scale 100, Remarks Thomsons Hill§ §41: Landlord Free Sophy, Tenant Free Sophy, Scale 100, Remarks Francis Plain§ §42: Landlord H. Green, Tenant Molly Arthur, Scale 100, Remarks Head of Lemon Valley§ §43: Landlord Lt. Jos. Sampson, Tenant Lt. Jos. Sampson, Scale 900, Remarks Myrtle Grove§ §44: Landlord Alexanders Est., Tenant R. Brooke, Scale 300, Remarks Broad Bottom§ §45: Landlord Jno. De Fountain, Tenant Jno. De Fountain, Scale 650, Remarks 0§ §46: Landlord R. Knipe, Tenant R. Knipe, Scale 1200, Remarks 0§ §47: Landlord R. Knipe, Tenant Do. Servants, Scale 150, Remarks Horse pasture Plain§ §48: Landlord Free Michael, Tenant Free Michael, Scale 120, Remarks Below Half Moon§ §49: Landlord Betty Bush, Tenant Betty Bush, Scale 100, Remarks Below Half Moon§ §50: Landlord Wm. Knipe, Tenant Wm. Knipe, Scale 300, Remarks Half Moon§ §51: Landlord B. Mason, Tenant B. Mason, Scale 100, Remarks Swanly Valley§ §52: Landlord J. Knipe, Tenant J. Knipe, Scale 300, Remarks including 1 Tenement Peploes including 4 Tenements§ §53: Landlord Wood, Tenant Wood, Scale 200, Remarks Under Highknoll§ §54: Landlord R. Scott Senr., Tenant R. Scott Senr., Scale 600, Remarks 0§	The valuation of country houses continued as follows. 38: The Company, tenant Captain Dentaffe, valued at £900 0s 0d, Rock Cottage 39: G. Doveton's estate, tenant Mrs Doveton, valued at £900 0s 0d, [...] 40: W. Blueman, tenant W. Blueman, valued at £100 0s 0d, Thompson's Hill 41: Free Sophy, tenant Free Sophy, valued at £100 0s 0d, [...] Place 42: Green, tenant Molly [...], valued at £100 0s 0d, the head of Lemon Valley 43: Lieutenant Joseph Sampson, tenant Lieutenant Joseph Sampson, valued at £900 0s 0d, Myrtle Grove 44: Alexander's estate, tenant R. Brooke, valued at £300 0s 0d, Broad Bottom 45: John De Fountain, tenant John De Fountain, valued at £650 0s 0d 46: R. Knipe, tenant R. Knipe, valued at £1,200 0s 0d 47: R. Knipe, tenants his servants, valued at £150 0s 0d, Horse Pasture Plain 48: Free Michael, tenant Free Michael, valued at £120 0s 0d, below Half Moon 49: Betty Bush, tenant Betty Bush, valued at £100 0s 0d, below Half Moon 50: William Knipe, tenant William Knipe, valued at £300 0s 0d, Half Moon 51: B. Mason, tenant B. Mason, valued at £100 0s 0d, Swanley Valley 52: J. Knipe, tenant J. Knipe, valued at £300 0s 0d, including a tenement 53: Wood, tenant Wood, valued at £200 0s 0d, under High Knoll 54: R. Scott senior, tenant R. Scott senior, valued at £600 0s 0d

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		§55: Landlord W. Scott, Tenant W. Scott, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §56: Landlord R. Scott Junr., Tenant R. Scott Junr., Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §57: Landlord L. Nairne, Tenant L. Nairne, Scale 300, Remarks Francis Plain§ §58: Landlord Dr. Price, Tenant Dr. Price, Scale 450, Remarks Francis Plain§ §59: Landlord Mrs. R. Leech, Tenant Mrs. R. Leech, Scale 1100, Remarks Woody [...]§ §60: Landlord Jno. De Fountain, Tenant Jno. De Fountain, Scale 900, Remarks 0§ §61: Landlord Mrs. Harper, Tenant Mrs. Harper, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §62: Landlord T. McRitchie, Tenant Capt. Den Taaffe, Scale 800, Remarks Knoll Combe§ §63: Landlord Lt. Col. Hodson, Tenant Lt. Col. Hodson, Scale 2000, Remarks 0§ §64: Landlord Lt. Col. Hodson, Tenant Lt. Col. Hodsons Servt., Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §65: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Mrs. Boulton, Scale 600, Remarks Luffkins§ §66: Landlord R. Youngs Estate, Tenant J. Cole, Scale 900, Remarks Rose Bower§ §67: Landlord Jno. De Fountain, Tenant Robt. Kay, Scale 120, Remarks Bates's Branch§ §68: Landlord Lt. Col. Hodson, Tenant Lt. Col. Hodsons Servt., Scale 120, Remarks lately in the occupation of Free James§ §69: Landlord Sir W. W. Doveton, Tenant 0, Scale 50, Remarks Sandy Bay Ridge§ §70: Landlord Scott, Tenant Scott, Scale 120, Remarks on Jno. De Fountains Land§ §71: Landlord Jno. De Fountain, Tenant Jno. De Fountains Servt., Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §72: Landlord Lt. Col. Wright, Tenant Lt. Col. Wright, Scale 600, Remarks 0§	55: W. Scott, tenant W. Scott, valued at £120 0s 0d 56: R. Scott junior, tenant R. Scott junior, valued at £250 0s 0d 57: L. Nairne, tenant L. Nairne, valued at £300 0s 0d, Francis Plain 58: Dr [...], tenant Dr [...], valued at £450 0s 0d, Francis Plain 59: Mrs R. Leech, tenant Mrs R. Leech, valued at £1,100 0s 0d, Woodcot 60: John De Fountain, tenant John De Fountain, valued at £900 0s 0d 61: Mrs Harper, tenant Mrs Harper, valued at £600 0s 0d 62: T. McRitchie, tenant Captain Dentaffe, valued at £800 0s 0d, Knollcombe 63: Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, tenant Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, valued at £2,000 0s 0d 64: Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, tenants his servants, valued at £200 0s 0d 65: The Company, tenant Mrs Brabazon, valued at £600 0s 0d, [...] 66: R. Young's estate, tenant J. Cole, valued at £800 0s 0d, Rose Bower 67: John De Fountain, tenant Robert Kay, valued at £120 0s 0d, Bates's Branch 68: Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, tenants his servants, valued at £120 0s 0d, occupied by Free James 69: Sir W. W. Doveton, no tenant named, valued at £50 0s 0d, Sandy Bay Ridge 70: Scott, tenant Scott, valued at £120 0s 0d, on John De Fountain's land 71: John De Fountain, tenants his servants, valued at £50 0s 0d 72: Lieutenant Colonel Wright, tenant Lieutenant Colonel Wright, valued at £600 0s 0d **Interpretations** The clerk named three country householders with the word "Free" in front of their names: Free Sophy, Free Michael and Free James. This was the island's usual way of describing a freed slave who had no surname. Free Sophy and Free Michael owned and lived in their own houses, valued at £100 0s 0d and £120 0s 0d. Free James lived in a house belonging to Lieutenant Colonel Hodson that was listed among his servants' quarters. Freed people had settled in small houses on or beside the large estates, some of them owning their homes, others still housed by the families they had worked for. Hodson, Knipe and De Fountain each had their servants' quarters valued separately from their main houses. On the poll tax rolls, those servants had counted towards the planters' heads. Under the house tax, the planters paid only on the modest value of the buildings their servants lived in, £50 0s 0d to £200 0s 0d. Hodson's main house at £2,000 0s 0d and his servants' houses at £320 0s 0d in all would together pay far less than his household of 25 or more heads had cost under the poll tax. Two more Company houses, let to Captain Dentaffe and Mrs Brabazon, were valued and taxed. As with Captain Pritchard's house, a Company property let privately counted as taxable. In the country, where few officials lived in Company houses, the committee's line between official residences and private lettings brought in Company property that the government's ruling was meant to exclude.
542	533	No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §73: Landlord Lt. Col. Wright, Tenant Lt. Col. Wright, Scale 300, Remarks Hutts Gate§ §74: Landlord B. Wright, Tenant B. Wright, Scale 350, Remarks 0§	The valuation of country houses continued as follows. 73: Lieutenant Colonel Wright, tenant Lieutenant Colonel Wright, valued at £300 0s 0d, Hunt's Gut 74: B. Wright, tenant B. Wright, valued at £350 0s 0d

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		§75: Landlord C. Blake, Tenant C. Blake, Scale 700, Remarks 0§ §76: Landlord T. Brooke, Tenant S. Solomon, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §77: Landlord T. Brooke Esqr., Tenant T. Brooke Esqr., Scale 2000, Remarks 0§ §78: Landlord R. Brooke, Tenant Jos. Young, Scale 300, Remarks Alarm House§ §79: Landlord Jas. Andrews, Tenant Jas. Andrews, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §80: Landlord Dr. Kay, Tenant Dr. Kay, Scale 900, Remarks 0§ §81: Landlord R. Torbett, Tenant R. Torbett, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §82: Landlord Mrs. Greenland, Tenant Mrs. Greenland, Scale 400, Remarks 0§ §83: Landlord Honble. Company, Tenant Lt. Watson, Scale 0, Remarks Official Residence§ §84: Landlord R. Wills, Tenant R. Wills, Scale 150, Remarks Hutts Gate Buildings§ §85: Landlord R. Wills, Tenant R. Wills, Scale 100, Remarks Store Room in Do.§ §86: Landlord Jno. Legg, Tenant H. Legg, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §87: Landlord R. Torbett, Tenant Sarah George, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §88: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant Blakemore, Scale 0, Remarks Plumbers Residence§ §89: Landlord Dr. Kays Walter, Tenant Dr. Kays Walter, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §90: Landlord Griffin, Tenant Griffin, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §91: Landlord Sergt. Munro, Tenant Sergt. Munro, Scale 120, Remarks Dead Wood§ §92: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant R. Seale, Scale 450, Remarks 0§ §93: Landlord Honble. Compy., Tenant J. Louden, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §94: Landlord Capt. Sampson, Tenant Capt. Sampson, Scale 1200, Remarks West Lodge§ §95: Landlord Free Sam Senr., Tenant Free Sam Senr., Scale 120, Remarks Under West Lodge§ §96: Landlord Free Sam Senr., Tenant Free Sam Senr., Scale 150, Remarks Botleys§ §97: Landlord Jno. Knipe Senr., Tenant Jno. Knipe Senr., Scale 300, Remarks Swanley Valley§ §98: Landlord Jno. De Fountain, Tenant Jno. De Fountains Servt., Scale 150, Remarks Farm House (Mason)§ §99: Landlord Free James, Tenant Free James, Scale 120, Remarks High Hill§ §100: Landlord Bagleys Jos., Tenant Peploe, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §101: Landlord Orlando Bagley, Tenant O. Bagley, Scale 200, Remarks Thomsons Valley§ §102: Landlord Days Orphans, Tenant Tobys Widow, Scale 100, Remarks Church Yard§ §103: Landlord Capt. Sampson, Tenant Capt. Sampsons Shepherd, Scale 50, Remarks Wrens Ridge§ §104: Landlord Capt. Sampson, Tenant Mrs. Sampson, Scale 250, Remarks Luffkins§ §105: Landlord Mrs. De Fountain, Tenant Mrs. De Fountains Servt., Scale 150, Remarks Tea Gut§ §106: Landlord Jno. Bagley, Tenant Jno. Bagley, Scale 700, Remarks 0§ §107: Landlord T. Greentree Esqr., Tenant Thos. Greentree Esqr., Scale 1500, Remarks 0§ §108: Landlord T. Greentree Esqr., Tenant Thos. Greentree Esqrs. Servants, Scale 200, Remarks Farm House§	75: C. Blake, tenant C. Blake, valued at £700 0s 0d 76: T. Brooke, tenant S. Solomon, valued at £250 0s 0d 77: T. Brooke, tenant T. Brooke, valued at £2,000 0s 0d 78: R. Brooke, tenant John Young, valued at £300 0s 0d, Alarm House 79: James Andrews, tenant James Andrews, valued at £250 0s 0d 80: Dr Kay, tenant Dr Kay, valued at £900 0s 0d 81: R. Torbett, tenant R. Torbett, valued at £300 0s 0d 82: Mrs Greenland, tenant Mrs Greenland, valued at £400 0s 0d 83: The Company, tenant Dr [...], no value entered, an official residence 84: R. Wills, tenant R. Wills, valued at £150 0s 0d, White Gate buildings 85: R. Wills, tenant R. Wills, valued at £100 0s 0d, a store room in [...] 86: John Legg, tenant H. Legg, valued at £120 0s 0d 87: R. Torbett, tenant [...] George, valued at £120 0s 0d 88: The Company, tenant Blackmore, no value entered, the plumber's residence 89: Dr Kay's Walter, tenant Dr Kay's Walter, valued at £100 0s 0d 90: Griffin, tenant Griffin, valued at £100 0s 0d 91: Sergeant Munro, tenant Sergeant Munro, valued at £120 0s 0d, Deadwood 92: The Company, tenant R. Seale, valued at £450 0s 0d 93: The Company, tenant J. Lowden, valued at £150 0s 0d 94: Captain Sampson, tenant Captain Sampson, valued at £1,200 0s 0d, West Lodge 95: Free Sam senior, tenant Free Sam senior, valued at £120 0s 0d, below West Lodge 96: Free Sam junior, tenant Free Sam junior, valued at £150 0s 0d, [...] 97: John Knipe junior, tenant John Knipe junior, valued at £300 0s 0d, Swanley Valley 98: John De Fountain, tenants his servants, valued at £150 0s 0d, a farmhouse 99: Free James, tenant Free James, valued at £120 0s 0d, High Hill 100: Bagley [...], tenant [...], valued at £120 0s 0d 101: Orlando Bagley, tenant O. Bagley, valued at £200 0s 0d, Thompson's Valley 102: Day's orphans, tenant [...], valued at £100 0s 0d, [...] 103: Captain Sampson, tenant Captain Sampson's shepherd, valued at £50 0s 0d, [...] Ridge 104: Captain Sampson, tenant Mrs Sampson, valued at £250 0s 0d, [...] 105: Mrs De Fountain, tenants her servants, valued at £150 0s 0d, [...] Gut 106: John Bagley, tenant John Bagley, valued at £700 0s 0d 107: T. Greentree, tenant T. Greentree, valued at £1,500 0s 0d 108: T. Greentree, tenants his servants, valued at £200 0s 0d, a farmhouse **Interpretations** Dr Kay's Walter owned and lived in a house valued at £100 0s 0d. The name followed the island's usual practice for a slave, who was identified by the owner's name. Walter was probably a slave or recently freed man still known by his master's name, yet he was entered as a householder in his own right. Free Sam senior and Free Sam junior, father and son, each held a house near Captain Sampson's West Lodge. Free James, earlier listed as living in one of Hodson's servants' houses, also appeared here as the

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			owner of his own house at High Hill. Freed people were building or buying small homes on the edges of the large estates where many of them had worked. T. H. Brooke, the secretary to government, owned a country house valued at £2,000 0s 0d. His town house was a Company residence and so went untaxed. His private country estate, however, came under the tax at the top of the scale. This was the distinction the committee had pressed for. Senior officials escaped the tax on their official quarters, but they paid on whatever they owned privately.
543	534	No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §109: Landlord Capt. F. Seale, Tenant Capt. F. Seales Servants, Scale 150, Remarks 0§ §110: Landlord Mrs. F. Alexander, Tenant Mrs. F. Alexander, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §111: Landlord Capt. H. Seale, Tenant Capt. H. Seale Servt., Scale 100, Remarks Sundays Wood Tenement§ §112: Landlord D. Hamilton, Tenant D. Hamilton, Scale 300, Remarks Virgins Hall§ §113: Landlord W. Seale, Tenant W. Seale, Scale 300, Remarks Four Gun Battery§ §114: Landlord Mrs. Alexander, Tenant Sir W. Dovetons Michael, Scale 75, Remarks again Plantation§ §115: Landlord Major Seale, Tenant Major Seales Servants, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §116: Landlord Chas. Scott, Tenant Chas. Scott, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §117: Landlord Capt. F. Seale, Tenant Capt. F. Seale, Scale 600, Remarks 0§ §118: Landlord Wm. Alexander, Tenant Wm. Alexander, Scale 1200, Remarks 0§ §119: Landlord Major Seale, Tenant Major Seale, Scale 800, Remarks 0§ §120: Landlord Sir W. W. Doveton, Tenant Sir W. W. Doveton, Scale 1500, Remarks 0§ §121: Landlord Thos. Greentree Esqr., Tenant Thos. Greentree Esqr., Scale 1800, Remarks New Cottage§ §122: Landlord Major Seale now Alexander, Tenant Mrs. Kay, Scale 250, Remarks Rustland§ §123: Landlord Mrs. Alexander, Tenant 0, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §124: Landlord Mrs. Alexander, Tenant Mrs. Alexander, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §125: Landlord Mrs. Tillah Lambe, Tenant Mrs. Tillah Lambe, Scale 120, Remarks 0§ §126: Landlord Mrs. Aaron Lambe, Tenant Mrs. A. Lambe, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §127: Landlord Major Seale, Tenant 0, Scale 50, Remarks Hymns§ §128: Landlord G. W. Janisch, Tenant G. W. Janisch, Scale 900, Remarks 0§ §129: Landlord R. Wills, Tenant R. Wills, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §130: Landlord G. V. Lambe, Tenant G. V. Lambe, Scale 500, Remarks Walbro Cottage§ §131: Landlord J. Mittens, Tenant J. Mittens, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §132: Landlord Jno. Burnham, Tenant Jno. Burnham, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §133: Landlord Jno. Robinson, Tenant Jno. Robinson, Scale 300, Remarks including one Tenement§ §134: Landlord Jno. Legg, Tenant Jno. Legg, Scale 450, Remarks including one Tenement§ §135: Landlord Major Seale, Tenant Major Seales Servt., Scale 75, Remarks under Green Hill§ §136: Landlord Wm. Alexander, Tenant Wm. Alexander Servt., Scale 75, Remarks Cottage Tea Land§ §137: Landlord Alfred Isaacke, Tenant Alfred Isaacke, Scale 300, Remarks Green Hill§ §138: Landlord Fred. Alexander, Tenant F. Alexanders Servt., Scale 200, Remarks Powells Valley§	The valuation of country houses continued as follows. 109: Captain F. Seale, tenants his servants, valued at £150 0s 0d 110: Mrs F. Alexander, tenant Mrs F. Alexander, valued at £300 0s 0d 111: Captain F. Seale, tenants his servants, valued at £100 0s 0d, [...] and a tenement 112: D. Hamilton, tenant D. Hamilton, valued at £300 0s 0d, [...] Hall 113: W. Seale, tenant W. Seale, valued at £300 0s 0d, Four Gun Battery 114: Mrs Alexander, tenant Sir W. Doveton's [...], valued at £75 0s 0d, [...] plantation 115: Major Seale, tenants his servants, valued at £120 0s 0d 116: Charles Scott, tenant Charles Scott, valued at £250 0s 0d 117: Captain F. Seale, tenant Captain F. Seale, valued at £600 0s 0d 118: Mrs Alexander, tenant Mrs Alexander, valued at £1,200 0s 0d 119: Major Seale, tenant Major Seale, valued at £800 0s 0d 120: Sir W. W. Doveton, tenant Sir W. W. Doveton, valued at £1,500 0s 0d 121: Thomas Greentree, tenant Thomas Greentree, valued at £1,800 0s 0d, New Cottage 122: Major Seale, tenant Mrs Kay, valued at £250 0s 0d, [...] 123: Mrs Alexander, no tenant named, valued at £50 0s 0d 124: Mrs Alexander, tenant Mrs Alexander, valued at £120 0s 0d 125: Mrs Tillah Lambe, tenant Mrs Tillah Lambe, valued at £120 0s 0d 126: Mrs Aaron Lambe, tenant Mrs A. Lambe, valued at £300 0s 0d 127: Major Seale, no tenant named, valued at £50 0s 0d, [...] 128: G. W. Janisch, tenant G. W. Janisch, valued at £900 0s 0d 129: R. Wills, tenant R. Wills, valued at £300 0s 0d 130: G. V. Lambe, tenant G. V. Lambe, valued at £500 0s 0d, [...] Cottage 131: J. Mittens, tenant J. Mittens, valued at £250 0s 0d 132: John Burnham, tenant John Burnham, valued at £250 0s 0d 133: John Robinson, tenant John Robinson, valued at £300 0s 0d, including a tenement 134: John Legg, tenant John Legg, valued at £450 0s 0d, including a tenement 135: Major Seale, tenants his servants, valued at £75 0s 0d, below Green Hill 136: Mrs Alexander, tenants her servants, valued at £75 0s 0d, a cottage in [...] Lane 137: Alfred Isaacke, tenant Alfred Isaacke, valued at £300 0s 0d, Green Hill 138: Frederick Alexander, tenants his servants, valued at £200 0s 0d, [...] Valley 139: W. H. and A. Seale, tenant A. Seale, valued at £1,300 0s 0d, [...] Hill

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		§139: Landlord W. H. & A. Seale, Tenant A. Seale, Scale 1300, Remarks Rock Rose Hill§ §140: Landlord W. H. & A. Seale, Tenant 0, Scale 0, Remarks Farm Cottage§	140: W. H. and A. Seale, no tenant named, no value entered, a farm cottage **Interpretations** The Seale family held more entries than any other on this page. Major Seale, Captain F. Seale, W. Seale and W. H. and A. Seale between them owned at least 13 houses, including several sets of servants' quarters. William Seale senior had paid the poll tax on 31 to 33 heads, the largest count after David Kay's. Spread across many modest houses and servants' cottages, each valued between £50 0s 0d and £800 0s 0d, the family's property paid the house tax at a fraction of what its slaves and servants had cost under the poll tax.
544	535	No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §141: Landlord Alexanders Est., Tenant Sir W. Doveton Hdsr., Scale 50, Remarks Small Hutt near Level Wood§ §142: Landlord S. H. Alexander, Tenant S. H. Alexander, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §143: Landlord Wm. Jollis, Tenant Wm. Jollis, Scale 200, Remarks 0§ §144: Landlord Saml. Burnham, Tenant Saml. Burnham, Scale 250, Remarks 0§ §145: Landlord Miss Mason, Tenant Miss Mason Servt., Scale 75, Remarks Ridges§ §146: Landlord R. Barker, Tenant R. Barkers Servt., Scale 50, Remarks Farm House§ §147: Landlord G. Lambe, Tenant G. Lambs Servt., Scale 75, Remarks Stock House§ §148: Landlord Jno. Masons Est., Tenant Honble. Compy., Scale 50, Remarks Bradleys§ §149: Landlord Lt. Wm. Mason, Tenant Lt. Wm. Mason, Scale 250, Remarks 3 Garden Houses§ §150: Landlord Chentry, Tenant W. Wright, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §151: Landlord Jollis Junr., Tenant Jollis Junr., Scale 50, Remarks Beales Valley§ §152: Landlord Wm. Oliver, Tenant Wm. Oliver, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §153: Landlord Jollis Senr., Tenant Jollis Senr., Scale 75, Remarks 0§ §154: Landlord R. Wright, Tenant R. Wright, Scale 250, Remarks Foxs Folly§ §155: Landlord Capt. Thorn, Tenant S. Pritchard, Scale 300, Remarks 0§ §156: Landlord T. Baker, Tenant T. Baker, Scale 1800, Remarks Briars§ §157: Landlord W. Chamberlain, Tenant W. Chamberlain, Scale 150, Remarks Lemon Valley§ §158: Landlord R. Barker, Tenant R. Barker, Scale 1500, Remarks Arnos Vale§ §£61520§ §Total Amount of Town Houses§ §£96835§ §Country Houses§ §61520§ §Grand Total§ §£158355§ §Signed "R. Boys§ §C. Sampson§ §Joseph Cole"§	The valuation of country houses ended as follows. 141: Alexander's estate, tenant Sir W. Doveton's shepherd, valued at £50 0s 0d, a small hut near [...] 142: S. H. Alexander, tenant S. H. Alexander, valued at £300 0s 0d 143: William Julie, tenant William Julie, valued at £200 0s 0d 144: Samuel Burnham, tenant Samuel Burnham, valued at £250 0s 0d 145: Miss Mason, tenants her servants, valued at £75 0s 0d, Ridges 146: R. Barker, tenants his servants, valued at £50 0s 0d, a farmhouse 147: G. Lambe, tenants his servants, valued at £75 0s 0d, a stock house 148: John Mason's estate, tenant the Company, valued at £50 0s 0d, [...] 149: Lieutenant William Mason, tenant Lieutenant William Mason, valued at £250 0s 0d, 3 garden houses 150: Chentry, tenant W. Wright, valued at £50 0s 0d 151: Scipio junior, tenant Scipio junior, valued at £50 0s 0d, Beale's Valley 152: William Oliver, tenant William Oliver, valued at £50 0s 0d 153: Scipio senior, tenant Scipio senior, valued at £75 0s 0d 154: R. Wright, tenant R. Wright, valued at £250 0s 0d, Fox's Folly 155: Captain Thorn, tenant J. Pritchard, valued at £300 0s 0d 156: T. Baker, tenant T. Baker, valued at £1,800 0s 0d, the Briars 157: W. Chamberlain, tenant W. Chamberlain, valued at £150 0s 0d, Lemon Valley 158: R. Barker, tenant R. Barker, valued at £1,500 0s 0d, Arno's Vale Total for country houses, £61,520 0s 0d Total for town houses, £96,835 0s 0d Total for country houses, £61,520 0s 0d Grand total, £158,355 0s 0d The Reverend R. Boys, C. Sampson and Joseph Cole signed the return. **Interpretations** The island's private houses were valued at £158,355 0s 0d, and about three-fifths of that lay in Jamestown. At 3s on every £100, the whole valuation would raise about £237 10s 0d, and the town would pay about £145 of it. The landholders who led the vestry had argued that the farmers could least afford more tax. The valuation they produced put most of the house tax on the merchants, innkeepers, shopkeepers and landlords of the town, whose property served the shipping. The country, which held the island's land and most of its slaves, carried the smaller share. Scipio senior and Scipio junior, father and son, each owned a small house, valued at £75 0s 0d and £50 0s 0d. Like Free Sam and his son, they carried a

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			single classical name of the kind owners often gave slaves. They were probably freed men who had set up households of their own. The list contains at least eight such householders, among them Free Sophy, Free Michael, Free James and Dr Kay's Walter. By 1825 freed people formed a visible group of small property owners in the country districts, and the new tax counted them among the ratepayers. The Briars, valued at £1,800 0s 0d, was among the island's best-known houses. Its owner was now T. Baker of Baker and Cole, the naval agents. It had belonged to William Balcombe, whose firm Balcombe, Cole and Company appeared on the earlier poll tax rolls. The merchant partnership that supplied the ships had carried on under new partners and kept the house.
545	536	At a Meeting of Vestry held in the Chapel in James§ §Valley on Monday 24th. October 1825.§ §The Return of the Committee appointed by the Vestry to ascertain§ §a Scale of Valuation of Houses having been laid before the Vestry§ §Resolved that a Tax of 3/ per £100 on the Houses be levied§ §according to the Rate of the Committees return - towards defraying§ §the Parish Expences.§ §Resolved that the warmest thanks of the Vestry be given§ §to the Committee for their great exertion and trouble -§ §Captn. Chas. Sampson, and Captn. F. Seale§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen,§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council§ §to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 23rd. Inst. enclosing the§ §valuation of the houses as estimated by the Committee, elected for§ §that purpose, who have fully established a claim to the thanks§ §of the Vestry - To that public testimony of the services of the§ §Committee, you are requested to add also the thanks of the Governor§ §and Council -§ §I am further commanded to express the satisfaction§ §of the Governor and Council at the active exertion of the Vestry, and§ §its Committees in taking a proper lead in measures, connected with§ §the general welfare of the Inhabitants, and conducting their dis-§ §cussions, and communications with a degree of temper and decorum,§ §which best prove their fitness to assist Government in matters of a§ §municipal nature, the Governor and Council however cannot§ §assent to the construction which has been put on the petition from§ §the proprietors of Carriages, and the censure expressed thereon by§ §the Vestry.§ §The important subject of altering the principles§ §of taxation having undergone a thorough discussion, and the several§ §communications between the Government and the Vestry having§	On Monday 24 October 1825 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley. The committee's return setting a scale of house values was put before it. The vestry agreed to raise a tax of 3s on every £100 of value on the houses, at the values in the committee's return, to help meet the parish's costs. It also voted its warmest thanks to the committee for its great effort and trouble. The government then wrote to the churchwardens, Captain Charles Sampson and Captain F. Seale. The Governor and Council acknowledged receipt of the churchwardens' letter of the 23rd of the month, which enclosed the committee's valuation of the houses. They judged that the committee had fully earned the vestry's thanks. They asked the churchwardens to add their own thanks to the vestry's public tribute to the committee's work. The Governor and Council also expressed their satisfaction at the vestry's and its committee's energy in taking a proper lead on measures connected with the general welfare of the inhabitants. They were pleased that the vestry had conducted its discussions and correspondence with restraint and good manners. In their view, this showed the vestry was fit to help the government in matters of local administration. The Governor and Council could not, however, agree with the construction the vestry had put on the petition from the carriage owners. Nor could they agree with the criticism the vestry had made of them. The question of changing the basis of taxation had now been fully discussed, and several letters had passed between the government and the vestry [...]. **Interpretations** The vestry fixed the house tax at 3s on every £100 of value. That confirms the reading of the committee's August 1825 report: the rate was shillings, not pounds. On the full valuation of £158,355 0s 0d, it would raise about £237 10s 0d, more than the £190 0s 0d the committee had expected. The valuation had turned out higher than the committee's first estimate, and the vestry kept the rate rather than lowering it to match. The government praised the vestry for its restraint and good manners in the same letter that rebuked it over the carriage owners. The carriage owners had petitioned against the higher carriage tax the vestry proposed, and the vestry had evidently dismissed their complaint and criticised them. The owners were the island's richest families, including senior officials such as Hodson and Brooke. The government sided with them. It welcomed the vestry as a partner in local affairs, but only so long as the vestry did not turn on the propertied class the government relied on.
546	537	finally produced an accordance of opinion (at least upon all§ §leading points) I am now instructed to enclose a draft	The discussion had finally produced broad agreement, at least on all the main points. Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, enclosed a

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		of a§ §Proclamation for carrying the proposed system into effect, which§ §you will please to lay before the Vestry, in case any further§ §regulations should be deemed necessary before it be promulgated§ §as a law of the Island§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your obedient Servant§ §St. Helena§ §3rd. Novr. 1825§ §Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§ §At a Meeting of Vestry held in the Chapel in James§ §Valley on Monday 7th. November 1825.§ §The Draft of a Proclamation by the Honble. the Governor & Council§ §being laid before them accompanied by the foregoing Letter. The following§ §amendments & remarks to Paragraphs No. 3 & No. 7 were proposed & carried§ §for the purpose of being submitted to the Honble. Board -§ §Extract from Paragraph No. 3§ §"But Houses under the Value of £100,§ §"are to be exempt from such addition"§ §Paragraph No. 7§ §"After a Contract shall have been§ §"finally agreed upon & ratified by the§ §"Governor & Council the Contractor may§ §"then commence carrying such execution -§ §"he will receive his payment from the§ §"Collectors upon Drafts signed by the§ §"Trustees of the District countersigned by§ §"the Surveyor"§ §The Principle being universally approved§ §as just & equitable, the Vestry see no§ §cause why the Houses not exceeding £100§ §should be exempt from the addition.§ §It is presumed that in this instance the§ §Surveyor should sign to certify that the work§ §contracted for is properly executed, & that§ §the Trustees should countersign to authorize§ §the payment for the same - nor do§ §the Vestry see why the Contract should§ §necessarily be ratified by the Governor§ §& Council, as the Trustees will of course§ §be careful of their own interests -§ §Resolved that the following persons be appointed Collectors and§ §Trustees for the present Year§ §Mr. Andrew Eyre§ §Mr. Lewis Gideon§ §Collectors§ §Capt. Sampson Western Division§ §Captn. Seale Southern Do.§ §Mr. G. W. Janisch Eastern Do.§ §Mr. Saul Solomon Town Do.§ §Trustees§ §(Signed) "C. Sampson Church Warden"§	draft proclamation to put the new system into effect. The churchwardens were to put it before the vestry in case further rules were needed before it was published as a law of the island. Blake signed the letter at St Helena on 3 November 1825. On Monday 7 November 1825 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley. It considered the Governor and Council's draft proclamation together with the covering letter. The vestry proposed and passed the following changes and comments on paragraphs 3 and 7, to be put to the Board. Paragraph 3 of the draft provided that houses worth less than £100 0s 0d would be exempt from the additional charge. The vestry pointed out that everyone had accepted the principle of the tax as just and fair. It therefore saw no reason why houses worth £100 0s 0d or less should be exempt. Paragraph 7 provided that once a contract had been finally agreed and approved by the Governor and Council, the contractor could begin the work. He would be paid by the collectors on orders signed by the district's trustees and countersigned by the surveyor. The vestry took it that in this case the surveyor should certify that the contracted work had been done properly, and the trustees should then approve payment. Nor did the vestry see why the Governor and Council had to approve every contract, since the trustees would naturally look after their own interests. The vestry appointed the following officers for the year. Collectors Andrew Eyre Lewis Gideon Trustees Captain Sampson, western division Captain Seale, southern division G. W. Janisch, eastern division Saul Solomon, the town C. Sampson signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The vestry objected to the exemption for houses worth less than £100 0s 0d. It could have accepted the exemption, which would have spared the poorest householders. The valuation showed who those were: freed people such as Free Sophy, Scipio and Free Sam, free black women in town such as Hester and Martha London, and owners of single tenements. The vestry insisted that every house should pay on the same principle. It argued from fairness, but the effect was to keep the island's smallest ratepayers, many of them freed people, paying alongside the planters. Under the government's own rule that property qualified a person to vote, that also kept them inside the vestry as ratepayers. The vestry also asked that contracts for road work not need the government's approval. It had urged contract work in August 1825 as cheaper than hiring Chinese labour by the day. Now it wanted each district's trustees, with the surveyor certifying the work, to manage their own contracts. The trustees were leading landholders and merchants: Sampson, Seale, Janisch and Solomon. Removing the Governor and Council's approval would have given the vestry's own officers control of the road money from start to finish.
547	538	Extract from Consultation 14 Novr. 1825.§ §The Boards desire to lighten taxation as much as possible§ §from the poorer class of Householders remains unchanged. It must§ §however be admitted that in very many instances the proprietorship§ §of two three or more Houses under the Value of £100 is vested§	The government's consultation of 14 November 1825 recorded its answer. The Board still wished to lighten the tax on poorer householders as far as it could. It admitted, however, that in very many cases one person owned two, three or more houses each worth less than £100 0s 0d. Such an owner was clearly above the class the exemption had been meant to protect. The Board also believed that an extra charge of 1s 6d on every £100 was the most that

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		§in a single Individual who consequently must be above that class§ §in favor of which the exception was intended - The Board moreover§ §have reason to believe that the addition of 1/6 in the £100 is the§ §utmost likely ever to be called for; the probable amount therefore§ §is not beyond that which the Occupier of a Hutt might in reason§ §be required to contribute towards Parochial expences and highways.§ §The ability of Tenants of this description who hold of the§ §Company is demonstrated by the punctuality with which their§ §Rents are paid - a punctuality affording a strong Contrast to§ §the backwardness of the comparatively wealthy - and altho' it§ §would be unjust to make regularity of payment a motive for§ §an encrease of burden yet it is adviseable to adduce the fact§ §in proof of capability. the House Tax moreover will be the§ §only Tax demandable upon those who keep neither Cart Horse§ §Mule nor Ass - Under all these considerations the Board§ §resolve to assent in this case to the propositions of the§ §Vestry but should experience evince that an undue pressure falls§ §upon the poor, it will always be in the power of Government§ §to interfere for their relief.§ §The second proposition relates to little more than a§ §matter of form, being quite unobjectionable is therefore agreed§ §to - But the Governor and Council cannot agree to a proposal to§ §absolve from a necessity of their ratification a Contract for§ §Highway work. The Main Roads are to be kept up at the§ §exclusive charge of the Company. without these all the other§ §Roads would be nearly useless to the Inhabitants - The safety§ §of the Island (in which assuredly the Inhabitants are interested)§ §requires that a controuling power in respect to Roads leading to§ §Military positions should be vested in Government - The Clause§ §in question therefore cannot be dispensed with§ §Resolved that the Draft of Proclamation recorded on§ §Consultation of the 3rd. Novr. with the above amendments be§ §promulgated as a Law of the Island§ §(Signed) "Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt."§	would probably ever be needed. That would cost no more than the occupant of a hut could fairly be asked to pay towards parish costs and the roads. Tenants of this kind who rented from the Company had shown they could pay by the promptness of their rent. They compared well with the slowness of the better-off. The Board granted that it would be wrong to punish regular payment with a heavier burden. Still, the fact was worth citing as proof that such tenants could pay. The house tax would also be the only tax charged on people who kept no cart, horse, mule or donkey. For all these reasons the Board agreed to the vestry's proposal. If it found that poor householders were being pressed too hard, the government could always step in to help them. The vestry's second proposal was little more than a matter of form. The Board found nothing wrong with it and agreed to it. The Governor and Council would not, however, agree to drop their approval of contracts for highway work. The Company was to maintain the main roads entirely at its own expense, and without them the other roads would be of almost no use to the inhabitants. The island's security, in which the inhabitants certainly had an interest, also required that the government keep control over roads leading to military positions. The clause therefore had to stand. The Board resolved that the draft proclamation recorded in the consultation of 3 November 1825, with these changes, be published as a law of the island. Charles Blake signed the extract as deputy secretary to the government. **Interpretations** The government gave way on the exemption for small houses, against its own first proposal, and gave its reasons. Many cheap houses belonged to landlords who owned several, such as Truebody and Dr Mead with their blocks of tenements. An exemption for houses under £100 0s 0d would have relieved those landlords more than the poor. The Board's remark that the poor paid their Company rents more promptly than the rich spoke of the arrears it had seen under the poll tax. Large holders such as William Seale senior had headed the defaulters' lists. The Board kept the right to step in if the poor suffered. That left relief to its discretion instead of a fixed rule. The government kept its approval of highway contracts on grounds of security. St Helena was a fortified Company station, and many roads led to batteries and military posts. A road was also a route for troops, and its condition mattered to the island's defence. The Company paid for the main roads and so had a direct financial interest too. The vestry could manage the local roads through its trustees, but final control of the network stayed with the government.
548	539	Proclamation.§ §Whereas, the Mode in which the requisite Sums§ §have been hitherto raised by the Inhabitants, for assisting in the making§ §and mending the Highways and the Parochial Expences, is deemed§ §open to objection in many respects, and the same having been taken§ §into consideration by the Vestry, and that Body having submitted§ §certain Propositions on the subject, to the Governor	The Governor and Council issued a proclamation. It stated that the way the inhabitants had paid towards making and repairing the highways and towards parish costs was open to objection in many respects. The vestry had considered the matter and put proposals to the Governor and Council. Some of these were finally approved, and the Governor and Council, with the vestry's agreement, declared them just, fair and practical. The proclamation therefore set out the following.

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		and Council§ §some modifications have been finally approved; and by the united voice of the Government and Vestry§ §which, after, declared to be just, equitable and expedient - Be it§ §Known Therefore -§ §1st. That the following Taxes are abolished (viz.)§ §The Tax upon all Male Slaves, between the Ages of 16 and 60.§ §The Tax to cover the Expences of Overseers of Highways, levied upon§ §Land in the Country, and Ground Rent in Town - and§ §The Poll Tax for Parish Charges.§ §2nd. Parochial Expences will henceforward be defrayed out of the following§ §Taxes. -§ §Half the Dog Tax, as usual - Viz. - 5/ on each Dog§ §A Tax on Hire Horses§ §40/ Each§ §A Tax on Houses in Town and Country, at the Rate of 3/ on§ §every £100 of the Value of each House, as already estimated by a§ §Committee of Vestry. -§ §3rd. The Government having undertaken the Maintenance of the§ §Road from James Town to Plantation House, and that from§ §Town to Longwood - all the remaining Roads on the Island§ §are henceforward to be kept in repair by the Inhabitants - subject§ §however, to the general controul and direction of the Surveyor.§ §The necessary Funds to be provided as follows. -§ §A Tax of £3 on each Person keeping a Cart, Waggon or Dray, who§ §shall have used the same at any time during the preceding 12 Months§ §upon a Public Road and £1 upon each additional Cart, Waggon, or§ §Dray, so used by the same Proprietor, Every Cart, Waggon, or Dray,§ §is to have its Proprietor's Initials cut in Letters not less than 3 Inches§ §high. And those who keep a Second Cart, Waggon, or Dray, or a§ §Waggon or Dray in addition to a Cart - or a Dray in addition to§ §a Waggon - whether used on a Public Road, or kept confined within the§ §precincts of the Farm, must have each of such Carts, Waggons, or Drays,§ §numbered in Figures of the same size as above prescribed for their Initials§	1: The following taxes were abolished: the tax on all male slaves aged 16 to 60; the tax on land in the country and ground rents in town that paid for the overseers of highways; and the poll tax for parish charges. 2: Parish costs would in future be paid from the following taxes. Half the dog tax as before, at 5s on each dog A tax on each horse kept for hire, at 40s A tax on houses in town and country, at 3s on every £100 of each house's value as already assessed by a vestry committee 3: The government had taken over the upkeep of the road from Jamestown to Plantation House and the road from the town to Longwood. All the other roads on the island would in future be kept in repair by the inhabitants, under the general control and direction of the surveyor. The money needed would be raised as follows. Every person who kept a cart, wagon or dray and had used it on a public road at any time in the previous 12 months would pay £3 0s 0d, and £1 0s 0d for each additional cart, wagon or dray used in the same way. Every cart, wagon or dray had to carry its owner's initials in letters at least 3 inches high. Anyone who kept a second cart, wagon or dray, or a wagon or dray as well as a cart, had to have each one numbered in figures of the same size. This applied whether the vehicle was used on a public road or kept within the bounds of the farm. **Interpretations** The proclamation abolished every tax that counted slaves. The road tax on male slaves aged 16 to 60 had gone back to the earliest highway rules, when planters supplied six days' labour for each such slave. The poll tax had counted slaves as heads in a household. With both gone, no parish or road tax on St Helena any longer rested on the number of slaves a person held. Seven years after the abolition measure of 1818, the island's taxes now treated slaves as invisible. They were taxed neither as property nor as people, while the slaves themselves stayed in bondage. The government took on the two most important roads at its own cost: Jamestown to Plantation House, where the Governor lived, and Jamestown to Longwood, the main route to the central plateau and its military posts. This matched its insistence on keeping control of roads leading to military positions. The inhabitants kept the minor roads, paid for by the cart tax. The Company had already been paying about three-quarters of all road costs, so the split mostly put on a formal footing what was already happening. Painting owners' initials and numbers on every cart applied to vehicles kept only on the farm as well as those used on public roads. The government had blamed false returns of carts for the inhabitants' falling share of road costs. A second cart hidden on a farm could not now be passed off as the only one. The marking made every vehicle on the island countable.
549	540	[Staining around the edges of the page and an ink stain in the left margin beside the 5th paragraph.] A neglect of this Regulation, shall subject the Defaulter to a§ §Fine not exceeding 40/. of which half shall go to the Informer, and§ §the other half to the Fund allotted for the repairs of the Highways.§ §A Tax of £3 on each Individual keeping a Carriage of any description,§ §for the private convenience of himself or Family, who shall have used§ §the same at any time during the preceding 12 Months and £1 upon§	Anyone who broke these rules on marking carts would be fined up to 40s. Half the fine would go to the informer and half to repairing the highways. Every person who kept a carriage of any kind for private use, and had used it at any time in the previous 12 months, would pay £3 0s 0d, and £1 0s 0d for each additional carriage so used. Every owner of a carriage let for hire would pay £4 0s 0d, and £1 0s 0d for each additional carriage. If these taxes fell short of the sum needed, the shortfall would be met by adding 3d, 6d or more to the house tax of 3s on every £100 of each house's value, as assessed.

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		§each additional Carriage so used by the same Proprietor.§ §A Tax of £4 on each Proprietor of a Carriage let for hire, and £1 upon§ §each additional Carriage kept by the same Proprietor.§ §In the event of these Taxes falling short of the required Amount, the§ §Deficiency is to be supplied by an addition to the House Tax of Sixpence,§ §Ninepence, or more, upon the Three Shillings in every Hundred Pounds§ §of the Value of each House, according to the Estimate aforesaid.§ §4th. The Taxes aforesaid (the Dog Tax excepted) are to be collected in§ §the Week of the Month of February every Year, by three Persons,§ §to be chosen by the Vestry, and to be called the County and Parish§ §Collectors, of whom the Senior Church Warden for the time being is to be§ §always one. Those Taxes which are appropriated to Parochial Expences§ §will be lodged in care of the Church Wardens as usual, and the other§ §two Collectors will take charge of the remainder, to answer Demands§ §for Highway Expences, under proper Vouchers, as hereinafter prescribed.§ §5th. The Collectors shall give due Notice before the middle of§ §January every Year, of the Day or Days, and the Place at which§ §the Taxes are to be paid. Those who make default are to be reported to§ §the Acting Magistrate, with the exact Amount of what is due -§ §whereupon the Magistrate will issue Warrants of Distress§ §and Sale for the recovery thereof.§ §6th. The Vestry will every Year, elect one or more Inhabitants in each§ §district - to be called Trustees of Roads; who, in conjunction§ §with the Surveyor, will, as occasion may require, determine§ §upon what repairs may be requisite, and advertize the same to§ §be performed by Contract. But before such Contract be ratified, a§ §Meeting of the County Treasurer and the Trustees for each District§ §is to be held, in order to prevent any undue or partial expenditure§ §upon the Roads in one Quarter, to the prejudice of those in other parts§ §of the Island, and in case of a difference of opinion, the subject§ §shall be referred to the decision of the Governor and Council.§ §7th. After a Contract shall have been finally agreed upon, and§ §ratified by the Governor and Council, the Contractor may then commence§ §carrying it into execution. He will receive Payments from the Collectors§ §upon Drafts, signed by the Surveyor, and countersigned by the Trustees§ §of the District. -§	4: All these taxes except the dog tax would be collected in the first week of February each year by three people chosen by the vestry, to be called the county and parish collectors. The senior churchwarden for the time being would always be one of them. The taxes set aside for parish costs would go to the churchwardens as usual. The other two collectors would hold the rest to meet highway costs on proper vouchers, as set out below. 5: Before the middle of January each year, the collectors would give notice of the day or days and the place for paying the taxes. Defaulters would be reported to the acting magistrate with the exact sum each owed. The magistrate would then issue warrants to seize and sell their goods to recover it. 6: Each year the vestry would elect one or more inhabitants in each district as trustees of roads. With the surveyor, they would decide from time to time what repairs were needed and advertise the work to be done by contract. Before any contract was approved, the county treasurer and the trustees of every district would meet to stop money being spent unfairly on the roads of one part of the island at the expense of the others. If they disagreed, the question would go to the Governor and Council. 7: Once a contract had been finally agreed and approved by the Governor and Council, the contractor could begin work. He would be paid by the collectors on orders signed by the surveyor and countersigned by the trustees of the district. **Interpretations** The proclamation gave the collectors the power to recover arrears by seizing and selling defaulters' goods on the magistrate's warrant. Under the poll tax, arrears had piled up for years, and the police had chased defaulters with little success. The new law put a specific remedy into the tax itself. A householder who failed to pay could lose his furniture, livestock or cart at public sale. Collecting the whole year's tax in one week of February, after notice in January, also made defaulters easy to identify. The final text adopted the vestry's change to paragraph 7, with the surveyor signing payment orders and the trustees countersigning them. The government kept its own approval of contracts. Each side won one point. The vestry's officers controlled the day-to-day payment of road money, and the Governor and Council kept the final say over what work was done. The meeting of all district trustees before any contract was approved addressed a risk built into the new system. Trustees were local landholders. Each had reason to spend road money near his own estate. Requiring all districts to meet together, with the county treasurer present, made each trustee answerable to the others for how the money was shared. Disputes went to the government, which reinforced its role as the final arbiter.
550	541	8th. During the performance of the Work, the Trustees for the District§ §shall frequently inspect it, to see that the Contractor executes his agreement§ §in a proper manner -§	8: While the work was under way, the district's trustees were to inspect it often to make sure the contractor was carrying out his agreement properly.

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		§By order of the Governor and Council§ §Signed Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy.§ §St. Helena 14th. November§ §1825 -§	Charles Blake, deputy secretary, signed the proclamation by order of the Governor and Council at St Helena on 14 November 1825.
551	542	List of Families paying Poll Tax for 1825§ §at the rate of One shilling per Head§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Alexander G. W. Pd.: No. of Heads 16, £ 0, s 16, d 0§ §" Fs. Estate Pd.: No. of Heads 20, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §" Saml. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Henry Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" Johns Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Margaret Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Adams John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Adams Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Aleworth Thos. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Adamson Hugh Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Andrew Jas. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Ashton C. J.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Bennett Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" James Pd.: No. of Heads 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Baker Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Brooke T. H. Esqr. Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §" Robt. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Burnham John Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" Saml. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Buckley James Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Bagley John Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Bagley Orlando Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §" Richard Pd.: No. of Heads 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §" James Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Boys Richd. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Bazett Clarissa Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Blenkins G. Esqr. Pd.: No. of Heads 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§ §Banks Edward Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §" Charles Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Beale Ones. Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" Anthy. Pd.: No. of Heads 17, £ 0, s 17, d 0§ §Bruce George: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Baker & Cole Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Bobbins John Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Blundle Caroline Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Barker Rd. Pd.: No. of Heads 35, £ 1, s 15, d 0§ §Bayes John Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Broadway Henry Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §" Ann Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Brabazon Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Blake Chas. Pd.: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Bell Jane Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Burnside John Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Boyd Josh. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Boorman George: No. of Heads 0, £ 0, s 0, d 0§ §Bloman Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Buchannan John Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Barnes Mary Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Bedwell Jon. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Chamberlain Hy. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Susn. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Croft John Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Caroline John Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Caldwell Dan. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Cole T. J. H. Pd.: No. of Heads 29, £ 1, s 9, d 0§ §Cole H. S. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Cole Josh. Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Coates Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Clarke Jas. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Clements Saml. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Clements Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Cranfield Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Carrol Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§	The vestry drew up a list of families liable for the poll tax for 1825, at 1s a head. A note of payment stood beside most names. G. W. Alexander, 16 heads, £0 16s 0d F. Alexander's estate, 20 heads, £1 0s 0d Samuel Alexander, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Henry Alexander, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d John Alexander's estate, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Margaret Alexander, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Adams, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Thomas Adams, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Thomas Alesworth's estate, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Hugh Adamson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d James Andrews, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d C. J. Ashton, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Bennett, 1 head, £0 1s 0d James Bennett, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Thomas Baker, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d T. H. Brooke, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Robert Brooke, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Burnham, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d Samuel Burnham, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d James Buckley, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d John Bagley, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d Orlando Bagley, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Richard Bagley, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d James Bagley, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Richard Boys, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Clarissa Bazett, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d G. Blenkins, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d Edward Banks, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d Charles Banks, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Onesiphorus Beale, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d Anthony Beale, 17 heads, £0 17s 0d George Bruce, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Baker and Cole, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Bobbins, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Caroline Blundell, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d R. Barker, 35 heads, £1 15s 0d John Byas, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Henry Broadway, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Ann Broadway, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d William Brabazon, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d Charles Blake, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d Jane Bell, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d John Burnside, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Joseph Boyd, 1 head, £0 1s 0d George Boorman, no entry William Blueman, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d John Buchanan, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Mary Barnes, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Jonathan Bidwell, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Henry Chamberlain, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Chamberlain, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Susannah Chamberlain, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Croft, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d John Carslaw, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Daniel Caldwell, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d T. J. B. Cole, 29 heads, £1 9s 0d H. J. Cole, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Joseph Cole, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Coates, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d James Clarke, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Samuel Clements, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Thomas Clements, 1 head, £0 1s 0d William Cranfield, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d William Carroll, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d **Interpretations** This was the 1s poll tax the vestry raised on 4 April 1825 to repay Anthony Beale the £50 17s 4d he

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			had advanced as churchwarden. By then the vestry had already called the poll tax unfair, and it was abolished by the proclamation of 14 November 1825. So this roll was very probably the last of its kind. Beale himself was charged 17s on 17 heads, so he paid part of the tax raised to repay him.
552	543	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Collyer Nathl. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Chentry Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Cameron Jas. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Charlton Edwd. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Charlett Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Cearley Henry Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Chadwick G. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Carr Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Des Fountain J. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §" Elizth. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Charles: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §De Fountain John: No. of Heads 22, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §Den Taaffe Geo. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Dunn J. C. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Doveton Sir Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" Gab. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Den Taaffe Mary Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Dring John Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Dowling Christ. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Darling Andw. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Doveton Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Henry Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Eyre Andw. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Everton Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Eddleston James Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Fowler Edmd. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Sarah Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Gough Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Gurling Eleanor Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Green John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Greentree Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 18, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §Gordon Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Green Sabina: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Gideon Lewis Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Gunnel Chas. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Greenland Edwd. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Henry Polly Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Harper Sarah Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Hayes Jane Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §" Ann Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hammond J. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Honeyman John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Hagarty Danl. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Hodson B. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 18, £ 0, s 18, d 0§ §" C. R. G. Pd.: No. of Heads 26, £ 1, s 6, d 0§ §Harris Henry Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Harrington Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Hamilton Danl. Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Haynes Ann: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hampton Adam Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Hunter Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Harris Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Isaac Alfred Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" Valentia Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Jacks Joseph Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Janisch Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Jollis Rich. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Jones Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Knipe H. W. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1825, at 1s a head, continued as follows. Notes of payment again stood beside most names. Nathaniel Collyer, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Thomas Chentry, 1 head, £0 1s 0d James Cameron, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Edward Charlton, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Thomas Charlett, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Henry Cearley, 1 head, £0 1s 0d G. Chadwick's estate, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Thomas Carr, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d J. De Fountain's estate, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Elizabeth De Fountain, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Charles De Fountain, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d John De Fountain, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John De Fountain, 22 heads, £1 2s 0d George Dentaffe, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d J. C. Dunn's estate, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Sir W. Doveton, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d Gabriel Doveton's estate, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Mary Dentaffe, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d John Dring, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Christopher Dowling, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Andrew Darling, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d William Doveton, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d John Doveton, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Henry Doveton, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Andrew Eyre, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d William Everton, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d James Eddleston, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Edmund Fowler, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d William Fowler, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Sarah Fowler, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Thomas Gough, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Eleanor Gurling, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d John Green, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Thomas Greentree, 18 heads, £0 18s 0d William Gordon, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Sabina Green, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d Lewis Gideon, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d Charles Gunnell, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Edward Greenland, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Polly Henry, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Sarah Harper, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Jane Hayes, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Ann Hayes, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d J. Hammond's estate, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d John Honeyman, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Daniel Hagerty, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d B. Hodson's estate, 18 heads, £0 18s 0d C. R. G. Hodson, 26 heads, £1 6s 0d Henry Harris, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Thomas Harrington, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Daniel Hamilton, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d Ann Haynes, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Adam Hampton, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Hunter, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Thomas Harris, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Alfred Isaac, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d Valentia Isaac, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Joseph Jacks, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d William Janisch, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d Richard Julie, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d William Julie, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Thomas Jones, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d John Jones, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John Jones, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d H. W. Knipe, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d J. B. Knipe, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d

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		§" J. B. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §" R. H. Pd.: No. of Heads 20, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §" H. P. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" Mary Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Kinnaird David Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Kay David Pd.: No. of Heads 31, £ 1, s 11, d 0§ §" Eleanor Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	R. H. Knipe, 20 heads, £1 0s 0d H. P. Knipe, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Knipe, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d Mary Knipe, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d John Knipe, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d David Kinnaird, 1 head, £0 1s 0d David Kay, 31 heads, £1 11s 0d Eleanor Kay, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d
553	544	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Kennedy W. O. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Kay Johns Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Leech Thos. W. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Richd. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 20, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §" Robt. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Lambe A. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §" George Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §" Matilda Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Lowden James Pd.: No. of Heads 20, £ 1, s 0, d 0§ §Lester T. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Le Breton John Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Legg John Pd.: No. of Heads 14, £ 0, s 14, d 0§ §Lashen Lewis Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Lorimer Gordon Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Legg Henry Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" Saml. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Marrsback M. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Meade G. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Metcalfe J. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §McDaniel J. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Mellis Ann Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" George Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Mason J. B. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Ben. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §" Mary Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Mulhall Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §McLaverty Chas. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §May John Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §McLean Andw. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Miller H. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Mead G. K. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Markwick C. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Moss I. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Moore Francis Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §McRitchie Danl. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Noqueda Elizth. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §O'Connor Danl. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" T. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Matt. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Pyle John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Oborn Robt. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Oliver Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Pritchard Eleanor Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §" D. K. Pd.: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §" H. H. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §" James Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Stephen Pd.: No. of Heads 11, £ 0, s 11, d 0§ §Patterson Chas. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Porteus H. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Pipler Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Price Jas. Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Parrot Jas. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Pritchard Sarah Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Rookes Johns Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §" George Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §" Edw. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Rolfe Jas. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Robinson John Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Rourke L. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Rich Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Redman I.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1825, at 1s a head, continued as follows. Notes of payment again stood beside most names. W. O. Kennedy, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d John Kay's estate, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Thomas W. Leech, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Richard Leech's estate, 20 heads, £1 0s 0d Robert Leech, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d A. Lambe's estate, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d George Lambe, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d Matilda Lambe, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d James Lowden, 20 heads, £1 0s 0d T. Lester's estate, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d John Le Breton, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d John Legg, 14 heads, £0 14s 0d Lewis Lasher, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Gordon Lourie, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Henry Legg, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Samuel Legg, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d M. Mirabach, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d G. Meade, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d J. Metcalfe, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d J. McDaniel, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Ann Millis, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d George Millis, 1 head, £0 1s 0d J. B. Mason, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Benjamin Mason, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d William Mason, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Mary Mason, 1 head, £0 1s 0d William Mulhall, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Charles McLaverty, 1 head, £0 1s 0d John May, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Andrew McLean, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d H. Miller, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d G. K. Mead, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d C. Markwick, 1 head, £0 1s 0d J. Moss, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Francis Moore, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Daniel McRitchie, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Elizabeth Noquedeh, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Daniel O'Connor, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d T. O'Connor's estate, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Matthew O'Connor, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d John Oyle, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Robert Osborne, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Oliver, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Eleanor Pritchard, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d D. K. Pritchard, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d H. H. Pritchard, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d James Pritchard, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Stephen Pritchard, 11 heads, £0 11s 0d Charles Patterson, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d H. Porteous's estate, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Pipple, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d James Price, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d James Parrot, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d Sarah Pritchard, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d John Rookes's estate, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d William Rookes, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d George Rookes, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d Edward Rookes, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d James Rolf, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d John Robinson, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d L. Rourke, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Thomas Rich, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d I. Redman, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d

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		§Redsdale Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §Roberts Anne Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Ramsay J. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Stewart Elizth.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Seale Wm. Senr. Pd.: No. of Heads 29, £ 1, s 9, d 0§ §" R. F.: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §" Wm. Junr. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §" W. H. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" Francis Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" A. A. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" John: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§	William Ridsdale, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d Ann Roberts's estate, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d J. Ramsay, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Elizabeth Stewart, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d William Seale senior, 29 heads, £1 9s 0d R. F. Seale, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d William Seale junior, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d W. H. Seale, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Francis Seale, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d A. A. Seale, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d John Seale, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d
554	545	Continued§ §Names, No. of Heads, £, s, d§ §Seale Robt. Junr. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Smith Ann Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §" Mary Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Statham Robt. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §Scott R. Senr. Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" R. Junr. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" R. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §" Chas. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Sampson Chas. Pd.: No. of Heads 22, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §" John Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Saunders Josh. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Solomon Saul Pd.: No. of Heads 22, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §" Benj. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §" Josh. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Scawell Mary Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Shortis J. E. Pd.: No. of Heads 12, £ 0, s 12, d 0§ §Sutherland Geo. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Sherrard John Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Smith J. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Spender Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Smith Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 5, £ 0, s 5, d 0§ §Stephens Geo. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Spratt Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Scullard Josh. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Singleton Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Torbett Richd. Pd.: No. of Heads 22, £ 1, s 2, d 0§ §" J. W. Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §" Jas. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Thompson Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Truebody Jas. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Thomas Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Tracy Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Thom Thos. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Tavern Proprietors Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Tracy Chas. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Waring John Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Wright J. A. Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §" B. A.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §" Robt. Pd.: No. of Heads 15, £ 0, s 15, d 0§ §Wills Richd. Pd.: No. of Heads 9, £ 0, s 9, d 0§ §Watson Michl. Pd.: No. of Heads 6, £ 0, s 6, d 0§ §" George Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Weatley Josh. Pd.: No. of Heads 3, £ 0, s 3, d 0§ §Warral Sarah Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Weston Chas. Pd.: No. of Heads 13, £ 0, s 13, d 0§ §Ward S. P. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Wood James: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Warren Wm. Pd.: No. of Heads 4, £ 0, s 4, d 0§ §Vernon B. J. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §Unsworth James Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§ §Youd Jas. Pd.: No. of Heads 10, £ 0, s 10, d 0§ §Young Stepn. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §" Amt. Pd.: No. of Heads 7, £ 0, s 7, d 0§ §" Stepn. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 8, £ 0, s 8, d 0§ §" R. Est. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §" A. A. Pd.: No. of Heads 2, £ 0, s 2, d 0§ §Youd John Pd.: No. of Heads 1, £ 0, s 1, d 0§	The poll tax list for 1825, at 1s a head, ended with the following entries. Notes of payment again stood beside most names. Robert Seale junior, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Ann Smith, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d Mary Smith, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d William Smith, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Robert Statham, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d R. Scott senior, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d R. Scott junior, 1 head, £0 1s 0d R. Scott, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Charles Scott's estate, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d John Scott, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Charles Sampson, 22 heads, £1 2s 0d John Sampson, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d William Sampson, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Joseph Saunders, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Saul Solomon, 22 heads, £1 2s 0d Benjamin Solomon, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Joseph Solomon, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d Mary Seawell, 1 head, £0 1s 0d J. E. Shortis, 12 heads, £0 12s 0d George Sutherland, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d John Sherwood, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d J. Smith's estate, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Spender, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Thomas Smith, 5 heads, £0 5s 0d George Stephens, 1 head, £0 1s 0d William Spratt, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Joseph Scullard, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Singleton, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Richard Torbett, 22 heads, £1 2s 0d J. W. Torbett, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d James Torbett's estate, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d Thomas Thompson, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d James Truebody, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d William Thomas, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Thomas Thomas, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d William Tracy, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d Thomas Thorne, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d Tavern owners, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Charles Tracy, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d John Waring, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d J. A. Wright, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d B. A. Wright, 1 head, £0 1s 0d Robert Wright, 15 heads, £0 15s 0d Richard Wills, 9 heads, £0 9s 0d Michael Watson, 6 heads, £0 6s 0d George Watson, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Joseph Wheatley, 3 heads, £0 3s 0d Sarah Worrall, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Charles Weston, 13 heads, £0 13s 0d S. P. Ward's estate, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d James Wood, 1 head, £0 1s 0d William Warren, 4 heads, £0 4s 0d B. J. Vernon, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d James Unsworth, 1 head, £0 1s 0d James Youd, 10 heads, £0 10s 0d Stephen Young, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d Amoretta Young, 7 heads, £0 7s 0d Stephen Young's estate, 8 heads, £0 8s 0d R. Young's estate, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d A. A. Young, 2 heads, £0 2s 0d John Youd, 1 head, £0 1s 0d

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			The clerk entered no total for the roll. **Interpretations** The roll charged the tavern's owners as a household of 3 heads. These were the owners of the tavern valued at £3,000 0s 0d in the house valuation, which J. Solomon ran. The poll tax had always counted people under one roof. A business with resident staff was entered as if it were a family. Under the new house tax, the same tavern would pay on the value of the building instead. The change from counting people to valuing property shows clearly in the different ways the two taxes treated the same tavern.
555	546	Dr. Parish§ §£ . s . d§ §1826§ §March 7th. To paid Clerk Fish Market 11th. Months Salary to 28th. Feby.§ §30 . 5§ §Organists Salary for Do. to Do.§ §22 . 18 . 4§ §Clerk Country Church for 9 Months Salary§ §22 . 10§ §Washing Surplices for 1 Year§ §3§ §Stores for Paint for Country Church§ §8 . 8 . 4§ §Wm. Knipe for Painting Do.§ §1 . 16§ §Stores for a piece of Cloth for Surplices and for two Brooms & a Mop§ §3 . 17 . 8§ §Mrs. Stewart Allowance to 15 Decr.§ §25 . 18§ §Do. Do. from 15 Decr. to 1st. March§ §4 . 13 . 9§ §Chambers 11 Months Allowance to Fanny§ §11§ §Rich 5 Months House Rent for Mrs. Weager§ §2 . 10§ §Mrs. Weager Temporary relief§ §1 . 10§ §Drays Childrens Allowance to 1st. March§ §16 . 14§ §Funeral expences of Mrs. Weager§ §10§ §Do. of Singleton§ §11 . 3§ §Interment Bill§ §2 . 5§ §Bill for Coffins for 3 Free persons§ §2 . 5§ §Printers Bill for Notices§ §2 . 10§ §Publishing Do.§ §1 . 16 . 6§ §Gaolers Bill§ §1 . 7 . 9§ §Emily James Allowance for her late Sister's 3 Children from 6th. Sept. to 1st. March§ §8 . 14 . 6§ §for collecting names of Free Blacks, making an Alphabetical List thereof, & copying same for Secretary's Office§ §2 . 15§ §E. Fowler for making an Alphabetical List of the Houses, Carts &c. for Collectors§ §1 . 11 . 6§ §E. Fowler for making up the Books, copying Proceedings of the several meetings of Vestrys & Committees§ §7 . 10§ §for copying List of Houses§ §1 . 1§	On 7 March 1826 the parish account recorded the following spending. 7 March 1826, clerk of the fish market, 11 months' salary to 28 February, £30 5s 0d 7 March 1826, organist's salary for the same period, £22 18s 4d 7 March 1826, clerk of the country church, 9 months' salary, £22 10s 0d 7 March 1826, laundering the surplices for 1 year, £3 0s 0d 7 March 1826, the stores for paint for the country church, £8 8s 4d 7 March 1826, William Knipe for painting the country church, £1 16s 0d 7 March 1826, the stores for a piece of cloth for surplices and for 2 brooms and a mop, £3 7s 8d 7 March 1826, Mrs Stewart's allowance to 15 December, £25 18s 0d 7 March 1826, Mrs Stewart's allowance from 15 December to 1 March, £4 13s 9d 7 March 1826, Chambers, 11 months' allowance for Fanny, £11 0s 0d 7 March 1826, Rich, 3 months' house rent for Mrs Wager, £2 10s 0d 7 March 1826, Mrs Wager, temporary relief, £1 10s 0d 7 March 1826, Dray's children, allowance to 1 March, £16 14s 0d 7 March 1826, Mrs Wager's funeral, £0 10s 0d 7 March 1826, Singleton's funeral, £0 11s 3d 7 March 1826, burial bill, £2 5s 0d 7 March 1826, coffins for 3 free persons, £2 5s 0d 7 March 1826, printer's bill for notices, £2 10s 0d 7 March 1826, publishing the notices, £1 16s 6d 7 March 1826, gaoler's bill, £1 7s 9d 7 March 1826, Emily James's allowance for her late sister's 3 children from 6 September to 1 March, £8 14s 6d 7 March 1826, collecting the names of free blacks, making an alphabetical list of them and copying it for the secretary's office, £2 15s 0d 7 March 1826, E. Fowler for an alphabetical list of houses, carts and so on for the collectors, £1 11s 6d 7 March 1826, E. Fowler for writing up the books and copying the proceedings of several vestries and committees, £7 10s 0d 7 March 1826, copying the list of houses, £1 1s 0d 7 March 1826, paper and pens, £1 0s 0d 7 March 1826, A. Beale, balance owed to him as former churchwarden, £56 17s 4d 7 March 1826, repayment of the sum borrowed from the government, £150 0s 0d Total, £397 15s 11d **Interpretations** The parish repaid £150 0s 0d to the government, three times the £50 0s 0d advance granted in July 1825. While the old taxes were being abolished and the house tax assessed, the parish had kept borrowing

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		§for Paper and Pens§ §1§ §A. Beale Esqr. Balance due to him as late Church Warden§ §50 . 17 . 4§ §Government Amount borrowed§ §150§ §£397 . 15 . 11§	from the government to pay its way. It also paid Anthony Beale £56 17s 4d, nearly a year after the vestry raised a special poll tax to clear his debt. The 1s tax had not been enough to repay him. Clearing both debts took over £200 of the year's spending, about half the total. The cost of switching to the new system fell on the first year's accounts. Spending on administration grew with the new taxes. The parish paid for alphabetical lists of houses and carts for the collectors, a copy of the house list and printed and published notices of the taxes. These were the paperwork of a tax based on property. Under the poll tax, one roll of heads had done the job. Now the parish needed registers of houses and their values, carts and their owners, and lists of free blacks for the secretary's office. Mrs Wager, relieved since May 1823, died during the year. Emily James was paid to support her late sister's three children. That continued the parish's practice of boarding orphans with relatives where it could, rather than taking them into its own care.
556	547	Contra Cr.§ §1826§ §March 7 By amount collected of the 1/ Poll Tax§ §£78 . 2 . 0§ §Less Commission collecting§ §5 . 17 . 0§ §72 . 5§ §By received from the Police Office on acct. of the above Tax§ §3 . 11 . 8§ §on acct. former Years Poll Tax§ §7 . 10 . 6§ §By borrowed Government§ §£50 . 0 . 0§ §Do.§ §100 . 0 . 0§ §150§ §By received on account of the House Tax & Hack Horse Taxes§ §164 . 8 . 9§ §£397 . 15 . 11§	The credit side of the parish account recorded the following receipts in March 1826. March 1826, the 1s poll tax collected, £78 2s 0d March 1826, less commission for collecting it, £5 17s 0d March 1826, net receipts from the 1s poll tax, £72 5s 0d March 1826, from the police office towards the 1s poll tax, £3 11s 0d March 1826, from the police office towards poll tax owed from earlier years, £7 10s 6d March 1826, borrowed from the government, £50 0s 0d March 1826, borrowed again from the government, £100 0s 0d March 1826, total borrowed from the government, £150 0s 0d March 1826, received towards the house tax and the tax on horses for hire, £164 0s 9d Total, £397 15s 11d **Interpretations** The parish borrowed £150 0s 0d from the government during the year and repaid the same sum by March 1826, so the loans only covered the months before the new taxes came in. The first year of the house tax and the horse tax brought in £164 0s 9d, well short of the £237 10s 0d the full valuation should have produced at 3s on every £100. Part of the tax may still have been uncollected when the books closed, since payment was due only in the first week of February. The 1s poll tax raised £78 2s 0d against Beale's debt of £56 17s 4d. Even the last poll tax, at the lowest rate, yielded more than the debt it was raised to clear.
557	548	At a Meeting of Vestry held in the Chapel in§ §James' Valley on Monday 27th. March 1826 the§ §undermentioned persons were chosen County and§ §Parish Officers for the Year§ §T. W. Leech Esqr.§ §W. H. Seale Esqr.§ §G. V. Lambe Esqr.§ §Sheriffs§ §Resolved that Mr. Saul Solomon, Mr. Eyre, Mr. Janisch§ §and Mr. Adamson do succeed the four senior Members§ §of the Vestry Committee - making the Committee for the§ §present Year as follows§ §Mr. Lambe§ §Mr. Barker§ §Mr. Le Breton§ §Mr. S. Solomon§	On Monday 27 March 1826 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley and chose the county and parish officers for the year. Sheriffs T. W. Leech W. H. Seale G. V. Lambe The vestry agreed that Saul Solomon, Mr Eyre, Mr Janisch and Mr Adamson would replace the four longest-serving members of the vestry committee. The committee for the year was therefore Mr Lambe, Mr Barker, Mr Le Breton, S. Solomon, Mr Eyre, Mr Janisch and Mr Adamson. For many years the parish had paid a charge for collecting its taxes. The vestry thought this quite unnecessary, so no such charge would be allowed in future. Any costs of collection would be paid by the defaulters.

