Secretary's Precedent Book 1775-1819

Introduction: This was the St Helena Council secretary's book of model documents, kept as a guide to the correct form for the island's official papers. It set down standard wording for routine documents, such as oaths of office, licences, discharges, certificates, lease renewals and sailing orders, with blanks to be filled in as each case arose. It also preserved texts the Council might need to consult again, among them charter party clauses, the Court of Directors' standing instructions and commissions for trying captured enemy ships. In its later pages the secretary copied actual letters and orders on shipping, the garrison, the hospital, land and residence on the island, keeping them both as a record and as patterns for similar cases. The volume closed with an index of its forms by type, a register for lease renewals and short notes on standing orders.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-11-4.

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: Some early pages are missing, the volume starting midway through a longer letter.

Pagination: The pagination is unconventional, appearing sequentially only at the bottom left of each verso (left-hand) page, while the recto (right-hand) pages are left unmarked. In other words, each side of the page have the same number. Also, there are several gaps in the numbering which only go up to page 141. This numbering system has therefore been ignored.

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

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

Three council books cover 14 April 1760 to October 1805. A draft book of model forms, oaths and orders, with some live entries and struck-out passages, runs from 14 April 1760 to 5 September 1781, mostly between April 1775 and November 1781. A secretary's book of copied letters and forms runs from 7 September 1781 to 10 October 1803 out of strict order, with instructions of 9 May 1797 among letters of 1803 and a licence of 12 January 1803 after letters of September 1803. A book of outgoing letters only, kept under Governor Robert Patton with Thomas H. Brooke as secretary and J. De Fountain as deputy secretary in 1804 and acting secretary from July 1805, runs from 3 October 1803 to about October 1805 and closes with an index, reference notes and stray papers of 1767 to 1819. Many forms name people only as A B or C D and record intended procedure, not proven practice. [Film No. 8–181]

Governance and Administration

In undated oaths copied among forms of 1760 to 1776, Francis Robson swore as Lieutenant Governor to be true to the East India Company and Gabriel Alexander Harper swore as sheriff to serve the King and enforce the laws and statutes of England, the Company governing under royal charter while justice ran in the Crown's name. [Film No. 18–19]

A list of returns of the 1770s sent the Court of Directors, in duplicate against the loss of a ship, half-yearly registers of births, christenings, marriages and burials and a roll of the Company's servants made up to the end of February and August, a report of courts martial each March and a yearly register of goods and certificate of flour; a note of about 1776 added a yearly account of military-fund payments to widows. [Film No. 17, 28]

Matthew Bazett signed as secretary on 1 June 1769 and Britannicus Alexander Wright by March 1779, followed by William Webber Doveton by 15 June 1790, G. Doveton by June 1799 and Thomas H. Brooke by 1802. Initials J S, D C, M B, W W and H B stand on forms from 17 February 1776, and the names of Skottowe, Corneille, both Bazetts and Wrangham head a warrant of 3 November 1781, although Henry Bazett reportedly sailed for England in May 1775, so signatures are weak evidence of who sat on a given day. Governor Robert Brooke, Francis Robson and Wright signed on 9 April 1790, and on 18 February 1791 Brooke was a lieutenant colonel and Robson a major and Lieutenant Governor, army officers unlike John Skottowe and Daniel Corneille, Brooke having served in the Company's army in India. William Wrangham still signed on 7 July 1792 and 4 February 1793, and Robert Patton was Governor by 18 March 1803 with William Webber Doveton and Robert Leech on the Council. [Film No. 13, 15, 27, 34–35, 43, 68, 75–77, 81–82, 85–86, 93]

A note of April 1775 let the commander of a foreign ship that missed her port forward the Council's packet by post from Copenhagen. A letter of 1791 asked masters of British whalers, who called when no Indiaman was due, to carry packets home and send them ashore at the Downs to John Iggulden, the Court's agent at Deal, against a receipt form of April 1791; the same pages kept the forms of address for the President and Council at Fort St George, the Governor General and Council at Calcutta and John Harrison junior with the select committee of supercargoes at Canton. On 17 February 1804 J. W. Dawson swore to deliver the island's packets and to destroy any so marked rather than let an enemy take them, but only in the last extremity. [Film No. 8–9, 78–79, 116]

Instructions of 9 May 1797, signed by William Webber Doveton at St Helena "by order of the Court of Directors", placed a master attendant over the Company's boats, cranes and boatmen, to muster the crews daily, count everyone afloat, foil desertion, help moor arriving ships without taking command, serve boats in strict turn for watering and cargo unless the Governor ordered otherwise, check drunkenness among visiting seamen through their commanders, guard the boats against shipworm and make quarterly returns, for a fixed salary in place of fees. By 1802 every commander had to sign a bond to obey the printed port regulations, certified to R. Bazett as master attendant. On 29 April 1803 Henry Bazett, acting master attendant, took over the mustering of ships, done by a councillor such as William Wrangham in 1775 and

1776, and on 30 April 1803 he was told to let no ship water until her commander's bond was certified. [Film No. 67, 87, 89–92, 94]

On 11 November 1803 the Council dismissed Sergeant William Lloyd as garrison baker without stated reason and appointed Henry Hammond. Between 4 January and 6 February 1804 George Leech became superintendent of public sales, answering for auctions of ships' goods, prize cargoes and slaves, and Lieutenant C. Hodson drew £0 3s 0d a day as assistant engineer and as much again as overseer of the works. On 4 January 1804 the Council told William Ramsay, secretary to the Court, that the new writers Thomas Greentree and James Denty were seeking sureties in London through Greentree's bankers, Thomas and George Devaynes, and Mrs Catherine Jones. [Film No. 110, 112–113]

A letter of about April 1805, entered with its day blank between items of 8 and 20 April 1805 but referring to the steward Mr Lie's departure on 1 February and so perhaps drafted in January 1805, put the Governor's household under his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant James Hanson, at £50 0s 0d a year pending the Court's decision. Hanson was to check the Company's furniture, silver and table stores against the old inventories, take the new steward's receipts, arrange the table servants, check the accounts weekly and sign every receipt and draw on the stores, the paymaster settling monthly after the Council's examination. [Film No. 141–142]

On 10 May 1805 the secretary certified that George Vandeput Drury of the Bombay civil service had lived on the island more than six months. On 29 July 1805 Captain John Weir went home for ill health with three months' pay in advance, his petition for half pay referred to the Court, and on 20 September 1805 Major E. Smyth of the artillery was allowed to return to Europe on the surgeons' advice. [Film No. 147, 157, 160]

Military Affairs and Defence

Forms copied between 17 February and 12 June 1776 governed invalid soldiers' passage to Lord Clive's military fund for disabled soldiers and widows. The Governor certified each man's discharge, service and infirmities, with blanks for age, height, complexion and hair, the Council approved him for a pension, and an officer had to swear that neither he nor any trustee for him held real and personal estate worth £1,000 0s 0d. [Film No. 15–17]

A discharge of 1776, granted at a private's request, was addressed to all officers civil and military so that he could not be taken for a deserter, and on its back he receipted his subsistence, arrears and every sum due from the Company and his officers since enlisting; Francis Mears and Ralph Clavering were discharged at the end of their terms in 1775. [Film No. 24–25]

A note of about 1776 fixed re-enlistment bounties at £15 0s 0d for good men of 10 years' service; men paid £2 0s 0d the year before were owed £8 0s 0d more at the end of their five-year terms, and every good man re-enlisting after five years was in future to have £15 0s 0d. James Brown, Samuel Warren, William Hopkins and Joseph Jones had received only £2 0s 0d in 1775, having died before their new terms began, while William Greenwood had been paid £15 0s 0d in August 1775. In a receipt of about 1776 a captain took from Governor Skottowe and the Council a box containing a plan of the Lemon Valley battery, to deliver in London in person. [Film No. 28]

An undated militia order, copied between forms of June 1779 and 1780, called each militiaman to Ridge House or High Peak at four guns fired at an alarm post, to serve under the commanders of the east and west flying parties, and to drill on Francis Plain at 9 am on the second Tuesday of each month, with fines for absence or disobedience. France had entered the American war in 1778 and Spain in 1779. [Film No. 38]

The Court's instructions to Captain Henry Churchill of 15 January 1783 ordered a councillor and a sergeant to board every arriving Company ship, inspect her muster roll and land any soldiers who had deserted from India, under charter party penalties for an uncooperative commander, and had recruits from England mustered on landing by the Town Major before the ship's surgeon, to settle whether an invalid fell ill aboard, at the owners' cost, or before embarking. [Film No. 61, 67–68]

Standing orders signed by Brooke and Wright, placed between entries of 1783 and 1790, forbade commanders, under a personal penalty of £200 0s 0d, to take anyone off the island or leave anyone behind without the Council's order, to let a boat visitor stay hidden aboard or to sail after sunset, all to stop soldiers and black people escaping. Deserted seamen were not to be enlisted but confined until shipped home, and a closing clause gave the orders of the Secret Committee, the Court's inner body for war business, precedence over all else. [Film No. 71–72, 74]

An order of 15 June 1790 sent home on the *Pitt* two invalids of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment and four stranded seamen, the *Winterton*'s owners paying for their own man and the Company for the rest. A certificate of 25 February 1792 let a commander land eight soldiers discharged in India, who joined the garrison, and by June 1799 every commander had to send all such men straight to the main guard. [Film No. 76, 81, 85]

On 25 July 1803 the Council refused to let the owners of the Public Rooms, among them Edward Charles Smith and John Charles Dunn, sell the lease of the adjoining ground, claimed first refusal for the garrison's safety and ordered their veranda pulled down as an encroachment on the Grand Parade beside the Castle and the batteries over the landing place. [Film No. 96]

A circular entered after 4 November 1803 placed every ship in the road except King's ships under the commanding officer flying a broad pennant, who fixed her berth, and let none sail until he knew the Governor had given leave. On 7 December 1803 Captain R. Cumming of the *Earl Howe*, senior Company commander, was to hand the regulations to approaching ships before they anchored, on 6 March 1804 Henry Bazett was to give every arriving ship a copy, and on 1 April 1805 a new proclamation was added for foreign ships, whalers and private traders. On 25 July 1804 Thomas Graham of the *Windham*, senior commander and captain of the port, reported the extra ship *General Stuart* ready for sea, and the Council ordered a survey before accepting her commander's word. [Film No. 109–110, 119, 127–128, 130, 138]

On 27 February 1804 the Council agreed to pay Abijah Northey of the American brig *Augusta* 600 dollars on his return for carrying the Governor's aide-de-camp, Captain Hanson, to the Cape of Good Hope, then held by the Batavian Republic, and back, on an unrecorded errand. [Film No. 118]

On 2 May 1805 Governor Patton asked the commodore, Charles Drummond, for an officer and 10 men from each Company ship to work on the defences under Captain Benjamin Hodson, assistant engineer, and on 4 May 1805 for 12 men from each ship instead to unload the store ship *Warren Hastings*, because intelligence had put every soldier off guard onto the works. On 7 May 1805 Thomas Lushington of the *Canton* and the commanders of the *Winchelsea* and *Marquis of Ely* were told to send their parties or explain in writing, and on 6 June 1805 Patton asked for 10 men from each ship that afternoon and 20 the next morning for the store ships. [Film No. 143–145, 148]

On 29 March 1804 a cancelled letter let the *Charlton* hand men found at fault by a court of enquiry to the first King's ship she met. On 1 August 1804 the *Britannia* was to carry William Marr, left sick by HM ship *Sceptre*, to rejoin the navy in Indian waters, and on 30 November 1804 five deserters from the Bombay Marine who had come on the *Elphinstone* and *Essex* were put aboard the *Georgiana* under guard for India. On 11 January 1805 the Council sent Captain John Spratt Rainier of HM ship *Centurion* a complaint from James McIntosh of the extra ship *Union*, bound for India with stores, asking him to spare her men, probably from impressment, since no seamen or lascars could replace them. On 17 September 1805 John Smith, left sick by HM ship *Athenienne*, went home on the *Worcester* at no cost to the Company. [Film No. 120, 124, 134–137, 156]

War, Prizes and Prisoners

A model order copied beside a note of 19 May 1777 placed a Company commander under the convoy of Captain Digby Dent of HM ship *Arthur* and forbade him to part company. [Film No. 30–31]

A consultation aboard the *Blandford* on 27 July 1781, in latitude 30° 17' and longitude 20° 17' west of London, recorded that Peter Pigou of the *Blandford* and Edward Fiott and Bruce Boswell of the *Earl of Chesterfield* had parted on 3 July from Captain Wolseley's convoy, led by HM ship *Magnanime*, and that an

expected frigate never joined them. The schooner *Rebecca*, bound for Gorée, had inspected strange sails at Pigou's signal and, with the pennants Wolseley had ordered the *Blandford* and *Tartar* to fly, made the Indiamen look like King's cruisers to a Portuguese vessel. On 13 July a Portuguese vessel reported Admiral Guichen's 18 ships of the line and five frigates off Portugal, one officer having boarded her within sight of the Berlengas, and on 18 July a stranger making an unreadable private signal proved a French frigate of 26 guns, which showed French colours and held her course. Water was low, calms threatened the troops of His Majesty's 78th Regiment aboard both Indiamen, the rest of the fleet had probably put into Ireland, and Hyder Ali of Mysore had overrun much of the Carnatic. [Film No. 44–50]

The commanders resolved on 27 July 1781 to buy the *Rebecca*, a copper-sheathed 80-ton schooner with cedar upper works, a master and four seamen, for £1,300 0s 0d with her tackle and provisions, to wait for the slow ships at the first rendezvous, carry news to the second, run ahead to Madras with word of the reinforcements and serve in India as a dispatch or Bengal river pilot boat. Fiott had offered £1,100 0s 0d for her at Liverpool when war with the Dutch began in December 1780, when she carried 10 four-pounders; she now had four three-pounders with two carriages, half a barrel of powder, no shot, six blunderbusses and six cutlasses. Bills were drawn in the three commanders' joint names on the Governor General and Council at Fort William at 30 days' sight, the Honourable Thomas Maitland, George Mackenzie and Charles Halkett of the 78th signed their agreement, and the detachment commander aboard the *Blandford* took her only cargo, slop clothing worth about £80 0s 0d. [Film No. 50–55]

Commodore George Johnstone, whose squadron had been forestalled at the Cape by Suffren and had taken Dutch East Indiamen in Saldanha Bay in July 1781, wrote on 5 September 1781 asking for a court under the Company's royal charters to condemn the *Held Woltemade* and *Dankbaarheid*, taken near the Cape, and the *Paarl*, *Honkoop* and *Hoogkarspel*, homeward from China, lying in the harbour under the forts' guns. A commission of 7 September 1781, in the 21st year of George III, named Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille as the member learned in the civil law, with two island merchants, none to decide without him, to judge by equity and the law of nations, use the High Court of Admiralty's standing interrogatories, proceed summarily where needed and give written judgments with a short statement of facts. [Film No. 56–59]

The instructions of 15 January 1783 ended the wartime rule fixing a homeward ship's place in order by her boat's arrival at Banks's Battery and restored arrival in the Downs, five days before Britain signed preliminary articles with France and Spain on 20 January 1783. [Film No. 61, 67]

France declared war on 1 February 1793, and a certificate of 25 June 1793 recorded that the French *Heeby*, taken in Walvis Bay on 8 June by the English letter-of-marque ship *Brothers* and brought into the road on 24 June, appeared from sworn statements to be lawful prize, condemnation being left to an admiralty court. [Film No. 83]

War resumed in May 1803, and a form of 1803 told a commander ready to sail to await further orders. A letter of 22 September 1803 told William Nowel that his ship, the Dutch *Batavia*, would be sent to England and asked for any sealed packets addressed to her consignee, and on 23 September her papers were sealed and handed to Thomas Carter, then in charge of her, with Nowel as witness; the part of Captain Meadows, to whom the Governor gave orders about her, is unclear. [Film No. 98–101, 167–168]

On 3 January 1804 the secretary sent Thomas and John Mather of London copies of letters on securing their property aboard two prize ships at the island, the survey of the *Ganges*'s hold being unfinished. On 4 January 1804 extracts of minutes of 15 December 1803 and 2 January 1804 went through Ramsay to the owners of the South Sea whaler *Scorpion*, and correspondence with the masters of the whalers *Duke of Portland*, *Inspector* and *Diana* went to their owner, Mr Bennet of Blackheath. [Film No. 111–112]

On 12 August 1804 the Council detained the American brig *Richmond* for an English court, sent her master, James Bartlett, home on the whaler *Vulture* and his mate on the *Lively*, and gave command to George Chamberlain of the *Ceylon*, with Francis Charles Annesley of the *Windham* and Fowler R. Bean of the *Calcutta* as mates, not to part from HM ship *Courageux*, Captain Charles Boyles, before a British port; a cancelled letter spread her American crew among the Company's ships. The same day Captain Rouget, a French

prisoner on the *Windham*, and his wife were allowed to exchange with as many prisoners on the *General Stuart* at no extra cost to the Company. On 20 April 1805 all help from the Company's ships to the Portuguese *Don Jose Premiere* was stopped without stated reason. [Film No. 125–128, 130–131, 143]

Judiciary
The sheriff's undated oath, copied among forms of 1760 to 1776, bound Harper to return the King's writs and empanel able jurors of sufficient standing, unsuspected and not chosen by any party, and each constable swore to serve the King until the next Easter Monday or lawful discharge; Hugh Jones was chosen constable in April 1775 and replaced by Richard Harper in November 1775 when Jones was gaoled. [Film No. 19–20]

The Governor and Council appointed the judge advocate to all courts martial during their pleasure, by a form dated in the regnal year; John Congreve, also schoolmaster, held the post in 1775, and a form of 1776 named a deputy while Mr J C was ill. A cancelled order of 1776 called a general court martial for 8 am on Monday the 3rd, and a warrant of 18 February 1791 named Captain William Pierce president of one for 8 am on "Wednesday 20 February 1791", a Sunday. [Film No. 26–27, 29, 77]

A form of letters of administration of June 1779, in the 19th year of George III, let the Council, in place of a church court, grant an intestate planter's widow power to sue for debts owed to the estate, pay its debts and deliver an appraised inventory, she and a surety binding themselves in £1,000 0s 0d, as for the Bagley estates in 1775. On 4 February 1793 the Council, in place of a court of chancery, approved a minor's choice of guardian for his property. On 20 August 1803 it told Thomas Henry Brooke and John Charles Dunn, executors of Major Andrew Den Taaffe, listed as a captain in December 1802, to pay the Company £114 1s 0d before any other creditor, as island law required; the index gives £44 1s 0d. [Film No. 36–37, 82, 88, 97, 167]

A cattle warrant of 10 November 1794 required inspectors to report to the bench of justices on every court day, a form of 1802 left licence penalties to the acting magistrate and a clause of 10 October 1803 had the publican in charge registered by the officer of police. [Film No. 84, 86, 107]

On 21 September 1803 a court of enquiry found John Meredith, surgeon of the extra ship *Tottenham*, guilty of assaulting his commanding officer on deck, and the Council suspended him until the Court ruled; on 22 September Captain G. Richardson of the *United Kingdom* was asked to release his surgeon's mate, Mr Robertson, who was appointed acting surgeon of the *Tottenham* for the voyage home on 23 September. [Film No. 98, 100–101, 166–168]

On 16 February 1804 Captain Henry Leigh of the *Georgiana*, senior commander, was told to hold a court of enquiry into an enclosed complaint, and on 31 October 1804 he presided, with Captain Greenway, the chief officer of the *Maria* and two officers of the *Georgiana*, over complaints by the chief officer and surgeon of the *Princess Mary* against Captain Grieve, reporting an opinion to the Council. On 8 January 1805 Captain Charles Jones of the *David Scott* and his second officer, Charles Baynes, were called on cross-complaints before a court on the *Earl Spencer*, which moved to the island's court house. The index listed oaths for chief mates given command and for second mates. [Film No. 117, 132, 135–136, 166–168]

On 31 August 1805 Captain T. G. Murray of the *Lady Castlereagh* charged his chief officer, J. W. Young, who made counter-charges, and on 2 September a court of two commanders and three chief officers was called. On 6 September the Council chose to hear Young's charges itself the next morning, summoning Murray to Government House and Young to the court house, while a court at the Castle under Searle Wood of the *Worcester*, with Leigh, James Dalrymple of the *Tottenham* and three chief officers, was to try Murray's charges, with a substitute for Joseph Young of the *Admiral Gardner* if called as a witness. On 14 September 1805 J. W. Young received command of the *Lord Eldon* for England, whose late commander the authority calls Captain Jasper [...] although a letter of 8 September 1805 addressed Thomas Jenkins. [Film No. 150–156, 163]

On 10 September 1804 the Council sent Major Hill and Captain Henry Sturrock of the *Preston* its resolution on a passenger's use of the cuddy, the commander's dining cabin, with Captain Edmeads's opinion on the

custom. On 28 May 1805 James Louden, a carpenter's mate, was summoned for sentence for open defiance of authority the day before, and the Council answered a petition of 20 May 1805 from E. C. Smith, Francis Seale, George Alexander and others on an unrecorded subject. [Film No. 129–130, 146–147]

Land, Agriculture and Public Works
A warrant of January 1779 empowered Gabriel Alexander Harper, who had quarrelled with Lieutenant Stewart over the Red Hill watering place in January 1776, to have every inhabitant's sheep and goats, tame or on the Company's waste, penned on a named day and to report the numbers to the Council. On 3 November 1781 Timothy Stiles, nominated in the vestry on 16 April 1781, was warranted inspector of sheep for the East Division, to count the flocks each December, report at the Council's first January meeting and report anyone using more than one mark; struck-out lines had tied the duty to a grand jury resolution of 12 January 1780 and a report to the quarterly court. [Film No. 19, 35, 43]

A warrant of 10 November 1794, signed by Brooke, Robson and Wright, empowered an inspector of black cattle for the West Division, nominated in the vestry in April, to examine every herd until 1 September 1795, extract the worms, probably warble-fly grubs, at a fee per worm with owners' skilled servants assisting, and check that no owner kept more than one mark. [Film No. 84]

On 4 November 1803 Benjamin Mason senior, Henry Porteous and John Legg senior were asked to assess how many sheep each common in the East and West Districts could carry all year, and a form entered after 16 February 1804 had vestry-nominated inspectors pen and count each owner's sheep and goats, report at the Council's first April meeting and detect multiple marks. In about September or October 1804 W. Seale junior was offered a post as joint permanent inspector of sheep, goats and fences with Thomas Alesworth at £25 0s 0d a year plus fees, but instructions of about November 1804 named Charles Scott. Sheep were counted in February and March and goats in November and December after written notice, lambs and kids excluded; concealment went to the acting magistrate with a fine of up to £2 0s 0d for a first offence, or physical punishment for a slave unable to pay; each animal above the register limit cost £0 1s 0d, with £0 0s 1d per animal impounded, and inspectors reported faulty fences and spreading blackberry at every court sitting. [Film No. 109, 117–118, 131, 133–134]

Island leases ran for the lives of named nominees, and a form of 1783 let a leaseholder endorse a new name for a dead nominee under the Company's seal; a form after a letter of 25 May 1792 gave executors the same right on the usual fine of half a year's rent per name, the rate set in 1775 when William Wrangham replaced the dead Alcocks with his children. On 17 October 1803 a cancelled letter, answering a request by agents for Major James Cocks to sell his James Valley lease, limited the frontage to 60 feet, kept a 14-foot passage to the barracks and upper parade open and bound the buyer to maintain a stone-lined water channel, and in about January 1804 Lieutenants B. and C. Hodson were granted their petition provided the buyer was approved. On 3 December 1804 Lieutenant Robert Statham was refused ground before his house because the street was very narrow, and on 1 April 1805 Thomas Bagley's request to sell his share of the Deadwood lease to John Legg junior was held over. A lease register bound after papers of 1819 holds one renewal petition of 7 May from Benjamin Mason senior and an empty section for lost or mislaid leases. [Film No. 60, 80, 107–108, 113–114, 138–139, 160, 174]

A highways warrant dated 3 November, its year unfinished, between entries of 1783 and 1790, with initials D C and W W, probably Daniel Corneille, Governor from 1782 to 1787, and Wrangham, made each slave on the overseer's list work six days of 12 hours on paths, highways, stiles, bridges and gates, some days reserved for drains; an owner who withheld his slaves or sent poor tools repaid double the cost of a hired substitute, black or white, recoverable by seizure and auction of his goods. An overseer's oath sits among documents of 1791. [Film No. 69–70, 77]

A certificate of 25 February 1792 recorded that a commander had left a ship's joiner to help finish the new Plantation House, completed that year. [Film No. 81]

Supply and Provisioning
Orders of 12 April 1775 sent Captain Francis Fortescue of the *Osterley* to the Cape of Good Hope to buy 1,244 bushels of wheat and 375 hundredweight of flour for Fort Marlborough and 100 bushels and 30

hundredweight for Balambangan, paying by bills on the Company and staying no longer than needed. [Film No. 8–9]

Duplicate certificates, one void once the other was paid, proved supplies landed for the Company's use: 1,598 cwt 2 qr 3 lb of wheat meal from the *Northumberland* and *Earl of Middlesex* under John Hassell in 1770, black cattle, sheep and other supplies on 17 February 1776 and stores from the *Titus* and *Ptolemy* in 1780. On 19 July 1777 the *Alfred* under James Williamson landed 338 casks of beef and pork and the *Bridgewater* under William Parker 468, with flour and military stores, against a reserve of about 750 casks in September 1775. [Film No. 13–14, 32–33, 41–42]

Market-house rules of about 1777 gave the first beast slaughtered on any day to the market, the next to the ships and live beasts sold to ships last, with the slaughter list seen only by the Governor and Council, who had begun in December 1775 to fix how many beasts each planter would kill. [Film No. 32]

The instructions of 15 January 1783 admitted that the Court could barely send enough salt provisions and told commanders to stock up in India, expect none at St Helena, offer any surplus to the Council and bring their own fuel, since the Council had banned its export; the island had sold salt meat and coal to ships in 1775, and felling and goats had stripped its native woodland. [Film No. 61, 65–66]

The same instructions placed anchors, cables, canvas and topmasts at St Helena for ships in proven need at 30 per cent above invoice, because commanders had pleaded worn tackle to put into Falmouth, Plymouth and Irish ports and land private goods, and ordered commanders who had refused the island goods from homeward cargoes, citing their customs bond, to supply them against receipts. In March 1804 a form told each commander that the Court had sent cordage and that he must state in writing the cables he needed to reach his destination without calling elsewhere; on 4 May 1804 Captain Henry Leigh of the *Georgiana* drew two coils of 4½-inch rope, and a list of 1805 named 31 ships that received the cordage letter. On 4 April 1805 Drummond was to collect each commander's needs for tar, supplied with the Governor's approval from the American schooner *Favourite*. [Film No. 61–63, 66, 119, 122, 139–140, 163, 180]

Standing orders placed between 1783 and 1790 made commanders hand the storekeeper leftover troop stores, including lemon juice and essence of malt, and give the secretary, G. Dowson, two days before sailing a signed account of water and provisions to go to England with the ship. [Film No. 73–74]

A market list of December 1802 ranked those served first when fresh food was scarce, from the Governor and Council to the ensigns, with widows placed by their husbands' rank, its group boundaries unclear in the manuscript. On 15 August 1804 Mr Tout, clerk of the market, was told to kill one beast a week for the tables of the Governor and councillors, any surplus going in turn round nine officials from Mr Leech, Gabriel Doveton having three cattle ready. [Film No. 88, 129]

On 30 January 1804 the storekeeper, Gabriel Doveton, was told to halve families' monthly flour, issuing rice instead, until the next store ship's cargo was known, and on 6 February 1804 Company servants and inhabitants were to buy newly arrived American flour while the English flour was kept for the garrison at 6 lb a week a man, officers and Company servants included. A cancelled letter of 11 June 1804 asked Nathaniel Dance of the *Earl Camden*, senior commander, for each ship's needs from the stores, and a letter of about June 1804 told Doveton to keep the staves of all emptied casks for making shingles, issued only on the Governor's signed order. On 11 July 1804 William Chamberlain, steward of the stores, Thomas Bushnell, master cooper, and a ship's steward were to survey on oath provisions Leigh had bought and thought damaged. [Film No. 114–115, 121, 123]

On 2 July 1804 the head surgeon, David Kay senior, was sent hospital regulations to hang on a board in the assistant's room beside a book for official visitors to sign and date. On 8 April 1805 the hospital steward, Henry Bazett, was told to pay £0 0s 8d a pound for fresh meat approved by the surgeons, and the daily charge for sick seamen and King's invalids rose to £0 3s [...]d; on 27 May 1805, after Kay's letter of 24 May, the Council sent both the resolution on patients' meat and bought a boat to fish for the hospital. On 26 July 1805 De Fountain sent John Goodwin and George Leech paragraph 41 of the Court's general letter of 9 April 1805, which complained that no quarterly hospital accounts had come since 31 March 1801 except

for the quarter ending 30 September 1804, with part of the intended reply, and Bazett was ordered to render them regularly. A reference note records that the surgeon was first allowed £8 0s 0d a year for supplying fresh meat on 16 October of an illegible eighteenth-century year. [Film No. 122, 140, 146–147, 149–150, 179]

Trade and Shipping

Clauses of the *Triton*'s charter party, copied in about April 1775 during a dispute with Captain Fortescue over whether his crew must land the Company's goods, required a full complement of a master, 99 men and a boy, let the Governor of St Helena make up a crew thinned by deaths at the owners' cost and made owners liable for wet, spoiled or undelivered goods, payable in India on demand or in London even if the ship was lost, where a package's state showed the ship at fault. [Film No. 9–12]

A model order of about 1776, also sent to Captain Thomas Timbrell of the *Hampshire* in June 1775, dispatched a commander to Canton once the 10 working days allowed for landing stores had passed, with a variant for ships not bound for China. A form of about 1780 required the Council's order before a commander could carry any passenger to India. On 21 May 1781 George Allen, first mate of the *True Briton* in 1775, swore to obey the instructions of the late Captain Timbrell until the Company or its agents ordered otherwise. [Film No. 25–26, 41–42]

The instructions of 15 January 1783 required the commander or purser to watch treasure chests opened and checked against the invoice, keeping his own lock on any not opened at once, and warned that selling goods out of the ship before England exposed the owners to suit on their Custom House bond of £12,475 0s 0d against breaking bulk and that smuggled goods were forfeit, their value recoverable on anyone's information, with several prosecutions already brought. Officers' private trade had to be registered in China where loaded, not at St Helena, within a printed allowance, and remittance certificates were to be issued to each officer separately on oath that the money was not borrowed, payable half at 90 days and half at 365 days, joint certificates in a captain's name having hidden excess remittances. [Film No. 61–65]

Standing orders placed between 1783 and 1790 required officers' goods to be sold at public auction in moderate lots after a catalogue was posted, landed only from 6 am to noon and 2 pm to 6 pm, Sundays excepted, and recorded by H. Brooke, the register master, with spirits offered first to the storekeeper; commanders were to send their bills of lading to the Court from the first British port and give two days' notice before sailing, officers ashore were to wear uniform and every councillor was to receive a passenger list. [Film No. 71–74]

On 9 April 1790 the Council sent Captain Josiah Pryce of the *Royal Charlotte* with seven chests holding £10,000 0s 0d to Fort Marlborough, by then a deputy governorship under Bengal whose Sumatran pepper growers would not take bills, and on 18 March 1803 Patton sent John Sam Timmins of the *Royal George* on to the same settlement. [Film No. 75, 93]

A form of 1802 let a commander add omitted goods, such as two boxes of Madeira for John Hodges of London, to his Indian manifest on oath before the Governor, and in 1802 Thomas Wezell, purser of the *Walpole*, swore that seven bags of pepper on his manifest were never loaded and was allowed to fill the space with tea. In 1803 Captain Alexander Cumming of the *Castle Eden* was ordered to land two half chests of wine for Lord Clive, Edward Clive, returning from Madras, struck off the manifest. On 8 September 1805 Captain Thomas Jenkins of the *Lord Eldon* was to send ashore the bill of lading or a signed summary of the Company's cargo with a passenger list, and in September 1805 James Normand of the *Skelton Castle* was ordered, in wording reissued in the Council's name instead of the acting secretary's, to land 12 boxes of Twankay and four of Congou tea for the garrison and people. [Film No. 87, 89, 111, 153, 157]

On 22 July 1803 Brooke returned to London a charter-party counterpart sent from Bengal in error by the *Mangles*, and a certificate of 25 July 1803 made William Gahagan, agent for Hugh Meehan, surrender bills for part freight forfeited under the charter party. [Film No. 95, 97]

Finance and Accounting

A receipt of 14 April 1760 to Governor Hutchinson and the Council settled an invalid soldier's £5 0s 0d fare, the invalid promising on a form of the same date to claim no wages for helping work the ship. The *Triton*'s charter party of about April 1775 valued money advanced to a ship abroad at the covenanted servants' exchange with £40 0s 0d added on every £100 0s 0d and set fares of £6 5s 0d from England to St Helena and £5 0s 0d for the return. A certificate of March 1779 recorded a commander's and chief mate's payments into the treasury for bills on the Court at 90 days' sight, with a ceiling on what that ship's officers could pay in during the year, whereas in 1775 the Council had taken £1,000 0s 0d each from Fortescue and Timbrell. [Film No. 12–13, 34]

Spirit bought from ships was paid for by duplicate certificates: arrack at £0 2s 6d and rum at £0 4s 0d a gallon on 7 July 1792, signed by Brooke, Robson and Wrangham, and 204 gallons of arrack from Captain Charles Christie of the *Belvedere* at £0 2s 9d on 6 September 1795. In 1795 William Dunn, purser of the *Fort William*, was offered £0 3s 3d a gallon, casks included, for 100 puncheons of sound full-proof rum by the store ships, the price falling in proportion below proof, the Company bearing landing and sharing the cost of rolling casks to its warehouses. Spirits landed for private use under the standing orders paid £0 2s 6d a gallon duty, against £0 0s 3d in 1775, and the Company resold arrack to the publicans in 1803 at £0 5s 6d a gallon. [Film No. 74, 81–82, 85, 104, 179, 181]

On 11 July 1803 the storekeeper, Gabriel Doveton, was ordered to return his cash every Monday by kind of coin, with dollars, rupees, pagodas and English money in circulation, and to pay his receipts in monthly instead of quarterly as in 1775. On 20 July 1803 Brooke told Ramsay that he had received £26 18s 0d of fees on officers' commissions and covenants, with £5 11s 6d to come, all in Porto Novo pagodas due to fall on 1 August 1803 from £0 8s 0d to £0 7s 6d, £0 1s 3d in the pound, and paid them in at once; the Council then remitted the fees by bills on London, the first sent on 29 July 1803. [Film No. 94–97, 167]

On 4 February 1804 Captain George L. Philips of the extra ship *Herculean* was told that his requested advance exceeded the Company's instructions, and the same day asked for £400 0s 0d at the usual exchange for ships of his class. On 2 September 1805, on complaints from the town major, Captain C. R. Gibson, and the quartermaster, Lieutenant Kitton, the acting storekeeper, Goodwin, was told to charge the garrison no more than £0 6s 0d a pair for shoes. [Film No. 115–116, 152–153]

A letter of about October 1805, entered after items of 2 October 1805, set pay ordered by the Court on 9 April 1805: the paymaster, Robert Leech, £60 0s 0d a year from spirit profits from the day he left the Council, Lieutenant Colonels Greentree and Smith £40 0s 0d a year each towards rent until quartered, Lieutenant Colonel Lane from his arrival on the *Admiral Gardner*, Lieutenant Colonel Cocks the lieutenant governor's allowance until Lane returned, Mr Mead as permanent assistant surgeon £0 10s 0d a day with £0 2s 6d for food, and Major Pirie £0 7s 6d a day and £100 0s 0d a year from arrack profits from 26 December 1804. [Film No. 161]

Religion, Education and Social Order

An undated marriage licence form, copied among forms of 1760 to 1776, let the Governor authorise the chaplain, the Reverend Robartes Carr, to marry a couple if no lawful impediment appeared; the 1805 index listed marriage licences. John Congreve's office of schoolmaster is the only trace of education. [Film No. 21, 26, 170–171]

A warrant sealed on 28 October 1773 appointed Thomas Bazett and William Young churchwardens, with rules to keep the fittings of the Jamestown and country churches, account for gifts and legacies, repair the buildings, raise parish assessments, fix the sexton's salary and keep order at service, and to report drunkards and men keeping company with prostitutes at once but to warn swearers and Sabbath breakers before charging them at the quarterly court. Its struck-out wording had the Easter Monday meeting nominate four men for churchwarden and others for highways overseer for the Council to choose; the final text had the meeting elect a committee to nominate public and parish officers. Jonathan Doveton and Thomas Bazett were sworn churchwardens in May 1775, and the 1805 index listed churchwardens' warrants and oaths. [Film No. 18, 21–24, 165–166]

Between 4 January and 6 February 1804 the acting chief engineer, Major E. C. Smith, was told to survey the chaplain's house, and on 6 February 1804 the Reverend Doctor Wilkinson was told that the sub-secretary would list the books and other Company property in it. [Film No. 113–114]

A reference note lists orders on tailors' bills of 13 July 1767, fewer punch houses in June 1767 and the sale of spirits of 14 January 1789. Under a notice of 1 June 1769 the Governor and Lieutenant Governor fixed the society's monthly arrack price from an average. On 19 May 1777 Mrs Price was allowed to sell her wine and beer at her house to inhabitants and ships' officers but not to non-commissioned officers, soldiers, black people or common people who might pass it on. [Film No. 14–15, 30, 181]

The instructions of 15 January 1783 threatened dismissal for any commander carrying Indian servants to England without security for their keep and return. On 2 October 1805 Mrs Mackay was allowed to sail for England on the *Tottenham* with her three children and two Indian servants. [Film No. 61, 68, 159]

A licence form of 1802 let named women board ships in the road only to collect washing, each with a surety for her honesty and the clothes entrusted to her; Lieutenant J. McKay stood surety for four of the six listed and Sergeant William Lloyd for Jane Lloyd, probably his wife. [Film No. 86]

A licence of 12 January 1803, signed by Patton and William Webber Doveton, gave six partners, among them John Torbett and Thomas Yates, a joint monopoly of four punch houses until the next 1 January, two for the garrison and white inhabitants and one between the Lines and the Sea Gate for seamen, for £600 0s 0d a quarter in weekly instalments, more in a year than all the land rents of 1775, all spirits to be bought from the Company for ready money. Houses opened from 8 am to 8 pm on weekdays and from 5 pm on Sundays and shut whenever three or more guns gave the alarm; every 4-pint bowl of punch held 1 pint of pure spirit, neat drams were banned and arrack and other cheap spirits sold at £0 1s 6d a pint. Publicans could not allow gambling or fighting, give soldiers credit, take clothes or rations in pawn, serve the drunk or let drink leave the house, and any partner could report fraud by a letter to the Governor, to be destroyed before all partners were questioned. A breach barred a partner from any future licence and was punishable at law as contempt. After a barkeeper's illegal sales forfeited the licence, the Council restored it on 10 October 1803, each partner in turn running all four houses for a month and alone bearing any forfeiture in it; the 1805 index listed publicans' licences. [Film No. 102–107, 170–171]

In September and October 1805 every passage from the island needed the Council's written leave at no cost to the Company: Aaron Davis and his servant Henry Mash, landed from the whaler *Britannia*, went home on the *Worcester* and Henry Maclaghlan, quartermaster of the 84th Regiment, on the private ship *Policy* on 24 September 1805, and Mr Holman on the *Tottenham* on 2 October 1805. The index listed licences for persons allowed aboard ships within 48 hours. On 25 October 1819 Governor Lowe let John Herrington stay as Richard Scott's farm labourer while sober and honest, unable to change work without written consent, obliged to serve in the volunteers or militia and liable to removal on the first ship for disobedience on duty. [Film No. 158–159, 165, 170–171]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

A model order of about 1779 or 1780 required a planter to send his male slaves, with food for 24 hours, to named posts, Rupert's, Munden's Point and M Fort, when four guns fired, keeping back one able servant for the James Valley lines at a general alarm of six guns. Britannicus Alexander Wright signed a filled-in copy for John Nokes, whose slave Thomas Stiles was to go to the lines at six guns; the record does not connect him with Timothy Stiles. [Film No. 39–40, 43]

In July 1781 the *Rebecca*'s owner had meant to sell her on the Guinea coast and work in the commission trade there, her destination being Gorée, a West African slaving station Britain had taken from France in 1779. [Film No. 44, 50]

On 25 May 1792 the chaplain, the Reverend John Wilson, was told that Governor Brooke had consented for the Company to the marriage of its slaves Rippon and Elizabeth, and asked to report the ceremony. [Film No. 80]

The punch-house licence of 12 January 1803 set one house aside for black inhabitants, forbade dealing with or sheltering black people or servants and let a slave buy one noggin of mixed spirit a day on his owner's note, to be drunk at the bar, while free black people faced only the rules for all inhabitants; the washerwomen's licence of 1802 admitted Hannah, recorded as free, on Thomas Yates's surety. On 3 October 1803 the auctioneer, Mr Harrison, was told to send that day a signed account of every slave sold at auction since 1 May, and a certificate of about October 1804 declared that Louis de Souza, servant of George H. Van Deurs, had deserted at St Helena despite his master's efforts. [Film No. 86, 102–103, 105, 108, 132]

Personalities
Elizabeth Caldwell, widow of Lieutenant William Caldwell, sought a military-fund pension in July 1775 and on 12 June 1776 swore that he left estate worth less than £2,000 0s 0d, written over a struck-out "one hundred pounds". [Film No. 29]

Peter Pigou in July 1781 preferred formal consultation to acting alone, and the *Rebecca*'s owner, named both Thomas Tisdell and Thomas Nesbitt, agreed to be sent home from India by force if required and waived any action for it. [Film No. 44–53]

William Wrangham figured widely in the paymaster's accounts of 1775 and sat on the Council under three governors. Thomas Henry Brooke published a history of the island in 1808. [Film No. 67, 82, 86, 97]

The market list of December 1802 named Dovetons, Bazetts, Desfountains, Greentrees, Knipes and Seales, families recorded in 1775. [Film No. 76, 85, 88–89, 93–94]

On 15 August 1803 the Council thanked Captain Musgrave of the extra ship *Atlas*, whose crew had helped a boat in distress in the road, sent his crew a bullock and grog and promised to report him to the Court. [Film No. 106]

By 11 June 1804 Nathaniel Dance had brought the homeward China fleet to St Helena after driving off Admiral Linois's squadron at Pulo Aura in February 1804 by bluffing that his Indiamen were warships, for which he was knighted. Stray leaves bound with papers of 1805 to 1819 carry the signatures of William Wright, Joseph Alesworth and Charles Blake and the pencilled names of John Longlands, second officer, and George Rae Champion, third officer. [Film No. 121, 164, 173, 175–176]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena§ §Document Name and Date: SECRETARY'S PRECEDENT BOOK 1775-1819§ §Photographer: PETER§ §Date photographed: 7 APRIL 2022§ §Additional comments:§	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
5		Blank page	
6		Blank page	
7		Blank page	
8	1	[Left-hand edge of the page damaged and repaired along its full length.] he Arrives at, if not to carry it to Copenhagen§ §& to forward it from thence by the Post§ §We are &c.§ §St. Helena§ §following are the Instructions§ §We gave Capt. Francis Fortescue§ §To Capt. Francis Fortescue Commander§ §of Ship Osterley§ §We have it in Command from the Honble.§ §the Court of Directors to Order you on your leaving this§ §Island to call at the Cape of Good Hope and to§ §purchase there on the Honble. Company Account§ §for the Use of the Presidency of Fort§	The first page starts midway through a longer letter with an instruction about a packet: if the ship carrying it did not reach the port it was meant for, its commander was to take it on to Copenhagen and send it on from there by the post. The letter was dated at St Helena. **Start of crossed out section** The **End of crossed out section** The following were the instructions the Council gave to Captain Francis Fortescue. **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** The Council wrote to Captain Francis Fortescue, commander of the *Osterley*. It had orders from the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§Marlbro and the Island of Balambangan§ §the undermentioned Quantity of Wheat and§ §Flour§ §For Fort Marlbro twelve hundred§ §and forty four Bushells of Wheat and three§ §hundred and Seventy five hundred Weight§ §of Flour§	Court of Directors to send him, on leaving the island, to the Cape of Good Hope. There he was to buy, on the Company's account, a set quantity of wheat and flour for the presidency of Fort Marlborough and for the island of Balambangan. Fort Marlborough was to receive 1,244 bushels of wheat and 375 hundredweight of flour. **Interpretations** These were the same orders that the minutes recorded for 12 April 1775, here in a rough draft with words and a line struck out as the clerk shaped the wording. The minute book entered only the final text, while this draft shows the instruction still being drafted. The note about Copenhagen at the head of the page belonged to a letter sent by a foreign ship. A Danish vessel bound home might fail to reach her intended port. Her commander could then post the Council's packet onward from Copenhagen, so that letters reached London even when no English ship was available.
9	2	[Right-hand edge of the page damaged and repaired along its full length.] For Balambagan one hundred§ §Bushells of Wheat and thirty hundred§ §Weight of Flour§ §For the Value whereof you are§ §to pass your Bills upon the Honble. Company§ §on the most favourable terms you shall be able§ §to obtain.§ §And we further Order that you make§ §no longer stay at the Cape than is necessary to§ §execute the above Instructions§ §St. Helena§ §12 April 1775§ §Signed§ §J. S.§ §D. C.§ §M. B.§ §W. W.§ §Copy of two Clauses in the Charter Party of Ship§ §Triton Viz.§ §And to the intent that the Ship§ §may be better navigated & secured and that justice§ §may be done by the Master for the time being, to the§ §Seamen of or belonging to the said Ship & to the said§ §Company, it is agreed by the said part Owners§ §and Master that if any of the Seamen or others acting or§	The orders continued. Balambangan was to receive 100 bushels of wheat and 30 hundredweight of flour. Fortescue was to pay for all of it by drawing bills on the Company on the best terms he could obtain. He was also ordered to stay at the Cape no longer than he needed to carry out these instructions. The orders were signed at St Helena on 12 April 1775 with the initials of Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett and William Wrangham. There followed a copy of two clauses from the charter party of the ship *Triton*. The first clause stated its purpose: to see that the ship was well sailed and kept safe, and that the master for the time being dealt fairly both with the seamen aboard her and with the Company. To that end the part owners and the master agreed that if any of the seamen, or others serving in or belonging to the ship, [continues]. **Interpretations** The clerk copied these charter party clauses into the draft book as working material for a dispute. The Council had argued with Captain Fortescue of the *Osterley* in April 1775 over whether the charter party bound the ship's crew to land the Company's goods. A standard clause from another ship's contract, here the *Triton*'s, gave the Council the exact wording the Company used in all its charters. It could then show what the owners had agreed to on the matter of seamen's duties and the master's authority over them.
10	3	such in the said Ship, shall happen to Die before§ §the Arrival at, or during her stay in or before her§ §setting sail from the East Indies or elsewhere within the§ §limits aforesaid or from St. Helena for England that then§ §and in such case the whole Number agreed to be carried§ §out in her from England shall if procurable be supplied§ §by the Master for the time being at the place where she§ §shall take in her Lading or elsewhere or in Default§ §thereof the said Company's President Agent or Chief or§ §the Governor of St. Helena shall and may Sent on board§ §such number of Seamen or other Persons as shall com-§ §pleat the said Number to be brought to§ §England at the Charge of the Owners & the Company§ §shall not be obliged to pay for any such Persons§ §Passage or Diet. Provided always & it is hereby§ §expressly agreed that all Dammages to be made Good or§ §paid by the said Part Owners or Master in respect§	The clause continued. If any of these men died before the ship reached the East Indies, or during her stay there, or before she sailed from there or from St Helena for England, the full number of men she was bound to carry out from England had to be made up. The master for the time being was to find replacements, where he could, at the port where she took on her cargo or elsewhere. If he failed to do so, the Company's president, agent or chief, or the Governor of St Helena, could put aboard enough seamen or other men to complete the number. These men were to be brought to England at the owners' expense, and the Company would not have to pay for their passage or their food. The second clause provided that any damages the part owners or master owed for goods spoiled by wet or damage, or lost or not delivered under the contract, once settled in the way the charter party laid down, were to be paid in India, if so demanded, to the Company's president [continues]. **Interpretations** The first clause gave the Governor of St Helena a direct power over the crews of the Company's chartered ships. A ship whose crew had been thinned by death could be made to take on men at the island, and her owners bore the cost of carrying and feeding