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		§Mr. Eyre§ §Mr. Janisch§ §Mr. Adamson§ §Resolved that as a charge has been made for many§ §years past for collecting the Parish Taxes and that as this§ §appears quite unnecessary, no charge of that kind in future§ §shall be admitted. all expences incurred thereby to be defrayed§ §by the defaulters§ §Mr. Janisch proposed that the List of Churchwardens§ §approved by a Vestry held on 12th. April 1819 should be§ §considered as obsolete and that in future the Church Wardens§ §should be elected by the Parishioners annually. Seconded by§ §Mr. Lambe and Resolved unanimously. Mr. George§ §Wm. Alexander was elected Church Warden accordingly§ §Resolved that the thanks of the Vestry be given§ §to Captn. Sampson for his zealous exertions during his§ §Churchwardenship§ §Resolved that the proposition of Mr. Janisch respecting§ §Porters and Porterage be referred to the Vestry Committee at§ §their meeting on Friday next.§ §(Signed) "C. Sampson§ §Churchwarden"§	Mr Janisch proposed that the list of churchwardens approved by the vestry on 12 April 1819 be treated as out of date. In future the parishioners would elect their churchwardens each year. Mr Lambe seconded the motion, and it passed unanimously. The vestry then elected George William Alexander as churchwarden. The vestry thanked Captain Sampson for his hard work as churchwarden. It also referred Mr Janisch's proposal on porters and porterage to the vestry committee at its meeting the following Friday. C. Sampson signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The vestry stopped paying a commission for collecting its taxes. The collector had taken 7½ per cent of the poll tax until 1823 and 5 per cent after that. Under the proclamation of 14 November 1825, the vestry itself chose the collectors, all taxes were paid in one week of February, and defaulters could have their goods seized and sold on the magistrate's warrant. With collection that simple, the commission was no longer needed. Making defaulters pay the costs of collection shifted the expense from the ratepayers who paid on time to the households that held back. The vestry dropped the churchwardens' rota and chose to elect churchwardens every year. Under the rota, the office passed in a set order among the larger landholders, and a man could not easily be passed over or kept on. Annual election let the ratepayers choose whom they trusted with parish money. It came just after the churchwarden had been left owing £50 17s 4d and the parish had had to borrow from the government. Under the new system the person handling the money was answerable to the people who paid the taxes. Janisch's proposal on porters concerned the men who carried goods between the landing place and the town's stores and houses. With ships calling all the time, porterage was a regular charge on merchants and inhabitants alike. Like the fish market, it was a service the vestry could regulate on the townspeople's behalf.
558	549	To the Members of the Vestry Committee§ §Gentlemen,§ §The Vestry having resolved that my motion§ §respecting the necessity of adopting an improved system of Porterage,§ §should be submitted for your consideration, it becomes requisite that§ §I should state the reasons which have induced me to bring this Matter§ §under the notice of the Vestry.§ §The resort of Shipping being of vital§ §importance to the community at large, every measure which may§ §tend to forward this great object must be of more or less advantage to§ §the Island; and to guard the Passengers against every kind of§ §imposition, is therefore highly desirable - I dare however to assert§ §that there is not one amongst you, Gentlemen, but has not at one§ §time or other witnessed the fact that as soon as a passenger lands§ §he is beset by a number of Men and Boys, who possess themselves of his§ §Baggage to carry it to his lodging, charging him from 6d. to 1/ for every§ §bundle, however small, which they may carry. - The wise measure§ §adopted by government of fixing certain rates of porterage, thus becomes§ §partly useless, for should the stranger afterwards	Mr Janisch wrote to the members of the vestry committee after the vestry passed them his motion on the need for a better system of porterage. He set out his reasons for raising the matter. Janisch argued that ships calling at the island were vital to the whole community. Any measure that encouraged them would therefore help the island, and it was very desirable to protect passengers from every kind of cheating. He was sure every member of the committee had seen what happened when a passenger landed. A crowd of men and boys surrounded him and seized his luggage to carry it to his lodgings. They charged him from 6d to 1s for every bundle, however small. The government had sensibly fixed rates for porterage, but this made the rule of little use. A stranger who later found he had been cheated had no way of finding out who had done it. Janisch gave a second reason, which he thought made a change in this part of the island's policing even more urgent. It was well known that many of those who gathered at the cranes and the auctions were boys of 10 to 15. When ships arrived, they could be sure of earning in one day enough to keep themselves for a week. So they spent the days when no work was wanted doing nothing. Instead of growing up hard-working, most of them turned into idlers who did little but drink and gamble. Janisch thought the bad example was very dangerous, both to other boys of their age and to grown men. Men who had once worked as farm servants or day labourers in the country saw how easily money could be made in

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		discover, that he has§ §been imposed upon, he has no means of finding out by whom.§ §Independant of this important reason, there is however another, which§ §calls still more loudly for our exertions to effect a change in this branch§ §of the internal police of the Island. It is a notorious fact, that of those§ §who attend the Cranes or Auctions, a great number are boys of from§ §10 to 15 years old. - The certainty which they have of being enabled§ §when Ships arrive, to earn in one day, as much as may be§ §required for their weekly maintenance, induces them to live in§ §perfect idleness on those days, when their services may not be§ §required; - and thus instead of being brought up in habits§ §of industry, they become for the most part worthless Characters§ §who scarcely do any thing but drinking & Gambling. The bad§ §example thus held out is very dangerous, not only to Boys of their§ §own age, but even to full grown persons, for men who formerly earned§ §their living as farm servants or day labourers in the Country, seeing§ §that money is so much [...] easily obtained in Town get dissatis-§ §fied with their employ, leave their masters, to enjoy what seems to them§	town. They grew discontented with their work and left their masters to enjoy what seemed to them [...]. **Interpretations** Janisch's case was about labour as much as about passengers. The country landholders on the vestry depended on farm servants and day labourers. With slaves growing fewer under the abolition measure, they relied more on free labourers, many of them freed people or free blacks. Porterage paid in cash whenever a ship came in, which drew workers away from the estates into Jamestown. Janisch presented regulating porters as a way to protect visitors and to save boys from idleness. In practice it would cut the earnings that lured labour off the farms, and the planters on the committee had every interest in that. The fixed porterage rates failed because nobody could identify a porter afterwards. A passenger who had been overcharged could not name the man or boy who had cheated him. That pointed to licensed porters, each numbered or badged, as the remedy. It was the same method the proclamation of 14 November 1825 had just applied to carts. Requiring every porter to be identifiable would also let the vestry decide who could do the work, and keep out the boys and the runaway farm hands Janisch described.
559	550	a happy independence, and Town thus becomes the Gulph, which§ §eventually will swallow up all the Labour on the Island.§ §I submit to you gentlemen, whether with the prospect of a§ §however gradual still certain reduction in Slaves, and a rapid§ §increase in free labour before us, this becomes not a matter of the§ §utmost importance, and it is principally this reason which§ §induces me to propose the adoption of a different system of§ §Porterage. I am aware that it is a very delicate matter to§ §deprive any person of the liberty to follow that course of life§ §which he prefers, but restrictions of a similar nature are§ §adopted in almost every country in Europe; I do besides conceive§ §that this Island under the present change from Slave to Free Labour§ §is very peculiarly situated, and that without the interference of§ §Government, by the adoption of such measures as will tend to§ §induce the Free-Men of Colour to seek for employment in the§ §Country, it becomes very doubtful, whether the farmers will§ §not soon be unable to procure sufficient Labor to manage their§ §Farms; It is not in my power to point out the precise system§ §which should be adopted, but I beg to submit the following remarks§ §as hints which may prove of some assistance to you in framing§	Janisch went on to say that men left their country work to enjoy what looked to them like happy independence. In his view Jamestown would become a pit that in the end swallowed all the labour on the island. Slaves were growing fewer, gradually but certainly, and free labour was increasing fast. He asked the committee whether that did not make the matter extremely important. It was mainly for this reason that he proposed a different system of porterage. Janisch admitted it was a very delicate matter to stop anyone following the trade he chose. He pointed out, however, that similar restrictions existed in almost every country in Europe. He also argued that the island was in an unusual position during the change from slave to free labour. Unless the government stepped in with measures to persuade free men of colour to look for work in the country, he doubted the farmers would long be able to find enough labour to run their farms. He did not claim to know exactly what system should be adopted. He offered the following suggestions to help the committee draw up rules for the government to consider. 1: Only a set number of people would have the right to work as porters in Jamestown. Each would hold a regular licence and wear a badge on the left arm reading "Licensed Porter No." with his number. Each licence would cost [...] a year, paid into the parish funds. 2: Nobody could become a licensed porter unless he was at least 18 years old and recommended by the vestry committee as steady, honest and deserving. 3: No inhabitant other than a licensed porter would be allowed to carry loads between the seashore and the guard at the sea gate. Beyond that point, nobody could carry loads except his own goods or, if he was a servant, his master's. 4: Anyone convicted before a magistrate of breaking these rules would be fined from 5s to 40s.

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		§Rules and Regulations for the consideration of Government -§ §1st. Only a certain number of Persons to be entitled to the privilege§ §of acting as Porters in James Town; for this they will receive a§ §regular licence, and be obliged to wear a badge upon the left arm§ §with the words (Licensed Porter No.) The amount of each licence§ §to be 1/ per year for the benefit of the Parish Funds -§ §2nd. None to be eligible to become licensed Porters, unless they§ §are at least 18 years of age and are recommended by the§ §Vestry Committee as steady honest and deserving Men.§ §3rd. No Inhabitants of the Island except Licensed Porters shall§ §shall be allowed to carry loads between the Seaside and the Seagate§ §guard, and even above that, none shall be allowed to do so except it§ §be their own property or if Servants, that of their masters.§ §4th. A Breach of the foregoing Regulations shall subject§ §the offender or offenders upon the conviction before a Magistrate§ §to a penalty not less than 5/ and not more than 40/ - one half§ §of which is to be paid by the person employing an unlicenced§ §Porter, the other half by the Person acting as such; the Fine to go§	Half the fine would be paid by the person who hired an unlicensed porter and half by the man who acted as one. The fine would go [...]. **Interpretations** Janisch stated his real purpose plainly: to push free men of colour out of Jamestown and into farm work. The abolition measure meant slave labour was dwindling, and the planters would have to hire free workers at wages. Porterage in town paid well and gave a man his independence. By limiting it to a small number of licensed men aged 18 or more, each vetted by the vestry committee, Janisch would close off one of the main ways freed men earned a living outside the estates. He admitted it restricted people's liberty to choose their work. He justified it by the planters' need for labour. The committee that would approve each porter was made up of the same landholders who needed farm hands. Fining the person who hired an unlicensed porter as well as the porter himself spread the enforcement. Merchants and passengers would have reason to check a man's badge before handing him their goods. That made the townspeople and visitors agents of the scheme without the parish needing an officer at the landing place.
560	551	to the informer.§ §5th. A Public notice respecting this system, and containing also§ §the rates of porterage as fixed by Government, to be exhibited in a§ §conspicuous manner and in different places on the Wharf.§ §I have no doubt Gentlemen but that there are§ §many more Regulations than the foregoing, which it may be prudent§ §to adopt; I shall content myself to have the above brought under§ §your notice, and trust that with your assistance we may fall upon§ §some plan which may be worthy to be submitted to Government§ §I remain§ §Gentlemen§ §Your very obedient Servant§ §St. Helena§ §31st. March 1826.§ §(Signed) "G. W. Janisch"§ §At a Meeting of the Vestry Committee held§ §in the Library in James Town on Friday 31 March§ §1826§ §James Eddleston§ §Joseph Scullard§ §were appointed Constables§ §It appearing that half the amount of the Dog Tax has not§ §been received from the Police Office in 1825-26 the Committee are§ §of Opinion that the Churchwarden should address a Letter to the§ §Honble. the Governor & Council upon that subject.§ §The petition from Mrs. Green was taken into consideration.§ §the Committee do not conceive that she is in such a situation as§	The fines would go to the informer. 5: A public notice describing the system, with the porterage rates fixed by the government, would be put up prominently at several places on the wharf. Janisch expected that many more rules beyond these might be wise. He was content to have brought the matter to the committee's attention. He trusted that with its help they could arrive at a plan fit to put before the government. G. W. Janisch signed the letter at St Helena on 31 March 1826. On Friday 31 March 1826 the vestry committee met in the library at Jamestown. It appointed James Eddleston and Joseph Scullard as constables. The parish had received only half the dog tax from the police office in 1825 to 1826. The committee thought the churchwarden should write to the Governor and Council about it. The committee considered a petition from Mrs Green. It did not think her circumstances entitled her to parish relief. Richard Torbett reported that the front wall around the lower churchyard was in poor repair. The committee thought the churchwarden should ask the government to have it pointed with lime and otherwise repaired. Mr Janisch's letter was then read [...]. **Interpretations** The committee raised the dog tax shortfall with the Governor and Council, not with the police office. The proclamation of 14 November 1825 had given the parish half the dog tax, with the police collecting it. When only half of that share arrived, the parish had no power over the police and had to complain to the government. The arrangement repeated the earlier pattern in which the police collected parish money but answered to the government. The committee turned down Mrs Green's petition without recorded reasons. Sabina Green had paid the poll tax on 9 or 10 heads in recent years, so

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		§to be entitled to parochial relief.§ §Mr. Richard Torbett having suggested that the front wall§ §round the lower Church Yard was in a bad state of repair, the§ §Committee are of opinion that the Church Warden should make§ §the necessary application to Government, to have it pointed with§ §Lime and otherwise repaired.§ §The above Letter from Mr. Janisch having been read a§	if the petitioner was she, her household was too large to count as destitute. The committee judged relief by the means a household had. A woman paying tax on several slaves or servants was not poor in the parish's sense, whatever her own difficulties.
561	552	large Majority of the Committee are of opinion that it is desirable§ §a change should be effected in the present system of Porterage§ §but as one of the Members dissents and as the Committee§ §are doubtful to what extent a change should be effected,§ §they Resolve to submit the Letter for the consideration§ §of Government.§ §The Revd. Mr. Boys requested to bring under the notice§ §of the Meeting the low rates respecting Church Fees as§ §framed in 1767; - the consideration was deferred till the§ §next time of Meeting -§ §At an adjourned Meeting of Vestry held in§ §the Library on Thursday 18 May 1826.§ §Four Tenders having been received for the Repair of§ §the Roads, the Committee are of Opinion that the Tender§ §of Mr. Janisch is the most advisable it being found§ §upon comparison with the others to be upon equally moderate§ §terms, and the Contract being performed by one Individual§ §will greatly facilitate the Business - They therefore are willing§ §to accept of it provided it meets with the approbation of the§ §Governor and Council and he find Security for the due§ §performance of the same. - They cannot take it upon§ §themselves to prolong it for three Years but submit this point§ §to the consideration of Government. Should Mr. Janischs§ §tender be accepted the Committee propose that Mr. Henry§ §Seale act as Trustee for the East Division in his stead -§ §The Motion of Mr. Boys respecting the Church Fees§ §was deferred till next Meeting, in consequence of neither Mr.§ §Boys or Mr. Vernon being present this day -§ §(Signed) "F. Seale§ §Church Warden"§ **Margin Notes:** §X Vestry and Roads§	Mr Janisch's letter was read. A large majority of the committee thought the system of porterage should be changed. One member disagreed, however, and the committee was unsure how far the change should go. It therefore agreed to pass the letter to the government for its consideration. The Reverend Mr Boys asked to bring the low scale of church fees, drawn up in 1767, before the meeting. The question was put off until the next meeting. An adjourned vestry met in the library on Thursday 18 May 1826. Four tenders had come in for repairing the roads [...]. The committee judged Mr Janisch's tender the best. Compared with the others it was just as reasonable, and having one person carry out the whole contract would make the work much easier to manage. The committee was therefore willing to accept it, provided the Governor and Council approved and Janisch gave security that he would carry out the work properly. The committee did not feel able on its own authority to extend the contract to three years, and it left that question to the government. If Janisch's tender was accepted, the committee proposed that Henry Seale act as trustee for the eastern division in his place. The Reverend Mr Boys's motion on church fees was again put off until the next meeting, because neither Mr Boys nor Mr Vernon was present. F. Seale signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The road contract went to G. W. Janisch, who had proposed the change in road taxes, sat on the vestry committee and was trustee for the eastern division. The committee accepted his tender but saw the conflict. Under the proclamation of 14 November 1825, trustees inspected the contractor's work and countersigned his payment orders. Janisch could not inspect and approve his own work, so the committee named Henry Seale to replace him as trustee. It did not reject his tender, though, since one contractor for the whole island was simpler to manage than several. The safeguards were security for his performance and the government's approval, which the proclamation required for every contract. Boys wanted the church fees revised because they had been fixed in 1767, nearly 60 years earlier. Burial, marriage and baptism fees set then would have fallen far behind costs and prices by 1826. The fees supported the clergy and the clerk and sexton. The vestry had just cut its spending and changed its taxes, and higher fees would fall on every family at each christening, wedding and funeral. Putting the motion off twice, once because the chaplains were absent, left the question unresolved for the time being.
562	553	To the Gentlemen of the Vestry Committee§ §Gentlemen,§ §I beg to acquaint you that I am willing to§ §contract for the Repair of the Roads at the following rates Vizt.§	G. W. Janisch wrote to the members of the vestry committee offering to contract for repairing the roads at the following rates. 1: Hutt's Gate to Rose Hill, and Rose Hill to Rock Rose Hill, 2d a yard 2: Rock Rose Hill to the new road in Sandy Bay, 1d a yard

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		§No. 1 From Huts Gate to Rose Hill at§ §Rosehill to Rockrosehill at§ §2d. per yard§ §No. 2 From Rockrosehill to the new Road in Sandy Bay at§ §1d.§ §No. 3 From Bamboohedge to the gates in Sandy Bay Ridge & Stitches§ §2/§ §No. 4 From Bamboohedge to Sandy Bay guard at§ §2/§ §No. 5 From Stitches Ridge to Rosehill at§ §1/§ §No. 6 From Stitches Ridge to Huts Gate at§ §2d.§ §No. 7 From Barrenhill to Gordons Post at§ §1d.§ §No. 8 From Barrenhill to Redhill at§ §2d.§ §No. 9 From Lemontree Gut to Plantationhouse at§ §2d.§ §No. 10 From Plantationhouse to Sandy Bay Ridge at§ §2d.§ §No. 11 From Bates Branch to High Peak at§ §2d.§ §No. 12 From High Peak to Thomsons Wood at§ §1/§ §No. 13 From Frenches Gut to Vin Gate at§ §1d.§ §No. 14 From Cusons Gate to Rosemaryhall at§ §1/§ §No. 15 From Rosemaryhall to Plantationhouse at§ §1d.§ §No. 16 From Rosemaryhall to the Drawbridge at§ §2/§ §For these prices I engage to keep the Roads such as they now are,§ §in good Repair vizt. to make them of a smooth surface and a firm bottom§ §as far as is practicable, and to dig a ditch sufficiently large to collect the§ §water on the inside of the Road, with wide and covered drains across§ §the Road at convenient distances to carry it off - should any alteration§ §in the present Roads be deemed expedient such for instance as to form§ §a bridle - into a Cart Road, it will of course not come within my pre-§ §sent offer but require a new tender the money to be paid in monthly§ §instalments Convinced that whoever has the contract, it will, ensure§ §good roads, be necessary that he should have it for more than one year,§ §I beg to observe that I shall not engage, unless with the option of contin-§ §uing it for a period of 3 years; - and I beg further to remark that as§ §I calculated in the above tender, the expences of one Road will bear§ §out those of another, I must request, should you perhaps deem it§	3: Bamboo Hedge to the gates on Sandy Bay Ridge and Stitches, 2½d a yard 4: Bamboo Hedge to the Sandy Bay guard, 2½d a yard 5: Stitches Ridge to Rose Hill, 1½d a yard 6: Stitches Ridge to Hutt's Gate, 2d a yard 7: Barren Hill to Gordon's Post, 1d a yard 8: Barren Hill to Red Hill, 2d a yard 9: Lemon Tree Gut to Plantation House, 2d a yard 10: Plantation House to Sandy Bay Ridge, 2d a yard 11: Bates's Branch to High Peak, 2d a yard 12: High Peak to Thompson's Wood, 1½d a yard 13: Frenches Gut to Vine Gate, 1d a yard 14: Cousins Gate to Rosemary Hall, 1½d a yard 15: Rosemary Hall to Plantation House, 1d a yard 16: Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, 2½d a yard At these prices Janisch undertook to keep the roads in good repair as they then were. He would give them a smooth surface and a firm base as far as he could. He would also dig a ditch on the inner side of each road, large enough to collect the water, with wide covered drains across the road at suitable intervals to carry it away. Any change to the existing roads, such as turning a bridle path into a cart road, would fall outside his contract and need a new tender. He asked to be paid in monthly instalments. Janisch was convinced that whoever held the contract would need it for more than a year if the roads were to be kept in good order. He would not take it on unless he had the option of continuing it for three years. He also pointed out that, as he had worked out his tender, the cost of one road would balance that of another. He therefore asked that, if the committee thought it [...]. **Interpretations** Janisch priced the work by the yard and road by road, from 1d on easier stretches to 2½d on the steep tracks around Sandy Bay and the Drawbridge. A rate per yard tied each road's cost to its length and difficulty, so the trustees could check the bill against the distance kept in repair. That suited the requirement of the proclamation of 14 November 1825 that payment follow the surveyor's certificate and the trustees' countersignature. Janisch made a three-year term a condition of his tender. Draining and resurfacing a road paid off only over several seasons. A contractor who might lose the work after a year had little reason to dig ditches and covered drains that would mostly benefit whoever came after him. The committee could not grant a three-year term on its own authority and passed the point to the government. Janisch's point that the costs of different roads balanced each other was a warning against splitting his tender. If the committee took only his cheap roads and gave the expensive ones to others, his prices would no longer hold.
563	554	it adviseable to accept only of certain parts of it that will first§ §make me acquainted of it, as tho willing to take the whole of the§ §Roads upon the above terms, I do not consider myself bound for§ §any particular part without a consideration.§ §I remain§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena§ §18th. May 1826§ §Your very obedient Servant§	Janisch asked that, if the committee decided to accept only some parts of his tender, it should tell him first. He was willing to take on all the roads on these terms, but he did not consider himself bound to any particular part without further discussion. G. W. Janisch signed the letter at St Helena on 18 May 1826. On 13 July 1826 Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, wrote to G. V. Lambe, R. W. Barker, J. Le Breton, S. Solomon, Andrew Eyre, William Janisch and Hugh Adamson. The Governor and Council had sent the committee's proposals to the surveyor. He had been told to inspect the roads

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		§(Signed) "G. W. Janisch"§ §To G. V. Lambe Esqr. Messrs. R. W. Barker J. Le Breton, S. Solomon,§ §Andw. Eyre, Wm. Janisch, & Hugh Adamson§ §Gentlemen§ §The propositions which you submitted to the§ §consideration of the Governor and Council, were referred to the Surveyor§ §with instructions to make an accurate inspection of the roads and§ §report his opinion as to the probable expence which would be§ §requisite for putting them in a proper state of repair The Surveyor§ §appears to have given very minute attention to the subject as will§ §appear by the report which is herewith transmitted. But as the§ §expense to be incurred is to be borne by taxing the Inhabitants, the§ §Governor and Council desire to have your sentiments as to which of the§ §modes suggested by the Surveyor would be most expedient to adopt.§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena§ §13th. July 1826§ §Your Obedient Servant§ §Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§	carefully and report what it would probably cost to put them in proper repair. The surveyor appeared to have studied the matter in great detail, as his enclosed report showed. Since the cost would be met by taxing the inhabitants, the Governor and Council wanted the committee's views on which of the surveyor's suggested methods would be best to adopt. **Interpretations** The government did not approve Janisch's tender directly, though the committee had recommended it. Instead it had its own surveyor inspect the roads and estimate the cost of putting them into proper repair. Janisch had offered only to keep the roads in their existing condition. The surveyor's report looked at what the roads actually needed, which could cost much more. Because the inhabitants would pay through the cart and carriage taxes, the government sent the choice of method back to the vestry committee. That respected the vestry's role under the new system and left the inhabitants' own representatives to decide how much more they would pay. The letter went to the committee members by name, and Janisch was among them. He was still a committee member while his own tender was under review, though the committee had replaced him as trustee for the eastern division. He would take part in judging the surveyor's alternatives to his own offer.
564	555	Copy of the Surveyors Report§ §To Charles Blake Esqr.§ §Deputy Secretary to Government§ §&c. &c. &c.§ §Sir,§ §I have the honor to Report for the information of the§ §Honorable the Governor and Council that in execution of the instructions§ §contained in your letter of the 25th. May last on the subject of Mr. Janischs§ §tender for Repairing the Highways, I have caused an accurate admeasurement§ §to be made of the several portions into which he divides them and calculating§ §at the rate Per Yard mentioned in his tender find that the whole amount§ §will be £417. 10. 0 -.§ §On viewing the present state of the roads I should not feel§ §justified in saying that it was absolutely necessary to expend so large a sum§ §although I at the same time think that many great improvements might§ §be made by doing so, but still the roads could be rendered perfectly§ §safe at a much less expense.§ §The system of repairing the Roads by§ §contract has been very recently adopted and as yet [...] considered§ §experimental, and we have not had time to form accurate judgement of its§ §effect, when it becomes more general and better understood by the Free§ §labourers of the Island, I am convinced that the expenses will be found§ §to diminish very considerably, and under these circumstances I should§ §not consider it adviseable to contract for so large a Sum as Mr. Janisch§ §proposes. I would rather recommend that the Inspectors of Roads§ §appointed by the Vestry for the several Districts should contract with§	The surveyor sent his report to Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government. He had followed the instructions in Blake's letter of 25 May 1826 on Mr Janisch's tender for repairing the highways. He had had each section of road in the tender measured accurately. Calculated at the rates per yard in the tender, the whole came to £417 10s 0d. Having seen the present state of the roads, the surveyor could not honestly say it was necessary to spend so large a sum. He agreed that spending it would bring many great improvements. Even so, the roads could be made perfectly safe for much less. The surveyor noted that repairing roads by contract had only just been introduced and was still seen as an experiment. There had not yet been time to judge how well it worked. He was convinced that once the free inhabitants of the island knew more about the system and took it up more widely, costs would fall considerably. For that reason he did not think it wise to contract for as large a sum as Mr Janisch proposed. He recommended instead that the inspectors of roads appointed by the vestry for each district contract with workmen to repair whatever parts of the roads in their districts needed it from time to time. If this were carried out sensibly, the roads would soon be in good repair and could be kept so at comparatively little cost. As far as he could estimate, the surveyor thought the following sums would be quite enough for the immediate repairs needed on the roads in Mr Janisch's tender. 1: Hutt's Gate to Rose Hill and on to Rock Rose Hill, £30 0s 0d 2: Rock Rose Hill to the new road in Sandy Bay, £20 0s 0d 3: Bamboo Hedge to the gates on Sandy Bay and Stitches Ridges, £10 0s 0d **Interpretations** The surveyor judged Janisch's tender far too costly. The earlier comment that the surveyor's inspection might raise the cost was wrong. At £417 10s 0d, the tender exceeded the whole £410 0s 0d the government had expected the inhabitants to raise each year for all their roads. Janisch had worked out

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		§workmen for the Repairs of such parts of the Roads in their respective§ §Districts as may from time to time require it and if this is judiciously§ §followed up, the roads will very soon be put into good repair and§ §kept so at a comparatively small expense.§ §As far as I am enabled to form§ §an estimate I think the following sums would be quite sufficient for§ §the immediate Repairs required upon the Roads mentioned in Mr. Janischs§ §tender§ §No. 1. From Huts Gate to Rosehill and thence to Rockrosehill§ §£30 . 0 . 0§ §No. 2 From Rockrosehill to the New Road in Sandy Bay§ §20 . 0 . 0§ §No. 3 From Bamboo Hedge to the Gates on Sandy Bay and Stitches Ridge§ §10 . 0 . 0§	his rate per yard on every road, whatever its state. The surveyor proposed paying only for the repairs each stretch actually needed. On the first three roads alone, his figures of £30, £20 and £10 came to a fraction of what Janisch's yard rates would have charged. The surveyor preferred many small contracts with workmen to one large contract with a single undertaker. A single contractor like Janisch would take a profit on the whole island's roads. Small contracts let by each district's inspectors would go directly to the men doing the work. The surveyor expected that as the free inhabitants came to understand contract work, competition among them would drive prices down. His plan matched the committee's own argument of August 1825, that contract work should employ free blacks and slaves and keep the money among the island's poorer people. Janisch's single tender would have put a middleman between the parish and those workers.
565	556	[Staining along the left and right edges of the page.] No. 4 From Bamboo Hedge to Sandy Bay Bridge§ §£20§ §No. 5 From Stitches Ridge to Rose Hill§ §9§ §No. 6 From Stitches Ridge to Huts Gate§ §20§ §No. 7 From Barren Hill to Gordons Post§ §9§ §No. 8 From Barren Hill to Red Hill§ §20§ §No. 9 From Lemon Tree Gut to Plantation House§ §10§ §No. 10 From Plantation House to Sandy Bay Ridge§ §50§ §No. 11 From Bates's Branch to High Peak§ §10§ §No. 12 From High Peak to Thompsons Wood§ §20§ §No. 13 From Frenchs Gut to Vein Gate§ §9§ §No. 14 From Casons Gate to Rosemary Hall§ §10§ §No. 15 From Rosemary Hall to Plantation House§ §10§ §No. 16 From Rosemary Hall to the Draw Bridge§ §10§ §£267§ §This sum would in my opinion be sufficient to render§ §the present Roads safe, and to clear the drains, and I should§ §conceive that they might afterwards be kept so, for the same or§ §even a less Sum.§ §In making this estimate I consider that the Roads are§ §to remain of the same width as they are at present, and that no§ §alteration whatever is to be made further than rendering the surface§ §sufficiently smooth and safe and clearing the drains. There are§ §several Roads which I should recommend to be widened and the§ §turnings altered, this would be a great improvement and an§ §advantage to the Public, and if it were done I should say that§ §the amount of Mr. Janischs tender for Three Years would be required to§ §complete it. The principal Roads to which I allude are the following§ §1st. From Bates's Branch to Sandy Bay Ridge§	The surveyor's estimate went on as follows. 4: Bamboo Hedge to Sandy Bay Bridge, £20 0s 0d 5: Stitches Ridge to Rose Hill, £9 0s 0d 6: Stitches Ridge to Hutt's Gate, £20 0s 0d 7: Barren Hill to Gordon's Post, £9 0s 0d 8: Barren Hill to Red Hill, £20 0s 0d 9: Lemon Tree Gut to Plantation House, £10 0s 0d 10: Plantation House to Sandy Bay Ridge, £50 0s 0d 11: Bates's Branch to High Peak, £10 0s 0d 12: High Peak to Thompson's Wood, £20 0s 0d 13: Frenches Gut to Vine Gate, £9 0s 0d 14: Cousins Gate to Rosemary Hall, £10 0s 0d 15: Rosemary Hall to Plantation House, £10 0s 0d 16: Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, £10 0s 0d Total, £267 0s 0d In the surveyor's opinion this sum would be enough to make the existing roads safe and clear the drains. He expected they could then be kept in that state for the same amount or less. His estimate assumed the roads would stay the same width. No change would be made beyond giving them a smooth, safe surface and clearing the drains. He would recommend widening several roads and altering their bends, which would greatly improve them and benefit the public. If that were done, he thought the full sum of Mr Janisch's tender for three years would be needed to finish the work. The main roads he had in mind were these. 1: Bates's Branch to Sandy Bay Ridge 2: Milly's Hill, near Rosemary Hall, to Boyce's Ridge 3: Part of the road from Cleugh's Plain to Rosemary Hall 4: Part of the road from High Peak to Thompson's Wood Hill 5: Part of the road from Hutt's Gate to Mr Janisch's 6: The road from Colonel Wright's to Gordon's Post If it was thought worth paying to widen these roads, and Mr Janisch would include them in his contract, the surveyor recommended accepting it. The terms should then require these roads to be made at least 12 feet wide within the three years, with the bends made perfectly safe for carriages. The road bed should be laid with the hardest and best materials to be found within 800 yards of where the men were working, provided they lay where they could easily [...].

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		§2nd. From Mellys Hill (near Rosemary Hall) to Boyces Ridge§ §3rd. A part of the Road from Cloughs Plain to Rosemary Hall§ §4th. A part of the Road from High Peak to Thompsons Wood Hill§ §5th. A part of the Road from Hutts Gate to Mr. Janischs§ §6th. The Road from Col. Wrights to Gordons Post§ §If it be deemed expedient to incur the expense of§ §widening these Roads, and Mr. Janisch will include them in his§ §Contract, I should recommend it to be accepted; and the terms should§ §then be that within the Three Years these Roads should be made at§ §least Twelve Feet wide, the turns rendered perfectly safe for Carriages, and§ §the bottom of the Road made of the hardest and best materials§ §to be found within Eight Hundred yards of the spot upon which§ §the workmen are employed provided it be in a situation easy§	**Interpretations** The surveyor gave the vestry two options. Keeping the roads at their existing width would cost £267 0s 0d, against Janisch's £417 10s 0d for the same work. Widening the six main roads and easing their bends would justify Janisch's full three-year tender. That was the choice the government asked the committee to make. Since the inhabitants would pay, the decision about widening was really a decision about how much more tax to accept. One of the roads proposed for widening ran from Hutt's Gate to Mr Janisch's own house. The surveyor named it without comment. Had Janisch's contract been extended to include widening, part of the public money would have improved the road to his own door. That road ended at a private house, the kind the government had said in August 1824 should be kept by the landowner it served. The minimum width of 12 feet and bends made safe for carriages reflected the slowly growing use of wheeled vehicles on the island. Most country roads had been built as bridle paths. The carriage tax counted only 15 carriages, but the government hoped more people would buy them. Widening the main roads would make that possible. The requirement to use the best stone within 800 yards of the works kept transport costs down on an island where hauling material up steep valleys was slow and expensive.
566	557	[Staining along the left edge of the page.] of access and where it will not have to be carried up a very steep ascent. The§ §other Roads at the same time to be kept in such a state as to be safe§ §for Carriages or Horses & the Drains kept clear.§ §I have to observe that in Mr. Janisch's§ §tender the following Roads are not included§ §1st. The Road from Lemon Valley head to Captain Sampsons§ §Farm called Luffkins passing by Fairy Land and Mr. J. Bagleys§ §2nd. From Luffkins abovementioned to church yard and Thomp-§ §sons Wood Hill§ §3rd. The Road to Sandy Bay by Cole's Rock called the Cole's Rock§ §Road, as far as Bamboo Hedge.§ §4th. The Road from Vein Gate near Mr. R. Knipes to Swanley Valley§ §and Half Moon.§ §5th. From Vein Gate to Horse Pasture.§ §6th. From West Lodge to Oranges ground and High Hill.§ §7th. From the Southern Boundary of Long Wood passing by Woody§ §Ridge to Alarm Hill.§ §8th. The Road passing through Myrtle Grove and Broad bottom§ §towards High Peak.§ §Some of these Roads are not perhaps much§ §used, but such as they are some provision should be made for their§ §Repair. I should think that Seventy Pounds would be sufficient§ §to repair them at present, and they might afterwards be kept§ §sufficiently good for from 20 to 30 Pounds per Annum§ §I have the honor to be§ §Sir§ §St. Helena§ §12th. July 1826§ §Your most obedt. humble Servant§ §(Signed) G. A. Den Taaffe§ §Bt. Capt. & C. & M. Survr.§ §To Chas. Blake Esqr.§	The surveyor added that the materials should be easy to reach and should not have to be carried up a very steep slope. Meanwhile the other roads should be kept safe for carriages and horses, with their drains kept clear. The surveyor pointed out that Mr Janisch's tender left out the following roads. 1: The road from the head of Lemon Valley to Captain Sampson's farm, called Luffkins, passing Fairy Land and Mr J. Bagley's 2: From Luffkins to the churchyard and Thompson's Wood Hill 3: The road to Sandy Bay by Cole's Rock, called the Cole's Rock road, as far as Bamboo Hedge 4: The road from Vine Gate near Mr R. Knipe's to Swanley Valley and Half Moon 5: From Vine Gate to Horse Pasture 6: From West Lodge to Orange Grove and High Hill 7: From the southern boundary of Longwood, past Woody Ridge, to Alarm Hill 8: The road through Myrtle Grove and Broad Bottom towards High Peak Some of these roads were perhaps little used, but the surveyor thought some provision should still be made for repairing them. He estimated that £70 0s 0d would repair them for now, and that £20 0s 0d to £30 0s 0d a year would keep them in good enough order afterwards. G. A. Dentaffe signed the report at St Helena on 12 July 1826 as brevet captain and civil and military surveyor. The committee replied to Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government. It acknowledged his letter of 13 July 1826, which enclosed the surveyor's report on the state of the roads and the cost of repairing them. In reply, the committee [...]. **Interpretations** The surveyor found eight roads that Janisch had left out of his tender altogether. Several ran past the estates of committee members and leading landholders, such as Sampson's farm at Luffkins, Bagley's and Knipe's. Janisch had priced only the roads he chose. Had the committee accepted his tender as the whole road contract, these roads would have had no provision for repair. The surveyor's addition of £70 0s 0d brought the full cost of repairs

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		§Depy. Secretary to Government§ §Sir§ §We have to acknowledge your Letter of the 13th.§ §instant, inclosing the Surveyors Report upon the state of the§ §Roads and the expence of their repairs, and in answer beg§	on his plan to £337 0s 0d, still well below Janisch's £417 10s 0d for fewer roads. The surveyor was G. A. Dentaffe, a brevet captain who served as both civil and military surveyor. A Dentaffe family had appeared on the poll tax rolls and as the Captain Dentaffe renting Company houses in the house valuation. The island's surveyor was therefore a local man with family property among the estates whose roads he assessed. On a small island, the government's own technical officer was drawn from the same settler families as the vestry he advised.
567	558	to observe, that from the Tenders which we have received, in§ §consequence of the Notices there given, it appears to us that§ §it would not be in the power of the Parish to have the§ §work performed at the rates mentioned by Captn. Den Taaffe.§ §We however duly appreciate the trouble which the§ §Government have taken in having the roads measured and§ §the expence calculated, and the desire they evince of making§ §this burthen as easy to the Parish as possible, and as they§ §have far greater facility in obtaining labor than Individuals§ §and at a much cheaper rate, we should feel happy in§ §anticipating the hope that the Government will be pleased to§ §charge themselves again with the trouble of repairing the roads,§ §the Parish defraying the expence as stated by the Surveyor§ §vizt. £337 for the first Year and £300 afterwards§ §We are§ §Sir§ §Your very obedt. Servts.§ §(Signed) G. V. Lambe§ §R. W. Barker§ §G. W. Janisch§ §H. Adamson§ §John Le Breton§ §R. Boys§ §Committee§ §St. Helena§ §17 July 1826§ §G. W. Alexander Churchwarden -§ §Messrs. Geo. V. Lambe, Rd. Barker G. W. Janisch H. Adamson & J. Le Breton§ §Members of the Vestry Committee§ §Gentlemen,§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to§ §acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date and to inform you§ §that they decline acceding to your proposal for the repairs of the§ §roads again reverting into the hands of the Honble. Company. The§ §Board have also to remark that the sum paid by the Inhabitants under§ §the former practice was upwards of £400 per annum and not £300 as§ §stated in your Letter. It is recommended that you give further consideration§ §to the suggestion for the repairs of small portions of the roads being§ §undertaken by different individuals, some of whom it is understood have§ §actually offered tenders for the same.§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena§	The committee pointed out that, judging by the tenders it had received after the notices were published, the parish could not get the work done at Captain Dentaffe's rates. It nevertheless valued the trouble the government had taken in having the roads measured and the costs calculated. It also appreciated the government's wish to make the burden as light as possible for the parish. The government could find labour far more easily than private individuals, and much more cheaply. The committee therefore hoped the government would agree to take charge of repairing the roads again. The parish would pay the cost the surveyor had set out: £337 0s 0d for the first year and £300 0s 0d a year after that. G. V. Lambe, R. W. Barker, G. W. Janisch, H. Adamson, John Le Breton and R. Boys signed for the committee at St Helena on 17 July 1826. G. W. Alexander signed as churchwarden. On the same day Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, replied to the committee members George V. Lambe, R. Barker, G. W. Janisch, H. Adamson and J. Le Breton. He acknowledged their letter and told them that the Governor and Council declined their proposal to hand the road repairs back to the Company. The Board also pointed out that under the old system the inhabitants had paid more than £400 0s 0d a year, not £300 0s 0d as the committee's letter said. It advised the committee to look again at the idea of having different individuals repair small sections of the roads. It understood that some people had already offered tenders for such work. **Interpretations** The committee tried to give the roads back to the Company less than a year after the new system came into force. The proclamation of 14 November 1825 had placed the minor roads in the inhabitants' hands, raised by their own taxes and managed by their own trustees. The committee now argued that the government could hire labour more cheaply, mainly through the Chinese and the convicts it controlled. It offered to pay the surveyor's figure if the government took back the work. The government refused at once. It had just escaped the work and had no wish to take it on again for a fixed payment that might not cover its costs. The government corrected the committee's figure for what the inhabitants had paid. The committee claimed £300 0s 0d. The government's records showed more than £400 0s 0d. A lower base would have made the surveyor's estimate look like an increase. The Board's correction showed that £337 0s 0d was in fact less than the inhabitants had paid before. That left the committee no grounds for complaint about the cost. The government steered the committee back to the surveyor's own plan of small contracts with individual workmen. Some islanders had already put in tenders for parts of the roads. The committee had said in 1825 that contract work would keep money among the island's poorer people. The government now held it to that principle. Janisch's single tender,

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		§17 July 1826.§ §Your obedt. Servant§ §(Signed) "Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt."§	which the committee had favoured, was quietly dropped.
568	559	To Messrs. G. V. Lambe, R. Barker, John Le Breton, S. Solomon, A. Eyre§ §Wm. Janisch & Hugh Adamson§ §Vestry Committee§ §Gentlemen,§ §The enclosed is a statement of several portions of the roads§ §the repairs of which are willingly to be undertaken at the specified§ §sums by the persons whose names are respectively annexed to each.§ §The Governor and Council are not at present aware§ §of any better arrangement and therefore recommend its adoption.§ §The road between Sandy Bay Guard and the Bridge§ §being considered as a military road is not to be maintained at the§ §charge of the Inhabitants§ §With regard to the remaining roads to be repaired§ §by the Inhabitants, the Governor and Council trust that you will be§ §enabled to find persons willing to undertake them.§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena§ §24th. July 1826§ §Your most Obedient Servant§ §Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§ §Statement of portions of the Public Roads agreed to be repaired by the§ §Individuals whose names are annexed§ §Alfred Isacke From Rock Rose Hill to the New Road in Sandy Bay§ §20§ §Wm. Alexander Junr. From Bamboo Hedge to the gates on Sandy Bay and Stitches Ridges§ §10§ §Capt. Seale From Bamboo Hedge to Sandy Bay Bridge§ §10§ §Richd. Barker From Stitches Ridge to Rose Hill§ §9§ §Wm. Seale Senr. From Stitches Ridge to Huts Gate§ §20§ §Chas. Blake From Barren Hill to Gordons Post§ §9§ §Lt. Col. Hodson From Lemon tree gut to Plantation House§ §10§ §Wm. Alexander Junr. From Plantation House to Sandy Bay Ridge§ §50§ §Captn. Sampson From Bates's Branch to High Peak§ §10§ §From High Peak to Thompsons Wood§ §20§ §Richd. Knipe From Frenchs Gut to Vein Gate§ §9§ §Mr. J. Doveton From Casons Gate to Rosemary Hall§ §10§ §From Rosemary to Plantation House§ §10§ §24 July 1826. (Signed) Chas. Blake Depy. Secy. to Govt.§	On 24 July 1826 Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, wrote to the vestry committee members G. V. Lambe, R. Barker, John Le Breton, S. Solomon, A. Eyre, William Janisch and Hugh Adamson. He enclosed a statement of several sections of road whose repair individuals had agreed to take on for the sums shown against their names. The Governor and Council knew of no better arrangement for the time being and therefore recommended it. The road between the Sandy Bay guard and the bridge was a military road. The inhabitants would not have to maintain it. For the remaining roads the inhabitants had to repair, the Governor and Council trusted the committee would find people willing to do the work. Statement of sections of public road that individuals agreed to repair Alfred Isaacke, Rock Rose Hill to the new road in Sandy Bay, £20 0s 0d William Alexander junior, Bamboo Hedge to the gates on Sandy Bay and Stitches Ridges, £10 0s 0d Captain Seale, Bamboo Hedge to Sandy Bay Bridge, £10 0s 0d Richard Barker, Stitches Ridge to Rose Hill, £9 0s 0d William Seale senior, Stitches Ridge to Hutt's Gate, £20 0s 0d Charles Blake, Barren Hill to Gordon's Post, £9 0s 0d Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, Lemon Tree Gut to Plantation House, £10 0s 0d William Alexander junior, Plantation House to Sandy Bay Ridge, £50 0s 0d Captain Sampson, Bates's Branch to High Peak, £10 0s 0d Captain Sampson, High Peak to Thompson's Wood, £20 0s 0d Richard Knipe, Frenches Gut to Vine Gate, £9 0s 0d W. J. Doveton, Cousins Gate to Rosemary Hall, £10 0s 0d W. J. Doveton, Rosemary Hall to Plantation House, £10 0s 0d Charles Blake signed the statement on 24 July 1826. **Interpretations** The men who took on the road contracts were the island's leading landholders and officials, not free labourers. Barker, Seale, Hodson, Sampson, Knipe and Doveton each agreed to repair a stretch of road, probably the one nearest their own estates, at exactly the surveyor's prices. Charles Blake, the deputy secretary who signed the letter, also took a contract. The surveyor had expected small contracts to go to workmen and draw in the island's free labour. In practice the planters took the contracts themselves and would do the work with their own servants and labourers. The road money paid by the inhabitants as a whole would flow back to the same landholding families. The labour went to the workers they already employed. The government took the road from the Sandy Bay guard to the bridge off the inhabitants' hands as a military road. Janisch's tender had included Bamboo Hedge to the Sandy Bay guard at 2½d a yard. By classing it as military, the government kept control of a route to a defended landing place, in line with its insistence in November 1825 on keeping charge of roads leading to military positions. It also relieved the parish of the cost.

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569	560	We the undersigned, agree to keep the respective Roads§ §which we have contracted for, in fair repair for the§ §space of twelve Months from this date§ §St. Helena 9th. August 1826§ §(Signed) "C. Sampson§ §Wm. Seale Jr.§ §R. W. Barker§ §Chas. Blake§ §W. W. Alexander§ §Alfred Isacke§ §J. Legg§ §F. Seale§ §John Bagley§ §J. Knipe§ §H. Seale"§ §Mr. Barker From Alarmhill to Rock Rose Hill§ §£15§ §Do. From the southern Boundary of Longwood by Woody Ridge to Alarmhill§ §30§ §Mr. J. Legg From Huts Gate to Alarmhill§ §20§ §Major Seale From Barrenhill over Francis Plain to the Gut at Red Hill§ §20§ §Mr. J. Knipe Senr. From Vein Gate to Swanley Valley§ §8§ §Mr. H. Seale From Rosemary Hall to the Draw Bridge§ §15§	The contractors agreed to keep the roads they had contracted for in fair repair for 12 months from 9 August 1826. They signed the undertaking at St Helena as follows. C. Sampson William Seale junior R. W. Barker Charles Blake W. W. Alexander Alfred Isaacke J. Legg J. Seale John Bagley J. Knipe H. Seale A further list recorded additional contracts. Mr Barker, Alarm Hill to Rock Rose Hill, £15 0s 0d Mr Barker, the southern boundary of Longwood by Woody Ridge to Alarm Hill, £30 0s 0d Mr J. Legg, Hutt's Gate to Alarm Hill, £20 0s 0d Major Seale, Barren Hill over Francis Plain to the bank at Red Hill, £20 0s 0d Mr J. Knipe junior, Vine Gate to Swanley Valley, £8 0s 0d Mr H. Seale, Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, £15 0s 0d **Interpretations** The contracts tied each landholder to a fixed sum for a full year's upkeep, whatever the weather did to his road. St Helena's heavy rains washed out tracks and blocked drains. A contractor who received a set payment carried the risk of a bad season himself. That was a real commitment from the planters, though they could meet it with their own workers at little extra cost. The later list added roads the surveyor had found missing from Janisch's tender, such as the route from Longwood's southern boundary by Woody Ridge to Alarm Hill. Barker took two contracts worth £45 0s 0d between them. With these additions, almost every public road outside the government's own routes now had a named landholder responsible for it. The parish's road system had become a set of private undertakings by the island's leading families, each answerable for a stretch of road near his own land.
570	561	[An ink stain at the lower right corner of the page.] To Chas. Blake Esqr.§ §Depy. Secy. to Government,§ §Sir§ §We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your§ §Letter of the 24th. instant, and in answer have to observe§ §that we fully agree with the Honble. the Governor & Council§ §in the expediency of accepting the tenders enclosed to us in§ §your letter taking it for granted that for the prices therein§ §mentioned the respective Contractors undertake to keep the§ §roads in repair for twelve months.§ §With respect to those roads which have not been§ §taken as yet, we propose again to give public notice of the§ §prices at which they may be contracted for; should we not§ §receive any tenders, it will be necessary to authorize the Trustees§ §to get them repaired in the best possible manner by hiring§ §workmen for the purpose§ §We take this opportunity of offering our sincere§ §thanks to the Honble. the Governor and Council for	The committee wrote to Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, on 25 July 1826, acknowledging his letter of 24 July 1826. It fully agreed with the Governor and Council that the enclosed tenders should be accepted. It took it for granted that, for the prices shown, each contractor undertook to keep his road in repair for 12 months. For the roads not yet taken, the committee proposed to advertise again the prices at which they could be contracted. If no tenders came in, the trustees would have to be authorised to get the roads repaired as well as they could by hiring workmen. The committee took the chance to thank the Governor and Council sincerely for their generosity in taking over the repair of part of the road in Sandy Bay. The committee described this as the stretch from the ridge to the Sandy Bay guard. A note in the margin queried whether this should read the bridge. G. V. Lambe, R. W. Barker, G. W. Janisch, H. Adamson, J. Le Breton and R. Boys signed for the committee, with G. W. Alexander as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The committee's letter placed the military road "from the ridge to the Sandy Bay guard". The government's letter of 24 July 1826 had described it as the road "between the Sandy Bay guard and the bridge". The marginal query noticed the difference. The government's reading is the more likely one. The

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		their§ §liberality in taking the repairs of part of the road in Sandy§ §Bay upon themselves which in your Letter is stated to be§ §from the Ridge* to Sandy Bay Guard§ §We are§ §Sir§ §St. Helena§ §28 July 1826§ §Your most obedt. Hble. Servts.§ §(Signed) G. V. Lambe§ §R. W. Barker§ §G. W. Janisch§ §H. Adamson§ §J. Le Breton§ §R. Boys§ §Committee§ §G. W. Alexander Church Warden§ **Margin Notes:** §* Query - Bridge§	committee had just accepted Captain Seale's contract for Bamboo Hedge to Sandy Bay Bridge, and William Alexander junior's for Plantation House to Sandy Bay Ridge. If the government had taken the whole stretch from the ridge down, those contracts would have overlapped its military road. The committee's wording, whether a slip or deliberate, would have passed more of the road to the government than it had offered. The committee asked to be allowed to hire workmen through the trustees if nobody tendered for the remaining roads. That fell back on the surveyor's original advice of small repairs done by hired labour. The leading landholders had taken the roads that ran near their own estates. The leftover roads were probably the less used ones, which no planter had reason to take on.
571	562	At a Meeting of the Vestry Committee held in the Committee§ §Room in James Town on Monday 20th. November 1826§ §Resolved that Mr. Eyre and Mr. Gideon the Collectors§ §be solicited to continue their office until Easter.§ §It having been found that the Taxes levied agreeable§ §to the Proclamation 14th. November 1825 are inadequate for the necessary§ §expences of the present Year and that a further Sum equal to a Tax§ §of 3/ per £100 on Houses will be required to defray the same to Easter§ §Resolved that a Tax of 3/ per £100 on Houses be accordingly levied§ §(Vizt. 1/ per £100 on account of the Parish expenses and the remainder§ §on account of the Roads.)§ §Resolved that the allowance to Mrs. Stewart§ §and Family be reduced to 20/ per Month until further enquiry§ §is made§ §Resolved that application be made to Government to§ §appoint, for the security of James Town additional Provosts, it having§ §been found that it is out of the power of one man, who is constantly§ §on duty during the day, to pay that attention and vigilance during§ §the night, which is requisite, a fact sufficiently proved by the number§ §of depredations which have lately occurred§ §(Signed) F. Seale§ §Church Warden§	On Monday 20 November 1826 the vestry committee met in the committee room in Jamestown. It agreed to ask Mr Eyre and Mr Gideon, the collectors, to stay in office until Easter. The committee found that the taxes set by the proclamation of 14 November 1825 would not cover the year's necessary costs. A further sum, equal to a tax of 3s on every £100 of house value, would be needed to meet costs until Easter. The committee therefore agreed to raise an extra house tax of 3s on every £100. Of this, 1s on every £100 would go towards parish costs and the remaining 2s towards the roads. The committee cut the allowance to Mrs Stewart and her family to 20s a month until it had looked into the case further. The committee also agreed to ask the government to appoint more provosts to keep Jamestown safe. One man, on duty all day, could not keep the watch needed at night. The committee pointed to the number of thefts that had recently taken place as proof of this. F. Seale signed as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The new taxes fell short in their first full year. The proclamation of 14 November 1825 had provided for exactly this: if the taxes fell short, the house tax would be raised by 3d, 6d or more on every £100. The committee doubled the rate at a stroke, adding 3s to the original 3s. Most of the extra, 2s on every £100, went to the roads. The landholders' road contracts had been fixed at the surveyor's prices. They now had to be paid, and the cart and carriage taxes did not cover them. The cost of the roads therefore fell back on the house tax, which was paid mainly in Jamestown. The committee cut Mrs Stewart's allowance sharply. Since 1822 she had received 2s a day, about £36 a year, for herself and her children. Twenty shillings a month came to £12 a year, a third of that. The committee had been told in 1822 that her husband Joseph was fit to work and little better than a vagrant. Four years on, her children would be older and perhaps able to earn. The cut came in the same meeting that found the parish short of money. The committee kept the allowance "until further enquiry", which left room to stop it altogether. The provost was the town's watchman and constable, paid by the government. The committee's complaint that one man on duty all day could not watch at night points to a rise in thefts in Jamestown. The vestry had warned since 1821 that a growing free population without owners to control it would need more policing. It now asked the government to

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			provide that policing in the town at the government's expense.
572	563	[Ink stains at the upper right corner, in the left margin and at the lower right corner of the page.] To§ §Captain F. Seale§ §Church Warden§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that§ §they approve of the resolutions adopted by the Vestry Committee on Monday last.§ §A Proclamation has been published giving notice of the intended call for an§ §additional tax on Houses to meet the [...] expences of the Parish, and§ §the superintendent of Public works has been instructed to survey the§ §Church Yard wall and to furnish an estimate of what is required to put§ §it in order. The proposition for the appointment of additional Provosts§ §is under the consideration of the Board§ §I am§ §Sir§ §St. Helena§ §24th. Novr. 1826§ §Your obedt. Servant§ §(Signed) Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§ §Copy of the 14th. Paragraph of the Honble. Courts§ §General Letter dated 3rd. January 1827.§ §Para. 14th. A Poll Tax was clearly an inequitable and oppressive mode of§ §defraying the Parochial expenses. We are therefore glad to find that it has§ §been abolished. We approve of those expenses and of the expense of repairing§ §the Highways so far as the Inhabitants are chargeable with it, being in future§ §defrayed by Taxes on Houses, Horses, Carts, Carriages, and Dogs.§ §True Copy§ §(Signed) Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§	On 24 November 1826 Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, wrote to Captain F. Seale, the churchwarden. The Governor and Council approved the decisions the vestry committee had made the previous Monday. A proclamation had been published announcing the extra house tax to meet the parish's costs. The superintendent of public works had been told to survey the churchyard wall and estimate what was needed to put it right. The Board was considering the proposal for more provosts. Blake later certified a copy of paragraph 14 of the Court of Directors' general letter of 3 January 1827. In it the Court stated that a poll tax had plainly been an unfair and oppressive way of meeting parish costs, and it was glad to learn that the tax had been abolished. The Court approved paying parish costs, and the inhabitants' share of road repairs, through taxes on houses, horses, carts, carriages and dogs. **Interpretations** The Court of Directors gave its final approval to the reform. It called the poll tax "unequitable and oppressive". The Court was the highest authority over the island. Its approval settled the dispute between the vestry and the government over the basis of taxation. On that basis, abolishing the tax on slaves and on heads and moving to a tax on property, both sides had agreed. The Court's endorsement made the change permanent. Its letter left out the matters still in dispute, such as taxing Company houses and the vote for taxpayers, and so silently accepted the government's position on both. The government accepted the doubled house tax without objection and moved at once to repair the churchyard wall. Richard Torbett had raised the wall's poor state in March 1826, and the committee had asked the government to arrange the repair. Eight months later, the superintendent of public works was finally told to survey it. The government stalled on the provosts, which would have cost it a salary. It acted quickly on the parish matters that the inhabitants would pay for.
573	564	[Staining along the right edge of the page.] Dr. Parish§ §1827§ §April 16th. To paid Clerk Fish Market Salary from 1st. March 1826 to 28th. Feby. 1827 One Year§ §£33§ §Organist Salary from 1st. March 1826 to 31st. Jany. 1827. 11 Months§ §22 . 18 . 4§ §Clerk Country Church Salary from 1st. Jany. 1826 to 1st. Jany. 1827§ §30§ §Do. Washing Surplices 1 Year§ §3§ §Country Church repairs per Voucher No. 1§ §2 . 5§ §Mrs. Stewart allowance from 1st. March 1826 to 28th. Feby. 1827 1 Year§ §22 . 13 . 9§ §Chambers for allowance to Fanny from 1st. March 1826 to 1st. April 1827. 13 Months 20/ per Month§ §13§ §Mrs. Wheatly for allowance to Drays Children from 1st. March 1826 to 1st. April 1827 13 Months at 30/6 per Month§ §19 . 16§ §Allowance to Emily James for her Sisters Children from 1st. March 1826 to 31st. March 1827. 13 Months	On 16 April 1827 the parish account recorded the following spending. 16 April 1827, clerk of the fish market, salary for 1 year from 1 March 1826 to 28 February 1827, £33 0s 0d 16 April 1827, organist, salary for 11 months from 1 March 1826 to 31 January 1827, £22 18s 4d 16 April 1827, clerk of the country church, salary from 1 January 1826 to 1 January 1827, £30 0s 0d 16 April 1827, clerk of the country church for laundering the surplices for 1 year, £3 0s 0d 16 April 1827, repairs to the country church, voucher 1, £2 5s 0d 16 April 1827, Mrs Stewart's allowance for 1 year from 1 March 1826 to 28 February 1827, £22 13s 9d 16 April 1827, Chambers's allowance for Fanny, 13 months from 1 March 1826 to 1 April 1827 at 20s a month, £13 0s 0d 16 April 1827, Mrs Wheatley's allowance for Dray's children, 13 months from 1 March 1826 to 1 April 1827 at 30s a month, £19 16s 0d 16 April 1827, Emily James's allowance for her sister's children, 13 months from 1 March 1826 to 31 March 1827 at 22s 6d a month, £14 12s 6d 16 April 1827, gaoler's bills, voucher 2, £18 13s 9d 16 April 1827, Mrs Alesworth for making surplices, voucher 3, £2 2s 0d

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		at 22/6 per Month§ §14 . 12 . 6§ §Gaolers Bills as per Vouchers No. 2§ §18 . 13 . 9§ §Mrs. Aylesworth making Surplices Voucher No. 3§ §2 . 2§ §Mr. Carr for Slave Man Transported as per Valuation Grand Jury per Voucher No. 4§ §27§ §J. Scott temporary Relief at two several times§ §2§ §Malbrough temporary Relief§ §10§ §Patty Do. Do.§ §4 . 6§ §Interment Bills E. Smith & J. Parry§ §1 . 10 . 0§ §J. Bagley§ §15 . 0§ §2 . 5§ §Towards burial of Jas. Bagley§ §1 . 5 . 0§ §Cannon Do.§ §0 . 12 . 6§ §1 . 17 . 6§ §Towards burial of J. Scott§ §1 . 5§ §E. Fowler for making up the Books & Copying proceedings of the several Meetings of Vestry & Committee§ §6 . 6§ §for Paper and Pens§ §15§ §To Balance in Hand§ §1 . 19 . 6§ §£226 . 3 . 10§ §I do hereby acknowledge to have received from§ §Capt. Seale Churchwarden the above Balance of§ §One Pound 19/6 with the Parish Books and Church Plate Vizt.§ §One Flaggon, One Cup, One large Plate, and One Small Plate§ §G. W. Alexander§	16 April 1827, Mr Carr for a male slave transported, at the grand jury's valuation, voucher 4, £27 0s 0d 16 April 1827, J. Scott, temporary relief on two occasions, £2 0s 0d 16 April 1827, Malbrough, temporary relief, £0 10s 0d 16 April 1827, Patty, temporary relief, £0 4s 6d 16 April 1827, burial bills for E. Smith and J. Parry, £1 10s 0d 16 April 1827, burial bill for J. Bagley, £0 15s 0d 16 April 1827, burial bills in all, £2 5s 0d 16 April 1827, towards the burial of James Bagley, £1 5s 0d 16 April 1827, towards the burial of Cannus, £0 12s 6d 16 April 1827, towards these two burials in all, £1 17s 6d 16 April 1827, towards the burial of J. Scott, £1 5s 0d 16 April 1827, E. Fowler for writing up the books and copying the proceedings of the vestries and committee, £6 6s 0d 16 April 1827, paper and pens, £0 15s 0d 16 April 1827, balance in hand, £1 19s 6d Total, £226 3s 10d G. W. Alexander signed a receipt for the balance of [...] from Captain Seale, the churchwarden. He also received the parish books and the church plate: one flagon, one cup, one large plate and one small plate. **Interpretations** Mr Carr was paid £27 0s 0d for a male slave transported off the island at the grand jury's valuation. Until then the parish had compensated owners only for slaves who were executed. Transportation was now being used in place of the death sentence, sending a convicted slave away, probably to another colony. The owner lost the slave just as surely as if he had been hanged. The parish extended its compensation to cover this new punishment, so owners still had no reason to shield offenders from the courts. The cut in Mrs Stewart's allowance to 20s a month did not take effect until late in the year. She received £22 13s 9d for the full year, far more than £12. The committee had decided the cut in November 1826, so it applied only to the last few months of the account. Even so, her allowance and the payments for Dray's children, Fanny and Emily James's nieces and nephews made up the main part of the parish's poor relief. Most relief now went to children and the infirm boarded with relatives or other householders. The year closed with only £1 19s 6d in hand. The doubled house tax of November 1826 had barely kept the parish solvent. The new system based on property met the year's costs, but it left almost nothing in reserve.
574	565	[Staining along the left edge of the page and an ink stain at the foot of the page.] Contra Cr.§ §£ . s . d§ §By received of Tax Collectors§ §for 18 Hack Horses§ §36 . 0 . 0§ §1st. Collection of House Tax§ §233 . 1 . 3§ §One Third of 2nd. Collection of House Tax§ §71 . 11 . 4§ §340 . 12 . 7§ §Less received and accounted for in last Years account by the late Church Warden§ §164 . 8 . 9§ §176 . 3 . 10§	The credit side of the parish account for 1826 to 1827 recorded the following receipts. From the tax collectors, tax on 18 horses for hire, £36 0s 0d From the tax collectors, first collection of the house tax, £233 1s 3d From the tax collectors, one-third of the second collection of the house tax, £71 11s 4d Received from the tax collectors in all, £340 12s 7d Less the sum already received and accounted for in the previous year's account by the former churchwarden, £164 0s 9d Net receipts from the tax collectors, £176 3s 10d From the police office for the dog tax for 1825, £25 0s 0d

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		§received from Police Office for Dog Tax for 1825§ §25§ §Do. Do. 1826§ §25§ §£226 . 3 . 10§	From the police office for the dog tax for 1826, £25 0s 0d Total, £226 3s 10d **Interpretations** The first collection of the house tax raised £233 1s 3d, close to the £237 10s 0d the valuation should have produced at 3s on every £100. Once the system was running, the tax came in almost in full. The parish's shortage was not caused by unpaid tax. It came from the gap between the tax's yield and the parish's spending, together with the cost of the roads. The parish kept only one-third of the second collection, £71 11s 4d. That matched the committee's division of the extra 3s on every £100 in November 1826: 1s for parish costs and 2s for the roads. The other two-thirds went to the road collectors to pay the landholders' contracts. The extra tax, paid mostly by Jamestown householders, funded the country roads that the planters had contracted to repair. The police office paid the dog tax for both 1825 and 1826, at £25 0s 0d a year. The committee had complained in March 1826 that only half the dog tax had arrived and asked the churchwarden to write to the government. The arrears now came in. Once again the parish recovered money that others collected on its behalf only after it had appealed to the government.
575	566	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Proceedings of a Vestry Committee meeting - 12 April 1827§ §The following were appointed to serve as Constables§ §James Eddlestone§ §James Parrott.§ §Resolved unanimously that the allowance to Mrs. Stewart be§ §discontinued from this day. -§ §Resolved that henceforth it be considered a Law, that§ §the Vestry Committee shall meet at 11 OClock on the Thursday§ §preceding Easter Monday to arrange the business for the General§ §Meeting of the Vestry, and to examine and pass the County§ §& Parish Accounts. -§ §Resolved to submit to the Vestry, that Messrs. Darling§ §& Adamson be appointed Collectors for the ensuing year. -§ §Resolved to propose to the Vestry that the Salary of§ §the Organist be increased from £25 to £50 per year, -§ §it being understood that the Government had been pleased§ §to quadruple their amount. -§ §At a Meeting of Vestry held in the Chapel§ §in James Valley, this 16th. April 1827, the following were§ §chosen County & Parish Officers for the ensuing year -§ §R. F. Seale Esqr.§ §R. Brooke Esqr.§ §G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. Janisch Churchwarden§ §James Eddlestone§ §James Parrott§ §Constables§ §Mr. Darling§ §Mr. Adamson§ §Collectors§	On 12 April 1827 the vestry committee met. It appointed James Eddleston and James Parrott to serve as constables. The committee voted unanimously to stop Mrs Stewart's allowance from that day. It agreed that, as a standing rule from then on, the vestry committee would meet at 11 o'clock on the Thursday before Easter Monday. At that meeting it would prepare the business for the vestry's general meeting and examine and pass the county and parish accounts. The committee agreed to recommend to the vestry that Mr Darling and Mr Adamson be appointed collectors for the coming year. It also agreed to propose that the organist's salary be raised from £25 0s 0d to £50 0s 0d a year. It understood that the government had agreed to quadruple its own contribution. On 16 April 1827 a vestry met in the chapel in James Valley and chose the county and parish officers for the coming year. Sheriffs R. F. Seale R. Brooke G. Blenkins Churchwarden Mr Janisch Constables James Eddleston James Parrott Collectors Mr Darling Mr Adamson **Interpretations** The committee stopped Mrs Stewart's allowance altogether, five months after cutting it to 20s a month "until further enquiry". She had received relief since August 1822, when she said her husband had given her no support for eight years. The parish had tried and failed in 1822 to make Joseph Stewart work at the lime kilns to support his family. Nearly five years on, her children were older and perhaps earning. Ending her allowance soon after a year of tight money shows the committee clearing long-standing claims as soon as it could justify doing so. The committee proposed doubling the organist's salary only because the government had agreed to raise its own contribution. The organist had been

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			paid £50 0s 0d in 1817, and the post had later been restored at half that. Raising it again depended on the Company sharing the cost, as the vestry had long argued it should for its own church. The government's larger share made the rise affordable for the parish. The standing rule for a committee meeting on the Thursday before Easter Monday made the committee the body that prepared the annual vestry's business and audited the accounts before the ratepayers saw them. The vestry had once chosen its officers and passed its accounts in open meeting. Now the committee would have settled most matters before the general meeting began. This fitted the government's long insistence on business being handled by committees.
576	567	Resolved that Mr. W. Fowler, Mr. J. Bagley, Col. Hodson &§ §Mr. Darling do succeed the four Senior Members of the Vestry§ §Committee, making the Committee for the present year as§ §follows.§ §Mr. Eyre§ §Mr. Janisch§ §Mr. Adamson§ §Mr. W. Fowler§ §Mr. J. Bagley§ §Col. Hodson§ §Mr. Darling§ §The Proceedings of the Committee of 12th. Inst. were read§ §& approved of, and agreed to. -§ §Resolved that no Cart, Carriage, Horse or taxable Article§ §shall be used in any way without previously having obtained§ §a Ticket from the Collectors, that the Tax is paid, under a§ §penalty of £5. - The Committee to frame a Law to that§ §effect. -§ §The attention of the Vestry was called to a Privilege§ §they possess of sending four Children to the Upper and 8 to the§ §Under School free of expense at the recommendation of the§ §Church Wardens, resolved that the latter make inquiry§ §how this valuable privilege comes to have been neglected,§ §and to see that it is not infringed in future. -§ §Recommended that the Amounts at which the Houses§ §were rated last year should be revised, and that the List§ §should otherwise be corrected§ §The Revd. Mr. Boys called the attention of the Vestry§ §to the Churchfees established in 1769, and proposed that the§ §subject should be taken into consideration by the Committee§ §Agreed to.§	The vestry agreed that W. Fowler, J. Bagley, Colonel Hodson and Mr Darling would replace the four longest-serving members of the vestry committee. The committee for the year was therefore Mr Eyre, Mr Janisch, Mr Adamson, W. Fowler, J. Bagley, Colonel Hodson and Mr Darling. The proceedings of the committee meeting of 12 April 1827 were read, approved and agreed to. The vestry agreed that no cart, carriage, horse or other taxable item could be used in any way unless its owner had first obtained a ticket from the collectors showing the tax had been paid. Anyone breaking the rule would be fined £5 0s 0d. The committee was to draw up a law to that effect. The vestry's attention was drawn to the parish's right to send four children to the upper school and eight to the under school free of charge, on the churchwardens' recommendation. The vestry asked the churchwardens to find out how this valuable right had come to be neglected and to make sure it was not lost in future. The vestry recommended that the values on which houses had been taxed the previous year be revised, and that the list be corrected in other ways too. The Reverend Mr Boys drew the vestry's attention to the church fees set in 1769. He proposed that the committee consider the matter, and the vestry agreed. **Interpretations** The parish had a right to place 12 poor children free in the island's schools, chosen by the churchwardens, but had let it lapse. The upper and under schools were run by the Company, and the under school appeared in the house valuation as a Company building. Free places for children recommended by the parish were a form of relief that cost the ratepayers nothing. With the parish short of money and boarding several orphans with relatives, the vestry had good reason to reclaim them. A right that went unused could be quietly withdrawn by the Company. Asking how it had come to be neglected was meant to stop that happening. The ticket for carts, carriages and horses copied a practice used for taxes in England. An owner had to show proof of payment before he could use his vehicle or animal. A £5 0s 0d fine, more than the tax itself, made evasion costly. Like the painted initials and numbers on carts, it made sure no taxable vehicle went unrecorded. The burden of proving payment now fell on the owner, rather than on the collectors to find defaulters. Boys dated the church fees to 1769 here, though in May 1826 he had given 1767. Either way, the fees were nearly 60 years old.
577	568	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Resolved that the best thanks of the Vestry are due to the§	The vestry voted its best thanks to the outgoing collectors, Mr Eyre and Mr Gideon, for the energy and care they had shown in collecting the taxes. It

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		§retiring Collectors Messrs. Eyre & Gideon for the zeal and activity they§ §have displayed in collecting the Taxes; - to the Churchwarden§ §Capt. Seale for his zealous exertions during the last year, - and§ §to the Revd. R. Boys for his able and impartial conduct in the§ §Chair on the present occasion. -§ §The letter of this date from the Secretary to Govt.§ §having been read, it was resolved that the subject should be§ §referred to the Committee of Slave Proprietors chosen at§ §their General Meeting in 1825. -§ §Proceedings of a Vestry Committee Meeting§ §19th. April 1827§ §Resolved, that in order to defray the expences for the§ §Parish and County up to Easter 1828, a Tax of 4/6 pr. £100§ §on Houses be levied (vizt. 3/ pr. £100 on account of the Parish§ §and 1/6d. on account of the County). -§ §Resolved that no Person keeping any Hackhorse, - Carriage§ §Cart or Dray, shall be allowed to employ the same without§ §having previously obtained a printed Ticket from the Collectors§ §that the Tax on the respective Articles has been duly paid§ §under a Penalty of £5 to go to the Parish Funds. - These§ §Tickets to be given gratis, but not to be transferable. - § §This Law to be in force from the 30th. April 1827.§ §Resolved that to carry into execution the measure§ §of correcting & revising the House List, as agreed to at the§ §last Vestry, the Revd. R. Boys & Capt. Sampson, who§	thanked Captain Seale, the churchwarden, for his hard work during the past year. It also thanked the Reverend R. Boys for chairing the meeting so ably and fairly. A letter of that date from the secretary to government was read. The vestry agreed to refer it to the committee of slave owners chosen at their general meeting in 1815. On 19 April 1827 the vestry committee met. To meet the parish and county costs up to Easter 1828, it agreed to raise a tax of 4s 6d on every £100 of house value. Of this, 3s on every £100 would go to the parish and 1s 6d to the county. The committee agreed that nobody keeping a horse for hire, a carriage, a cart or a dray could use it without first obtaining a printed ticket from the collectors showing that its tax had been paid. Anyone breaking the rule would be fined £5 0s 0d, to go to the parish funds. The tickets would be issued free but could not be transferred. The law would come into force on 30 April 1827. To carry out the correction and revision of the house list agreed at the last vestry, the committee chose the Reverend R. Boys and Captain Sampson, who [...]. **Interpretations** The house tax was now set at 4s 6d on every £100, split between parish and county. The proclamation of 14 November 1825 had set 3s for the parish. In November 1826 the committee had added 3s more, 1s for the parish and 2s for the roads. The new rate kept the parish's share at the higher level reached that November and settled the county's share at 1s 6d for roads. Within two years the house tax had risen by half. The road contracts and the parish's commitments had settled at a level the original 3s could not cover. The secretary's letter went to a committee of slave owners, not to the vestry committee. Slaveholders had met as a separate body on matters concerning their property, as when they voted down the chaplains' proposal on public sales in 1822. Questions about slaves were kept apart from ordinary parish business and handled by the owners themselves. The government dealt with the slave owners as a distinct interest, outside the ratepayers' vestry. The printed tickets could not be transferred. Without that rule, one owner's ticket could have been lent to cover several carts or horses. Tying each ticket to a single paid item closed the gap. Issuing tickets free kept the system from becoming a second tax.
578	569	so ably discharged that arduous duty last year, be requested§ §to form themselves into a Committee with Mr. W. Alexander Senr.§ §Church Warden, and that the Senior Church Warden for the time§ §being be considered a Standing Member of such Committees in§ §future. -§ §The County Collectors agreed to meet on Monday the§ §30th. inst. for the purpose of receiving the different Taxes for§ §the ensuing year. -§ §Resolved to draw the attention of the Honble. Board§ §to the dangerous state in which the Streets in the upper part§ §of the Town and opposite Dr. Kay's are -§ §G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Secy. to Govt.§ §Sir§ §I have the honor to forward the Proceedings of§ §a Vestry Committee Meeting, held this day and to	Boys and Sampson had done this demanding work very well the year before. The committee asked them to form a committee with G. W. Alexander senior, the churchwarden. In future the senior churchwarden for the time being would always be a standing member of such committees. The county collectors agreed to meet on Monday 30 April 1827 to receive the various taxes for the coming year. The committee agreed to point out to the Board how dangerous the streets were in the upper part of the town and opposite Dr Kay's. On 19 April 1827 G. W. Alexander, as senior churchwarden, wrote to G. Blenkins, secretary to the government. He sent the proceedings of that day's vestry committee meeting. He asked that, if the Governor and Council approved them, the secretary give the necessary public notice. **Interpretations** Revising the house list went back to two of the three men who had made the original valuation, Boys and Sampson, with the senior churchwarden added. The vestry had asked for the values to be revised and

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		request§ §should the Honble. the Governor & Council approve of the same§ §that you will be pleased to give the necessary public§ §Notice. -§ §I have the honor to be,§ §&c. &c.§ §19th. April 1827§ §G. W. Alexander§ §Senr. Churchwn.§	the list corrected. Giving the work to the men who had drawn up the first list kept the same judgements in place, with only errors and new buildings likely to change. Making the senior churchwarden a permanent member of the valuation committee tied future assessments to the parish's own financial officer. The person who had to balance the accounts would also help set the values the tax was raised on. The committee raised the dangerous streets with the government because street repairs were shared. In 1824 the government had offered to pay half the cost of the town's streets if the inhabitants paid the rest. Jamestown's streets therefore remained partly the government's responsibility. Upper Jamestown climbed steeply up the valley. The streets the vestry had chosen to patch rather than rebuild in 1824 were the ones now wearing out. The committee's proceedings still needed the government's approval before they could be published. Even the new tax rate and the ticket law, both agreed by the vestry and its committee, could not take effect until the Governor and Council approved and the secretary gave public notice. The reforms of 1825 had changed how the parish raised its money. They had not changed the rule that every vestry measure needed the government's sanction.
579	570	[Staining around the edges of the page.] To§ §Messrs. G. W. Alexander and G. W. Janisch§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen,§ §The proceedings of the Vestry held on the 16th. April§ §are approved; - but I am at the same time directed to acquaint§ §you, that the Governor & Council upon calling for a Return of§ §the Children on the Foundation of the Head School, it appeared§ §that the only one was John Torbett the Son of the late§ §Adjutant; - on the same day was received a recommendation§ §from the Church Wardens for a second, Jas. Seale which was§ §approved and as no further recommendations were proffered§ §the remaining Vacations were filled up by the Board§ §The Honble. Court of Directors having been pleased§ §to sanction four additional foundation Scholars to be paid for§ §by the Company the Board nominated them accordingly,§ §and the whole of the Children on the foundation of the§ §Head School is now as follows. -§ §John Torbett - previously on the Foundation§ §James Seale recommended by the Church Wardens and approved§ §by the Board. -§ §David Chadwick§ §George Chadwick§ §James Torbett§ §Henry Torbett§ §and 2 eldest Children§ §of Capt. Torbett§ §Mentioned by the Governor & Council§ §in default of recommendations§ §from the Church Wardens -§ §I am further directed to inform you that§ §the Honble. Court have ordered that in selecting Children for§ §the Foundation of the Head School, a preference shall§ §always§	The government wrote to the churchwardens, G. W. Alexander and G. W. Janisch. It approved the proceedings of the vestry held on 16 April 1827. It also told the churchwardens what it had found when it called for a list of the children on the foundation of the head school. The only one was John Torbett, son of the late adjutant. On the same day the churchwardens had recommended a second child, James Seale, and the Board approved him. No other recommendations were offered, so the Board filled the remaining places itself. The Court of Directors had agreed to fund four more foundation scholars at the Company's expense. The Board had named them, and the children on the head school's foundation were now as follows. John Torbett, already on the foundation James Seale, recommended by the churchwardens and approved by the Board David Chadwick, named by the Governor and Council because the churchwardens made no recommendation George Chadwick, named by the Governor and Council because the churchwardens made no recommendation James Torbett, named by the Governor and Council because the churchwardens made no recommendation Henry Torbett, named by the Governor and Council because the churchwardens made no recommendation, these last two being the two elder children of Captain Torbett The government added that the Court of Directors had ordered that, in choosing children for the head school's foundation, preference should always [...]. **Interpretations** The government's reply showed why the parish's right to free school places had lapsed. Only one foundation place was filled when the Board asked, and the churchwardens had put forward just one more child. When the parish failed to nominate, the Board filled the places itself. The vestry had asked in April 1827 how this "valuable right" had come to be neglected. The answer was that the churchwardens had not used it. Every place the parish left empty passed to the government's own choice. The foundation places went to children of leading families, not to the poor. Torbett, Seale and Chadwick were landholding and officer families who

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			paid the poll tax on many heads. The head school was the island's upper school. Its free places were valued as a start for the sons of respectable but not wealthy households, such as an adjutant's orphan or a captain's younger sons. Both the vestry and the government treated them as patronage for their own class rather than as relief for paupers' children.
580	571	[Staining around the edges of the page.] always be given to the Children of deceased Companys Servants.§ §The four for whom the Company are to pay will always be§ §mentioned by the Governor & Council. -§ §I am Gentlemen§ §&c. &c.§ §St. Helena§ §19th. April 1827§ §(Sd.) C. Blake§ §Depy. Secy.§ §Copy of the Boards Resolution, dated 19th. April 1827§ §The Vestry Committee to appoint 2 persons to§ §meet the Surveyor and Superintendant of Public Works, for§ §the purpose of ascertaining and reporting on the most judicious§ §means for remedying the defects in the Street near Dr. Kay§ §True Copy§ §(Sd.) G. Blenkins§ §Secy. to Govt.§ §Copy of the Boards Resolution, dated 24th. April 1827§ §The Vestry having requested information from the§ §Governor & Council in regard to the qualifications requisite for§ §entitling an Inhabitant to vote for the election of County and§ §Parish Officers, the assessment of Taxes &c. the subject was taken§ §into consideration by the Board -§ §Upon a reference to various Regulations on the subject§ §and the early orders from the Honble. Court of Directors it appears§ §that originally none but Freeholders had a right to vote in Vestry§ §but at the request of the Inhabitants in Governor Robertss time§ §the right was extended to Leaseholders. In May 1812 at the§ §suggestion of the Church Wardens, it was determined that§ §Parish Officers should be elected by a Committee chosen by the§ §Vestry and not by the entire body. -§	The Court of Directors had ordered that preference should always go to the children of Company servants who had died. The Governor and Council would always name the four children the Company paid for. Charles Blake signed the letter as deputy secretary at St Helena on 19 April 1827. G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, certified a copy of the Board's resolution of 19 April 1827. It directed the vestry committee to appoint two people to meet the surveyor and the superintendent of public works. Together they would find and report on the best way to repair the faults in the street near Dr Kay's. Blenkins also certified a copy of the Board's resolution of 24 April 1827. The vestry had asked the Governor and Council to say who qualified to vote in electing county and parish officers, setting taxes and similar business, and the Board had considered the question. It had looked at various regulations and the Court of Directors' early orders on the subject. These showed that at first only freeholders had the right to vote in the vestry. At the inhabitants' request, in Governor Roberts's time, the right was extended to leaseholders. In May 1812, on the churchwardens' suggestion, it was decided that a committee chosen by the vestry would elect the parish officers, rather than the whole vestry. **Interpretations** The government reserved the four Company-funded places for the children of deceased Company servants and kept the choice for itself. That made the head school's foundation a pension for the families of the Company's own dead. The parish's places and the Company's were now separate. If the churchwardens wanted their share filled with children of their choosing, they would have to nominate them. Otherwise the Board would continue to fill the gaps, as it had just done with the Chadwick and Torbett children. The vestry asked the government who was entitled to vote. That followed the government's warning in July 1825 that unqualified people, such as shop workers and apprentices, had been voting. It also followed the switch from the poll tax to the house tax, which raised the question of whether every house-tax payer now had a vote. The Board's history of the franchise traced how it had widened from freeholders to leaseholders, and then how elections had been handed to a committee in 1812. The vestry had abolished the churchwardens' rota in March 1826 and voted to elect churchwardens itself. The government's reminder of the 1812 rule pointed to elections by committee, not the whole vestry.
581	572	[Staining around the edges of the page.] The Board upon taking the whole of the subject into consideration§ §and viewing the changes which have taken place in the community§ §since the first institution of Vestries, resolve§ §That no Inhabitant shall be entitled to vote at Vestry§ §except such as pay the House tax for a House estimated at £300§ §(Three hundred Pounds) and upwards.§ §True Copy§ §(Sd.) G. Blenkins§ §Secy. to Govt.§ §Proceedings of a Vestry Committee Meeting§	The Board considered the whole question in light of the changes in the community since vestries were first set up. It ruled that no inhabitant would be entitled to vote in the vestry unless he paid the house tax on a house valued at £300 0s 0d or more. G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, certified the copy. On 4 June 1827 the vestry committee met and heard the following letter. Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, had written on 28 May 1827 to Lieutenant Colonel Hodson and the other committee members. Mr E. Leech wished to free two slaves named Charles and Polly. The Governor and Council asked the committee's opinion on whether

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		§4th. June 1827§ §The following Letter was read:§ §"To Lt. Col. Hodson and the other Members of the Vestry Committee§ §"Gentlemen,§ §"Mr. E. Leech having expressed a desire to emancipate§ §"2 Slaves of the Name of Charles & Polly, the Governor & Council§ §"request your opinion, whether they might be manumitted without§ §"the Bond, weighing on the one hand the possibility of expense§ §"to the Parish and on the other hand the likelihood of their§ §"being enabled to maintain themselves."§ §"I am Gentlemen &c. &c.§ §"St. Helena§ §28 May 1827.§ §(Sd.) C. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§ §On a personal inspection of the Slave Man Charles§ §(Polly not being able to attend in consequence of sickness)§ §the Committee are of opinion that it would not be expedient§ §to allow of Freedom being granted to them, unless the§ §Proprietor enter into the customary Bond, - but they§ §beg at the same time to suggest the expediency, in the§	they could be freed without the bond. The committee was to weigh the risk of cost to the parish against how likely the two were to be able to support themselves. The committee examined Charles in person, since Polly was too ill to attend. It concluded that it would be unwise to let them be freed unless their owner gave the usual bond. At the same time, the committee wished to suggest that it would be wise, in the [...]. **Interpretations** The government set the vestry franchise at a house valued at £300 0s 0d or more. It could have given the vote to every house-tax payer, as the vestry's 1825 scheme had implied. Instead it set a bar that excluded most of the island's householders. The house valuation of 1825 shows who fell below it: the freed people in the country such as Free Sophy, Scipio and Free Sam, the free black women in Jamestown, the sergeants with small houses, and many owners of tenements. All paid the house tax but would have no vote. The government had argued in July 1825 that only those with property should judge taxes on property. It now fixed how much property that meant, and the line fell mostly by colour and class without naming either. The Leech family was asking again to free slaves without the bond. The committee examined Charles in person and found against it. Five years earlier, Mrs Leech had freed Kitty Hamlet without a bond, and the parish had been left to support her until the government forced the estate to pay. The Court's rule of 1819 allowed the bond to be waived for a slave under 40 who had been certified fit to work. Polly was too ill to appear, which almost by definition failed that test. The committee, made up of landholders and ratepayers, had every reason to insist on the bond. Without it, any future cost of Charles and Polly's keep would fall on the parish.
582	573	[Staining around the edges of the page.] event of Manumission being granted on the above terms, of§ §obliging them to become Subscribers to the Benefit Society, as§ §by these Means the Proprietor would be partly protected against§ §their becoming burthensome -§ §The Boards Resolution of 19th. April being read, it was§ §agreed to request Messrs. S. Solomon & H. Adamson to meet the§ §Gentlemen appointed on the part of Government -§ §The subject of an alteration in the Churchfees, which§ §had been deferred so often, was again taken into consideration§ §when it was agreed to submit the following Scale. -§ §Former Scale. -§ §Marriages, Burials, Churching of Women, Christenings§ §Clergyman: Marriages 10/, Burials 6/, Churching of Women 5/, Christenings 0§ §Clerk: Marriages 2/6, Burials 1/, Churching of Women 0, Christenings 0§ §Sexton: Marriages 2/6, Burials 7/6, Churching of Women 0, Christenings 1/6§ §Scale now proposed§ §Marriages, Burials, Churching of Women, Christenings§ §Clergyman: Marriages 13/6, Burials 6/, Churching of Women 5/, Christenings 5/§ §Clerk: Marriages 5/, Burials 1/, Churching of Women 0, Christenings 0§ §Sexton: Marriages 1/6, Burials 7/6, Churching of Women 0, Christenings 1/6§	The committee suggested that, if freedom were granted on these terms, Charles and Polly should be made to join the benefit society. That would partly protect their owner against their becoming a burden. The Board's resolution of 19 April 1827 was read. The committee agreed to ask S. Solomon and H. Adamson to meet the gentlemen appointed by the government. The committee took up again the question of changing the church fees, which had been put off so often. It agreed to submit the following scale. Former scale Clergyman, marriage, £0 10s 0d Clergyman, burial, £0 6s 0d Clergyman, churching of women, £0 5s 0d Clergyman, christening, £0 0s 0d Clerk, marriage, £0 2s 6d Clerk, burial, £0 1s 0d Clerk, churching of women, £0 0s 0d Clerk, christening, £0 0s 0d Sexton, marriage, £0 2s 6d Sexton, burial, £0 7s 6d Sexton, churching of women, £0 0s 0d Sexton, christening, £0 1s 6d Scale now proposed Clergyman, marriage, £0 13s 6d Clergyman, burial, £0 6s 0d Clergyman, churching of women, £0 5s 0d Clergyman, christening, £0 5s 0d Clerk, marriage, £0 5s 0d Clerk, burial, £0 1s 0d Clerk, churching of women, £0 0s 0d Clerk, christening, £0 0s 0d Sexton, marriage, £0 1s 6d Sexton, burial, £0 7s 6d Sexton, churching of women, £0 0s 0d

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		§N.B. The 7/6 to the Sexton for Burials includes the Charge for§ §Gravedigging§ §Charles Blake Esqr.§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§ §Sir,§ §In answer to your letter of the 28th. May, addressed to Col.§ §Hodson and the Members of the Vestry Committee, we beg to enclose§ §for the information of the Honble. the Governor & Council the Proceedings§ §of a Meeting held this day. -§ §We have also to draw the Boards attention to that§ §Paragraph which refers to their Resolution of 19th. April, and to§ §another respecting Churchfees - We have the honor to be &c.§ §St. Helena§ §4th. June 1827§ §(Sd.) G. W. Alexander§ §(Sd.) G. W. Janisch§ §Churchwardens§	Sexton, christening, £0 1s 6d A note explained that the sexton's 7s 6d for burials included the charge for digging the grave. On 4 June 1827 the churchwardens, G. W. Alexander and G. W. Janisch, wrote to Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, in reply to his letter of 28 May 1827 to Colonel Hodson and the vestry committee members. They enclosed the proceedings of that day's meeting for the Governor and Council. They also drew the Board's attention to the paragraph on its resolution of 19 April 1827, and to another on church fees. **Interpretations** The committee proposed that freed slaves be made to join the benefit society, the fund the government had set up in December 1821 for free blacks to support themselves in old age or illness. Members paid into it and were excused the parish poll tax. Making membership a condition of freedom would give the freed person a claim on the society, not on the parish, if he fell ill or grew old. The committee offered this as a partial safeguard alongside the bond, not instead of it. A freed person's subscriptions could then help protect the former owner's bond from being called in. The proposed fees added a charge of 5s to the clergyman for every christening, which had been free before, and raised his marriage fee from 10s to 13s 6d. Burial and churching fees stayed the same. The clerk's marriage fee doubled to 5s, while the sexton's was cut from 2s 6d to 1s 6d. Most of the increase went to the Company's chaplains, which explains why the Reverend R. Boys had pressed the matter since 1826. A christening fee fell on every family with a new child, including the free blacks whose children had been born free since 1818. The committee did not raise burial fees, the one charge the parish itself paid for its paupers.
583	574	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Proceedings of a Vestry Meeting§ §9th. August 1827§ §The following letter was read§ §Gentlemen,§ §I beg leave to inform you that the Roads in the West§ §Division have been kept in good repair up to the present instant.§ §with the exception of two Contracts of Mr. J. Doveton, one near§ §Bevans has not been repaired up to where it joins the High§ §Road near Casons, the other from Rosemaryhall to White Gate has§ §been neglected altogether. A part of the lower Road leading to§ §Town requires a breast Work, the situation is dangerous and it§ §will require a considerable Sum to build it§ §I remain &c.§ §August 9th. 1827.§ §(Sd.) C. Sampson§ §Trustee West division§ §Mr. Janisch, Trustee East Division stated that Mr. Saml.§ §Legg, the Contractor for the Repairs of the Road from Huts Gate§ §to Alarmhill, not having, in Mr. J's. opinion fulfilled the§ §agreement, he had not advanced more than £7. 10 on account§ §of the £20 for which he had undertaken it. -§ §The Meeting taking into consideration the vague manner§ §in which all the Contracts had been worded last year, agreed§ §to pay Mr. Legg the Balance due; but to guard	On 9 August 1827 a vestry met and heard the following letter, dated that day, from C. Sampson, trustee for the western division. Sampson reported that the roads in his division had been kept in good repair up to then, apart from two contracts held by Mr J. Doveton. The road near Bevans had not been repaired as far as the point where it joined the high road near Cousins. The road from Rosemary Hall to White Gate had been neglected altogether. Part of the lower road leading into town also needed a retaining wall. The spot was dangerous, and building the wall would cost a good deal. Mr Janisch, trustee for the eastern division, said that Mr Samuel Legg, the contractor for repairing the road from Hutt's Gate to Alarm Hill, had in his view not kept to his agreement. Janisch had therefore paid him no more than £7 10s 0d of the £20 0s 0d he had contracted for. The meeting noted how vaguely all the previous year's contracts had been worded. It agreed to pay Mr Legg the balance due. To stop the same thing happening again, it would take more care in drawing up contracts. In future a penalty would be attached to failing to complete a contract, and the contract would state clearly how the repairs were to be done. **Interpretations** The vestry paid Legg in full, even though its own trustee judged he had not done the work. Janisch had held back £12 10s 0d of the £20 0s 0d. The vestry admitted that last year's contracts had promised only to keep the roads in "fair repair", without saying what that meant. With no standard written into the agreement, it could not prove Legg had fallen short. It paid him and wrote penalties and clear terms into future contracts. The road contracts had been taken mostly by leading landholders, often for the stretches beside

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		against§ §a similar occurrence by adopting greater caution in§ §the framing of the Contracts; - and resolved that in future§ §a Penalty be attached to the Non-fulfilment of a§ §Contract, and that the manner in which the Repairs are to§ §be performed be properly explained. -§	their own estates. A landholder contractor who neglected his road, as Doveton did with two of his, suffered little from it, and nothing in the contract obliged him to do more. The vestry was learning that private undertakings by gentlemen needed the same written terms and penalties as any hired contractor. Without them, the cost of repairs could be paid out with little work to show for it.
584	575	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Resolved to represent to the Government the exceedingly bad§ §state of the Streets in Town, which the Vestry expected would have§ §been repaired last year. - The Trustee for James Town states to§ §the Meeting that on making applications to Government he was§ §ordered to wait for orders, and that he never received any, in§ §consequence of which the Streets had been wholly neglected -§ §The following Gentlemen were appointed Trustees for the§ §ensuing year. -§ §Mr. Hy. Seale - East Division§ §Capt. Sampson West Division§ §Major Hunter Jamestown§ §Mr. G. W. Alexander South Division§ §Resolved that Trustees be not allowed to [...] become Contractors§ §for the repairs of Roads, & that they make Quarterly Reports§ §to the Vestry Committee on the state of the Roads in their respective§ §Divisions,§ §Resolved also that the Committee shall not enter into any§ §Contracts without consulting the Trustee for that Division, for§ §which a tender is made. -§	The vestry agreed to tell the government how very bad the town's streets were. The vestry had expected them to be repaired the year before. The trustee for Jamestown told the meeting that when he applied to the government, he was told to wait for orders. None had ever come, so the streets had been left entirely untouched. The following gentlemen were appointed trustees for the coming year. Henry Seale, eastern division Captain Sampson, western division Major Hunter, Jamestown G. W. Alexander, southern division The vestry agreed that trustees could not become contractors for road repairs. Trustees would report every quarter to the vestry committee on the state of the roads in their divisions. The committee would not enter into any contract without first consulting the trustee for the division the tender covered. **Interpretations** The vestry barred trustees from taking road contracts. A trustee's job was to inspect the contractors' work and countersign their payment orders. In 1826 the committee had dealt with Janisch's conflict by naming another trustee when he tendered. The rule now made the separation permanent. It also explained the problem with the 1826 contracts. Landholders such as Sampson and Seale had contracted for roads in divisions where they or their relatives were trustees. Inspection by a neighbour or kinsman had let neglect like Doveton's go unchecked. The Jamestown streets had been left untouched because the government never sent the orders it promised. The vestry had raised the danger in April 1827, and the government had set up a joint inspection of the street near Dr Kay's. Under the 1824 arrangement, the government paid half the cost of the streets and kept control of the work. That arrangement left the town trustee powerless. The vestry could raise money for the streets, but it could not spend it without the government's go-ahead.
585	576	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Proceedings of a Vestry Committee Meeting§ §20th. August 1827§ §Several Tenders for the Repairs of different Roads were§ §received and considered, - the following were accepted. -§ §Mr. O. Bagley - from Bates Branch to Thompsons Wood provided he agrees to repair also half of the Short Cut at Bates.§ §£35 pr. year§ §Mr. W. Alexander - from Sandy Bay Ridge to White Gate accepted for 2 years, he having agreed to take it at 1/6 less than if for 1 year, vizt. N.B. he is to take the other half of the above Short Cut.§ §£30 pr. year§ §Do. from Bamboohedge to the Gates at Stitches & Sandy Bay Ridge - also for 2 years, as above -§ §£11 . 5 Do.§ §Mr. J. Bagley - from Lemon Valley head to Fairy Land and Peak Gut for 2 years§ §£7 . 10 Do.§ §Mr. C. Blake From Gordons Post to the top of Barrenhill, near Vaughans - also through Longs for	On 20 August 1827 the vestry committee met. It considered several tenders for repairing different roads and accepted the following. Mr O. Bagley, Bates's Branch to Thompson's Wood, £35 0s 0d a year, provided he also repaired half of the Short Gut at Bates's Mr W. Alexander, Sandy Bay Ridge to White Gate, £30 0s 0d a year, accepted for 2 years at [...] less than for 1 year, and taking the other half of the Short Gut Mr W. Alexander, Bamboo Hedge to the gates at Stitches and Sandy Bay Ridge, for 2 years on the same terms, £11 5s 0d a year Mr J. Bagley, the head of Lemon Valley to Fairy Land and Peak Gut, for 2 years, £7 10s 0d a year Mr C. Blake, Gordon's Post to the top of Barren Hill near [...], £7 10s 0d a year, and through [...] for nothing Mr R. Barker, Hutt's Gate to Rock Rose Hill, £50 0s 0d Mr R. Barker, Rose Hill to Stitches Ridge, £10 0s 0d Poplar Lawrence, Frenches Gut to Swanley Valley, £15 0s 0d

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		nothing§ §£7 . 10 Do.§ §Mr. R. Barker From Huts Gate to Rockrosehill§ §£50§ §Do. From Rose Hill to Stitches Ridge§ §£10§ §Poplar Lawrence From French's Gut to Swanley Valley§ §£15§ §Mr. R. Knipe From Vein Gate to Horsepasture§ §£3§ §Mr. J. Desfountain From Boyce's Over Broad bottom to the Road behind his house§ §£5§ §Mr. J. Leggs Bill £1. 6 - for the repairs of the Road§ §to his house during the last year, was ordered to be paid§ §Agreed to give further Notice respecting the Roads,§ §for which no Tenders have yet been received§	Mr R. Knipe, Vine Gate to Horse Pasture, £3 0s 0d Mr J. De Fountain, from Boyce's over Broad Bottom to the road behind his house, £5 0s 0d The committee ordered Mr J. Legg's bill of £1 6s 0d to be paid for repairing the road to his house the year before. It agreed to give further notice for the roads on which no tenders had yet come in. **Interpretations** Poplar Lawrence was the only contractor on the list who was not a leading landholder. The single descriptive name follows the island's pattern for freed people. He would be the first such man recorded taking a public contract. That was the outcome the surveyor had expected in 1826, and the vestry committee had praised the idea of contract work for free blacks in 1825. The other contracts still went to the planters, usually for the roads beside their own land, as De Fountain's "road behind his house" makes plain. The committee gave two-year contracts at a lower yearly price. A longer term let the contractor spread the cost of proper drainage and resurfacing, as Janisch had argued when he asked for three years. Blake even offered to repair one stretch for nothing, almost certainly the road to his own property. The parish was getting its roads mended cheaply because the contractors were also the main users of those roads. Barker's contract for Hutt's Gate to Rock Rose Hill rose to £50 0s 0d, against the surveyor's estimate of £30 0s 0d for that road in 1826. The trustees had found in August 1827 that the first contracts were too vague and the work poorly done. The prices now being accepted were higher than the surveyor's figures. The cost of the roads would keep the house tax at its raised level.
586	577	G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Secy. to Govt.§ §Sir,§ §We beg to enclose Copy of the Proceedings of the Vestry§ §of 9th. August 1827§ §We take this opportunity of recommending Master Wm. Broadway§ §second Son of Captain Broadway to fill the Vacancy which has occurred§ §in the Foundation, in consequence of Master David Chadwick having§ §left the Hon. Compys. Head School. At the same time, we beg respectfully§ §to remark, in reference to the latter Paragraph of Mr. Depy. Secretary§ §Blake's letter of 19th. April last, where it is stated, that the Honble.§ §Court have ordered "that a preference shall always be given to the§ §"Children of deceased Company's Servants", - that we humbly presume§ §this order is meant to extend to those Vacancies only, which are§ §filled by the Court, as we cannot suppose that a Privilege, which§ §originated in an agreement made with the Parish at large§ §should afterwards be appropriated solely to the benefit of§ §Company's Servants, - and we trust therefore that although§ §in the present instance our Recommendation has fallen upon§ §the Son of a Company's Servant, yet this will not militate§ §against, what we conceive to be, the Rights of the Parish§	On 20 August 1827 the churchwardens, G. W. Alexander senior and G. W. Janisch junior, wrote to G. Blenkins, secretary to the government. They enclosed a copy of the proceedings of the vestry held on 9 August 1827. They took the chance to recommend Master William Broadway, second son of Captain Broadway, for the place on the foundation left empty when Master David Chadwick left the Company's head school. They also commented on the last paragraph of the deputy secretary's letter of 19 April 1827. That paragraph said the Court of Directors had ordered that preference should always be given to the children of deceased Company servants. The churchwardens assumed this order applied only to the places the Court paid for. They could not believe that a right which began as an agreement with the whole parish was later meant to benefit Company servants alone. Their recommendation this time happened to be the son of a Company servant. The churchwardens trusted that this would not weaken what they regarded as the rights of the parish as a whole. In future, they argued, the children of all respectable parishioners alike, if otherwise suitable, should be entitled to places on the foundation. **Interpretations** The churchwardens used their nomination to claim the right they had let lapse. The vestry had asked in April 1827 how the parish's free school places had come to be neglected. The government's reply showed that the Board had filled the empty places, giving preference to the children of deceased Company servants. The churchwardens now drew a line between the four places the Company funded and those that came from the old agreement with the parish. Their own nominee was a Company servant's son, which made the letter look like a test case, not a dispute. Even so, they put on record their view that

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		§at large, but that in future all Children of respectable§ §Parishioners indiscriminately, provided they be otherwise fit§ §objects, are entitled to be placed upon the foundation§ §We have the honor to be &c.§ §St. Helena§ §20th. August 1827§ §(Sd.) G. W. Alexander Senr. Chwn.§ §(Sd.) G. W. Janisch Junr. Do.§	the parish's places belonged to all its respectable families. If the Court's preference had spread to every foundation place, the parish's right would have become a Company benefit. The churchwardens claimed the places for "respectable parishioners". The vestry had just accepted the government's rule that only householders with houses worth £300 0s 0d or more could vote. The free school places were in the same way meant for the respectable families of the island, not for the children of freed people or the poor. The parish was defending its right against the Company, but only on behalf of its own leading households.
587	578	Proceedings of a Meeting of the Vestry Committee.§ §27th. August 1827§ §The Committee met to consider such Tenders for the Repairs of Roads as had been§ §received since the 20th. inst., - the following were accepted§ §Mr. A. Isaac from Lemon Tree Gut to the White Gate at Plantation House§ §£8§ §Major Seale from Huts Gate to Stitches Ridge -§ §16§ §Do. from Casons Gate to the Rear of Rosemaryhall§ §10§ §Do. from Blands bridge over Francis Plain to Redhill§ §20§ §Mr. A. Beale from Rosemaryhall to the Drawbridge§ §70§ §N.B. Mr. Beale promised to keep a correct account§ §of the expence he may incur, and, should the same not§ §appear amount to £70 he will return the surplus.§ §It was resolved, that every Contractor should sign a Paper§ §to the following effect. -§ §"I, the undersigned _____, having undertaken to repair§ §the Road from _____ to _____ during the ensuing§ §__ Months for the sum of £__ agree to do the same upon§ §the following terms.§ §1. to make the road of a proper Width§ §2. to give the Road such a Slope, as will prevent any Water§ §from lodging on it, and where it may be necessary to carry§ §off the Water from the Inside of the Road, to do it§ §by making Drains at proper distances§ §3. to put on the best Materials for Road Making which may§ §be procurable within a distance of fifty yards from the§ §spot where the Repairs may be going on.§ §4. to keep the Road in good repair as well in wet as in§ §dry weather.§	On 27 August 1827 the vestry committee met to consider the tenders for road repairs received since 20 August 1827. It accepted the following. Mr A. Isaac, Lemon Tree Gut to the White Gate at Plantation House, £8 0s 0d Major Seale, Hutt's Gate to Stitches Ridge, £16 0s 0d Major Seale, Cousins Gate to the back of Rosemary Hall, £10 0s 0d Major Seale, Bland's Bridge over Francis Plain to Red Hill, £20 0s 0d Mr A. Beale, Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, £70 0s 0d Mr Beale promised to keep an exact account of what he spent. If it came to less than £70 0s 0d, he would return the difference. The committee agreed that every contractor would sign a form of agreement. In it the contractor named the road he had undertaken to repair, the number of months and the sum agreed. He then bound himself to the following terms. 1: He would make the road a proper width. 2: He would give the road enough slope to stop water lying on it, and where needed he would carry off the water from the inner side of the road with drains at proper intervals. 3: He would lay the best road-making materials to be found within 50 yards of where the repairs were being done. 4: He would keep the road in good repair in wet weather as well as dry. **Interpretations** The committee replaced last year's vague promise of "fair repair" with a written standard. The trustees had complained on 9 August 1827 that Legg and Doveton could not be held to account because their contracts said so little. The new form set out width, camber, drainage, materials and upkeep in all weather. A trustee could now judge a contractor against stated terms and withhold payment with good reason. The requirement to keep the road sound in wet weather dealt with St Helena's main problem, rain washing out roads cut into steep hillsides. Anthony Beale promised to return any part of the £70 0s 0d he did not spend. That made his contract work like a cost-plus arrangement rather than a fixed price, since he would keep no profit. The road from Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge was among the most expensive, priced at 2½d a yard in Janisch's tender. Beale was a former churchwarden, and he treated the contract as a public duty more than a business. The committee cut the distance for gathering materials from the surveyor's 800 yards to 50. Carrying stone up and down steep slopes was slow and expensive, and contractors had probably used poor material close at hand. Requiring the best stone within 50 yards kept costs down without allowing a contractor to plead that good material was too far away.

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588	579	5 - for the due and full performance of the above agreement I§ §bind myself in the Penal Sum of £ to be recovered from§ §me according to Law, in the event of failure on my part. -§ §Agreed that the Penalty be one half of the Amount of the§ §Contract. -§ §Agreed to give Jack Pancake, who has applied for§ §Parochial Relief, the Sum of fifteen Shillings.§ §G. W. Alexander and G. W. Janisch Esqrs.§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen,§ §In reply to the first part of your Letter of the§ §23rd. Inst. I am directed to inform you that Master David Chadwick§ §is still continued as a foundation Scholar at the Head School§ §In regard to the second part of your letter, the Board§ §have to observe that it has not been in contemplation to deviate§ §from any of the established principles on which the School is conducted§ §My letter of 19th. April states that "the four Children for whom the§ §"Company are to pay will always be nominated by the Governor§ §"and Council" - of course implying that the other four are to be§ §nominated conformably to original custom. - But if the Vestry§ §neglect to make the nominations to which they are entitled§ §it can not be supposed that the Governor & Council will suffer§ §vacancies to remain unfilled. -§ §In reply to the representation upon the subject§ §of the state of the Street, I am directed to call to the notice§ §of the Vestry a resolution of the Board communicated to you§ §under date 19th. April 1827 of which the following is a copy. -§ §"The Vestry Committee to appoint two persons to meet§ §"the Surveyor and Superintendant of Public Works for the purpose§ §of§	5: To ensure the agreement was carried out fully and properly, the contractor bound himself in a penalty, the sum to be filled in. It could be recovered from him by law if he failed to perform. The committee agreed that the penalty would be half the yearly sum of the contract. It also agreed to give 15s to Jack Pancake, who had applied for parish relief. The government then wrote to the churchwardens, G. W. Alexander and G. W. Janisch. On the first part of their letter of the 23rd of the month, it told them that Master David Chadwick was still a foundation scholar at the head school. On the second part, the Board said it had never intended to depart from any of the principles on which the school was run. Its letter of 19 April 1827 had stated that the four children the Company paid for would always be named by the Governor and Council. That plainly meant the other four would be named in the customary way. If the vestry failed to make the nominations it was entitled to, however, the Governor and Council could not be expected to leave places empty. On the vestry's complaint about the state of the streets, the government drew the vestry's attention to the Board's resolution of 19 April 1827, which it had already sent. The resolution read that the vestry committee was to appoint two people to meet the surveyor and the superintendent of public works for the purpose [...]. **Interpretations** The penalty was set at half the contract's yearly value. A contractor who neglected his road would lose more than he had saved by skimping. The vestry had paid Legg in full in August 1827 because there was no penalty and no clear standard. The new form put both in writing and made them enforceable at law. Gentlemen contractors would now face the same legal liability as any hired workman. The government confirmed the parish's right to four of the eight foundation places. The churchwardens had feared that the Court's preference for Company servants' children would swallow the whole foundation. The Board stated that the Company's four places were its own and the other four followed old custom. It added a warning. If the parish did not nominate, the government would. The right depended on the churchwardens using it. Since David Chadwick had not in fact left, there was no vacancy for William Broadway yet. The government answered the complaint about the streets by pointing out that the vestry had not acted on its April resolution. It had asked the committee to name two men to meet the surveyor about the street near Dr Kay's, and the committee had chosen Solomon and Adamson in June 1827. The vestry had blamed the government for ignoring the trustee. The government replied that the next step lay with the vestry's own nominees.
589	580	"of ascertaining and reporting on the most judicious means for§ §"remedying the defects in the Street near Dr. Kay's house." -§ §This Committee may also report upon the most§ §convenient and effectual plan for the repair and improvement of§ §the Streets in general. -§ §I am, Gentlemen§ §&c.§ §St. Helena§ §27th. August 1827§ §(Sd.) Chs. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§ §To Geo. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Secy. to Govt.§	The resolution continued: the two appointees were to find and report on the best way to put right the faults in the street near Dr Kay's house. The committee could also report on the most convenient and effective plan for repairing and improving the streets in general. Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, signed the letter at St Helena on 27 August 1827. On 29 August 1827 the churchwardens, G. W. Alexander and G. W. Janisch, wrote to George Blenkins, secretary to the government. They enclosed extracts from the proceedings of the vestry committee meetings of 20 and 27 August 1827 for the Governor and Council. A note recorded that the extracts listed the tenders accepted on those two days and the agreement each contractor was to sign.

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		§Sir,§ §We do ourselves the honor to enclose for the information§ §of the Honble. the Governor & Council, *Extracts from the Proceedings*§ §*of Vestry Committee Meetings of 20th. & 27th. August. -*§ §*We remain, Sir*§ §*&c.*§ §*St. Helena*§ §*29th. August 1827*§ §*(Sd.) G. W. Alexander*§ §*G. W. Janisch*§ §*Churchwardens*§ § These Extracts consisted of the different Tenders which had been§ §accepted on the above 2 days, and the Agreement to be signed by each Contractor§ §Copy of the Boards Resolution dated§ §3rd. September 1827§ §The Board upon taking into consideration the Proceedings§ §of the Vestry Committee on the subject of the High-ways, cannot§ §help observing that some of the tenders appear high.§ §For the road between Rosemary Hall, and the Drawbrige £70.§ §last year it was £15.§ §For that between Huts Gate, and Rock Rose £50 - last year it§ §was only £35§ §From Bates Branch, to Thompson's Wood £35 - last year £30§ §In reference to the road between Rosemary Hall, and the§ §Draw bridge the Board are desirous of receiving some explanations§ §on the present tender, before they can confirm by their sanction,§	The Board's resolution of 3 September 1827 recorded its view of the committee's proceedings on the highways. The Board could not help noticing that some of the tenders seemed high. Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, this year, £70 0s 0d Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, last year, £15 0s 0d Hutt's Gate to Rock Rose Hill, this year, £50 0s 0d Hutt's Gate to Rock Rose Hill, last year, £35 0s 0d Bates's Branch to Thompson's Wood, this year, £35 0s 0d Bates's Branch to Thompson's Wood, last year, £30 0s 0d On the road from Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, the Board wanted an explanation of the tender before it would give its approval. **Interpretations** The government compared the new tenders with the previous year's and found steep increases. The road from Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge had risen from £15 0s 0d to £70 0s 0d, nearly five times as much. That was Anthony Beale's tender, with his promise to return any money he did not spend. The vestry had insisted on the new written standard of width, slope, drainage and the best materials. Holding contractors to real work naturally cost more than the vague "fair repair" of 1826. The government, which had to approve every contract, wanted to know whether the higher price bought better work or simply a larger payment. The earlier comment that Barker's £50 0s 0d compared with the surveyor's £30 0s 0d needs a correction. The government's figure for the previous year's contract on that road was £35 0s 0d. The rise was smaller than it first appeared, but it still added £15 0s 0d a year to the parish's road costs.
590	581	a high charge upon the public, for an object which may possibly be§ §merely for a partial convenience to a few Individuals. It is pretty§ §clear, moreover, that the roads in general require less repair, than§ §they did last year as is evident from several being undertaken at§ §a much less sum.§ §True Copy§ §(Signed) "Chas. Blake"§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt.§ §Proceedings of a Vestry Committee§ §meeting 10th. September 1827§ §Mr. Blake's letter of 27th. August being read, it was agreed§ §to request Major Hunter, the present Trustee for Jamestown and§ §Mr. Adamson to meet the two gentlemen appointed by Government§ §to report upon the state of the streets.§ §The Boards Resolution of 3rd. September 1827 being next§ §considered the Committee have to remark that with regard to the§ §road from Rosemaryhall to the Drawbridge little or nothing was done§ §to it last year, and of course but little expence incurred. The consequence§ §of this neglect last year naturally falls upon the necessary expenditure of this§ §year and as it is desired to put it in thorough repair, not for the partial§ §convenience of a few individuals which the Government suppose possible§ §but for the benefit of the Public in general, it being a	The Board thought £70 0s 0d too heavy a charge on the public for work that might serve only the convenience of a few people. It also judged that the roads generally needed less repair than the year before, since several had been taken on for much smaller sums. Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, certified the copy. On 10 September 1827 the vestry committee met. After reading Mr Blake's letter of 27 August 1827, it agreed to ask Major Hunter, the current trustee for Jamestown, and Mr Adamson to meet the two gentlemen appointed by the government and report on the state of the streets. The committee then considered the Board's resolution of 3 September 1827. It pointed out that little or nothing had been done to the road from Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge the year before, so little had been spent on it. The cost of that neglect now fell naturally on this year's necessary spending. The road was dangerous, and the committee wanted it put into thorough repair. This was not for the convenience of a few individuals, as the government supposed, but for the good of the public in general. The road was used by the public as much as any on the island. People to whom it might be more convenient than to others had recently stopped using it only because it was in such bad condition. With the aim of improving the road, the committee still judged that Mr Beale's tender was not too high. Mr Beale had always shown great honesty and thrift in spending parish funds. The committee was fully convinced he would carry out his contract to the public's complete satisfaction, as he always did. **Interpretations** The committee explained the jump from £15 0s 0d to £70 0s 0d as the price of the previous year's

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		road as much§ §used by the Public as almost any in the Island, and its late disuse§ §by those to whom it might be of more convenience than to§ §others has been owing to its very bad state.§ §With the view of improving it the Committee are still of§ §opinion that Mr. Beale's tender is not too high, and as Mr. Beale has§ §on all occasions displayed so much integrity and economy in§ §the expenditure of the Parochial Funds they are fully convinced,§ §he will discharge his contract to the entire satisfaction of the Public§ §as usual.§	neglect. The £15 contract of 1826 had bought little or no work. Beale's tender covered the deferred repairs and brought the road up to the new written standard. The government had compared the two figures as if both bought the same thing. The committee's answer was that the lower figure had bought almost nothing, so the parish had paid £15 for a road that grew worse. The committee rested its defence of the price partly on Beale's personal character. He was a former churchwarden who had advanced his own money to the parish and promised to return any surplus on this contract. The vestry's new written agreements were meant to replace trust in gentlemen with enforceable terms. Here the committee fell back on trust in one gentleman's honesty to justify a price the government doubted.
591	582	G. W. Janisch Esqr.§ §Junr. Church Warden§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council, to§ §acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, enclosing extracts§ §from the proceedings of the Vestry Committee, and to acquaint you,§ §that they have appointed Mr. Chas. Blake and Lieut. Pritchard to§ §meet the Gentlemen, appointed by the Committee, on the subject§ §of the Streets.§ §The Board wish to be informed whether the sum§ §required for the Road between the Draw bridge and Rosemaryhall§ §is merely for necessary repairs, or whether it bears any new§ §improvements or additional work§ §I am§ §Sir§ §St. Helena§ §18th. Sept. 1827§ §your obedient Servant§ §(Signed) "G. Blenkins"§ §Secy. to Govt.§ §G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §&c. &c. &c.§ §Sir§ §We have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the§ §18th. Inst. and in answer beg to remark for the information of the§ §Honble. the Governor and Council that Mr. Beale having agreed to§ §make the present Road between Rosemaryhall and the Drawbridge§ §a good road, the Vestry Committee conceive that he will be necessarily§ §obliged to do more than making merely necessary Repairs.§ §Having however communicated to him the Honble. Boards§ §Resolution of 3rd. September he addressed a letter to the Committee§ §which we now take the liberty to enclose§ §We have the honor§ §to be§ §Sir§ §St. Helena§ §24th. Sept. 1827§ §Your obedient Servants§ §(Signed) G. W. Alexander§ §G. W. Janisch§	On 13 September 1827 G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, wrote to G. W. Janisch, junior churchwarden. The Governor and Council acknowledged his letter of that date, which enclosed extracts from the vestry committee's proceedings. They had appointed Mr Charles Blake and Lieutenant Pritchard to meet the committee's appointees about the streets. The Board also wanted to know whether the money asked for the road between the Drawbridge and Rosemary Hall was only for necessary repairs, or whether it included new improvements or extra work. On 24 September 1827 the churchwardens, G. W. Alexander and G. W. Janisch, replied to Blenkins. Mr Beale had agreed to make the road between Rosemary Hall and the Drawbridge a good road. The vestry committee therefore thought he would have to do more than the bare necessary repairs. The churchwardens had passed the Board's resolution of 3 September 1827 to Mr Beale, and he had sent the committee a letter in reply, which they enclosed. **Interpretations** The government's question went to the heart of the dispute. Necessary repairs were the parish's duty under the proclamation of 14 November 1825. New improvements, such as widening or rebuilding, went beyond it. The surveyor had said in 1826 that widening the main roads would need the full cost of Janisch's tender, a separate decision from keeping them safe. If Beale's £70 0s 0d paid for improvement, the government could argue that the parish was paying for something the inhabitants had not been asked to fund. The churchwardens admitted that Beale would do more than the bare minimum. That conceded the government's point while defending the work as worthwhile. Charles Blake, who had signed the government's doubts about the tender, was also one of the two men the government named to inspect the streets. The same few officials checked one another's work.
592	583	Mr. Beale's letter referred to in the foregoing.§ §Gentlemen,§ §In reference to the resolution of the Governor and	Mr Beale's letter, dated 10 September 1827, answered the Governor and Council's resolution, which had asked for an explanation of his tender for

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		Council upon§ §the subject of my tender for repairs of a certain part of the Public Roads§ §wherein some explanations on the said tender are required, I have§ §merely to request you will be pleased to explain that in voluntarily§ §stepping forward for the public good I had provided in my tender§ §against any benefit which might have been considered would accrue§ §to myself§ §10th. Sept. 1827§ §I have the honor§ §to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your obedient Servant§ §(Signed) "A. Beale"§ §To§ §Messrs. G. W. Janisch, and G. W. Alexander§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §In reference to your communication on the subject§ §of the Road, from Rosemaryhall, to the Draw bridge, to the repair of§ §which, so large a sum as £70, is proposed to be applied; I am directed§ §by the Governor and Council, to recommend to your attention, the 6th.§ §Clause of the proclamation of the 14th. November 1825, which points§ §out the steps necessary to be first taken, in cases coming under the§ §description mentioned in your letter§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §St. Helena§ §27th. Sept. 1827§ §Your obedient Servant§ §"Chas. Blake§ §Depy. Secy. to Govt."§	repairing part of the public roads. Beale asked the committee simply to explain that he had come forward for the public good of his own accord. In his tender he had guarded against any gain that might have been thought to come to him. A. Beale signed the letter. On 27 September 1827 Charles Blake, deputy secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, G. W. Janisch and G. W. Alexander, about the road from Rosemary Hall to the Drawbridge, on whose repair so large a sum as £70 0s 0d was to be spent. The Governor and Council drew their attention to clause 6 of the proclamation of 14 November 1825. That clause set out the steps that had to be taken first in any case of the kind described in the churchwardens' letter. **Interpretations** The government did not reject Beale's tender outright. It pointed to clause 6 of the proclamation, which required the trustees and the surveyor to decide what repairs were needed, advertise the work and hold a meeting of all district trustees with the county treasurer before any contract was approved. The meeting was meant to stop money being spent unfairly on one part of the island at the expense of the others. A tender of £70 0s 0d, nearly five times the previous year's sum and covering more than repairs, was exactly the kind of spending the clause had in view. The government had no need to judge Beale's honesty. It sent the contract back through the procedure the vestry itself had agreed in 1825. Beale's reply relied on his good faith and offered no figures. He had promised to return any unspent money, which he repeated here in other words. The government's answer showed the limits of that approach. A gentleman's word that he sought no profit could not take the place of the inspection, advertisement and shared approval the new road law required.
593	584	At a Meeting of Vestry Committee held§ §26th. November 1827§ §Ann Edwards a Pauper, 59 Years of age applied for Relief.§ §She being afflicted with Elephantiasis and totally unable§ §to earn her Livelyhood it was agreed to grant her at the rate of 20/ Per§ §Month.§ §Thos. Smith applied for temporary Relief for his 5 Children§ §the youngest of which totally blind; he having broken his Leg which prevents§ §him from supporting them for the present - agreed to give him 28 lbs. Meat§ §32 lbs. Rice, 4 lbs. Sugar and 1 lb. Tea Per Week until he may be able to work§ §again.§ §Diana Richards applied for assistance for 2 Orphan Children§ §Sophia Robinson aged 6 Years and Mary Robinson aged 4 Years which she has§ §supported since her Sisters death 4 Years, but which she finds herself unable§ §from doing at present. Agreed to allow her 20/ per Month being at the rate§ §of 10/ for each Child.§ §The Trustees having reported that Mr. A. Beale had not yet Paid§ §his Taxes and that he had something to state to the Committee, he was§ §accordingly requested to appear before them§ §At a Meeting of Vestry Comittee held§ §31st. December 1827§	On 26 November 1827 the vestry committee met. Ann Edwards, a pauper aged 59, applied for relief. She suffered from elephantiasis and could not earn her living at all. The committee agreed to grant her 20s a month. Thomas Smith applied for temporary relief for his five children, the youngest of whom was completely blind. He had broken his leg, which for the time being stopped him from supporting them. The committee agreed to give him [...] lb of meat, 32 lb of rice, 4 lb of sugar and 1 lb of tea a week until he could work again. A note in the margin recorded that this relief ended on 31 December 1827. Diana Richards asked for help with two orphans, Sophia Robinson, aged 6, and Mary Robinson, aged 4. She had supported them since their mother, her sister, had died four years earlier. She now found she could not afford to keep them. The committee agreed to allow her 20s a month, at 10s for each child. The trustees reported that Mr A. Beale had not yet paid his taxes and had something to tell the committee. He was asked to appear before it. On 31 December 1827 the vestry committee met. It read a letter from Mrs Gunnell asking for relief because of her distress. The committee agreed to reply that it did not feel entitled to grant relief to anyone who did not apply in person. It asked her to name a day when she could attend. **Interpretations** Elephantiasis was a tropical disease, spread by mosquitoes, that caused massive swelling of the legs and other parts of the body. Sufferers became crippled and could not work. It was well known

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		§A Letter from Mrs. Gunnel was laid before the Committee§ §praying for Relief, on account of her distressed Circumstances§ §Resolved to address a letter in answer informing her that the§ §Committee do not feel themselves authorized to grant Relief to any Individual§ §unless applied for personally; and desiring her to fix upon a day when§ §she may be able to attend accordingly.§ **Margin Notes:** §Mem. This Allowance ceased on the 31st. Decr. 1827§	among the island's black and poorer inhabitants, and in 1827 it had no cure. Ann Edwards had paid the poll tax on 4 persons in 1821, so she had once kept a household. Her illness had reduced her to a pauper. The committee's allowance of 20s a month was a lifetime grant to someone who would never be able to support herself again. The committee relieved Thomas Smith in food, not money: meat, rice, sugar and tea by the week. Rice was the cheap staple shipped to the island from India and the Cape. Giving relief in kind ensured it fed the children and could not be spent on drink. It also stopped once Smith could work again, as the margin note shows it did after five weeks. The committee would not relieve Mrs Gunnell on the strength of a letter. Since 1822 it had examined applicants face to face, as with Clara Roberts, whose interview revealed a claim on an estate. A personal hearing let the committee test a claim of distress and find out any means the applicant had not mentioned. A householder's wife who wrote rather than appeared was told the rule applied to her as well. Anthony Beale, whose £70 0s 0d road contract the government had questioned, had not paid his own taxes. The man whose honesty the committee had praised was in arrears to the parish. He was called before the committee to explain, as any defaulter would be.
594	585	At a Meeting of Vestry Committee held§ §1st. February 1828§ §Mary Ann Thomas, alias Nanny Hercules an old Woman supposed§ §to be about 55 Years of age applied for Relief, stating herself unable to§ §earn her living in consequence of ill Health and general Weakness.§ §The Committee finding on inquiry that the above statement is§ §correct agree to allow her at the rate of 6d. per day for the present; to§ §begin from the 15th. January the day of her first application§	On 1 February 1828 the vestry committee met. Mary Ann Thomas, also known as Nanny Hercules, an old woman thought to be about 55, applied for relief. She said ill health and general weakness left her unable to earn her living. The committee looked into her case and found her account to be true. It agreed to allow her 6d a day for the time being, backdated to 15 January 1828, the day she first applied. **Interpretations** Mary Ann Thomas was also known as Nanny Hercules, and her age could only be guessed. A classical name such as Hercules was typical of the names owners gave slaves, and "Nanny" was a common slave name for a woman. She had probably been born a slave and taken a new name on gaining her freedom. No record of her birth was available to the committee, which is why her age was "supposed". The freedom granted to her in earlier years now left her old and infirm with no owner to support her. That was the outcome the vestry had feared each time an owner sought to free a slave without the bond. The committee granted her only 6d a day, the rate it had paid Martha Seville in her last weeks and half Caesar's allowance. It also backdated the payment to the day she applied. Making relief run from the date of application meant the time the committee took to investigate did not count against the applicant.
595	586	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Dr. Parish in account current§ §1828§ §April To paid Clerk Fish Market Salary from 1st. March 1827 to 31 March 1828. 13 Months§ §35 . 15§ §Organists Salary from 1 July 1827 to 31st. March 1827 2 Months at £25§ §4 . 3 . 4§ §Mr. Deare, Organist Salary at £50 per Annum, to 31 March 1828§ §50 . 19 . 3§ §Clerk Country Church Salary from 1 Jany. 1827 to 31 March 1828§ §37 . 10§	The parish account for the year to April 1828 recorded the following spending. April 1828, clerk of the fish market, salary for 13 months from 1 March 1827 to 31 March 1828, £35 15s 0d April 1828, organist's salary for 2 months from 1 February 1827 to 31 March 1827 at £25 a year, £4 3s 4d April 1828, Mr Deare, organist's salary at £50 a year to 31 March 1828, £50 19s 2d April 1828, clerk of the country church, salary from 1 January 1827 to 31 March 1828, £37 10s 0d April 1828, clerk of the country church for laundering the surplices for 1 year, £3 0s 0d April 1828, Mrs Stewart's allowance from 1 March to 15 April 1827, £2 17s 6d

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		§Do. Washing Surplices one Year§ §3§ §Mrs. Stewart allowance from 1 March to 15 April 1827§ §2 . 17 . 6§ §Chambers for allowance to Fanny from 1 Apl. 1827 to 31 March 1828 12 Months at 20/ per Month§ §12§ §Mrs. Wheatly for allowance to Drays Children from 1 Apl. 1827 to 31 March 1828 12 Months at [...] per Month§ §18 . 5§ §Allowance to Emily James for her Sisters Children from 1 Apl. 1827 to 31st. March 1828 - 12 Months at 22/6§ §13 . 10§ §Ann Edwards allowance being 32/ for Octr. & Novr. & 20/ per Month since to 31 March 1828§ §6 . 12§ §Diana Richards allowance for two Children of Robinson from 1 Novr. 1827 to 31 March 1828 at 20/ per Month§ §5 . 8§ §Ann Hercules allowance from 15 Jany. to 31 March 1828 at 6d. per diem§ §2 . 13§ §for Provisions for Smiths Children during the time he was in the Hospital 5 Weeks§ §3 . 3 . 4§ §Temporary Relief to Jack Pancake§ §15§ §Gaolers Bill§ §19 . 6§ §Maj. Seale amount awarded by Grand Jury for Slave executed§ §18 . 5§ §for Country Church§ §11 Gal. Oil§ §1 Cwt. White Lead§ §1 Paint Brush§ §5 . 8 . 11§ §Painting Roof &c.§ §1 . 14 . 0§ §Repairs & work in Churchyard§ §1 . 8 . 0§ §8 . 10§ §Bailey for Paint & painting Church Yard§ §7 . 6§ §for Thomas Sam 101 days subsistence at Hospital§ §3 . 15 . 9§ §John Calais temporary Relief§ §9§ §Carrd. over£§ §229 . 8 . 2§	April 1828, Chambers's allowance for Fanny, 12 months from 1 April 1827 to 31 March 1828 at 20s a month, £12 0s 0d April 1828, Mrs Wheatley's allowance for Dray's children, 12 months from 1 April 1827 to 31 March 1828 at 30s a month, £18 5s 0d April 1828, Emily James's allowance for her sister's children, 12 months from 1 April 1827 to 31 March 1828 at 22s 6d a month, £13 10s 0d April 1828, Ann Edwards's allowance, 32s for October and November and 20s a month since then to 31 March 1828, £6 12s 0d April 1828, Diana Richards's allowance for the two Robinson children from 1 November 1827 to 31 March 1828 at 20s a month, £5 8s 0d April 1828, Ann Hercules's allowance from 15 January to 31 March 1828 at 6d a day, £2 13s 0d April 1828, food for Smith's children for 5 weeks while he was in hospital, £3 3s 4d April 1828, temporary relief to Jack Pancake, £0 15s 0d April 1828, gaoler's bill, £0 19s 6d April 1828, Major Seale, sum awarded by the grand jury for an executed slave, £18 5s 0d April 1828, country church, 11 gallons of oil, 1 hundredweight of white lead and 1 paint brush, £5 8s 11d April 1828, country church, painting the roof and other work, £1 14s 0d April 1828, country church, repairs to the churchyard wall, £1 8s 0d April 1828, country church in all, £8 10s 0d April 1828, Bailey for paint and painting the church [...], £0 7s 6d April 1828, Thomas Sam, costs of 101 days in hospital, £3 15s 9d April 1828, John Calais, temporary relief, £0 9s 0d Carried over, £229 8s 9d **Interpretations** The organist's rise to £50 0s 0d a year, proposed in April 1827, had taken effect. Mr Deare was paid at the new rate, after the old organist had been paid at £25 0s 0d up to March 1827. Together the two entries came to more than £55, the largest single item after the clerks. The parish could afford it only because the government had raised its own contribution, as the committee had made clear when proposing the increase. The parish now paid hospital costs for its paupers. Thomas Sam's 101 days and the food for Smith's children while their father was in hospital show the parish paying for sickness among the poor, where before it had relieved only age and orphanhood. Thomas Sam's name follows the pattern of a freed slave. The vestry had warned in 1821 that abolition would require a hospital as freed people lost their owners' care. The parish was now paying for that care directly. Major Seale received £18 5s 0d for an executed slave, at the grand jury's valuation. Compensation to owners for slaves put to death by the courts was still a regular parish charge in 1828. It continued under the new house tax just as it had under the poll tax. Ratepayers who owned no slaves, including the freed people who now paid the house tax, helped compensate slaveholders for slaves the courts had executed.
596	587	[Staining around the edges of the page.] with G. W. Alexander, Churchwarden Cr.§ §1827§ §By Balance received from Capt. F. Seale late Churchwarden§ §1 . 19 . 6§ §Received of Tax Collectors§	The credit side of the parish account with G. W. Alexander, churchwarden, recorded the following receipts. 1827, balance received from Captain F. Seale, former churchwarden, £1 19s 6d From the tax collectors, tax on 23 horses for hire, £46 0s 0d

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		§for 23 Hack Horses§ §46 . 0 . 0§ §on account of House Tax§ §233 . 6 . 8§ §279 . 6 . 8§ §Received from Police Office in part of Dog Tax for 1827§ §30 . 18 . 8§ §Carrd. over£§ §312 . 4 . 10§	From the tax collectors, towards the house tax, £233 6s 8d From the tax collectors in all, £279 6s 8d From the police office, part of the dog tax for 1827, £30 18s 8d Carried over, £312 4s 10d **Interpretations** The number of horses for hire taxed rose from 18 to 23, and the tax on them from £36 0s 0d to £46 0s 0d. The government had expected in 1825 that a light tax on hired horses and carriages would let that trade grow. Five more horses kept for hire in a year points to more demand for transport. Visiting passengers and residents travelling between Jamestown and the country used them. The house tax brought in almost the same as the year before, £233 6s 8d against £233 1s 3d, which shows the valuation and collection were now steady.
597	588	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Dr. Parish in acc. Current with G. W. Alexander§ §Brot. over§ §229 . 8 . 2§ §To paid for the Funeral of Rippon§ §1 . 10§ §Interment Bills of J. Scott, J. Gentry and E. Rippon§ §2 . 5§ §Dring for posting Slave Notices§ §13 . 6§ §E. Fowler for making up the Books &c.§ §3 . 3§ §for Paper & pens§ §12 . 6§ §Cauless for temporary relief§ §4 . 6§ §238 . 1 . 8§ §Balance in hand§ §74 . 3 . 2§ §£312 . 4 . 10§ §St. Helena 7th. April 1828§ §I do hereby acknowledge§ §to have received from G. W. Alexander Esqr.§ §Church Warden the above balance of Seventy four§ §pounds three Shillings and two pence together§ §with the Parish Books & Church plate§ §G. W. Janisch§	The parish account with G. W. Alexander continued with the following spending. Brought over, £229 8s 2d Funeral of Rippon, £1 10s 0d Burial bills of J. Scott, J. Gentry and E. Rippon, £2 5s 0d Dring for posting notices about slaves, £0 13s 6d E. Fowler for writing up the books and other work, £3 3s 0d Paper and pens, £0 12s 6d Caulis for temporary relief, £0 4s 6d Spending in all, £238 1s 8d Balance in hand, £74 3s 2d Total, £312 4s 10d The sum brought over here is £229 8s 2d, against £229 8s 9d carried over at the foot of the previous page. On 7 April 1828 G. W. Janisch signed a receipt for the balance of £74 3s 2d from G. W. Alexander, churchwarden, together with the parish books and church plate. **Interpretations** The year closed with £74 3s 2d in hand, against £1 19s 6d the year before. The house tax at its raised rate and a larger yield from the horses for hire had put the parish back in credit, even after paying the organist at the higher rate and several new allowances. Two years after the change from the poll tax, the system based on property was paying for the parish's needs and leaving a reserve. Dring was paid for posting notices about slaves. The parish still paid to publish notices concerning slaves, probably about sales, runaways or the registration of slaves and free blacks. Slavery remained part of the parish's ordinary business, even though no parish tax now counted slaves.
598	589	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Churchwarden in continuation Cr.§ §Brot. over§ §312 . 4 . 10§ §£312 . 4 . 10§	On the credit side of the churchwarden's account, the clerk brought forward the earlier receipts and entered no new ones. Brought over, £312 4s 10d Total, £312 4s 10d
599	590	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Proceedings of a Vestry Committee Meeting§ §7th. April 1828§ §The Parish and County Accounts were laid before the§ §Committee, and examined§ §The following were appointed to serve, as Constables§ §H. Y. Seale Junr.§ §J. Sherrard§ §Resolved to submit to the Vestry that Mr. W. Fowler§ §& Mr. B. Solomon be appointed Collectors for the ensuing year. -§ §Proceedings of a Vestry Meeting§	On 7 April 1828 the vestry committee met and examined the parish and county accounts. It appointed H. F. Seale junior and J. Sherrard as constables. It agreed to recommend to the vestry that Mr W. Fowler and Mr B. Solomon be appointed collectors for the coming year. The vestry met the same day and heard the parish and county accounts read. It approved the appointment of Mr Fowler and Mr B. Solomon as collectors. It then elected Captain Thorn as churchwarden. Mr Carroll, Mr Lambe, Mr Gideon and Mr J. Young were appointed to the parish committee. The committee for 1828 was therefore as follows.