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§of Wet or Damaged Goods lost or undelivered pursuant§ §to these Presents if the same shall be adjusted in§ §Manner herein before prescribed & shall be paid§ §and made Good by the said part Owners or Master in§ §India if Demanded, to the said Company's Presidents§	them home. The power let the Council send discharged soldiers, invalids and stranded seamen to England without spending the Company's money. It also explains why each muster on the island counted the crew so closely, since the count showed whether a ship had her full complement or could be made to carry more. The second clause set the place of payment for damaged or missing cargo. The Company did not have to wait for the ship to reach London to recover its losses. It could demand payment at the Indian port where the shortfall was found. That gave force to the island's own accounts of stores short delivered, which recorded every loss and its cause so that the owners could be charged for any fault that lay aboard.
11	4	or Factors at the said Ships consigned port before§ §her Departure from hence or otherwise shall§ §be paid by the said part Owners to the said§ §United Company in London upon Demand§ §upon their produceing to the said part Owners§ §a true Account of the Adjustment in India§ §of such Loss or Dammage although the said§ §Ship shall or may happen to be Lost before§ §her at, or shall not arrive in Safety to the§ §Port of London. But nevertheless the said§ §part Owners shall not be Charged with§ §any sum of money in respect of Goods§ §Damaged on board the said Ship either in§ §her or outward or homeward bound Voyage§ §but such as shall by the condition and§ §appearance of the Packages thereof appear§ §to be Ship Damage any thing herein con-§ §tained to the contrary thereof in any wise§ §notwithstanding.§ §Clause in the Charter Party about the§ §advance of Money &ca.§	The clause went on to say that the damages were to be paid to the Company's president or factors at the ship's port of delivery before she left. Failing that, the part owners were to pay them to the United Company in London on demand, once the Company showed them a true account of how the loss or damage had been settled in India. This held even if the ship was later lost or failed to reach the port of London safely. The part owners, however, could not be charged for any goods damaged aboard on either the outward or the homeward voyage unless the state and appearance of the packages showed the damage to have been caused by the ship. That limit applied whatever else the charter party said. A further clause in the charter party dealt with the advance of money [continues]. **Interpretations** The last part of the clause drew the line between the owners' liability and the Company's own risk. Owners paid only for damage that the outside of a package showed to be the ship's fault, such as wet from a leaking deck or crushing in a badly stowed hold. Damage found inside a package that arrived sound was put down to poor packing at the port of loading. That was why every account of short deliveries on St Helena recorded whether the packages had arrived intact. Broken china from Canton in sound chests, like the *Lord North*'s, fell on the Company. Spoiled goods in damaged packages could be charged to the owners. The clause also secured the Company's claim even if the ship was lost on the way home. A settlement made in India stood as a debt in London, so the owners could not escape it because the vessel and her papers went down at sea.
12	5	Provided further and it is agreed that§ §on all Sums of Money which shall be advanced§ §by the said Companys Agents or Servants abroad§ §for the Ships Use during her Voyage the Same§ §shall be Valued only at the the Current§ §Exchange allowed the Companys Covenanted§ §Servants together with an advance of £ 40§ §per every one hundred pounds thereon.§ §Passengers from England to St. Helena§ §pay £ 6 .. 5 each & from St. Helena to England§ §£ 5 each. A Ships Complement consists§ §of a Master 99 Men and a Boy§ §Island St. Helena 14 April 1760§ §Instrument§ §We the underwritten A B &§ §C D Invalids who are going Passengers upon§ §the Ship Do hereby promise that we will§ §not demand any wages from the Owners§ §or Captain of the said Ship upon any Account§ §whatsoever for our Voyage to England§	The clause on advances of money provided that any sums the Company's agents or servants overseas advanced to the ship during her voyage would be valued only at the current rate of exchange allowed to the Company's covenanted servants. An advance of £40 0s 0d on every £100 0s 0d was to be added to that value. A note followed on fares and crews. Passengers paid £6 5s 0d each from England to St Helena and £5 0s 0d each from St Helena to England. A ship's full complement was a master, 99 men and a boy. A form of undertaking for invalid passengers was then copied, headed Island of St Helena, 14 April 1760. Under it, the invalid soldiers sailing as passengers, named in the form only by the placeholders A B and C D, promised not to claim any wages from the owners or the captain of the ship, on any account whatever, for their voyage to England. **Interpretations** The advance of 40 per cent on money lent to a ship abroad made such loans expensive for her owners. An agent who paid a commander's port charges or bought him supplies in India was repaid in London with a large premium on top of the exchange. The rule discouraged commanders from drawing on the

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			Company's funds during the voyage, while compensating the Company for the risk and delay of recovering the money on the other side of the world. The invalids' undertaking closed a loophole in the clause on crew numbers. An invalid soldier put aboard to make up a ship's complement might later claim seaman's wages for the passage, arguing that he had helped to work her. Signing the form before sailing showed he travelled as a passenger at the owners' expense and nothing more. The form was dated 1760, so the Council was keeping a standard document in use for years. Copying it beside the charter party clauses gave the clerk a ready model whenever invalids were shipped home, as David Patten, William Brooks and others had been in 1775.
13	6	Island of St. Helena§ §Received this 14 Day of April§ §1760 of Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &c. Council§ §of the said Island the Sum of £ 5 in full for the§ §Passage of A B an Invalid Soldier according to§ §Charter party agreement between the Honble.§ §Company and the Owners of the Ship &c.§ §Island St. Helena§ §17 Feby. 1776§ §We the Governor & Council of the§ §said Island do hereby Certify to the Honble. the§ §Court of Directors of the United East India§ §Company that we have received from Capt.§ §Black Cattle & Sheep &ca. on Account§ §of the Honble. Company amounting to £ for§ §which we have Signed to two Certificates of this§ §Tenor & Date one being paid the other to be void§ §Signed§ §J. S.§ §D. C.§ §M. B.§ §W. W.§ §H. B.§	A form of receipt followed, dated at St Helena on 14 April 1760. It recorded that the master of a ship had received from Governor Hutchinson and the Council of the island £5 0s 0d in full for the passage of an invalid soldier, named in the form as A B. The payment was made under the charter party agreed between the Company and the ship's owners. A form of certificate came next, dated at St Helena on 17 February 1776. In it the Governor and Council certified to the Court of Directors that they had received black cattle, sheep and other supplies from a ship's captain on the Company's account. The amount was left blank in the form. They had signed two certificates of the same wording and date, and once one was paid the other would be void. The form bore the initials J S, D C, M B, W W and H B. **Interpretations** The certificate was the instrument the Council used throughout 1775 and 1776 to pay ships' commanders for sheep, salt meat, flour and spars without paying out coin. Two copies of the same wording were issued, much as a bill of exchange was drawn in a set, so that if one was lost at sea the other could still be presented in London. The clause that one being paid made the other void prevented the owners from collecting twice. Keeping a blank model in the draft book let the clerk fill in each new certificate quickly as commanders such as Rees and Thomson sold supplies to the island. The receipt of 1760 completed the procedure for invalid soldiers. The commander signed that he had been paid the £5 0s 0d fare in full, so he could make no further claim for carrying the man. The invalid himself signed that he would claim no wages. Between the two forms, the passage of every invalid sent home was settled at a fixed price, and the island was protected against claims from either side.
14	7	Island St. Helena§ §These are to Certify whom it§ §may Concern that one thousand five hundred &§ §Ninety eight hundred two Quarters and three§ §pounds of Wheat meal were landed from the Ship§ §Northumberland A B Commander and Earl of§ §Middlesex John Rawell Commander both from§ §England for the Support of the Persons§ §residing in the Forts Factories or Settlement§ §belonging to the United East India Company§ §Dated at the Island of St. Helena the Day§ §of in the Year 1770§ §Island St. Helena§ §1 June 1764§ §By Order of the Governor & Lieut.§ §Governor§ §Notice is hereby given to all the§ §Inhabitants of the said Island that the price§ §of Arrack from the Society for the present§ §Month will be 10 Gallon as settled from§	A form of certificate followed, dated at St Helena in 1770 with the day and month left blank. It certified that 1,598 cwt 2 qr 3 lb of wheat meal had been landed from two ships from England: the *Northumberland*, whose commander was named in the form as A B, and the *Earl of Middlesex*, under John Hassell. The meal was for the support of the people living in the Company's forts, factories and settlements. A form of public notice came next, dated at St Helena on 1 June 1769 and issued by order of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. It told the island's inhabitants that the society's price for arrack that month would be [blank] a gallon, as fixed from [continues]. **Interpretations** The certificate for wheat meal had a particular purpose. Grain shipped from England to feed the Company's own settlements was not trade goods but supplies for its servants. A certificate from the island's government proved that the meal had been landed and used for that purpose, which let the owners and the Company settle freight and customs at the favourable

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			rates allowed for provisions. Leaving the commander's name as A B made it a template, to be filled in whenever a ship landed grain for the island's support. The notice on arrack shows that the price at which the society sold spirit was not left to the society alone. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor fixed it each month and announced it publicly. The society held the monopoly of the trade, but the Council set its price, so the islanders could not be overcharged for a necessity of daily life. The same control lay behind the rules of July 1775 on the society's opening hours and minimum quantities.
15	8	an Average price§ §Signed§ §M. Bazett Secy.§ §I do hereby Certify as Governor and§ §Commanding Officer of the Island of St. Helena§ §that A B late Private belonging to the§ §Company Commanded by Captain Age§ §Stature Complexion Hair§ §Infirmitys &c. is discharged this Garrison§ §as an Invalid & from his long Services of§ §Years recommended as a proper Object to be§ §put upon the Military Fund§ §Signed§ §J. Skottowe§ §We do hereby approve of the§ §above Certificate signed by John Skottowe§ §Esqr. Governor as we are persuaded that the§ §above mentioned Person is a proper Object§ §for the Military Fund§ §Signed§ §D. C.§ §M. B.§ §W. W.§ §H. B.§	The arrack price in the notice was to be fixed from an average price. Matthew Bazett signed the notice as secretary. A form of certificate for invalid soldiers followed. In it Governor Skottowe, as governor and commanding officer of the island, certified that a soldier, named in the form as A B and lately a private in the company of a captain whose name was left blank, had been discharged from the garrison as an invalid. Blanks were left for his age, height, complexion, hair and infirmities. In view of his long service, for a number of years also left blank, he was recommended as a fit person to receive a pension from the military fund. The form was signed by the Governor. Below it the Council approved the certificate. Its members declared themselves satisfied that the man was a proper person to be placed on the military fund. The form bore the initials D C, M B, W W and H B. **Interpretations** The certificate was the means by which a discharged soldier on St Helena reached Lord Clive's military fund, the endowment for disabled soldiers and the widows of those who died in the Company's service. The fund was paid from London, and a soldier had no claim on it without proof. The blanks for age, height, complexion and hair gave a description that would identify the man when he reached England, so that no one else could draw the pension in his name. The record of his long service showed that he had earned it. Two signatures were needed: the Governor's, as commanding officer who knew the soldier's record, and the Council's, approving it. The double sign-off gave the Court of Directors confidence in each recommendation from the island. It was the same route that Elizabeth Caldwell had sought for her widow's pension in July 1775.
16	9	I A B Lieut. of the Company§ §belonging to the Garrison of St. Helena§ §do hereby at this Present time of applying§ §to be put upon the Military Fund§ §make Oath that I or any other Person§ §in Trust for me am not possessed of or§ §intitled to real and Personal Estate to the§ §Value of £ 1000§ §Sworn before us in Council§ §this§ §(Signed)§ §(Signed)§ §I do hereby Certify as Governor§ §and Commanding Officer of the Island§ §St. Helena that A B Lieut. of the Company§ §Commanded by Captain Aged is§ §Discharged the Company's Service as§ §an Invalid on Account of (mention In§ §firmitys and from his long and faithful§ §Service of Years and During that time§ §always behaved as a diligent and good§	A form of oath for officers followed. In it an officer, named in the form as A B, a lieutenant in one of the garrison's companies, swore when applying to be placed on the military fund that neither he nor anyone holding property in trust for him owned or was entitled to real and personal estate worth £1,000 0s 0d. The oath was to be sworn before the Council, with the date and signatures left blank. A form of certificate for such an officer came next. In it the Governor, as governor and commanding officer of the island, certified that the lieutenant, of the company of a captain whose name was left blank and of an age also left blank, had been discharged from the Company's service as an invalid. Space was left to name his infirmities. The certificate recorded his long and faithful service, for a number of years left blank, and stated that throughout that time he had always behaved as a diligent and good [continues]. **Interpretations** Officers had to swear to their means before they could draw on Lord Clive's fund, a test not applied to private soldiers. The fund was meant for those who would otherwise be left in want. An officer with property worth £1,000 0s 0d or more could live on his

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			own income and had no claim. The words about anyone holding property in trust for him closed the obvious loophole of putting an estate in a relative's name to qualify. Swearing the oath before the Council made a false statement a matter of perjury and exposed the officer to the loss of both pension and reputation.
17	10	Officer in this Garrison, and is considered§ §and recommened as a proper Object to be put§ §upon the Military Fund§ §(Signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §List of Births Christnings Marriages§ §and Burials to be transmitted twice a Year§ §in Duplicate made out to the 28 February§ §and to the 31st August§ §Courts Martial the beginning of§ §March.§ §List of Servants to be sent§ §twice a Year made to the latter end of§ §Feby. or begining of March and to the§ §August or September dated as the Ships§ §Sails in those Months.§ §Register of Goods to be§ §transmitted once a Year in Duplicate§ §Certificate of Flour once a§ §Year in Duplicate.§	The certificate described the lieutenant as a diligent and good officer of the garrison and recommended him as a fit person to be placed on the military fund. Governor Skottowe signed it. A list of the returns the island had to send to London followed, with when each was due. Returns to be sent to the Court of Directors Births, christenings, marriages and burials: twice a year, in duplicate, made up to 28 February and to 31 August Courts martial: at the beginning of March List of the Company's servants: twice a year, made up to the end of February or the beginning of March, and to August or September, dated to match the sailing of the ships in those months Register of goods: once a year, in duplicate Certificate of flour: once a year, in duplicate **Interpretations** The dates of the returns followed the shipping season, not the calendar. Homeward ships called at St Helena mainly from January to July, with a second, smaller wave around August and September. The registers of births and deaths were made up to the end of February and August so that each half-year's figures were ready to go home with the ships passing in those months. Sending every return in duplicate meant that if one ship was lost, the other copy would still reach London by a later vessel. The list shows how closely the Court of Directors watched its island. It received a regular count of the population through the parish registers, a report on discipline through the courts martial, a roll of every servant and their pay, and an account of goods and flour. Together these let the Court check the Council's management from thousands of miles away and compare one year's figures with the next.
18	11	I Francis Robson do swear§ §that I will be true and faithful to the§ §Honble. the East India Company and§ §will duly and faithfully execute and§ §discharge the trust reposed in me as§ §Lieut. Governor of this Island to the utmost§ §of my Skill and Power.§ §So help me God§ §Church Wardens Oath§ §You shall Swear truly and§ §diligently to execute the Office of§ §Church Wardens within the Parish of§ §this Island & according to the best of§ §your Skill and knowledge present§ §Such things and Persons as to your§ §knowledge are presentable By the Laws§ §So help you God§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§	The oath of office of the Lieutenant Governor followed, as sworn by Francis Robson. He swore to be true and faithful to the East India Company and to carry out the trust placed in him as Lieutenant Governor of the island with all his skill and power, calling on God to help him. The churchwardens' oath came next. Each churchwarden swore to carry out the office truly and diligently within the island's parish. He also swore, to the best of his skill and knowledge, to report to the authorities any matters and persons that the law required to be reported, calling on God to help him. **Interpretations** The churchwardens' oath bound them to present offenders, a duty carried over from the English parish. Churchwardens reported to the church courts those who neglected public worship, lived in open immorality, or left the church fabric and the poor unprovided for. On St Helena the churchwardens were also Company men, Jonathan Doveton and Thomas Bazett having been sworn in May 1775. Their oath gave the island a second arm of moral oversight alongside the Council's own courts. That was all the more useful on an island with no bishop and no church court of its own. Francis Robson was an earlier Lieutenant Governor, and his oath stood in the draft book as the model for the office. Daniel Corneille would have sworn the same words. The oath bound the holder to the Company, not to the Crown, which showed whose authority he exercised on the island.

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19	12	Sheriffs Oath.§ §I Gabriel Alexander Harper do swear§ §that I will well and truly serve the Kings§ §Majesty in the Office of Sheriff in the§ §Island of St. Helena, and carefully and§ §impartially Discharge the Duty of the§ §said Office according to the Laws establish-§ §ed and I will truly return and truly§ §serve all the Kings Writs, or the writs§ §of his Justices upon the said Island and§ §make due pannels of Persons able and§ §Sufficient and not suspected or procured§ §as is appointed by the Statutes of the§ §Realm of England I will truly and§ §Diligently execute the Good Laws and§ §Statutes of the aforesaid Realm and in§ §all things well and truly behave my§ §self in my Office for the Honor of the§ §King and the Good of his Subjects and§ §Discharge the Same according to the§ §Best of my Skill and Power.§ §So help me God§	The sheriff's oath followed, as sworn by Gabriel Alexander Harper. He swore to serve the King well and truly in the office of sheriff of St Helena, and to carry out its duties carefully and fairly according to the established laws. He promised to return and serve faithfully all the King's writs and the warrants of his justices on the island. He also promised to draw up proper panels of jurors, made up of men who were able, of sufficient standing and free from suspicion, and not hand-picked by any party, as the statutes of England required. He swore to enforce the laws and statutes of England truly and diligently and to conduct himself well in office, for the King's honour and the good of his subjects, to the best of his skill and power, calling on God to help him. **Interpretations** The sheriff swore to serve the King, while the Lieutenant Governor swore to serve the Company. The difference showed the dual nature of authority on St Helena. The Company owned the island and governed it under royal charter, but justice was done in the King's name and by English law. The sheriff was the officer who carried that law into effect, serving writs and summoning juries, so his oath was taken to the Crown in the English form. His duty to choose jurors who were not suspected or procured mattered greatly on so small an island. Most freeholders were related or bound together by debts, leases and trade. A jury packed with an accused man's friends, or his enemies, could make a trial a farce. The oath made the sheriff answerable for fair panels. Harper was the planter who in January 1776 had argued with Lieutenant Stewart over the watering place at Red Hill, an example of the close ties and quarrels that a fair jury had to rise above.
20	13	Constables Oath§ §You shall well and truly serve our§ §Sovereign Lord the King in the Office of§ §Constable for the Island of St. Helena untill§ §Easter Monday next ensueing or untill you§ §shall be lawfully Discharged therefrom or another§ §shall be sworn in your place; You shall§ §well and truly do and execute all things belonging§ §to the said Office according to the best of your§ §Skill and knowledge§ §So help you God§ §Form of a Marriage Licence§ §Island St. Helena§	The constable's oath followed. Each constable swore to serve the King well and truly in the office of constable of St Helena until the following Easter Monday, or until he was lawfully discharged and another man sworn in his place. He also swore to carry out all the duties of the office to the best of his skill and knowledge, calling on God to help him. A form of marriage licence came next, headed Island of St Helena [continues]. **Interpretations** The constable served for a fixed term ending on Easter Monday, the traditional day for choosing parish officers in England. On St Helena the inhabitants met at Easter time in the vestry to put forward names, and the Council chose from them, as it did in April 1775 when Hugh Jones became constable. A yearly term spread the burden of an unpaid and often unpopular office among the island's men. The clause allowing a lawful discharge before Easter let the Council replace a constable who could not serve, as it did in November 1775 when Jones was gaoled and Richard Harper sworn in his stead.
21	14	Island St. Helena§ §I do hereby give Leave and Licence unto§ §the Reverend Mr. Robartes Carr to join§ §together in the holy State of Matrimony§ §A B Batchelor and C D Spinster there§ §appearing to me no Lawful impediment &c.§ §Given under my Hand this§ §day of 17§ §To (Signed)§ §Mr. Revd.§ §Chaplain§ §Island St. Helena§ §Church Wardens Warrant§ §You Messieurs Thomas Bazett§ §and William Young are appointed Church§ §Wardens for the ensueing Year. And whereas You§ §desire to be inform'd what is the proper Duty§	The marriage licence form was issued by the Governor at St Helena. In it he gave the Reverend Robartes Carr leave and licence to marry a bachelor and a spinster, named in the form as A B and C D, provided no lawful impediment to the marriage appeared. The day and month were left blank. The licence was addressed to the Reverend Robartes Carr, chaplain. A form of warrant for churchwardens followed, headed Island of St Helena. It appointed Thomas Bazett and William Young churchwardens for the coming year. Since they wished to know what duties the office required of them, the Governor and Council had considered the circumstances of the island and laid down rules for them to follow as churchwardens, unless and until these were changed [continues]. **Interpretations**