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		§7th. April 1828§ §The Accounts Current of the Parish & County were§ §read to the Meeting. -§ §The appointment of Messrs. Fowler & B. Solomon§ §as Collectors was approved of. -§ §The Vestry proceeded to the election of Churchwarden§ §when Capt. Thorn was duly elected. -§ §The following were appointed Members of the§ §Parish Committee§ §Mr. Carrol§ §Mr. Lambe§ §Mr. Gideon§ §Mr. J. Young§ §The Committee for 1828 will therefore be, as follows§ §Mr. J. Bagley§ §Col. Hodson§ §Mr. Darling§ §Mr. Carrol§ §Mr. Lambe§ §Mr. Gideon§ §Mr. J. Young§	J. Bagley Colonel Hodson Mr Darling Mr Carroll Mr Lambe Mr Gideon Mr J. Young **Interpretations** Captain Thorn was "duly elected" churchwarden by the vestry. The vestry had abolished the churchwardens' rota in March 1826 and voted to elect churchwardens each year. Thorn had owned a country house valued at £300 0s 0d in the 1825 valuation, exactly the level the government set in April 1827 for the right to vote. He stood at the bottom edge of the qualified class. Choosing him by election, not by turn, gave the ratepayers, now limited to owners of houses worth £300 or more, a say in who handled their money.
600	591	[Staining around the edges of the page and show-through of writing from the reverse at the foot of the page.] The Thanks of the Vestry were voted to the Collectors§ §of last year for the able manner, in which they have conducted§ §their business. -§ §It was agreed upon, that the Scale of the Valuation§ §of Houses shall be revised every year by the three Collectors§ §for the time being, in order that any requisite alterations§ §or additions may be made thereto. -§ §It was further agreed upon, that a deputation§ §be appointed to wait upon the Honble. the Governor, to present§ §the Address from the Inhabitants, and that such deputation§ §consist of the 2 Members of Council§ §2 Senior Civil Servants§ §2 Senior Milit. Servants§ §Senior Chaplain§ §Senior Medical Officer§ §& 4 Inhabitants, viz. Messrs. R. Torbett, J. Legg§ §J. Bagley & R. Barker§ §The Meeting proceeded to ballot for the appointment§ §of Sheriffs, when§ §T. B. Brooke Esqr.§ §A. Beale Esqr.§ §& G. V. Lambe Esqr.§ §were duly elected§	The vestry thanked the previous year's collectors for the able way they had done their work. The vestry agreed that the three collectors for the time being would revise the scale of house values every year. Any necessary changes or additions could then be made to it. It also agreed that a deputation would call on the Governor to present the inhabitants' address. The deputation would be made up as follows. The two members of Council Two senior civil servants Two senior military officers The senior chaplain The senior medical officer Four inhabitants: R. Torbett, J. Legg, J. Bagley and R. Barker The meeting then held a ballot to choose sheriffs. T. B. Brooke, A. Beale and G. V. Lambe were elected. **Interpretations** The deputation that took the inhabitants' address to the Governor was made up mostly of the Company's own officials. Councillors, senior civil and military officers, the chaplain and the medical officer took seven of the eleven places. Only four ordinary inhabitants were included, all of them large landholders. The vestry spoke for the island as a whole, but when it addressed the Governor in person, the people who carried its words were mainly the government's own senior men. That showed how far the island's leading inhabitants and the Company's officials had become one ruling circle. The vestry chose its sheriffs by ballot. It still put forward three names for the Governor to choose from, but the three were now picked by secret vote. A ballot kept each voter's choice private and reduced the pull of patronage at a public meeting. With voting now limited to owners of houses worth £300 or more, the ballot took place among the island's propertied men only. Giving the collectors a standing duty to revise the house valuation every year kept the tax up to date as houses were built, altered or fell into disrepair. The 1825 list had already needed correcting in 1827. A yearly revision by the people who collected the tax tied the values to what the collectors saw on their rounds.
601	592	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Proceedings of a Meeting of the Vestry Committee§ §held on 24th. April 1828§ §It was agreed upon to fix the Amount of House tax§	On 24 April 1828 the vestry committee met. It agreed to set the house tax for the coming year at 3s 6d on every £100 of value. As usual, two-thirds would go to the parish and one-third to the county.

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		§for the ensuing year at 3/6 pr. £100. - 2/3 of which to go to§ §the Parish and 1/3 to the County, as usually. -§ §An application from A. Pierie, late Organist, was§ §received, praying for some pecuniary aid to return to his Native§ §Country, being totally unable to earn his Livelyhood, in consequence§ §of having lost the use of his Arms; - resolved to forward his§ §application to the Honble. the Governor & Council, and recommend the§ §same to their favorable consideration§ §Proceedings of a Meeting of the Vestry Committee§ §held on 27th. August 1828§ §The following Letter from the Church Wardens to the§ §Government, and their Answer thereto was laid before the§ §Meeting. -§ §To the Honble. the Governor & Council§ §Honble. Sir & Sirs§ §It being highly expedient to repair the Wall & Fence§ §round the middle Churchyard in Jamestown, as well to guard§ §against trespass, as to prevent Rubbish or Filth being deposited§ §there, and otherwise to put it into decent order, we have§ §decided upon doing so without delay, but respectfully trust that§ §Y. H. B. will afford us such assistance in this business, as may§ §render it as little expensive to the Parish as possible. - We§ §also beg to draw the attention of Y. H. B. to the state of the§ §Upper Churchyard, which is in a still worse state; we are aware§ §that this Yard is not, properly speaking, under our superintendance§ §as Church Wardens, but since it has been repeatedly mentioned§	The committee read a request from A. Pierie, the former organist, for money to help him return to his own country. He had lost the use of his arm and could no longer earn his living at all. The committee agreed to forward his request to the Governor and Council and to recommend that they look on it favourably. On 27 August 1828 the vestry committee met again. It heard a letter from the churchwardens to the government and the government's reply. The churchwardens had told the Governor and Council that the wall and fence around the middle churchyard in Jamestown badly needed repair. Repairs would keep out trespassers, stop people dumping rubbish and filth there, and generally put the ground into decent order. The churchwardens had decided to do the work at once. They trusted the Board would give whatever help it could to keep the cost to the parish as low as possible. The churchwardens also drew the Board's attention to the upper churchyard, which was in an even worse state. They knew that this burial ground was not, strictly speaking, under their charge as churchwardens. But since it had been mentioned again and again [...]. **Interpretations** The vestry cut the house tax from 4s 6d to 3s 6d on every £100. It had ended the previous year with £74 3s 2d in hand, the first real reserve since the new system began. It chose to return part of that surplus to the ratepayers rather than keep the higher rate. It kept the split of two-thirds for the parish and one-third for the roads, the same proportion as the 3s and 1s 6d of 1827. As in the years of the poll tax, the rate was set each year against the parish's cash in hand. The committee backed Pierie's request for help to leave the island and passed it to the government. A former organist who could no longer work would otherwise have become a permanent charge on parish relief. The cost of his passage home was a single payment, and it would remove the claim for good. By putting the request to the government, the committee also asked the Company to pay the fare, since only the government could arrange a passage on a Company ship. The upper churchyard lay outside the churchwardens' charge. In 1820 the government had described the burial ground beside the hospital as one used only for soldiers and sailors, and had enlarged it at the Company's expense. If the upper churchyard was that ground, it was the Company's responsibility. The churchwardens raised its condition only because the town had complained repeatedly. They took care to state that it was not theirs to repair.
602	593	[Staining around the edges of the page and an ink stain beside the closing "I am" of the second letter.] to us, as being in a very disreputable condition, we deem it§ §our duty to mention the subject§ §We consider it in fact highly necessary as well for the§ §sake of common decency, as the health of the Inhabitants in§ §general, that both these Churchyards should have some feet in§ §depth of fresh Earth thrown upon them, it having happened§ §more than once, that in digging a Grave, Bodies but very little§ §decayed, have been exposed to view, and in hot weather the§ §Stench at times is very offensive§ §We shall feel obliged by Y. H. B. informing us§ §whether Mrs. Johnson, the Wife of Gunner Johnson of the§ §Artillery, who lately embarked for England had, as	The churchwardens wrote that the upper churchyard had been reported to them many times as being in a very disgraceful state. They therefore felt it their duty to raise the matter. The churchwardens considered it essential, both for common decency and for the health of the inhabitants, that a few feet of fresh earth be spread over both churchyards. More than once, while a grave was being dug, bodies barely decayed had been uncovered. In hot weather the smell was sometimes very unpleasant. The churchwardens asked the Board to tell them whether Mrs Johnson had the government's permission to remain on the island, as they had been told. She was the wife of Gunner Johnson of the artillery, who had recently sailed for England. They also reported on Mr Pierie, the former organist, who had been in hospital for some time. The medical officer in charge had told them he had now recovered enough to be moved. The churchwardens strongly recommended that he be

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		has been§ §stated to us the permission of Government to remain on the§ §Island. -§ §Mr. Pierie the late Organist who has been in Hospital§ §for some time, has been stated to us by the Medical Officer§ §in charge to be now sufficiently recovered to be removed. -§ §We would strongly recommend to have him sent to England§ §by the 1st. Opportunity since there is unfortunately but little§ §doubt that, as he is given to Drunkenness he would soon§ §have to return into Hospital, and ultimately become a§ §burthen to the Parish. -§ §We are &c. &c.§ §28th. July 1828§ §(Sd.) G. W. Janisch Senr.§ §T. Thorn Junr.§ §(Ch. W.)§ §To G. W. Janisch & T. Thorn Esqrs. Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to furnish you§ §with the enclosed Copy of their resolution on the subject of§ §your letter of this days date. -§ §I also do myself the honor to enclose the§ §Security therein alluded to. - I am &c.§ §St. Helena§ §28 July 1828§ §(Sd.) G. Blenkins§ §Secy. to Govt.§	sent to England at the first chance. They had little doubt that, since he was given to drink, he would otherwise soon be back in hospital and in the end become a burden on the parish. G. W. Janisch senior and T. Thorn junior signed the letter as churchwardens on 28 July 1828. On the same day G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, replied to Janisch and Thorn. He sent them a copy of the Governor and Council's resolution on their letter, and he also enclosed the security mentioned in it. **Interpretations** The churchwardens' complaint about bodies being uncovered shows that Jamestown's burial grounds were full. The town lay in a narrow valley with little flat land. Graves were being reopened before earlier burials had decayed. In 1820 the government had made the inhabitants pay to enlarge the lower burial ground but extended only the military ground itself. Eight years later the town's churchyards were again overcrowded. Spreading fresh earth over them was a cheap way to raise the ground and give new burials more depth without buying land. The churchwardens asked whether Mrs Johnson had leave to stay because a soldier's wife left behind when her husband sailed could become a charge on the parish. Soldiers' families had no claim on the island beyond the regiment, and without a husband's pay she would soon need relief. The government's reply enclosed a "security", probably a bond given on her behalf. Like the bond required when a slave was freed, it protected the parish against having to keep her. The churchwardens pressed for Pierie to be sent to England because he drank. In 1824 the vestry had told the churchwardens to reprimand the organist, William Pierie, for being drunk on duty. The same failing was now the reason for wanting him gone. A disabled drinker would cycle between hospital and parish relief. A passage to England, paid once, would end the parish's liability for good.
603	594	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Copy of the Boards Resolution dated 28th. July 1828§ §The Board agree to reimburse the Parish to the§ §Amount of one half of the expense which may be incurred in§ §repairing the middle Churchyard. -§ §The upper Churchyard is an appendage to the§ §Hospital, and is kept up at the Charge of the Honble. Company the§ §suggested improvement must therefore be effected under the superintendance§ §of Lieut. Pritchard§ §With Regard to Mrs. Johnson's remaining on the Island,§ §Security has already been given to save the Parish from Expense.§ §This security is to be handed over to the Churchwardens by the§ §Secretary. -§ §Resolved that A. Pierie late Organist be sent home§ §as a Charter Party Passenger. -§ §True Copy§ §Signed G. Blenkins§ §Secy. to Govt.§ §It was agreed to enlarge the present Churchyard§ §by making a Terrace in the Rear of the present one, towards§ §the Side of the Hill - An Estimate of the probable Expense§ §to be made and to be communicated to the Committee.§ §The case of Phil, a Slave of Major Seale, above§ §55 years of age, who wishes to obtain his Freedom & is able to§	The Board's resolution of 28 July 1828, certified by G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, set out the following. The Board agreed to repay the parish half the cost of repairing the middle churchyard. The upper churchyard belonged to the hospital and was kept up at the Company's expense. The improvements suggested would therefore be carried out under Lieutenant Pritchard's supervision. On Mrs Johnson remaining on the island, security had already been given to protect the parish from any cost. The secretary would hand this security over to the churchwardens. The Board resolved that A. Pierie, the former organist, be sent home as a charter party passenger. The committee then agreed to enlarge the **Start of crossed out section** present **End of crossed out section** churchyard by making a terrace behind it, on the hillside. An estimate of the likely cost was to be drawn up and sent to the committee. The committee considered the case of Phil, a slave of Major Seale, aged over 55. Phil wished to gain his freedom and could pay for it himself. The committee agreed to waive the usual bond, provided his wife and daughters, who were all free, agreed to make themselves answerable that he would not become a charge on the parish. The committee agreed to pay the following bills for burials that the sexton had not charged. **Interpretations** The committee waived the bond for Phil, a man well over the age limit of 40 that the Court of

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		§pay for himself, was taken into consideration -, when it was§ §agreed, to dispense with the requisite Bond, provided his§ §Wife & Daughters, who all of them are free, are willing§ §to become answerable, that he is not to become§ §burthensome to the Parish. -§ §Agreed upon, to pay the following Bills for§ §Burials, not having been incurred by the Sexton:§	Directors had set in 1819. Under the Court's rule, any slave over 40 needed a bond before he could be freed, because he might soon become too old to work. The committee could simply have insisted on it, as it had for Charles and Polly a year earlier. Instead it let Phil's free wife and daughters guarantee him. Phil was buying his own freedom, so his owner gained nothing by passing the cost of his old age to the public. His family had already gained their freedom and were willing to support him. A family guarantee gave the parish the same protection as a bond without demanding money that Phil, having bought himself, probably did not have. Pierie was to be sent home as a "charter party passenger". The Company chartered ships under contracts, known as charter parties, which obliged the owners to carry a set number of passengers at fixed rates. The Company could therefore send people home at little extra cost by filling those places. Shipping Pierie this way relieved the parish of a drunk and disabled man at no cost to itself. The government confirmed that the upper churchyard was attached to the hospital and kept at the Company's expense. That was the military burial ground it had enlarged in 1820. It agreed to improve it under its own officer. It also agreed to pay half the cost of the middle churchyard, the parish's own ground, in line with its earlier offer to share the cost of the town's streets.
604	595	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Louisa Chentry - Ann Edwards - Martha Clarke -§ §Eliza Price, Ann Macey - John Marlborough - Mary Barnes§ §Resolved that in consequence of many free people having§ §neglected to pay the Burial Fees for their deceased Relatives,§ §and that this expense has thereby fallen upon the Parish, -§ §the Sexton be directed, not to dig any grave in future previous§ §to those Fees have been settled. -§	The burial bills the committee agreed to pay were for the following people. Louisa Chentry Ann Edwards Martha Clarke Eliza Price Ann Macey John Marlborough Mary Barnes Many free people had failed to pay the burial fees for relatives who had died, and the cost had fallen on the parish. The committee therefore resolved that in future the sexton would not dig any grave until the fees had been paid. **Interpretations** The committee required burial fees to be paid before a grave was dug. It could have gone on paying unpaid fees and trying to recover them later. Many of those buried were free people of colour: Mary Barnes was entered as a black on the 1820 roll, and Ann Edwards was the elephantiasis pauper relieved since 1827. Their families often had little money. The sexton's fee of 7s 6d covered the digging of the grave, and the parish had become the payer of last resort. Payment in advance put the burden back on the families. Where a family truly could not pay, the parish would still have to bury the dead, but it would now be a decision for the committee, not a debt left with the sexton.
605	596	[Staining around the edges of the page.] 1828 -§ §Dr. Parish of St. Helena in Account§ §1829§ §April 1 To the following Disbursements during the Year viz.§ §Salaries§ §Mr. Hoar's - Organist - 1st. April 1828 to 31 March 1829§ §50§ §Mr. Croft's - Clerk Country Church - Do. Do.§ §30§ §Jos. Jacks Clerk, Fish Market - Do. Do.§ §33§ §Parochial Relief§	The parish of St Helena's account for the year to 1 April 1829 recorded the following spending. Salaries Mr Hoare, organist, 1 April 1828 to 31 March 1829, £50 0s 0d Mr Croft, clerk of the country church, for the same period, £30 0s 0d Joseph Jacks, clerk of the fish market, for the same period, £33 0s 0d Parish relief Fanny, paid through John Chambers, for the same period at 20s a month, £12 0s 0d Dray's children, paid through Mrs Wheatley, for the same period at 1s a day, £18 5s 0d James's orphans, paid through Emily James, for the same period at 22s 6d a month, £13 10s 0d

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		§to Fanny - pd. John Chambers - Do. Do. 20/ pr. Mo.§ §£12§ §Dray's Children - pd. Mrs. Wheatly - Do. Do. [...] pr. day§ §18 . 5§ §James's Orphans - pd. Emily James - Do. Do. 22/6 pr. Mo.§ §13 . 10§ §Ann Edwards - 1st. April to 14 May 20/ pr. Mo.§ §1 . 8§ §Robertsons Children, pd. Dia. Richards 1st. April 1828 to 31 March 1829 20/ pr. Month§ §12§ §Ann Hercules - Do. 15/ pr. Month§ §9§ §John Carless - 6 April - Do. 6d. pr. day§ §9 . 1§ §Jack Pancake - 4 August - Do. 3d. pr. day§ §5 . 18 . 6§ §J. Marlborough - 24 Septr. - Do. 9d. pr. day§ §7 . 1 . 9§ §Priscilla Maggot - temporary Relief§ §13 . 6§ §88 . 17 . 9§ §Hospital Accounts for Paupers - pr. Bills§ §6 . 7 . 6§ §Interment Bills - Do. - Do.§ §14 . 12 . 0§ §Incidental Expenses§ §Cash pd. Thos. Woods for Carpenters Work§ §5§ §Do. pd. R. Scotts Gin for Work done at the Country Church§ §6 . 5§ §Do. pd. for Paints &c. for Country Church§ §9 . 4 . 1§ §Do. pd. W. Knipe Senr. for painting§ §2§ §Do. pd. Pierie, late Organist, on his embarkation§ §4 . 5 . 10§ §Do. pd. Dring for posting Notices§ §5§ §Do. pd. for Washing Surplices§ §3§ §Do. pd. for repairing Fence of Church Yard§ §9 . 6§ §25 . 14 . 6§ §To Balance§ §135 . 18 . 8§ §£387 . 10 . 11§	Ann Edwards, 1 April to 16 May at 20s a month, £1 8s 0d Robinson's children, paid through Diana Richards, 1 April 1828 to 31 March 1829 at 20s a month, £12 0s 0d Ann Hercules, for the same period at 6d a day, £9 0s 0d John Caulis, from 4 April at 6d a day, £9 1s 0d Jack Pancake, from 4 August at 6d a day, £5 18s 6d J. Marlborough, from 24 September at 9d a day, £7 1s 9d Priscilla Maggot, temporary relief, £0 13s 6d Parish relief in all, £88 17s 9d Hospital bills for paupers, £6 7s 6d Burial bills, £17 12s 6d Incidental costs Thomas Woods for carpentry, £0 5s 0d R. Scott's [...] for work at the country church, £6 5s 0d Paints and other materials for the country church, £9 4s 1d W. Knipe senior for painting, £2 0s 0d Pierie, the former organist, on his departure, £4 5s 10d Dring for posting notices, £0 5s 0d Laundering the surplices, £3 0s 0d Repairing the churchyard fence, £0 9s 6d Incidental costs in all, £25 14s 6d Balance, £135 7s 8d Total, £387 10s 11d **Interpretations** The account was now arranged under headings: salaries, parish relief, hospital, burials and incidental costs. Earlier years had listed every payment in one long run. The new layout let the committee see at a glance how much went on each kind of spending. Relief came to £88 17s 9d, more than any single salary and close to the three salaries together. The parish's main business had become the support of its poor. Ann Edwards's allowance stopped on 16 May 1828, and her name appeared among the burials the committee paid for. John Marlborough was also on that list, and his relief ran from September. The burial bills of £17 12s 6d were largely for paupers and free people whose families had not paid. That was why the committee had ordered in 1828 that no grave be dug until the fees were settled. The parish closed the year with £135 7s 8d in hand, almost double the year before. That came even after the house tax was cut to 3s 6d. The property tax was now producing a steady surplus, and the parish spent only £4 5s 10d on Pierie's departure, while the passage itself came free as a charter party place.
606	597	[Staining around the edges of the page.] 1829§ §Current with G. W. Janisch, Church Warden Cr.§ §1828§ §April 1 By Cash received from the late Church Warden being Balance in favor of the Parish§ §£74 . 3 . 2§ §July - Cash received from the Police Office being ½ the Amount of Dog tax for 1828§ §32 . 5§ §- Cash received from the County Treasurers, being three 4ths. of the Amount of the House tax, levied in 1828 at 3/6 pr. £100§ §233 . 2 . 9§ §- Cash received from the County Treasurers being Amount of Tax upon 24 Hackhorses at £2 each§ §48§ §E. E.§ §St. Helena§ §1st. April 1829§	The credit side of the parish account current with G. W. Janisch, churchwarden, recorded the following receipts. 1 April 1828, cash from the former churchwarden, the balance in the parish's favour, £74 3s 2d July 1828, cash from the police office, half the dog tax for 1828, £32 5s 0d 1828, cash from the county treasurers, [...] of the house tax raised in 1828 at 3s 6d on every £100, £233 2s 9d 1828, cash from the county treasurers, tax on 24 horses for hire at £2 each, £48 0s 0d Total, £387 10s 11d **Start of crossed out section** three **End of crossed out section** This word was struck through in the entry for the house tax, before the share the parish received.

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		§G. W. Janisch§ §C. W.§ §£387 . 10 . 11§	G. W. Janisch signed the account as churchwarden at St Helena on 1 April 1829, with the usual note that any errors were excepted. **Interpretations** The parish's share of the house tax barely changed despite the cut in the rate. At 3s 6d, the parish took two-thirds, or about 2s 4d on every £100. In 1827 it had taken 3s of the 4s 6d. The yield to the parish was £233 2s 9d, almost the same as the year before. The figure points to a rise in assessed values after the collectors' annual revision, which made up for the lower rate. The clerk at first wrote "three" for the parish's share, the proportion of the old split, and then corrected it to the new one. The number of horses for hire rose again, from 23 to 24, and the dog tax came in on time, in July. Every source of income under the new system was now arriving as planned. The parish began the next year with a balance of £135 7s 8d.
607	598	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Vestry Committee Meeting 20th. April 1829§ §The Parish & County Accounts were laid before the§ §Committee & examined. -§ §The following were appointed to serve as Constables§ §Henry Storie§ §John Scott§ §Resolved to submit to the Vestry that Mr. S. Solomon§ §& Mr. R. Prince be appointed to act as Collectors for the§ §ensuing year. -§ §Vestry Meeting 20th. April 1829§ §The Accounts of the Parish & County for last year§ §were read§ §The appointments of Mr. S. Solomon & R. Prince§ §were approved of. -§ §Moved by Colonel Hodson, seconded by Mr. Janisch§ §& carried by majority. That Jos. Jacks be publickly§ §admonished, to be more attentive to the duties of his Office§ §as Clerk of the Fish Market§ §Moved by the Revd. B. Vernon, seconded by Mr. Lambe§ §and carried by Majority, That the Parish provide an§ §Iron Chest for the purpose of keeping a regular Set of§ §Registers in the Country Church, to be sent for from England§ §and that the Government be requested to furnish one for§ §the use of the Town Church for the like purpose. -§ §The Vestry having proceeded to the election§ §of 2 Churchwardens§ §Mr. R. Brooke§ §& Mr. G. W. Janisch§ §were appointed. -§ §The following were elected Members of Committee§ §Capt. Bennett§ §Capt. O'Connor§ §Mr. H. Y. Seale§ §Capt. Sampson§	On 20 April 1829 the vestry committee met and examined the parish and county accounts. It appointed Henry Storie and John Scott as constables. It agreed to recommend to the vestry that W. S. Solomon and R. Prince be appointed collectors for the coming year. The vestry met the same day and heard the parish and county accounts for the previous year read. It approved the appointment of W. S. Solomon and R. Prince as collectors. Colonel Hodson moved, Mr Janisch seconded, and a majority agreed that Joseph Jacks be publicly reprimanded and told to pay closer attention to his duties as clerk of the fish market. The Reverend B. Vernon moved, Mr Lambe seconded, and a majority agreed that the parish should provide an iron chest, ordered from England, to keep a proper set of registers in the country church. The government would be asked to provide one for the town church for the same purpose. The vestry then elected two churchwardens, R. Brooke and G. W. Janisch. It elected the following as members of the committee. Captain Bennett Captain O'Connor W. H. Seale Captain Sampson **Interpretations** The vestry ordered iron chests to keep the church registers safe. The registers of baptisms, marriages and burials were the only proof of many people's birth, parentage and status. Since 1818, a child's freedom depended on being born after Christmas Day of that year. That made baptism records evidence of who was free. Paper kept in wooden presses could be lost to fire, damp or insects. An iron chest protected the record on which freed people's status, inheritances and the parish's own claims rested. Since the town church belonged to the Company, the vestry asked the government to provide that one. Joseph Jacks was publicly reprimanded, the latest of many complaints about the fish market clerk. The vestry had fought to appoint him in 1821 and 1822 and had kept him at reduced pay in 1824 despite complaints to the magistrate. A public reprimand was the step short of dismissal. The vestry still preferred to warn him rather than replace him, as it had with the organist Pierie in 1824.
608	599	[Staining around the edges of the page.] Mr. S. Solomon's proposal respecting an improved§ §system of Porterage was approved of, and referred to the§ §Vestry Committee to carry it into effect, by bringing it again§	Mr S. Solomon's proposal for a better system of porterage was approved. It was referred to the vestry committee, which would carry it out by putting it before the government again.

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		§under the Notice of Government§ §Messrs. W. H. Seale, C. Sampson & G. W. Alexander having§ §offered to continue as Trustees to the Roads, it was accepted of§ §The Meeting proceeded to the Election of Sheriffs,§ §when the following were appointed§ §Mr. A. Beale§ §Mr. G. V. Lambe§ §Mr. J. Bagley -§ §Proceedings of a Vestry Committee§ §Meeting - 18th. May 1829§ §The following Letter was read§ §G. W. Janisch Esqr.§ §Churchwarden§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council§ §to acknowledge the receipt of your letter enclosing a§ §Copy of Vestry Proceedings of this date, and to acquaint§ §you that the same are approved, with the exception of§ §that part which objects to the appropriation of the§ §Country Church, as a day school for girls; - the§ §Board being unacquainted with the nature of the§ §objections of course can come to no decision on§ §the subject. - I am Sir§ §(Sd.) C. Blake§ §Actg. Secy.§ §St. Helena§ §20th. April 1829§	W. H. Seale, C. Sampson and G. W. Alexander offered to continue as trustees of the roads, and the vestry accepted. The meeting then elected sheriffs, and the following were appointed. A. Beale G. V. Lambe J. Bagley On 18 May 1829 the vestry committee met and heard the following letter. Charles Blake, acting secretary to the government, had written to G. W. Janisch, churchwarden, on 20 April 1829. The Governor and Council acknowledged Janisch's letter enclosing a copy of the vestry proceedings of that date. They approved the proceedings, except the part objecting to the use of the country church as a day school for girls. The Board did not know what the objection was about, so it could not reach a decision on it. **Interpretations** The porterage scheme came back three years after Janisch first proposed it in March 1826. That plan had been sent to the government, which never acted on it. Its stated purpose was to license a limited number of porters and push free men of colour back into farm work. Solomon was a Jamestown merchant whose trade depended on goods landed at the wharf, and he renewed the proposal. The vestry referred it straight back to the government. Without government approval and a law, the parish could not restrict who carried goods. The vestry had objected to the country church being used as a day school for girls, but the copy it sent to the government evidently did not say why. The government could not rule on an objection it did not understand and sent the question back. The country church belonged to the parish, which had just paid heavily to repair and paint it. A school held there every day would wear the building and leave the parish with the cost. The record does not show the vestry's reasons, and the government's reply left the decision open.
609	600	[Staining around the edges of the page and an ink stain at the end of the heading of the Committee proceedings of 25 May 1829.] It was agreed before§ §The Vestry Committee having been informed by Mr. Boys§ §that the idea of converting the Country Church into a§ §Day School had been abandoned, consider that it will§ §at present be unnecessary to reply to the latter part of§ §the foregoing letter. -§ §It was agreed to fix the House tax for the ensuing year§ §at 3/6 per £100 as last year, - 3/ to go to the Parish§ §& 6d. to the County.§ §The whole of the Paupers to appear before the§ §Committee next time they meet. -§ §Mr. S. Solomon's motion respecting Porterage§ §having been re-considered, Messrs. Lambe & Janisch§ §were requested to prepare some Rules & a Scale of§ §Rates for the consideration of the Committee§ §Proceedings of a Vestry Committee§ §Meeting 25th. May 1829§ §Messrs. Lambe & Janisch laid the following Rules§ §before the Meeting, which were approved of.§ §Rules for an improved System of Porterage§ §1. Twelve Persons to be entitled to the privilege of acting as§ §Porters in James Town & the Country, they will receive a§ §Licence to that effect, and be obliged to wear a	**Start of crossed out section** It was agreed before **End of crossed out section** Mr Boys told the vestry committee that the idea of turning the country church into a day school had been dropped. The committee therefore thought there was no need for the time being to reply to the last part of the government's letter. The committee agreed to keep the house tax for the coming year at 3s 6d on every £100, as the year before. Of this, 3s would go to the parish and 6d to the county. All the paupers were to appear before the committee at its next meeting. The committee looked again at Mr S. Solomon's motion on porterage. It asked Mr Lambe and Mr Janisch to draw up rules and a scale of charges for the committee to consider. On 25 May 1829 the vestry committee met. Mr Lambe and Mr Janisch put forward the following rules, which the committee approved. Rules for a better system of porterage 1: Twelve people would have the right to work as porters in Jamestown and the country. Each would receive a licence and must wear a badge on the left arm reading "Licensed Porter No." with his number. Each licence would cost 10s a year, paid into the parish funds. 2: Nobody could become a licensed porter unless he was at least 18 years old and recommended by [...]. **Interpretations** The committee changed the split of the house tax sharply in the parish's favour. Of the 3s 6d, the

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		badge§ §upon the left Arm with the Words (Licensed Porter No.)§ §The amount of each Licence to be 10/ per Year for the§ §Benefit of the Parish Funds. -§ §2. None to be eligible to become Licensed Porters unless§ §they are at least 18 years of age, and are recommended§ §by§	parish now took 3s and the roads only 6d, against two-thirds and one-third the year before. The road contracts, now on two-year terms and set at agreed prices, needed less money than when the system began. The parish, with more pensioners and hospital bills, needed more. The rate stayed the same, but most of the money was moved from the roads to relief. The committee called every pauper to appear before it. Relief now ran to more than £88 a year across a dozen people. Seeing each one in person let the committee check that need still existed, as it had done with applicants since 1822. Ann Edwards and John Marlborough had died on the parish's books in the past year. A full review would reveal any others whose circumstances had changed. The porterage rules repeated Janisch's proposal of 1826 almost word for word, but fixed the number of licensed porters at 12 and the fee at 10s a year. Only 12 men aged 18 or over, each approved by the committee, could carry goods for hire. That would shut out the boys Janisch had complained of and most of the free men who earned their living at the wharf when ships came in. The committee's stated aim was to protect passengers from overcharging. Janisch had also said in 1826 that he wanted free men of colour to go back to the farms, and these rules would serve that purpose.
610	601	[Staining around the edges of the page.] by the Vestry Committee as steady, honest & deserving Men§ §3. No Inhabitants of the Island except Licensed Porters shall§ §be allowed to carry Loads in Jamestown except it be their§ §own property, or if Servants, that of their Masters§ §4. Any Licensed Porter who may refuse to carry a Load or§ §Message to any part in Town or Country, unless he can§ §clearly prove to be already engaged by another party§ §shall on conviction before a Magistrate be fined 20/§ §for the 1st. Offence, and 10/ for every time afterwards§ §5. The regular hours of Attendance for Licensed Porters will§ §be from 6 to 7 in Summer and from 7 to 6 in Winter; - this§ §is not however to prevent their being employed before or§ §after those hours, but in that case they will be§ §entitled to an advance on the established rates of Porterage§ §equal to one half of the Amount claimed in ordinary§ §cases -§ §6. A List of the Names of the Licensed Porters and§ §the rates which they are allowed to charge to be§ §stuck up in a conspicuous place on the Quay, and§ §other Places in Town§ §7. Each Licensed Porter besides the badge he is to wear§ §on his left Arm will be furnished with one additional§ §Badge of the same No. as his own, which in the event§ §of a press of business he may for the time being§ §make over to an Assistant, provided he cannot procure§ §the aid of any of the other Licensed Porters; - it is§ §of course to be clearly understood, that he will be§ §answerable for the good conduct of such Assistants§ §while so employed, nor are any but Inhabitants§ §of Jamestown to be employed as Assistants§	The recommendation would come from the vestry committee, which had to judge the man steady, honest and deserving. 3: No inhabitant of the island other than a licensed porter would be allowed to carry loads in Jamestown, except his own goods or, if he was a servant, his master's. 4: Any licensed porter who refused to carry a load or a message to any part of the town or country would be fined 20s on conviction before a magistrate for the first offence, and 10s for every offence after that. He could escape the fine only by clearly proving he was already engaged by someone else. 5: Licensed porters would work regular hours from 6 to 7 in summer and from 7 to 6 in winter. They could still be hired before or after those hours. In that case they could charge half as much again as the fixed rate. 6: A list of the licensed porters' names and the charges they were allowed to make would be posted prominently on the quay and elsewhere in town. 7: Besides the badge on his left arm, each licensed porter would be given a second badge with the same number. When business was very heavy, he could lend it for the time to an assistant, provided he could not get help from any of the other licensed porters. He would be answerable for the assistant's good conduct while the man worked for him. Only inhabitants of Jamestown could be employed as assistants. **Interpretations** The rules gave the 12 licensed porters a monopoly but also bound them to serve. A porter who refused a load without good reason faced a fine. The public could rely on the service, and in return the porters were protected from competition. Like the fixed fish tariff, the scheme replaced an open market with regulated prices and approved sellers. The second badge let a licensed porter take on a helper when a convoy or several ships arrived together. Assistants had to be Jamestown inhabitants and worked under the porter's responsibility. The town could cope with rushes of business without opening the trade to all comers. Country labourers, whose drift into town Janisch had complained of, were excluded even as assistants. Only townspeople could help.

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			The extra half charge for work outside regular hours reflected how ships arrived and left with the tides and wind, often early or late. Passengers landing at dawn or leaving at night could still get porters. They paid more for it, and that reward kept the licensed men available.
611	602	[Staining around the edges of the page and an ink stain near the foot of the page.] Instances of Intemperance, abusive Language or Misconduct§ §in general on the part of the Licensed Porters will subject§ §them to on its being made known to the Vestry Committee§ §to a removal from Office, independent of such other condign§ §punishment as a Magistrate may deem proper to inflict§ §A Breach of any of the above Regulations to subject§ §the Party to a Fine not less than 10/ & not exceeding§ §40/; one half of which to be for the benefit of the Parish§ §Funds and the other half to go to the Informer§ §The Rates of Porterage as already established§ §to continue in force until further orders. -§ §The different Paupers having attended it was§ §agreed to continue their Allowances -§ §Proceedings of a Vestry Committee§ §Meeting - 18th. June 1830.§ §The following Letter was read§ §To R. Brooke & G. W. Janisch Esqrs.§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen,§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to§ §acknowledge the receipt of the Vestry proceedings of the 18th. &§ §25th. Instant and to acquaint you that they approve of§ §the proposed Scheme of Porterage, but they conceive§ §it can only apply to all cases of Porterage to & from§ §the Wharf, and that any Person may at the same time§ §be also employed in other parts of the Town it being§ §evident that a regular Porter will not at all times§ §be procurable§	Drunkenness, abusive language or general misconduct by a licensed porter would, once reported to the vestry committee, lead to his removal from the post. This was in addition to any other punishment a magistrate might impose. Anyone who broke any of these rules would be fined from 10s to 40s. Half would go to the parish funds and half to the informer. The porterage charges already fixed would stay in force until further notice. The paupers had all appeared before the committee, and it agreed to continue their allowances. On 18 June 1829 the vestry committee met and heard a letter to the churchwardens, R. Brooke and G. W. Janisch. The Governor and Council acknowledged the vestry proceedings of 18 and 25 May 1829. They approved the proposed porterage scheme. But in their view it could apply only to carrying goods to and from the wharf. Anyone else could still be hired in other parts of the town, since a licensed porter would plainly not always be available. **Interpretations** The government approved the porterage scheme but confined the licensed porters' monopoly to the wharf. The vestry's third rule would have barred anyone but a licensed porter from carrying loads anywhere in Jamestown. The government limited it to the landing place, where passengers and merchants were most at risk of overcharging and where the government had already fixed rates. Elsewhere in town, any man could still carry goods for hire. That left open the work that Janisch's 1826 proposal had aimed to close to free men of colour and country labourers. The government accepted the vestry's case for protecting visitors but would not use the scheme to drive free workers out of town. Every pauper kept his allowance after appearing in person. The review confirmed that the parish's pensioners were genuinely in need. The committee had cut and stopped allowances when it found other means, as with Mrs Stewart. None of the current pensioners had any.
612	603	[Staining around the edges of the page.] The Services of the regular Porters only to be§ §available within the precincts of James Valley. -§ §I am &c. &c.§ §St. Helena§ §28th. May 1829§ §(Sd.) Charles Blake§ §Actg. Secretary§ §The following Letter was laid before the§ §Meeting:§ §To the Church Wardens§ §of St. Helena§ §Gentlemen§ §I beg leave to state to you, that I went to§ §the Market this morning, & whilst there, about half an hour§ §after seven OClock I received a report from several Soldiers§ §of the Regiment, that for several Mornings past they have§ §been unable to purchase Fish till about 8 OClock owing to§ §the Clerk of the Market's neglect and inattention. This§ §morning I witnessed their just cause of complaint, as Jos.§	The government added that the licensed porters' services would apply only within James Valley. Charles Blake signed the letter as acting secretary at St Helena on 28 May 1829. The meeting then heard a letter to the churchwardens of St Helena from C. R. G. Hodson. He had gone to the market that morning. At about half past seven, several soldiers of the regiment told him that for several mornings they had been unable to buy fish until about 8 o'clock. They blamed the neglect and inattention of the clerk of the market. That morning Hodson saw for himself that their complaint was justified. Joseph Jacks, the clerk, had not yet appeared, and Mr Fowler had to let the fishermen past the sentry at the Drawbridge at that hour himself. Hodson pointed out that Jacks had been severely reprimanded at the last vestry for drunkenness and inattention. Since this had plainly had no effect, he hoped his complaint would be formally recorded against him. The committee agreed to reprimand Joseph Jacks severely and to warn him that this was the last time his conduct would be overlooked. **Interpretations**

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		§Jacks the Clerk, had not then made his appearance &§ §Mr. Fowler was under the necessity of admitting the§ §Fishermen past the Sentry at the Drawbridge at that§ §hour.§ §Joseph Jacks had a severe admonition at the§ §last Vestry for his Drunkenness & inattention, and as§ §it does not appear to have produced the desired§ §effect, I hope this complaint will be received officially§ §against him§ §I am, Gentlemen§ §&c. C. R. G. Hodson§ §Resolved to reprimand Jos. Jacks severely§ §and to inform him that this is the last time his§ §conduct will be passed over -§	The fishermen could not bring their catch into town until the clerk let them through the sentry at the Drawbridge. The naval and military rules on boats, dating from 1818 and 1820, meant that boats and catches passed through a guarded point. The clerk had to be there to receive the fish and open the market. If Jacks was late or drunk, the whole catch waited at the gate. Buyers, including the soldiers whose rations depended on fresh fish, waited too. The clerk's lateness held up the whole town's food supply. The vestry gave Jacks a final warning only weeks after his public reprimand in April 1829. He had been reprimanded or censured in 1824 and 1829 and had kept his post through both. The vestry had defended him against the government more than once. Even now it stopped short of dismissal. The complaint came from Hodson, a leading member of the committee, and on behalf of the garrison, so the vestry could not ignore it. A final warning put on record that the next failure would cost Jacks his place.
613	604	Proceedings of Vestry Committee Meeting§ §17th. August 1829§ §It having been reported that J. Jacks had again§ §transgressed, and been absent from his duty for several days§ §it was resolved to dismiss him his Office agreeably to the§ §resolution passed at the last Meeting; - but considering§ §that he would become burthensome to the Parish, if§ §dismissed altogether it was resolved to accept of Mr. [...]§ §offer to act as Clerk of the Fish Market and to give§ §Jos. Jacks £13 a year of the Salary, for which Jacks§ §is to assist him in his Duties§ §Agreed to allow Mungo 6d. per day§ §These Proceedings were forwarded to Mr. Secretary§ §Blake in a Letter of the same date, and the attention§ §of Government was again drawn to the improved§ §System of Porterage -§ §To§ §R. Brooke & G. W. Janisch Esqrs.§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council§ §to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter & the proceedings§ §accompanying it, the measure adopted in respect to the§ §Clerk of the Fish Market is approved. With regard to§ §the proposed System of Porterage the Governor & Council§ §are of opinion that the Regulations on the subject§ §should in the first instance be drawn up by the§ §Vestry & submitted to the Governor & Council for§ §their approval§ §I am &c. &c.§ §St. Helena§ §17th. August 1829.§ §(Sd.) Charles Blake§ §Actg. Secy.§	On 17 August 1829 the vestry committee met. It was reported that J. Jacks had broken the rules again and had been absent from his duty for several days. Under the resolution passed at the last meeting, the committee agreed to dismiss him from his post. It thought, however, that if he were dismissed outright he would become a burden on the parish. It therefore accepted Mr [...]'s offer to act as clerk of the fish market. Out of the salary, Joseph Jacks would receive £13 0s 0d a year, and in return he would help the new clerk with his duties. The committee agreed to allow Mungo 6d a day. The proceedings went to Mr Blake, the secretary, in a letter of the same date. The letter again drew the government's attention to the improved system of porterage. On 17 August 1829 Charles Blake, acting secretary, replied to the churchwardens, R. Brooke and G. W. Janisch. The Governor and Council approved what had been done about the clerk of the fish market. On porterage, they held that the vestry should first draw up the regulations and then submit them to the Governor and Council for approval. **Interpretations** The committee dismissed Jacks but kept him on a share of the salary. It could have dismissed him outright, as its final warning in May 1829 had threatened. It held back for a practical reason. A man of Jacks's age and habits, with no post, would soon have needed parish relief. Paying him £13 0s 0d a year as an assistant cost the parish less than keeping him as a pauper, and he still did some work for it. The new clerk took over the duties and the rest of the £33 0s 0d salary. The parish kept the market running and avoided adding another long-term pensioner. The government sent the porterage scheme back for formal regulations. It had approved the scheme in principle in May 1829 and limited it to the wharf and James Valley. A licensed monopoly with fines enforced before a magistrate needed the force of law. That meant written regulations put out by the Governor and Council, not a set of vestry resolutions. The vestry had pressed the scheme twice. The next step was for the vestry to draft the rules for the government to issue.
614	605	To Charles Blake Esqr.§ §Secy. &c.§ §Sir§ §We have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of§ §17th. inst. and in reply to the latter part, wherein you state§ §that the Governor & Council are of opinion that the	On 20 August 1829 the churchwardens, R. Brooke and G. W. Janisch, wrote to Charles Blake, secretary to the government, acknowledging his letter of 17 August 1829. They answered its last part, which said the Governor and Council wanted the vestry first to draw up regulations on porterage and submit them for approval. The churchwardens pointed out that the vestry had already drawn up rules and regulations

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		regulations§ §on the subject of Porterage should in the first instance be§ §drawn up by the Vestry, and submitted to them for approval§ §we beg to remark that as far back as May last, certain§ §Rules & Regulations were drawn up & forwarded by the Vestry§ §to Government & approved of by them in their letter of§ §28th. May; and it was merely because so long a time had§ §elapsed without any further steps being taken in the§ §business that we thought it our duty to ascertain§ §whether the Government might not perhaps expect the§ §Churchwardens to give the requisite public Notice, that we§ §addressed you on the subject§ §Should the Honble. the Governor & Council wish§ §further steps to be taken by the Vestry you will be§ §pleased to inform us of the same.§ §We have &c. &c.§ §St. Helena§ §20th. August 1829. -§ §(Sd.) R. Brooke§ §(Sd.) G. W. Janisch§ §Messrs. R. Brooke & G. W. Janisch§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §In reply to your letter of this date, I am§ §directed by the Governor & Council to observe, that upon§ §the occasion of your first propositions in May last,§ §regarding Porters the Board suggested certain amendments§ §and of course expected you would offer your sentiments§ §thereon previously to the Board giving the effect of a§ §Law to the suggested regulations. This will explain§ §the cause of the silence to which you allude§ §I am &c. &c.§ §St. Helena 20 August 1829§ §(Sd.) Charles Blake§ §Secy.§	in May and sent them to the government. The government had approved them in its letter of 28 May 1829. So much time had passed with nothing further done that the churchwardens felt they should ask whether the government expected them to give the necessary public notice themselves. That was the only reason they had written. If the Governor and Council wanted the vestry to take any further steps, the churchwardens asked to be told. Blake replied the same day. When the churchwardens first put forward their proposals on porters in May, the Board had suggested certain amendments. It had naturally expected the vestry to give its views on them before the Board gave the proposed regulations the force of law. That explained the silence the churchwardens complained of. **Interpretations** The two sides had each been waiting for the other. The government's letter of 28 May 1829 had approved the scheme but restricted the monopoly to the wharf and to James Valley. The churchwardens took that as approval and waited for the law to be issued. The government regarded its restrictions as amendments that needed the vestry's agreement first. Neither side had acted for nearly three months. The misunderstanding shows how every vestry measure moved between the two bodies. Nothing could become law until the vestry had formally accepted whatever changes the government made. The churchwardens could not give public notice of a rule the government had not yet put into law.
615	606	To Charles Blake Esqr.§ §Secy.§ §Sir§ §We beg you will be pleased to mention to the Honble.§ §the Governor & Council, that we recommend Sophia Eliza§ §the daughter of Mr. E. Banks to fill the Vacancy which§ §has occurred in the Upper School in consequence of Master§ §James Seale having left it; - as we consider that from the§ §fact of Mr. Banks having formerly had 3 Children at§ §his own expence at this School, & his present circumstances§ §rendering it impracticable for him to pay even for one,§ §he is justly entitled to this boon. -§ §At the same time we would feel obliged by§ §the Honble. Board directing the Schoolmaster to give§ §immediate information to the Churchwardens when any§ §of the Children placed on the Foundation by them§ §leave School, that the Vacancies may be filled at once§ §without losing so much time as will naturally occur§ §when the apprizing them of it is left to Chance§	On 17 September 1829 the churchwardens, Robert Brooke and G. W. Janisch, wrote to Charles Blake, secretary to the government. They asked him to tell the Governor and Council that they recommended Sophia Eliza, daughter of Mr E. Banks, for the place in the upper school left empty when Master James Seale left. Mr Banks had once paid for three of his children at the school himself. His circumstances now made it impossible for him to pay for even one. In the churchwardens' view, that gave him a fair claim to this help. The churchwardens also asked the Board to tell the schoolmaster to inform them at once whenever a child they had placed on the foundation left the school. The places could then be filled straight away, without the long delays that happened when the churchwardens were left to find out by chance. Charles Blake, acting secretary, replied the same day. The Governor and Council approved the nomination of Sophia Eliza Banks to the vacancy in the head school. As the churchwardens had asked, the master would be told to let them know of every future vacancy that the vestry had the right to fill. **Interpretations** The churchwardens nominated a girl to a foundation place. Until then the places had gone to sons of the leading families. The vestry had objected in April 1829 to turning the country church into a day school for girls, and Mr Boys had told the committee

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		§We remain &c.§ §St. Helena§ §17th. Sept. 1829§ §(Sd.) Robert Brooke§ §(Sd.) G. W. Janisch§ §To R. Brooke & G. W. Janisch Esqrs.§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §In reply to your letter of this date, I am§ §directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that§ §your nomination of Sophia Eliza Banks to the vacancy§ §in the Head School is approved, and in compliance with§ §your request the Master will be directed to apprize§ §you of all future vacancies which may be in the gift§ §of the Vestry to fill up. -§ §I am &c.§ §St. Helena§ §17th. Sept. 1829§ §(Sd.) Charles Blake§ §Act. Secy.§	the idea was dropped. The parish's foundation places at the head school were the only free schooling the vestry controlled. Using one for Banks's daughter shows that the head school took girls and that the churchwardens judged a claim by a family's need and past contribution, not by the child's sex. The churchwardens put their case on Banks's earlier payments. He had paid fees for three children when he could. Now that he had fallen on hard times, a free place for a fourth was a fair return. The places served as relief for respectable families who had come down in the world, the same group the parish helped elsewhere, as when it supported the widows Pipple and Roberts in 1822. The request that the schoolmaster report vacancies at once followed the dispute of 1827. The parish's places had then lapsed and been filled by the Board because the churchwardens had not known they were empty. Having the master tell them directly gave the parish its nominations before the government could fill the places itself.
616	607	To§ §Robert Brooke and G. W. Janisch Esqrs.§ §Church Warden§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to§ §enclose a letter from Mary George which of course falls§ §within your province as Church Wardens to attend to. -§ §You will observe by a passage in her letter that it appears§ §she has been a subscriber to the Benefit Society, any§ §assistance which is demandable from that source will of§ §course assist in defraying any expences which may be§ §necessary on the part of the Parish. -§ §I am further directed to inform you that a§ §Woman named Sarah, a Slave of Jas. Unsworth at§ §present a convict and totally unable to maintain her§ §has been for some time past suffered to occupy one of§ §the Cells at Sandy Bay, with a view of keeping her out§ §of James Town, in consequence of occasional derangement§ §and as an object of Charity has been allowed on the§ §part of the Company a daily proportion of Meat & Rice§ §She is at present represented as being destitute of Clothes§ §or bedding§ §The Board at the same time consider that in§ §these two cases the parish has a Claim for assistance§ §from the Benevolent Society to whom it will be right§ §that you should make application with as little delay§ §as possible§ §I am &c.§ §St. Helena§ §2nd. Novr. 1829§ §(Sd.) Charles Blake§ §Actg. Secy. to Govt.§	On 2 November 1829 Charles Blake, acting secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, Robert Brooke and G. W. Janisch. He enclosed a letter from Mary George, which plainly fell within the churchwardens' duty to deal with. A passage in her letter showed that she had paid into the benefit society. Any help she was entitled to from that fund should naturally go towards whatever the parish might need to spend on her. Blake also told the churchwardens about a woman named Sarah. She was the slave of James Unsworth, who was at that time a convict and quite unable to support her. For some time she had been allowed to occupy one of the cells at Sandy Bay, to keep her out of Jamestown because of her bouts of insanity. As an act of charity, the Company had given her a daily ration of meat and rice. She was now reported to have no clothing or bedding. The Board considered that in both cases the parish had a claim on the benevolent society for help. It thought the churchwardens should apply to it as quickly as possible. **Interpretations** The government pointed the parish to the benefit society before parish funds. Mary George had paid into the society set up in 1821 so that free blacks could support themselves in old age and sickness. The Board's view was that she should draw on her own subscriptions first. Parish relief would make up only what the society did not cover. The fund was working as the government had intended, as the first line of support for the free population, with the parish behind it. Sarah's case fell between every category of responsibility. She was still a slave, so her keep was legally her owner's duty. But James Unsworth was a convict and could do nothing. Her insanity made her unfit to live in town, so she had been put in a cell at Sandy Bay. The Company fed her as charity, not as a duty. The government now asked the parish and the benevolent society to clothe her, although as a slave she had never paid into the society. Slavery's own system of support had broken down for her, and the duty was passed from one body to the next.
617	608	To§ §R. Brooke & G. W. Janisch Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to§ §recommend to the consideration of the Vestry Committee, the§	On 30 November 1829 Charles Blake, acting secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, R. Brooke and G. W. Janisch. The Governor and Council asked the vestry committee to consider the case of Margaret Gough, whose distress was described in a petition. The Board had also sent

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		§case of Margaret Gough whose distressed condition is described§ §in a petition which the Board have referred to the Benevolent§ §Society with the view of also affording her aid§ §I am &c.§ §St. Helena§ §30 Novr. 1829.§ §(Sd.) Charles Blake§ §Actg. Secy. to Govt.§ §To R. Brooke & G. W. Janisch Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council§ §to enclose a Letter addressed to them by the Registrar of§ §Emancipations accompanied by a Return of Free persons of§ §Color, whose means of support are doubtful, and to request§ §you will convene a Vestry on Thursday the 18th. instant,§ §for the purpose of laying before it the documents alluded§ §to. - It is recommended that the Vestry will elect a§ §Committee to examine particularly into the means of§ §subsistence of those persons to whom Capt. Den Taaffe's letter§ §alludes, in order that such measures may be adopted as§ §shall eventually be agreed on by the Government conjointly§ §with the Vestry for avoiding not only expenses to the§ §Parish but also for preventing those evils which must§ §infallibly be the result of a numerous part of the§ §rising generation being brought up in idleness. -§ §I am &c.§ §St. Helena§ §March 1830§ §(Sd.) Charles Blake§ §Actg. Secy.§	her petition to the benevolent society, hoping it too would help her. In March 1830 Blake wrote again to the churchwardens. He enclosed a letter to the Governor and Council from the registrar of emancipations, together with a list of free people of colour whose means of support were in doubt. The churchwardens were asked to call a vestry on Thursday 18 March 1830 to put these papers before it. The government recommended that the vestry elect a committee to look closely into the means of support of the people Captain Dentaffe's letter referred to. The government and the vestry could then agree on measures to spare the parish expense. They could also prevent the harm that would surely follow if a large part of the rising generation grew up in idleness. **Interpretations** The island now had a registrar of emancipations, and Captain Dentaffe, the former surveyor, held the post. The office kept the record of every slave freed and every child born free since 1818. From that record the registrar could identify free people of colour with no visible means of support. His list made the free population something that could be counted and supervised. The government proposed using it to plan measures with the vestry, rather than waiting for individuals to apply for relief one by one. The government's concern reached beyond relief to the "rising generation". Children born free since Christmas Day 1818 were now reaching their teens. They had no owners to put them to work and often no trade. The government feared they would grow up idle, which echoed Janisch's complaint in 1826 about boys at the wharf. The measures it had in mind were probably apprenticeship or placement in farm service. That would turn freed children into the country labour the planters said they lacked, while sparing the parish their keep.
618	609	Proceedings of a Vestry Meeting -§ §18th. April March 1830§ §The foregoing letter from Government having been§ §read, the Meeting proceeded to the Election of a Committee§ §when the following were appointed§ §Col. Hodson§ §Capt. Den Taaffe§ §Mr. W. Carrol§ §G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §Secy. to Govt.§ §Sir§ §With reference to Mr. Acty. Secy. Blake's Letter of March§ §last, we beg to report to you for the information of the Honble.§ §the Governor & Council that at the Vestry Meeting held on§ §the 18th. Ulto. Colonel Hodson, Capt. Den Taaffe & Mr. W. Carrol§ §were elected a Committee to take into consideration &§ §report upon the subject alluded to in that letter§ §We have &c.§ §St. Helena§ §4 April 1830§ §(Sd.) Robt. Brooke§ §G. W. Janisch§ §To Colonel Hodson, Capt. Den Taaffe, Mr. Carrol§ §Gentlemen§ §We have to inform you that at Vestry Meeting§ §held on the 18th. Ulto. you were appointed a	On 18 March 1830 a vestry met and heard the government's letter. It then elected a committee made up of Colonel Hodson, Captain Dentaffe and W. H. Carroll. On 4 April 1830 the churchwardens, Robert Brooke and G. W. Janisch, wrote to G. Blenkins, secretary to the government. They referred to Mr Blake's letter of March 1830, which he had written as acting secretary. They reported for the Governor and Council that the vestry meeting of 18 March 1830 had elected Colonel Hodson, Captain Dentaffe and W. H. Carroll as a committee to consider the subject of that letter and report on it. The same day the churchwardens wrote to Colonel Hodson, Captain Dentaffe and Mr Carroll. They told them that the vestry meeting of 18 March 1830 had appointed them a committee to look into the means of support of several free people of colour, as the enclosed government letter suggested. The churchwardens sent the letter and its enclosure and asked for them to be returned once the committee had finished with them. **Interpretations** The vestry put Captain Dentaffe, the registrar of emancipations, on the committee that would examine his own list. He had compiled the return of free people of colour whose means were doubtful. Now he would help judge what should be done about them. Colonel Hodson was one of the island's largest landholders and needed labour. Carroll was a merchant. The committee joined the official who recorded the freed population with the planters who

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		Committee for§ §the purpose of examining into the Means of subsistence§ §of several free People of Colour, as suggested in the§ §accompanying Letter from Government, which with its§ §enclosure we forward to you, requesting to have it§ §returned when done with§ §We remain &c.§ §St. Helena§ §4 April 1830§ §(Sd.) R. Brooke§ §G. W. Janisch§	stood to gain if that population were put to work. Nobody from the free population itself sat on it. Its findings would decide the future of the people it examined.
619	610	18 -§ §Dr. Parish of St. Helena in Account§ §1830§ §April 1 To the following Disbursements during the Year viz.§ §Salaries§ §Mr. Hoar Organist - up to 18th. June 1829§ §10 . 16 . 6§ §Mr. Croft - Clerk, Country Church§ §30§ §Jos. Jacks - Fish Market to August§ §14 . 6 . 2§ §Jas. Youd - Do.§ §18 . 17 . 8§ §Parochial Relief§ §to Fanny - 20/ per Month§ §£12§ §Drays Children - 1/ per day§ §18 . 5§ §James's Orphans - 22/6 per month§ §13 . 10§ §Robertson Children 2 Months 20/ -§ §2§ §Ann Hercules - 15/ -§ §9§ §John Carless - 15/ -§ §9§ §Jack Pancake - 15/ -§ §9§ §Marlborough 7 Months 9d. - day§ §8 . 6§ §Harlequin since 1st. Nov. 6d. -§ §4 . 10 . 6§ §Jack Wells - Do. 6d.§ §4 . 10 . 6§ §Sundry Paupers, temporary Relief§ §8 . 11 . 9§ §98 . 8 . 3§ §Hospital Account for Paupers, as per Bills§ §4 . 8 . 6§ §Interment Bills - Do. - Do.§ §7 . 8§ §Incidental Expenses§ §Cash paid for Carpenters Work, Country Church§ §£3 . 4 . 6§ §- paid, for making Weights for Fish Market§ §8§ §- paid Rich. Scott Senr. the Amount of Grand Jury's Award for execution of his Slave§ §10§ §- paid for washing Surplices§ §3§ §- paid for Paper & Pens§ §15§ §17 . 7 . 6§ §To Balance in hand§ §244 . 1 . 11§ §£445 . 14 . 6§ §Received from Mr. Robt. Brooke late Churchwarden§ §the above Balance of £244. 1. 11, together with the§ §Parish Books & Church plate. - G. W. Janisch§ §C. W.§	The parish of St Helena's account for the year to 1 April 1830 recorded the following spending. Salaries Mr Hoare, organist, up to 18 June 1829, £10 16s 6d Mr Croft, clerk of the country church, £30 0s 0d Joseph Jacks, clerk of the fish market, to August, £14 6s 2d James Youd, clerk of the fish market, from August, £18 17s 8d Parish relief Fanny, at 20s a month, £12 0s 0d Dray's children, at 1s a day, £18 5s 0d James's orphans, at 22s 6d a month, £13 10s 0d Robinson's children, 2 months at 20s a month, £2 0s 0d Ann Hercules, at 15s a month, £9 0s 0d John Caulis, at 15s a month, £9 0s 0d Jack Pancake, at 15s a month, £9 0s 0d Marlborough, 7 months at 9d a day, £8 0s 6d Harlequin, since 1 November at 6d a day, £4 10s 6d Jack Wells, since 1 November at 6d a day, £4 10s 6d Various paupers, temporary relief, £8 11s 9d Parish relief in all, £98 8s 3d Hospital account for paupers, as per bills, £4 8s 6d Burial bills, as per bills, £7 8s 0d Incidental costs Carpentry at the country church, £3 4s 6d Making weights for the fish market, £0 8s 0d Richard Scott senior, the grand jury's award for the execution of his slave, £10 0s 0d Laundering the surplices, £3 0s 0d Paper and pens, £0 15s 0d Incidental costs in all, £17 7s 6d Balance in hand, £244 1s 11d Total, £445 14s 6d G. W. Janisch signed a receipt for the balance of £244 1s 11d from Mr Robert Brooke, the former churchwarden, together with the parish books and church plate. **Interpretations** James Youd replaced Jacks as clerk of the fish market from August 1829. That followed the decision to dismiss Jacks and keep him on as a paid assistant. The organist's salary stopped in June 1829, and no successor appears for the rest of the year. With no organist to pay, the account was spared nearly £40, which helps explain the large balance. Harlequin and Jack Wells joined the pensioners in November 1829, both at 6d a day, the lowest rate. Harlequin was a stage name of the kind owners gave slaves. Like Hercules and Pancake, he was probably a freed man who had grown too old to work. Most of the parish's long-term relief now went to former slaves, which was the cost the vestry and the government had both foreseen. Richard Scott senior received £10 0s 0d for his executed slave, much less than earlier awards of £18 to £34. The grand jury valued each slave separately. A

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			lower award points to an old or less valuable slave. As slaves aged, with no new imports since 1792 and no children born into slavery since 1818, the compensation the parish paid on each execution was likely to fall. The year closed with £244 1s 11d in hand, far more than ever before. The house tax and the other property taxes were producing a growing surplus.
620	611	30§ §Current with Robert Brooke Churchwarden Cr.§ §1829§ §April 1 By Cash recd. from the late Church Warden being Balance in favor of the Parish§ §£135 . 18 . 8§ §Cash received from the Police Office being ½ the Amount of Dogtax for 1829§ §31 . 10§ §Cash received from the County Treasurers being 3/ of the Amount of the House tax levied in 1829 at 3/6 pr. £100§ §230 . 5 . 10§ §Cash received from the County Treasurers being Amount of Tax upon 24 Hackhorses at £2 each§ §48§ §E. E.§ §11th. April 1830§ §Robert Brooke C. W.§ §£445 . 14 . 6§	The credit side of the parish account current with Robert Brooke, churchwarden, recorded the following receipts. 1 April 1829, cash from the former churchwarden, the balance in the parish's favour, £135 18s 8d Cash from the police office, half the dog tax for 1829, £31 10s 0d Cash from the county treasurers, 3s of the house tax raised in 1829 at 3s 6d on every £100, £230 5s 10d Cash from the county treasurers, tax on 24 horses for hire at £2 each, £48 0s 0d Total, £445 14s 6d Robert Brooke signed the account as churchwarden on 10 April 1830, with the usual note that any errors were excepted. The opening balance brought in here is £135 18s 8d, against £135 7s 8d handed over at the close of the previous account. **Interpretations** The parish took 3s of the 3s 6d house tax, as the committee had decided in April 1829, and received £230 5s 10d. In 1828 two-thirds of the same rate had brought in almost exactly the same sum. Moving the extra share from the roads to the parish should have raised the parish's income, yet it stayed flat. The total yield of the house tax must therefore have fallen. Values may have been revised downward, or some houses may have stood empty or gone unpaid. The large balance at the year's end came from lower spending, especially on the organist, not from higher tax receipts.
621	612	Vestry Committee Meeting§ §13th. April 1830§ §The Parish & County Accounts were laid before the Committee§ §and examined§ §The following were appointed to serve as Constables§ §D. Cairncross§ §J. Redsdale§ §Resolved to submit that Capt. Armstrong & Mr. I. Moss§ §shall act as County Treasurers§ §Vestry Meeting - 13th. April 1830§ §The Parish & County Accounts were read & approved of. -§ §It appearing that a Sum of £240 or thereabouts is at§ §present in the hands of the Treasurers, it was proposed by Colonel§ §Hodson, & seconded by Mr. Lambe that £100 of the above Sum§ §be applied towards the repairs of the Streets in Jamestown§ §& to request the Government to receive this Sum & to take upon§ §themselves to execute the Work, - and to add such sum or other§ §assistance as may be required for its completion - Carried. -§ §The appointment of Constables was made known & the§ §proposal respecting Capt. Armstrong & Mr. Moss was approved of. -§ §A Letter from the Clerk Mr. Thompson was received§	On 13 April 1830 the vestry committee met and examined the parish and county accounts. It appointed D. Cairncross and J. Redsdale as constables. It agreed to recommend that Captain Armstrong and Mr J. Moss act as county treasurers. The vestry met the same day, heard the parish and county accounts read and approved them. The treasurers held about £240 0s 0d. Colonel Hodson proposed, and Mr Lambe seconded, that £100 0s 0d of it go towards repairing the streets of Jamestown. The vestry would ask the government to take the money and carry out the work, and to add whatever further money or other help the work needed. The motion was carried. The appointment of the constables was announced, and the proposal for Captain Armstrong and Mr Moss was approved. The vestry received a letter from Mr Thompson, the clerk, asking for some payment for leading the singing in the town church while Mr Hoare, the organist, was absent. Mr Janisch proposed, Mr Solomon seconded, and a majority agreed to give Mr Thompson £20 0s 0d. That was half the sum saved by Mr Hoare's absence. The payment rewarded his services in leading the chanting in the town church and showed the vestry's regard for his good character in general. The Reverend Mr Vernon spoke to the vestry at some length to explain the motion he meant to put. He then moved that vestry meetings should in future be held in the town hall rather than in the body of the church. The Reverend Mr Boys seconded the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

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		§respecting some remuneration for his singing in the Town Church§ §during the absence of Mr. Hoar, the Organist, it was proposed by§ §Mr. Janisch, seconded by Mr. Solomon & carried by Majority that§ §the sum of £20 - being half of the Amount saved by the absence§ §of Mr. Hoar, be given to Mr. Thompson, as a gratuity for his§ §services in Chaunting in the Town Church, and as a proof§ §of the regard entertained by the Vestry of his good Character§ §generally. -§ §The Revd. Mr. Vernon having addressed the Vestry§ §at some length, in explanation of the motion he had to submit§ §moved that the Vestry Meetings should in future be held in§ §the Town Hall, instead of the body of the Church. - The Motion§ §was seconded by the Revd. Mr. Boys & carried unanimously§	**Interpretations** The vestry handed £100 0s 0d to the government to repair the Jamestown streets. It had complained since 1827 that the streets were dangerous and that the government had never sent the orders it promised. The vestry could have given the work to its own trustees and contractors, as it did with the country roads. Instead it gave the money and the job to the government. Under the arrangement of 1824, the government shared the cost of the streets and controlled the work. Paying its share in advance removed the government's excuse for delay and left the government responsible for finishing the job. Thompson received half the savings from the organist's absence. The parish had saved nearly £40 while there was no organist. It shared the saving with the clerk who had led the singing in the meantime, and kept the rest. It was fair to the man who had done the extra work, and still cheaper than an organist. The two chaplains proposed moving vestry meetings out of the church into the town hall. By 1830 the vestry spent most of its time on taxes, roads, porterage, the fish market and the support of freed people. Those were civil matters, and their disputes were out of place in a consecrated building. The move marked the vestry's change into a civil council. The clergy themselves led it and wanted their church kept for worship.
622	613	Mr. Janisch submitted a motion respecting the§ §appropriation of the Horsetax towards the expenses of§ §the Parish, instead of its being paid over to the Honble.§ §Company's Widows' Fund, - seconded by Mr. Baker, but lost§ §by majority§ §The Meeting proceeded to the election of Parish Officers§ §when the following were appointed§ §Capt. Bennett - Churchwarden§ §Mr. Baker claims exemption, having served as Sheriff§ §Mr. McDaniel§ §Mr. Darling§ §Mr. S. Pritchard§ §& Pritchard§ §Committee§ §G. V. Lambe Esqr.§ §G. Blenkins Esqr.§ §W. Brabazon Esqr.§ §Sheriffs§ §Mr. W. Alexander Senr. having left the Island, Colonel§ §Hodson offered to act as Trustee of Roads in the South Division§ §To§ §Robt. Brooke & G. W. Janisch Esqrs. Churchwardens,§ §Gentlemen.§ §Your letter of this date accompanying the proceedings§ §of a Vestry Meeting having been laid before the Board I am§ §directed to furnish you with the following Resolutions thereon§ §The Governor & Council hope soon to come to a Resolution§ §on the subject of the Streets. -§ §The Constables nominated are approved. -§ §Nomination of County Collectors also approved. - The§ §Governor & Council can have no objection to the sum proposed§ §to be paid by the Parish to Mr. Thompson§	Mr Janisch moved that the horse tax be put towards the parish's costs, instead of being paid over to the Company's widows' fund. Mr Baker seconded the motion, but it was lost by a majority. The meeting then elected the parish officers, and the following were appointed. Churchwarden Captain Bennett Committee Mr Baker, who claimed exemption because he had served as sheriff Mr W. Daniel Mr Darling Mr J. Pritchard Dr Pritchard Sheriffs G. V. Lambe G. Blenkins W. Brabazon G. W. Alexander senior had left the island, so Colonel Hodson offered to act as trustee of roads for the southern division. On 15 April 1830 G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, Robert Brooke and G. W. Janisch. The Board had considered their letter of that date, which enclosed the proceedings of a vestry meeting, and sent them the following resolutions. The Governor and Council hoped soon to reach a decision about the streets. They approved the constables nominated and the county collectors. They had no objection to the sum the parish proposed to pay Mr Thompson. They approved the Reverend Mr Vernon's proposal. They approved the election of Captain Bennett as churchwarden. They could see no grounds at all for Mr Baker's claim to be excused from serving on the vestry committee. They appointed G. V. Lambe as sheriff for the coming year, and they approved Colonel Hodson's offer to act as trustee for the southern division. **Interpretations**

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		§The proposition of the Revd. Mr. Vernon is approved§ §The election of Captain Bennett to the Office of Churchwarden§ §is approved§ §The Governor & Council can see no ground whatever§ §for Mr. Baker's Plea of exemption from the duties of a Vestry§ §G. V. Lambe Esqr. is appointed Sheriff for the ensuing§ §Year. - Col. Hodsons offer to undertake the duties of Trustee in§ §the south division is approved. - I am Gentlemen &c.§ §St. Helena§ §15th. April 1830§ §(Sd.) G. Blenkins§ §Secy.§	The vestry learned that the horse tax was being paid into the Company's widows' fund, not to the parish. Janisch tried to reclaim it for parish costs, and a majority voted him down. The parish's own accounts, though, had shown the horse tax among its receipts for years. The motion probably concerned a share of the tax, or a new arrangement the government had made. The majority would not take money from the widows of the Company's servants. Many voters were themselves connected to the Company's service. With the parish holding a record balance, there was little reason to take money from the widows. Baker claimed that having served as sheriff excused him from the committee. The government rejected the claim. Parish office was a duty owed by every qualified householder, and serving in one post did not buy exemption from another. Men of standing could not use earlier service to avoid the committee's growing workload. The vestry relied on that rule to keep its offices filled.
623	614	Vestry Committee Meeting 6th. May 1830§ §It was agreed to fix the Tax upon Houses for the ensuing year§ §at 3/6 pr. £100; - 3/ to go towards the Parish Expenses and§ §the other 6d. to the County Expenses -§ §The Paupers who receive Assistance from the Parish§ §appeared before the Committee, when their cases were severally§ §entered into, and their Allowances fixed for the ensuing year§ §Forwarded in a letter 10 May§ §Mr. G. W. Janisch & Capt. Bennett§ §Churchwardens§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to acknowledge§ §the receipt of your letter of 10th. inst.§ §The Governor & Council upon receiving your extract from§ §the proceedings of the Vestry on 13 April, containing the proposition§ §for allotting £100 towards executing the projected improvements in§ §the Streets, observed that they would soon take the subject into§ §their consideration§ §I am now directed to inform you that the Board propose§ §as follows§ §1st. The Company to bear the entire expense of what is to be effected§ §from the Line to the upper part of Mr. Blenkins house; but before§ §commencing the Work they must have an estimate laid before them§ §which the Surveyor is ordered to prepare, as this part of the Work§ §must be the first to be completed no portion of the above Sum§ §of £100 can be required and therefore it need not be received§ §into the Treasury.§ §2nd. The Company will bear half the expense of the street§ §from Ladderhill corner to the foot of the Trees, and the whole§ §of the expense from thence to the Barrackgate§ §I am &c.§ §St. Helena§ §13th. May 1830§ §(Sd.) G. Blenkins§ §Secy.§	On 6 May 1830 the vestry committee met. It agreed to set the house tax for the coming year at 3s 6d on every £100 of value. Of this, 3s would go to parish costs and the other 6d to county costs. The paupers who received parish help appeared before the committee. It went through each case in turn and set their allowances for the coming year. A note in the margin recorded that the proceedings were forwarded in a letter of 10 May 1830. On 18 May 1830 G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, G. W. Janisch and Captain Bennett, acknowledging their letter of the 12th of the month. When the Governor and Council received the vestry's extract of 13 April 1830, setting aside £100 0s 0d for the planned improvements to the streets, they had said they would soon take up the matter. The Board now proposed the following. 1: The Company would bear the whole cost of the work from the line up to the top of Mr Blenkins's house. Before the work began, the Board must have an estimate, which the surveyor had been told to prepare. This part of the work had to be finished first, so none of the £100 0s 0d would be needed for it, and the money need not be paid into the treasury. 2: The Company would pay half the cost of the street from the Ladder Hill corner to the foot of the trees, and the whole cost from there to the barrack gate. **Interpretations** The government took on most of the street repairs at the Company's own expense, more than the parish had asked. The vestry had offered £100 0s 0d and asked the government to add whatever more was needed. Instead the Company would pay in full for the upper town and the stretch to the barrack gate, and half of the Ladder Hill section. The parish's money would go only towards its half of that middle stretch. The government's reason was strategic. The road to the barracks, and the streets around the line at the top of the town, served the garrison and the town's defence, so the Company treated them as its own. The parish paid only where the street served the townspeople alone. The first section ran to the top of Mr Blenkins's house, and Blenkins was the secretary who signed the letter. The Company would pay in full for the stretch past the secretary's own door, and that stretch would be done first. Whatever the military logic, the official who wrote the decision stood to gain from it.

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624	615	Vestry Committee Meeting 23rd. Sept. 1830§ §Several Applications for Relief were received, for the§ §Particulars of which see the Book kept for that purpose§ §G. W. Janisch Esqr. & Capt. Bennett§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §As Captain Den Taaffe has drawn out so very full a§ §report upon the subject of persons whose mode of living is somewhat§ §questionable it can hardly be necessary to refer this subject to§ §a Committee as originally proposed: In your capacity therefore as§ §Churchwardens assisted by Capt. Den Taaffe you will please to§ §select the names of those persons who appear proper subjects for§ §notice, and add to the remarks of Capt. Den Taaffe, whatever§ §propositions you may have to suggest with the view of§ §preventing idle or dissolute persons from indulging in habits§ §injurious to themselves as well as to society§ §I am &c.§ §St. Helena§ §27 May 1830§ §(Sd.) G. Blenkins§ §G. W. Janisch Esqr. & Capt. Bennett§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Honble. the Governor & Council§ §to intimate their desire that you should immediately obtain§ §a List of the Persons wishing to go to service or of being§ §bound Apprentices and which List they would recommend§ §should be afterwards left at the Police Office for the information§ §of such Persons as may be desirous of employing them and that§ §a Notice to that effect should be published by you§ §The Governor & Council expect that the Churchwardens§ §will try all Means in their power to obtain employment for such as§ §require it, and I am directed to suggest the propriety of your§ §discouraging any more apprentices being bound either to Tryfers§	On 23 September 1830 the vestry committee met and received several applications for relief. The details were entered in the book kept for that purpose. On 29 May 1830 G. Blenkins, secretary to the government, had written to the churchwardens, G. W. Janisch and Captain Bennett. Captain Dentaffe had drawn up a very full report on people whose way of life was doubtful or open to question. Blenkins thought there was hardly any need to refer the matter to a committee, as first planned. The churchwardens, with Captain Dentaffe's help, were to pick out the people who seemed to need attention. To Captain Dentaffe's remarks they were to add whatever proposals they had for stopping idle or dissolute people from falling into habits harmful to themselves and to society. In a later letter the government told the churchwardens, G. W. Janisch and Captain Bennett, that the Governor and Council wanted them to draw up at once a list of people who wished to go into service or be bound as apprentices. Once the churchwardens had added their recommendations, the list would be left at the police office for anyone who wanted to employ them. The churchwardens were to publish a notice to that effect. The Governor and Council expected them to do all they could to find work for those who needed it. The government also suggested that they should discourage any more apprentices from being bound either to tailors [...]. **Interpretations** The government dropped the vestry committee of Hodson, Dentaffe and Carroll elected in March 1830. It gave the work straight to the churchwardens and the registrar of emancipations. A committee would have reported back and needed further meetings. The churchwardens, with Dentaffe's list in hand, could act at once. The question had shifted from relief to discipline. The aim was now to identify "idle or dissolute" free people and steer them into service. The list of people wanting service or apprenticeship would be kept at the police office, where employers could choose from it. That put the placement of free people of colour into work under police oversight. It produced what Janisch had sought in 1826: a supply of free labour directed by the authorities into households and farms. The government wanted fewer apprentices bound to tailors and, presumably, similar town trades. Town trades kept young free people in Jamestown, where the planters said labour was drifting. Discouraging those apprenticeships would push the rising generation of freed children towards farm service and domestic work in the country, the very labour the landholders said they lacked.
625	616	or Shoemakers (these Trades being now overstocked). In the§ §several trades of Plasterers, Slaters, Painters & Glaziers, the§ §Saddlers, Blacksmiths & perhaps some others Apprentices would be§ §desirable, but above all, as Husbandmen§ §I am &c.§ §25th. Novr. 1830§ §Signed R. F. Seale§ §Secy. to Government§ §Enclosed are two Lists of some here who require employment§ §Vestry Committee Meeting 14th. Feby. 1831§ §Applications for Relief were received, for which see the§ §Book kept for that purpose§ §The Committee balloted for the admission of a Child to§	The government wanted the churchwardens to discourage further apprenticeships to tailors or shoemakers, since those trades were now overcrowded. Apprentices would be useful in the trades of plasterers, slaters, painters, glaziers, saddlers, blacksmiths and perhaps some others. Above all, they were needed as farm labourers. R. F. Seale signed the letter as secretary to the government on 25 November 1830. Two lists of people who needed work were enclosed. On 14 February 1831 the vestry committee met and received applications for relief, which were entered in the book kept for that purpose. The committee held a ballot to choose a child for a place at the upper school. The choice fell on Mr Charlett's daughter, and the Governor and Council later confirmed the appointment. On 21 February 1831 the vestry committee met and received further applications for relief.

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		§the Upper School, when the Choice fell upon Mr. Charlett's daughter;§ §which appointment on having been afterwards submitted to the§ §Honble. the Governor & Council; was confirmed. -§ §Vestry Committee Meeting 21 Feby. 1831§ §Further applications for Relief were received§	**Interpretations** The government named the trades it wanted the freed young people to learn. Tailoring and shoemaking were crowded town trades that needed little capital and kept workers in Jamestown. The building trades were in short supply, and on a small island with Company works and new houses to build they would pay. Above all, the government wanted farm labourers. That confirmed what its earlier letter implied. Steering apprentices away from town trades and into farming would supply the planters with the labour they said they lacked as slavery wound down. The committee now chose children for the free school places by ballot. In 1827 the parish's places had lapsed through neglect, and in 1829 the churchwardens had chosen Sophia Banks on their own judgement. A ballot spread the patronage among the committee and protected the choice from claims of favouritism. Charlett had paid the poll tax on several heads, so a respectable household again received the place.
626	617	Blank page	
627	618	18 -§ §Dr. The Parish of St. Helena in Account§ §1831§ §April To the following Disbursements during the year viz.§ §Salaries§ §Mr. Croft, - Clerk - Country Church§ §£30§ §Mr. Youd - Fishmarket§ §33§ §63§ §Parochial Relief§ §to Fanny 20/ per Month§ §£12§ §Drays Children 1/ per day§ §18 . 5§ §James's Orphans 22/6 for 2 Months, 15/ for 10 Months§ §9 . 15§ §John Calais 15/ per Month§ §9§ §Harlequin§ §9§ §Marlborough§ §9§ §Jack Wells§ §9§ §Jack Pancake - 3½ Month§ §2 . 13 . 4§ §Ann Hercules - 7 Do.§ §5 . 5§ §Wade temporary, and since 15/ per Month§ §5 . 15§ §Fergel at sundry times§ §2 . 8 . 7§ §Frances 15/ per Month 11 Months§ §8 . 5§ §Greens Children 10/ Do. 9 Do.§ §4 . 10§ §Bedwell 15/ Do.§ §3 . 7 . 6§ §temporary Relief to sundry Paupers§ §6 . 14 . 6§ §117 . 18 . 11§ §Hospital Accounts for Paupers§ §4 . 18 . 6§ §Interment Expences of Paupers§ §9§ §Incidental Expences§ §Washing Surplices§ §£3§ §Cash paid Mason at Country Church§ §5 . 1§	The parish of St Helena's account for the year to April 1831 recorded the following spending. Salaries Mr Croft, clerk of the country church, £30 0s 0d Mr Youd, clerk of the fish market, £33 0s 0d Salaries in all, £63 0s 0d Parish relief Fanny, at 20s a month, £12 0s 0d Dray's children, at 1s a day, £18 5s 0d James's orphans, at 22s 6d a month for 2 months and 15s a month for 10 months, £9 15s 0d John Caulis, at 15s a month, £9 0s 0d Harlequin, at 15s a month, £9 0s 0d Marlborough, at 15s a month, £9 0s 0d Jack Wells, at 15s a month, £9 0s 0d Jack Pancake, 3½ months at 15s a month, £2 13s 4d Ann Hercules, 7 months at 15s a month, £5 5s 0d Wade, temporary relief and now 15s a month, £5 15s 0d Bengal, at various times, £2 8s 7d Frances, 11 months at 15s a month, £8 5s 0d Green's children, 9 months at 10s a month, £4 10s 0d Bedwell, at 15s a month, £3 7s 6d Various paupers, temporary relief, £6 14s 6d Parish relief in all, £117 18s 11d Hospital accounts for paupers, £4 18s 6d Burial costs of paupers, £9 0s 0d Incidental costs Laundering the surplices, £3 0s 0d A mason at the country church, £0 5s 1d The painter for work done, including paint from the store, £7 5s 8d Mr Thompson, the sum granted by the vestry, £20 0s 0d Loss on the change in the currency, on capital of £238 10s 0d, £17 17s 6d Paper, pens and other items, £3 6s 0d Incidental costs in all, £51 14s 3d Balance in hand in the parish's favour, £311 1s 8d Total, £557 13s 4d Captain Bennett, churchwarden, signed a receipt for the balance of £311 1s 8d from Mr G. W. Janisch, the former churchwarden, together with the parish books and church plate. **Interpretations** The parish lost £17 17s 6d, 7½ per cent of its cash, through another change in the currency. In 1824 it had lost £10 2s 9d on the same kind of change. Both times the parish was holding a large

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§- paid the Painter for Work done including Paint from the Store§ §7 . 5 . 8§ §- paid Mr. Thompson, Amount granted by Vestry§ §20§ §Amount of Loss sustained in consequence of the change in the Currency. Applied to £238. 10.§ §17 . 17 . 6§ §Cash paid for Paper, Pens &c.§ §3 . 6§ §51 . 14 . 3§ §Balance in hand, being in favor of the Parish§ §311 . 1 . 8§ §£557 . 13 . 4§ §Received from Mr. G. W. Janisch, late§ §Churchwarden, the above balance of £311. 1. 8, together§ §with the Parish Books & Church Plate§ §J. Bennett Church Wardn.§	balance in coin when the official value of that coin was cut. Its growing reserve, £238 10s 0d when the change came, made it more exposed than in the lean years. The vestry had been building a surplus instead of cutting the tax or lending the money out. Keeping it in coin carried a real risk on an island whose money was set by the government's rates. Most pensioners now received a standard 15s a month, against the mixture of daily rates used earlier. Caulis, Harlequin, Marlborough, Wells, Frances and Bedwell were all paid the same. The committee had reviewed every pauper in person in 1830 and set the allowances afresh. A single rate made the relief easier to manage and harder to argue about. It put a fixed value on a pauper's needs, whatever each one's circumstances. The balance in hand reached £311 1s 8d, the highest in the book, even after the currency loss and the payment to Thompson. Relief rose to nearly £118, yet the property taxes still left a large surplus each year. The parish had more money than it needed, and the vestry kept the rate at 3s 6d.
628	619	31§ §Current with G. W. Janisch, Church Warden Cr.§ §1830§ §April By Cash received from the late Church Warden being Balance in favor of the Parish§ §£244 . 1 . 11§ §- Cash received from the Police Office being half the Amount of Dogtax for 1830§ §31 . 15§ §- Cash received from the County Treasurers being 3/ of the Amount of the House tax levied in 1830 at 3/6 pr. every £100§ §233 . 16 . 5§ §- Cash received from the County Treasurers being Amount of Tax upon 24 Hackhorses§ §48§ §E. E.§ §St. Helena§ §3 April 1831§ §G. W. Janisch§ §Churchwarden§ §£557 . 13 . 4§	The credit side of the parish account current with G. W. Janisch, churchwarden, recorded the following receipts. April 1830, cash from the former churchwarden, the balance in the parish's favour, £244 1s 11d Cash from the police office, half the dog tax for 1830, £31 15s 0d Cash from the county treasurers, 3s of the house tax raised in 1830 at 3s 6d on every £100, £233 16s 5d Cash from the county treasurers, tax on 24 horses for hire, £48 0s 0d Total, £557 13s 4d G. W. Janisch signed the account as churchwarden at St Helena on 3 April 1831, with the usual note that any errors were excepted.
629	620	Vestry Meeting§ §4th. April 1831§ §The County & Parish Accounts for the last year were§ §read, and having been previously examined by the Committee were§ §passed. -§ §The Committee stated that they had appointed Mr. John§ §Miller & Mr. J. Rose to act as Constables, - and that they proposed§ §Capt. Young & Mr. R. Torbett as Collectors. which were approved of. -§ §The Vestry proceeded to the election of Churchwardens when§ §Mr. S. Pritchard was chosen, and Messrs. Beale, J. Bagley, J. Firmin§ §S. Solomon Mr. Fowler were appointed Members of Committee which§ §consist thereof at present of§ §Mr. McDaniel§ §Mr. Darling§ §Mr. Beale§ §Mr. J. Bagley§ §Mr. J. Firmin§ §Mr. S. Solomon§ §Mr. W. Fowler§ §A Letter from Mr. Thompson the Clerk having been§ §laid before the Vestry, requesting some remuneration for the§ §additional trouble he has of chaunting in the Town	On 4 April 1831 a vestry met. The committee had already examined the county and parish accounts for the past year, and the vestry heard them read and passed them. The committee reported that it had appointed Mr John Miller and Mr J. Rose as constables. It proposed Captain Young and Mr R. Torbett as collectors, and the vestry approved them. The vestry then elected Mr J. Pritchard churchwarden. It appointed Mr Beale, J. Bagley, J. Firmin, S. Solomon and W. Fowler to the committee. The committee therefore consisted of the following. Mr W. Daniel Mr Darling Mr Beale Mr J. Bagley Mr J. Firmin Mr S. Solomon Mr W. Fowler The vestry heard a letter from Mr Thompson, the clerk, asking for payment for the extra work of leading the chanting in the town church while Mr Hoare, the organist, was still absent. It agreed to give him £12 12s 0d. The following were nominated as sheriffs. J. Bagley, 6 votes G. Blenkins, 8 votes S. Young, 8 votes

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		Church in§ §consequence of the continued absence of Mr. Hoare the Organist§ §it was agreed to present him with a donation of £12. 12. -§ §The following were nominated Sheriffs§ §J. Bagley Esqr. 6 votes§ §G. Blenkins Esqr. 8 -§ §S. Young Esqr. 8 -§ §The Trustees of Roads, Col. Hodson, Mr. H. Seale & Captain§ §Sampson offered to continue in office for another, which was§ §agreed to. -§ §The above Proceedings were forwarded to Government§ §& approved of by a letter from Mr. R. Seale, the Secretary. of 7 April§ §1831§	The trustees of roads, Colonel Hodson, Mr H. Seale and Captain Sampson, offered to serve for another year, and the vestry agreed. The proceedings were sent to the government. Mr R. Seale, the secretary, approved them in a letter of 7 April 1831. **Interpretations** The vote counts beside the sheriffs' names show that the ballot was real. Blenkins and Young received eight votes each and Bagley six. The vestry put forward three names for the Governor to choose from. The figures show how small the vestry had become. Only a handful of men cast votes, because since 1827 only householders with houses worth £300 or more could take part. The vestry that chose the island's sheriffs now had fewer than 20 voters. Thompson was paid again for leading the singing, at £12 12s 0d, less than the £20 0s 0d of 1830. Mr Hoare was still absent and drew no salary. The parish could have hired a new organist. Instead it paid the clerk a modest gratuity and kept the savings. With a balance of over £300 in hand, the choice was not forced by poverty. The vestry evidently felt the chanting did well enough without an organist.
630	621	To R. F. Seale Esquire§ §Secretary to Government§ §&c. - &c. - &c.§ §Sir, I beg leave to enclose for the information of the Honble. the Governor and§ §Council, an extract from the proceedings of a Meeting of the Vestry Committee,§ §which was held on the 5th. Instant. I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant§ §St. Helena§ §12 May 1831§ §(Signed) J. Bennett§ §Church Warden§ §"Extract of the proceedings of the Vestry Committee held on 5 May 1831§ §"It was agreed to fix the Tax upon houses for the ensuing year at 3/6d. per every§ §£100 - 3/ to go towards the expences of the Parish; and 6d. for the County§ §Expences; with the hope, that whatever part of the Balance can be appropriated§ §towards a permanent alteration at the County Church, which is so obviously necessary§ §may be done as soon as possible."§ §"They then balloted for the admission of a Child on the Foundation of the§ §Upper School, when the Election fell upon "Benjamin Bagley".§ §"Two Bills were presented by the Jailer for the maintenance of Letitia§ §Mills and John Ghoff, payment of which is resisted upon the plea, that the§ §Individuals are independent of Parish Aid" (Signed) "J. Bennett§ §Church Warden"§	On 12 May 1831 J. Bennett, churchwarden, wrote from St Helena to R. F. Seale, secretary to the government. He enclosed for the Governor and Council an extract from the proceedings of the vestry committee meeting held on 5 May 1831. The extract recorded that the committee agreed to set the house tax for the coming year at 3s 6d on every £100. Of this, 3s would go to parish costs and 6d to county costs. The committee hoped that whatever part of the balance could be spared would go as soon as possible towards a permanent alteration at the country church, which was plainly needed. The committee then held a ballot for a place on the foundation of the upper school, and the choice fell on Benjamin Bagley. The gaoler presented two bills for keeping Letitia Mills and John Gloff. The committee refused to pay them, on the ground that these people did not depend on parish relief. J. Bennett signed the extract as churchwarden. **Interpretations** The committee refused to pay the gaoler for keeping Letitia Mills and John Gloff because they were not paupers. For years the parish had paid the gaoler's bills for prisoners, many of them free blacks, as a matter of routine. The committee now set a limit. It would pay only for people who would otherwise be on parish relief. Anyone with means of their own was expected to pay for their own keep in gaol, or the government was. This narrowed the parish's liability at a time when it held over £300 in hand. The parish was keeping its money for its paupers, not because it was short. The committee planned to spend part of its large balance on a permanent alteration to the country church. The parish had built up more than £300 and had lost part of it to the currency change. Spending it on the building turned idle cash into lasting property and removed it from the risk of another revaluation. The committee also kept the tax rate unchanged instead of lowering it.
631	622	Blank page	
632	623	Copy - of the 73rd. Paragraph of the Honble. Court of Directors'§ §General Letter to St. Helena under date 19th. Jany. 1831.§ §Par. 73rd. - We cannot consent to the abolition of the Horse tax.§ §We admit that the payment of the proceeds of it to a Fund§	Paragraph 73 of the Court of Directors' general letter to St Helena of 19 January 1831 was copied into the book. The Court would not agree to abolish the horse tax. It admitted that paying the money it raised into a fund for the benefit of Company servants was an objectionable arrangement. That fund did not seem to need the money any longer. In future, the proceeds of the horse tax were to be paid

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		§for the benefit of Company's Servants is an objectionable§ §arrangement arrangement; and as that Fund does not§ §appear to require the continuance of this aid, We desire§ §that in future the proceeds of the Horse tax be paid§ §into our Treasury§ §"a true Copy" (Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy. to Govt.§ §James Bennett and§ §S. A. Pritchard, Esquires§ §Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to enclose Copy of§ §the Boards' resolution of this date.§ §I am also directed to acknowledge the receipt of the pro-§ §-ceedings of the Vestry Committee, which they approve, with the exception of the§ §refusal to pay the Jailers bills. With respect to Ghoff, his Mother is al-§ §ready on the Parish, and as he is an idiot, the Parish is undoubtedly liable§ §to disburse the Bill alluded to. - Letitia Mills' case will be before the§ §Magistrate, whose report, will be communicated hereafter§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your Obdt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §12 May 1831§ §(Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy.§ §Copy Boards resolution, dated the 12th. May 1831.§ §It having been represented to the Governor and Council, that at the late ballot§ §in Vestry for a Foundation Scholar at the Honble. Company's Head School, that there was one§ §candidate, upon whom, had the election fallen, the parents of some of the Children at the School§ §would have withdrawn their Daughters, - It may therefore be proper on this occasion to bring§ §into view the regulations for the Schools, as contained in General Decision in July 1811,§ §and approved by the Honble. Court of Directors.§ §Those regulations expressly specify the class of Children for which the upper§ §School has been established and maintained at the Company's Expense.§ §The Regulations also provide, that the Governor and Council shall have§ §a full controling power over the Company's Schools, and altho' the Vestry are privileged to nomi-§ §nate four Children on the Foundation, yet in their elections, they should bear in mind§ §the existing regulations, so as to avert the necessity of the Governor and Council exercising that§ §Control with which they are vested.§ §(True Copy) (Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy.§ **Margin Notes:** §Where are the Proceedings of [...] May 1831§	into the Company's treasury. R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, certified the copy. A faint note in the margin referred to the proceedings of 5 May [...]. On 12 May 1831 R. F. Seale wrote to the churchwardens, James Bennett and S. A. Pritchard. He enclosed a copy of the Board's resolution of that date. The Governor and Council approved the vestry committee's proceedings, except its refusal to pay the gaoler's bills. As to Gloff, his mother was already supported by the parish. He was an idiot, so the parish was clearly liable to pay that bill. Letitia Mills's case would go before the magistrate, whose report would be passed on later. The Board's resolution of 12 May 1831, certified by R. F. Seale, recorded the following. The Governor and Council had been told that at the recent ballot in the vestry for a foundation scholar at the Company's head school, one candidate was of a kind such that, had the choice fallen on that child, the parents of some children at the school would have taken their daughters away. The Board therefore thought it right to point to the school regulations set out in the general orders of July 1811 and approved by the Court of Directors. These regulations stated the class of children for whom the upper school had been set up and kept at the Company's expense. They also gave the Governor and Council full control over the Company's schools. The vestry had the right to nominate four children to the foundation, but in choosing them it should keep the regulations in mind. The Governor and Council would then not need to use the control they held. **Interpretations** The Court took the horse tax for the Company's own treasury. In April 1830 the vestry had voted down Janisch's motion to take the tax from the widows' fund for the parish. The Court now agreed that paying it to a fund for Company servants was wrong, but gave it neither to the parish nor back to the ratepayers. It moved the money into its own treasury. The parish's accounts had shown the horse tax as parish income. Losing it would cost the parish about £48 a year, a large part of its surplus. The Board warned the vestry off a candidate whose election would have made parents take their daughters out of the upper school. The record does not name the child or say why. The regulations it cited set the "class of children" for whom the school was meant. The most likely reason, given everything else in the book, is that the candidate was a child of colour, perhaps one of the free children whose families the registrar had listed. White parents would not have their daughters taught alongside such a child. The Board did not openly bar the candidate. It reminded the vestry that the Company controlled the school and could overrule its choice. The parish's right to nominate held only so long as it chose children the school's existing families would accept. The Board ruled that the parish must pay to keep Gloff in gaol. The committee had refused, saying he did not depend on parish relief. But his mother was already a parish pauper, and he was an "idiot" who could not support himself. That made him a dependant of the parish whether or not he had been formally relieved.
633	624	To§ §James Bennett & S. A. Pritchard, Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen, I am desired by His Majesty's Bench of Justices§ §to inform you, that they have investigated the case of Letitia -§ §and find from undoubted evidence, she is frequently in a§ §deranged state of mind - it must therefore be the	On 16 May 1831 William Henry Seale, clerk of the peace, wrote to the churchwardens, James Bennett and S. A. Pritchard. His Majesty's Bench of Justices had examined the case of Letitia Mills. They had found clear evidence that she was often of unsound mind. The parish was therefore bound to provide for her keep in future, and to pay the under-gaoler's bill already run up. On 13 June 1831 R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, James

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		bounden§ §duty of the Parish to provide for her maintenance in future,§ §as well as for the Amount of the Sub-jailer's Bill, already§ §incurred§ §I have the Honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your obedt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §16 May 1831§ §(Signed) Wm. Hy. Seale§ §C. P.§ §To§ §James Bennett & S. A. Pritchard Esquires§ §Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen,§ §In conformity to a former proposal from the§ §Vestry Committee,* I am directed by the Governor and§ §Council to desire you will call a Meeting of the§ §Committee, to nominate a certain number of Persons§ §to act as Ticket Porters on the Wharf.§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your obedt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §13th. June 1831§ §(Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy.§ **Margin Notes:** §* proceedings 25 May 1829§	Bennett and S. A. Pritchard. In line with an earlier proposal from the vestry committee, the Governor and Council asked them to call a committee meeting to nominate a number of people to act as ticket porters on the wharf. A note in the margin referred to the committee's proceedings of 25 May 1829. **Interpretations** Letitia Mills was found to be insane, so her keep fell on the parish. The committee had refused the gaoler's bill on the ground that she was not a pauper. The justices ruled that her madness made her one, since she could not support herself. Like Gloff, she was held in gaol because the island had no asylum, and the parish bore the cost. Insanity, like idiocy, made a person the parish's dependant whether or not they had applied for relief. Sarah, the insane slave kept in a cell at Sandy Bay in 1829, showed the same lack of any place for the mentally ill other than a cell. The government finally put the porterage scheme into effect two years after the vestry drew up its rules. The ticket porters would serve only on the wharf, as the government had insisted in May 1829. The delay came from the exchange of letters in 1829, when each side waited for the other. The government now asked the committee to name the porters. That kept the choice of who could earn a living at the landing place in the hands of the vestry committee, as Janisch's original plan had proposed.
634	625	St. Helena 25th. June 1831.§ §To§ §R. F. Seale Esquire§ §Secretary to Government§ §Sir, In accordance with the desire of the Honble. the Governor§ §and Council communicated in your Letter, addressed to us, dated§ §13th. Instant, the Vestry Committee assembled on Monday last, and§ §the following is an Extract of their proceedings,§ §Resolved - That the Honble. the Governor and Council be requested§ §to publish by proclamation the Original Regulations for a system of§ §Porterage in order that those Persons who may be willing to become§ §Licensed Porters, shall appear before the Vestry Committee on Monday§ §the 4th. July next, that the names of those who are eligible may be§ §submitted for the approval of Government, after which, they will receive§ §their Licenses from the Church Wardens§ §The Committee, in reference to their Resolution of 5th. May§ §last, respecting the appropriation of part of the Parish Funds, in§ §affording additional accommodation at the Country Church, appointed a§ §Sub Committee consisting of the Revd. Mr. Vernon, the Church Wardens§ §with Mr. A. Beale and Mr. Darling to take the Subject immediately§ §into consideration and to offer such suggestions as shall enable them§ §to submit to the Honorable Board a proposal for remedying the§ §inconvenience so much complained of.§ §It was also agreed, that, as a portion of the Sum of £100,§ §which had been voted for the repairs of the Streets	On 25 June 1831 the churchwardens, J. Bennett and S. A. Pritchard, wrote to R. F. Seale, secretary to the government. As the Governor and Council had asked in Seale's letter of 13 June 1831, the vestry committee had met the previous Monday. They sent the following extract from its proceedings. The committee resolved to ask the Governor and Council to publish the original porterage regulations by proclamation. Anyone wishing to become a licensed porter would then appear before the vestry committee on Monday 4 July 1831. The names of those found eligible would go to the government for approval, and the churchwardens would then issue their licences. The committee referred to its resolution of 5 May 1831 on using part of the parish funds to provide more room at the country church. It appointed a sub-committee of the Reverend Mr Vernon, the churchwardens, Mr A. Beale and Mr Darling to take up the question at once. They were to make whatever suggestions would let the committee put to the Board a proposal to remedy the inconvenience so widely complained of. Part of the £100 0s 0d voted for repairing the streets had recently been spent on that work. The committee agreed that the rest should go at once towards finishing this very necessary task. It hoped the government would add whatever help it chose to the sum the parish had given. The committee considered the petition of Amoret Young, forwarded to the churchwardens on 7 June 1830. In its view the petition misstated the valuation of Mr Darling's house, which was assessed at £1,200 and not £400 as the petitioner claimed. Apart from that, the committee thought no change should be made to the house list until the whole list was revised. **Interpretations** The committee would examine every applicant for a porter's licence in person, then send the approved names to the government. The parish chose and the government confirmed, the same

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		was recently expend-§ §ed in prosecution of that design - the remainder should be imme-§ §-diately applied for completing this highly necessary undertaking, in§ §the hope that Government will be pleased to grant such assistance in§ §aid of the amount contributed by the Parish, as they shall be pleased§ §to render.§ §The petition of Amoret Young which was forwarded to the§ §Church Wardens on the 7th. June 1830 having been laid before the§ §Committee - they are of opinion that besides a misstatement which it§ §contains, respecting the valuation of Mr. Darling's House, which is assessed§ §for £1200 instead of £400 as stated by Petitioner, no alteration should take§ §place in the House list, until a general revision of the whole shall be ordered§ §We have the Honor to be§ §Sir, Your Obedt. Servants§ §J. Bennett§ §S. A. Pritchard§ §Church Wardens§	pattern as the sheriffs. The vestry, which had only a handful of property-owning voters, now decided who could work at the wharf. Most of the applicants would have been free men of colour, who did much of the island's casual labour, though the record does not say so. The licensing system Janisch proposed in 1826 had come into force. The committee needed more room at the country church, which points to a growing congregation in the country districts. The government had seated free black men and women in their own pews there since 1822. Free children born since 1818 were now old enough to attend. The parish had plenty of money, and the committee chose to spend it on the building rather than cut the tax. The committee refused to change the house valuation on a single petition. Amoret Young appears to have complained that her house was rated too high compared with Mr Darling's. The committee replied that she had got Darling's figure wrong, and that any change should wait for a full revision. Adjusting one house at a time would invite every ratepayer to petition. A general revision kept the values consistent with one another, which mattered more to a tax based on property than any single figure.
635	626	To§ §James Bennett Esquire§ §& S. A. Pritchard Esquire§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen,§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to forward§ §a rough draft of regulation for the proposed System of Porterage,§ §which have been modified from those originally furnished by the§ §Vestry Committee.§ §I am further directed to communicate the wish of§ §the Board, that (in the outset) none but persuasive arguments§ §may be used to induce persons to undertake the business of Porters§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your Obedient Servant§ §St. Helena§ §11th. July 1831§ §(Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy.§ §(Copy)§ §Draft of the Rough Regulation for Ticket Porters.§ §The Vestry Committee having recommended the adoption of§ §sundry Rules and Regulations for the improvement of the System of§ §Porterage, which in the opinion of the Committee would essentially induce§ §towards facilitating the transport of baggage &c. from the Wharf, and§ §afford security to all Persons, more particularly to Officers of Ships and§ §Passengers arriving from various parts of the World, who are obliged to§ §entrust their Property to the care of unknown carriers. The Governor§ §and Council are pleased to give Notice - That all Persons (Slaves§ §excepted), who may be desirous of becoming Licensed Porters, under§ §the following Regulations and Conditions are required to give their§ §attendance before the Vestry Committee on Monday the 18th. Day of July,§	On 11 July 1831 R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, James Bennett and S. A. Pritchard. He sent them a rough draft of regulations for the proposed porterage system, revised from those the vestry committee had first submitted. The Board also wished that, at the start, only persuasion be used to get people to take up the work of porters. The draft of the rough regulations for ticket porters was copied below. The vestry committee had recommended various rules for improving porterage. In the committee's view, they would greatly help the carrying of baggage and other goods from the wharf. They would also give security to everyone, especially ships' officers and passengers arriving from all parts of the world, who had to trust their belongings to carriers they did not know. The Governor and Council therefore gave notice that everyone except slaves who wished to become a licensed porter on the following terms should attend the vestry committee on Monday 18 July 1831. The names of those thought worthy of so exclusive and profitable a business would be noted and reported to the Governor and Council. 1: Eighteen people, whose general character the vestry committee approved and recommended, would have the right to act as porters in any part of the island [...]. **Interpretations** The government shut slaves out of the porterage licences. Porterage was one of the few ways a slave could earn money of his own, by hiring himself out or being hired out by his owner. That money could help buy his freedom. Barring slaves kept the licensed trade for free men. It also removed a route to self-purchase for slaves in Jamestown. The government wanted only persuasion used, at least at first, to bring men into the scheme. That points to a wariness that people would refuse the conditions: a badge, a fixed tariff, fines for refusing work, and the committee's judgement of their character. The government called the business "exclusive and profitable" to attract applicants. Its draft also raised the number of porters from the vestry's 12 to 18 and allowed them to work anywhere on the island, not only within James Valley. In 1829 the government had confined the monopoly to the

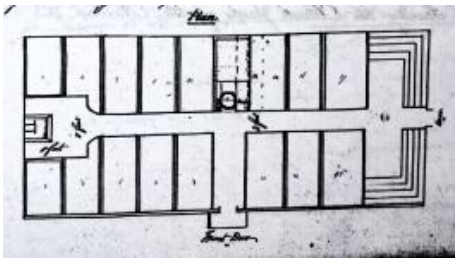
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		§Instant, in order that the Names of such as may be thought§ §deserving of so exclusive and profitable a business may be noted§ §and reported on, for the information of the Governor and Council.§ §Regn. 1st. Eighteen persons whose general character shall be§ §approved and recommended by the Vestry Committee will be§ §entitled to the privilege of acting as Porters in any part of the§ §Island§	wharf. It had now widened both the number of licensed porters and the area they covered.
636	627	Island upon receiving a Licence to that Effect, to be signed§ §by the sitting Magistrate. These Persons will be required to§ §wear a Tin Badge on the Left Arm, bearing the initials§ §of the words Licensed Porter - and underneath which the Number§ §to be affixed to each Individuals License.§ §2nd. - A list of the Licensed Porters, and the Rates al-§ §lowed to be demanded, together with a specification of the hours§ §of attendance will be published by the Clerk of the Peace, under§ §authority of the Magistrate.§ §3rd. For any Duty to be performed before or after the§ §regular hours, the Licensed Porters will be permitted to demand§ §an advance on the established rates equal to one half, of the§ §amount, to be affixed in the table of rates or alluded to in§ §Regulation No. 4.§ §extend to 4th. The above Regulations are neither meant nor intended§ §to Proprietors employing their Servants upon their own immediate§ §duties.§ §5th. - The Health Boat will take off to all Ships§ §arriving in these roads, Printed Caution, recommending the§ §employment of Ticket Porters in preference to others§ §R. F. Seale Esquire§ §Secretary to Government§ §&c. &c. &c.§ §Sir§ §We duly received your letter enclosing draft of the§ §Regulations for Porterage - and the Vestry Committee§ §assembled on the 18th. but no applicants appeared.§ §Will you be pleased to make the same known§ §to the Honorable the Governor and Council§ §I have the Honor to be§ §Sir Your obedt. Servant§ §(Signed) J. Bennett§ §St. Helena§ §20th. July 1831.§ **Margin Notes:** §L.P. No. 1§	Each porter would receive a licence signed by the sitting magistrate. Each would wear a tin badge on the left arm bearing the letters "L.P.", for Licensed Porter, with the number of his licence beneath. A sketch of the badge, marked "L.P." and "No. 1", stood in the margin. 2: The clerk of the peace, under the magistrate's authority, would publish a list of the licensed porters, the charges they could make and their hours of work. 3: For any work done before or after the regular hours, licensed porters could charge half as much again as the fixed rate. That rate would be set in the table of charges mentioned in regulation 4. 4: These regulations did not apply to owners employing their own servants on their own immediate business. 5: The health boat would take printed notices out to every ship arriving in the roads, recommending ticket porters in preference to others. On 20 July 1831 J. Bennett, churchwarden, wrote to R. F. Seale, secretary to the government. The churchwardens had received his letter with the draft porterage regulations. The vestry committee had met on 18 July 1831, but no applicants had come forward. Bennett asked Seale to tell the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** Nobody applied to become a licensed porter. The vestry had pressed the scheme since 1826, and the government had widened it, called it exclusive and profitable, and urged only persuasion. Even so, not one man came forward. The men who did porterage at the wharf evidently saw no gain in a licence that brought a badge, fixed charges, set hours, fines for refusing work and the vestry committee's scrutiny of their character. Under the open system they could already earn when ships came in and be free when they did not. The scheme could work only if men chose to join. It failed because the workers it was designed to control would not volunteer to be controlled. The government's draft relied on persuasion rather than compulsion. Unlike the vestry's 1829 rules, it said nothing about fining unlicensed porters or those who hired them. Its only inducement was the printed notice handed to arriving ships. Without a ban on unlicensed carriers, a licence offered men little but obligations. That explains why the government's milder version drew no applicants, while the vestry's harsher one had never been put into force.
637	628	On the 21st. July 1831, the Honorable the Governor addressed§ §the Inhabitants and proposed that a Subscription should§ §immediately be set on foot, for the purpose of building a Tank§ §in James's Town, to afford a good supply of Water in the§ §event of Fire, and that on the Honble. Company's	On 21 July 1831 the Governor spoke to the inhabitants. He proposed starting a subscription at once to build a tank in Jamestown that would provide a good supply of water if fire broke out. The Governor and Council would give £20 0s 0d towards it on the Company's behalf. The following inhabitants subscribed. The Company, £20 0s 0d The Governor, £1 0s 0d

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		account§ §the Governor and Council would give the Sum of £20 -§ §towards it.§ §The following inhabitants subscribed as under, vizt.§ §£ . s§ §Honble. Company§ §20 . 0§ §The Governor§ §1 . 0§ §Thos. H. Brooke Esqr. M. C.§ §1 . 0§ §Thos. Greentree Esqr. M. C.§ §1 . 0§ §Col. J. A. Wright§ §1 . 0§ §Anty. Beale Esqr.§ §1 . 0§ §Lt. Col. Hodson§ §10§ §Mr. Saul Solomon§ §1 . 0§ §Charles Blake Esqr.§ §1 . 0§ §Revd. B. J. Vernon§ §1 . 0§ §Lieut. W. Doveton§ §1 . 0§ §Sir W. Doveton§ §10§ §Dr. Reed§ §10§ §Geo. Blenkins Esqr.§ §1 . 0§ §Mr. L. Gideon§ §1 . 0§ §Captain Bennett§ §1 . 0§ §Captain O'Connor§ §10§ §Thomas Baker Esqr.§ §10§ §Breweries§ §10§ §Captain Sampson§ §1 . 0§ §Mr. Richd. Torbett§ §10§ §Captain Hunter§ §10§ §Wm. Hy. Seale Esqr.§ §5§ §Mr. Andw. Darling§ §1 . 0§ §G. V. Lambe Esqr.§ §1 . 0§ §J. G. Doveton Esqr.§ §5§ §Wm. Fowler Esqr.§ §10§ §Dr. Lorimer§ §1 . 0§ §Aid de Camp Knipe§ §5§ §Tavern Proprietors§ §10§ §J. Buchanan§ §5§ §Henry Caerly§ §10§ §James Parrott§ §10§ §Mr. Edw. Fowler§ §5§ §Mr. G. W. Janisch§ §5§	Thomas H. Brooke, member of Council, £1 0s 0d Thomas Greentree, member of Council, £1 0s 0d Colonel J. A. Wright, £1 0s 0d Antony Beale, £1 0s 0d Lieutenant Colonel Hodson, £0 10s 0d Mr Saul Solomon, £1 0s 0d Charles Blake, £1 0s 0d The Reverend B. J. Vernon, £1 0s 0d Lieutenant W. Doveton, £1 0s 0d Sir W. Doveton, £0 10s 0d Dr Reed, £0 10s 0d George Blenkins, £1 0s 0d Mr L. Gideon, £1 0s 0d Captain Bennett, £1 0s 0d Captain O'Connor, £0 10s 0d Thomas Baker, £0 10s 0d The breweries, £0 10s 0d Captain Sampson, £1 0s 0d Mr Richard Torbett, £0 10s 0d Captain Hunter, £0 10s 0d William H. Seale, £0 5s 0d Mr A. Darling, £1 0s 0d G. V. Lambe, £1 0s 0d J. G. Doveton, £0 5s 0d William Fowler, £0 10s 0d Dr Lorimer, £1 0s 0d Aide-de-camp Knipe, £0 5s 0d The tavern owners, £0 10s 0d J. Buchanan, £0 5s 0d Henry Cearley, £0 10s 0d James Parrott, £0 10s 0d Mr Edward Fowler, £0 5s 0d Mr G. W. Janisch, £0 5s 0d Mr William Carroll, £0 10s 0d Captain Dentaffe, £0 5s 0d Dr Arnott, £0 5s 0d Mr Andrew Eyre, £0 5s 0d Mr Richard Prince, £1 0s 0d The estate of H. Porteous, £0 10s 0d Captain H. Seale, £0 10s 0d T. B. Brooke, £0 5s 0d Captain Spiller, £0 5s 0d J. Truebody, £0 5s 0d John Scott, £0 5s 0d Ensign Lester, £0 10s 0d **Interpretations** The fire tank was paid for by voluntary subscription, not by the vestry's taxes. The parish held over £300 in hand and had money for the purpose. The Governor chose to raise a public subscription with a Company grant instead. A fire in Jamestown's closely packed timber and thatched buildings, warehouses and breweries threatened property more than people. The subscribers were the owners of that property: merchants, landlords, officials and the breweries and taverns, which stored spirits and fuel. Each gave a small sum, mostly 5s to £1. The Company's £20 0s 0d was more than all the rest put together. A water supply for fighting fires protected the Company's own stores in the town as well.

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		§Mr. Wm. Carrol§ §10§ §Captain Den Taaffe§ §5§ §Dr. Arnott§ §5§ §Mr. Andrew Eyre§ §5§ §Mr. Richard Prince§ §1 . 0§ §Estate of Hy. Porteous§ §10§ §Captain F. Seale§ §10§ §T. B. Brooke Esqr.§ §5§ §Captain Speller§ §5§ §J. Truebody§ §5§ §John Scott§ §5§ §Ensign Lester§ §10§	
638	629	It was then proposed and carried unanimously that a§ §Committee be elected every year from amongst the members of§ §the Vestry Committee (as a "Fire Committee") and that the Parish§ §and County Collectors shall have the charge of the Subscription for§ §the Tank§ §On the motion of Lieut. Col. Wright, seconded by Lieut.§ §Col. Hodson, a vote of Thanks passed to the Governor for the§ §manner in which he has interested himself for the preservation§ §of both Public and Private property.§ §A Vestry Meeting was held 25th. July 1831 when the§ §following Gentlemen were elected Members of the "Fire Committee"§ §for the year§ §Captain Younge§ §Mr. Saul Solomon§ §Mr. Wm. Fowler§ §and the same was made known to the Honorable the§ §Governor and Council. -§	The meeting voted unanimously to elect a fire committee from among the vestry committee's members every year. The parish and county collectors would take charge of the subscription for the tank. Lieutenant Colonel Wright moved and Lieutenant Colonel Hodson seconded a vote of thanks to the Governor for his concern to protect both public and private property, and it was passed. On 25 July 1831 a vestry met and elected the following members of the fire committee for the year. Captain Younge Mr Saul Solomon Mr William Fowler The vestry's choice was reported to the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The vestry made fire protection a standing duty of its own, with a committee chosen each year. The tank had been the Governor's idea and was paid for by subscription. Its upkeep and any future measures against fire would now rest with the parish. Saul Solomon, a member, owned the tavern valued at £3,000 0s 0d and several other town properties. The men most exposed to loss by fire took charge of guarding against it. It was another civil task added to the vestry's work, alongside the roads, streets, market and porters.
639	630	James Bennett and S. A. Pritchard Esquires§ §Church Wardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to forward§ §the enclosed Petition for your Consideration§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§ §Your Obedt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §18 Augt. 1831§ §(Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy.§ §(Copy, Petition)§ §To§ §The Honble. Brigadier General Dallas§ §Governor§ §&c. &c. &c.§ §and the Council.§ §The Humble Petition of Samuel Robinson,§ §Sheweth,§ §That your Petitioner was formerly a Soldier in the St. Helena§	On 18 August 1831 R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, wrote to the churchwardens, James Bennett and S. Pritchard. The Governor and Council were forwarding the enclosed petition for their consideration. Samuel Robinson's petition was addressed to Brigadier General Dallas, as Governor Dallas, and the Council. Robinson had served for ten years as a soldier in the St Helena Artillery. While Colonel Patton was governor, he took his discharge, meaning to go home. At the Governor's wish, he stayed on the island instead as a carter and coachman in the Company's employment and joined the volunteer corps. He went on working for the Governor's household or on the Company's farms until 1823, when he was discharged. Since then, though very old and somewhat infirm, he had worked hard whenever he could find a job. Now he found himself completely worn out, his health had failed, and he had a family of six young children. He therefore asked the Board for help. Since he had served the Company in various capacities for so many years, he

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		§Artillery, in which Corps he served ten years. - That during the Government of§ §Colonel Patton, he got his discharge, with the intention of going home, but at the§ §desire of the Governor, he remained on the Island as a Carter and Coachman§ §in the Honble. Company's Employ, and joined the Corps of Volunteers, he continued to§ §be employed either on the Governor's Establishment, or on the Honble. Company's Farms§ §till the year 1823 when he was discharged therefrom, since that period your Petitioner§ §altho' a very old and rather infirm man, has worked hard whenever he could get§ §employment, but now finding himself entirely worn out, and his health gone, with§ §a family of Six young Children, he is induced to solicit the aid of Your Honble.§ §Board, and to pray that as he has served the Honble. Company in various capacities§ §so many years, you will humanely grant him some allowance to assist in the support§ §of his large family.§ §And your Petitioner as in duty bound, will ever pray - § §18th. August 1831.§	hoped it would kindly grant him an allowance towards the keep of his large family. The petition was dated 18 August 1831. **Interpretations** The government passed Robinson's petition to the churchwardens rather than granting him a Company pension. Robinson had served the Company as a soldier, a coachman and a farm worker, and asked the Company to reward that service. The Company declined to treat him as its pensioner. A former servant discharged in 1823 was, in the government's view, now a matter for the parish. Robinson had stayed on the island at the Governor's own wish when he could have gone home. The Company had kept his labour while he could work and then left his old age to the island's ratepayers. It was the same pattern as the freed slaves whose keep fell on the parish once their owners no longer needed them.
640	631	To R. F. Seale Esquire§ §Secretary to Government§ §&c. - &c. - &c.§ §Sir,§ §I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 18th. Inst.§ §with its inclosure, In reply, I have to acquaint you that an allowance§ §of 1/6 per day will be given to the Petitioner, so long as he continues out of§ §employment, as it is conceived that he is not incapable of performing such§ §moderate labor as was required of him, when in the Service of the Revd.§ §R. Boys.§ §The Petitioner having stated that "he has served the Honble.§ §Company in various capacities so many years" The Honorable the Governor§ §and Council may most probably deem it expedient to make an addition§ §to the above allowance in his favor.§ §I also beg to make known to you, that the three Gentlemen§ §elected as a Fire Committee (and whose names I had the honor of sending§ §you, the 25th. last month) will be glad of Instructions from the Honble.§ §the Governor and Council how they are to act, in order to fulfill the intent§ §of the proposition made by the Honble. the Governor on the 21st. July.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §Your Obedt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §22nd. August 1831§ §(Signed) J. Bennett§ §No Notice being taken of the above, Captain Bennett, the§ §Senior Church Warden, waited on the Secretary, R. F. Seale Esqre. who in-§ §formed him that no Allowance in aid of Robinson would be granted§ §by the Government. - Nor did the Church Wardens ever receive the§ §Honorable Boards Instructions, concerning the Fire Committee.§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§	On 22 August 1831 J. Bennett wrote to R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, acknowledging his letter of 18 August 1831 and its enclosure. The petitioner would receive 6d a day for as long as he remained out of work. The churchwardens judged that he was still able to do the light work he had done in the service of the Reverend R. Boys. The petitioner said he had served the Company in various capacities for many years. The Governor and Council might therefore think it right to add to this allowance themselves. Bennett also told Seale that the three gentlemen elected as the fire committee, whose names he had sent on 25 July 1831, would welcome instructions from the Governor and Council on how to act. That would let them carry out the purpose of the proposal the Governor made on 21 July 1831. A note recorded that no notice was taken of this letter. Captain Bennett, the senior churchwarden, called on the secretary, R. F. Seale, who told him the government would grant no allowance to help Robinson. The churchwardens never received the Board's instructions about the fire committee. **Interpretations** The churchwardens gave Robinson only 6d a day, and only while he was out of work. They judged he could still do light work. They pointed out that he had served the Company and invited the government to add to the allowance. The government refused. Each side treated the old soldier as the other's responsibility. The parish paid the minimum. The Company, which had employed him for years, paid nothing. The government never gave the fire committee any instructions, even though the Governor himself had proposed the fire tank. The vestry had set up the committee at the Governor's prompting and then waited for directions that never came. The episode followed a pattern in the book, as with the Jamestown streets in 1827 and the porterage scheme in 1829. The government launched or endorsed a measure, then left the vestry unable to act without orders. The churchwardens recorded the government's silence in the book.