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		§required for the performance of that Office,§ §We therefore having considered the circumstances§ §of this place think fit and direct that the§ §Rules following be observed by you the Church§ §Wardens unless the same shall be otherwise§	Marriage on St Helena needed a licence from the Governor, not the reading of banns. In England most couples married after banns were called in church on three Sundays, and a licence was the exception, bought by those who wished to marry quickly or privately. On the island the Governor's licence was the normal route. It let the government check that neither party was already married, under age without consent, or a soldier or Company servant forbidden to marry without leave. Many men on the island had come from England and could have left wives there. The licence put the burden on the Governor to see that no lawful bar stood in the way, as the clause about impediments required. The island's churchwardens needed written rules because St Helena had no bishop, archdeacon or church court to guide them. In England a new churchwarden learned his duties from long parish custom and the articles of the bishop's visitation. On the island, the Council stood in for that church authority and set out the duties itself.
22	15	enlarged or altered by Us. First You§ §are to take care of the Furniture and Utensils§ §belonging to both Churches and to see that no§ §Embezelment be made of any that shall be delivered§ §into your care§ §Second You shall keep a fair and true§ §Account of all Gifts and Legacies given or§ §Bequeathed to or for the Use of the Churches§ §rendering an Account of your disposal of the§ §Same according to the Will or Design of the§ §Donor§ §Third You shall take care of both Churches§ §seeing that they be kept in Good Order and§ §Repair and you are to make Assesments§ §for the reimbursment of such Sums as shall§ §be laid out on this Occasion.§ §Fourth You shall take care of notorious§ §Offenders and wicked People Sabbath Breakers§ §Swearers Drunkards and Whoremongers and§ §give proper notice of them to us but Swearers§ §and Profaners of the Sabbath You are first§ §to reprove and admonish and after such§	The rules were to stand unless the Council later enlarged or changed them. The first rule required the churchwardens to look after the furniture and fittings of both churches and to make sure that nothing placed in their care was taken or misused. The second required them to keep a fair and true account of every gift and legacy given or left for the use of the churches. They were to show how each had been spent according to the wishes of the giver. The third required them to keep both churches in good order and repair. They were to raise assessments on the parish to repay any sums laid out for that purpose. The fourth required them to watch for notorious offenders and wicked people: Sabbath breakers, swearers, drunkards and men who kept company with prostitutes. They were to report such people to the proper authority. Swearers and those who broke the Sabbath, however, they were first to reprove and warn, and if after such [continues]. **Interpretations** The island had two churches, both in the churchwardens' care: the church in Jamestown and the country church in the interior, built for the planters who lived too far from the town to attend each Sunday. That was why the rules spoke throughout of both churches, unlike an English parish with a single building. The power to raise assessments gave the churchwardens a parish rate of their own, collected from the inhabitants to pay for repairs. It meant the cost of the churches did not fall wholly on the Company, which paid only the chaplain's salary and occasional fittings such as the hassocks and pall issued in 1775. The rules also treated offenders in two grades. Drunkards and those who frequented prostitutes were to be reported at once, while swearers and Sabbath breakers were first to be warned privately. Only if they persisted were they to be brought before the authorities.
23	16	Reproof they still persist in their wickedness§ §You must then make presentment of them at the§ §Usual Quarterly Sessions§ §Fifth You shall take care that there be§ §no disorder in the Church during the time of§ §divine Service for which purpose you must Charge§ §the Sexton diligently to attend his Duty and§ §allot him his Salary and make a Assesment§ §for the same accordingly§ §Sixth You shall annually on Easter§ §Monday assemble with the Inhabitants at the§ §Church in the Valley or at Some other convenient§ §place and there by Majority of Votes elect a§	If, after such a warning, they still persisted in their wicked ways, the churchwardens were to bring a formal charge against them at the usual quarterly court. **Start of crossed out section** shall **End of crossed out section** The fifth rule required them to prevent any disorder in church during divine service. To that end they were to make the sexton attend to his duty diligently, fix his salary and raise an assessment to pay it. The sixth rule required them to meet the inhabitants every year on Easter Monday, at the church

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		§Committee for the nomination of County and Parish§ §Officers, conformably to the resolution of the Governor§ §and Council dated of which a Copy is§ §herewith subjoined§ §These Rules We think Sufficient§ §for your present guide in the execution of your Duty.§ §In Witness whereof the Governor and Council have§ §hereunto Set our Hands and affixed the Honble.§	in the valley or at some other convenient place. There, by a majority of votes, the meeting was to elect a committee to nominate the island's public and parish officers, in line with a resolution of the Governor and Council of a date left blank, a copy of which was attached. **Start of crossed out section** The meeting was to nominate four men qualified to serve as churchwardens and two [...] as overseers of the highways, and present them to the Council or a majority of it. Two of the four would then be appointed churchwardens, and three of the [...] overseers of the highways, for the following year. **End of crossed out section** The Council considered these rules enough to guide the churchwardens in their duties for the present. The Governor and Council signed the warrant and set the Company's seal to it [continues]. **Interpretations** The struck-out wording shows the Council changing how parish officers were chosen. Under the old rule, the Easter meeting itself named candidates for churchwarden and overseer of the highways, and the Council picked from them, as it did in April 1775. The new wording gave that task to a committee elected by the meeting, acting under a separate resolution of the Council. Choosing through a small committee was easier for the Council to manage than an open vote of all the inhabitants. It also allowed the committee to put forward names for a wider range of island and parish offices, not only the churchwardens and overseers. The draft keeps both versions, showing the procedure being reshaped as it was written.
24	17	Company's Seal this 28 Day of October§ §1773.§ §(Signed)§ §J. Skottowe§ §D. Corneille§ §M. Bazett§ §W. Wrangham§ §H. Bazett.§ §By John Skottowe Esqr.§ §Governor of the Island St. Helena§ §This is to Certify that the Bearer§ §hereof J D Private in a Company of Foot§ §Commanded by Capt. N K has served the Honble.§ §the United Company of Merchants of England§ §trading to the East Indies Years and is now dis-§ §charged their Service at his own Request§ §having been first paid all Demands whatsoever§ §from the said Honble. Company as appears by§ §his receipt on the other side Given under my§ §hand and Seal this Day of 1776§ §(Signed)§ §To all Officers Civil and J. S.§ §Military whom this may§ §Concern§	The warrant was sealed with the Company's seal on 28 October 1773 and signed by John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. A form of discharge for soldiers followed, issued by Governor Skottowe. It certified that the bearer, a private named in the form as J D, of a company of foot under a captain named as N K, had served the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies for a number of years left blank. He was now discharged from its service at his own request. He had first been paid every sum the Company owed him, as his receipt on the back of the certificate showed. The form was to be given under the Governor's hand and seal, with the day and month of 1776 left blank, and was addressed to all officers, civil and military, whom it might concern. **Interpretations** A discharged soldier needed this certificate to leave the island and travel freely once home. Without it he could be taken for a deserter by any officer who met him, at St Helena, aboard ship or in England. Addressing it to all officers civil and military gave him a passport against arrest wherever he went. The receipt on the back, showing that he had been paid in full, protected the Company as much as the soldier. Once he had signed that all his pay and dues were settled, he could make no later claim against the Company for arrears. The soldiers discharged in 1775 at the end of their terms, such as Francis Mears and Ralph Clavering, would each have left the garrison with a paper of this kind.
25	18	I the within Named J D do hereby§ §acknowledge to have Received my Subsistance§ §Arrears of Pay and all other Demands whatsoever§ §from the Honble. the United Company of§ §Merchants of England trading to the East§ §Indies as likewise from my Several Officers§ §from the time of my first Inlisting as a Soldier§ §in their Service untill this Day 1776 as§ §Witness my hand§	The receipt on the back of the discharge followed. In it the soldier named on the front, J D, acknowledged that he had received his subsistence, arrears of pay and every other sum due to him from the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. He acknowledged the same of each of his officers, from the time he first enlisted as a soldier in the Company's service until the day of signing in 1776. He signed the receipt before a witness.

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		§Witness hereto§ §Sir§ §The ten Working Days allowed§ §by Charter party for landing the Honble. Company's§ §Stores, brought by you and Consigned to Us being§ §expired; You are hereby Ordered to make the best§ §of your way to Canton, in China according to§ §the Instructions you have Received from the§ §Honble. the Court of Directors;§	A form of order to a ship's commander came next. It told him that the ten working days allowed by the charter party for landing the Company's stores he had brought to the island had now passed. He was therefore ordered to sail for Canton in China without delay, following the instructions he had received from the Court of Directors. **Interpretations** The soldier's receipt named his officers as well as the Company. A private's pay passed through his captain, who drew it and paid it out after taking stoppages for clothing, food bought on credit and other charges. A soldier might feel his captain had held back money owed to him. By signing that he had received everything due from his officers as well, he gave up any claim against them, not just against the Company. The receipt closed the account on every side before he left the island. The order to sail was the model the Council used whenever a ship had used up her ten days for landing stores. It was the same order given to Captain Timbrell of the *Hampshire* in June 1775. Holding a ship past her agreed time would have exposed the Company to a charge for demurrage, so the Council sent ships on promptly once their landing days ran out.
26	19	We wish you a good Voyage§ §and are§ §St. Helena Sir§ §Your humble Servants§ §To Capt. &ca. Northumb. or proceed on your Voyage§ §according to the Instructions§ §you have received &ca.§ §Form of An Appointment of a Judge Advocate§ §To A B§ §By Virtue of the Power and§ §Authority given to Us the Governor and Council§ §at the Island St. Helena by the Court of Di-§ §rectors of the United Company of Merchants§ §of England trading to the East Indies We do§ §hereby appoint you the said A B during our§ §Pleasure, and during the Pleasure of the said Company's Governor &§ §Council at St. Helena for the time being§ §or the Major part of them, to act as Judge§ §Advocate at all Courts Martial and on all§ §other occasions as you shall for that purpose§ §be required by the said Governor and Council for the time§ §being or the Major part of them Given§ §under our Hands this day of in the§ §Year of Majesty's Reign§	The order ended with the Council wishing the commander a good voyage. A note beside the address, to the captain of a ship such as the *Northumberland*, gave an alternative wording for ships not bound for China: the commander was simply to continue his voyage under the instructions he had received. A form for appointing a judge advocate followed. Under the power the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies had given them, the Governor and Council at St Helena appointed the man named in the form as A B to act as judge advocate. He was to serve at all courts martial, and on any other occasion when the Governor and Council of the day, or a majority of them, called on him. He was to hold the post during the pleasure of the present Governor and Council and of those who succeeded them. The form was to be signed with the day, month and regnal year left blank [continues]. **Interpretations** The judge advocate held office during the Council's pleasure, so he could be removed at any time. He was not appointed by the Crown or the army but by the Company's Governor and Council, under powers granted by the Court of Directors. The judge advocate managed the prosecution at courts martial and advised on military law. Making him serve at the Council's will kept the island's military justice firmly under the Company's control. In 1775 the post was held by John Congreve, who also served as schoolmaster. The form was dated by the year of the King's reign, the usual way of dating official English documents. Even a Company appointment on St Helena was framed within the reign of the sovereign, a reminder that the Company governed under royal authority.
27	20	By Order of John Skottowe Esqr.§ §Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Governor,§ §Matthew Bazett and William Wrangham§ §Esqr. and Major Henry Bazett.§ §You are hereby Ordered and§ §impowered to sit as President of the General§ §General Court Martial which is Ordered to§ §be held on Monday 3d instant eight o'Clock§ §in the Morning and after the customary§ §Oath has been Administered by the Judge§ §Advocate to the President and sitting§ §Members as directed by the Articles of§ §War You are then to proceed to the Trial§	**Start of crossed out section** By order of Governor Skottowe, Major Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett, a captain named in the form as A B was ordered and empowered to sit as president of a general court martial. The court was to sit at eight o'clock in the morning on Monday the 3rd of the month. The judge advocate was first to give the usual oath to the president and the sitting members, as the Articles of War required. The court was then to try all prisoners brought before it. The order was to be given under the Council's hands, with the day and month of 1776 left blank, and was

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		§of all such Prisoners as shall there and§ §then be brought before you. Given under§ §Our Hands this Day of 1776§ §To Capt. A B§ §President of a General§ §Court Martial to be held on§ §Monday the 3 instant§	addressed to the captain as president of the general court martial to be held on Monday the 3rd. **End of crossed out section** **Interpretations** The president of a court martial took his authority from a written order of the Governor and Council, not from his own rank. The order fixed the day and hour of the sitting and required the oath to be sworn before any trial began. The Council kept close control of military justice. It named the president, the judge advocate served at its pleasure, and the court could sit only when the Council ordered it. Major Henry Bazett's name among the members dates the draft to before his departure for England in May 1775, although the year was written as 1776. The clerk later cancelled the whole entry, probably because it had been superseded or copied fair elsewhere.
28	21	All good Men that have served for ten Years§ §are to receive £ 15.§ §All Men that have taken forty Shillings last§ §Year to receive only the eight pounds on the Expiration§ §of their Contracted times time of five Years.§ §That in future all good Men that are willing to§ §reinlist tho they have served five Years are to have§ §the £ 15 bounty§ §Island St. Helena§ §Received of John Skottowe Esqr.§ §Governor &ca. Council of the said Island one small§ §Box containing a Plan of Lemon Valley§ §Battery, which I promise to deliver myself§ §To be deliver by the Captain§ §Account of Cash pd. the Widows§ §upon the Military Fund to be sent the beginning§ §of every Year in Duplicate.§	A note on re-enlistment bounties followed. All good men who had served for ten years were to receive £15 0s 0d. Men who had taken 40s the year before were to receive only £8 0s 0d when their contracted term of five years ran out. In future, all good men willing to re-enlist after five years' service were to receive the £15 0s 0d bounty. A form of receipt came next, headed Island of St Helena. In it a captain acknowledged receiving from Governor Skottowe and the Council of the island a small box containing a plan of the Lemon Valley battery, which he promised to deliver in person. A note added that the box was to be delivered by the captain himself. A further note recorded that an account of cash paid to widows from the military fund was to be sent home at the start of every year, in duplicate. **Interpretations** The note on bounties explains the odd sums paid to soldiers in 1775. James Brown, Samuel Warren, William Hopkins and Joseph Jones each received only 40s because they had agreed to re-enlist and died before their new term began. Those who had already taken the 40s were owed only the balance of £8 0s 0d when their old term ended, making up the usual £10 0s 0d. The new rule raised the bounty for a good man re-enlisting after five years to £15 0s 0d. William Greenwood had already received that sum in August 1775, when the Council needed seasoned men during the months without ships. The note made the higher rate the standard for the future. The plan of the Lemon Valley battery was a military drawing of one of the island's coastal defences. It was sent home in the captain's own keeping, not in the ordinary packet of letters. A plan of a fortification would have been valuable to an enemy, so the Council entrusted it to an officer who would hand it over personally in London, not risk it falling into the wrong hands with the mail.
29	22	Island St. Helena§ §12 June 1776§ §I Elizabeth Caldwell Widow of the late§ §Lieut. Wm. Caldwell of the Garrison of St. Helena§ §do hereby make Oath that§ §my said Husband, nor any Person or Persons in trust§ §for him did not die Seized or possessed of Real§ §and Personal Estate to the Amount in Value of§ §Two Thousand Pounds§ §So help me God§ §Sworn before Us in Council§ §To A B§ §By virtue of the Power§ §and Authority given to Us the Governor and Council§ §at the Island of St. Helena by the Court of Direc-§ §tors of the United Company of Merchants of England§ §trading to the East Indies we do hereby appoint§ §you A B during our Pleasure &ca. the Illness of§	An oath sworn by Elizabeth Caldwell was recorded, dated at St Helena on 12 June 1776. She was the widow of the late Lieutenant William Caldwell of the St Helena garrison. **Start of crossed out section** She swore this at the time of applying to be placed on the military fund. **End of crossed out section** She swore that neither her husband nor anyone holding property in trust for him had owned real and personal estate at his death worth **Start of crossed out section** one hundred pounds **End of crossed out section** £2,000 0s 0d. She called on God to help her, and the oath was sworn before the Council. A form of appointment followed, made out to a man named as A B. Under the power the Court of

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		§Mr. J C to act as Judge Avocate at all Court§ §Martials and on all other Occasions§	Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies had given them, the Governor and Council appointed him during their pleasure to act as judge advocate at all courts martial and on all other occasions while Mr J C was ill [continues]. **Interpretations** Elizabeth Caldwell had asked the Council in July 1775 to recommend her to the Court of Directors for a pension from Lord Clive's fund. Her oath, sworn almost a year later, was the proof the fund required that her husband had left too little to support her. The struck-out figure shows the clerk correcting the threshold to £2,000 0s 0d. For widows the limit was evidently set higher than the £1,000 0s 0d that applied to officers applying on their own account. A widow with several young children, as she had described herself, needed more to live on than a single officer. The appointment of a deputy judge advocate during the illness of Mr J C points to John Congreve, the judge advocate and schoolmaster. The garrison's military justice could not wait on one man's health. The Council could name a temporary deputy at its pleasure, so that courts martial could still sit while the regular officer was unwell.
30	23	To Captain A B Commander of Ship C D§ §Sir§ §In consequence of the information we have recd.§ §from Captn. Digby Dent of his Majesty's Ship Asthum§ §that he intends to sail on the Instant You are hereby§ §Ordered to put yourself under his Convoy and not to§ §part Company upon any Account whatsoever and be ready§ §to Sail on the first Notice you receive from him§ §We wish you a good Voyage and are§ §St. Helena Sir§ §Your humble Servants§ §J. S.§ §D. C.§ §M. B.§ §W. W.§ §H. B.§ §19 May 1777§ §Mrs. Price has the Governor and Councils§ §permission to sell her stock of Wine Beer, now on hand to the§ §Inhabitants and Gentlemen of Ships who resort at her House§ §but not to any of the Non Commissioned Officers Soldiers or§ §Blacks or to any common People so that it may fall into§ §the Hands of the said Soldiers or Blacks§	A form of order to a ship's commander followed, addressed to Captain A B of a ship named in the form as C D. Captain Digby Dent of His Majesty's ship *Arthur* had told the Council that he meant to sail on a day of the month left blank. The commander was therefore ordered to sail under his convoy, not to part company with him for any reason, and to be ready to sail as soon as he gave notice. The Council wished him a good voyage. The order was dated at St Helena and bore the initials J S, D C, M B, W W and H B. A note dated 19 May 1777 recorded that the Governor and Council gave Mrs Price leave to sell the stock of wine and beer she then had to the inhabitants and to officers of ships who came to her house. She was not to sell any to non-commissioned officers, soldiers, black people or any common people through whom it might reach the soldiers or black people. **Interpretations** The convoy order reflected a change in the island's circumstances. In 1775 Company ships sailed home alone, since Britain was at peace with France and Spain. By 1777 the war with the American colonies had begun, and American privateers were preying on British shipping in the Atlantic. Placing Company ships under the protection of a King's ship, with strict orders not to stray from her, was the usual defence in wartime. A lone Indiaman with a rich cargo from the East was a tempting prize, and keeping the fleet together let the warship guard them all. The licence to Mrs Price followed the rules on spirits that the Council had set in July 1775. She could sell her wine and beer to the island's free householders and to ships' officers, who were trusted to drink with moderation. She was forbidden to sell to soldiers and slaves, or to anyone who might pass the drink on to them. Drunkenness among the garrison weakened the island's defence, and drink among the slaves was feared as a cause of disorder and escape. By naming the buyers she could serve, the Council kept a private trade within the limits it had drawn for the society's cellar.
31	24	To Captain A B Commander of Ship C D§ §Sir§ §In consequence of the information we have recd.§ §from Captn. Digby Dent of his Majesty's Ship Asthum§ §that he intends to sail on the Instant You are hereby§ §Ordered to put yourself under his Convoy and not to§ §part Company upon any Account whatsoever and be ready§ §to Sail on the first Notice you receive from him§	A form of order to a ship's commander followed, addressed to Captain A B of a ship named in the form as C D. Captain Digby Dent of His Majesty's ship *Arthur* had told the Council that he meant to sail on a day of the month left blank. The commander was therefore ordered to sail under his convoy, not to part company with him for any reason, and to be ready to sail as soon as he gave notice. The Council wished him

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		§We wish you a good Voyage and are§ §St. Helena Sir§ §Your humble Servants§ §J. S.§ §D. C.§ §M. B.§ §W. W.§ §H. B.§ §19 May 1777§ §Mrs. Price has the Governor and Councils§ §permission to sell her stock of Wine Beer, now on hand to the§ §Inhabitants and Gentlemen of Ships who resort at her House§ §but not to any of the Non Commissioned Officers Soldiers or§ §Blacks or to any common People so that it may fall into§ §the Hands of the said Soldiers or Blacks§	a good voyage. The order was dated at St Helena and bore the initials J S, D C, M B, W W and H B. A note dated 19 May 1777 recorded that the Governor and Council gave Mrs Price leave to sell the stock of wine and beer she then had to the inhabitants and to officers of ships who came to her house. She was not to sell any to non-commissioned officers, soldiers, black people or any common people through whom it might reach the soldiers or black people. **Interpretations** The convoy order reflected a change in the island's circumstances. In 1775 Company ships sailed home alone, since Britain was at peace with France and Spain. By 1777 the war with the American colonies had begun, and American privateers were preying on British shipping in the Atlantic. Placing Company ships under the protection of a King's ship, with strict orders not to stray from her, was the usual defence in wartime. A lone Indiaman with a rich cargo from the East was a tempting prize, and keeping the fleet together let the warship guard them all. The licence to Mrs Price followed the rules on spirits that the Council had set in July 1775. She could sell her wine and beer to the island's free householders and to ships' officers, who were trusted to drink with moderation. She was forbidden to sell to soldiers and slaves, or to anyone who might pass the drink on to them. Drunkenness among the garrison weakened the island's defence, and drink among the slaves was feared as a cause of disorder and escape. By naming the buyers she could serve, the Council kept a private trade within the limits it had drawn for the society's cellar.
32	25	These Rules & Regulations to be§ §put upon a board and hung up in the§ §Market House for every ones inspections§ §Whenever several Cattle are to§ §be Killed on the same day You are to take§ §the first upon the List for the Market,§ §those Killed for the Ships next And those§ §Ordered alive for the Ships last.§ §You are not to suffer any§ §Person or Persons to see or peruse the§ §Slaughter List unless called for by the§ §Governor or the Governor and Council.§ §Island St. Helena§ §These are to Certify whom it may con-§ §cern that the undermentioned Provision§ §Flour, Military Stores (and other Articles)§ §were landed from the Ships Alfred and§ §Bridgewater both from England On§ §Account of the Honble. the United Com-§ §pany of Merchants of England trading to§ §the East Indies for the Use maintenance§ §and defence of this their Settlement dated§ §at the Island of St. Helena the 19§	A set of rules for the market house followed, to be fixed on a board and hung up there for everyone to read. Whenever several cattle were to be killed on the same day, the first on the list was to go to the market, the next to be killed for the ships, and those sold alive to the ships were to come last. The keeper of the market was to let no one see or read the slaughter list unless the Governor, or the Governor and Council, called for it. A form of certificate came next, headed Island of St Helena. It certified that the provisions, flour, military stores and other goods listed below had been landed from the ships *Alfred* and *Bridgewater*, both from England. They were landed on the account of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, for the use, upkeep and defence of its settlement. The certificate was dated at St Helena on the 19th [continues]. **Interpretations** The order of slaughter put the island's own people first. Beef for the market, which fed the garrison and inhabitants, was taken before any meat for the ships, and live cattle for the ships came last. Ships paid well and planters were tempted to sell to them first. The rule protected the island's supply at a time when the Council had begun, in December 1775, to fix in advance how many beasts each planter would kill. Keeping the slaughter list secret prevented speculation. The list showed whose cattle would be killed and when, and so how much meat would reach the market. A planter or dealer who saw it could hold back his own stock or bargain with ships' pursers ahead of a glut or a shortage. Only the Governor and Council could see it, which kept the supply of meat under their control.
33	26	day of July 1777§ §Ship Alfred§ §Ship Bridgewater§ §Island St. Helena§ §These are to Certify whom it may§ §concern that 338 Casks of Beef & Pork, and§ §Casks of Pease were landed here from the§	The certificate was dated 19 July 1777 and covered goods landed from the *Alfred* and the *Bridgewater*. A second certificate followed, also dated at St Helena on 19 July 1777. It certified that casks of beef and pork, along with casks of pease, had been landed on the island for the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, for the support and