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641	632	R. F. Seale Esquire§ §Secretary to Government§ §&c. - &c. - &c.§ §Sir§ §We have the honor to acquaint you for the information§ §of the Honble. the Governor and Council, with the following proceedings§ §of the Vestry Committee assembled on the 2nd. Instant;§ §The Committee took into Consideration the annexed§ §statement of a plan for altering the Pews at the County Church - by§ §which it appears that additional accommodation will be afforded for§ §nearly 100 persons - A majority of 5 to 2 agreed that the proposed§ §alteration be submitted for the approval of the Honorable the Governor§ §& Council - in view of their being effected by contract, with as little delay§ §as possible. -§ §Mr. Firmin, Master, Hon. Company's Head School, having§ §addressed a letter to the Church Wardens enclosing a demand for the§ §instruction of Sophia Banks, and Agnes Charlett, on the ground of§ §their having been placed on the Parish foundation contrary to the Regu-§ §lations of the School - the subject was referred to the Vestry Committee,§ §and upon inspection of the original agreement between the Honble. Company§ §and the Parish, in the year 1811, it was found that "four Parish Children§ §"recommended by the Church Wardens, shall be educated gratis at the Head§ §"School". - This Privilege not being limited to Fatherless Children -§ §Mr. Firmins' charge was not admitted. But as the Regulations of§ §the School, which were approved by Government in 1811, and again in 1824,§ §would appear to restrict the Original right of the Parish to "fatherless§ §"Children", notwithstanding that the Honorable Board have subsequently§ §confirmed the nominations of the above Children, whose fathers are alive -§ §the Committee were of opinion that the subject should be submitted to the§ §Consideration of the Honorable Board. At the same time they determine§ §that on the occurrence of future vacancies on the Parish foundation -§ §that a preference be invariably given to the Children of deceased§ §Parishioners. -§ §Great inconvenience having been experienced in the want of§ §an Asylum for the Parish Poor, who are either afflicted with contagious§ §and incurable diseases - or are temporarily affected in such manner, as§ §to be discharged the Hospital as Out-patients. It is respectfully§ §suggested that certain wards might be allotted in the Hospital for the§ §reception of the former cases, which are not numerous at present, and§ §the danger of infection would thereby be obviated. The latter cases are§ §becoming daily more burthensome to the Parish - the	The churchwardens wrote to R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, setting out for the Governor and Council the proceedings of the vestry committee held on the 2nd of the month. The committee considered the attached plan for altering the pews in the country church. The plan would provide room for nearly 100 more people. By eight votes to two, the committee agreed to send the proposed alteration to the Governor and Council for approval, so that the work could be done by contract as soon as possible. Mr Firmin, master of the Company's head school, had written to the churchwardens with a bill for teaching Sophia Banks and Agnes Charlett. He argued that they had been placed on the parish foundation against the school's regulations. The matter was referred to the vestry committee. The committee examined the original agreement made between the Company and the parish in 1811. It found that four parish children recommended by the churchwardens were to be taught free at the head school, and that this right was not limited to fatherless children. The committee therefore refused Mr Firmin's charge. The school's regulations, approved by the government in 1811 and again in 1824, seemed to restrict the parish's original right to fatherless children. The Board had since confirmed the nominations of these two girls, whose fathers were alive. The committee thought the question should go to the Board. In the meantime it decided that when future vacancies arose on the parish foundation, preference would always go to the children of deceased parishioners. The parish had suffered great inconvenience from having no asylum for its poor. Some had contagious and incurable diseases. Others were temporarily ill but well enough to be discharged from the hospital as outpatients. The churchwardens suggested setting aside certain wards in the hospital for the first group. There were few such cases at present, and separating them would remove the danger of infection. The second group was becoming more of a burden on the parish every day. The help needed by patients discharged from the hospital but unable to support themselves cost far more than the hospital's own charges, and it was often misspent. It would therefore be very useful if the churchwardens were allowed to send to the hospital any of the sick poor who they knew were unlikely to be properly cared for as outpatients. **Interpretations** The schoolmaster billed the parish for two girls because their fathers were alive. The vestry had nominated Sophia Banks in 1829 and Agnes Charlett in 1831, and the Board had confirmed both. The school's regulations, as Firmin read them, reserved free places for fatherless children. The committee went back to the 1811 agreement, which contained no such limit. It refused the bill but agreed to favour orphans in future. That avoided a fight over the regulations while protecting the girls already placed. The episode came soon after the Board's warning in May 1831 about the class of children fit for the upper school. The schoolmaster's challenge put the parish's right to the free places under pressure once again. The churchwardens asked to send sick paupers into the hospital rather than paying for their care as outpatients. Relief to the sick poor at home cost more than the hospital charged, and the churchwardens said it was often misspent. Hospital care was cheaper and could be supervised. The Company ran the hospital. Using its wards would move part of the cost of the parish's sick into the Company's own institution. The request for separate wards for contagious and incurable cases echoed the

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		aid which is§ §required by Patients discharged the Hospital - but unable to maintain§ §themselves, greatly exceeds the Hospital charge - and is often improperly§ §expended; it would therefore be very desirable if the Church Wardens were§ §authorized to send such of the Sick poor to the Hospital, as they are aware§ §are not likely to be properly attended as Out-patients. -§	vestry's call in 1821 for a hospital to care for a freed population with no owners to look after them. The committee voted eight to two to enlarge the country church by nearly 100 seats. The parish had been saving for this since May 1831. The two votes against probably came from members who thought the surplus should go back to the ratepayers rather than into the building.
642	633	The Church Yards in Town were represented as being§ §in a very filthy state - the upper one particularly appears to be the§ §deposit of the Dirt, broken bottles &c. from the houses in its vicinity.§ §A Government Proclamation, would doubtless prevent so indecent and§ §improper a practice. The Sum of £10 - was placed at the§ §disposal of Captain Younge and Mr. S. Solomon, who have tendered§ §their superintendence of this work§ §We have the honor to be§ §Sir Your most obedient Servants§ §St. Helena§ §5 September 1831§ §Signed J. Bennett§ §S. A. Pritchard§ §Church Wardens§ §Statement of proposed alteration of the Pews at the§ §Country Church, -§ §The Church at present contains 16 pews, which hold about§ §128 Persons§ §Seats under the Gallery§ §52§ §180§ §The alteration proposed will still have 16 Pews 10½ feet by 4½ feet calculated to contain 14 in each§ §224§ §Seats under the Gallery§ §52§ §276§ §180§ §Difference in favor of proposed alteration§ §96§ §The mode of effecting the above increase of Seats, will be by having§ §only one Aisle, through the Centre of the Church of 4 feet wide, instead§ §of the two which at present occupy 7 feet of the width, thereby gaining§ §3 feet, to be added to the side Pews. Beside which they would be§ §somewhat differently arranged, and, in a great measure equalized.§ §The Cost of the above alteration (as estimated by a Carpenter, who§ §will tender for the Contract) will be under £100 -, which, the Parish funds§ §can at present, very well spare. -§ §Plan.§ §4 feet§ §4 feet§ §Front Door§	The churchwardens also reported that the churchyards in town were said to be in a very filthy state. The upper one in particular seemed to serve as a dump for rubbish, broken bottles and the like from the nearby houses. A government proclamation would no doubt stop so indecent and improper a practice. The committee placed £10 0s 0d at the disposal of Captain Younge and Mr S. Solomon, who had offered to oversee the cleaning. J. Bennett and S. A. Pritchard signed the letter as churchwardens at St Helena on 5 September 1831. A statement of the proposed alteration to the pews at the country church was attached. Present church, 16 pews holding about 128 persons Present church, seats under the gallery, 52 persons Present church in all, 180 persons Proposed alteration, 16 pews each 10½ feet by 4½ feet, holding 14 persons each, 224 persons Proposed alteration, seats under the gallery, 52 persons Proposed alteration in all, 276 persons Less present seating, 180 persons Gain from the proposed alteration, 96 persons The extra seats would come from having a single aisle 4 feet wide down the middle of the church, in place of the two aisles that now took up 7 feet of its width. The 3 feet gained would be added to the side pews. The pews would also be rearranged somewhat and made largely the same size. A carpenter who would tender for the contract estimated the cost at under £100 0s 0d, which the parish funds could easily spare at present. A plan of the church accompanied the statement. It showed the single central aisle, the pews on either side, the gallery at the west end and the front door in the middle of the south wall.  **Interpretations** The alteration would raise the country church's seating by more than half, from 180 to 276, at a cost of under £100 0s 0d. Taking out one aisle and making the pews the same size gained room without enlarging the building. The plan also changed how the congregation was seated. Since 1822 the government's seating rules had divided the country church into pews for each rank, from the Governor's family down to the black women and children and the men of colour under the gallery. Pews of equal size made such a fine gradation of rank harder to

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			show in the building itself. The 52 places under the gallery, where the men of colour sat, stayed the same. The upper churchyard was being used as a rubbish dump by the houses around it. In 1828 the government had confirmed that this ground was attached to the hospital and kept at the Company's expense. The churchwardens now paid £10 0s 0d to clean it and asked the government to forbid the dumping by proclamation. The parish was again paying for ground it had been told was the Company's, because the Company had not kept it clean.
643	634	Vestry Meeting§ §2nd. Sept. 1831§ §Proceedings of a Vestry Committee assembled this day -§ §present -§ §Revd. Mr. Vernon - Capt. Bennett - Mr. R. Torbett§ §Anty. Beale Esqr. - Mr. S. Solomon - Mr. W. Fowler§ §Capt. Younge - J. N. Firmin Esqr. - Mr. Darling§ §S. A. Pritchard Esqr. -§ §On a Petition from John Robinson to Government (referred§ §to the Church Wardens) being read - The Committee recommend§ §a renewed Petition to Government, with reference to Rivers Case -§ §and the Committee conceive Petitioner has a claim on the Volunteer§ §Fund.§ §The Proposed Alteration at the Country Church was discussed§ §and put to the Vote -§ §- Yes 8 - No 2 -§ §A Letter* from Mr. Firmin, inclosing a claim for the§ §education of Sophia Banks and Agnes Charlett was then read -§ §Resolved, - to lay the same before the Honble. the Governor and§ §Council for their consideration and directions.§ §The Case of some Parish Paupers was next enquired§ §into, and it was agreed to suggest to the Honble. Board the§ §propriety of allotting certain Wards in the Hospital for the reception§ §of certain of them.§ §Resolved that the Sum of £10 - be placed at the§ §disposal of Captain Younge and Mr. S. Solomon, for the purpose§ §of clearing the Church Yards of the Rubbish and Filth.§	On 2 September 1831 the vestry committee met. The following were present. The Reverend Mr Vernon Captain Bennett Mr R. Torbett Anthony Beale Mr S. Solomon Mr W. Fowler Captain Younge J. N. Firmin Mr Darling S. A. Pritchard The committee read a petition from John Robinson to the government, which had been referred to the churchwardens. The committee recommended that he petition the government again, citing the case of Rivers. In its view the petitioner had a claim on the volunteer fund. The proposed alteration at the country church was discussed and put to the vote. Eight voted in favour and two against. A letter from Mr Firmin was read, enclosing a claim for teaching Sophia Banks and Agnes Charlett. The committee resolved to put it before the Governor and Council for their consideration and instructions. The committee looked into the cases of some parish paupers. It agreed to suggest to the Board that certain wards in the hospital be set aside to take some of them. The committee resolved to place £10 0s 0d at the disposal of Captain Younge and Mr S. Solomon to clear the churchyards of rubbish and filth. **Interpretations** The committee pointed Robinson to the volunteer fund, which existed to support men who had served in the island's volunteer corps. His petition said he had joined the volunteers after leaving the artillery. The government had refused him a Company allowance, and the parish paid him only 6d a day. The committee found a third source with a stronger claim than the parish. It cited Rivers, whose case was not otherwise recorded in the book, as a precedent for a former volunteer being supported from that fund. J. N. Firmin, the schoolmaster who had billed the parish for the two girls, sat on the committee that heard his own claim. The committee did not judge the claim. It passed it to the Governor and Council. That kept a member from ruling on a demand he had made himself, as the vestry had done when Janisch tendered for the roads.
644	635	* To Jas. Bennett & S. A. Pritchard Esquires§ §ChurchWardens &c. - &c. - &c.§ §Gentlemen§ §I beg leave to forward the inclosed account for Instruction§ §of the within named Pupils, nominated to the Foundation of the H.§ §C. Head School, by the Vestry Committee; who, as they are not§ §Fatherless Children, by the Regulations of the Hd.	On 10 August 1831 John N. Firmin, master of the Company's head school, wrote to the churchwardens, James Bennett and S. A. Pritchard. He sent them a bill for teaching the two pupils the vestry committee had nominated to the school's foundation. Neither was fatherless, so under the head school's regulations, as approved by the Governor and Council, neither was entitled to free schooling. Firmin added that only one orphan, John Shortis, was

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		School, sanc-§ §-tioned by the Honble. the Honble. the Governor and Council, are§ §not entitled to be Educated gratis. I beg also to state, that§ §there is now only one Orphan Child (John Shortis) on the Foundation§ §of the H. C. Head School, and that consequently, there are three§ §Vacancies in the nomination of the Parish§ §I have the honor to be§ §Gentlemen§ §Your most Obedt. Servt.§ §St. Helena§ §10 August 1831§ §(Signed) Jno. N. Firmin§ §Master H. C. Hd. School§ §St. Helena§ §Jas. Bennett & S. A. Pritchard Esquires§ §Churchwardens, on a/c of the Parish, - Dr.§ §To the Master of the H. C. Head School§ §Seven Quarters' Instruction of Miss Sophia Banks, vizt. from the 30 Septr. 1829 to the 30 June 1831, @ £3. 3. 0 pr. Quarter§ §22 . 1 . 0§ §Two Quarters Instruction of Miss Agnes Charlett @ £3. 3. 0 pr. Quarter to 30 June 1831§ §6 . 6 . 0§ §£28 . 7 . 0§	on the foundation. That left three places open for the parish to fill. The bill was addressed to the churchwardens, on the parish's account, from the master of the Company's head school. Miss Sophia Banks, 7 quarters' teaching from 30 September 1829 to 30 June 1831 at £3 3s 0d a quarter, £22 1s 0d Miss Agnes Charlett, 2 quarters' teaching to 30 June 1831 at £3 3s 0d a quarter, £6 6s 0d Total, £28 7s 0d **Interpretations** Firmin's bill came to £28 7s 0d, far more than any single year's relief to one pauper. Sophia Banks had been at the school for nearly two years under the parish's nomination and with the Board's approval. Firmin billed for the whole period at the full fee. His claim rested on the 1824 regulations, which limited free places to fatherless children. The vestry relied on the original 1811 agreement, which set no such condition. Firmin also pointed to three empty places. He was inviting the parish to fill them with orphans, which would keep him within the rules, while charging for the two girls already there. The school charged £3 3s 0d a quarter, or £12 12s 0d a year. That was close to a year's allowance for a parish pensioner and far beyond what a family like Mr Banks's, which had fallen on hard times, could pay. A free place at the head school was therefore a valuable gift. That explains why the parish defended its right to nominate and why the master and the Board took care over who received places.
645	636	To Captain James Bennett and§ §Stephen Pritchard Esqre.§ §Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen§ §We, the undersigned request you will apply to the Honble. the§ §Governor and Council to sanction a Vestry meeting, for the purpose of taking§ §into consideration the expediency of erecting a Chapel, somewhere in the vicinity§ §of Hutts Gate, which would not only obviate the necessity of enlarging the§ §present Country Church, but would also enable a very large portion of the§ §Inhabitants to attend Public Worship, who are now in a manner excluded§ §from that privilege; in proof of which let us just enumerate the Dwellings§ §in that Neighbourhood.§ §Col. Wrights§ §1§ §Mr. W. H. Seale's§ §2 Cottages§ §2§ §Col. Wrights do.§ §2§ §Mr. Blake's§ §1§ §Foxes Folly§ §1§ §Mr. Brooke's§ §1§ §Mr. T. Brooke§ §1§ §Mr. R. Brooke§ §1§ §Mr. John Doveton§ §1§ §Dr. Kay§ §1§ §Mr. Torbett§ §1§	On 5 September 1831 a group of inhabitants wrote to the churchwardens, Captain James Bennett and Stephen Pritchard. A later note at the head of the page identified the letter as part of the early history of St Matthew's Church. The signers asked the churchwardens to apply to the Governor and Council for leave to hold a vestry. Its purpose would be to consider building a chapel somewhere near Hutt's Gate. A chapel there would remove the need to enlarge the present country church. It would also let a very large part of the inhabitants attend public worship, people who were then more or less shut out from it. To prove this, they listed the dwellings in that neighbourhood. Colonel Wright's, 1 Mr W. H. Seale's, 1 Cottages, 2 Colonel Wright's cottages, 2 Mr Blake's, 1 Fox's Folly, 1 Mr Brooke's, 1 Mr T. Brooke's, 1 Mr R. Brooke's, 1 Mr John Doveton's, 1 Dr Hay's, 1 Mr Torbett's, 1 Mr Solomon's, 1 Dr Walton's, 1 Hutt's Gate cottages, 5 Longwood, 3 Longwood cottages, 4 Mr R. Seale's, 1 Deadwood cottages, 4 Mr Wells's, 1 Mr Tracy's, 1 Mr Lambe's, 1 Mr Burnham's, 1 Mr Hawthorn's, 2 Mr Janisch's, 1 Mr W. H. Seale's, 1 Walton's, 1 Miss Mason's, 1 Mr Barker's, 1

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		§Mr. Solomon§ §1§ §Dr. Walton§ §1§ §Hutts Gate Cottages§ §5§ §Longwood§ §3§ §Do. Cottages§ §4§ §Mr. R. Seale§ §1§ §Deadwood Cottages§ §4§ §Mr. Wells§ §1§ §Mr. Tracey§ §1§ §Mr. Lambe's§ §1§ §Mr. Burnham's§ §1§ §Mr. Hawthorn's§ §2§ §Mr. Janisch§ §1§ §Mr. W. H. Seale's§ §1§ §Walton§ §1§ §Miss Masons§ §1§ §Mr. Barker's§ §1§ §Sharps Valley§ §2§ §Highway and Mr. Alexander's§ §2§ §47§ §Making a total of nearly 50 Dwellings, mostly within such distance§ §of the proposed site for a Chapel, as to admit of Ladies and Children§ §travelling thither on foot.§ §So desirable an object as that in question, might be accomplished§ §partly by an addition to the House tax, and partly by Voluntary Subscriptions,§ §and we cannot but indulge the hope that the Honble. Company, would§ §willingly render some assistance.§ §Assuming the average number of Individuals, including Children§ §and Servants from each of the Dwellings above mentioned at five who§ §would attend Divine Worship were it within their reach; a Building§ §that could contain 240, might suffice, or say 400, allowing for the attendance§ §of persons from other parts of the Islands, and for an increasing population§ §To many of the residents at Sandy Bay it would be just as convenient§ §to attend the proposed Chapel as it is to the Plantation House Church, which§ §by the measure in question would contain as large a Congregation as would§ §be likely to resort thither.§ §The proposed Chapel would also answer the purpose of a Sunday§ §School, as the present Wooden Building, so appropriated cannot be considered§ §as very durable.§ §We are, Gentlemen§ §Your most Obedient Servants§ §St. Helena§	Sharp's Valley, 2 The ropery and Mr Alexander's, 2 Total, 47 These made nearly 50 dwellings, most of them close enough to the proposed site for women and children to walk there. So worthwhile an aim could be met partly by an addition to the house tax and partly by voluntary subscriptions. The signers hoped the Company would also gladly give some help. They assumed that each of the dwellings listed held an average of five people, children and servants included, who would attend services if a church were within reach. A building holding 240 might be enough, or 400 to allow for people from other parts of the island and a growing population. For many residents of Sandy Bay, the proposed chapel would be just as convenient as the Plantation House church. The alteration then under discussion would make that church large enough for any congregation likely to use it. The proposed chapel could also serve as a Sunday school. The wooden building then used for that purpose could not be expected to last long. The letter was signed by B. J. Vernon, John G. Doveton, Robert Brooke, Thomas B. Brooke, William Henry Seale, G. V. Lambe and S. Solomon. **Interpretations** The signers proposed a new chapel instead of only enlarging the existing country church. The vestry had voted eight to two on 2 September 1831 to alter the country church's pews and seat 96 more people. Three days later the Reverend Mr Vernon, who had chaired that meeting, joined other leading residents of the eastern districts to propose a second church near Hutt's Gate. The country church stood near Plantation House in the west. Families around Longwood, Deadwood and Hutt's Gate faced a long journey on foot to reach it. The signers wanted a church close to their own homes, not more seats in a distant one. Most of them lived in that district themselves. The signers proposed paying for the chapel partly through the house tax, which would spread the cost over all ratepayers on the island. The chapel would mainly serve the eastern districts. Their reasoning was that the whole parish already paid for the country church, which mainly served the west. A chapel in the east would balance that. The Sunday school argument added a public purpose beyond worship, since the island's free children needed teaching and the existing wooden schoolroom would not last. The note at the head of the page links the proposal to St Matthew's Church at Hutt's Gate. The present church was built on that site later in the 19th century. This letter is the earliest step towards it recorded in the vestry book.

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		§5 September 1831§ §Signed R. J. Vernon§ §John G. Doveton§ §Robert Brooke§ §Thos. B. Brooke§ §Wm. Hy. Seale§ §G. V. Lambe§ §S. Solomon§ **Margin Notes:** §Early History of St. Matthew's Church§	
646	637	Proceedings of a Vestry held on 12th. Septr. 1831.§ §The requisition from Seven Parishoners for§ §the Erection of a Church in the vicinity of Hutts Gate§ §having been read, -§ §The Chairman, The Revd. Mr. Vernon addressed§ §the meeting at some length.§ §Proposed - By the Chairman - That a§ §Committee of Five be appointed for the purpose of§ §taking into consideration the expediency for erecting a§ §Chapel in the vicinity of Hutts Gate, and the means§ §of raising the requisite Funds, and submit their§ §proceedings to General Vestry - Carried by a Majority.§ §Proposed - by Mr. Janisch - Seconded by§ §Mr. Lambe - That the same Committee enquire into§ §the necessity of carrying into effect, the proposed§ §alteration in the County Church - Carried.§ §Proposed - That the Chaplain, be a member§ §of the above Committee -§ §The following are the Committee§ §The Revd. Mr. Vernon§ §Lieut. Mellis - 15§ §Mr. W. H. Seale - 14§ §Colonel Hodson - 14§ §Mr. Lambe - 11.§	On 12 September 1831 a vestry met. It heard the request from seven parishioners to build a church near Hutt's Gate. The chairman, the Reverend Mr Vernon, then spoke to the meeting at some length. The chairman proposed that a committee of five be appointed to consider whether to build a chapel near Hutt's Gate and how to raise the money for it, and to report to a general vestry. A majority agreed. Mr Janisch proposed, and Mr Lambe seconded, that the same committee also look into whether the proposed alteration to the country church was needed. The motion was carried. It was proposed that the chaplain be a member of the committee. The committee and the votes cast for each member were as follows. The Reverend Mr Vernon Lieutenant Mellis, 15 votes Mr W. H. Seale, 14 votes Colonel Hodson, 14 votes Mr Lambe, 11 votes **Interpretations** The vestry put the country church alteration under review only ten days after its committee had voted for it. Janisch's motion sent both projects, the alteration and the new chapel, to the same committee. The vestry did not want to pay for both at once. A chapel near Hutt's Gate might make the extra seats in the country church unnecessary, as the petitioners had argued. The committee could weigh the two together and recommend one, which spared the ratepayers from paying for both. The committee was elected by ballot, with votes recorded, and two of its five members, Seale and Lambe, had signed the petition for the chapel. The chairman, Vernon, had signed it too. Three of the five were therefore committed to the chapel before the committee began its work. The eastern district's leading residents controlled the body that would judge their own proposal against the alteration of the western church. The vote totals of 11 to 15 show the size of the meeting. As with the sheriffs' ballot in April 1831, fewer than 20 qualified householders took part. Under the franchise set in 1827, a few owners of houses worth £300 or more now decided where the parish's surplus would go.
647	638	Blank page	
648	639	(Copy)§ §Resolutions of the Board upon the Vestry Proceedings of§ §the 2nd. and 12th. September 1831.§ §The proposition of the Vestry in regard to the future§ §admission of Children on the Parish foundation at the Head School§ §giving a preference to the Children of deceased Parishoners, is§ §approved.§ §The Governor and Council have always given attention§ §consideration to the representation of the Vestry; and in the present instance§ §of a proposition regarding an Asylum for certain insane, and other§ §unhappy Paupers, the Governor and Council are	The Board's resolutions on the vestry proceedings of 2 and 12 September 1831 were copied into the book. The Board approved the vestry's proposal to give preference to the children of deceased parishioners when admitting children to the parish foundation at the head school in future. The Governor and Council had always paid attention to what the vestry put to them. In this case the vestry had proposed an asylum for certain insane people and other unfortunate paupers. The Governor and Council were ready to meet the public's wishes and help carry the plan out. They would not do so by using any of the hospital wards. Instead they would grant part of the premises first built as a brewery, which now belonged to the Company. These could be turned into an infirmary and workhouse.

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		prepared to meet the§ §Public wish, and assist its execution, not however by applying any§ §of the Hospital Wards to such a purpose, but, by a grant of a§ §portion of the Premises, formerly built for a Brewery (but now in§ §possession of the Company) which might be converted into an Infirmary§ §and Work House.§ §The appropriation of any part of the Hospital or its§ §out buildings, for the reception of persons not requiring regular Medical§ §attendance, would be subversive of those arrangements, which the§ §Medical Officer had represented both verbally and in writing, as necessary§ §for the due order and economy of that important department; and in§ §consequence, the Senior Church Warden had been informed that a§ §proposition of his, to the above effect, was inadmissible. He was therefore§ §directed as a temporary measure to provide accomodation at the charge§ §of the Parish for two Insane Females, but notwithstanding this com-§ §-munication, the Senior Church Warden has thought proper thro'§ §an irregular Channel, to try to force upon Government, a reconsider-§ §-ation of the subject; persisting to urge the reception of the Females§ §in question into Hospital, as a means of causing some attention being§ §paid to their daily subsistence. When such a reason is assigned,§ §the inference follows that little, or no attention has been paid to their§ §daily subsistence; at whose door but the Church Warden lies the blame.§ §The placing the Sum of £10 - at the disposal§ §of Captn. Younge and Mr. S. Solomon for the purpose of remedying§ §the nuisance in the upper Church Yard, seems very proper.§	To use any part of the hospital or its outbuildings for people who did not need regular medical care would undermine the arrangements the medical officers had insisted on, in speech and in writing, as essential to the order and economy of that important department. The senior churchwarden had therefore been told that a proposal of this kind could not be accepted. He had been told instead to provide accommodation for two insane women at the parish's expense as a temporary measure. Despite this, the senior churchwarden had seen fit to press the government through an irregular channel to reconsider the matter. He had urged that the women be admitted to the hospital as a way of making sure some attention was paid to their daily keep. The Board held that if such a reason were given, it followed that little or no attention had been paid to their daily keep. In that case the blame lay with no one but the churchwarden himself. The Board thought it entirely proper to place £10 0s 0d at the disposal of Captain Younge and Mr S. Solomon to put right the nuisance in the upper churchyard. **Interpretations** The government refused hospital wards for the parish's insane and chronic poor but offered the old brewery as an infirmary and workhouse. The medical officers would not let their hospital fill with people who needed care, not treatment. The brewery gave the parish a building of its own for those who could not live in the community. A workhouse was the English answer to the poor who could work but had no means. Combined with an infirmary for the insane, it would gather the parish's most costly dependants under one roof. The vestry had asked for such a building in 1821, on the ground of abolition. Ten years later the Company offered a disused property for it, not a new building. The Board rebuked the senior churchwarden, Captain Bennett, for going around it to press for the women's admission to hospital. Bennett had argued that only in hospital would they get proper daily care. The Board turned that argument back on him. If the women were not being properly cared for, that was the churchwarden's own failure, since he had been told to provide for them at the parish's cost. The two women were probably Letitia Mills, whom the justices had found insane in May 1831, and another like her. The rebuke shows how firmly the government kept the line between the Company's hospital and the parish's responsibility for its insane poor.
649	640	The appointment of a Committee to take into consideration§ §the expediency of erecting a chapel in the vicinity of Hutts Gate,§ §and for enquiring into the necessity of carrying into effect the§ §proposed alteration in the Country Church, is also approved by§ §the Board.§ §(True Copy) (Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy.§ §To§ §The Honorable the Governor & Council.§ §Honorable Sirs§ §I have had the honor to receive from the Secretary§ §to Government, a Copy of the Resolution of the Board upon the Vestry§ §Proceedings of the 8 and 12th. of September, and observing with much regret,§ §that my conduct in the discharge of the Duties of Church Warden, has§ §brought down upon me the disapprobation of the Honorable Board; I hope§	The Board also approved the appointment of a committee to consider building a chapel near Hutt's Gate and to look into whether the proposed alteration to the country church was needed. R. F. Seale, secretary, certified the copy. The senior churchwarden then wrote to the Governor and Council. He had received from the secretary to the government a copy of the Board's resolution on the vestry proceedings of 2 and 12 September 1831. He saw with great regret that his conduct as churchwarden had earned the Board's disapproval. He hoped the Board would forgive him for asking leave to explain why he had acted as he did. If it were found that zeal for the public good and an anxious wish to ease the suffering of his fellow creatures had driven him, he was sure the Board would excuse a little irregularity in his conduct and allow for his having overstepped strict etiquette. The Board's resolution stated that he had been told to provide accommodation for the two insane people at the parish's expense as a temporary measure. He assured the Board that the only direction he had received was this. Mr Weston, the gaoler, had

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		§they will pardon me if I intrude so far upon their indulgence, as to venture§ §some explanation of my motives for the line of Proceedings which I was§ §led to adopt, - and if it shall be found, that Zeal for the Public Good,§ §and an anxious desire to alleviate the sufferings of my fellow Creatures,§ §were the springs of action which impelled me forward, - Your Honorable§ §Board, will, I am sure, pardon a little eccentricity in my movements, and§ §make allowance for my having overstepped the strict line of Etiquette. -§ §In the Copy of Resolution above alluded to, it is§ §stated, that I was directed, as a temporary measure, to provide accommodation§ §at the charge of the Parish, for the two insane persons, - now I do assure your§ §Honorable Board, that the only direction I received on the Subject, were as§ §follows - Mr. Weston, Jailer, came to me in the Street, with a small piece§ §of Paper, on one side of which was written, by the Hospital Sergeant, -§ §"1831 - General Hospital"§ §"Sarah (Prisoner)§ §admitted July 19th.§ §discharged " 25th."§ §"By order of the Visiting Surgeon§ §" J. Shinger§ §" H. Sergeant."§ §To Mr. Weston§ §&c. &c.§	come up to him in the street with a small piece of paper, on one side of which the hospital sergeant had written the following. 1831, General Hospital Sarah, prisoner Admitted 19 July Discharged 25 July By order of the visiting surgeon, J. [...], hospital sergeant To Mr Weston **Interpretations** Bennett defended himself by showing how he had actually been told. The Board's resolution described a formal direction to provide for the insane women at parish expense. In fact the gaoler had handed him a scrap of paper in the street, a hospital discharge note for a woman named Sarah, a prisoner. Sarah was probably the insane slave of the convict Unsworth, whom the government had kept in a cell at Sandy Bay in 1829. The hospital had admitted her for six days and then sent her back to the gaoler. The "direction" consisted of the hospital passing her back to the gaol, and the gaol passing her to the churchwarden in the street. Bennett's point was that nobody had told him plainly that the parish was responsible. The insane were being passed between the Company's hospital, its gaol and the parish, with none of them taking charge of their keep.
650	641	On the other Side, in the Secretary's hand,§ §" 25th. July 1831."§ §"The Case of the within Woman falls under the Cognizance of§ §the Parish. - But the Governor and Council have no objection to§ §her being sent back to Sandy Bay, and fed there at the Expence of§ §the Parish"§ §" R. F. Seale§ §Secy."§ §This, (such as it is) was the first notice I had that the§ §Woman was considered under the protection of the Church Wardens.§ §Notwithstanding this communication, I certainly did obtrude the§ §Case of the two unfortunate Females on the kind notice of Mrs. Dallas - not§ §anticipating however that such a step could be considered, an Endeavour on my§ §part, through an "irregular channel to force upon Government, a reconsideration§ §of the Subject". - It is matter of deep concern also that this expression,§ §which is to be found in my address to Mrs. Dallas "as a means of causing some§ §attention being paid to their daily subsistence", - should have led the Honble.§ §Board to adopt an inference so injurious to the Church Warden as that expressed§ §in their resolutions, but which I hope the following statement will prove, not§ §to have been fairly deduced. -§ §On the 31st. August, one of the Bailiffs brought me a Letter§ §from the Officer commanding at Sandy Bay, stating, that he had, the day before§ §received Two Women, by the Governors order, and that they had arrived§ §without Food, or Change of raiment, - that he had no means of supplying§	The secretary had written on the other side of the paper, on 25 July 1831: "The case of the woman named within falls under the care of the parish. But the Governor and Council have no objection to her being sent back to Sandy Bay and fed there at the parish's expense." R. F. Seale, secretary, signed it. Bennett told the Board that this, such as it was, was the first notice he had that the woman was placed in the churchwardens' care. He admitted that, despite this message, he had raised the case of the two unfortunate women with Mrs Dallas after she kindly took notice of them. He had not expected the step to be seen as an attempt to force the government, through an irregular channel, to reconsider the matter. He was also deeply concerned that his phrase to Mrs Dallas, "as a means of ensuring some attention was paid to their daily keep", had led the Board to a conclusion so damaging to him. He hoped the following account would show that the Board had not fairly drawn that conclusion. On 31 August 1831 one of the bailiffs brought him a letter from the officer commanding at Sandy Bay. The officer reported that the day before, on the Governor's order, he had received two women. They had arrived with no food or change of clothes. He had no means of feeding them, and they had no blankets or bedding. The letter reached Bennett at 12 o'clock. By 1 o'clock he had sent a reply with the following: a blanket for each woman, a new gown and two undergarments for one, and a new hooped petticoat, two undergarments and a handkerchief for the other. He also sent an order for each woman to receive three loaves of bread, 3 lb of rice, 1 lb of sugar and 2 oz of tea a week. Far from neglecting them, he would have sent everything necessary with them had he been told in time when they were to be moved from town to Sandy Bay. Even so, at so great a distance it was hard to arrange regular supplies of food and to share it out in proper meals. Bennett knew that if a week's rations were left in their own keeping, they would often be

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		§them with Food, and that they had no Blankets or Bedding. - This§ §Letter was put into my hands at 12 OClock, and at 1 OClock, I dispatched an§ §Answer, accompanied with the following Articles, vizt. - A Blanket for each,§ §A new Gown, two under garments for one; A new Stuff Petticoat, two under§ §garments and a handkerchief, for the other; also an order for each Woman to be§ §supplied with 3 loaves of bread, 3 lbs. Rice, 1 lb. of Sugar, and 2 ozs. Tea, weekly.§ §So far from having neglected them, - and had I been duly informed when it§ §was purposed to remove them from Town, every thing necessary should have accompanied§ §them to Sandy Bay. - Still it is difficult at so distant an outpost to make§ §the necessary arrangements for furnishing their allowance of Food, and dis-§ §tributing it in regular Meals, knowing that if the Rations for a Week were§ §committed to their own keeping, they would frequently be devoured Raw, or§ §otherwise wasted, so that, for two or three days out of the Seven, there would§ §be no provision for them; (as was formerly to be the case with Sarah); I§ §earnestly wished they could be accommodated where a strict attention to cleanliness,§ §and regularity of diet, would have made them as comfortable, as their unhappy§ §circumstances admit of, - and where they could have been more under the Eye§ §of the Parish Officers, and effectually protected from the practical Jokes of§ §unthinking men, who have been known to find Amusement in throwing to Sarah§ §a disgusting repast of Raw Fish, or Food, equally revolting. -§	eaten raw or wasted. For two or three days of the week they would then have nothing, as had already happened with Sarah. He sincerely wished they could be housed where close attention to cleanliness and regular meals would make them as comfortable as their sad condition allowed. There they would be under the parish officers' closer care, and safe from the cruel pranks of thoughtless men who had been known to amuse themselves by throwing these women a disgusting meal of raw fish or food just as revolting. **Interpretations** Bennett's "irregular channel" was the Governor's wife. Mrs Dallas had taken an interest in the two insane women, and Bennett had appealed to her directly to have them admitted to hospital. The Board resented a churchwarden going round the Council through the Governor's household. Bennett's defence shows how little of a system there was. The government itself had sent the women to Sandy Bay without food, clothing or bedding, and without telling the parish. The officer there had to write asking for help. Bennett supplied clothes and rations within an hour of hearing. Sandy Bay's cells were a long way from Jamestown over steep country. Rations sent weekly could not be watched, and the women, unable to manage their own food, ate it raw or lost it and then went hungry. They were also exposed to mockery and cruelty from soldiers or labourers who fed them raw fish for amusement. Bennett's case was that being far away was itself the neglect, and that only a place under the parish officers' eye could protect them. The Board's offer of the old brewery as an infirmary answered that need, though only after its rebuke.
651	642	I have reason to think, that some of the Parishoners, consider§ §one, or both of these Women, to have strong claims elsewhere, which I have§ §no doubt will be fully investigated. -§ §As Senior Church Warden, I can assert without fear of contradiction,§ §that I have conscienciously endeavoured to discharge my duty, and have taken§ §unwearied pains to secure every attention to the unfortunates in question,§ §and although from an over anxiety, I have failed to adopt the method, best§ §calculated to secure the desired result. Still I feel conscious of having§ §done my best; nor can the Parishoners accuse me of having been tamely§ §silent in behalf of these poor people, or of having withheld my best§ §endeavours to soften the rigour of their fate. -§ §I have the honor to be§ §Honorable Gentlemen§ §Your most Obedient Servant§ §St. Helena§ §22nd. September 1832§ §(Signed) J. Bennett§ §The Senior Church Warden respectfully submits a Copy of the§ §Petition he took the Liberty of Writing, and by which accordingly to have incurred§ §Blame from the Honorable the Council, in their Resolutions dated 15 Septr. 1831§ §It never having been meant to be seen in Council. -§ §To Mrs. Dallas,§ §Madam,§	Bennett had reason to believe that some parishioners thought one or both of the women had strong claims on others for their support. He had no doubt this would be fully investigated. As senior churchwarden, he could say without fear of contradiction that he had conscientiously tried to do his duty. He had taken endless trouble to see that the unfortunate women were properly cared for. In his over-anxiety he might not have chosen the best way to achieve this. Still, he knew he had done his best. Nor could the parishioners accuse him of having stayed meekly silent on behalf of these poor people, or of failing to do all he could to soften the hardship of their lot. J. Bennett signed the letter at St Helena on 22 September 1831. The senior churchwarden then submitted a copy of the letter he had written. He regretted that it had brought on him the Council's censure in its resolution of 15 September 1831. It had never been meant to be seen in Council. Bennett's letter of 5 September 1831 was addressed to Mrs Dallas. He respectfully asked leave to bring to her attention the case of two unfortunate women then held in the cells at Sandy Bay. He begged her kindly to ask for them to be admitted to one of the hospital wards. Other patients there, both men and women, received the same care. Being in the ward would ensure that some attention was paid to the daily keep of these two insane women. That could not happen in a place like the Sandy Bay guard, where he feared they were exposed to everything but kindness and had their food handed to them weekly. Five or six gentlemen in the service would testify to this. If asked, he would gladly explain to her what

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		§With the utmost Respect, I beg to be permitted to lay before your§ §notice the Case of two unfortunate individuals, now in the Cells at Sandy Bay, and entreat§ §your kindness to solicit for them, admission into one of the Wards of the Hospital, where the§ §similar duties required, for the other Patients (both Male and Female) will be the means also§ §of causing some attention being paid to the Daily subsistence of these two deranged Females,§ §and which cannot be at so place like Sandy Bay Guard, exposed I am afraid to§ §every thing but kindness, and their food given out to them weekly - and such is the Testimony§ §of 4 or 5 Gentlemen in the Service, and should it be called for, I have no doubt,§ §will readily explain to you, what they have been Eye witness to, when one of these two§ §Women were there before -§ §I had been myself quite confident that our worthy Governor§ §does not know the disadvantages which these poor creatures suffer in being sent to§ §the Cells, instead of the Hospital, I am induced to solicit your kind consideration§ §and well known Humane feelings, in the behalf of these Women, the expences of whose§ §subsistence &c. is to be paid for by the Parish at large, and my only endeavour now is§ §(being in Office) to render them as comfortable as the means allowed, and their wretched§ §state will permit, and makes me hope you will not consider these few lines a liberty§ §from§ §Madam§ §Your most obedient Servant§ §St. Helena§ §5 September 1832§ §(Signed) J. Bennett§ §Church Warden§	they had seen when one of these two women was there before. Bennett was quite sure that the Governor did not know what the poor creatures suffered by being sent to the cells instead of the hospital. Knowing Mrs Dallas's humane feelings, he had been moved to ask her kind help for these women. The cost of their keep was to be paid by the parish at large, and as a parish officer his only aim was to make them as comfortable as the means allowed. He trusted she would not think it a liberty that he wrote to her. J. Bennett signed the letter as churchwarden at St Helena on 5 September 1831. **Interpretations** Bennett's letter to Mrs Dallas was a private appeal from a parish officer to the Governor's wife. He wrote to her because he believed the Governor did not know how the women were being treated. Writing to her directly went round the Council's formal channel. The letter reached the Council anyway, and the Council took it as an attempt to get around its own decisions. Bennett's reply rested on his good intentions and on the evidence of officers who had seen the conditions at Sandy Bay. The clash showed how a small official circle worked. A churchwarden with a grievance could reach the Governor's household directly, but doing so risked the Council's anger at being bypassed. Bennett noted that some parishioners thought the women had relatives or others bound to support them. Sarah was a slave, so her owner Unsworth remained legally liable even though he was a convict. Finding someone else liable would lift the cost from the parish. The parish's first step with every dependant was to look for another source of support.
652	643	To James Bennett and S. A. Pritchard Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens.§ §Gentlemen,§ §In reply to your Letter of this date, I am directed by§ §the Governor and Council to state their willingness to believe, that a desire§ §to alleviate the sufferings of the two Women therein alluded to, was the§ §motive of your conduct, which nevertheless was not only irregular, but§ §implied doubt as to the readiness of the Board, to afford that reasonable§ §aid, which, they are not aware has ever been withheld. - You had been§ §distinctly informed in the Police Office by the Magistrate, and the Medical§ §Officer in charge of the Hospital, that there was great objection to the permanent§ §residence of persons not requiring immediate Medical attendance, and that§ §the appropriation of any part of the Building to insane persons, was injurious§ §to the other Patients. - You were also informed, that as a temporary measure,§ §until accommodation could be provided for the Women in question by the§ §Parish, that they might remain a short time in the Prison, or at Sandy§ §Bay - This intimation was in addition to the written notice to which§ §you advert, yet, notwithstanding you still persisted to press a point, which§ §you had previously been told was improper to grant.§ §I am§ §Gentlemen§	On 22 September 1831 R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, replied to the churchwardens, James Bennett and S. A. Pritchard. The Governor and Council were willing to believe that a wish to ease the suffering of the two women had driven Bennett's zeal. His approach had nevertheless been irregular. It had also implied a doubt that the Board was ready to give reasonable help, help which, as far as the Board knew, had never been refused. Bennett had been told plainly at the police office, by the magistrate and by the medical officer in charge of the hospital, that there were strong objections to people who did not need immediate medical care living permanently in the hospital. He had also been told that giving any part of the building to insane people harmed the other patients. He had further been told that, as a temporary measure, the women could stay a short while in the prison or at Sandy Bay until the parish could find somewhere for them. That was in addition to the written notice he mentioned. Even so, he had gone on pressing a point he had already been told could not be granted. A note added that early in that year the government had allowed the junior churchwarden, S. A. Pritchard, to go to the Cape for his health. The correspondence that followed was therefore addressed only to and from the senior churchwarden. The letter is dated 22 September 1832 in the manuscript, but it answered Bennett's letter written that same day in 1831. **Interpretations** The government's reply held that Bennett had been told clearly by the magistrate and the medical officer, not just through the scrap of paper he described. Two accounts of the same facts stood in

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		§Your obedt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §22nd. September 1832§ §(Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy.§ §N.B. - The Government having permitted the Junior Church§ §Warden (S. A. Pritchard Esqr.) to proceed to the Cape for the benefit of his§ §health, at the beginning of the present year - the Correspondence following this,§ §was addressed to, and from the Senior Church Warden, only.§	the record. Bennett described a discharge note handed to him in the street. The government described a meeting at the police office where the hospital's objections and the temporary arrangements were explained. The churchwarden saw the arrangements as neglect. The government saw the matter as a churchwarden refusing to accept a decision he had been given. It made no further concession. The Board's earlier offer of the old brewery as an infirmary remained its answer to the problem. The government made clear that the prison and the Sandy Bay cells were meant only as a stopgap until the parish found proper accommodation. Responsibility for housing the insane poor therefore rested with the parish. The brewery the government had offered was the means to meet it. Until it was converted, the women stayed in cells, the very conditions Bennett had protested against.
653	644	St. Helena§ §2nd. February 1832§ §To Mr. Hoar, Organist§ §&c. - &c.§ §Sir, I have just received the within Letter from the§ §Secretary to Government, viz.§ §" To James Bennett Esqre.§ §Church Warden§ §"Sir, "I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform§ §"you, that Mr. Hoar, the Organist, has this day been suspended the Honble.§ §"Company's Service until the Honble. Court of Directors pleasure be known.§ §"He is of course to discontinue his performance in the Church.§ §I am Sir, Your obedt. Servant"§ §"St. Helena§ §"2nd. Feby. 1832"§ §(Signed) R. F. Seale§ §Secy."§ §With the contents of which, I hope you will comply§ §I am Your obedient Servant§ §(Signed) J. Bennett§ §Church Warden§ §To James Bennett Esqre.§ §Church Warden.§ §Sir,§ §I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of this date,§ §enclosing a Copy of a Letter from the Secretary to Government, announcing§ §that I have been this day suspended the Honorable Company's§ §Service: - I am Sir very respectfully§ §Your obedt. Servant§ §St. Helena§ §February 2nd. 1832§ §(Signed) J. W. Hoar§	On 2 February 1832 J. Bennett, churchwarden, wrote to Mr Hoar, the organist. He had just received a letter from the secretary to the government, dated that day, which he copied for Hoar. In it R. F. Seale told Bennett that the Governor and Council had that day suspended Mr Hoar, the organist, from the Company's service until the Court of Directors' wishes were known. Hoar was therefore to stop playing in the church. Bennett hoped Hoar would comply. Hoar replied to Bennett the same day. He acknowledged Bennett's letter, with its copy of the secretary's letter, telling him that he had that day been suspended from the Company's service. J. W. Hoar signed the reply. **Interpretations** The government, not the parish, suspended the organist. In 1827 the parish had raised the organist's salary to £50 0s 0d a year after the government agreed to raise its own contribution. Hoar evidently held a Company appointment as well as the parish post. That made him a Company servant, subject to the Governor and Council and ultimately to the Court of Directors. The parish learned of the suspension only through the secretary. The churchwarden's role was simply to pass the order on. The record gives no reason for the suspension. Hoar had already been absent through much of 1829 and 1830, when the clerk Thompson was paid to lead the singing in his place.
654	645	St. Helena 20th. February 1832.§ §In September last, the following Gentlemen were chosen by the§ §Parish, as a Committee for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety§ §of building a New Church in the Vicinity of the Hutts Gate, and of the needful§ §Repairs to be done in the Country Church) vizt. -§ §President§ §The Revd. Mr. Vernon§ §Lieut. Col. Hodson§ §Wm. Hy. Seale Esqre.§ §G. V. Lambe Esqre.§ §Lieut. G. W. Mellis.§ §And at a Vestry Meeting held this day Febry. 20th. 1832, at the Sessions House§	A record dated at St Helena on 20 February 1832 set out the following. In September 1831 the parish had chosen a committee to consider whether to build a new church near Hutt's Gate and what repairs were needed at the country church. Its members were as follows. President, the Reverend Mr Vernon Lieutenant Colonel Hodson William Henry Seale G. V. Lambe Lieutenant G. W. Mellis On 20 February 1832 a vestry met at the sessions house by order of the Governor and Council. The Reverend Mr Vernon, the committee's president, read its report.

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		§by order of the Governor and Council, the following Report was read by the§ §Revd. Mr. Vernon, President of the Committee, appointed as above specified,§ §Report,§ §The Committee strongly recommend the erection of the§ §proposed Church, in the neighbourhood of the Hutts Gate - The population§ §in that district appears to be sufficiently numerous, to warrant the adoption§ §of some plan for effecting so desirable an object, more particularly as the distance§ §from the Parish Church, combined with the nature of the Roads, affords in§ §general, but too good an excuse for the neglect of Public Worship, and, in§ §many cases, renders a regular attendance from that quarter, impracticable. -§ §Lieutenant Mellis has been kind enough to design a§ §Plan, which the Committee highly approve of, and submit for your adoption.§ §It is Estimated at £1200 -, exclusive of the carriage of Materials. -§ §The Building might however, be framed, so as to admit of,§ §the construction of a Gallery at some future period, open benches might§ §serve for Pews, and the Turret need not, in the first instance, be carried§ §to so extended height, which would materially lessen the expence.§ §The Site which the Committee propose as likely to conduce§ §most to the convenience of the Public, and the embellishment of the Country,§ §is on the hill belonging to Mr. Richard Torbett, immediately behind§ §the Cottage, and a short distance beyond the Hutts Gate, an Acre§ §or two, of which ground may be procured on reasonable terms.§ §The Committee are of opinion further, that the building§ §of a new place of Worship, will by no means obviate the necessity§ §for increasing the accommodation in the Parish Church. -§	The committee strongly recommended building the proposed church near Hutt's Gate. The population of that district seemed large enough to justify a plan for so desirable an object. That was especially so because the distance from the parish church, together with the state of the roads, gave people in general all too good an excuse for missing public worship. In many cases it made regular attendance from that district impossible. Lieutenant Mellis had kindly designed a plan, which the committee strongly approved and put forward for adoption. It was estimated to cost £1,200 0s 0d, not including the carriage of materials. The building could be designed to allow a gallery to be added later. Open benches could serve in place of pews. The turret need not be carried to its full height at first, which would greatly reduce the cost. The committee thought the best site, for the public's convenience and the improvement of the countryside, was the hill belonging to Mr Richard Torbett, just below the cottage and a short way beyond Hutt's Gate. An acre or two of that ground could be had on reasonable terms. The committee was further of the view that building a new place of worship would by no means remove the need to increase the seating in the parish church. **Interpretations** The committee recommended the new church and also the extra seating in the country church. The vestry had sent both projects to one committee in September 1831 so that it could choose between them. Three of its five members had signed the petition for the chapel. The committee did not choose. It backed both, which meant the parish would pay for the alteration as well as a building costing £1,200 0s 0d. That was more than four years of the parish's surplus. The petitioners had argued that the chapel would remove the need to enlarge the country church. The committee's own report now said the opposite. The committee kept the first cost down by leaving out what could be added later: a gallery, pews and the full height of the turret. Open benches cost less than pews. They also could not be rented or allotted by rank as the country church's pews were under the seating rules of 1822. A church with open benches would seat its congregation without the graded places that marked rank in the older churches. Whether the committee meant this or only wanted to save money, the record does not say. The site on Torbett's land near Hutt's Gate lay at the heart of the district of nearly 50 dwellings listed in the petition. Torbett was a landholder and former churchwarden. Selling an acre or two "on reasonable terms" to the parish would place the church beside his own property, which the committee itself said would improve the countryside.
655	646	They are aware how difficult it will be to suggest any measure for§ §the purpose that shall reconcile the conflicting opinions which have been§ §agitated on the subject; and at the same time prove economical and§ §efficient. It appears to them, however, that instead of changing§ §the position of the Pews and Aisles, or meddling with the Walls of the§ §Building, (the first of which would prove an infliction, and the latter, a§ §dangerous expedient) it will be better to run a slight Gallery, of two, or§ §three Seats deep along the front wall, to which a separate entrance might§ §be constructed. - This would afford about (60) Sixty	The committee knew how hard it would be to propose a measure that would reconcile the conflicting opinions on the subject and still be economical and effective. In its view, though, changing the layout of the pews and aisles or altering the walls of the building would be unwise. The first would cause dispute, and the second would be dangerous. It would be better to build a light gallery, two or three seats deep, along the front wall, with its own entrance. This would provide about 60 more seats. It could be done quickly and for a moderate sum. The committee offered these opinions and suggestions with great respect to the meeting's judgement. The meeting would decide whether they were proper and wise, and how to raise the money

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		additional sittings,§ §could be speedily accomplished, and for a moderate Sum§ §These opinions and suggestions are submitted with every deference,§ §to the judgment of this meeting, which will decide, upon their propriety,§ §and expediency, and also will determine upon the means to be adopted,§ §for raising the Sum required to accomplish the ends in view§ §Feby. 20th. 1832§ §(Signed) B. J. Vernon§ §Presdt.§ §Proposed by Lieut. Col. Hodson, Seconded by Lieutenant John§ §Sampson, and carried unanimously,§ §That a Gallery be immediately erected in the Parish Church§ §the Expence of which to be defrayed out of the Sum reserved in the Collectors§ §hands; it having been understood at the last General Annual Meeting, that§ §such Sum was to be devoted to the purpose of enlarging the Parish Church.§ §Proposed also, That Tenders for the Work be advertized for.§ §Mr. Richard Torbett is willing to let the Parish have about Two§ §Acres of his Land, alluded to in the Committees Report, which will be§ §ample, for the site of the proposed Church, and a sufficiently spacious Burial§ §Ground. The Land to be valued by four Appraisers, - 2 on the part§ §of Mr. Torbett, and 2 on the part of the Parish. - Mr. Torbett expects the§ §Parish to decide upon the Purchase within twelvemonths. -§ §Proposed by Mr. Lambe, Seconded by Mr. Vernon, and carried§ §That, the further consideration of the Erection of the New Church§ §be postponed, until the Annual Meeting. -§	needed. B. J. Vernon signed the report as president on 20 February 1832. Lieutenant Colonel Hodson proposed, Lieutenant John Sampson seconded, and the meeting agreed unanimously that a gallery be built at once in the parish church. It would be paid for from the money held by the vestry. The last general annual meeting had understood that this money was meant for enlarging the parish church. It was also proposed that tenders for the work be advertised. Mr Richard Torbett was willing to let the parish have about two acres of his land, as mentioned in the committee's report. That would be ample for the site of the proposed church and a spacious burial ground. The land would be valued by four assessors, two chosen by Torbett and two by the parish. Torbett expected the parish to decide on the purchase within 12 months. Mr Lambe proposed, Mr Vernon seconded, and the meeting agreed that further consideration of building the new church be put off until the annual meeting. **Interpretations** The committee dropped the alteration the vestry had voted for in September 1831 and proposed a gallery in its place. The earlier plan had taken out one aisle and rearranged the pews to seat 96 more people for under £100 0s 0d. The committee now judged that touching the pews would cause dispute. In a church where each family's pew showed its rank under the 1822 seating rules, rearranging them would have unsettled who sat where. A gallery along the front wall left the existing pews alone and added about 60 seats with its own entrance. Galleries were usually for servants, schoolchildren and the poorer congregation. The new seats would house the growing number of worshippers without disturbing the families who held the pews below. The vestry built the gallery at once but put off the new church. It had the money for the gallery. The new church at £1,200 0s 0d needed a decision on raising funds, and Torbett had given the parish 12 months to decide on his land. Putting it off to the annual meeting, when more ratepayers would attend, gave time for the cost to be weighed against the parish's means. The chapel's supporters, Lambe and Vernon, moved the postponement themselves. That suggests they judged a vote at this meeting would fail.
656	647	Extract from Consultation dated 27th. February 1832.§ §As the final determination of the Vestry is postponed§ §until the next General Meeting, the Board have no observations to§ §record at present, further than a general approbation of the Measures§ §contemplated.§ §(True extract) (Signed)§ §R. F. Seale§ §Secy.§ §To James Bennett Esqre.§ §Church Warden§ §&c. &c.§ §James Town§ §22nd. March 1832§ §The Vestry Committee met this day to receive tenders for the erection§ §of a gallery in the Parish Church - when it was resolved to refer the§ §subject to the Annual General Meeting, to take place on the 23rd.§ §April -§ §The following Members were present -§ §Revd. Mr. Vernon§ §Mr. S. Solomon§	An extract from the government's consultation of 27 February 1832, certified by R. F. Seale, secretary, recorded the Board's response. Since the vestry had put off its final decision until the next general meeting, the Board had nothing to record for the present beyond general approval of the measures planned. The extract was sent to James Bennett, churchwarden. On 22 March 1832 the vestry committee met in Jamestown to receive tenders for building a gallery in the parish church. It resolved to refer the matter to the annual general meeting on 23 April 1832. The following members were present. The Reverend Mr Vernon Mr S. Solomon Mr W. Fowler Mr N. Boyle Mr R. Torbett Captain Bennett J. Bennett signed as churchwarden. On 24 March 1832 J. Bennett, churchwarden, wrote to R. F. Seale, secretary to the government. He enclosed the vestry proceedings of 22 March 1832 for the Governor and Council. **Interpretations**

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		§Mr. W. Fowler§ §Mr. A. Beale§ §Mr. R. Torbett§ §& Captain Bennett§ §Signed J. Bennett§ §Church Warden§ §To R. F. Seale Esqre.§ §Secretary to Government§ §&c. &c. &c.§ §Sir, Inclosed are the Vestry proceedings of the 22nd. Instant§ §which you will be pleased to lay before the Honorable the Governor and§ §Council§ §I am Sir Your most obedient Servant§ §St. Helena§ §24 March 1832§ §Signed J. Bennett§ §Church Warden§	The committee received tenders for the gallery but passed the decision to the annual meeting rather than accepting one. The February vestry had voted unanimously to build the gallery at once and to advertise for tenders. A month later the committee held back. The tenders may have come in above the "moderate sum" the committee had expected. The annual meeting would also decide on the new church at Hutt's Gate. Settling both together let the ratepayers weigh the gallery's cost against the much larger cost of the chapel before committing the parish's money.
657	648	Dr. The Parish of St. Helena in Account Current§ §Salaries§ §To Mr. Hoar, Organist§ §34 . 7 . 6§ §Mr. Croft, Clerk§ §30§ §Mr. Youd, Fish Market§ §33§ §97 . 7 . 6§ §Parochial Relief§ §To G. V. Lambe Esqre. for Cornelius Robinson [...] days @ 9d.§ §16 . 10 . 9§ §Sarah Jones & Letitia (Insane) at Sandy Bay§ §28§ §Drays Children 356 days 1/§ §19 . 16§ §John Calais 13 mos. 15/§ §9 . 15§ §Jack Wells 13 mos. 15/§ §9 . 15§ §Marlborough 2 mos. 15/ & 11 mos. 10/§ §7§ §Smith, called Shilo 356 days @ 3d.§ §4 . 19§ §Wade 13 mos. 10/§ §6 . 10§ §Ghoff at various times§ §5 . 18 . 9§ §Bedwell 9½ mos. 15/§ §7 . 2 . 6§ §Francis 11½ mos. 15/§ §8 . 12 . 6§ §Flora 9 mos. 8/6 Clothes 5/2§ §4 . 2§ §Chamberlain old Fanny 4 mos. 8/6§ §1 . 13 . 6§ §Grant's Children 13 mos. 10/§ §6 . 10§ §Chambers, for Fanny a Black Woman 13 mos. 20/§ §13§ §James's Orphans 12 mos. 15/§ §9§ §Harlequin 1 month§ §15§ §Samuel Robinson 253 days 6d.§ §6 . 6 . 6§ §A Distressed Family in James's Town§ §2 . 18 . 10§ §Temporary Relief to Sundry Paupers§ §10 . 9 . 4§ §178 . 12 . 8§ §Hospital & Interment Expences§ §6 . 14§ §Incidental Expences§	The parish of St Helena's account current for the year to April 1832 recorded the following spending. Salaries Mr Hoar, organist, £34 7s 6d Mr Croft, clerk, £30 0s 0d Mr Youd, fish market, £33 0s 0d Salaries in all, £97 7s 6d Parish relief G. V. Lambe for Cornelius Robinson, 441 days at 9d, £16 10s 9d Sarah Jones and Letitia, insane, at Sandy Bay, £28 0s 0d Dray's children, 396 days at 1s, £19 16s 0d John Caulis, 13 months at 15s, £9 15s 0d Jack Wells, 13 months at 15s, £9 15s 0d Marlborough, 2 months at 15s and 11 months at 10s, £7 0s 0d Smith, also known as Abel, 396 days at 3d, £4 19s 0d Wade, 13 months at 10s, £6 10s 0d Gloff, at various times, £5 18s 9d Bedwell, 9½ months at 15s, £7 2s 6d Frances, 11½ months at 15s, £8 12s 6d Flora, 9 months at [...] and clothes 5s 2d, £4 [...] 2d Chamberlain, also known as Fanny, 4 months at [...], £1 13s 6d Green's children, 13 months at 10s, £6 10s 0d Chambers for Fanny, a blind woman, 13 months at 20s, £13 0s 0d James's orphans, 12 months at 15s, £9 0s 0d Harlequin, 1 month, £0 15s 0d Samuel Robinson, 253 days at 6d, £6 6s 6d A family in distress in Jamestown, £2 18s 10d Temporary relief to various paupers, £10 9s 4d Parish relief in all, £178 12s 8d Hospital and burial costs, £6 14s 0d Incidental costs Mr Thompson, granted by the vestry, £12 12s 0d Thompson junior, as organist, £2 2s 0d Mr [...], carpenter, for work at [...], £2 0s 0d Mr Patterson, for similar work at [...], £2 0s 0d 2 new surplices and making them £6 2s 0d, and laundering them £3 0s 0d, £9 2s 0d Tools for the churchyard, water and other items, £1 14s 6d 20 hassocks £3 3s 6d, and paper, pens and other items £2 15s 10d, £5 19s 4d Cleaning the churchyards and the fire tank, granted by the vestry, £10 0s 0d Incidental costs in all, £45 9s 8d Spending in all, £328 3s 10d Balance in hand due to the parish, £292 6s 0d Total, £620 9s 10d A receipt at the foot recorded that the balance of £292 6s 0d was received from Captain Bennett, the

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		§Amount paid Mr. Thompson, granted by Vestry§ §12 . 12§ §Prison, as overseer§ §2 . 2§ §Mr. Wells Carpenter &c. at Sandy Bay§ §2§ §Mr. Wells Do. at Country Church§ §2§ §2 new Surplices & making £6. 2 - Washing do. £3§ §9 . 2§ §Tools for Church Yard, Water Can &c.§ §1 . 14 . 6§ §20 Hassocks £3. 3. 6 - Paper, Pens &c. £2. 16§ §5 . 19 . 4§ §Cleaning Church Yards, & Fire Plantation, granted by Vestry§ §10§ §45 . 9 . 8§ §328 . 3 . 10§ §Balance in hand due to Parish§ §292 . 6§ §£620 . 9 . 10§ §Received of Capt. Bennett late Churchwarden the above Balance of £292. 6.§ §[...]§	former churchwarden, together with the parish books and church plate. **Interpretations** Parish relief reached £178 12s 8d, the highest in the book, and £28 0s 0d of it went on keeping the two insane women at Sandy Bay. After the dispute of 1831, the parish was paying for Sarah Jones and Letitia in the cells. The government had offered the old brewery as an infirmary, but no conversion appears in the accounts. The women stayed where Bennett had protested they were being neglected, and the parish paid for them there. Gloff appeared on the relief list at various times. In May 1831 the Board had ruled that the parish must pay to keep him in gaol because he was an idiot and his mother was a pauper. The committee had refused that bill. Now he was a regular charge. The parish had also lost the argument over Letitia Mills, the second of the two women at Sandy Bay. Relief allowances varied more than in 1830, from 3d a day for Smith to 20s a month for the blind Fanny. The committee had reviewed every pauper in person and set each rate by need. Several long-standing pensioners, including Marlborough and Wade, had their allowances cut to 10s a month. Even with a balance of nearly £300, the committee kept individual allowances modest.
658	649	with James Bennett Church Warden Cr.§ §1831§ §April By Cash received from the late Church Warden§ §£311 . 1 . 8§ §Cash received from Police Office being half the amount of Dog tax§ §36 . 5§ §Cash received from County Collectors being 3/ out of 3/6 on House tax for 1831§ §231 . 3 . 2§ §Cash received from County Collectors being Amount of Tax upon 21 Hack Horses§ §42§ §£620 . 9 . 10§ §By Balance Brought down§ §£292 . 6 . [...]§	The credit side of the parish account with James Bennett, churchwarden, recorded the following receipts. April 1831, cash from the former churchwarden, £311 1s 8d Cash from the police office, half the dog tax, £36 5s 0d Cash from the county collectors, 3s out of 3s 6d of the house tax for 1831, £231 3s 2d Cash from the county collectors, tax on 21 horses for hire, £42 0s 0d Total, £620 9s 10d Balance brought down, £292 6s 0d **Interpretations** The parish still received the horse tax, £42 0s 0d on 21 horses, even though the Court of Directors had ordered in January 1831 that the proceeds go into the Company's treasury. The order had not yet taken effect, or it applied only to the share once paid to the widows' fund. The number of horses for hire fell from 24 to 21, the first drop since the tax began. Fewer horses kept for hire probably reflected fewer passengers or less traffic between Jamestown and the country. The year's spending exceeded its income for the first time since the property taxes began. The parish started with £311 1s 8d and ended with £292 6s 0d. The rise in relief, the cost of keeping the insane women and the payments for the churchyards and fire tank used up all the year's tax and some of the reserve. The surplus that had built up since 1826 was starting to shrink.
659	650	Vestry meeting 23rd. April 1832.§ §At a meeting of the Vestry held in the Sessions Hall on§ §Monday the 23rd. April 1832 the following business occurred§ §The Parish and County accounts for the past year§ §having been previously audited by the Committee were passed and§ §exhibited at the meeting.§ §The undermentioned Parish officers were chosen: vizt.§ §John Sampson Esqre. Churchwarden§ §Messrs. L. Gideon, J. Des Fountain, A. Darling & W. Doveton in addition to§ §J. Firmin, S. Solomon and W. Fowler Members of	On Monday 23 April 1832 a vestry met in the sessions hall and dealt with the following business. The committee had already audited the parish and county accounts for the past year. They were laid before the meeting and passed. The following parish officers were chosen. Churchwarden John Sampson Members of the vestry committee Mr L. Gideon Mr J. De Fountain Mr A. Darling Mr W. Doveton With the remaining members from last year, J. Firmin, S. Solomon and W. Fowler

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		Vestry Committee§ §remaining from last year.§ §Messrs. R. Torbett and A. Darling - County & Parish Collectors.§ §Capt. A. Younge, & Messrs. S. Solomon & W. Fowler - Fire Committee§ §The following gentlemen were nominated to the office of Sheriff§ §S. Young Esqre. 27 votes A. Beale Esqre. 8 votes G. Lambe Esqre. 6 votes§ §The Committee nominated Thos. Coutts & Patrick Crowley Constables§ §In conformity with a resolution of a Special meeting§ §of the Vestry on the 20th. February last when it was proposed "That a§ §Gallery be immediately erected in the Parish church" two plans were§ §submitted by Mr. Patterson and Mr. W. H. Seale respectively - when§ §that of Mr. Patterson was preferred at an expense to the Parish of £150.§ §Col. Hodson was selected by the meeting and consented to superintend§ §the work. -§ §It was moved by the Revd. Mr. Vernon and seconded by W. H. Seale§ §Esqre. "that £300 of the Parish funds shall be deposited in the Company's§ §Treasury for the purpose of being eventually appropriated towards the§ §erection of a Chapel in the East division" after a long discussion during§ §which the meeting became lessened in numbers the question was put§ §to a division when the votes were§ §for the motion - 7§ §Against it - 12§ §The above proceedings having been submitted to the Hon. the§ §Govr. & Council were approved and S. Young Esqre. appointed Sheriff§ §N.B. - The Churchwardens engage that the Balance of these§ §Accounts shall be produced at the annual meeting of the Vestry§	County and parish collectors Mr R. Torbett Mr A. Darling Fire committee Captain A. Younge Mr S. Solomon Mr W. Fowler The following gentlemen were nominated for the office of sheriff. J. Young, 27 votes A. Beale, 8 votes G. Lambe, [...] votes The committee nominated Thomas Coutts and Patrick Conolly as constables. The special vestry of 20 February 1832 had resolved to build a gallery in the parish church at once. Mr Patterson and Mr H. Seale submitted two plans. The meeting preferred Mr Patterson's, at a cost to the parish of £90 0s 0d. It chose Colonel Hodson to oversee the work, and he agreed. The Reverend Mr Vernon moved and W. H. Seale seconded that £300 0s 0d of the parish funds be deposited in the Company's treasury, to be set aside permanently for building a chapel in the eastern division. There was a long discussion, during which many people left the meeting. When the question was finally put to a vote, the result was as follows. For the motion, 7 Against the motion, 12 The proceedings were sent to the Governor and Council, who approved them and appointed J. Young sheriff. A note added that the churchwardens undertook to produce the balance of the accounts at the annual meeting of the vestry. **Interpretations** The vestry rejected the plan to set aside £300 0s 0d for the Hutt's Gate chapel. The sum was almost the whole of the parish's balance of £292 6s 0d. Committing it to one district's church would have left the parish with no reserve, just as its spending had started to exceed its income. The supporters were the eastern residents who had petitioned in September 1831. The opponents were probably the western and town ratepayers, who would have paid for a church they did not need. Many people left during the long debate, so the final vote was taken among only 19. The defeat left the chapel without parish funding. It could still go ahead only by voluntary subscription or with Company help. The ballot for sheriff drew 27 votes for J. Young. That was more than voted on the chapel and more than in any recorded vestry ballot. The sheriff's election drew a fuller attendance than any other business. The vote on the chapel was taken after many had gone home. The parish's largest spending decision of the year was made by a smaller group than the one that chose the sheriff. The parish built the gallery at £90 0s 0d, the "moderate sum" the committee had promised. It was the cheapest way to add seats to the country church, and Hodson, one of the chapel's own committee, agreed to oversee it.
660	651	14th. May 1832§ §The Vestry Committee met this day the 14th. May 1832§ §It was agreed to fix the House tax for the ensuing§ §year at 3/6 pr. £100. Two shillings for the Parish and 1/6 for the County§ §The tax upon Carts and Carriages being considered§ §burdensome it is proposed to reduce the charge and submit§ §for the approval of the Hon. Board the following scale vizt.§	On 14 May 1832 the vestry committee met. It agreed to set the house tax for the coming year at 3s 6d on every £100 of value, with 2s going to the parish and 1s 6d to the county. The committee considered the tax on carts and carriages a burden. It proposed lowering it and putting the following scale to the Board for approval. Carriages kept for hire, present tax £4 0s 0d, proposed tax £3 10s 0d Each additional carriage kept for hire, present tax £1 0s 0d, proposed tax £0 10s 0d