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		§Ship Alfred James Williamson and 468§ §from the Bridgewater William Parker§ §Commr. on Account of the Honble. the§ §United Company of Merchants of England§ §trading to the East Indies for the Sup-§ §port and maintenance of the Persons§ §residing in their said Island of St.§ §Helena dated the 19th day of July 1777§	upkeep of the people living there. The number of casks of pease was left blank. Salt provisions landed, 19 July 1777 Ship Alfred, James Williamson, commander, casks of beef and pork, 338 Ship Bridgewater, William Parker, commander, casks of beef and pork, 468 Casks of pease, number left blank **Interpretations** The two ships landed 806 casks of salt beef and pork in a single delivery. In September 1775 the stores had held about 750 casks, the island's whole reserve. A shipment this size replaced more than a year's supply at once. The certificate stated that the provisions were for the support of the people on the island and not for trade. That allowed the Company and the ships' owners to settle freight on the favourable terms granted to stores for the Company's own settlements. It also gave the Court of Directors proof that the provisions it had paid for had reached St Helena.
34	27	Island St. Helena§ §March 1779§ §This Certifyeth that Capt. A B§ §Commander of Ship and Mr. C D§ §Chief Mate of the said Ship hath paid into§ §the Honble. Companys Treasury here the§ §Sum of £ each for Bills drawn upon§ §the Honble. the Court of Directors at§ §ninety Days sight and that the Govr.§ §& Council have further agreed to receive§ §in the course of this Season on Acct. of§ §the Commander & Officers of said Ship§ §a sum not exceeding £ including the £§ §abovementioned Given under my Hand this§ §Day§ §By Order of Council§ §Signed§ §R. A. Wright Secretary§	A form of certificate followed, dated at St Helena in March 1779. It certified that the commander of a ship, named in the form as Captain A B, and her chief mate, named as C D, had each paid a sum into the Company's treasury on the island in exchange for bills drawn on the Court of Directors at 90 days' sight. The ship's name and the sums were left blank. The Governor and Council had also agreed to accept further money from the commander and officers of that ship during the season, up to a limit left blank, including the sums already paid. Britannicus Alexander Wright signed the certificate as secretary by order of the Council. **Interpretations** By 1779 the Council had begun to set a ceiling on how much money a ship's officers could pay in for bills on London each season. In 1775 it had taken whatever sums commanders offered, such as Fortescue's and Timbrell's £1,000 0s 0d each. Every bill sold added coin to the island's chest but also added a debt the Court of Directors had to pay in London. A limit agreed in advance kept the Company's obligations under control. It also let officers know how much of their private trade profits they could remit, and so plan their dealings on the island. The certificate gave the commander written proof of the amount allowed, so that a later payment within the limit could not be refused.
35	28	Island St. Helena§ §January 1779§ §By Virtue of the Power§ §& Authority invested in Us we do hereby Direct§ §& impower you to take a true & exact§ §Acct. of the No. of Sheep and Goats belonging§ §to each and every Inhabitant of this Island§ §including tame Flocks as well as those§ §on the Honble. Companys Waste Land§ §for which purpose you are to give§ §Notice & require the assistance of the§ §respective Owners of said Flocks the day§ §you intend to have them pounded§ §after which you are to make a§ §Return of the same to Us for which§ §this shall be your sufficient Warrant§ §Signed§ §J. Skottowe§ §D. Corneille§ §To Mr. G. A. Harper M. Bazett§ §W. Wrangham§ §H. Bazett§	A warrant dated at St Helena in January 1779 was addressed to Gabriel Alexander Harper. Under the authority vested in them, the Governor and Council directed and empowered him to take a true and exact count of the sheep and goats belonging to every inhabitant of the island. The count was to cover tame flocks as well as those running on the Company's waste land. For this purpose Harper was to give notice to the owners and require their help on the day he meant to have the animals rounded up and penned. He was then to report the numbers to the Council, and the warrant was his full authority to act. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed it. **Interpretations** The count took in flocks grazing on the Company's waste land as well as those kept on private farms. Planters often let their sheep and goats run wild on the open ground, where they ate the grass and young trees that the Company wanted to protect. Goats in particular had stripped much of the island's native woodland since its first settlement. A full count showed how many animals each owner was keeping on land he did not rent. That gave the Council grounds to charge for the grazing, limit the numbers or order wild stock removed. Rounding up the animals into pounds

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			was the only reliable way to count beasts that roamed loose across the island's steep valleys. Harper was a natural choice for the task. He had served as sheriff and knew the planters and the ground, and in 1776 he had argued before the Council over the use of common land at Red Hill.
36	29	Form of a Letter of Administration§ §Island St. Helena§ §Know all men by these Presents§ §that we the Governor and Council of the said§ §Island upon application made to Us by§ §A B of the said Island Widow of C D late§ §also of the said Island Planter &c. who§ §Died intestate have given and by these§ §Presents Do give and Grant unto the said§ §A B full power and Authority to Ad-§ §minister and dispose of all and Singular§ §the Goods Chattles and Effects of the said§ §C D her said Husband deceased according to§ §justice and also to ask demand sue for§ §recover and receive all Debts due and§ §owing from any Person or Persons§ §whatsoever to the said C D and also to§ §pay or cause to be paid & discharged all§ §just Debts due and owing from the said C D§ §to any Person or Persons whatsoever at the§ §time of his Death as far as the said Goods§ §Chattles and Effects will extend And the said§ §A B is to take or cause to be taken a just§ §and true Inventory of all the Good & Chat-§ §tles belonging to the said C D at the time of§ §his Death and to cause the same to be well§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§ §Legall§ §[...]§	A form of letter of administration followed, headed Island of St Helena. In it the Governor and Council declared that a widow of the island, named in the form as A B, had applied to them after the death of her husband, a planter of the island named as C D, who had died without making a will. They granted her full power and authority to administer and dispose of all his goods, chattels and effects according to justice. She was also empowered to demand, sue for, recover and receive every debt owed to him by anyone. She was likewise to pay, or have paid, every just debt he owed to anyone at the time of his death, as far as his goods, chattels and effects would stretch. She was also to take, or have taken, a fair and true inventory of all the goods and chattels he owned when he died, and to have it [continues]. **Interpretations** When a man died without a will, no one had the automatic right to handle his property. In England the church courts granted letters of administration, usually to the widow or next of kin. St Helena had no church court, so the Governor and Council issued the grant themselves, acting in place of a bishop. The letter gave the widow legal standing to collect debts owed to the estate and to sue those who refused to pay. It also bound her to settle the dead man's debts before keeping anything for herself or his children. The inventory protected the creditors and the heirs. It fixed the value of the estate at the time of death, so that the widow could later be held to account for every item and could not hide goods or sell them cheaply. The same safeguard had been applied to the Bagley estates in 1775, when the appraisers and the widow swore to the inventory before the Council.
37	30	and truly appraised and Valued and§ §is to Deliver the same to Us on the§ §Receipt of this Administration and§ §also to render a true Account of her§ §Administration of the said Goods Chattles§ §and Effects when demanded and for the§ §said A B duly Administering the said Goods§ §Chattles and Effects of the said C D her said§ §Husband Decd. She the said A B together§ §with M B have bound themselves and§ §their Heirs to Us and our Successors in§ §the penal Sum of £ 1000 by a bond or§ §Obligation bearing equal Date herewith§ §Given under Our Hands & the Honble.§ §Companys Seal this day of June in the 19th§ §Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign§ §Lord George the Third by the Grace§ §of God of Great Britain France§ §& Ireland King defender of the faith &§ §so forth and in the Year of our Lord§ §1779§ §Sign'd§ §J. S.§ §D. C.§	The widow was to have the inventory of her late husband's goods properly appraised and valued, and to hand it to the Governor and Council on receiving the grant of administration. She was also to give a true account of how she had dealt with his goods, chattels and effects whenever it was demanded. To guarantee that she would administer the estate faithfully, she and a second person, named in the form as M B, bound themselves and their heirs to the Governor and Council and their successors in the sum of £1,000 0s 0d. They did so by a bond bearing the same date as the letter. The letter was to be given under the Council's hands and the Company's seal in June, in the 19th year of the reign of King George III, in 1779, with the day left blank. It bore the initials J S and D C. **Interpretations** The bond of £1,000 0s 0d made the widow's duties enforceable. If she wasted the estate, hid goods or failed to pay the dead man's creditors, the Council could sue on the bond and recover the loss from her or her surety. The second signatory stood as that surety, usually a relative or neighbour of means who would have to pay if she defaulted. Requiring a surety meant that a widow with little property of her own could still be trusted with an estate, because someone more substantial stood behind her. The sum was fixed and large, well above the value of most planters' estates, so that it would cover any shortfall in full.
38	31	To Mr. A B§ §Sir§ §You are hereby Ordered upon§ §all Alarms when four Guns are fired at§ §any of the Alarm posts immediately to§	A form of order to a member of the island's militia followed, addressed to a man named in the form as A B. Whenever four guns were fired at any of the alarm posts, he was to go at once to Ridge House or High Peak. There he was to place himself under the

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		§repair to the Ridge House, High Peak§ §and put yourself under the Command§ §of Messrs. A B. C D who are appointed§ §by the Governor & Council to Command§ §the East West flying party whose Orders§ §and Instructions you are at all times when§ §on Duty strictly to Obey You are further§ §to assemble on the 2d Tuesday in every§ §Month for Exercise on Francis Plain§ §by nine o'Clock in the Morning to§ §learn the proper use of your Arms§ §And you are hereby apprized that any§ §Militia Man who does not attend§ §the Exercise and Obey the Orders of§ §his Commanding Officer shall be fined§ §for their Contempt of said Orders§ §By Order of Council§ §St. Helena§	command of the two men named as A B and C D, whom the Governor and Council had appointed to command the east and west flying parties. He was to obey their orders and instructions strictly at all times while on duty. He was also to assemble for exercise on Francis Plain by nine o'clock in the morning on the second Tuesday of every month, to learn the proper use of his arms. The order warned him that any militiaman who failed to attend the exercise or to obey his commanding officer would be fined for contempt of those orders. It was issued by order of the Council at St Helena. **Interpretations** The flying parties were mobile bands of armed settlers, one for the east and one for the west of the island. The garrison manned the forts and batteries around James Bay. An enemy, however, might land at one of the island's remote coves and march inland. The settlers' militia was meant to meet such a landing quickly, gathering at high points such as Ridge House and High Peak from which they could move down to whichever bay was threatened. The signal was four guns fired at an alarm post, more than the double alarm of two or three guns used for ships sighted in 1775. Four guns marked a real threat of attack and called out the militia, while lesser alarms only warned the garrison of approaching sails. The order belongs to the years of war with France and the American colonies, when St Helena feared a raid. Monthly drill on Francis Plain, the open ground in the interior, and fines for absence turned the island's planters into a trained reserve for the garrison.
39	32	To Mr. C D§ §Sir§ §You are hereby Ordered upon§ §all Alarms when 4 Guns are fired at any§ §of the Alarm Posts to send with all the§ §Expedition your Men Slaves to the different§ §Posts under mentioned and to supply them§ §with Provision for 24 Hours And as you§ §are indulged in Keeping one of your able§ §Servants to attend your Family Concerns,§ §upon a General Alarm of Six Guns§ §being fired at the Alarm Posts aforesaid§ §you are to Order him immediately to§ §repair to the Lines in James's Valley§ §By Order of Council§ §A B§ §C D§ §Ruperts§ §E F§ §G H§ §Mundens Point§ §I K Gen. Alarms M Fort§	A form of order to a planter followed, addressed to a man named in the form as C D. Whenever four guns were fired at any of the alarm posts, he was to send his male slaves with all speed to the posts named below and supply them with food for 24 hours. He had been allowed to keep back one able servant to look after his family's affairs. If a general alarm of six guns was fired at the alarm posts, however, he was to order that servant at once to the lines in James Valley. The order was issued by order of the Council. The posts to which the slaves were to be sent were listed below the order. Slaves named A B and C D, to Rupert's Slaves named E F and G H, to Munden's Point Slave named I K, at general alarms, to M Fort **Interpretations** Planters' slaves formed part of the island's defence in an emergency. The garrison was small, and the batteries at Rupert's and Munden's Point needed hands to carry powder and shot, haul guns and repair works under fire. The Council required each planter to send named slaves to named posts, so the commanders knew in advance how many labourers they would receive and from whom. The planter, not the Company, bore the cost of their food for the first day, which spread the burden of defence across the island's slave owners. The two signals set two levels of danger. At four guns the planter sent his field slaves but kept one trusted servant at home. At six guns, a general alarm meaning an attack was expected, even that servant went to the lines in James Valley, the main defences above Jamestown. Arming or deploying slaves on an island where they outnumbered the free population carried its own risk. The order kept them under named commanders at fixed posts and gave them labour, not arms, which kept the Council's control over them while still drawing on their numbers.
40	33	To Jno. Nokes Esqr.§ §Sir§ §You are hereby Ordered upon§ §all Alarms when Six Guns are fired at§	An order was addressed to John Nokes. Whenever six guns were fired at any of the alarm posts, he was to send his slave Thomas Stiles at once to the lines in James Valley and to supply him with food for 24 hours.

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		§any of the Alarm Posts immediately to§ §send your Man Slave Thomas Stiles to the§ §line in James's Valley and to supply him§ §with Provision for 24 Hours§ §By Order of Council§ §R. A. Wright Secy.§ §St. Helena§ §List of Discharged Soldiers§ §sent on board with their names time of§ §Servitude &ca.§	Britannicus Alexander Wright signed the order as secretary at St Helena, by order of the Council. A heading followed for a list of discharged soldiers sent aboard ship, giving their names, length of service and other details [continues]. **Interpretations** This was the order already given in model form, now filled in for a single planter and a single named slave. A planter with only one able man was not called on at the lesser alarm of four guns. His slave was summoned only at a general alarm of six guns, when every hand was needed at the main lines above Jamestown. The Council thus scaled each owner's duty to the size of his household, drawing heavily on large slaveholders and lightly on small ones. The slave bore an English first name and surname, Thomas Stiles. That marked him, like the children born to the Company's slaves in 1775, as part of the island's settled slave population. He was not one of the newly imported Africans and Malagasy, who were usually given single names.
41	34	St. Helena§ §Sir§ §It is the Governor and Councils§ §Order that you receive on board the Honble.§ §Companys Ship under your Command§ §A B and carry him to India affording§ §him all needful Accommodations in the§ §Voyage he paying the Expence of his§ §Passage and the Company being at no§ §Charge thereby§ §I am§ §R. A. Wright Secy.§ §Island St. Helena§ §These are to Certify whom it may§ §Concern that the undermentioned Military§ §Stores and Provision were landed from the§ §Ship Capt. A B Commander from§ §England on Account of the Honble. the§ §United Company of Merchants of England§ §trading to the East Indies for the Use§ §and Defence of this their Settlement and§ §for the Support and Maintenance of the§ §Persons residing in the Forts Factories or§ §Settlements belonging to the said United§	A form of order to a ship's commander followed, dated at St Helena. By order of the Governor and Council, he was to take aboard the Company's ship under his command, whose name was left blank, a passenger named in the form as A B and carry him to India. He was to give the passenger every necessary comfort on the voyage. The passenger was to pay for his own passage, at no cost to the Company. Britannicus Alexander Wright signed the order as secretary. A form of certificate came next, headed Island of St Helena. It certified that the military stores and provisions listed below had been landed from a ship, whose name was left blank, under a commander named as Captain A B, arriving from England. They were landed on the account of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, for the use and defence of its settlement and for the support and upkeep of the people living in the forts, factories or settlements belonging to the United [continues]. **Interpretations** Passage on a Company ship was not open to anyone who wished to travel. A commander needed the Council's order before he could carry a passenger from the island to India, even one paying his own fare. The rule let the Council control who left St Helena and where they went. It could stop debtors, deserters or slaves from slipping away aboard an outward-bound ship. The order also made clear that the Company bore no cost, so a commander could not later charge the island for the passenger's food or berth.
42	35	East India Company dated At the said§ §Island of St. Helena this day of§ §in the Year 1780§ §Ship Titus§ §Ship Ptolomy§ §Consultation 21 May 1781§ §Chief Mates Oath upon being§ §appointed to the Command of a Ship the Capt.§ §dying§ §I George Allen do Swear that I§ §will be true and faithful to the Honble.§ §Company, and pay due obedience to all Orders§ §and Instructions received from them by the§ §late Captain Thomas Simbal and such further Orders§ §and Instructions as I may hereafter receive§ §from the said Honble. Company or their Agents§ §So help me God§	The certificate ended with the words "United East India Company", dated at St Helena on a day and month left blank in 1780. It named the ships *Titus* and *Ptolemy*. An oath followed, recorded under a consultation of 21 May 1781. It was the oath sworn by a chief mate on being appointed to command a ship after her captain had died. George Allen swore to be true and faithful to the Company. He also swore to obey all the orders and instructions that the late Captain Thomas Timbrell had received from the Company, until he received further orders and instructions from the Company or its agents. He called on God to help him. **Interpretations** When a commander died on the voyage, his ship could not simply sail on under whoever happened to be senior. The chief mate took command, but only after swearing before the Council to follow the dead captain's instructions from the Company. The oath carried the Company's orders over to the new commander unbroken. A ship's route, ports of call and

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			dealings with her cargo were all laid down in the captain's sealed instructions, and the oath bound the successor to them until London or one of its agents said otherwise. Thomas Timbrell had commanded the *Hampshire* in 1775, when the Council sent him on from St Helena to Fort Marlborough. George Allen had been first mate of the *True Briton* in the same year. By 1781 Allen was evidently Timbrell's chief mate. Timbrell's death at sea placed him in command, and the Council's oath gave his authority the Company's sanction.
43	36	Warrant to the Inspectors§ §Island St. Helena§ §To Mr. Timothy Stiles§ §Whereas You was nominated§ §in Vestry held the 16 day of April last§ §Inspector of the Flocks of Sheep on the East§ §Division of this Island§ §These are therefore to Author-§ §ise and impower you to impound§ §and take an exact account of the said§ §Sheep in the Month of Decr. next parti-§ §cularising the number each Person has in§ §said Division and render an Account§ §thereof to Us the first Council in the Month of Jany. next§ §Given under Our Hands this 2d day§ §of November 1781§ §J. Skottowe§ §D. Corneille§ §M. Bazett§ §W. Wrangham§ §H. Bazett§ **Margin Notes:** §You are also hereby§ §directed to examine the Marks of§ §each Inhabitants Flock of Sheep§ §in said Division & if any Person be§ §found to make use of or retain more§ §than one Mark for each Flock you are to report to Us accordingly.§	The heading read: Warrant to the Inspectors, Island of St Helena. A warrant was addressed to Timothy Stiles. He had been nominated in the vestry on 16 April of that year as inspector of the flocks of sheep in the East Division of the island **Start of crossed out section** in line with the resolutions of the grand jury at the court held on 12 January 1780 **End of crossed out section** The warrant authorised and empowered him to pen up the sheep in the following December and take an exact count of them, showing how many each person in the division owned. He was to report the count to the Council at its first meeting in January. **Start of crossed out section** He was to report it at the next quarterly court. The warrant was to be his authority for doing so. **End of crossed out section** He was also directed to examine the marks on each inhabitant's flock in the division. If anyone was found to be using more than one mark for a single flock, he was to report it to the Council. The warrant was given under the Council's hands on 3 November 1781 and signed by John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. **Interpretations** The count of sheep that Gabriel Alexander Harper had made in 1779 now became a regular duty of elected inspectors, one for each division of the island. The struck-out lines show the clerk moving the authority behind the count. The draft first cited a resolution of the grand jury and required the report at the quarterly court. The final text tied the duty to the vestry nomination and had the report made directly to the Council. The change brought the control of the island's flocks under the Council itself, not the island's court. The rule against using more than one mark for a flock was aimed at theft and fraud. Sheep on the open waste land mingled freely, and each owner cut or branded his own mark to claim them. A planter using two marks could quietly take strays bearing a similar mark, or hide the true size of his flock when grazing was charged or counted. Requiring one mark per flock made every animal traceable to a single owner.
44	37	Ship Blandford at Sea 27th July 1785§ §Latitude 30 .. 17 .. 8§ §Longitude 20 .. 17 West from London§ §This day Lucas Wimbleton Master§ §of the Rebecca Schooner who had been in§ §Company from England and is bound to Goree§ §acquaints Capt. Pigou as Senior Commander§ §that he intends shortly to part from the Fleet§ §and on being desired to come on board the§ §Blandford Thomas Lovell the Owner of the§ §Schooner waits on the Capt. to receive his Dis-§ §patches for England.§ §Captain Pigou reflecting on the§ §great Utility the Schooner had been of to the§ §Ships now in Company ever since they parted§ §from the Convoy and the rest of the Fleet on the§ §3d Instant by the Master of her having at the§	Aboard the ship *Blandford* at sea on 27 July 1781, in latitude 30 degrees 17 minutes and longitude 20 degrees 17 minutes west of London, Lucas Wimbleton, master of the schooner *Rebecca*, informed Captain Pigou as senior commander that he meant shortly to leave the fleet. The *Rebecca* had sailed in company with it from England and was bound for Gorée. Captain Pigou asked him to come aboard the *Blandford*. Thomas Tisdell, the schooner's owner, then waited on the captain to collect his dispatches for England. Captain Pigou considered how useful the schooner had been to the ships still in company since they parted from the convoy and the rest of the fleet on 3 July. At the captain's request her master had gone to inspect every strange sail that appeared after that date, whenever Pigou judged it prudent to send him after one. Pigou knew that the service could suffer badly

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		§Captains request gone to reconnoitre every strange§ §Sail that has appeared from the above time§ §which he thought it prudent to send him§ §after, and being aware the Service might Suffer§ §extremely for the want of such Assistance§ §in future and finding that the Owner of her§ §was to treat for the Sale of the Schooner and§ §being Satisfied by her going so well that she§	without such help in the future. He also learned that the owner was willing to sell the schooner, and he was satisfied by how well she sailed that she [continues]. **Interpretations** A small, fast schooner was valuable to a group of heavy Indiamen sailing without naval escort in wartime. She could run down any strange sail on the horizon and find out whether it was friend or enemy while the merchantmen kept together. Without her, the big ships had to guess at every sighting, and a privateer could close on them before they knew its intent. Losing the *Rebecca* when she turned off for Gorée, the French slaving post off West Africa then held by Britain, would leave the fleet blind. Pigou was evidently preparing to buy her, an outlay not provided for in his orders, and was setting out in writing why the Company's service required it. The record was kept at sea, with latitude and longitude in place of a port, because the decision had to be made before the schooner left.
45	38	peculiarly Calculated for the Service she had§ §been and might still be employed in he thought§ §fit to Consult the other Commanders on an§ §Idea he had conceived of Purchasing her§ §on Account of the Honble. Company in§ §Order to her proceeding with the Fleet to§ §India§ §At a Consultation July 27 1781§ §Present§ §Peter Pigou Senr. Capt. Commr. of the Blandford§ §Edward Fiott Commr. of the Tarter§ §Bruce Boswell Commr. of the Earl of Chesterfield§ §It appears as follows Viz.§ §That before Our departure from§ §Portsmouth Capt. Wolsely Commander of His§ §Majestys Ship Magnatine and of Our Convoy§ §had intimated that he was in expectation of§ §a Frigate to accompany Us the Utility of§ §which he seemed sensible of but was disappointed§ §in that expectation many of the useful purposes§ §of which we conceive have been answered to the§ §Ships now in Company by the Assiduity of§ §the Master of the Schooner now about to leave§ §Us.§	Pigou judged that the schooner was particularly well suited to the work she had been doing and might still be needed for. He therefore decided to consult the other commanders about his plan to buy her on the Company's account, so that she could go on with the fleet to India. A consultation was held on 27 July 1781. Present were Peter Pigou, senior commander and captain of the *Blandford*, Edward Fiott, commander of the *[...]*, and Bruce Boswell, commander of the *Earl of Chesterfield*. They recorded the following. Before the fleet left Portsmouth, Captain Wolseley, commander of His Majesty's ship *Magnanime* and of the convoy, had said that he expected a frigate to join them. He seemed well aware how useful one would be, but the frigate never came. The commanders believed that many of the tasks a frigate would have performed had since been carried out for the ships still in company by the hard work of the schooner's master, who was now about to leave them. **Interpretations** Pigou took the decision to a formal consultation of the three commanders, conducted like a council aboard ship, instead of buying the schooner on his own authority. Spending the Company's money on a vessel was outside any commander's orders. A recorded agreement among all the commanders spread the responsibility and gave the Court of Directors a written case to approve after the fact. The case rested on a frigate that never arrived. Frigates were the scouts of a convoy, fast enough to chase and examine strange sails while the warship of the line and the merchantmen kept their course. Without one, the *Magnanime* could not both guard the fleet and investigate every sighting. Once the ships parted from her on 3 July, the schooner had filled that role. The commanders argued, in effect, that buying her simply supplied what the Admiralty had promised and failed to provide.
46	39	That the Schooner has from the time§ §of parting with the Convoy on the 3d Instant§ §been of very Essential Service to Us by the§ §Masters great attention to the Signal made to§ §her from the Blandford to speak or Reconnoitre§ §all the Strange Sails it was thought prudent§ §to send her after and thereby obtain much§ §useful Information.§ §That had the Ships now in§ §Company Stood on their Course without§ §attempting to Speak with such Sails as§ §appeared from time to time it might§ §reasonably have been concluded that we§ §were Neutral Merchantmen un-§ §willing to be Spoke with.§	The commanders noted that since parting from the convoy on 3 July the schooner had done them essential service. Her master had paid close attention to the *Blandford*'s signals to speak with or inspect every strange sail it seemed wise to send her after, and the fleet had gained a great deal of useful information as a result. They also noted that if the ships had simply held their course without trying to speak with the sails that appeared from time to time, any observer could reasonably have taken them for neutral merchantmen unwilling to be approached. The schooner's movements, on the other hand, had helped give the Company's ships the look of armed cruisers and had probably kept many ships from

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		§That the Manoeuvres of the§ §Schooner on the the Contrary had Con-§ §tributed to give the Companys Ships§ §the Appearance of Cruizers of Force§ §and had probably prevented many Ships§ §from approaching particularly a Sail the§ §Blandford saw from her Deck on the 18th§ §Instant to Leeward Standing on the contrary§ §Tack which made a Private Signal We did§ §not under Stand and on the Schooner§ §being sent after her proved to be a Frigate§	coming near. One example was a sail the *Blandford* sighted from her deck to leeward on 18 July, sailing on the opposite tack. She made a private signal that the fleet did not understand, and when the schooner was sent after her she proved to be a frigate [continues]. **Interpretations** The commanders argued that the schooner protected the fleet by appearance as well as by scouting. A group of merchantmen that ignored passing ships looked weak and eager to avoid notice, which invited privateers to close in. A fleet that sent a fast vessel to challenge every stranger behaved like a squadron of warships on patrol. Large East Indiamen already carried guns and resembled ships of war at a distance. The schooner's bold manoeuvres completed the illusion, and enemy captains seeing it were likely to keep their distance. The private signal they could not read showed the danger of meeting ships at sea in wartime. Each navy used secret recognition signals, changed often, so that friends could identify one another and enemies could not imitate them. A ship that answered wrongly, or not at all, might be fired on. Sending the schooner to identify the stranger let the fleet learn who she was without bringing the Indiamen themselves within range.
47	40	of twenty Six Guns which hoisted French§ §Colours and stood on. And as a Proof§ §how far the presumption of Our Apparent§ §Consequence is well founded a Portuguese§ §Vessel spoken to by the Schooner was§ §confident that we were Men of War as§ §the Blandford and Tartar by Orders from§ §Capt. Wolseley and the Chesterfield and§ §Schooner since parting with him have§ §constantly wore Pendants which must have§ §Strengthen'd the Appearance of Our being§ §Ships in his Majestys Service as the Schooner§ §informed him Though at the same time we§ §took all necessary precautions to keep at the greatest§ §Distance possibly from every Ship We saw§ §without Signs of Fear.§ §That had the abovementioned Frigate§ §been acquainted we were Indiamen though§ §She was of a Force unequal to the Capture§ §of Us yet from her superiority in Sailing§ §She might have been put about after Us§ §and possibly disabled some of Our Masts§ §and Rigging which in the Dangerous§ §Latitudes We were then might have been§ §productive of fatal Consequences particularly§ §as we had receive intelligence on the 13th Instant§ §by a Portuguese Vessel bound from Lisbon to London§	The stranger proved to be a French frigate of 26 guns, which hoisted French colours and stood on her course. The commanders saw proof that the fleet's show of strength had worked. A Portuguese vessel that the schooner spoke with was certain that they were men-of-war. On Captain Wolseley's orders the *Blandford* and the *Tartar* had flown pennants, and the *Chesterfield* and the schooner had done the same since parting from him. The pennants, the commanders believed, strengthened the impression that their ships were in the King's service, as the schooner had told the Portuguese. At the same time they had taken every precaution to keep as far as possible from every ship they sighted, without showing any sign of fear. They also considered that if the French frigate had known they were Indiamen, she might have turned to chase them, even though she lacked the strength to take them. Being the faster sailer, she could have damaged their masts and rigging. In the dangerous latitudes they were then crossing, that could have had fatal consequences, especially since on 13 July they had received news from a Portuguese vessel bound from Lisbon to London [continues]. **Interpretations** The pennant was the long narrow streamer flown only by ships in commission in the Royal Navy. Merchant ships were forbidden to fly it in peacetime, but Wolseley had ordered the Indiamen to wear it as a ruse of war. Combined with the schooner's movements, it made the fleet look like a naval squadron, and the French frigate kept her distance. The commanders' fear was not capture but crippling. A single frigate could not board several heavily manned Indiamen. Being faster, though, she could stand off and fire at their masts and rigging. A ship dismasted in the open Atlantic, far from any port, faced ruin, and the rest of the fleet would have had to stay with her or leave her to her fate. Avoiding a fight altogether, through bluff and distance, was the safest course.
48	41	that Mons. Guichens Squadron of Eighteen§ §Sail of the line and five Frigates were then§ §off the Coast of Portugal and Officer from one§ §having boarded him when in sight of the Berlings§ §That should we have Calms hereafter§ §of any considerable Duration or any other circumstance§ §should occur tending to prolong our passage from§	The Portuguese vessel had reported that the French admiral Guichen's squadron of 18 ships of the line and five frigates was then off the coast of Portugal. One of its officers had boarded her while she was in sight of the Berlengas. The commanders further noted that the passage might be lengthened by calms of any duration or other mishaps. All the ships were using up their water

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		§the great Expence of water in all the Ships§ §and possibly from the Health of the Troops§ §on board the Blandford and Earl of Chesterfield§ §suffering in Consequence of such delay We may§ §be Obliged to make for the Second place of§ §Rendezvous in the first instance.§ §That it is probable from the long§ §continuance of bad weather and foul winds§ §after we parted from the Convoy and the rest of§ §the Fleet they have put into some Port in Ireland§ §in which Event as the time of Our Continuance§ §at the Place of our First Rendezvous is§ §limitted to a Short days and as some of the Honble.§ §Companys Ships in that Fleet are very§ §heavy Sailors, it is extremely probable that we may§ §be Obliged to depart from our first Rendezvous§ §should we have the good fortune to reach it§ §early before the rest of the Fleet can possibly arrive§ §there and in that event in leaving the§ §Schooner for a limitted time and to follow§	heavily, and the health of the troops aboard the *Blandford* and the *Earl of Chesterfield* might suffer from such a delay. In that case they might have to make first for the second place of rendezvous. They thought it probable that, after the long spell of bad weather and foul winds since they parted from the convoy, the rest of the fleet had put into some port in Ireland. If so, the time they could wait at the first place of rendezvous would be limited to a few days. Some of the Company's ships in that fleet were very slow sailers. If the commanders were lucky enough to reach the first rendezvous early, they might well have to leave it before the rest of the fleet could arrive. In that event they would leave the schooner there for a limited time, to follow [continues]. **Interpretations** The news of Guichen's squadron raised the stakes. A French fleet of 18 ships of the line off Portugal lay close to the route south, and any straggler from the Company's ships could be swept up. The Berlengas, a cluster of islands off the Portuguese coast, were a common landfall, so the sighting was recent and nearby. A scout able to look ahead and warn the Indiamen was worth more than ever. The commanders were also building their second argument for the schooner, as a messenger between parts of a scattered fleet. If they reached the rendezvous early and could not wait for slower ships delayed in Ireland, the schooner could be left behind to meet them and pass on orders or news. Without her, ships arriving later would find no one there and would not know where the rest had gone. Water and the health of the troops aboard limited how long the Indiamen could linger at sea, but the schooner, with her small crew, could stay.
49	42	Us to the Second Rendezvous immediately§ §upon the Arrival of Our Convoy or at§ §the Expiration of that limitted time to follow Us§ §at all events might be of Great Service§ §in Regulating our future determinations§ §and the more so as the time of continuance§ §at the Second Rendezvous in Our Orders§ §is unlimitted and must Occasion great§ §Solicitude if we are not fortunate enough to§ §regain Our Convoy The apprehensions of§ §our not meeting with which are the more§ §Serious from the Intelligence We receive§ §from the Portuguese Vessel As mentioned§ §in 4th Article§ §That Should we ourselves§ §unfortunately fall in with a Superior§ §Force the Great advantage the Schooner§ §has in point of Sailing would probably§ §enable her to escape with the intelligence§ §And should such Event take place in§ §the Indian Seas that Information§ §might be communicated to Our Fleet§ §there to a great purpose.§ §That Should we regain§ §Our Convoy or not be so fortunate it§ §might hereafter be an advisable measure§ §to Dispatch the Schooner to Madrass§	The schooner could follow them to the second rendezvous as soon as the convoy arrived, or in any case once the set time ran out. Either way she would be of great use in shaping their later decisions. That mattered all the more because their orders set no limit on how long they were to wait at the second rendezvous. If they failed to rejoin the convoy, the waiting would cause great anxiety, and the fear of missing it was the more serious after the news from the Portuguese vessel described in the fourth point. The commanders added that if they had the misfortune to meet a superior force, the schooner's great advantage in speed would probably let her escape with word of it. If that happened in Indian waters, the news could be carried to the British fleet there to great effect. Finally, whether or not they rejoined the convoy, it might later be wise to send the schooner on to Madras [continues]. **Interpretations** The commanders' last arguments turned the schooner from a scout into a dispatch vessel. Indiamen were too slow and too valuable to send off alone with news. A fast schooner could outrun an enemy that had overpowered the fleet and carry warning ahead, to the rest of the convoy or to the naval squadron in Indian waters. In 1781 France was sending Suffren's fleet to the Indian Ocean. Early news of enemy movements could decide whether British ships and settlements were caught unprepared. Sending her ahead to Madras would also bring word of the fleet's approach and condition to the presidency well before the heavy ships arrived.
50	43	with the Information of the Reinforcement§ §with which we are proceeding to the Coast as§ §such Intelligence by that means must necessarily§ §reach that place a considerable time before§ §we could Arrive and possibly it at so critical§ §a Juncture that the difference of a few§	The schooner could carry to Madras the news of the reinforcements the fleet was bringing to the coast. By that means the news would reach Madras well before the Indiamen could. At so critical a time, a difference of a few days, or even hours, in delivering it might matter greatly.

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		§Days or even Hours in the Communication§ §it might be of the last importance§ §That on Our Arrival in India§ §the Schooner might be very Serviceable employed§ §as a Despatch boat a Pilot Boat in§ §Bengal River or for many other useful§ §purposes as she is Sheathed with Copper Sails very§ §fast is perfectly Strong her upper Works being§ §of Cedar Burthens only 80 Tons and has on§ §board a Master and four experienced Seamen,§ §who as constantly brought the Clearest and§ §fullest Information of all the Vessels he as been§ §sent after.§ §That as the Original Intention§ §of the Owner was to dispose of the Schooner on§ §the Coast of Guinea were he himself expected to§ §be employed in the Commission business excepting§ §her Provision She had nothing now on board§ §but Slops to the Value about £ 80 the whole of§ §which the Commanding Officer of the detachment§ §of his Majestys 78 Regiment on board the§	Once in India, the schooner could be put to good use as a dispatch boat, as a pilot boat in the Bengal river, or for many other purposes. She was sheathed with copper, sailed very fast and was perfectly sound, with upper works of cedar. She measured only 80 tons. Her crew was a master and four experienced seamen, and the master had always brought back the clearest and fullest information on every vessel he had been sent after. The owner had first meant to sell the schooner on the coast of Guinea, where he himself expected to work in the commission trade. Apart from her provisions, she now carried nothing but slop clothing worth about £80 0s 0d. The whole of this the commanding officer of the detachment of His Majesty's 78th Regiment aboard the [continues]. **Interpretations** The reinforcements were troops of the 78th Regiment of Foot, carried aboard the *Blandford* and the *Earl of Chesterfield* for the war in southern India. In 1781 Hyder Ali of Mysore had overrun much of the Carnatic, and Madras was in grave danger. Word that fresh regiments were coming could steady the presidency's councils and shape its plans for a campaign. That was why the commanders argued that a few days' or hours' advance warning might be decisive. Copper sheathing made the schooner especially valuable. It protected the hull from shipworm and kept weed and barnacles from fouling it, so she stayed fast in warm waters where an unsheathed hull soon grew slow. The Royal Navy had only begun coppering its fleet in the late 1770s, and a coppered vessel was a prize asset in the Indian seas. A pilot boat on the Hooghly, guiding ships through the shoals of the Bengal river, needed exactly that speed and seaworthiness.
51	44	Blandford as agreed to take for the Use§ §of the Troops.§ §That Thomas Nesbett the§ §Owner of the Schooner expressed his desire in§ §the Event of Our purchasing her to return§ §immediately from India to Great Britain§ §and is in that case to be bound by a positive§ §agreement to assent to the Authority that§ §might if Occasion should require it be exercised§ §in forcibly sending him to Great Britain§ §and by such agreement will exclude himself§ §or his Representatives from bringing any§ §Action or Prosecution in Consequence of§ §such Act§ §That the Sum demanded by§ §the Owner of the said Schooner for the purchase§ §of her together with her tackling Furniture§ §and Provisons as Specified in the Agreement§ §annexed being Thirteen Hundred pounds§ §Sterling in the present Circumstances We§ §conceived not be an unseasonably Sum§ §Capt. Edward Fiott having offered the§ §Sum of Eleven hundred pounds for the purchase§ §of her at Liverpool on the breaking of the§ §Dutch War when she had ten four pounders§ §and Ammunition &ca. fit for 6 months§ §Cruize.§	The commanding officer of the detachment aboard the *Blandford* had agreed to take the slop clothing for the use of his troops. Thomas Nesbitt, the schooner's owner, had said that if the commanders bought her he wished to return from India to Great Britain at once. In that case he would sign a binding agreement to submit to any authority that might, if need arose, send him back to Great Britain by force. By the same agreement he would bar himself and his heirs from bringing any action or prosecution over such an act. The owner asked £1,300 0s 0d for the schooner, together with her tackle, fittings and provisions as listed in the attached agreement. In the present circumstances the commanders did not think this an unreasonable sum. Captain Edward Fiott had offered £1,100 0s 0d for her at Liverpool when war broke out with the Dutch. At that time she carried ten four-pounder guns and ammunition and was fitted out for a six months' cruise. **Interpretations** Nesbitt's agreement to be sent home by force reflected the Company's monopoly. No British subject could stay in India without the Company's licence, and the Company guarded that rule closely against private traders who might compete with it. A man arriving in a vessel he had just sold had no such licence. By agreeing in advance to be shipped home, and waiving any lawsuit for it, Nesbitt removed the main objection the Company could raise to the purchase. The commanders could not otherwise have bought a ship whose owner would then be left in India without leave. The price was justified by comparison with Fiott's earlier offer. War with the Dutch had begun in December 1780, and Fiott had then valued her at £1,100 0s 0d when she was armed as a privateer for a cruise. The extra £200 0s 0d now covered her provisions, her place in mid-ocean where no other

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			vessel could be had, and the voyage she had already made.
52	45	That though We apprehend many other§ §reasons might be adduced to evince the great§ §Utility of the proposed measure We humbly§ §conceived that those already ennumerated will§ §have Sufficient weight with the Honble. Court§ §of Directors as well as with the Governor§ §General and Council at Fort William on whom§ §our Bills for Payment of the Amount of the§ §purchase are intended to be drawn as no other§ §motives influence Our opinion and Conduct on§ §this Occasion than such as we presume§ §to be for the Security of the great trust§ §reposed in us and the real Interest of the§ §Honble. Company at this most Critical§ §Juncture and which nothing but the urgent§ §urgency of the Case could have made Us§ §adopt.§ §Resolved§ §That for the reasons before recited§ §the Rebecca Schooner be purchased§ §for the purposes abovementioned and that§ §Bills be Drawn in our Joint Names on§ §the Honble. the Governor General and§ §Councils at Fort William Bengal for the§ §Sum of Thirteen Hundred Pounds§ §payable at 30 days sight to the Owner of the§	The commanders believed many more reasons could be given to show how useful the purchase would be. They trusted, however, that those already set out would carry enough weight with the Court of Directors and with the Governor **Start of crossed out section** and Council **End of crossed out section** General and Council at Fort William, on whom they meant to draw bills to pay for her. They declared that no other motive had guided their judgement and conduct than the safety of the great trust placed in them and the true interest of the Company at so critical a time. Nothing but the pressing urgency of the case could have led them to take this step. They resolved, for the reasons given, to buy the schooner *Rebecca* for the purposes described. Bills were to be drawn in their joint names on the Governor General and Council at Fort William in Bengal for £1,300 0s 0d, payable at 30 days' sight to the owner of the [continues]. **Interpretations** The commanders drew their bills on the Governor General and Council in Bengal, not on the Court of Directors in London. The schooner was to serve in India, and Fort William was the seat of the Company's government there, so the cost was charged to the presidency that would benefit. A bill on Bengal at 30 days' sight would also be met far sooner than one sent home to London, which suited the owner, who planned to return to Britain at once. Signing the bills in their joint names made the three commanders personally answerable if Bengal refused to pay. That was the risk behind their careful case. The long statement of reasons, and the plea that only urgent necessity had moved them, were meant to persuade both Fort William and the Court of Directors to accept the purchase and honour the bills.
53	46	said Schooner for the Purchase of the§ §same.§ §Given under our hands on board§ §the Ship Blandford this 27 July 1781§ §Signed§ §Peter Pigou§ §Edward Fiott§ §Bruce Boswell§ §We the Underwritten having§ §perused the above Consultation do for the§ §reasons therein Assigned intirely concur§ §in Opinion with the Commanders of the§ §Honble. Companys Ships§ §Signed§ §Hon. Thos. Maitland§ §Capt. 78 Regt.§ §J. K. Hone§ §George Mackensie§ §78 Regt.§ §Charles Halket§ §Captain 78 Regt.§	The bills were to be paid to the owner of the schooner for her purchase. The resolution was signed aboard the *Blandford* on 27 July 1781 by Peter Pigou, Edward Fiott and Bruce Boswell. The army officers aboard then added their agreement. Having read the consultation, they declared that, for the reasons it gave, they fully agreed with the opinion of the commanders of the Company's ships. They signed as follows. The Honourable Thomas Maitland, captain, 78th Regiment [...] George Mackenzie, 78th Regiment Charles Halkett, captain, 78th Regiment **Interpretations** The commanders had the officers of the 78th Regiment endorse their decision. The troops were the reinforcements the schooner was to announce at Madras, and their safety was part of the commanders' case. Officers' signatures, among them a captain from the noble Maitland family, gave the purchase weight with the Governor General at Fort William and with the Court of Directors. It showed that the King's officers responsible for the soldiers aboard agreed that the purchase served the war effort, not merely the commanders' own convenience. The consultation was copied into the St Helena draft book, which suggests the fleet called at the island afterwards and left the record with the Council.
54	47	Acct. of Provisions and Stores on board the§ §Schooner Rebecca.§ §Provisions§	The account of provisions and stores aboard the schooner *Rebecca* was attached as follows. Provisions and stores aboard the schooner Rebecca

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		§Beef§ §Barrels 2½§ §Pork§ §do. 1§ §Flour§ §do. 2½§ §Split Pease§ §Firkin 1§ §Bread§ §pounds 500§ §Water§ §Casks 6§ §Sails§ §Main Sail Wore§ §2§ §Fore Sail do.§ §2§ §Square Sails§ §1§ §Fore Stay Sails§ §1§ §Flying Jib§ §1§ §Standing Jib§ §1§ §Square Top Sail§ §1§ §Gaff do.§ §1§ §Bower Anchor§ §2§ §Kedge do.§ §1§ §Wore Cable§ §1§ §Wore Shot do.§ §2§ §Rope for Shrouds§ §1§ §Small ton Line for Buoy Rope 16 Fathoms§ §1§ §Spare Rope 2½ about Fathoms§ §10§ §Tar§ §Barrells 2 .. 3½§	Provisions Beef, 2½ barrels Pork, 1 barrel Flour, 2[...] barrels Split pease, 1 firkin Bread, 500 lb Water, 6 casks Sails Main sails, worn, 2 Fore sails, worn, 2 Square sail, 1 Fore staysail, 1 Flying jib, 1 Standing jib, 1 Square topsail, 1 Gaff topsail, 1 Ground tackle and rope Bower anchors, 2 Kedge anchor, 1 New cable, 1 Worn cable shots, 2 Rope for shrouds, 1 coil Small line for buoy rope, 16 fathoms, 1 Spare rope, about 10 fathoms Tar, 2¾ barrels **Interpretations** The schooner's sails show a fast, handy rig suited to scouting. She carried fore-and-aft main and fore sails for working close to the wind, with jibs forward and square sails and topsails for running before it. That combination let her turn quickly to chase a stranger, then race back to the fleet. Her provisions, enough for a crew of five for many weeks, were part of the £1,300 0s 0d price, so she could go straight into the Company's service without restocking.
55	48	Canvas No. 6§ §Bolt 3§ §6 No. 3§ §Yds. 17§ §6 No. 11§ §Bolt 1§ §Iron Guns 3 Pounders§ §No. 4§ §Carriages for do.§ §2§ §Powder§ §Barrels ½§ §Shot§ §Brass Blunderbusses§ §6§ §Cutlases§ §6§ §Wall Peice§ §1§ §Musquet§ §1§	The account of the schooner's stores continued. Canvas number 6, 3 bolts Canvas number 3, 17 yards Canvas number [...], 1 bolt Iron three-pounder guns, 4 Carriages for the guns, 2 Gunpowder, ½ barrel Shot, 0 Brass blunderbusses, 6 Cutlasses, 6 Wall piece, 1 Musket, 1 **Interpretations** The schooner was lightly armed, with four three-pounder guns and only two carriages to mount them. That was far less than the ten four-pounders she had carried when fitted out as a privateer at Liverpool. Her value lay in speed, not firepower, and her guns were meant only to warn off a small boat or answer a signal. Blunderbusses, cutlasses and a wall piece, a heavy musket fired from a swivel or rail, were for defending her against boarders in close action. With a crew of five she could never fight a real enemy, so her safety rested on outrunning one.
56	49	Copy of a Commission for holden§ §a Court to Condemn Prizes§ §By A B Esqr. Governor of the§ §Island St. Helena§	The heading read: Copy of a commission for holding a court to condemn prizes. The commission was issued by the Governor of St Helena, named in the form as A B. George Johnstone, commodore and commander-in-chief of a squadron of