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		§Present Tax £, Present Tax s, Present Tax d, Proposed tax £, Proposed tax s, Proposed tax d§ §Upon Carriages kept for hire: Present Tax £ 4, Present Tax s 0, Present Tax d 0, Proposed tax £ 3, Proposed tax s 10, Proposed tax d 0§ §additional do.: Present Tax £ 1, Present Tax s 0, Present Tax d 0, Proposed tax £ 0, Proposed tax s 10, Proposed tax d 0§ §Private do.: Present Tax £ 3, Present Tax s 0, Present Tax d 0, Proposed tax £ 2, Proposed tax s 10, Proposed tax d 0§ §additional do.: Present Tax £ 1, Present Tax s 0, Present Tax d 0, Proposed tax £ 0, Proposed tax s 10, Proposed tax d 0§ §Carts & Drays: Present Tax £ 3, Present Tax s 0, Present Tax d 0, Proposed tax £ 2, Proposed tax s 0, Proposed tax d 0§ §additional do.: Present Tax £ 1, Present Tax s 0, Present Tax d 0, Proposed tax £ 0, Proposed tax s 10, Proposed tax d 0§ §it is also suggested that Hack Horses and Carts shall not§ §be hired unless their proprietors until a Licence ticket for§ §which the sum of 20/ shall be charged) is first obtained from§ §the Parish collectors as disputes have arisen hitherto on this§ §subject and the Tax has been evaded by persons keeping§ §Hack horses and Carts between the periods of collecting the§ §Taxes and relinquishing them when the taxes are to be paid§ §Several applications having been made from§ §proprietors of Houses for an alteration in their rateable§ §value as contained in the House list it was agreed to submit to Government§ §the propriety of appointing a Committee for the purpose of§ §taking such appeals into consideration and at the same time§ §of affixing a valuation to those additional houses which§ §shall appear to have been erected subsequently to the period§ §when the schedule was first formed, without at present§ §disturbing that valuation in any other respect§ §The following gentlemen continue in office for§ §their respective districts the ensuing year viz.§ §Lt. Col. Hodson [...] Esqr. Trustees of [...] Eastern§ §A. Beale Esqr. [...] Do. Western§ §Joseph [...] Jamestown§ §In reference to a resolution of the Vestry on§ §the [...] April [...] when £100 of the funds in the hands of§ §the Collectors was voted for repairing the Streets and§ §observing that only a small portion of that amount has§	Private carriages, present tax £3 0s 0d, proposed tax £2 10s 0d Each additional private carriage, present tax £1 0s 0d, proposed tax £0 10s 0d Carts and drays, present tax £3 0s 0d, proposed tax £2 0s 0d Each additional cart or dray, present tax £1 0s 0d, proposed tax £0 10s 0d The committee also suggested that no horses for hire or carts be let out until their owners had first obtained a licence ticket from the parish collectors, at a charge of 20s. Disputes had arisen on this point. Some people had avoided the tax by keeping horses and carts for hire between one collection and the next, then giving them up when the tax fell due. Several owners of houses had asked for changes to the values entered for their houses in the schedule. The committee thought it right to suggest to the government that a committee be appointed to hear such appeals. It would also set values for any new houses built since the schedule was first drawn up, without disturbing the existing values in any other respect. The following gentlemen were to continue in office as trustees of roads for their districts for the coming year. Lieutenant Colonel Hodson and W. H. Seale, eastern division A. Beale and Captain Sampson, western division Major [...], Jamestown At the annual meeting of the vestry on 23 April 1832, the committee had noted that £100 0s 0d of the funds in the collectors' hands had been voted for repairing the streets, and that only a small part of that sum [...]. **Interpretations** The committee moved more of the house tax to the roads, with 1s 6d out of 3s 6d now going to the county instead of 6d. In 1829 it had shifted most of the tax to the parish when relief rose and the road contracts were settled. The roads now needed more money again, while the parish still held a large balance. Moving the share back let the parish draw down its reserve on relief while the roads were funded from current tax. The overall rate stayed the same, so the ratepayers saw no rise. The committee cut the cart and carriage taxes and proposed a licence ticket for horses and carts for hire. Owners had been keeping them for hire between collections and giving them up just before the tax fell due. A licence bought in advance would close that gap, much as the parish had tried with its tickets in 1827. Lower rates combined with a licence that could not be dodged were meant to bring in more owners at less cost each. The number of horses for hire had just dropped from 24 to 21, which may have reflected this evasion as much as any fall in trade. The proposed appeals committee would let individual owners challenge their valuation and would add new houses, without reopening the whole list. In 1831 the vestry had refused to change a single house on a petition and insisted on a general revision. An appeals body was a middle course between a full revaluation and none. It gave aggrieved owners a hearing and kept the schedule current as building went on.
661	652	14th. May§ §as yet been expended, the Committee beg leave to represent§ §that the remainder is still awaiting the decision of the§ §Hon. Board upon the most effectual mode of accomplishing§ §this necessary undertaking: and in order to facilitate the§	The committee had found that only a small part of the £100 0s 0d voted for the streets had yet been spent. It wished to point out that the rest was still waiting for the Board's decision on the most effective way to carry out this necessary work. To help the work along, Mr S. Solomon had offered his carts to carry the loose stones and other material from behind

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		§work, Mr. S. Solomon has proffered the assistance of his§ §Carts to convey the loose stones &c. from the rear of his§ §premises to whatever part of the Streets such materials shall§ §be required.§ §It having been resolved to purchase an Iron§ §chest for the purpose of depositing the Church plate and§ §Registers in security. A. Beale Esqr. suggested that§ §if the Hon. Board would sanction the transfer from§ §his office of 2 Copper cash chests they could be dispensed§ §with for that purpose.§ §An application was laid before the Committee from§ §Mr. Asst. Surgn. Reed to be remunerated for his professional§ §attendance on the Parish; and altho' the Committee are aware§ §that this charge has been discontinued by an order from§ §the Hon. Court of Directors when they increased the Medl. Estt.§ §yet they have resolved to propose to the next annual Vestry,§ §that a gratuity shall be presented to such Medl. gentleman§ §who may appear to have rendered the most prompt and effectual§ §aid to the Parish poor throughout the preceeding 12 months.§ §It has been ascertained that Soldiers and Chinese§ §who are fathers of illegitimate children often leave the Island§ §without making any provision for their offspring. To prevent§ §these children from becoming chargeable to the Parish - it is§ §conceived that in regard to Soldiers, the Hon. Board might§ §think proper to request Comg. officers to urge upon such§ §men the necessity of providing for their children by monthly§ §deductions from their pay equal to the amount [...] 3d. a month§ §for each child which would [...] [...] them to the advantages§ §of the Benefit Society - The same rate might be adopted by the§ §Superintendant in respect of Chinese§ §The Churchwardens request the sanction of the Hon.§ §the Govr. & Council for their appointing [...] to compose [...]§ §[...]§	his premises to whatever part of the streets needed them. The committee had resolved to buy an iron chest to keep the church plate and registers safe. Mr A. Beale suggested that if the Board would allow two copper cash chests to be moved from his office, the iron chest would not be needed. The committee considered an application from Mr Assistant Surgeon Reid for payment for his medical care of the parish poor. The Court of Directors had stopped such payments by order when it raised the medical officers' pay. Even so, the committee resolved to propose to the next annual vestry that a gift be given to whichever medical officer seemed to have cared most promptly and effectively for the parish poor over the previous 12 months. The committee had learned that soldiers and Chinese who fathered illegitimate children often left the island without making any provision for them. To stop such children becoming a charge on the parish, the committee thought the Board might ask the commanding officers to impress on such soldiers the need to provide for their children. This would be done by a monthly deduction from their pay of [...] a month for each child. That would also benefit the benefit society. The superintendent might apply the same rule to the Chinese. The churchwardens asked the Governor and Council to approve their appointment of [...]. **Interpretations** The committee wanted the fathers of illegitimate children to pay through deductions from their wages. Soldiers and the Company's Chinese labourers were paid by the Company, which meant their wages could be stopped at source. When a regiment left or a Chinese labourer's contract ended, the father was gone and the child remained. English parishes pursued putative fathers through bastardy orders before magistrates, but a man about to sail was beyond reach. Deducting from pay while he was still on the island secured money before he left. The payments would pass through the benefit society, which could then support the child. The parish would be spared. The children concerned were mostly of mixed parentage. Their mothers were usually free women of colour or slaves, and their fathers were white soldiers or Chinese labourers. Children born free after 1818, with no owner and an absent father, fell on the parish. The committee's proposal acknowledged that the garrison and the Company's imported labourers were adding to the island's dependent population, and that the Company, as their employer, should make them pay. The committee asked the next vestry to give a gift to the most diligent medical officer, even though the Court had banned direct fees for treating the parish poor. A gift for good service avoided the ban while still rewarding the doctor who served the poor best. The parish's sick were cared for by the Company's own doctors, and the parish had no say over them other than such inducements.
662	653	1832.§ §The following reply was received from Government upon§ §the above proceedings having been submitted to them.§ §To S. Pritchard Esqre.§ §Churchwarden§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to§ §acknowledge the receipt of your report of this date.§ §The reduction of the House tax for the ensuing§ §year from 3/6 to 2/6 is approved but the Board	The government replied to the committee's proceedings in a letter to J. Pritchard, churchwarden. The Governor and Council acknowledged his report of that date. They approved the cut in the house tax for the coming year from 3s 6d to 2s 6d on every £100. The Board strongly doubted that it would be wise to reduce the existing tax on carriages and carts, and it was not prepared to approve the proposed cut. The Board warmly approved and confirmed the proposal for licences for carts and horses let out for hire. The proposed charge seemed high, though, and

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		having strong§ §doubts of the expediency of reducing the established tax§ §upon Carriages & Carts are by no means prepared to give their§ §sanction to the proposed reduction§ §The proposition respecting the Licenses for Carts§ §and Horses let out for hire is highly approved and confirmed§ §but the proposed charge appears high and the Board can§ §only approve of 10/ as the price of each license.§ §The proposition for appointing a Committee for§ §deciding appeals upon house valuations is approved as§ §also the appointment of officers for the roads &c. in the several§ §districts. -§ §With regard to the balance remaining on hand§ §from the sum which was appropriated for the repairs of the Streets§ §the Board would wish a plan and estimate to be submitted to§ §them from the Committee before they can form a decision§ §The Board readily assent with one or both of the§ §copper chests in the charge of the [...] to be transferred§ §to the Parish for the proposed [...] purpose§ §The Board will take into consideration the§ §proposition regarding the gratuity suggested to be made to the§ §Medical officer attending the Parish poor - The Board will§ §also take into consideration the subject regarding a provision§ §being made by Soldiers and Chinese for illegitimate children.§ §The Governor & Council [...] authorize the Master§ §Copper [...] Esqre. [...]§ §[...] the [...] security of the Parish funds [...]§ §will [...] for the safety of those who have the charge of collecting§ §them§	the Board would approve only 10s as the price of each licence. The Board approved the proposal to appoint a committee to decide appeals on house valuations. It also approved the appointment of trustees of roads for each district. On the balance still in hand from the sum set aside for repairing the streets, the Board wished to have [...] from the committee before [...]. The Board readily agreed to transfer both copper chests in the paymaster's charge to the parish for the purpose proposed. The Board would consider the proposal to give a gift to the medical officer who attended the parish poor. It would also consider the question of soldiers and Chinese providing for their illegitimate children. The Governor and Council would also authorise [...] Cooper [...] to [...], for the security of the parish funds and of those who had the charge of collecting them. The government's reply shows that the committee had set the house tax at 2s 6d on every £100, not 3s 6d as given on the previous page. **Interpretations** The government approved the lower house tax but refused to cut the cart and carriage taxes. The committee had wanted to ease both. The house tax fell mostly on Jamestown property, while the cart and carriage taxes funded the roads and fell on the island's wealthier owners. The government had argued in 1825 that a low carriage tax would encourage more carriages. Now it held that the existing rates should stand. With the house tax cut by a shilling, it judged that the roads needed the cart and carriage money kept in full. The Board halved the proposed licence fee to 10s. A licence was meant to stop owners dodging the tax by keeping horses and carts for hire only between collections. A high fee would itself encourage evasion, so a lower one would bring more owners into the system. The Board had followed the same reasoning when it cut the carriage rates in 1825.
663	654	17th. May.§ §them it is strongly recommended by the Governor & Council§ §that with the exception of such portion of the said funds as§ §may be required for immediate expenses that they shall be§ §deposited in the Company's Treasury from whence issues can be§ §made monthly to such amounts as occasion may require§ §I am &c.§ §Signed Chas. Blake§ §17th. May 1832.§ §Depy. Secy. to Government§ §The second & third paras. of the above were forwarded to the Collectors§ §for their information and guidance§ §Island St. Helena 28th. May 1832.§ §The Committee met this day and the above§ §Letter having been laid before them they Resolved as follows§ §To submit the scale of Taxes on Carriages and Carts to§ §the next annual Vestry in order that the same be revised.§ §To appoint the undermentioned gentlemen a Committee to§ §value those houses which are to be added to the List, and also§ §to consider and determine such appeals against the	The Governor and Council strongly recommended that the parish funds, apart from whatever was needed for immediate costs, be deposited in the Company's treasury. Money could be drawn from there each month as needed. Charles Blake signed the letter as deputy secretary to the government on 17 May 1832. The second and third paragraphs of the letter were sent to the collectors for their information and guidance. On 28 May 1832 the committee met at St Helena, heard the government's letter and resolved as follows. It would put the scale of taxes on carriages and carts before the next annual vestry so that they could be revised. It appointed Captain Charles Sampson, Mr Darling and Mr Gideon as a committee to value the houses to be added to the list. They would also consider and decide any appeals against the existing valuations brought to their notice. It nominated the following gentlemen to meet the Board's wish for a plan and estimate of the improvements needed in the streets, and to oversee the work once the government approved it. Major Hunter, trustee for the repair of the streets George V. Lambe Lieutenant Mellis Mr S. Solomon Mr A. Darling

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		present valuation§ §as shall be brought to their notice viz.§ §Captain Chas. Sampson, Mr. Darling and Mr. Gideon§ §To nominate the following gentlemen for the purpose of§ §complying with the wish of the Hon. Board - in forming a§ §plan and estimate of the improvements required in the Streets§ §and also to superintend its execution, when it shall have been§ §approved by the Government.§ §Town Major Hunter, Trustee of Repairs of Streets§ §George V. Lambe Esqre. Lt. Mellis and Messrs. S. Solomon & A. Darling§ §To represent to the Hon. the Governor and Council that the Committee§ §having taken into consideration the recommendation contained in§ §Mr. Dy. Secy. Blake's letter that for the better security of the Parish§ §and County funds &c. &c. they do not feel justified in departing§ §from§	The committee also resolved to tell the Governor and Council that it had considered the recommendation in Mr Blake's letter about the better security of the parish and county funds, and that it did not feel justified in depositing [...]. **Interpretations** The government asked the parish to put its surplus into the Company's treasury and draw on it monthly. The parish had lost money twice when the currency was revalued while it held cash, and its collectors carried large sums. A deposit in the treasury would protect the funds from theft and from changes in the coinage. It would also put the parish's money under the Company's control. The committee refused. In April 1832 the vestry had rejected a motion to deposit £300 0s 0d in the treasury for the Hutt's Gate chapel. Having its money in hand let the parish spend without asking. Placing it with the Company would have made every withdrawal pass through the government. The committee preferred the risk of keeping its own money to that loss of independence. The streets committee was led by the town trustee and included Solomon and Darling, both Jamestown merchants. Two years after the parish had voted £100 0s 0d, most of the money still lay unspent while the government waited for a plan. Solomon had offered his own carts. The men nominated were the townsmen with the greatest interest in decent streets. Putting the plan in their hands removed the last excuse for delay.
664	655	1832.§ §from the practice hitherto adopted of committing to the charge§ §of the Parish and County funds to the Churchwardens and§ §Collectors for the time being, unless it should be deemed§ §necessary by the Parish at large.§ §N.B. The above report was signed by both Churchwardens§ §and forwarded to Government under date the 24th. Instant -§ §The following reply was received from Government§ §To§ §S. A. Pritchard Esqre. & Lt. John Sampson§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to§ §acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date and to acquaint§ §you that the propositions therein mentioned are approved,§ §but they direct that the recommendation contained in§ §their letter of the 17th. Instant respecting the custody of§ §the Parish funds be submitted to the decision of the§ §first general meeting of a Vestry which may take place.§ §I am &c.§ §Signed Chas. Blake§ §24th. May 1832.§ §Dep. Secretary§ §On Friday the 15th. June the County & Parish taxes began to be collected.§ §On the 10th. June the Indentures of John Dray were duly§ §executed as an apprentice by the Churchwardens to David Brown§ §Company's master cooper with the understanding that the Parish§ §shall continue to afford the said John Dray the allowance of 6d. a day§ §in aid of his support, - until he shall be entitled to pay as a§	The committee did not feel justified in departing from the existing practice of entrusting the parish and county funds to the churchwardens and collectors in office, unless the parish as a whole thought it necessary. A note recorded that both churchwardens signed this report and sent it to the government on the 24th of the month. The government's reply was addressed to S. A. Pritchard and Lieutenant John Sampson. The Governor and Council acknowledged their letter of that date and approved the proposals in it. They directed that the recommendation in their own letter of the 17th of the month, on the keeping of the parish funds, be put to the next general meeting of the vestry for decision. Charles Blake signed the reply as deputy secretary on 24 May 1832. On Friday 15 June 1832 the collectors began collecting the county and parish taxes. On 10 June 1832 the churchwardens signed the indentures binding John Dray as an apprentice to David [...], the Company's master cooper. It was understood that the parish would continue to give John Dray his allowance of 1s a day towards his keep until he was old enough to be paid as a Company apprentice. On 31 May 1832 a letter went to the streets committee asking for a plan and estimate of the repairs. Its reply followed. **Interpretations** The parish apprenticed John Dray, one of Dray's children it had supported since 1825, to the Company's master cooper. That followed the government's advice of 1830 to place young people in useful trades rather than overcrowded ones such as tailoring. Coopers made the casks for water, provisions and stores on which the island and passing ships depended. The trade was skilled and steadily in demand. The parish kept paying his allowance until he was old enough to earn Company apprentice's pay. A boy who had cost the parish since childhood would become a self-supporting tradesman. The government passed the question of the parish funds to the next general vestry rather than

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		§Company's apprentice.§ §A letter was addressed to the Street Comee. the 31st. May§ §requesting a plan and estimate of the repairs - to which the§ §following is a reply§	pressing its recommendation. The committee had refused to put the money in the treasury unless the whole parish agreed. The government accepted that only the full vestry could decide. It still hoped the ratepayers would take its advice.
665	656	20th. June 1832§ §To§ §S. A. Pritchard Esqre.§ §Churchwarden§ §Sir§ §In reply to your letter of the 31st. Ulto. we beg to inform§ §you that we met according to the request of the Vestry Committee to take§ §into consideration the repairs requisite in the public Streets, and in reference§ §to the report made to the Hon. the Govr. & Council in January 1830§ §are of opinion that the plan therein laid down appears to be well considered§ §and may with a very trifling alteration be carried into effect. We§ §enclose a copy of this report accompanied with a few remarks made in its§ §margin, and we will feel pleased in doing all in our power to carry its§ §proposals into effect. In order that the business may be immediately§ §commenced and proceeded in, we recommend that the sum of £100§ §in addition to the £75 to be given by the Parish be solicited from§ §the Government also that they will permit the cut blue stone edging§ §to be furnished from the Quarries at Ladder Hill at the Company's§ §expense, likewise that they will be pleased to sanction the work to be§ §performed by the Garrison men with the assistance of the Supdt. of§ §Public works.§ §We are &c.§ §20th. June 1832.§ §Signed G. V. Lambe§ §J. M. Hunter§ §S. Solomon§ §A. Darling§ §G. W. Mellis§ §Committee§ §On the 25th. June the following letter was received§ §To S. Pritchard & John Sampson Esqrs.§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed to acquaint you that a Vestry§ §meeting has been convened for Monday next the 2nd. July for the§ §purpose of taking into consideration the subject of emancipating those§ §Slaves who are aged 55 years and upwards - all of whom have been§ §directed to give their attendance before the Vestry on that day.§ §I am &c.§ §25th. June 1832.§ §Signed R. F. Seale§ §Secy. to Government§	On 28 June 1832 the streets committee replied to S. A. Pritchard, churchwarden, answering his letter of 31 May 1832. The committee had met, as the vestry committee asked, to consider the repairs needed in the public streets. It had looked at the report made to the Governor and Council in January 1830. In its view the plan set out there seemed well thought out and could be carried out with only very minor changes. The committee enclosed a copy of that report, with a few remarks added in the margin, and said it would gladly do all it could to carry out the proposals. To let the work start at once, the committee recommended asking the government for £100 0s 0d, in addition to the £75 0s 0d the parish would give. It also asked the government to supply cut blue stone from the quarries at Ladder Hill at the Company's expense. Finally, it asked the government to let men of the garrison do the work, helped by the superintendent of public works. G. V. Lambe, J. M. Hunter, S. Solomon, A. Darling and G. W. Mellis signed for the committee. On 28 June 1832 the churchwardens received a letter dated 25 June 1832 and addressed to S. A. Pritchard and John Sampson. R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, told them that a vestry had been called for Monday 2 July 1832. It would consider freeing the slaves aged 55 and over. All of these slaves had been told to attend the vestry that day. **Interpretations** The government called a vestry to consider freeing every slave aged 55 and over. The parish had resisted freeing older slaves without a bond, because they were the people most likely to become a charge on it. The Court's rule of 1819 required a bond for any slave over 40. The vestry had made an exception for Phil in 1828 only because his free family guaranteed him. A general measure for all slaves over 55 would end their owners' duty to support them in old age. It would also add a large group of elderly people to those who might need parish relief. Calling the slaves themselves to attend suggests their circumstances and means were to be examined one by one. The government put the question to the vestry because the ratepayers would carry the cost. The streets committee asked the Company for £100 0s 0d, stone from its quarries and garrison labour, matching it against only £75 0s 0d from the parish. Two years after the vestry voted its £100 0s 0d, most of it was still unspent. The committee now proposed that the Company pay more than half the cash, supply the materials and provide the labour. Under the 1830 arrangement, the Company had already agreed to pay for the streets serving the barracks and the upper town. Soldiers and Company stone would do the work at little cash cost to anyone.
666	657	2nd. July 1832§ §At a special meeting of the Vestry held the 2nd. July§ §1832 read the letter from the Secretary to Government stating§ §that the purpose of convening the meeting was to take into§ §consideration the subject of emancipating those Slaves who§	On 2 July 1832 a special vestry met. It heard the letter from the secretary to the government, which said the meeting had been called to consider freeing the slaves aged 55 and over. Most of them were present, and a list of 72 names had been provided. G. V. Lambe proposed, Lieutenant Colonel Wright seconded, and the meeting agreed that the 72 slaves on the list be freed.

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		§are aged 55 years and upwards most of whom were§ §present - and a list comprizing 72 names having been§ §furnished§ §It was proposed by G. V. Lambe Esqre. seconded by Lt. Col. Wright§ §and Carried - "That the Slaves included in the§ §list furnished to the meeting being 72 in number§ §be emancipated"§ §It was suggested that when emancipation became§ §general liberated Slaves would be prevented from becoming§ §hereafter burthensome to the Parish if Government would§ §order the insertion of a clause in the contracts (which it§ §is presumed will be required) between persons engaging§ §emancipated Slaves in their service - whereby the master§ §will be bound to deduct from their wages [...] a month and§ §deposit it in the funds of the Benefit society for those§ §individuals§ §Pursuant to the instructions of the Hon. Board§ §contained in their letter of the 24th. May last the Senr.§ §Churchwarden submitted to the decision of the Vestry their§ §recommendation in regard to funds of the Parish being§ §deposited in the Company's Treasury, and the meeting§ §Resolved as follows - "That in future the Parish§ §is not to be assessed in any rate beyond what§ §shall be required to meet the probable annual expence§ §and that the funds shall remain in the hands of the§ §Churchwardens and Collectors for the time being"§ §A letter from Lt. Col. Hodson addressed to the§ §Churchwardens representing the dilapidated state of the steeple§ §of the Country Church having been read to the meeting§	It was suggested that freed slaves could be kept from becoming a charge on the parish once emancipation became general. The government could order a clause to be put into the contracts, which would presumably be needed, between employers and the freed slaves they took into service. Under it, the master would be bound to deduct [...] a month from their wages and pay it into the benefit society's funds for them. As the Board had directed in its letter of 24 May 1832, the senior churchwarden put to the vestry the government's recommendation that the parish funds be deposited in the Company's treasury. The meeting resolved that in future the parish should not be taxed at any rate higher than its probable yearly costs required. The funds would stay in the hands of the churchwardens and collectors in office. A letter from Colonel Hodson to the churchwardens, describing the decayed state of the steeple of the country church, was then read to the meeting. **Interpretations** The vestry freed all 72 slaves aged 55 and over in a single vote. The parish had insisted on a bond or a family guarantee for each older slave freed before. It now approved a whole class at once, with no bond recorded. The 72 had been called to the meeting, but the record does not show that any of them were heard. Their owners lost slaves who were near or past their working lives. The parish took on the risk of supporting them. That risk explains the proposal straight after. If free labourers had a share of their wages set aside in the benefit society while they worked, they would have provision for their own old age. The cost would fall on the workers, not on their former owners or the ratepayers. The vestry clearly expected emancipation to become general soon. The vestry rejected the government's advice to deposit its funds in the Company's treasury. It also resolved never again to raise more tax than its yearly costs needed. The government had argued that a large balance was unsafe in private hands. The vestry's answer was to stop building one. If the parish held no surplus, there would be nothing to deposit. That kept the money out of the Company's control and returned the excess to the ratepayers.
667	658	2nd. July 1832§ §It was resolved "that the sum of £30 be expended§ §in repairs and alterations of the same under the§ §superintendence of Col. Hodson."§ §Mr. W. Alexander having consented to§ §relieve Col. Hodson of the Trusteeship of the road in the§ §Sandy bay district for the remainder of the present year§ §We requested the Hon. Boards' sanction to the exchange.§ §The senior Churchwarden represented to the§ §meeting the notorious fact that traffic is carried on in§ §the Shops, contrary to Law, on the Sabbath day, and that§ §Fishermen are to be seen hawking fish about the Streets§ §as late as 2 O'clock on Sundays, it was presumed that§ §if the Hon. Board would proclaim the Law upon the§ §subject, and define the articles which are allowed to be§ §sold, as well as to fix the time when such selling shall§ §cease on the Sabbath - that so improper a practice might§ §be restrained, and the Churchwardens would be enabled§ §more effectually to perform this part of their duty.§ §We had the honor to forward the report§ §of the Street Committee, and also annexed a list of§	The vestry resolved to spend £30 0s 0d on repairs and alterations to the steeple, under Colonel Hodson's supervision. Mr W. Alexander had agreed to take over from Colonel Hodson as trustee of the road in the Sandy Bay district for the rest of the year. The churchwardens asked the Board to approve the change. The senior churchwarden reminded the meeting of the well-known fact that shops traded on the Sabbath, against the law. Fishermen could also be seen hawking fish around the streets as late as 2 o'clock on Sundays. He suggested the Board proclaim the law on the subject, state which goods might be sold and fix the time when such selling had to stop on the Sabbath. That would curb so improper a practice and help the churchwardens carry out this part of their duty more effectively. The churchwardens forwarded the streets committee's report to the government. They also sent a list of parish paupers who might be set to work breaking stones, perhaps under the overseer of the lime yard or at Ladder Hill. The proceedings were sent to the government, and a reply came addressed to the churchwardens, S. A. Pritchard and John Sampson. The government acknowledged the proceedings of the vestry held on the 2nd of the month and replied [...]. **Interpretations**

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		§Parish paupers who might be employed in breaking§ §Stones, perhaps under the Overseer of the Lime yard§ §or [...] place.§ §The above proceedings having been forwarded to§ §Government - the following reply was received§ §To S. A. Pritchard and John Sampson Esqrs.§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed to acknowledge the receipt§ §of the proceedings of a Vestry on the 2nd. Instant and to§ §reply [...]§	The churchwardens proposed putting parish paupers to work breaking stone for the streets. The parish had relieved its poor in cash and food for years with no work required. Stone-breaking was the classic task set for able-bodied paupers in English workhouses. It turned relief into wages for work the public needed. It also discouraged anyone from claiming relief who could find other work. The Board's offer of the old brewery as a workhouse in 1831 pointed the same way. The parish was moving from simple allowances towards work in return for relief. The churchwardens wanted Sunday trading regulated, not simply banned. They asked the government to list the goods that could be sold and set an hour when selling must stop. On an island where fish had to be sold fresh and ships called on any day, a total ban was impractical. Fixing hours and permitted goods would let the churchwardens enforce the Sabbath against shops, while still allowing the morning sale of perishable food.
668	659	5th. July 1832§ §The suggestion at the close of the first proposition§ §assumes that the liberated Slaves generally will be engaged as§ §fixed in the service of individuals, but this will be very§ §far from being universal: many will be engaged by the§ §week, others by the day, and some will seek for maintenance§ §without hiring themselves to any employers, as fishermen,§ §petty farmers &c. the suggestion therefore of depending upon§ §any other quarter for a deduction from the liberated slaves§ §earnings would be impracticable except in cases of servants§ §being hired by the month, and it is doubted how far§ §it would be legal or proper to insist upon the proposed§ §deductions without the consent of the party upon whom§ §they are to be levied. It will however be highly expedient§ §to impress upon all liberated slaves the advantages§ §they must derive by becoming subscribers to the Benefit§ §Society.§ §As the Vestry has not thought necessary§ §to adopt the suggestion in regard to the funds of the Parish§ §being deposited in the Company's Treasury the Board trust§ §that no circumspection will be wanting to guard against§ §any losses therein.§ §The resolution for the repairs of the§ §Steeple of the Country Church is very proper.§ §To the exchange noticed in the 4th. Article§ §the Board see no objection.§ §The proposition regarding the sale of§ §Fish &c. on Sundays will be considered - and§ §upon the subject of the report from the Committee§ §on the improvement of the Streets, the Board§ §would wish to have a personal conference§ §with the Committee before coming to any final§ §determination. I am &c.§ §Signed R. F. Seale§ §5th. July 1832.§ §Secretary to Govt.§	The government's reply of 5 July 1832, signed by R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, went on as follows. The vestry's suggestion at the end of its first resolution assumed that freed slaves would generally be hired out to individual employers. That would be far from universal. Many would be hired by the week, others by the day, and some would earn their living as fishermen, small farmers and the like without hiring themselves to any employer. Taking a deduction from freed slaves' earnings through anyone else would therefore not work, except where servants were hired by the month. The government also doubted whether it would be legal or proper to insist on deductions without the consent of the person who paid them. It would, however, be very useful to impress on all freed slaves the benefits they would gain by joining the benefit society. The vestry had not thought it necessary to deposit the parish funds in the Company's treasury. The Board trusted that every care would be taken to guard against any loss. The resolution to repair the steeple of the country church was entirely proper. The Board had no objection to the change of trustee mentioned in the fourth item. It would consider the proposal on the sale of fish and other goods on Sundays. On the streets committee's report on improving the streets, the Board wished to meet the committee in person before reaching any final decision. **Interpretations** The government refused to impose compulsory deductions from freed slaves' wages. The vestry had wanted to make them save for their own old age through the benefit society, with employers stopping the money at source. The government pointed out that most freed people would not work for a single master by the month. They would hire out by the day or week, fish or farm on their own. No one would be in a position to take the deduction. More important, the government doubted it was lawful to take a free person's wages without consent. Freedom meant control of one's own earnings. The government would only encourage voluntary membership. The vestry's plan would have kept freed slaves under a form of wage control that the government would not authorise. The government's account of how freed people would earn their living shows what it expected after emancipation. It foresaw a population of day labourers, fishermen and small farmers working independently, not a body of servants bound to masters. That was the outcome the planters feared

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			when they talked of a shortage of farm labour. The government accepted it as the natural result of freedom.
669	660	1st. & 13th. August 1832§ §In consequence of a communication from Government§ §directing the Churchwardens to provide for the security and accommodation§ §of Mrs. Michl. Watson her husband entered into an agreement§ §to surrender property yielding the annual amount of £18. 16 -§ §for her maintenance - and W. Corton has engaged to take§ §her into his family for that sum, to be paid to him§ §monthly by the Churchwardens for the time being.§ §Augt. 1st. 1832§ §At a special meeting of the Vestry convened by§ §Government notification - the following proceedings§ §were reported to the Honble. Board on Monday§ §the 13th. August 1832§ §The Churchwardens were desired to remark that§ §notwithstanding every the usual means of calling the parishioners§ §together was adopted that only 24 persons were present.§ §The report of the Street Committee was read to the§ §Meeting and the following propositions were made & seconded§ §"That £75 be given in addition to the like sum now in§ §the hands of the collectors for the purpose of immediately effecting§ §the repairs and alterations suggested in the Committees' report."§ §Carried by a majority§ §That [...] expence which will be required for a stone§ §covered drain [...] from Dr. Kay's house through the§ §centre of the lower street - as far as the Company's houses (it§ §being understood that Government have been pleased to intimate§ §that they will make it complete from thence downward) shall be§ §borne by the Parish, and they also agree to defray the said [...]§ §[...] by the alteration marked in the plan submitted, of the premises§ §occupied by Mr. Pipler - but as the funds of the present year§ §will be insufficient for the accomplishment of these improvements -§ §the meeting respectfully request the Hon. Board will advance§ §the§	The government told the churchwardens to provide for the safety and keep of Mrs Michael Watson. Her husband agreed to give up property bringing in £18 16s 0d a year towards her keep. W. Easton undertook to take her into his family for that sum, which the churchwardens in office would pay him monthly. The entry was dated 11 August 1832. On Monday 13 August 1832 a special vestry, called by notice from the government, met and sent the following proceedings to the Board. The churchwardens were asked to note that, although every usual means of calling the parishioners together had been used, only 24 people attended. The streets committee's report was read, and the following proposals were made and seconded. The meeting agreed by a majority that £75 0s 0d be given, in addition to the same sum already in the collectors' hands, so that the repairs and alterations suggested in the committee's report could be carried out at once. The parish would pay [...] the cost of a stone-covered drain from Dr Kay's fence through the [...] of the lower street as far as the Company's houses. The government had been pleased to say it would complete the drain from there downwards. The parish also agreed to pay for [...] the alterations marked in the plan [...] the premises occupied by Mr Pepler [...]. The present year's funds would not be enough to complete these improvements, so the meeting respectfully asked the Board to advance the [...]. **Interpretations** Mrs Watson's husband gave up property to pay for her keep instead of the parish paying. She was evidently unable to look after herself, perhaps through insanity, since the government asked the churchwardens to provide for her "security". The parish arranged her board with another family, as it had done with Fanny and Chambers, but the money came from her husband's property. The parish only managed the payments. A husband who could pay was made to, so his wife did not become a parish charge. Only 24 parishioners attended a vestry called to commit £150 0s 0d to the streets and to ask the government for an advance. Since 1827 only owners of houses worth £300 or more could vote, and many of those stayed away. The streets mattered most to the Jamestown merchants and landlords who sat on the committee. A small meeting of the interested men committed the parish's money and its credit with the government.
670	661	13th. August 1832§ §the sum (which is estimated at £150) - a loan to the Parish to be§ §repaid by annual instalments commencing when the works shall§ §have been finished.§ §Respecting the appropriation of part of the Union Brewery§ §as a Poor house &c. the meeting are of opinion that so§ §important a subject should be referred to the annual Vestry§ §but they thankfully accept the offer of the building alluded§ §to. - A further expense for completing the repairs of the Steeple was agreed§ §The following reply was received from Government.§ §To S. Pritchard & J. Sampson Esqrs.§	The meeting asked the Board to advance the sum needed, estimated at £150 0s 0d, as a loan to the parish. The parish would repay it in yearly instalments, beginning once the work was finished. On the proposal to use part of the Union brewery as a poorhouse, the meeting thought so important a matter should go to the annual vestry. It gratefully accepted the offer of the building, however. A further sum was agreed for finishing the repairs to the steeple. A note in the margin gave the amount, but it cannot be read. The government's reply, addressed to the churchwardens, S. A. Pritchard and J. Sampson, followed. The Governor and Council acknowledged their report of the vestry proceedings of 13 August 1832. The meeting had approved the streets committee's proposals, so the government was ready

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		§Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to acknowledge§ §the receipt of your report of the Vestry proceedings dated the 13th. Inst.§ §and to acquaint you that the propositions of the Street Committee§ §being approved by the meeting, the Government are ready to§ §cooperate in the execution of the suggested improvements§ §and have agreed to advance the Parish a loan§ §to the amount of £150 if required.§ §The Board approve of the steps taken in the§ §case of Michael Watson.§ §I am &c.§ §Signed Chas. Blake§ §16th. August 1832§ §Depy. Secretary§ **Margin Notes:** §[...] £10 [...] [...]§	to help carry out the improvements. It had agreed to lend the parish up to £150 0s 0d if needed. The Board approved the steps taken in the case of Michael Watson. Charles Blake signed the reply as deputy secretary on 16 August 1832. **Interpretations** The parish borrowed from the government for the streets only weeks after refusing to deposit its funds in the Company's treasury. In July 1832 the vestry had resolved to raise no more tax than its yearly costs required. Without a reserve, a large project needed a loan. The parish could have raised the tax for a year instead. It chose to borrow from the Company and repay in instalments, spreading the cost over several years. That gave the government a creditor's claim on the parish. The parish had kept control of its funds, but not its freedom from Company money. The meeting accepted the Union brewery building but sent the decision on a poorhouse to the annual vestry. The building came from the Company, which had offered a brewery in 1831 for an infirmary and workhouse. A poorhouse would change how the parish relieved its poor. Paupers would have to live in it instead of receiving allowances at home or with boarders, and running it would cost money every year. The small meeting of 24 would not commit the parish to that. It took the building and left the policy to the full vestry.
671	662	9th. January§ §At a meeting of the Vestry Committee held the§ §9th. January 1833§ §The Senior Churchwarden laid before the meeting a§ §statement of the funds of the Parish which he had [...]§ §up to the 7th. instant, and as the Cash received is expended, the§ §Committee resolved that a list of Defaulters in payment of the§ §Taxes should be furnished to the sitting Magistrate without§ §further delay for the purpose of supplying the means of defraying§ §the ordinary expenses of the Parish till the next assessment [...]§ §be levied.§ §A letter from Mr. A. Beale representing the [...]§ §of the channel near the Bridge and stating the [...]§ §in carrying off the accumulation of filth and rubbish [...]§ §to the Committee having been read to them, it [...]§ §to submit the same to the Hon. Board and to [...]§ §altho' they are aware the nuisance alluded to [...]§ §they are rather inclined to think that if an [...]§ §was placed in some intermediate position between [...]§ §premises near the bridge - and that which is now in use,§ §as well also as by making the present channel deeper§ §where the filth of the upper part of the Town accumulates§ §thus causing the water to descend more rapidly, that the§ §evil might be remedied.§ §A proposal from Sergt. Galway to make a road wide§ §enough for two carriages to pass abreast - from near Capt.§ §Bennett's garden to Galways - thence to join the side path§ §road near the corner of the wall - for the sum of £20 from§ §the Parish - was agreed to, as being of great public utility.§ §Margaret Plato having petitioned for relief - it was§ §decided to recommend her to apply to the Benefit	On 9 January 1833 the vestry committee met. The senior churchwarden laid before it a statement of the parish funds that he had made up to the 7th of the month. Since the cash received did not cover the costs, the committee resolved that a list of those who had not paid their taxes be sent without further delay to the sitting magistrate. This would provide the means to meet the parish's ordinary costs until the next tax could be raised. The committee read a letter from Mr A. Beale describing the state of the channel near the bridge and its [...] in carrying off the filth and rubbish that built up [...]. It resolved to send the letter to the Board. The committee knew of the nuisance he described. It thought, though, that the problem might be cured by an additional [...] placed in some intermediate position between [...] premises near the bridge and the one now in use, and by deepening the present channel where the filth from the upper town collected, so that the water ran down faster. The committee agreed to a proposal from Joseph Galway to make a road wide enough for two carriages to pass each other. It would run from near Captain Bennett's garden to Galway's, and then join the side path near the corner of the wall, for £20 0s 0d from the parish. The committee judged it of great public use. Margaret Plato had petitioned for relief. The committee decided to recommend that she apply to the benefit society, since it appeared that after being freed by [...]. **Interpretations** The parish had run short of cash within six months of resolving to raise no more tax than its yearly costs required. With no reserve, unpaid taxes left it unable to meet ordinary costs. The committee sent its defaulters straight to the magistrate, using the power under the 1825 proclamation to seize and sell their goods. The vestry had chosen in July 1832 to keep no surplus rather than deposit one with the Company. That left the parish dependent on every ratepayer paying on time. Margaret Plato was sent to the benefit society rather than given parish relief. The Plato name had appeared on free black burials in the parish accounts since 1817. As a freed woman, she was expected to

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		Society§ §as it appears that after having been emancipated by the§	look first to the fund set up for free people's own support. The parish had pressed this order since 1829, with the society first and the parish only as backup.
672	663	1833§ §Honble. Company she "paid" into "the Black fund" when it was§ §first established in the year 1000 - that she continued to be§ §a subscriber since it has received the more recent§ §denomination of the "Benefit society," and that when she§ §was compelled to withhold her subscription - she then was§ §really as much in need of, and as clearly entitled to§ §the stipend which that Society affords as they consider she§ §is also at the present moment§ §The above proceedings having been forwarded§ §to Government on the 10th. Instant, the following reply§ §was received§ §To§ §S. A. Pritchard and John Sampson Esqrs.§ §Churchwardens§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Board to acknowledge§ §your report of the 10th. instant. The Governor and Council§ §approve of the list of defaulters being furnished to the Magistrate§ §and also of Margaret Plato being recommended to apply for§ §aid to the Benefit Society.§ §The subjects of the road and additional§ §Sluice will be taken into consideration§ §I am &c.§ §Signed R. F. Seale§ §14 Jany. 1833.§ §Secy.§ §On the 7th. February the Vestry Committee met for the purpose§ §of taking into consideration the rough draft of a Proclamation intended§ §to be promulgated by Government for the purpose of facilitating the§ §collection of and enforcing payment of the Parish taxes. It was resolved§ §to suggest to the Hon. Board the propriety of referring the subject to§ §the annual Vestry.§ §It was also agreed - upon the representation of the Revd. Mr. Vernon that Mr.§ §Henry, Who now performed the duties of Organist - and that the§ §Governor§	The committee's reasons followed. Margaret Plato had been freed by the Company. She had paid into the "black fund" from the time it was first set up, and she had kept up her subscription since it took the newer name of the benefit society. When she had been forced to stop paying, she was already just as much in need of the allowance the society gave, and just as clearly entitled to it, as the committee believed she was now. The proceedings went to the government on 10 January 1833, and the following reply came back. R. F. Seale, secretary, wrote on 14 January 1833 to the churchwardens, S. A. Pritchard and John Sampson. The Board acknowledged their report of the 10th of the month. The Governor and Council approved sending the list of defaulters to the magistrate. They also approved recommending Margaret Plato to apply to the benefit society for help. They would consider the road and the additional sluice. On 7 February 1833 the vestry committee met to consider the rough draft of a proclamation the government planned to issue, to make it easier to collect the parish taxes and force their payment. The committee resolved to suggest to the Board that the matter be sent to the annual vestry. On the Reverend Mr Vernon's report, the committee also agreed that Mr Henry Kay was now carrying out the duties of organist, and that the Governor [...]. **Interpretations** The committee argued that Margaret Plato's claim on the benefit society was as strong now as when she stopped paying. She had subscribed since the fund began as the "black fund". When illness or poverty forced her to stop, her need was already the reason she could not pay. The committee's point was that the society should not drop a long-standing member just when she needed it most. Sending her to the society instead of the parish was also cheaper for the ratepayers. The society existed to support freed people. The parish was making sure it carried the cases it had been set up for. The fund's first name, the "black fund", shows that it was set up specifically for black and freed people. The newer title, the benefit society, dropped the racial label. The fund's purpose and membership stayed the same. The government drafted a proclamation to make tax collection easier and more forceful just as the parish ran short. The committee referred it to the annual vestry instead of approving it. A new law on collection would affect every ratepayer. The committee was not willing to give the government more power over parish taxes without the ratepayers' consent.
673	664	7th. February§ §Governor & Council had been pleased to allow her the§ §same salary from the Company as her predecessor had -§ §that Mrs. Kay shall be paid by the Parish also the§ §same allowance hitherto granted to Mr. Hoar.§	The Governor and Council had agreed to pay her the same salary from the Company as her predecessor had received. The committee agreed that the parish would also pay Mrs Kay the same allowance it had given Mr Hoar. This entry shows that the new organist was Mrs Henry Kay, not Mr Henry Kay as given for the previous page. **Interpretations** The parish appointed a woman as organist of the town church and paid her on the same terms as the man she replaced. Mr Hoar's post had combined a Company salary and a parish allowance, and Mrs Kay received both in full. The record makes no reduction for her sex. Since Hoar's suspension in February

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			1832, the parish had been paying the clerk small sums to lead the singing. Appointing a resident woman with the skill to play let it restore regular music without bringing an organist from England.
674	665	Blank page	
675	666	The Parish Dr.§ §1832/33§ §To Cash paid the following Salaries viz.§ §The Organist (Mr. Hoar) to May 1832§ §17 . 14§ §Clerk Country Church§ §30§ §Clerk Fishmarket§ §33§ §80 . 14§ §To do. paid the following Subsistence of Paupers viz.§ §Fanny Chesterfield§ §12§ §Sarah and Letitia at Sandy Bay§ §26 . 4 . 4§ §Mrs. Pipler§ §1 . 10 . 8§ §Eliza Piper§ §4 . 10§ §Mrs. Ghoff§ §4 . 19 . 2§ §Mary Pledger§ §3§ §Drays Children§ §18 . 5§ §Jack Wells§ §9 . 2 . 6§ §Marlboro'§ §9 . 2 . 6§ §Smiths blind child§ §4 . 12 . 3§ §Geo. Wade§ §6§ §John Ghoff§ §9 . 2 . 6§ §John Bedwell (died 13th. June)§ §15 . 6§ §Francois (died 3rd. August)§ §2 . 6§ §Chamberlains Fanny (died 22nd. August)§ §5 . 11 . 7§ §Green's children§ §6§ §Saml. Robertson§ §9 . 2 . 6§ §Cornelius Robinson§ §12 . 11 . 3§ §Emancipated Slaves§ §Greenwood (late Capt. Sym's slave)§ §4§ §Wm. Thomas (late Kennedy's)§ §4 . 15§ §Jack Peter (late Sir W. Doveton's)§ §3§ §Pat (late Mr. B. Wright's)§ §3 . 8§ §Isabel (late Mr. Blake's)§ §3 . 16 . 7§ §April (late Kingsdale's) (died 20 April 1833)§ §2§ §Margaret Plato (temporary relief)§ §4 . 2§ §Antonio's lame child§ §1 . 10§ §162 . 13 . 4§ §To do. paid Interment expenses of the following viz.§ §Carless§ §1 . 4 . 10§	The parish account for 1832 to 1833 recorded the following spending. Salaries The organist, Mr Hoar, to May 1832, £17 14s 0d Clerk of the country church, £30 0s 0d Clerk of the fish market, £33 0s 0d Salaries in all, £80 14s 0d Keep of paupers Fanny, through Chesterfield, £12 0s 0d Sarah and Letitia at Sandy Bay, £26 4s 4d Mrs Pepler, £1 10s 8d Eliza Fife, £4 0s 10d Mrs Gloff, £4 19s 2d Mary Pledger, £3 0s 0d Dray's children, £18 5s 0d Jack Wells, £9 2s 6d Marlborough, £9 2s 6d Smith's blind child, £4 12s 3d George Wade, £1 0s 0d John Gloff, £9 2s 6d John Bedwell, died 15 June, £0 15s 6d Frances, died 3 August, £2 6s 0d Chamberlain's Fanny, died 22 August, £1 11s 7d Green's children, £6 0s 0d Samuel Robinson, £9 2s 6d Cornelius Robinson, £12 11s 3d Emancipated slaves Greenwood, Mr [...]'s slave, £4 0s 0d William Thomas, Mr [...]'s slave, £4 15s 0d Jack Peter, Mr W. Doveton's slave, £3 0s 0d Pat, Mr B. Wright's slave, £3 1s 0d Isabel, Mr Blake's slave, £3 16s 7d April, Mr Knipe's slave, died 20 April 1833, £2 [...] Margaret Plato, temporary relief, £0 4s 2d Antonio's lame child, £1 10s 0d Keep of paupers in all, £162 13s 4d Burial costs Caesar, £1 4s 10d An infant, £0 15s 0d Frances's child, £0 5s 0d Thomas Baker, £0 15s 0d John Bedwell, £1 5s 0d Frances, £1 4s 0d May, £1 5s 0d Fanny Doe, £1 4s 0d John King, £1 5s 0d Samuel [...], £1 5s 0d Burial costs in all, £10 17s 1d Pauper costs carried over, £173 10s 5d Carried over, £80 14s 0d **Interpretations** Six slaves freed under the vestry's decision of 2 July 1832 were already on parish relief within the year. Greenwood, William Thomas, Jack Peter, Pat, Isabel and April were all aged 55 or over, and each was listed by their former owner's name. April died on 20 April 1833. The vestry had freed 72 old slaves without requiring their owners to support them. Within months a share of them needed the parish. The cost the vestry had always feared from freeing slaves without a bond had arrived. The parish, not the owners, paid for their old age. Keeping the two insane women at Sandy Bay cost £26 4s 4d, the largest single item of relief. The brewery had been accepted in August 1832, but no poorhouse had yet opened, and Sarah and Letitia stayed in the cells at the parish's expense. Mrs Gloff and her son John Gloff appeared separately. The Board had ruled in 1831 that John was the parish's

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		§an Infant§ §15§ §Francois child§ §5§ §Thomas Baker§ §15§ §John Bedwell§ §1 . 4§ §Francois§ §1 . 4§ §May§ §1 . 5§ §Fanny Dove§ §1 . 4 . 0§ §John Rose§ §1 . 5§ §Saml. Abby§ §1 . 5§ §10 . 17 . 1§ §Paupers expenses carried over§ §£173 . 10 . 10§ §Carried over£§ §80 . 14§	charge because of his idiocy and his mother's poverty. Both were now paid regularly.
676	667	Contra Cr.§ §1832/33§ §By Cash Balance from late Churchwardens§ §£292 . 6§ §do. Received from Collectors§ §202 . 7 . 3§ §do. do. for 11 Hack Horses§ §22§ §224 . 7 . 3§ §do. Half the Dog Tax§ §30 . 5§ §Carried over£§ §546 . 18 . 3§	The credit side of the parish account for 1832 to 1833 recorded the following receipts. Cash, balance from the former churchwardens, £292 6s 0d Cash received from the collectors, £202 1s 3d Cash received from the collectors for 11 horses for hire, £22 0s 0d Cash received from the collectors in all, £224 1s 3d Cash, half the dog tax, £30 5s 0d Carried over, £546 12s 3d **Interpretations** The tax on horses for hire brought in only £22 0s 0d on 11 horses, about half the 21 taxed the year before. The committee had warned in May 1832 that owners were avoiding the tax by giving up their horses before each collection. The licence ticket the Board approved at 10s had evidently not yet stopped this. Some of the fall may also reflect less hiring traffic. The house tax receipts fell to £202 1s 3d after the rate was cut to 2s 6d on every £100. Together the two falls explain why the parish ran short of cash in January 1833 and had to pursue its defaulters through the magistrate.
677	668	The Parish Dr.§ §1833§ §Brought over£§ §80 . 14§ §To Cash paid Paupers brought over§ §173 . 10 . 10§ §do. paid Hospital charges§ §2 . 7§ §do. paid Fresh Meat & Port Wine for Sick poor§ §3 . 3§ §179 . 0 . 10§ §To Cash paid the following Repairs and alterations of the Country Church§ §Erecting a Gallery as pr. contract£§ §70§ §do. additional work§ §22 . 11 . 9§ §Material for do.§ §24 . 6 . 9§ §Removing monuments§ §6§ §122 . 18 . 6§ §Erecting a Pulpit§ §46 . 16§ §Carpenters Bill§ §Painters do.§ §Materials, cushions, upholstery work &c.§	The parish account for 1833 continued as follows. Brought over, £80 14s 0d Paupers, brought over, £173 10s 10d Hospital charges, £2 7s 0d Fresh meat and port wine for the sick poor, £3 3s 0d Paupers and the sick in all, £179 0s 10d Repairs and alterations to the country church Building a gallery, as per contract, £90 0s 0d Additional work on the gallery, £22 14s 9d Materials for the gallery, £24 1s 9d Removing monuments, £6 0s 0d Gallery in all, £122 16s 6d Building a pulpit, £46 16s 0d Carpenter's bill for the pulpit, £5 1s 0d Painter's bill for the pulpit Materials, cushions, upholstery and other work, £3 3s 6d Estimating the cost, by A. Hampton, £0 15s 0d Pulpit in all, £55 16s 2d Repairing the steeple, carpenter's bill, £36 0s 0d Repairing the steeple, painters, £3 0s 0d Repairing the steeple, ironmongers, £1 1s 6d Repairing the steeple, materials, £34 0s 0d Steeple in all, £74 2s 7d

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		§5 . 1 . 0§ §3 . 3 . 6§ §Estimating cost by A. Hampton§ §15§ §55 . 16 . 2§ §Repairing the Steeple.§ §Carpenters Bill§ §34 . 0 . 0§ §Painters§ §3§ §Armourer§ §1 . 1 . 6§ §Materials§ §36 . 1§ §74 . 2 . 3§ §Repairing Church yard fence & pathway§ §Whitewashing inside of Church and sundry odd jobs§ §4 . 8 . 4§ §273 . 5 . 2§ §To Cash paid the following Incidental expenses.§ §Mr. Saml. Magner for detention as a Witness in a trial Rex v. Sorel [...]§ §20§ §Printing & Posting Notices§ §1 . 2 . 6§ §Port Wine for Sacrament§ §19 . 6§ §Transporting Chest for Registers§ §Washing Surplices§ §3 . 1 . 9§ §25 . 3 . 9§ §£558 . 3 . 9§ **Margin Notes:** §108 . 18 . 6§	Repairing the churchyard fence and gates, £16 0s 0d Whitewashing the inside of the church and various odd jobs, £4 8s 4d Country church in all, £273 3s 2d Incidental costs Mr Saul Magnus, for detention as a witness at a trial, [...], £20 0s 0d Printing and posting notices, £1 2s 6d Port wine for the sacrament, £0 19s 6d Carrying the chest for the registers, and washing the surplices, £3 1s 9d Incidental costs in all, £25 3s 9d Total, £580 3s 9d A figure in the margin beside the pulpit entries cannot be read with certainty. **Interpretations** The parish spent £273 3s 2d on the country church in one year, more than its whole house-tax income. The vestry had voted for a gallery costing £90 0s 0d. Extra work and materials added more than £46, and a new pulpit and the steeple repairs nearly £130 more. The gallery had been meant as the cheaper option. Together with the other work it consumed most of the parish's reserve. The vestry's July 1832 resolution to raise no more tax than its yearly costs required, made while this spending was under way, left the parish with little in hand by the next year. The monuments removed to make way for the gallery were the memorial tablets of island families on the church walls. Moving them for extra seating shows the space was tight. The gallery would house the new congregation, while the old families' memorials were taken down to make room for it.
678	669	Contra Cr.§ §Brought over£§ §546 . 12 . 3§ §£546 . 12 . 3§ §By Balance due Churchwarden§ §11 . 11 . 6§ §£558 . 3 . 9§ §Island St. Helena§ §8 April 1833.§ §Examined the above accounts and§ §found them correct§ §J. N. Firmin§ §for the§ §Committee§	The credit side of the parish account closed as follows. Brought over, £546 12s 3d Balance owed to the churchwarden, £33 11s 6d Total, £580 3s 9d On 8 April 1833 the accounts were examined at St Helena and found correct. The examiner signed for the committee, but the signature cannot be read. **Interpretations** The parish ended the year owing its churchwarden £33 11s 6d. A year earlier it had held £292 6s 0d. In twelve months the country church work, the rise in poor relief and the cut in the house tax had used up the whole reserve and more. The churchwarden had covered the shortfall from his own pocket, as Beale had done in 1825. The vestry's resolution of July 1832 to keep no surplus had left it with no margin once spending on the church grew beyond what it planned.
679	670	Vestry Meeting. - Island of St. Helena, April 8th. 1833.§ §At a Vestry held in the Sessions' Hall James' Town§ §on Monday the 8th. April 1833, The Parish and County Accounts for the§ §present Year were laid before the Meeting, and (having been previously§ §audited by the Vestry Committee and found correct) were passed.§ §The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for Sheriffs &c. when§ §R. Brooke Esqr. had 26 Votes, - Wm. Brabazon Esqr. 5 Votes, - and T. Baker Esqr. 4 Votes.§ §Church Warden, - D. O'Connor§ §Vestry Committee - L. Gideon 1 year; J. Desfountain 1; - A. Darling 1; & W. K. Doveton 1,§ §C. R. G. Hodson 2. - G. V. Lambe 2; and O. R. Bagley 2 years to serve.§ §Collectors. - G. W. Alexander and Jno. Adams, - but in consequence of the latter ha-§	On Monday 8 April 1833 a vestry met in the sessions hall in Jamestown. The parish and county accounts for the year, already audited by the vestry committee and found correct, were laid before the meeting and passed. The meeting then balloted for sheriffs, with the following result. R. Brooke, 26 votes William Brabazon, 5 votes T. Baker, 4 votes The following officers were chosen. Churchwarden D. O'Connor Vestry committee L. Gideon, 1 year to serve J. De Fountain, 1 year to serve A. Darling, 1 year to serve W. K. Doveton, 1 year to serve C. R. G. Hodson, 2 years to serve G. V. Lambe, 2 years to serve

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		§-ving represented to the Governor & Council that he was "past age to serve"§ §D. H. H. Lester was appointed to that office.§ §Fire Committee. - A. A. Younge, - Saul Solomon, - and W. S. Fowler, - re-elected.§ §Trustees of Roads,§ §Eastern District. - G. V. Lambe. - Western District John Desfountain.§ §South District, John Bagley Senr. - James' Town, T. M. Hunter.§ §Constables. - Samuel Clement Senior, and Charles Tracy.§ §Resolved that 3/ in the £100 be the Parish Rate for the ensuing Year.§ §The Subject of a Parish Poor-House being brought to the notice of the§ §Meeting it was considered advisable to continue the present practice of§ §providing for the Paupers.§ §The Vestry desired that the Repairs of the Streets should again be§ §brought before the Honble. the Governor and Council.§ §Some irregularity having taken place regarding the repairs of Roads,§ §the Vestry decided that in future strict attention should be paid to the§ §Proclamation of Novr. 14, 1825 which distinctly points out the duties of§ §County Treasurers and Trustees of Roads.§ §In reference to the increasing expences of the Parish, it was pro-§ §posed and carried, that the Vestry Committee be requested to enquire into§ §the duties of the Clerk of the Fish Market; and if it should appear to§ §them that the office can be dispensed with, that the situation be abolished,§ §giving six months' Notice.§ §A Vote of Thanks was proposed and carried unanimously to Colonel Hodson§ §for superintending the repairs and alterations of the Country Church, and§ §to Mr. Stephen Pritchard the retiring Church Warden.§ §The above proceedings having been laid before the Honorable the§ §Governor and Council. Robert Brooke Esqr. was appointed Sheriff.§	O. R. Bagley, 2 years to serve Collectors G. W. Alexander Joseph Adams, replaced by H. H. Lester Fire committee, re-elected A. A. Younge Saul Solomon W. S. Fowler Trustees of roads G. V. Lambe, eastern district John De Fountain, western district John Bagley senior, southern district T. M. Hunter, Jamestown Constables Samuel Clements senior Charles Tracy Joseph Adams had told the Governor and Council that he was "past the age to serve", so H. H. Lester was appointed collector in his place. The vestry resolved that the parish rate for the coming year be 3s on every £100. The question of a parish poorhouse was raised. The meeting thought it best to keep the existing way of providing for the paupers. The vestry asked that the repair of the streets be put before the Governor and Council again. There had been some irregularities in the repair of the roads. The vestry decided that in future close attention should be paid to the proclamation of 14 November 1825, which set out clearly the duties of the county treasurers and the trustees of roads. Because the parish's costs were rising, it was proposed and agreed that the vestry committee be asked to look into the duties of the clerk of the fish market. If the post could be done without, it would be abolished after six months' notice. A vote of thanks was proposed and carried unanimously to Colonel Hodson for supervising the repairs and alterations at the country church, and to Mr Stephen Pritchard, the outgoing churchwarden. The proceedings were laid before the Governor and Council, who appointed Robert Brooke sheriff. **Interpretations** The vestry refused to open a poorhouse and kept paying allowances to paupers in their own homes or with boarders. The Company had offered the brewery building, and the vestry had accepted it in August 1832. A poorhouse would have meant staff, food and upkeep every year, and paupers would have had to live inside to receive help. The parish's relief had always been cheap and personal: a few shillings a month to named people, many of them old freed slaves. Keeping that system avoided the fixed costs of an institution just as the parish was already in debt. The vestry moved to abolish the clerk of the fish market. Price controls had been dropped on most fish since 1824, and only a few cheap kinds were still fixed. The clerk's salary of £33 0s 0d had become one of the parish's largest charges. With the parish in debt and relief rising, the post the government had urged the parish to revive in 1818 was now the first place the vestry looked to cut. The six months' notice gave the current clerk time to find other work. The vestry raised the rate from 2s 6d to 3s on every £100 and tightened the rules on road spending. The year had ended with the churchwarden owed £33 11s 6d. The increase was meant to repay him and cover the higher relief bill. Insisting on the 1825 proclamation's terms for treasurers and trustees answered the irregularities that had let road money be spent loosely.
680	671	St. Helena, 15th. April 1833.§ §The Vestry Committee having met this day the following letter§ §from Government was laid before them:§	On 15 April 1833 the vestry committee met at St Helena and heard the following letter from the government. On 11 April 1833 R. F. Seale, secretary, had written to John Sampson, senior churchwarden.