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		§Whereas application has been§ §made to me by George Johnstone Esqr.§ §Commodore Commander in Chief of§ §a Squadron of His Majestys Ships and§ §Vessels Employed on a Particular§ §Service by his letter dated the 5th§ §of Sept. 1781 setting forth that the§ §following Ships belonging to the§ §Subjects of the States General of§ §the United Provinces have been taken§ §by the Squadron of his Majestys Ships§ §and Vessels under his Command near§ §the Cape of Good Hope§ §Viz.§ §The Heldwaltemade Commanded by Capt.§ §Volyke from Amsterdam bound to Ceylon§ §The Vankbaarheyt Commanded Stetsel§ §from Bengal bound to Rotterdam§	His Majesty's ships and vessels employed on a special service, had applied to him by letter dated 5 September 1781. The letter stated that the following ships, belonging to subjects of the States General of the United Provinces, had been taken by his squadron near the Cape of Good Hope. Ship Held Woltemade, Captain Vrolyke, from Amsterdam, bound for Ceylon Ship Dankbaarheid, Captain Stotsel, from Bengal, bound for Rotterdam **Interpretations** Commodore George Johnstone had been sent in 1781 with a squadron to seize the Dutch colony at the Cape. A French squadron under Suffren reached the Cape first and made that impossible. Instead, in July 1781, Johnstone surprised a group of Dutch East Indiamen sheltering in Saldanha Bay and took several of them. The *Held Woltemade* and the *Dankbaarheid* were among these prizes. A captured ship did not belong to her captors until a court of admiralty had condemned her as lawful prize. Only then could she and her cargo be sold and the money shared among the officers and crews. St Helena was the nearest British territory to the Cape. Johnstone therefore asked the Governor to set up a court on the island to try the case, so that his prizes could be condemned without the long voyage home to England first.
57	50	The Pearl Commanded by Capt. Plokker§ §from China bound to Amsterdam§ §The Honkoop Comm. by Capt. Land from§ §China bound to Amsterdam§ §The Hoogkarspel Commanded by Capt.§ §Hermiyce from China bound to Amsterdam§ §And that the said Ships formerly belonging§ §to the Subjects of the States General§ §are now brought into the Harbour of§ §St. Helena and lying under the Guns§ §of the Forts of this Island and request-§ §ing that fit and proper Commissions§ §agreeably to His Majestys Charters§ §for the Administration of Justice§ §to all his Subjects in all Maritime§ §Cases whatsoever concerning any§ §Person or Persons residing coming§ §or being in the Places aforesaid§ §and all Cases of Trespasses, Injuries and§ §Wrongs done or Committed upon the§ §High Seas in the Parts of Asia Africa§ §and America to which the said Charters§ §extend may be appointed to hear the§ §Evidences and take judicial Cognizances§ §concerning the said Captures Justice§ §so requiring.§	The list of captured ships continued. Ship Paarl, Captain Plokker, from China, bound for Amsterdam Ship Honkoop, Captain Land, from China, bound for Amsterdam Ship Hoogkarspel, Captain Hermijer, from China, bound for Amsterdam Johnstone's letter went on to say that these ships, formerly the property of subjects of the States General, had now been brought into the harbour of St Helena and lay under the guns of the island's forts. He asked that fit and proper commissioners be appointed, as His Majesty's charters provided, to hear evidence and take judicial notice of the captures as justice required. The charters provided for justice to all the King's subjects in every maritime case concerning anyone living in, coming to or present in those places. They also covered all trespasses, injuries and wrongs done on the high seas in the parts of Asia, Africa and America to which the charters extended. **Interpretations** The prizes had been brought to St Helena and placed under the guns of its forts for safety. The French squadron that had beaten Johnstone to the Cape was still in those waters, and Dutch or French ships might try to retake the prizes on the open sea. Anchored in James Bay, they were protected by the island's batteries until the court decided their fate. Johnstone relied on the royal charters that gave the East India Company the right to set up courts in its territories. Those charters covered maritime cases and wrongs done at sea in Asia, Africa and America. Using them, the Governor could appoint commissioners on the island to act as a prize court with lawful authority. Without such a court, a sale of the ships and their cargoes could later be challenged, and the captors would have no sound title to pass to the buyers.
58	51	And upon taking the said request§ §of the said G J in behalf of himself§ §and the other Captors of the said§ §Prizes into our Consideration by§ §and with the advice and Consent§ §of the Council for the Island of St.§ §Helena I do hereby Constitute and§ §appoint You Danl. Corneille Esqr.§ §learned in the Civil Law and T D§	The Governor considered Johnstone's request, made for himself and the other captors of the prizes. With the advice and consent of the Council of St Helena, he appointed Daniel Corneille, as a man learned in the civil law, together with two merchants living on the island, named in the form as P D O and W W D, as commissioners. A majority of them could act, provided the man learned in the civil law was always one of them. They had full power to hear and

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		§and W W D Merchants residing§ §here or the Major part of you§ §whereof the said Person learned in§ §the Civil Law is always to be one§ §Commissioners with full Power to§ §hear and determine the Cases of§ §Forfeitures and Seizures respecting the§ §said Ships in which you proceed accord-§ §ing to the Rules of Equity and good§ §Conscience and according to the Laws§ §and Customs of Nations, and particu-§ §larly according to the Interrogatories§ §Established in the High Court of§ §Admiralty for such like Maritime§ §causes and also by such ways and§ §means as by you the Judges Consti-§ §tuted by this Commission shall in your§ §best Judgement appear meet and§	decide the cases of forfeiture and seizure concerning the ships. In doing so they were to follow the rules of equity and good conscience and the laws and customs of nations. In particular, they were to use the interrogatories established in the High Court of Admiralty for such maritime cases, and any other means that seemed fit to them as judges under the commission. **Interpretations** Prize law belonged to the civil law, the Roman-based law of the admiralty courts and of nations, not to the common law used in England's ordinary courts. The commission therefore required that one commissioner be learned in the civil law and that he sit in every hearing. Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, filled that role. Adding two merchants gave the court practical knowledge of ships, cargoes and trade, needed to judge ownership and value. The standing interrogatories of the High Court of Admiralty were the fixed set of questions put to the captured ship's master and crew under oath. They asked who owned the ship and cargo, where she had sailed from, where she was bound and under what flag. The answers showed whether the ship was truly enemy property and so lawful prize. Requiring the island court to use them tied its judgment to the same standard as the court in London, so its decisions would stand if challenged.
59	52	just whether it be by Summary Way,§ §or otherwise, according to the Exigence of the§ §Cases that may be brought before you§ §and all your Judgements determinations§ §and decrees which may be made in the§ §said Causes are to be put in Writing§ §and Signified to the Persons that shall§ §be present at the making of the Same§ §and shall contain a Short State of§ §the Matter of Fact and Your Sentence§ §and Adjudication thereupon for which§ §this shall be Your Authority.§ §Given under my Hand,§ §and the Seal of the Island of§ §St. Helena and witnessd by the§ §Members of Council of the said§ §Island on the 7th of Sept. and in the§ §the 21st Year of His Majestys§ §Reign§ §(Signed)§ §A B§	The commissioners could proceed by summary process or otherwise, as the urgency of each case required. Every judgment, decision and decree they made was to be put in writing and announced to those present when it was given. Each was to contain a short statement of the facts, followed by the court's sentence and ruling. The commission was to be their authority for this. It was given under the Governor's hand and the seal of the island of St Helena, and witnessed by the members of the Council, on 7 September 1781, in the 21st year of the King's reign. It was signed with the initials A B. **Interpretations** The court was allowed to proceed in summary fashion because time pressed. The prizes and their crews lay in James Bay at the island's expense, and Johnstone's squadron could not wait months for a full hearing in the manner of London. Captured cargoes of tea and goods from China and Bengal also spoiled with delay. A quick decision let the ships and cargoes be sold while they still held their value. Requiring a written judgment with a short statement of facts protected the decision against appeal. Prize cases could be carried to the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in London, and a Dutch owner might claim his ship had been wrongly taken. A written record of what the court found and why gave the higher court something to review. Without it, the captors' title to the prizes would have been open to challenge.
60	53	Island St. Helena§ §Know all Men by these presents§ §that we the Governor and Council of the§ §said Island upon application made to Us§ §by praying liberty that Son§ §of might be inserted in the within Lease§ §in the room or Stead of a§ §deceased Nominee We do according to§ §the prayer of the said Petition§ §hereby admit the Name of the Son§ §of Mr. to Stand in the within§ §mentioned In Witness whereof§ §we the said Governor and Council have§ §hereunto set our hands and Affixed the§ §Honble. Companys Seal this Day§ §of in the Year of Our Lord 1783§	A form of endorsement for a lease followed, headed Island of St Helena. In it the Governor and Council declared that a leaseholder, whose name was left blank, had petitioned for leave to insert the name of a son of a named person in the lease, in place of a nominee who had died. Granting the petition, they admitted the son's name to stand in the lease. The Governor and Council were to sign it and fix the Company's seal, with the day and month left blank, in 1783. **Interpretations** This was the standard wording for renewing a life on a lease. Island leases ran for the lives of the people named in them, called nominees, and ended when the last of them died. When a nominee died, the leaseholder could ask to put a new name in his place

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			and so keep the lease running. The endorsement was written on the lease itself, the "within lease" of the form, so that the deed showed every change of name. The Council had granted exactly this kind of request to William Wrangham in 1775, when he put his children's names in place of the dead Alcocks on several leases. Each renewal earned the Company a fee of half a year's rent. A ready form let the clerk record such changes quickly, and the island's leases could pass down through families from one generation to the next.
61	54	(Copy) Orders & Instructions§ §given by the Court of Directors to Capt.§ §Henry Churchill dated 15th January 1783§ §St. H. Ben. & China§ §We hereby direct that when§ §you send a Shore the Treasure on board§ §you consigned to our President and§ §Council (which must every Chest be§ §boxed) yourself or the Purser or other§ §Person you shall appoint do accompany§ §it and to be present at the delivery§ §opening and Examined to see if it§ §comes out according to invoice if by§ §any accident it cannot be immediatly§ §opened it is to be lodged in a proper§ §place and you or the Person so appointed§ §is to have a Lock upon it untill it§ §can be so examined Our president and§ §Council have notice of and will con-§ §form themselves unto this Direction.§ §Be very careful that§ §neither yourself nor any of your§ §Mariners or any Persons do sell or§ §Deliver out of the Ship untill her§	The heading read: Copy of the orders and instructions given by the Court of Directors to Captain Henry Churchill, dated 15 January 1783, for St Helena, Bengal and China. The Court directed that when Churchill sent ashore the treasure aboard his ship consigned to the President and Council, every chest of which had to be [...], he himself, the purser or another person he appointed was to go with it. That person was to be present when it was delivered, opened and examined, to see that it matched the invoice. If for any reason it could not be opened at once, it was to be stored in a proper place. Churchill or the person he appointed was to keep a lock on it until it could be examined. The Court had informed the President and Council, who would follow this direction. 38: Churchill was to take great care that neither he, nor any of his crew, nor anyone else sold or delivered out of the ship, before her return to England, any goods loaded [continues]. **Interpretations** The rule on treasure made the ship's officers witnesses to its delivery. Chests of silver coin and bullion went out to India and China to pay for tea, cloth and the costs of government. A shortfall found later could be blamed either on the ship or on the receiving settlement. By having the commander or purser present when each chest was opened and checked against the invoice, the Court fixed responsibility at the moment of handover. The ship's officer kept his own lock on any chest that could not be opened at once, so no one ashore could open it unwatched before it was counted. The ban on selling goods out of the ship guarded the Company's cargo against private trade. Officers and crew had their own allowance of private goods. Selling any of the Company's lading along the way, at an island such as St Helena or at a foreign port, would be theft from the Company and would undercut its sales in London.
62	55	on board your said Ship but thereby§ §you bring your Owners and us into§ §trouble by causing the Bond given§ §at the Custom House to prevent§ §breaking bulk which is in twelve thousand Four§ §Hundred and Seventy five pounds penalty to be§ §put in Suit, and by bringing on yourself and§ §the Ships Company divers other ill consequences We§ §must likewise tell you, that by Law all such goods§ §so run from on board are forfeited though the Goods§ §should escape, yet the Value will be sued for,§ §and recovered by information afterwards, even by any§ §of your Seamen, from the Persons who can be proved§ §guilty, and we require you to give Public Notice hereof§ §to all your Ships Company that none may pretend igno-§ §rance of the Laws and that several Prosecutions have§ §been Commenced on this Account. We understand§ §some of our Captains have pretended this Clause as a§ §justification to them not to deliver out any Necessaries§ §to our Governor and Council at St. Helena§ §though they where Shewn our Orders to§ §the Governor and Council to Demand§	Any such sale would bring the owners and the Court into trouble. It would cause the bond given at the Custom House against breaking bulk, which carried a penalty of £12,475 0s 0d, to be sued for. It would also bring various other ill consequences on Churchill and his crew. The Court warned him that by law all goods smuggled off a ship in this way were forfeit. Even if the goods themselves got away, their value would be sued for and recovered later on information laid by anyone, even one of his own seamen, against those who could be proved guilty. He was to give public notice of this to his whole crew, so that none could claim ignorance of the law. Several prosecutions had already been brought on this account. The Court understood that some of its commanders had used this clause as an excuse for refusing to hand over necessary supplies to the Governor and Council at St Helena. They had done so even though they had seen the Court's orders to the Governor and Council to demand such supplies from returning commanders out of the Company's cargoes. The Court therefore told Churchill to supply the island as those orders directed, if he could reach the goods,

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		§them of our returning Commanders out§ §of our Cargoes We mention this that§ §you do Supply them according to those§ §Orders if you can come at the Goods taking§ §receipts for what you deliver which you give§	taking receipts for whatever he delivered. He was to give [continues]. **Interpretations** Breaking bulk meant opening the cargo and removing goods before the ship reached her port of discharge. Customs law required every East Indiaman to bring her cargo intact to London, where it was taxed and sold at the Company's auctions. The owners gave a large bond at the Custom House as surety. A single illicit sale at sea or at an island could forfeit the whole penalty, ruinous for the owners. The rule that any informer, even a seaman, could sue for the value made smuggling dangerous, since every man aboard knew he could profit by reporting his shipmates. The Court closed a loophole that commanders had exploited at St Helena's expense. Pointing to the bond, some had refused the island tea, sugar, pepper and other goods it needed, even though the Court had ordered the Governor and Council to draw such supplies from homeward cargoes. The Council had done exactly this in July 1775, when it took four bags of white pepper from the *York*. Churchill's instructions made clear that delivering goods to the island on the Court's orders was lawful, provided he took receipts. The receipts would prove to the Custom House that the goods had gone to the Company's own settlement, not been sold in breach of the bond.
63	56	into the Court at your return. And§ §if any Goods be Laden on board for St.§ §Helena take care they be Stowed so§ §as to be readily come at on your Arrival§ §there and deliverd accordingly.§ §We are determined not to§ §allow of any Register of Private§ §trade made at St. Helena as a Sufficient§ §Register of Goods shipped in China§ §on your Own or Officers Account but§ §require that all Registers shall be§ §made at the Presidency or Factory§ §in China where such Goods shall§ §be respectively taken on board and§ §you are to Observe that by a breach§ §of this Order all partys offending§ §therein will render themselves liable§ §to the heavy Penalties which will§ §be thereby incurred.§ §We inclose for your§ §Information a printed Copy of the§ §indulgence in private trade allowed§ §the Commanders and Officers of the§ §Ships employed in the Companys§ §Service not to be exceeded on any§ §pretence whatsoever and to which§ §we require the most exact conformity§	Churchill was to hand the receipts in to the Court on his return. If any goods were loaded for St Helena, he was to see that they were stowed where they could easily be reached when he arrived at the island, and delivered accordingly. The Court would not accept a register of private trade made at St Helena as a proper register of goods shipped in China on the commander's or officers' own account. All such registers had to be made at the presidency or factory in China where the goods were taken aboard. Churchill was warned that anyone breaking this order would be liable to the heavy penalties it carried. The Court enclosed, for his information, a printed copy of the allowance of private trade granted to the commanders and officers of the ships in the Company's service. It was not to be exceeded on any pretext whatever, and the Court required the most exact compliance with it [continues]. **Interpretations** The register of private trade recorded what each officer shipped on his own account, within the space and value the Company allowed him. Making the register at the port where goods were loaded meant the Company's own servants in China saw and counted the goods as they went aboard. A register drawn up later at St Helena could not be checked. An officer might have loaded far more than his allowance in China and then declared only part of it at the island, smuggling the rest home. Insisting on the Chinese register closed that gap. The printed allowance set the exact tonnage each rank might carry, from the commander's large share down to the midshipmen's small one. Private trade was the main reason men sought posts on East Indiamen, as the large remittances sent from St Helena showed. Holding officers strictly to the printed scale protected the Company's own trade in tea, silk and porcelain from being undercut by goods its officers brought home privately.
64	57	under the Penalties therein to be inflicted.§ §The Certificates therein mentioned§ §are to be granted separately to the Persons§ §who shall pay there Quota into your§ §Cash in India or China and to remove§ §the inconveniencies that have been§ §experienced here in negotiating them when§ §they have been made out in the name§	Compliance was required under the penalties the allowance laid down. The certificates it mentioned were to be issued separately to each person who paid his share into the Company's cash in India or China. This was to end the difficulties the Court had met in London when certificates had been made out in the name of a ship's captain and his officers together, without naming each officer or stating his share. An

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		§of the Capt. of a Ship and his Officers§ §without inserting the respective Names§ §of those Officers or their Several§ §Concerns therein and Oath is to be§ §made that the Money so paid in is§ §in part of your and their Privilege§ §and the Profits thereon that you§ §neither have taken up or will take§ §up other Money to trade with in lieu§ §thereof. One moiety of such Certificates§ §to be paid ninety Days after presentment§ §to the Court of Directors and the other§ §moity at three Hundred & 65 Days§ §after Sight and we Especially warn you§ §that if any part of the said Sum shall have§ §been paid at in any presidency that you§ §procure written evidence thereof for on having§ §Occasion thereafter to Compleat the full Sum§ §allowed to be received at any other Settlement§ §or Factory you will be deprived of that§	oath was also to be taken that the money paid in was part of the commander's and officers' own allowance and the profits from it. They were also to swear that they had not borrowed, and would not borrow, other money to trade with in its place. Half of each certificate was to be paid 90 days after it was presented to the Court of Directors, and the other half 365 days after sight. The Court warned Churchill in particular that if any part of the sum had been paid in at one presidency, he was to obtain written proof of it. Otherwise, if he later needed to make up the full sum allowed by paying the rest in at another settlement or factory, he would lose that [continues]. **Interpretations** Officers paid the proceeds of their private trade into the Company's treasury in India or China and took certificates payable in London, much as officers and officials at St Helena bought bills on the Court of Directors. The Company limited how much each man could remit this way, matching his allowance of private trade. Certificates in one man's name meant the Court could check each officer's remittance against his allowance. A joint certificate in the captain's name hid who had sent what, and let a commander shelter money beyond his share under his officers' names. The oath against borrowed money stopped officers from trading on capital lent by outside merchants, which would have turned their modest allowance into a large private business competing with the Company. Splitting payment into halves at 90 and 365 days spread the Company's outlay over a year and eased the strain on its cash in London. Requiring proof of partial payments stopped an officer from remitting his full allowance twice, once at each of two settlements.
65	58	advantage as they are prohibited from§ §granting any further Remittances§ §by Certificates for your Ship without§ §such testamonies§ §As it is very difficult for us§ §to supply the Governor and Councils§ §at St. Helena with a Sufficient quantity§ §of Salt Provisons for the use of the§ §Garrison and Inhabitants and every Demand§ §for them by our Shipping which call§ §there will greatly distress them we give§ §you this notice that you may not have§ §any Dependance upon being furnished§ §with any at that Island and you are§ §hereby directed to Stock your Ship in§ §India with as much as you may want§ §for your Voyage home and if you have§ §any to Spare it will be very agreeable§ §to us if you will make an offer thereof§ §on the Compys. Account to Our said Governor§ §& Council.§ §The Governor and Council§ §at St. Helena having represented to Us§ §that they are so greatly distressed there§ §for Fuel for the Inhabitants that§ §they cannot furnish the Shipping§ §therewith and were Obliged to prohibit§	Churchill would lose that advantage, because the settlements were forbidden to grant any further remittances by certificate for his ship without such proof. The Court found it very hard to supply the Governor and Council at St Helena with enough salt provisions for the garrison and inhabitants. Every demand made on them by the shipping that called there would cause them great distress. The Court therefore warned Churchill not to count on being supplied with any at the island. He was to stock his ship in India with as much as he needed for the voyage home. If he had any to spare, the Court would be very glad if he offered it to the Governor and Council on the Company's account. The Governor and Council at St Helena had also told the Court that the inhabitants were so short of fuel that they could not supply the shipping with any, and they had been obliged to forbid [continues]. **Interpretations** The Court reversed the usual flow of supplies. In 1775 St Helena had sold salt meat, cordage, anchors and coal to passing ships. By 1783 the island could barely feed its own people from the provisions shipped from England. Homeward ships were now told to bring their own and, if they could, to sell their surplus to the island, as Captains Bromfield, Reed and others had done in 1776. Making the outward ships stock up in India spared the island's reserve, which the war had made harder to replenish. The shortage of fuel came from the loss of the island's native woodland. Early settlers had felled the trees, and goats had stopped them growing back. By the 1780s the inhabitants could not cut enough firewood for their own hearths, and coal had to be shipped from England, as the lime kilns' accounts showed. Ships that once took on wood at the island now had to be refused it.

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66	59	any being carried off the Island we§ §therefore give you this Information and§ §positively direct that you do supply your§ §Ship before your departure from India§ §with as much Fewel as will serve your§ §homeward bound Voyage that you may§ §not be under the necessity of distressing the§ §Island in this particular and meeting with§ §a certain disappointment yourself.§ §The Commanders of several§ §of our Ships alledging a want of Anchors§ §Cables or other Stores have made it a§ §pretence for a breach of their Charter§ §party Instructions by putting into Falmouth§ §Plymouth and other Western or Irish Ports§ §that they may left even without the Shadow§ §of an Excuse for a Conduct so Displeasing§ §and prejudicial to Us some Anchors Cables§ §Canvas Topmasts are lodged at St. Helena§ §for the use of such of our Ships as shall§ §have occasion for them and will be delivered§ §accordingly on the Governor & Council being§ §fully Satisfied that they are really wanted§ §by the Commanders who shall apply§ §for them, and in such case they are to§ §be paid for at the Rate of Thirty per Cent§ §on the Invoice Price.§	The Governor and Council had been obliged to forbid any fuel being carried off the island. The Court therefore told Churchill firmly to stock his ship before leaving India with enough fuel for the voyage home. That way he would not need to strain the island's supply, and would not meet with certain disappointment himself. The Court added that commanders of several of its ships, claiming a lack of anchors, cables or other stores, had used this as an excuse to break their charter party instructions by putting into Falmouth, Plymouth and other western or Irish ports. To leave them not even the shadow of an excuse for conduct so displeasing and harmful to the Company, anchors, cables, canvas and topmasts had been placed at St Helena for any of its ships that needed them. These would be issued once the Governor and Council were fully satisfied that the commanders who applied truly needed them. In that case they were to be paid for at 30 per cent above the invoice price. **Interpretations** Homeward East Indiamen were bound to sail straight to the Thames and discharge their cargo under the Company's eye. A ship that put into Falmouth, Plymouth or an Irish port could land private goods out of sight of the London customs and the Company's officers, so a claim of damaged ground tackle offered a convenient cover for smuggling. By stocking spare anchors, cables and topmasts at St Helena, the last regular port of call, the Court removed the excuse. A commander short of stores could refit at the island and had no lawful reason to stop again before London. The charge of 30 per cent above invoice was set high on purpose. It covered the cost of shipping heavy stores to the island and holding them there. It also stopped commanders from treating the island's reserve as a cheap source of new gear. The Governor and Council were to judge each request on its merits, so the stores went only to ships in real need. The anchor and cable sold to a Company ship in 1775 for more than £200 0s 0d show that such a reserve was already in use.
67	60	We have resolved for the§ §Present to discontinued the Rule Ordered§ §during the late War that the Arrival of the§ §Boats for our Shipping at Banks Battery§ §on St. Helena should determine their precedency§ §We hereby give you notice that the rotation§ §of our Shipping with respect to being taken§ §again into the Companys Service will be§ §governed according to their arrival in the§ §Downs unless they shall by orders be detained§ §at St. Helena.§ §Having frequent instances§ §of the Military deserting from our Settlements§ §in India on board our Ships we have§ §Directed that one of the Council at St. Helena§ §accompanied with a Sergeant do go on board§ §every one of our Ships upon their first§ §Arrival and make a Strict examination§ §if any Deserters are on board and on finding§ §such they must be delivered on Shore there§ §and in Order that they may be at a certainty§ §the muster Roll of the Ships Company must§ §be produced to them and you must aid and§ §assist them therein for in case of a Refusal§ §we shall insist on the Charter Partys penalties§ §As the Recruits on their Arrival§ §are to be mustered by the Town Major or some§ §other Officer and their Condition reported to the§ §Governor remarking whether the Men answer the§	The Court had decided, for the present, to end the rule laid down during the late war that the arrival of a ship's boat at Banks's Battery on St Helena should fix that ship's place in order. It gave notice that the order in which its ships were taken back into the Company's service would instead depend on when they reached the Downs, unless they were held at St Helena by orders. The Court had seen many cases of soldiers deserting from its settlements in India aboard its ships. It had therefore directed that a member of the Council at St Helena, with a sergeant, should board every one of its ships on her first arrival and search strictly for any deserters. Any found were to be sent ashore there. So that the search would be certain, the ship's muster roll was to be shown to them, and Churchill was to help them in it. If he refused, the Court would enforce the penalties of the charter party. Recruits were to be mustered on landing by the Town Major or another officer, and their condition reported to the Governor. He was to note whether the men answered the [continues]. **Interpretations** The rule on the order of ships had mattered greatly to the owners. Ships were taken up for new voyages in turn, and an earlier place meant earlier employment and profit. During the war, homeward ships gathered at St Helena to sail in convoy, so the time a ship's boat reached Banks's Battery became a fair measure of her place. With peace in 1783 the ships sailed home singly again, and the Court returned to the older rule of arrival in the Downs, the anchorage off Kent where Indiamen waited before entering the Thames.