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		§"To John Sampson Esqr. Senior Church Warden.§ §"Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to acknowledge the receipt of the Proceed-§ §-ings of Vestry dated 11th. April, of which they approve.§ §Robert Brooke Esqr. has been nominated Sheriff.§ §With regard to the repairs of the Street, that part which is to be effected§ §by the Company will be commenced on the 1st. of Next Month.§ §I am directed to enclose a letter from Mr. S. Clements which the Board§ §desire may be taken into consideration by the Vestry Committee and a§ §report thereon be delivered before Wednesday next. If his objections be§ §deemed valid they wish a fresh nomination to take place."§ §I am Sir, Your Obedt. Servt.§ §11 Apl. 1833.§ §(Signed) R. F. Seale Secy.§ §"To R. F. Seale Esqr. Secretary to Government.§ §"Sir§ §I have the honor to inform you that I laid before the§ §Vestry Committee a letter from Mr. Clement to the Worshipful Bench§ §regarding his appointment as a constable. The Committee are much§ §astonished at the improper expressions made use of in that letter,§ §vizt. "however capriciously chosen"; and as they cannot be supposed§ §to be actuated by such motives, they consider Mr. Clement reprehen-§ §-sible - that he should be called upon to apologize for his rashness§ §and retract the offensive words, otherwise the Committee cannot§ §alter their decision. The Committee also authorize me to state§ §that having taken into their consideration, the propriety of abolishing§ §the situation of Clerk of the Fish Market they are of opinion that it§ §would be injurious to the Community, in so much, that Shipping would§ §secure to themselves great quantities of the fish, and thereby deprive§ §many of the inhabitants of the principal source of their sustenance,§ §they accordingly recommend that Mr. Youd be continued in the§ §situation at a reduced salary of £24 per annum, and that six§ §months notice be previously given him.§ §I have the honor to be, Your obedt. Servt.§ §J. Samson C. Warden§ §St. Hela. 15 Apl. 1833.§	The Board acknowledged the vestry proceedings sent to it on 11 April 1833 and approved them. Robert Brooke had been nominated sheriff. The part of the street repairs the Company was to carry out would begin on 1 May 1833. Seale also enclosed a letter from Mr S. Clements. The Board wanted the vestry committee to consider it and report before the following Wednesday. If his objections were judged valid, a fresh nomination should be made. On 15 April 1833 J. Sampson, churchwarden, replied to R. F. Seale. He had laid before the vestry committee a letter from Mr Clements to the bench of justices about his appointment as constable. The committee was astonished at the improper words used in it, namely "however capriciously chosen". The committee could not be supposed to have acted from any such motive. It considered Mr Clements deserving of a rebuke. He should be required to apologise for his rashness and withdraw the offensive words. Otherwise the committee could not change its decision. The committee had also considered whether to abolish the post of clerk of the fish market. In its view this would harm the community. Ships would buy up large quantities of fish for themselves and so deprive many inhabitants of their main source of food. The committee therefore recommended keeping Mr Youd in the post at a reduced salary of £24 0s 0d a year, after giving him six months' notice of the change. **Interpretations** The committee kept the fish market clerk after the vestry had asked it to consider abolishing the post. Ships calling at the island bought fish in bulk for their crews. Without a clerk to make sure the catch was sold in the market first, the ships would buy it up at the landing and leave the townspeople short. The clerk protected the inhabitants' food supply against the demands of passing shipping. That had been a concern since 1818. The committee cut his salary from £33 0s 0d to £24 0s 0d instead. The vestry got a saving, and the market kept its overseer. Samuel Clements objected to being made constable and complained to the justices that he had been "capriciously chosen". Constable duty was unpaid and fell on the lesser householders by rotation. Clements had paid the poll tax on 4 or 5 persons and was elderly, entered as "senior". The committee treated his complaint as an insult to its fairness and demanded an apology before it would reconsider. Whether his objection had any merit was left aside. The committee would not let a householder question the way it chose men for a duty that had to be shared.
681	672	St. Helena, May 1st. 1833.§ §The Committee having met this day, the following letter from the Hon.§ §Governor and Council inclosing one from Mr. Jno. Adams, was read, when in con-§ §-formity with the Board's recommendation, and Mr. Adams' valid objections, the§ §Committee cancelled his appointment of Collector, and nominated Lieut. D. Lester§ §to hold that office.§ §John Sampson and D. O'Connor Esqrs. Church Wardens.§ §"Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to enclose a letter§ §they have received from Mr. John Adams. The Board	On 1 May 1833 the vestry committee met at St Helena and heard a letter from the Governor and Council enclosing one from Mr John Adams. Following the Board's recommendation and Mr Adams's valid objections, the committee cancelled his appointment as collector and nominated Lieutenant D. Lester to the post. The government's letter, signed by R. F. Seale, secretary, on 22 April 1833, was addressed to the churchwardens, John Sampson and D. O'Connor. The Board enclosed a letter it had received from Mr John Adams. In light of what he said, it recommended that he be excused from the office of collector. The committee directed that the roof, cornice and portico of the country church be painted, and

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		recommend, from the state-§ §-ment of Mr. Adams, that he be exempted from the office of Collector."§ §I am Gentlemen, &c.§ §St. Helena 22d. April 1833§ §R. F. Seale Secy.§ §The Committee directed that the Roof, cornice and Portico of the§ §Country Church be painted, and that Nine Pounds nine Shillings be§ §applied to that purpose. - The Committee informed Mr. Youd that his§ §salary as Clerk of the Fish Market, is reduced to £24 per annum, to§ §take effect from this day six months, vizt. 1st. November next.§ §June 13th. 1833§ §The Vestry Committee met this day when a petition from Mr. Coutts§ §to the Honble. Board was laid before them, soliciting an exemption from Cart§ §and Hack Horse Taxes for last year, to which the following reply was made,§ §To R. F. Seale Esqr. Secy. to Govt.§ §"Sir We have the honor to acquaint you that§ §Mr. Coutts' petition to Government has been perused by the Vestry Committee§ §who direct us to say that he cannot be exempted from the payment of§ §Cart and Horse Tax for the past year, as during the whole time of his§ §bankruptcy he had both a Hack Horse and Cart employed.§ §We have the honor to be Sir &c.§ §13 June 1833.§ §Signed John Sampson§ §D. O'Connor Church Wdns.§ §Monday Augt. 5th. 1833.§ §At a meeting of the Vestry Committee assembled to-day, the fol-§ §-lowing Communication from Government was laid before them.§ §To John Sampson and D. O'Connor Esqrs. Church Wardens.§ §"Gentlemen I am directed by the Board to enclose the accompanying§ §letter, and Board's remarks; for the consideration of the Vestry Committee.§ §I am Gentlemen &c. &c.§ §July 29th. 1833.§ §R. F. Seale Secy.§	that £9 9s 0d be spent on it. It told Mr Youd that his salary as clerk of the fish market was cut to £24 0s 0d a year, starting six months from that day, on 1 November 1833. On 13 June 1833 the vestry committee met and considered a petition from Mr Coutts to the Board. He asked to be excused from the cart tax and the tax on horses for hire for the previous year. The churchwardens, John Sampson and D. O'Connor, replied to R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, on 13 June 1833. The vestry committee had read Mr Coutts's petition and directed them to say that he could not be excused from the cart and horse tax for the past year. Throughout the whole time of his bankruptcy he had kept both a horse for hire and a cart at work. On Monday 5 August 1833 the vestry committee met and heard a letter from the government. R. F. Seale, secretary, had written on 29 July 1833 to the churchwardens, John Sampson and D. O'Connor. The Board enclosed the accompanying letter and its own remarks for the vestry committee to consider. **Interpretations** The committee refused Coutts's request even though he had been bankrupt. The cart and horse taxes fell on the use of vehicles and animals for hire, not on a person's general means. Coutts had kept both working throughout his bankruptcy, so he had earned from them. The committee judged that the tax followed the earnings. Bankruptcy did not excuse a man who was still using the roads and hiring out his horse. The tax was on the activity, whatever the owner's debts. Adams was excused as collector on the government's recommendation, after he said he was too old to serve. In April 1833 the committee had demanded an apology from Clements for questioning his appointment as constable. Adams made his case properly through the Board, which backed it. The committee accepted a reasoned request that came through the proper channel. It resisted one that attacked its own judgement.
682	673	To§ §The Honorable the Governor and Council§ §Honorable Sirs§ §I feel it an imperious duty to address your Honble. Board§ §upon the subject of an Inquest recently held by me upon view of the body§ §of Matilda Diamond, a free black Woman; whose death having occurred un-§ §-der circumstances most disgraceful to any civilised community, urges me§ §to a representation of the case with the certainty that I may not again wit-§ §-ness a scene of such deplorable wretchedness, and I would add, self-destruction§ §of human life. It has been made to appear to me that the Deceased§ §was of abandoned character, that her wicked course of life had rendered her§ §an object of disgust and horror, and being herself conscious of her wretched§ §and loathsome condition, would rather avoid the Parish officers than to apply§ §to them for relief. This feeling has led to such an end	On 29 July 1833 Anthony Beale, coroner, wrote to the Governor and Council. He felt it his urgent duty to report on an inquest he had recently held into the death of Matilda Diamond, a free black woman. She had died in circumstances that would disgrace any civilised community. He was writing in the hope that he would never again witness such a scene of wretchedness or, he added, such self-destruction of human life. The evidence showed that the dead woman had lived a dissolute life. Her conduct had made her an object of disgust and horror. Aware of her own wretched and loathsome state, she had preferred to avoid the parish officers rather than ask them for help. That feeling had led her to an end Beale could not describe, except to say that the sight was truly revolting. Only a few weeks earlier, in another case of a free black in Jamestown, he had had to record a similar verdict of "found dead". Such a death was almost impossible without some underlying cause. In this case he had therefore looked very closely into whether the parish officers had done their duty. The result was entirely satisfactory, as far as money could be given to those who asked for it.

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		of one of God's crea-§ §-tures as it is impossible for me to describe, suffice it to say that the sight§ §was truly revolting to human nature. As but a few weeks ago, in another§ §case of a free black in this Town I was obliged to record a similar Verdict,§ §"Found Dead" and the almost impossibility of such being the fact without§ §some leading causes to the event, I was in this instance led to the strictest§ §inquiry into the performance of the duty of the Parish officers, the result of§ §which has been perfectly satisfactory, as far as pecuniary aid can be affor-§ §-ded on application. This however is not all that is necessary; an increase§ §of the free population here daily call for a system of management§ §hitherto deemed unnecessary. - The first effects of emancipation should§ §be carefully watched, lest the sudden transition from bondage to liberty§ §may prove a curse instead of a blessing. In continuation of my duty§ §I have respectfully to represent that the want of an Asylum for the des-§ §-titute, as well as a house of correction, was never more manifest than in§ §the present instance, & it becomes indispensably requisite that such insti-§ §-tutions be made, as by the latter many of those unfortunate creatures who§ §are fast hastening to the same end, may be stopped in their wicked career,§ §and probably brought to a due sense of the awful consequences awaiting§ §such a termination of existence. It is easy to conceive the benefits which§ §may be derived from such an institution, - a removal of the baneful ex-§ §-ample now held up to the numerous infant females in this Town, would§ §at once be attended with incalculable blessings; and the check thereby§ §given to infamy might be productive of the happiest effects to those,§ §whom it is sinful not to warn by proper punishment against the ruin§ §they are bringing on themselves & others by their example."§ §I have the honor to be, Honble. Sirs, &c. &c.§ §St. Helena July 29th. 1833.§ §Signed Ant. Beale Coroner.§	Beale argued that this was not enough. The growing free population called every day for a system of management that had so far been thought unnecessary. The first effects of emancipation had to be watched carefully, so that the sudden change from slavery to freedom did not prove a curse instead of a blessing. He also wished to point out that the lack of an asylum for the destitute, and of a house of correction, had never been clearer than in this case. Such institutions were now essential. A house of correction could stop many of these unfortunate people, who were heading fast for the same end, in their wicked course. It might also bring them to understand the dreadful results awaiting such a death. The benefits of such an institution were easy to see. Removing the harmful example now set before the many young girls of the town would be an untold blessing. Restraining those given over to vice might have the happiest effects on them. Proper punishment would warn them against the ruin they were bringing on themselves and on others by their example. **Interpretations** The coroner concluded that the parish's money relief was not enough. Matilda Diamond had not asked for help, ashamed of her own condition, and died alone. The parish officers had done all their duty, but relief that waited for an application could not reach someone who would not apply. Beale proposed an asylum to take in the destitute and a house of correction to confine and reform those he judged dissolute. The vestry had asked for the same two institutions in 1821, linking them to abolition. Twelve years later, with a large free population, the coroner made the same case from two deaths in a few weeks. Beale cast the problem as one of morals and discipline. He spoke of "wicked" lives and of punishment as a warning, and he worried most about the example set to the young girls of the town. His words suggest that some free women had turned to prostitution, in a port with a garrison and constant shipping. A house of correction would confine them and remove them from public view. His remedy combined care for the destitute with control of conduct he found offensive. The free population he wanted "managed" had no say in the plan. The vestry had voted in April 1833 to keep its relief at home and not open a poorhouse. Beale's letter, sent to the vestry committee by the government, challenged that decision within four months. It put the case for an institution in the strongest terms, with a death to back it.
683	674	The Board's Remarks on the foregoing letter from the Coroner.§ §"Upon the letter from the Coroner, it must be observed that in answer§ §to the Board's offer to the Vestry of a piece of ground with buildings thereon§ §(which at no very great expense might be rendered suitable for the purpose of§ §a Poor and Work House) the offer was declined for the present. It is further to be§ §observed that whenever the prevalence of a venereal disease amongst females of§ §the class alluded to, has been suspected, all such have been taken up and§ §subjected to medical inspection. The Board will most readily give their§ §utmost consideration to any proposition on the subject which the Vestry may offer"§ §29 July 1833. Signed. R. F. Seale Secretary to Govornt.§ §To R. F. Seale Esqr. Secy. &c.§	The Board's remarks on the coroner's letter, signed by R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, on 29 July 1833, read as follows. In answer to the coroner's letter, the Board pointed out that it had offered the vestry a piece of ground with buildings on it, which could be made fit for a poorhouse and workhouse at no great cost. The vestry had turned the offer down for the time being. The Board added that whenever venereal disease was suspected among women of the class mentioned, all of them had been taken up and made to undergo medical examination. The Board would readily give full consideration to any proposal the vestry might make on the subject. On 6 August 1833 the churchwardens, J. Sampson and D. O'Connor, replied to R. F. Seale, secretary, about his letter of 29 July 1833 enclosing the coroner's letter and the Board's remarks. The vestry committee regretted that, for lack of means, it could not accept the Board's offer of ground for a parish workhouse and poorhouse. It could do so only if the government would lend it enough money to put

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		§Sir In reply to your communication of the 29th. Ult. inclosing§ §the Coroner's letter with the Honble. Board's remarks, we have the honor to inform§ §you that the Vestry Committee regret their inability (from want of means) to§ §accept the Hon. Board's offer of a piece of Ground for a Parish Work & Poor House§ §unless the Government will be pleased to lend them a sum of money sufficient§ §to erect suitable buildings for that purpose, the loan to be repaid by annual§ §Instalments. We have the honor to be, Sir Your obedt. Servt.§ §Augt. 6. 1833. Signed. J. Sampson, and D. O'Connor Church Wardens§ §The Church Wardens having laid the list of Defaulters of Parish Rates§ §before the sitting Magistrate for recovery, Mr. W. H. Seale on the part of the§ §Long Wood Society objected to pay the Tax upon Long Wood Old House for the§ §last and present Years, the Magistrate referred the case to the Hon. Board§ §who directed the C. Wardens to furnish them with extracts from the Vestry§ §Proceedings regarding the House Tax and resolutions connected therewith, which§ §being done the following letter was received from the Secretary to Govnt.§ §To J. Sampson and D. O'Connor Esqrs.§ §Church Wardens§ §18 Novr. 1833.§ §"It appears that the Lessees of Long Wood object to the payment§ §of the House Tax upon the plea that it is the Landlord and not the Tenant§ §from whom such tax is demandable; the practice however has been that it§ §is only the subtenants of those who hold immediately under the Company§ §that have been called upon; all tenants holding of the Company whether by§ §free grant, lease, or tenants at will, have invariably been the persons who have§ §hitherto paid. In the case however of the Long Wood lessees it is to be con-§ §-sidered that it was by Public Auction they became occupiers, and consequently§ §their rent may be regarded in the light of a Rack Rent, and when no§	up suitable buildings, to be repaid in yearly instalments. The churchwardens put the list of those who had not paid their parish rates before the sitting magistrate for recovery. Mr W. H. Seale, on behalf of the Longwood society, objected to paying the house tax on Longwood Old House for the past and present years. The magistrate referred the case to the Board. The Board told the churchwardens to supply extracts from the vestry proceedings on the house tax and the resolutions connected with it. When they had done so, the following letter came from the secretary to the government. On 18 November 1833 the government wrote to the churchwardens, J. Sampson and D. O'Connor. The lessees of Longwood objected to paying the house tax on the ground that it was due from the landlord and not the tenant. In practice, however, only the subtenants of those who held directly from the Company had been called on to pay. Every tenant holding from the Company, whether by free grant, lease or at will, had always paid. In the case of the Longwood lessees, though, they had become occupiers through a public auction. Their rent could therefore be regarded as a rack rent, and when [...]. **Interpretations** The government stated plainly that it rounded up women suspected of venereal disease and forced them to undergo medical examination. Beale had written of the bad example set to the town's young girls. The Board's answer was that this was already being dealt with by examining the women concerned. The garrison and visiting ships made venereal disease a military concern, and the Company acted to protect its soldiers' health. The women examined were free black women whom Beale had described as dissolute. The government controlled them through compulsory examination rather than the house of correction Beale proposed. The vestry could not afford to convert the government's buildings into a poorhouse and asked for a loan. That reversed the vestry's position of only four months earlier, when it had chosen to keep relief at home. Beale's report on Matilda Diamond had made the lack of an institution hard to defend. But the parish was in debt and had cut its reserve to nothing. It could act only if the Company lent it the money. The government held the building, offered the plan and would have to supply the capital as well. The Longwood lessees argued that the house tax fell on the landlord, which was the Company, and that the Company's property was exempt. Tenants of Company land had always paid. The government pointed out that the Longwood lessees had won their lease at public auction, so they paid a full market rent, a "rack rent", like any private tenant. That made them occupiers liable to the tax. The case turned on whether tenants of the Company could shelter behind its exemption. The government held that they could not.
684	675	stipulation was made at the time upon the subject of House Tax. The Board§ §therefore conceive that they stand on a footing different from all other of the§ §Company's lease holders, resolve to exempt them from the Tax during their§ §present lease."§ §R. F. Seale, Secretary.§ §Dec. 2. 1833.§ §At a Meeting of the Vestry Committee convened this day, the present§ §mode of assessment was discussed, and it appearing that many competent In-§ §-dividuals were exempt from Taxation whilst the burden fell solely on House§	When the lease was granted, no condition about the house tax had been set. The Board therefore considered that the Longwood lessees stood on a different footing from all the Company's other leaseholders. It resolved to exempt them from the tax for the rest of their present lease. R. F. Seale, secretary, signed the decision. On 2 December 1833 the vestry committee met and discussed the existing way of assessing taxes. Many people well able to pay were exempt, while the whole burden fell on householders. The committee resolved to write to the Board about it. The churchwardens, J. Sampson and D. O'Connor, wrote to R. F. Seale, secretary. The vestry committee wished to send the Board its resolutions

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		§Holders, they resolved to address the Hon. Board on the subject.§ §To R. F. Seale Esqr. Secy. &c.§ §The Vestry Committee desire us to forward, for the§ §information of the Hon. Board, their resolutions for a more equal mode of§ §assessment to enable the Parish to bear expenses which (partly owing to eman-§ §-cipation) daily increase. As a special Vestry would only qualify certain§ §individuals to vote on the occasion the Committee request that a Meeting of the§ §Inhabitants may be authorized, which will afford an opportunity to all parties§ §to give their vote, it being desirable that this plan of general Taxation may§ §take effect next Easter the usual period of collecting taxes. If this ar-§ §-rangement meet with approval from the Hon. Board, the Committee solicit§ §that the Church Wardens may be furnished with a list of the Population§ §from the Census Rolls in the Secretary's Office as it is probable that the§ §inclosed list is imperfect as to numbers. The Taxes of the present year§ §have fallen short of the current expenditure.§ §We have the honor to be, &c.§ §Signed J. Sampson, - D. O'Connor C. Wardens§ §In consequence of the above application the Governmt. issued a§ §Proclamation for a Meeting of the Inhabitants in full Vestry on 13th. Jany. 1834.§ §The Street Committee applied for and received from the Collectors§ §One Hundred & Five Pounds towards the repairs of the Lower Street.§ §Dec. 12th. 1833.§ §The Vestry Committee met, and the Street Committee having ap-§ §-plied for £150. (One Hundred & Fifty Pounds) more to complete the re-§ §-pairs of the Lower Street and the Passage near Mr. Pipler's, they autho-§ §-rized the Church Wardens & Collectors to address the Hon. Board on the§ §subject conformably with the Resolution of Vestry held the 13 Augt. 1832.§	for a fairer way of assessment. That would let the parish meet costs which were rising every day, partly because of emancipation. A special vestry would allow only certain people to vote on the question. The committee therefore asked that a meeting of the inhabitants be authorised, giving everyone a chance to vote. The committee wanted this plan of general taxation to take effect the next Easter, the usual time for collecting taxes. If the Board approved the arrangement, the committee asked that the churchwardens be given a list of the population from the census rolls in the secretary's office, since the list enclosed was probably incomplete. The present year's taxes had fallen short of current spending. Following this request, the government issued a proclamation calling a meeting of the inhabitants in full vestry on 13 January 1834. The streets committee asked the collectors for £105 0s 0d towards repairing the lower street and received it. On 12 December 1833 the vestry committee met. The streets committee had asked for a further £150 0s 0d to finish repairing the lower street and the passage near Mr Pepler's. The committee authorised the churchwardens and collectors to write to the Board on the subject, in line with the vestry resolution of 13 August 1832. **Interpretations** The committee now asked for a tax that would reach people beyond the householders, and for a meeting of all inhabitants to approve it. That reversed the course the government had set in 1825 and 1827. The government had then rejected a tax on every free man and limited the vote to owners of houses worth £300 or more. The committee's reason was emancipation. Freed people now formed a large part of the population and drew on parish relief, but most were not householders and paid nothing. The committee asked for the census rolls to count everyone who could be taxed. It also proposed that everyone taxed should vote on the measure, as the vestry had tried in 1825. Mounting costs had brought the vestry back to the very idea the government had called universal suffrage eight years before. The government exempted the Longwood lessees from the house tax for the rest of their lease. Its own letter had argued that they paid a market rent and so should pay the tax like any private tenant. It gave way because the lease had been sold without any condition about the tax. To charge them now would change terms they had paid for at auction. The parish lost that revenue until the lease ran out.
685	676	To Dec. 12. 1833.§ §R. F. Seale Esqr. Secy.§ §Sir§ §The Street Committee having applied for funds to§ §complete the repairs of the Lower Street &c. we have the honor to§ §request that agreeably to the Resolution of the Vestry of Augt. 13. 1832§ §and the Hon. Board's of Augt. 16th. - they will be pleased to advance the§ §sum of £150 (One Hundred & Fifty Pounds) as therein agreed to.§ §We have the honor to be Sir, Your Obt. Sts.§ §D. O'Connor C. Warden,§ §D. H. H. Lester Collector§ §To the above letter an order was received from the Honorable§ §Board on the Island Paymaster for One Hundred & Fifty Pounds§ §which have been applied to the repairs of the Lower Street.§ §The Church Wardens were required to sign a Bond for the above sum§	On 12 December 1833 D. O'Connor, churchwarden, and D. H. H. Lester, collector, wrote to R. F. Seale, secretary. The streets committee had asked for money to finish repairing the lower street and other work. In line with the vestry resolution of 13 August 1832 and the Board's letter of 16 August 1832, they asked the government to advance the £150 0s 0d agreed there. In reply, the Board sent an order on the island paymaster for £150 0s 0d, which was spent on repairing the lower street. The churchwardens had to sign a bond for the sum, and the loan was to be repaid to the government in instalments of £50 0s 0d a year. On 6 January 1834 Mr A. Beale wrote to the vestry committee about the blocked state of the run in Jamestown, which could cause serious damage in heavy floods. The churchwardens were asked to write to the Board. John Sampson and D. O'Connor, churchwardens, sent Beale's letter to R. F. Seale, secretary, on 6 January 1834. They had laid it before the vestry committee, which told them to report that the parish funds were almost exhausted. The parish

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		§the Loan to be repaid to Government by instalments of Fifty Pounds per ann.§ §January 6 1834.§ §Mr. A. Beale having addressed the Vestry Committee regarding§ §the choked state of the Run in James' Town, whereby considerable§ §damage might accrue in the event of heavy floods, the C. Wardens§ §were desired to write the following letter to the Hon. Board.§ §To R. F. Seale Esqr. Sec. &c.§ §Sir§ §Having received the inclosed letter from Mr. Beale, we§ §laid the same before the Parish Vestry Committee who direct us§ §to report that the Parish Funds are nearly exhausted, and they§ §are consequently unable to comply with it any farther than by§ §representing it to the notice of the Hon. Board.§ §We remain Sir, &c. &c.§ §6 Jany. 1834.§ §John Sampson - D. O'Connor C. Wdns.§ §To Jno. Samson and D. O'Connor Esqrs. C. Wardens.§ §Gentlemen I am directed to inform you that Mr. Beale's§ §letter received through you, is referred to the Surveyor, for the purpose§ §of ascertaining what repairs in the run are requisite, & the proba-§ §-ble cost thereof. I am, Gentlemen, Yr. obedt. Servt.§ §6 Jany. 1834§ §W. H. Seale§ §Dep. Sec.§	therefore could do nothing more about it than bring it to the Board's attention. The same day W. H. Seale, deputy secretary, wrote to the churchwardens, John Sampson and D. O'Connor. Mr Beale's letter, received through them, had been passed to the surveyor to find out what repairs the run needed and what they would probably cost. **Interpretations** The run was the watercourse that carried rain and waste down through Jamestown to the sea. Beale had complained of the channel near the bridge a year earlier. The town lay at the bottom of a steep valley, so a heavy storm could send a flood down a blocked run into the streets and houses. The parish could not pay to clear it. Its funds were spent, and it had just borrowed £150 0s 0d for the lower street. It passed the problem to the government, whose surveyor would cost the work. Lacking money, the parish was again leaving a town nuisance to the Company. The churchwardens signed a bond for the street loan, to be repaid at £50 0s 0d a year for three years. The parish was now in debt to the Company over three years. With taxes already short of spending, that repayment would press on every coming account and helps explain the committee's search for a wider tax base.
686	677	January 13. 1834.§ §At a Meeting of the Inhabitants held this day conformably to§ §Government Notice, the following project for a more equal system of Taxation was§ §laid before them.§ §"The subject of Parish and County Taxes, having been frequently§ §brought to the notice of the Vestry Committee, owing to the reduced state of the§ §Funds for the disbursement of the present Year's current expenses, it has been§ §deemed proper to refer to the list of Inhabitants, with a view to ascertain who does§ §and who does not pay Parish Taxes, by which it appears (to the astonishment§ §of the Committee) that there is a large portion of the Inhabitants (many of whom§ §amongst the most affluent, and many receiving large salaries) who do not§ §contribute anything towards the Parish expenses, - this is not from any fault§ §of theirs, or from a desire to avoid participating with their neighbours in§ §the ordinary Parish expenses, but from the mode of assessment, which being§ §solely upon Houses, those who have not thought proper to possess that kind§ §of property, have consequently been exempt from Parish rates.§ §We, the Members of the Vestry and Parish Committee, presume, that§ §every Member of our Community, must feel a disposition to share, in common§ §with his neighbour, the burden of Taxation.§ §We are confident, that no man amongst us can for a moment entertain§ §a desire that one part of the Community (the	On 13 January 1834 a meeting of the inhabitants, held under a government notice, considered the following plan for a fairer system of taxation. The vestry committee had often had to deal with parish and county taxes, because the funds for the year's ordinary spending had run low. It had therefore looked at the list of inhabitants to see who paid parish taxes and who did not. To its surprise, it found that a large part of the inhabitants paid nothing towards parish costs. Many of them were among the wealthiest people on the island, and many drew large salaries. This was not their fault, nor did it come from any wish to avoid sharing the ordinary parish costs with their neighbours. It came from the way the tax was assessed. Since the tax fell only on houses, people who had chosen not to own that kind of property were excused from parish rates. The members of the vestry and parish committee assumed that every member of the community would wish to share the burden of taxation with his neighbours. They were confident that nobody could want one part of the community, the owners of houses, to be the only people taxed for repairing the church, supporting the poor and infirm, and other parish costs. They believed every parishioner was generous and humane enough to want to share a burden that was more likely to grow than shrink as emancipation went on. Only the means of doing so needed to be found. The committee had therefore tried to make the burden of taxation more equal to some degree, and it recommended its plan to the community. At the same time it was ready to consider any more effective method a parishioner might suggest. The committee now put before the inhabitants the following proposals, which it recommended be entered in the churchwardens' books.

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		Proprietors of Houses) should be§ §the only persons taxed for repairing the Church, supporting the indigent and§ §Infirm, and other parish expenses. We are convinced that every Parishioner§ §is possessed of so generous and humane a feeling as to be desirous of§ §sharing the burden, which as Emancipation advances, is more likely to§ §be an increasing than a decreasing one. The mode of doing so is all§ §that is required to be pointed out; we have therefore endeavored to equalize§ §in some degree, the burden of Taxation, which we recommend to our brethren§ §of this Community, at the same time profess ourselves ready to consider§ §any more efficient mode, which may be suggested by any Parishioner.§ §We now lay before the Inhabitants of the Island, the following proposition§ §which we recommend to be recorded in the Church Warden's Books.§ §Proposed, that the following plan be adopted, as likely to equalize§ §the burden of Taxation, and produce a sum annually, sufficient to meet§ §all exigencies; - vizt. the persons at present taxed for houses, to continue§ §to pay, at the rate of 3/6 per £100, value, and all other persons to be§ §assessed ¼ per Cent, or 5/ per £100, of their annual income or salary; but§ §should a tax on a House be inferior to what it would be on the same§ §person's income or salary, or vice versa, the mode which produces the supe-§ §-rior Tax from the same individual to be the rate of assessment; & wherever§	It proposed adopting a plan likely to share the burden more equally and to raise enough each year to meet every need. Those now taxed on houses would go on paying at 3s on every £100 of value. Everyone else would be assessed at ¼ per cent, or 5s on every £100, of their yearly income or salary. If a person's house tax came to less than the tax on that person's income or salary, or the other way round, the method that produced the higher tax would be used to assess them. Whenever [...]. **Interpretations** The committee proposed a tax on incomes and salaries alongside the house tax. That would reach the Company's salaried officials, who rented or lived in Company houses and paid no house tax. The vestry had tried to tax the occupants of Company houses in 1825, and the government had refused on the ground that the Company paid its servants and supported the parish. An income tax approached the same people another way. It taxed their pay, not their houses. Each person would pay whichever was higher, the house tax or the income tax. Someone who owned a house and drew a large salary could not escape by paying the smaller of the two. The committee tied the growing cost of the parish directly to emancipation. Freed slaves who could no longer work, like the six on the 1832 relief list, now fell on the parish rather than their owners. The committee argued that the whole community, not just house owners, should share that cost. Its tone was careful. It blamed the system and not the wealthy, and it appealed to their generosity rather than accusing them of evasion. The people it wanted to tax were the island's senior officials, whose consent the government would need before any such tax could pass.
687	678	a larger sum than what may be thus raised shall be required for the ex-§ §-igencies of the Parish, that the increase be assessed in the following pro-§ §-portions; - if one half more is required, the House Tax will be 5/3 per§ §£100. value, and the Income Tax (or poor rate) ⅜ per cent, or 7/6 per £100§ §of the annual Income, or salary, and so on. Also that the emancipated &§ §all other free men of colour, above 16 years of age, who are not assessed§ §for a house, and are not in a situation in life superior to a working§ §mechanic or laborer, to pay one shilling a year."§ §Proposed by Lieut. John Sampson Church Warden, seconded§ §by Mr. T. Baker and carried. - That the foregoing proposition be printed§ §and circulated, and that a Meeting of the Inhabitants be convened§ §this day fortnight to consider the same.§ §A letter from the Honorable the Governor on the subject§ §of a new road from Town to pass in rear of Mr. J. Doveton's Country House,§ §having been read, and the plan laid before the Meeting; it was agreed§ §that a list be open to subscribers and left in the Library for that purpose.§ §The Meeting then adjourned to Monday the 27th. Inst.§ §Monday 13 January 1834.§ §To R. F. Seale Esqr. Sec.§ §Sir We have the honor to report that a very full§ §Meeting of the Inhabitants was held this day agreeably	The plan went on. Whenever the parish needed more than this would raise, the increase would be assessed in the same proportion. If half as much again were needed, the house tax would become 5s 3d on every £100 of value, and the income tax, or poor rate, ⅜ per cent, that is 7s 6d on every £100 of yearly income or salary, and so on. Freed slaves and all other free men of colour over 16 who were not assessed for a house, and who were no better off than a working mechanic or labourer, would pay 1s a year. Lieutenant John Sampson, churchwarden, proposed, Mr T. Baker seconded, and the meeting agreed that the plan be printed and circulated. A meeting of the inhabitants would be called in a fortnight to consider it. A letter from the Governor about a new road from town, to pass behind Mr J. Doveton's country house, was read and the plan laid before the meeting. It was agreed that a subscription list be opened and left in the library. The meeting then adjourned to Monday 27 January 1834. On Monday 13 January 1834 the churchwardens, John Sampson and D. O'Connor, reported to R. F. Seale, secretary. A very full meeting of the inhabitants had been held that day as the government's notice directed. It had discussed the plan for a fairer system of assessment and resolved that the plan be printed and circulated. Another meeting would take place on Monday 27 January 1834 to consider it. On Monday 27 January 1834, following the notice given at the last meeting on 13 January 1834, the inhabitants met again. The plan for a fairer system of taxation was read and the following amendment proposed. After much discussion, the meeting resolved that the vestry committee should consider whether the plan, or any other plan put to it, was

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		to Government§ §Notification, when the proposition for a more equal system of assessment§ §was discussed. - It was resolved that the same be printed & circulated§ §and that another Meeting take place on Monday the 27th. Inst. for§ §its consideration.§ §We have the honor to be, &c. &c.§ §Signed. Jno. Sampson§ §D. O'Connor Church Wardens§ §Monday, Jany. 27 1834.§ §In pursuance of a Notice given at the last Meeting of Inhabitants§ §held the 13 Inst. the proposition for a more equal mode of Taxation§ §being read, the following amendment was made, & after much discussion§ §it was resolved that the Vestry Committee should consult upon the§ §practicability of the plan, or of any other plan that may be submitted§ §to them, and call a Meeting of the Inhabitants at a future day§ §for their consideration.§ §Amendment - "Proprietors of Houses residing on their premises shall§ §be exempted from the additional Tax provided they pay a property tax§ §equivalent to a rent of £15 per ann. otherwise the deficiency to be made§	practicable, and call a meeting of the inhabitants at a later date to consider it. The amendment proposed that owners of houses living on their own premises be excused the additional tax, provided they paid a property tax equal to a rent of £15 a year. Otherwise the shortfall would be made [...]. The proportions given here show that the house tax in the plan stood at 3s 6d on every £100 of value, not 3s as given for the previous page. **Interpretations** The plan charged freed slaves and other free men of colour a flat 1s a year if they owned no house and lived as labourers or mechanics. The vestry had proposed a flat tax on all free men in 1825, and the government had refused it as a poll tax that came close to universal suffrage. Now the committee aimed a poll tax only at free men of colour of the labouring class. The amount was small. But it named a group by race and status and taxed them per head. The parish had spent eight years arguing that a tax on persons was unfair, and abolished the old poll tax for that reason. It now brought one back for freed people alone. The inhabitants did not adopt the plan. After much discussion, they sent it back to the committee to judge whether it would work. The amendment would excuse owners living in their own houses from the extra tax if they paid the equivalent of £15 a year. That protected resident householders, the vestry's core members, from paying both the house tax and an income tax. The taxpayers who stood to pay more under any reform resisted it at a full meeting, as the landholders had resisted the quadrupled land tax in 1825.
688	679	up by the additional Tax.§ §Proprietors, not residing on their own premises and tenanting another house,§ §to be subjected to the additional lay.§ §Proprietors living on their premises, and letting a part thereof, should§ §return the names of their Tenants to the Church Wardens, with the amount§ §of their annual rent (each Individuals Rent)§ §Proprietors of Houses should also send the names of their respective Ten-§ §-ants occupying the whole or part of their premises, to the Ch. Wardens§ §with the annual rent of each Tenant, and whereas a number of Me-§ §-chanics and Young Men above the age of sixteen may be residing with§ §proprietors of Houses (the latter occupying their own premises) and living§ §rent free, such Mechanics and young men above the age of sixteen§ §should be returned to the Church Wardens, and a Tax equivalent§ §to a rent of £12 per ann. be levied on each individual. (£12 per annum§ §being the usual rent for a room.) N.B. - This latter proposition§ §is not to affect the Tenant who pays a tax on the full amount of rent.§ §Supposing a rate of £75 be required, and the total amount of Rents [...]§ §each Individual would have to pay sixpence in the Pound.§ §Should the Rate required, amount to sixpence in the Pound, or above§ §it would be advisable, the rate so assessed, should be collected in two payments.§ §To R. F. Seale Esqr. Sec. 27 January 1834§ §Sir§ §I have the honor to report that an adjourned Meeting	The amendment went on. Any shortfall would be made up by the additional tax. Owners who did not live on their own premises but rented another house would be liable for the additional tax. Owners who lived on their premises and let part of them would send the churchwardens the names of their tenants and each tenant's yearly rent. Owners of houses would also send the churchwardens the names of tenants occupying all or part of their premises, with each tenant's yearly rent. A number of mechanics and young men over 16 might be living rent-free with house owners who occupied their own premises. Such mechanics and young men would be reported to the churchwardens. A tax equal to that on a rent of £12 a year, the usual rent for a room, would be levied on each of them. A note added that this last proposal would not affect a tenant who paid tax on his full rent. If a rate of £75 0s 0d were needed, and the total of the rents came to [...], each person would have to pay 6d in the pound. Should the rate needed come to 6d in the pound or more, it would be wise to collect it in two payments. On 27 January 1834 D. O'Connor, churchwarden, reported to R. F. Seale, secretary. An adjourned meeting of the inhabitants had been held that day to consider the new method of taxation. An amendment had been proposed to tax tenants of houses in place of the income tax. The amendment seemed to give more general satisfaction, so the meeting was adjourned to a later day, giving the vestry committee time to work out the details. He also enclosed a notice to the inhabitants, which the committee had authorised the churchwardens to publish. The notice, dated at St Helena on 27 January 1834 and signed by J. Sampson and D. O'Connor, churchwardens, read as follows. The vestry committee appointed by the parish planned to meet

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		of the§ §Inhabitants was held this day to take into consideration the new mode§ §of Taxation, an amendment was proposed to assess tenants of houses§ §instead of the Income Tax, which amendment appearing to give§ §more general satisfaction the meeting was adjourned to a future day§ §in order that the Vestry Committee may have time to arrange a detail.§ §Inclosed I beg also to forward a Notice to the Inhabitants which the§ §Committee have authorized the Church Wardens to make public.§ §I am, Sir, Yr. ob. St.§ §D. O'Connor C. Wardn.§ §Notice.§ §"The Vestry Committee appointed by the Parish, intending to§ §meet on Wednesday next the 5th. Feby. for the purpose of taking into§ §consideration the best and most approved method of "Raising§ §additional Parish Taxes" request all persons who may have§ §formed plans upon the subject to forward the same to the§ §Church Wardens on or before that day."§ §St. Helena 27 Jany. 1834§ §Signed J. Samson - D. O'Connor, C. Wardens§	on Wednesday 5 February 1834 to consider the best and most approved way of raising additional parish taxes. It asked anyone who had a plan on the subject to send it to the churchwardens on or before that day. **Interpretations** The inhabitants preferred a tax on tenants' rents to a tax on incomes. An income tax would have required people to declare their salaries and earnings, which many would resent and some would hide. A rent was easier to find out: landlords were to report their tenants and the rents they paid. Rent also stood for a person's means without anyone's private finances being examined. The meeting favoured the measure that intruded least while still reaching people who did not own houses. The amendment taxed young men and mechanics living rent-free with house owners as if they paid £12 a year for a room. They were the same shop workers, apprentices and lodgers the government had kept from voting in 1825. Under this plan they would pay tax for the first time, on a notional rent, but they would still have no vote. The amendment widened the tax to reach them while leaving the franchise limited to owners of houses worth £300 or more.
689	680	6 February 1834§ §The Vestry Committee met to examine the plans for improved Taxation§ §submitted to them by Mr. Thomson and Mr. Baker, and after mature delib-§ §-eration it was resolved that the two propositions together with the original§ §one from the Committee be laid before Government. -§ §On a representation from the Church Warden that the Parish funds for§ §the present Year were exhausted, and that Seventy Pounds will yet be§ §required for the disbursement of Parochial expenses for the ensuing two§ §months, the Committee authorized the C. Wardens to obtain a loan to that§ §amount from Governmt. to be repaid from the next assessment.§ §To R. F. Seale Esqr. Sec.§ §Sir I have the honor to inclose two propositions on the sub-§ §-ject of Taxation, and after having maturely deliberated upon them, the Com-§ §-mittee are still of opinion that the mode of assessment as prepared by§ §the Committee, seems to them to be the most reasonable and fair, as ma-§ §-king the burden light for all parties. At a Meeting of Inhabitants§ §held on the 13th. an adjourned Meeting was appointed for the 27th. January§ §when the subject was referred to the Vestry Committee who published a§ §Notice inviting proposals for an amelioration of Taxes; the accompanying§ §plans were received, and which they have now the honor to lay before the§ §Honble. Board previous to another Meeting of the Inhabitants.§ §I have the honor to be &c.§ §D. O'Connor Church Warden§ §To an application to Govt. for the loan of £70 to sustain Parish expenses for§	On 6 February 1834 the vestry committee met to examine the plans for better taxation sent in by Mr Thomson and Mr Baker. After careful discussion, it resolved to put these two proposals, together with the committee's own original plan, before the government. The churchwarden reported that the parish funds for the year were spent. A further £70 0s 0d would be needed to meet parish costs for the next two months. The committee authorised the churchwardens to borrow that sum from the government, to be repaid from the next assessment. D. O'Connor, churchwarden, wrote to R. F. Seale, secretary, enclosing two proposals on taxation. Having considered them carefully, the committee still believed that the method of assessment it had prepared was the most reasonable and fair, and the one that would bear lightest on everyone. The meeting of inhabitants on 13 January 1834 had arranged an adjourned meeting for 27 January 1834. That meeting had sent the question to the vestry committee, which had published a notice inviting proposals to improve the taxes. The plans enclosed had been received in reply. The committee now laid them before the Board before another meeting of the inhabitants. The churchwardens asked the government for a loan of £70 0s 0d to meet parish costs for the next two months. On 10 February 1834 R. F. Seale, secretary, replied to the churchwardens, J. Sampson and D. O'Connor. In view of the coming change in the Company's affairs, the Board had no choice but to refuse the loan. On Monday 17 February 1834 a general meeting of the inhabitants, called by a notice published on 11 February 1834, was held. Very few attended. The committee's proposal and those from Mr Thomson and Mr Baker were laid before the meeting. It voted in favour of the plan the committee had proposed. **Interpretations** The government refused the parish a loan because of "the coming change in the Company's affairs". Under the Charter Act of 1833, the East India Company was to give up its trade and St Helena

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		§the ensuing two months the following reply was received.§ §10 Feb. 1834§ §To J. Samson & D. O'Connor Esqrs. C. Ws.§ §Gentlemen, Under the circumstances of the approaching change§ §in the Company's affairs, the Board are under the necessity of declining§ §to grant the Loan of Seventy Pounds as applied for this day.§ §I am Gentlemen Yr. obt. St. R. F. Seale Sec.§ §Monday, Feb. 17 1834§ §A General Meeting of the Inhabitants, agreeably to a published§ §Notice of the 11th. was held this day, and very thinly attended. The pro-§ §-position from the Committee and those from Mr. Thomson & Mr. Baker§ §were laid before the Meeting when it was carried in favor of the§ §Plan proposed by the Committee.§	was to pass from the Company to the Crown. The Company would no longer govern the island, so its officers would not lend money that might fall due after the change. For years the parish had relied on Company loans, grants and buildings whenever it fell short. That support was ending. The parish now had to raise all its money from its own inhabitants, just as its costs from emancipation were rising. Very few attended the meeting that adopted the committee's plan. The earlier "very full" meeting in January had resisted the income tax and preferred a tax on tenants' rents. The thin meeting in February voted the committee's plan through. The committee, which had kept arguing for its own scheme, won the vote at the poorly attended meeting. The measure that would tax the island's salaried officials and free men of colour for the first time was passed by a handful of ratepayers.
690	681	To R. F. Seale Esqr. Sec. &c. 17 Feb. 1834.§ §Sir I have the honor to report that at a Meeting§ §of the Inhabitants held this day, and which was very thinly attended,§ §the two propositions for a new system of Taxes, were read, when the Plan§ §proposed by the Committee was carried by a majority of 8 to 2.§ §I have the honor to be &c.§ §D. O'Connor Junior C. Warden§ §To 6th. March 1834§ §J. Sampson and D. O'Connor Esqrs. C. Ws.§ §Gentlemen§ §"The Board cannot sanction the proposed measure§ §of taxing mere working mechanics or laborers; They are a class exempted§ §from Taxation in all civilized countries. With regard also to the suggested§ §Tax upon Income the Board apprehend its adoption would be attended§ §with great difficulty. - But if amongst the Inhabitants, no better§ §mode of meeting the Parish and County expenses be discoverable, the§ §Board will be unwilling to oppose a measure which may meet§ §general concurrence at the regular Annual Vestry on next Easter Monday.§ §Upon reference to the 4th. Volume of Burn's Justice, under the head of§ §Poor, it will be found that the Stock in Trade, personal property,§ §public Billiard Tables, and Canteens in Barracks are rateable,§ §and as an additional source of Taxation for Parish & County expenses§ §the Board would recommend to the consideration of the Vestry, the§ §expediency of erecting a Toll Gate on Ladder Hill Road."§ §I am, Gentlemen, Yr. obt. Servt.§ §R. F. Seale, Secy. to Govt.§	On 17 February 1834 D. O'Connor, junior churchwarden, reported to R. F. Seale, secretary. A very thinly attended meeting of the inhabitants had been held that day. The two proposals for a new system of taxes were read, and the committee's plan was carried by eight votes to two. On 6 March 1834 R. F. Seale, secretary to the government, replied to the churchwardens, J. Sampson and D. O'Connor. The Board could not approve the proposal to tax ordinary working mechanics and labourers. Such people were exempt from taxation in every civilised country. The Board also feared that the proposed income tax would be very hard to put into practice. Still, if the inhabitants could find no better way of meeting parish and county costs, the Board would not oppose a measure that won general agreement at the regular annual vestry the next Easter Monday. The Board pointed out that, according to the fourth volume of Burn's Justice under the heading "Poor", stock in trade, personal property, public billiard tables and canteens in barracks could all be rated. As a further source of taxation for parish and county costs, the Board recommended that the vestry consider putting up a toll gate on the Ladder Hill road. **Interpretations** The government rejected the tax on working mechanics and labourers. That struck down the plan's 1s a year on free men of colour of the labouring class and its tax on lodgers and young mechanics. The Board appealed to the practice of every civilised country, where the labouring poor were not taxed directly. Its stance matched its refusal in 1832 to take compulsory deductions from freed slaves' wages. Whatever its reasons, the effect was to stop the parish from making freed labourers pay towards the cost of their own relief. Burn's Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer was the standard English handbook on parish law, as the Parish Officer's Complete Guide had been for the vestry in 1825. The government used it to point the parish towards taxes that fell on traders and businesses rather than on labourers: stock in trade, billiard tables and the canteens that sold drink to soldiers. These were sources of profit, many of them in Jamestown. The government steered the tax towards commerce and away from the poor. The Board suggested a toll gate on the Ladder Hill road, the steep route out of Jamestown that carried traffic to the country and to Plantation House. A toll would charge road users directly for the road's upkeep. It would fall on those who travelled with carts, carriages and horses, the same people the cart

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			and carriage taxes reached. It offered a way to fund the roads without touching the poor or the income of the officials.
691	682	Dr. The Parish§ §£ . s . d§ §1833 & 1834§ §To Cash Paid Salaries - vizt.§ §Mrs. Kay, Organist, from 22d. Decr. 32 to 31st. Mar. 1834§ §63 . 15§ §Mr. Croft, for One Year - Clerk§ §30§ §Mr. Youd, Clerk of Fish Market from 1 Mar. to 31 Oct.§ §22§ §Do. Do. reduced Saly. from 1 Nov. 33 to 31 Mar. 34§ §10§ §Balance to the late Church Warden§ §11 . 11 . 6§ §137 . 6 . 6§ §To Cash Paid Parish Paupers, vizt.§ §Sarah and Letitia, insane at Sandy Bay§ §33 . 7 . 6§ §Mrs. Goff§ §9 . 2 . 6§ §Mary Pledger§ §6§ §Dray's Children§ §18 . 5§ §Jack Wells, alias Mungo§ §6§ §Marlbro'§ §2 . 5§ §Smith's blind Child§ §4 . 11 . 3§ §Geo. Wade§ §4 . 5 . 6§ §John Goff§ §4 . 13 . 3§ §Fanny Chesterfield§ §12§ §Green's Children§ §6§ §Samuel Robertson§ §9 . 2 . 6§ §Greenwich§ §6§ §William Thomas§ §6§ §Jack Peter§ §6§ §Old Pat§ §6§ §Juliet§ §6§ §Antonio's lame Child§ §4 . 11 . 3§ §John Stevens§ §4§ §Charles Toomey§ §5 . 16 . 8§ §James Free§ §2 . 4 . 6§ §Francisco§ §3§ §Cornelius Robinson§ §8 . 1 . 6§ §Thomas Robinson§ §3 . 15§ §Peg Bacchus§ §2 . 8§ §Eleanor Pompey§ §2 . 8§ §Fanny Hayward§ §2§	The parish account for 1833 and 1834 recorded the following spending. Salaries Mrs Kay, organist, from 22 December 1832 to 31 March 1834, £63 15s 0d Mr Croft, clerk, for 1 year, £30 0s 0d Mr Youd, clerk of the fish market, from 1 March to 31 October, £22 0s 0d Mr Youd, at his reduced salary from 1 November 1833 to 31 March 1834, £10 0s 0d Balance owed to the former churchwarden, £11 11s 6d Salaries in all, £137 6s 6d Parish paupers Sarah and Letitia, insane, at Sandy Bay, £33 7s 6d Mrs Gloff, £9 2s 6d Mary Pledger, £6 0s 0d Dray's children, £18 5s 0d Jack Wells, also known as Mungo, £6 0s 0d Marlborough, £2 5s 0d Smith's blind child, £4 11s 3d George Wade, £4 5s 6d John Gloff, £4 13s 3d Fanny Chesterfield, £12 0s 0d Green's children, £6 0s 0d Samuel Robertson, £9 2s 6d Greenwich, £6 0s 0d William Thomas, £6 0s 0d Jack Peter, £6 0s 0d Old Pat, £6 0s 0d Juliet, £6 0s 0d Antonio's lame child, £4 11s 3d John Stevens, £4 0s 0d Charles Toomey, £5 16s 8d James Free, £2 4s 6d Francisco, £3 0s 0d Cornelius Robinson, £8 1s 6d Thomas Robinson, £3 15s 0d Peg Bacchus, £2 8s 0d Eleanor Pompey, £2 8s 0d Fanny Hayward, £2 0s 0d Christian George, £3 0s 0d Peg Rippon, £1 7s 6d Alfred, a man with elephantiasis, £2 5s 0d Porchman, £1 10s 0d Old Hope, £1 7s 6d Flora Bennett, £1 7s 6d Parish paupers in all, £194 14s 11d Carried forward, £332 1s 5d **Interpretations** The pauper roll had grown to 33 names, from about a dozen five years earlier. Many carried names typical of freed slaves: Old Pat, Juliet, Peg Bacchus, Eleanor Pompey, Old Hope and Christian George. Several, such as Greenwich, William Thomas and Jack Peter, were among the old slaves freed by the vestry in July 1832. Most received about £6 a year, 10s a month. Relief now cost nearly £195, more than double the figure of 1829. This was the rising cost of emancipation that drove the committee to seek new taxes, and that the Company declined to help with as its rule drew to a close. Mrs Kay's salary of £63 15s 0d covered 15 months from December 1832, at the £50 0s 0d a year paid to Hoar. The parish also cleared the £11 11s 6d owed to the former churchwarden. These, with the insane women's keep, took up a large part of the year's income before most relief was paid.

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		§Christian George§ §3§ §Peg Rippon§ §1 . 7 . 6§ §Alfred, (a man in Elephantiasis)§ §2 . 5§ §Porchman§ §1 . 10§ §Old Hope§ §1 . 7 . 6§ §Flora Bennett§ §1 . 7 . 6§ §194 . 14 . 11§ §Carrd. forwd.£§ §332 . 1 . 5§	
692	683	Per Contra Cr.§ §£ . s . d§ §1833 & 1834§ §By Cash received from the Collectors§ §£279 . 13 . 6§ §Do. Do. Do.§ §24§ §From Police Office for half the Dog Tax§ §32 . 5§ §335 . 18 . 6§ §Carrd. forwd.£§ §335 . 18 . 6§	The credit side of the parish account for 1833 and 1834 recorded the following receipts. Cash received from the collectors, £279 13s 6d Cash received from the collectors, a further sum, £24 0s 0d From the police office, half the dog tax, £32 5s 0d Receipts in all, £335 18s 6d Carried forward, £335 18s 6d **Interpretations** The parish's income for the year was £335 18s 6d, while salaries and pauper relief alone had already reached £332 1s 5d before any other costs. The rate had been raised to 3s 6d on every £100, yet income barely covered relief and the fixed salaries. The parish now had no reserve, no Company loan to fall back on and a debt of £50 0s 0d a year to repay on the street loan. That explains the urgency of the committee's push for a wider tax in the first months of 1834.
693	684	Dr. The Parish§ §£ . s . d§ §1833 & 1834§ §To Amount brought forward§ §332 . 1 . 5§ §Cash Paid Interment Expenses§ §10 . 2 . 6§ §Do. Do. Fresh Meat & Port Wine for sick poor§ §7 . 16 . 6½§ §Do. Do. Washing Surplices§ §3§ §Do. Do. Port Wine for the Sacrament§ §1 . 12 . 9§ §Do. Do. Printing & Posting Notices§ §2 . 7§ §Do. Do. Temporary aid to various poor§ §2 . 4 . 6§ §Do. Do. for Coffins§ §8 . 5§ §Do. Do. Paper, Pens, &c.§ §2§ §Do. Do. Painting Roof, Portico, &c. C. Church§ §9 . 9§ §Do. Do. Expences incurred on acct. of Mr. M. Watson§ §2 . 9§ §43 . 6 . 3½§ §£375 . 7 . 8½§	The parish account for 1833 and 1834 continued as follows. Brought forward, £332 1s 5d Burial costs, £10 2s 6d Fresh meat and port wine for the sick poor, £7 16s 6½d Washing surplices, £3 0s 0d Port wine for the sacrament, £1 12s 9d Printing and posting notices, £2 7s 0d Temporary help to various poor people, £2 4s 6d Coffins, £8 5s 0d Paper, pens and other items, £2 0s 0d Painting the roof, portico and other parts of the country church, £9 9s 0d Costs incurred for Mrs M. Watson, £2 9s 0d Other costs in all, £43 6s 3½d Total, £375 7s 8½d **Interpretations** Spending for the year came to £375 7s 8½d against receipts of £335 18s 6d, leaving the parish about £39 9s 2½d short. Burials and coffins alone cost more than £18. Many of the dead were the old freed slaves and paupers on the relief roll, who had no families able to pay. The committee had ordered in 1828 that no grave be dug until the fees were paid, but for paupers the parish still had to bury them. The year closed in deficit, just as the Company's rule was ending and its help was no longer on offer.
694	685	Per Contra Cr.§ §£ . s . d§ §1833 & 1834§ §By Amount Brought forward§ §£335 . 18 . 6§ §By Balance due to the Church Warden§ §39 . 9 . 2½§ §£375 . 7 . 8½§ §Island St. Helena§ §31st. March 1834.§	The credit side of the parish account closed as follows. Brought forward, £335 18s 6d Balance owed to the churchwarden, £39 9s 2½d Total, £375 7s 8½d D. O'Connor, churchwarden, signed the account at St Helena on 31 March 1834, with the usual note that any errors were excepted. The committee examined the accounts and declared them correct. G. V. Lambe signed for the committee.

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		§Errors Excepted§ §D. O'Connor§ §C. Warden§ §The Committee having examined the above§ §accounts, declare them Correct.§ §G. V. Lambe - for Committee.§	**Interpretations** For the second year running, the parish ended in debt to its churchwarden, this time £39 9s 2½d. O'Connor had covered the shortfall himself, as Pritchard had done the year before. The parish had now gone two years without a surplus. Each year a churchwarden lent it money at his own risk. With the Company withdrawing its support and the new taxes not yet in force, the parish's officers were carrying its debts personally while the vestry argued over who else should pay.
695	686	[Staining along the left edge of the page and over the left side of the middle of the table, from No. 28 to No. 42.] Return of Houses and Cottages recently erected, - appraised by the§ §House Committee, Messrs. C. Sampson, Gideon & Darling in 1833 & 1834.§ §No., Landlord, Tenant, Scale, Remarks§ §C 36: Landlord Alexander G. W., Tenant Saml. Cesar, Scale £50, Remarks Small Cottage in Sandy Bay.§ §C 37: Landlord Do., Tenant Richard, Scale 50, Remarks Do. Do.§ §C 38: Landlord Do., Tenant 2 Chinese, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §C 39: Landlord Do., Tenant Harper's Jack, Scale 50, Remarks Lemon Tree Gut§ §C 40: Landlord Do., Tenant Pompey, Scale 50, Remarks In Sandy Bay§ §C 44: Landlord Alexander Thos., Tenant Alexander T., Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §C 43: Landlord Anthony James, Tenant J. Anthony, Scale 50, Remarks In S. Bay near Sir W. Doveton's§ §C 25: Landlord Beale Anty., Tenant 0, Scale 75, Remarks Near Mr. A. Beale's Residence§ §C 46: Landlord Brooke T. H., Tenant Tracy C., Scale 100, Remarks Near Hutt's Gate.§ §C 3: Landlord Butler Sergt., Tenant Butler T., Scale 60, Remarks Outside of Ladder Hill Fort§ §C 28: Landlord Bagley Robt., Tenant Bagley Rob., Scale 50, Remarks Near Mr. John Des Fountain's§ §T 54: Landlord Elliot J., Tenant Dwelling House, Scale 50, Remarks Up the hill behind Preparatory School§ §T: Landlord Do., Tenant Shop, Scale 100, Remarks Opposite Mr. Firmin's House§ §C 35: Landlord Greentree Thos., Tenant 2 Chinese, Scale 50, Remarks In Mr. Greentree's Land§ §C 23: Landlord Griffiths Sergt., Tenant Griffiths, Scale 100, Remarks Under High Knoll, [...]§ §T 31: Landlord Hubbard Danl., Tenant Hubbard D., Scale 500, Remarks Near the Hospital in Town§ §T: Landlord Hutchison Private, Tenant Hutchison, Scale 100, Remarks Opposite Botanic Gardens§ §T: Landlord Johnson Private, Tenant Johnson, Scale 75, Remarks In the Run behind Do.§ §C 41: Landlord [...], Tenant [...], Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §C 42: Landlord Kennedy [...], Tenant Kennedy J., Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §T: Landlord Lamb G. V., Tenant McGhie, Scale 100, Remarks Near Mule yard.§ §C 24: Landlord Lee, Tenant formerly A. Beale's, Scale 75, Remarks 0§ §C 31: Landlord Legg Henry, Tenant Legg Henry, Scale 75, Remarks near Swanley Valley§ §C: Landlord McRitchie Thos., Tenant Woody Ridge, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §C 32: Landlord March, Tenant Shepherd's Do., Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §C: Landlord Mittens J., Tenant Long Wood, Scale 100, Remarks 0§ §C 29: Landlord Sampson Major, Tenant Rookes, Scale 50, Remarks 0§ §C: Landlord Scott R. Junior, Tenant Shop, Scale 200, Remarks Red Hill.§	The house committee of C. Sampson, Gideon and Darling valued the following houses and cottages built recently, in 1833 and 1834. The letter C marked country houses and T town houses. C 36, landlord G. W. Alexander, tenant Sam Caesar, valued at £50 0s 0d, a small cottage in Sandy Bay C 37, landlord G. W. Alexander, tenant Richard, valued at £50 0s 0d, a small cottage in Sandy Bay C 38, landlord G. W. Alexander, tenants 2 Chinese, valued at £50 0s 0d C 39, landlord G. W. Alexander, tenant Harper's Jack, valued at £50 0s 0d, Lemon Tree Gut C 40, landlord G. W. Alexander, tenant Pompey, valued at £50 0s 0d, in Sandy Bay C 44, landlord Thomas Alexander, tenant T. Alexander, valued at £100 0s 0d C 43, landlord James Anthony, tenant J. Anthony, valued at £50 0s 0d, in Sandy Bay near Sir W. Doveton's C 25, landlord Anthony Beale, no tenant named, valued at £75 0s 0d, near Mr A. Beale's residence C 46, landlord T. H. Brooke, tenant C. Tracy, valued at £100 0s 0d, near Hutt's Gate C 3, landlord Sergeant Butler, tenant T. Butler, valued at £60 0s 0d, outside Ladder Hill fort C 28, landlord Robert Bagley, tenant Robert Bagley, valued at £50 0s 0d, near Mr John De Fountain's T 54, landlord J. Elliot, a dwelling house, valued at £50 0s 0d, up the hill behind the preparatory school T, landlord J. Elliot, a shop, valued at £100 0s 0d, opposite Mr Firmin's house C 35, landlord Thomas Greentree, tenants 2 Chinese, valued at £50 0s 0d, on Mr Greentree's land C 22, landlord Sergeant Griffiths, tenant Griffiths, valued at £100 0s 0d, under High Knoll, [...] T 51, landlord David Hubbard, tenant D. Hubbard, valued at £500 0s 0d, near the hospital in town T, landlord Private Hutchison, tenant Hutchison, valued at £100 0s 0d, opposite the botanical garden T, landlord Private Johnson, tenant Johnson, valued at £75 0s 0d, in the run behind the same C 41, landlord [...], tenant [...], valued at £50 0s 0d C 42, landlord Mrs Kennedy, tenant J. Kennedy, valued at £50 0s 0d T, landlord G. V. Lambe, tenant McGhie, valued at £100 0s 0d, near the mule yard C 24, landlord Lee, formerly A. Beale's, valued at £75 0s 0d C 31, landlord Henry Legg, tenant Henry Legg, valued at £75 0s 0d, near Swanley Valley C, landlord Thomas McRitchie, Woody Ridge, valued at £50 0s 0d C 32, landlord March, Shepherd's [...], valued at £50 0s 0d C, landlord J. Mittens, Longwood, valued at £100 0s 0d C 29, landlord Major Sampson, Rookes, valued at £50 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§C: Landlord Sawyer, Tenant 0, Scale 100, Remarks Half tree Hollow.§	C, landlord Scott and Hamilton, a shop, valued at £200 0s 0d, Red Hill C, landlord Sawyer, valued at £100 0s 0d, Halfway Hollow **Interpretations** G. W. Alexander built at least five small cottages in Sandy Bay and Lemon Tree Gut, each valued at £50 0s 0d. His tenants included Sam Caesar, Richard, Harper's Jack and Pompey, names typical of freed slaves, and two Chinese. Landholders were putting up cheap cottages to let to freed people and Chinese labourers living in the country. That fitted the government's expectation in 1832 that freed people would work by the day or farm small plots. Housing freed workers on or near the estates also kept a supply of labour close at hand. The cottages also added to the house tax, though at £50 each they paid little. Several soldiers built or owned houses, including Sergeant Butler, Sergeant Griffiths and the privates Hutchison and Johnson. Garrison men were putting their savings into property and becoming ratepayers. Some built near their posts, such as Butler outside Ladder Hill fort. The town was spreading into new ground, up the hill behind the school and into the run behind the botanical garden, as the population grew.
696	687	[Heavy staining along the right side of the page, over the Observations column.] Valuation of Houses Continued.§ §No., Owners, Tenant or Name of Place, Scale, Observations§ §C: Owners Blake C., Tenant or Name of Place Huskins, Scale £300, Observations Near Sandy Bay Ridge§ §C: Owners Ben R., Tenant or Name of Place Ben R., Scale 50, Observations Below Bradley's§ §C: Owners Doveton Mr. G., Tenant or Name of Place 5 Chinese Huts, Scale 250, Observations near Bevans§ §C: Owners Fountain Sally, Tenant or Name of Place Fountain S., Scale 50, Observations Half tree Hollow§ §T 52: Owners Hudson a Chinese, Tenant or Name of Place Hudson, Scale 75, Observations Near the Red Quarry§ §T: Owners Prince Ric., Tenant or Name of Place New Shop, Scale 500, Observations Over the Run§ §T: Owners Rose Thos., Tenant or Name of Place Fuller C., Scale 800, Observations Tavern.§ §C: Owners New Building Francis Plain, Tenant or Name of Place Union Hall, Scale 400, Observations 0§ §C 1: Owners Wake Sergt., Tenant or Name of Place Wake Sergt., Scale 50, Observations Outside of Ladder Hill Fort§ §C 2: Owners Watson, Tenant or Name of Place Nairne Diana, Scale 50, Observations Do. Do.§ §C: Owners Young Fredk., Tenant or Name of Place Young F., Scale 50, Observations ½ Tree Hollow§ §C: Owners Clements Samuel, Tenant or Name of Place Clements S., Scale 200, Observations Near Mr. A. Beale's.§ §C: Owners Scott John, Tenant or Name of Place Scott John, Scale 150, Observations close to the above§	The valuation of houses continued as follows. C, owner C. Blake, tenant Huskins, valued at £300 0s 0d, near Sandy Bay Ridge C, owner R. Ben, tenant R. Ben, valued at £50 0s 0d, below Bradley's C, owner Mrs G. Doveton, 5 Chinese huts, valued at £250 0s 0d, near Bevans C, owner Sally Fountain, tenant S. Fountain, valued at £50 0s 0d, Half Tree Hollow T 52, owner Hudson, a Chinese man, tenant Hudson, valued at £75 0s 0d, near the Red Quarry T, owner Richard Prince, a new shop, valued at £500 0s 0d, over the run T, owner Thomas Rose, tenant C. Fuller, valued at £800 0s 0d, a tavern C, a new building on Francis Plain, Union Hall, valued at £400 0s 0d C 1, owner Sergeant Wake, tenant Sergeant Wake, valued at £50 0s 0d, outside Ladder Hill fort C 2, owner Watson, tenant Diana Nairne, valued at £50 0s 0d, outside Ladder Hill fort C, owner Frederick Young, tenant F. Young, valued at £50 0s 0d, Half Tree Hollow C, owner Samuel Clements, tenant S. Clements, valued at £200 0s 0d, near Mr A. Beale's C, owner John Scott, tenant John Scott, valued at £150 0s 0d, close to the one above The place given as Halfway Hollow on the previous page should read Half Tree Hollow. **Interpretations** Hudson, a Chinese man, owned his own house near the Red Quarry. The Chinese had come to St Helena as contract labourers for the Company. Most lived in Company quarters or rented huts, such as the five on Mrs Doveton's land valued together at £250 0s 0d. Hudson had settled and bought property, which made him a ratepayer under the house tax. Some Chinese were staying on the island and putting down roots rather than going home when their contracts ended. Half Tree Hollow, above Jamestown near Ladder Hill, was filling with small houses valued at £50 0s 0d, owned by people such as Sally Fountain and Frederick Young. Like the cottages outside Ladder Hill fort, it was cheap ground on the edge of town where small owners, soldiers and freed people could build. Settlement was spreading out of the cramped valley onto the plateau above.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
697	688	[Heavy staining at the upper left and along the left edge of the page.] St. Helena§ §8th. Septr. 1769§ §At a Vestry held this Day at the§ §Chapel in James's Valley it was agreed that the fees due to the§ §Clergyman, Clerk and Sexton be as follow§ §Surplice Fees§ §Marriages, Burials, Churching of Women, Christenings§ §Clergyman for: Marriages 10/, Burials 6/, Churching of Women 5/, Christenings 0§ §Clerk: Marriages 2/6, Burials 1/6, Churching of Women 0, Christenings 0§ §Sexton: Marriages 2/6, Burials 7/6, Churching of Women 0, Christenings 1/6§ §[...]: Marriages 13 . [...], Burials [...], Churching of Women 5, Christenings 0§ §[...]: Marriages [...], Burials [...], Churching of Women 0, Christenings 0§ §[...]: Marriages [...], Burials [...], Churching of Women 0, Christenings [...]§	On 8 September 1769 a vestry met at the chapel in James Valley at St Helena. It agreed the following surplice fees for the clergyman, clerk and sexton. Clergyman, marriage, £0 10s 0d Clergyman, burial, £0 6s 0d Clergyman, churching of women, £0 5s 0d Clergyman, christening, £0 0s 0d Clerk, marriage, £0 2s 6d Clerk, burial, £0 1s 6d Clerk, churching of women, £0 0s 0d Clerk, christening, £0 0s 0d Sexton, marriage, £0 2s 6d Sexton, burial, £0 7s 6d Sexton, churching of women, £0 0s 0d Sexton, christening, £0 1s 6d Faint totals added below the table in pencil cannot be read. **Interpretations** This was the 1769 scale of fees that the Reverend R. Boys asked the vestry to revise in 1826 and 1827. It had stood unchanged for nearly 60 years. Surplice fees were the charges for performing services, named after the white vestment the clergyman wore. They went to the clergyman, the clerk and the sexton, not to the parish. Christenings were free to the clergyman, while the sexton charged for each one. The committee's 1827 proposal kept the sexton's burial fee but added a 5s christening fee for the clergyman and raised his marriage fee. The old scale was copied into the book probably as the reference point for that revision.
698	689	[Heavy staining across the upper right of the page, obscuring the ends of the first lines.] Remarks by J. B. for Easter [...]§ §The Taxes not equalized§ §The Insane persons badly off§ §County Collectors to go out of Office by Rotation§ §House of reception for the Poor and§ §of Correction when needful.§	J. B. jotted down the following points to raise at Easter. 1: The taxes were still unequal. 2: The insane were badly provided for. 3: The county collectors should leave office in rotation. 4: A house was needed to take in the poor, and to serve as a house of correction when necessary. **Interpretations** The initials J. B. almost certainly stand for James Bennett, the former senior churchwarden. Each point echoes his record. He had pressed the case of the two insane women at Sandy Bay so hard in 1831 that the Board rebuked him. The coroner's report on Matilda Diamond in 1833 had called for a house for the destitute and a house of correction, and Bennett now listed both together. The unequal taxes were the issue the vestry had fought over through the winter of 1833 and 1834 without settling. These notes were his agenda for the Easter vestry of 1834. They set out the parish's unfinished business as the Company's rule came to an end. The point about rotating the county collectors followed the earlier change for churchwardens and committee members. Collectors handled large sums each year. Requiring them to leave office in turn would stop any one man holding the parish's money for too long. That mattered more now the parish was in debt and its funds were in private hands, having refused the Company's treasury.
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		§Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm)§ §H42 x W30 x D6.§ §No. written pages:§ §666.§ §No. blank pages:§ §36§ §Spine and cover§ §GOOD CONDITION§ §Inside pages§ §GOOD CONDITION.§ §FOXING IS NOT PRESENT§ §PAGES ARE NOT NUMBERED§ §Additional comments§ §Time taken to photograph (hours)§ §18 HRS.§	