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			The search for deserters explains why William Wrangham went aboard every ship in 1775 and 1776 to muster her crew and look for runaways. A soldier serving the Company in India could stow away on a homeward ship, or be signed on as a seaman under another name. The muster roll let the councillor check every man aboard against the crew the commander had signed for, so any stranger stood out. The threat of charter party penalties gave the order force against a commander who preferred to keep a useful hand.
68	61	Discription sent from hence we direct that you§ §order your Surgeon to attend when the Recruits§ §are mustered that in case any of them Invalided§ §it may be determined whether their Complaints§ §were acquired on board or previous to their§ §Embarkation§ §As the Company have been put§ §to very great expence on account of natives§ §of India being brought home as Servants we§ §positively direct that you do not receive any§ §on board your Ship without an Order from§ §our Servants in India wherein must be Certified§ §to you that Sufficient Security has been given§ §for their maintenance in England and return§ §as by disobedience of this Order you will incur§ §certain dismission from our Service.§ §Sir§ §I am ordered by the Governor &§ §Council to enclose for your information a Copy of§ §the 5th Para. of the Honble. the Court of§ §Directors General Letter to them per Brig§ §Seville dated the 15 January 1783§ §I am§ §Sir§ §Your Obedient Servant§ §(Signed)§ §R. A. Wright Secty.§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§ §Story§	The Governor was to note whether the recruits matched the description sent from London. Churchill was to order his surgeon to be present when they were mustered. If any of them were declared invalids, it could then be decided whether their complaints had begun on board or before they embarked. The Company had been put to great expense by Indians brought to England as servants. The Court therefore ordered Churchill firmly not to take any aboard without an order from its servants in India, certifying that enough security had been given for their keep in England and their passage back. If he disobeyed, he would certainly be dismissed from the Company's service. A covering letter followed, addressed to a commander. The secretary wrote that the Governor and Council had ordered him to enclose, for the commander's information, a copy of the fifth paragraph of the Court of Directors' general letter to them by the brig *Seville*, dated 15 January 1783. Britannicus Alexander Wright signed it as secretary. **Interpretations** The surgeon's presence at the muster settled who paid for a sick recruit. A man who fell ill on the voyage through bad food or crowding was the ship's responsibility, and the owners could be charged. A man who embarked already unfit had been wrongly enlisted, and the fault lay with the recruiting officers in England. Having the ship's own surgeon present when the island's officers examined the recruits made it harder for either side to dispute the finding later. Indian servants brought to England by returning officials and families were often dismissed once their passage was over, and left without work or means of getting home. Many ended up destitute in London and fell on the Company or the parish for relief. The Court's rule placed the cost on the people who brought them, by requiring security for their keep and their return before they boarded. The families travelling on the *Speke* and the *Pacific* in 1775, with servants entered by first name only, were the kind of passengers the rule had in view.
69	62	Form Overseers Warrant of Highways§ §Island St. Helena§ §We the Governor and Council of the§ §aforesaid Island Do order and appoint you A B§ §to be Overseer of the Highways of the Division§ §of the said Island until Easter Monday next§ §ensueing the date hereof.§ §These are therefore to will and§ §require you the said A B to Cause all the Slaves§ §in the List Annexed to work six Days each§ §reckoning twelve Hours to the Day to make§ §mend and repair all such Paths and Highways§ §as shall want to be made mended or repaired as§ §also all Publick Stiles Bridges & Gates and§ §if any Person or Persons to work in his or their§ §stead or shall not bring or send strong & Sufficient§ §Tools on such Days or times as shall by you be§ §appointed then you are to provide in the Room§ §of such Slave some other man either Black or§ §white as you can hire and the Master or Owners§ §of such absenting shall forthwith repay you the§ §double the Sum you shall or agree to pay to such§	The heading read: Form of overseer's warrant for the highways, Island of St Helena. In it the Governor and Council appointed a man, named in the form as A B, overseer of the highways of a division of the island, left blank, until the Easter Monday following. He was to make all the slaves on the attached list work six days each, of 12 hours a day, building, mending and repairing whatever paths and highways needed it. They were also to repair all the public stiles, bridges and gates. If an owner failed to send his slaves to work, or they came without strong and suitable tools on the days the overseer appointed, he was to hire some other man, black or white, in each slave's place. The owner of the absent slave was then to repay the overseer at once double the sum he had paid or agreed to pay the hired man. The overseer was also to send home any slaves who brought bad or unfit [continues]. **Interpretations** The island's roads were kept up by statute labour drawn from the planters' slaves, on the English model in which each parish repaired its own highways with its

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		§Person or Persons hired to work in his or their§ §Stead aforesaid and you are hereby required to send§ §Home all such Blacks as shall bring bad or unfit§	inhabitants' unpaid work. Every slaveholder owed six days' labour a year for each slave on the overseer's list. The work cost the Company nothing in wages and spread the burden across the island by the size of each owner's workforce. The double charge for absence made evasion costly. An owner who kept his slaves at home during the harvest or the shipping season would pay twice what a hired labourer cost, so it was cheaper to send them. Sending home slaves with poor tools, and treating them as absent, stopped owners from meeting the duty in name while giving the overseer men who could do no real work.
70	63	Tools to the Intent that all Persons may send good§ §and useful Ones for the more effectual Repairing§ §and mending all Public Roads and Foot Paths§ §from the Houses of the Inhabitants of the said§ §Division as well for Carriages of burthen as otherwise§ §And if any Person or Persons§ §making default in any or either of the abovementioned§ §Articles or shall refuse to pay the hire or Wages§ §of all or any of the Persons by you hired as§ §aforesaid you are hereby empowered and authorrised§ §to seize and take by Distress any of the Goods or§ §Chattels of such Persons the Same to sell at Public§ §Auction and after you are paid the overplus§ §(if any) reasonable Charges being deducted you§ §are to return to the Owners.§ §For all which this shall be your§ §Sufficient Warrant Given under our Hands§ §and the Honorable Companys Seal the 3§ §of November 17§ §D. C.§ §H. G.§ §M. B.§ §W. W.§ §H. B.§ §List Slaves Sept. 17§ §No. Men, No. Men§ §H. B.: No. Men 0§ §D. C.: No. Men 0§ §J. B.: No. Men 0§ §2 K.: No. Men 0§ §Total§ **Margin Notes:** §Memorandum§ §Days of this Warrant§ §must be reserved for Scraping§ §Drains &ca.§	The overseer was to send home slaves who brought bad or unfit tools, so that every owner would send good and useful ones for properly repairing and mending all the public roads and footpaths from the inhabitants' houses in the division, whether for carts or for other traffic. If anyone failed in any of these duties, or refused to pay the hire or wages of men the overseer had hired in their place, the overseer was empowered to seize any of that person's goods or chattels by distress. He was to sell them at public auction, take what he was owed, and return any surplus to the owner after deducting reasonable charges. The warrant was his full authority for all of this. It was given under the Council's hands and the Company's seal on 3 November, with the year left unfinished, and bore the initials D C, H G, M B, W W and H B. A memorandum noted that some of the days due under the warrant were to be kept back for repairing drains and similar work. A blank list of slaves followed, dated September, with the year left unfinished. It had columns for the owners' initials and the number of men each was to send, with a line for the total. The examples gave the initials H B, D C, J B and K, with the numbers left blank. **Interpretations** The power of distress gave the warrant teeth. An overseer could not wait for a court to make an owner pay for the labourers hired in his slaves' place. He could seize the owner's goods directly and sell them to cover the debt. The duty to return any surplus, less costs, kept the seizure within bounds, so an owner lost only what he owed and the expense of collecting it, not his whole property. Reserving days for drains reflected the island's climate and ground. Heavy rains washed down the steep valleys and could carry away a road in a single storm. Clearing and repairing the drains beside the roads did more to keep them passable than mending the surface after the damage was done.
71	64	To Capt. A B§ §Commander of Ship C D§ §Sir§ §No. 1 We have it in Command from§ §the Honble. the Court of Directors to acquaint you, they§ §expect as you value their future favour that you§ §forward to them Copys of your Bills of Lading by§ §your Purser from the first Port you arrive at in§ §Great Britain or Ireland, which Bills we desire§ §to see, They have likewise been pleased to Order§ §that you are not under any pretence whatever§ §to take any Person from this Island or leave any§ §of your People here without an Order from Us, and§ §you are hereby positively directed to give the Officer§ §you shall leave in Charge of your Ship the Strictest§ §Orders to be constantly watchful & Vigelant in§ §Examining all Boats coming off to her, & to be so§ §when they depart that none of the Persons who§ §who were in them shall be left & Secreted on§	A form of standing orders to a ship's commander followed, addressed to Captain A B of a ship named in the form as C D. 1: The Council had orders from the Court of Directors to tell the commander that, if he valued the Court's future favour, he was to send it copies of his bills of lading by his purser from the first port he reached in Great Britain or Ireland, since the Court wished to see them. The Court had also ordered that he was not, on any pretext, to take anyone off the island or leave any of his own men there without the Council's order. He was firmly directed to instruct the officer he left in charge of his ship to stay constantly watchful in examining every boat that came out to her. When each boat left, he was to make sure that none of the people who had come in it had been left hidden aboard. Nor was the commander to sail from the island after sunset. The purpose of all this was to prevent desertion by soldiers or black people. The Council was

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		§board, neither are you to sail from hence after§ §Sun Set to the End that desertion in either§ §Soldier or Black may be effectually prevented§ §We are also to inform you that the penalty of§ §two hundred pounds you are liable to in this respect§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§	also to tell him that the penalty he faced in this respect was £200 0s 0d. **Interpretations** These orders were aimed at escape from the island. A soldier tired of garrison life, or a slave seeking freedom, could row out to a ship in the road with a boat bringing supplies and hide below while the boat returned without him. The officer of the watch was to count who came aboard and make sure the same people left. Banning sailing after sunset meant a ship left in daylight, when the garrison could see her go and a missing man was more likely to be noticed before she cleared the bay. The penalty of £200 0s 0d fell on the commander personally, which made him the island's partner in guarding against escape. The bills of lading showed exactly what each ship had loaded and for whom. A copy sent ahead from the first British port let the Court compare it with the cargo when the ship reached London. Any goods landed or sold along the way would then show up as a shortfall.
72	65	by Charter Party Covenants, and any disobedience§ §of this Order either in you or your Officers will§ §be highly resented by the Honble. Company.§ §Further we have come to a determination not to§ §entertain in this Garrison any Seamen who may§ §be left here by desertion or otherwise but that§ §they will be confined until an Opportunity offers§ §of sending them to England, which determination§ §we request you will make known to your Ships§ §Company.§ §If you or your Officers have any§ §Merchandize to dispose of here all such must be§ §sent on Shore put into moderate Lots & Sold at§ §Public Auction a Catalogue of Particulars and the time of sale with the above Lots to be§ §affixed at some Public Place in the Town, and it§ §is the Companys further Order that all such§ §Goods or Merchandize shall be Registered. You are§ §therefore hereby Directed to Land the Same from§ §the Hours of Six o'Clock in the Morning to twelve at Noon &§ §from two to Six in the Evening (Sundays excepted)§ §during the above periods Mr. Wm. H. Brooke the Register-§ §master is Ordered to give proper attendance to take an§ §exact Account of the Same, and you are further§ §directed to send an Acct. of Such Goods to be landed§ §Specifying the Packages and Contents, also the§ §Names of the Persons they belong to & to whom§ §they are to be delivered. If you or Your§ §Officers have any Arrack or other Spiritous§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§	The penalty was set by the covenants of the charter party. Any disobedience of this order by the commander or his officers would be highly resented by the Company. The Council had also decided not to keep any seaman in the garrison who was left behind on the island through desertion or otherwise. Such men would be confined until a chance came to send them to England. The commander was asked to make this known to his crew. **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** 2: If the commander or his officers had any goods to dispose of at the island, all of it had to be sent ashore, divided into moderate lots and sold at public auction. A catalogue of the details was to be posted in some public place in the town, and the time of sale was to be [...] two days. It was the Company's further order that all such goods be registered. The commander was therefore directed to land them only between six in the morning and noon, and from two to six in the evening, Sundays excepted. During those hours **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** H. Brooke, the register master, was ordered to attend and take an exact account of them. The commander was further directed to send in a list of the goods to be landed, stating the packages and their contents, the names of their owners and the people to whom they were to be delivered. **Start of crossed out section** If **End of crossed out section** Should the commander or his officers have any arrack or other spirits [continues]. **Interpretations** Selling private trade goods at St Helena only by public auction, in small lots, served several ends. Every inhabitant had an equal chance to buy, so a few wealthy officials could not take the whole of a ship's goods privately and resell them at a profit. Posting the catalogue in advance and allowing a period of notice drew in buyers from across the island. Moderate lots kept prices within reach of ordinary households. Requiring every package to be registered and landed only in set hours let the register master check it, so that duties could be charged and nothing slipped ashore at night. Refusing to keep deserted seamen in the garrison closed another route off the ships. A sailor might desert in the hope of joining the island's soldiers for better pay or an easier life. The Council's warning that

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			he would only be locked up until he could be shipped home removed that hope.
73	66	Liquors for Sale the same must be tendered§ §to the Honble. Companys Storekeeper who has§ §our directions to treat for the same on their§ §Account We are also to inform you§ §We have it also in Command§ §3 We are directed to acquaint You§ §that you are two days before the Dispatch of§ §your Ship from this Port for England to deliver§ §to Mr. G. H. Doveton Secy. an Acct. of Water & every§ §species of Provision on board, with the time it§ §is calculated to last Reckoning in the Calculation§ §the Consumption of the Passengers as well as§ §the Ships Company, which Account must be§ §Signed by you & dated at the time of delivery§ §in order that it may be transmitted with your§ §Ship to England§ §Should you have any Goods or§ §Merchandize on board your Ship Consigned to§ §Us for the use of the Honble. Company we desire§ §such may be sent on Shore with all the§ §expedition you conveniently can. And that§ §you give Us at least two days Notice before§ §you purpose to Sail.§ §We are§ §Sir§ §your Obedient Servants§ §R. A. Wright Secy.§ §T. Brooke§	Any arrack or other spirits for sale had to be offered to the Company's storekeeper, who had instructions to treat for them on the Company's account. **Start of crossed out section** the same We are also to inform you that neither you nor your officers are on any pretence whatever to land on shore any kind of spirituous liquor put upon the above [...] contrary to the [...] of the orders from the Court of Directors. **End of crossed out section** 3: The commander was to deliver to Mr G. Dowson, secretary, two days before his ship left the island for England, an account of the water and every kind of provision aboard. It was to show how long they were expected to last, counting what the passengers would consume as well as the crew. The account was to be signed by the commander and dated on the day he delivered it, so that it could be sent to England with his ship. **Start of crossed out section** Should you have any goods or merchandise aboard your ship consigned to us for the use of the Company, we desire that they be sent ashore with all the speed you conveniently can. **End of crossed out section** The commander was to give the Council at least two days' notice before he meant to sail. The orders were signed by Brooke and by Britannicus Wright, secretary. **Interpretations** Spirits could not be sold freely at the island. Any arrack a commander or officer brought had to be offered first to the Company's storekeeper. This kept the spirit trade under the Council's control, in line with the society's monopoly and the rules on drink set in 1775. Allowing ships' officers to sell arrack privately would have put cheap spirit straight into the hands of soldiers and slaves. The account of water and provisions protected both the ship and the Company. A ship leaving St Helena faced a long passage home with no certain place to refill. The Council checked that she carried enough for everyone aboard. The signed and dated statement went to England with her, so that if she later ran short, or called at an Irish or western port claiming need, the record would show whether her commander had sailed properly supplied.
74	67	We have it also in Command from§ §our Honble. Masters to direct that should you have any§ §remains of Shrubs, Vinegar, Essence of Malt, Sugar§ §Lemon juice or Sope which were laid in§ §for the Use of the Military on your outward bound§ §Voyage that you deliver the same to their Storekeeper§ §here, who has our Directions to receive the§ §same and to give the necessary Receipt§ §2 We are also to inform you that§ §the Commanders, Passengers§ §and Officers of Ships have permission to Import§ §Arrack or other Spirituous Liquors for their own§ §private Use on Shore paying to the Honble. Companys§ §Storekeeper a Duty of 2/6 per Gallon for all Spirits so§ §Imported.§ §No. 4 Agreable to the Honble. Compys.§ §orders you are to direct your officers§ §when on Shore to appear in the uniform§ §of the Service.§ §No. 6 It is expected a List of Passengers§ §may be sent to the Governor§	1: The Council also had orders from the Court of Directors that, if the commander had any spirits, vinegar, essence of malt, sugar, lemon juice or soap left over from what had been laid in **Start of crossed out section** in England **End of crossed out section** for the use of the soldiers on his outward voyage, he was to hand it over to the Company's storekeeper on the island. The storekeeper had instructions to **Start of crossed out section** treat for **End of crossed out section** receive it and give the necessary receipt. 2: The Council was also to inform the commander **Start of crossed out section** that by a late direction from home **End of crossed out section** that commanders, passengers and officers of ships were permitted to bring arrack or other spirits ashore for their own private use, on paying the Company's storekeeper a duty of 2s 6d a gallon on all spirits so brought in.

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		§and to each Member of Council.§ §We are§ §Sir§ §Your obedt. Servants§ §5 Notwithstanding any thing which§ §may possibly appear to the Contrary in the§ §above instructions yet the orders of the Honble.§ **Margin Notes:** §H. the Secret Committee§ §are now to be attended to§ §in every instance.§	4: In line with the Company's orders, the commander was to direct his officers to wear the uniform of the service whenever they were ashore. 6: The Council expected that a list of passengers, distinguishing each, would be sent to the **Start of crossed out section** Governor **End of crossed out section** Governor and to each member of the Council. The Council signed the orders as the commander's obedient servants. 5: Notwithstanding anything that might appear to the contrary in these instructions, the orders of the Secret Committee were now to be followed in every case. **Interpretations** The stores listed were the anti-scorbutics and comforts issued to troops on the outward voyage. Essence of malt, sugar and lemon juice were given to soldiers at sea to ward off scurvy, and vinegar was used to wash the decks and keep the berths sweet. Whatever the troops had not consumed belonged to the Company, which had paid for it. Handing the surplus to the storekeeper at St Helena stopped the ship's officers selling it privately and added it to the island's own reserves. The duty of 2s 6d a gallon on spirits brought ashore for private use was a heavy one. The arrack customs of 1775 had been only 3d a gallon. The higher rate reflected the Council's long struggle with drink among the garrison and slaves. A passenger could still bring his own spirits, but the duty made it costly to land more than a modest personal supply, and so discouraged quantities that might be sold on. The Secret Committee was the small inner body of the Court of Directors that dealt with war, diplomacy and other confidential matters. During the war its orders could override the Company's ordinary instructions, for example on convoys, sailing times and ports of call. The final clause put commanders on notice that any secret orders they carried came first, whatever the standing instructions said.
75	68	To Captn. Josiah Pryce Commandr. of Ship Royal Charlotte§ §Sir§ §You are hereby Ordered to receive on board§ §the Ship Royal Charlotte under Your Command, on the§ §Honble. Companys Account Seven Chests Treasure§ §containing Ten thousand Pounds and deliver the same§ §to the Deputy Governor & Council of Fort Marlbro on§ §Your arrival there.§ §We are Sir§ §St. Helena§ §9 April 1790§ §Your Obedt. Servants§ §R. Brooke§ §Fr. Robson§ §R. A. Wright§ **Margin Notes:** §109§	The Council ordered Captain Josiah Pryce, commander of the *Royal Charlotte*, to take aboard his ship on the Company's account seven chests of treasure containing £10,000 0s 0d. He was to deliver them to the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough when he arrived there. Governor Brooke, Francis Robson and Britannicus Wright signed the order at St Helena on 9 April 1790. **Interpretations** St Helena was here sending coin onward to another settlement, reversing its usual place as a receiver of money. By 1790 the island's chest could hold a large surplus of silver, built up from the bills of exchange that officials and ships' officers bought to send their fortunes home. Fort Marlborough on Sumatra needed silver to buy pepper from local growers, who would not take bills. Shipping coin from St Helena on a passing Company ship was quicker and cheaper than sending it out from London. It also made use of the reserve the island held. Fort Marlborough was now governed by a Deputy Governor, not the President of the 1770s. Its standing had been reduced as the pepper trade lost value, and it was placed under the government of Bengal.
76	69	To Capt. A B§ §Commander of Ship C D§ §Sir§ §It is the Governor and Councils§ §Order that you receive on board the Ship Pitt under§ §your Command Wm. Rowsier Seaman late of§ §the Winterton Edmund Grant Lewis Rowland§ §two Invalids of his Majestys 53 Regt. Wm. Fidd§	An order was addressed to the commander of a ship, named in the form as Captain A B of the C D. By order of the Governor and Council, he was to take aboard the *Pitt*, under his command, the following men and carry them to England. William Rowsier, seaman, late of the Winterton Edmund Grant, invalid of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment

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		§one of his Majestys Seamen & Thomas Bowland§ §and Thomas Reid Seamen of Ship Britannia§ §and Carry them to England the Owners of Ship§ §Winterton being at the Expence of the Passage of§ §Rowsier and the Honble. Company settling with§ §your Owners for the Passage of Grant Rowlands§ §Fidd Bowland and Reid.§ §I am§ §St. Helena Sir§ §15 June 1790§ §Your Obedient Servant§ §Signed§ §W. W. Doveton Secy.§	Lewis Rowland, invalid of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment William Fidd, seaman of His Majesty's Navy Thomas Bowland, seaman of the ship Britannia Thomas Reid, seaman of the ship Britannia The owners of the *Winterton* were to pay for Rowsier's passage. The Company would settle with the *Pitt*'s owners for the passage of Grant, Rowland, Fidd, Bowland and Reid. William Webber Doveton signed the order as secretary at St Helena on 15 June 1790. **Interpretations** The order split the cost of passage according to who was responsible for each man. Rowsier had been left at the island from the *Winterton*, so her owners, as his employers, paid to bring him home. The two invalids of the 53rd Regiment were King's soldiers, likely sent home from India through St Helena. The navy seaman and the two men from the *Britannia* had no ship of their own at the island. The Company bore their fares and would recover what it could from the Crown or the owners later. Settling who paid before the men sailed avoided disputes once the ship reached England. The order also carried out the standing rule that seamen left at the island were not to stay. Men who missed their ship or were put ashore sick were held until a homeward ship could take them. They were not allowed to remain and swell the island's floating population.
77	70	Overseers Oath§ §I A B do Swear that I will truly,§ §faithfully and diligently acquit myself of my Duty as§ §an Overseer of the High-Ways and use all my§ §endeavors in seeing the tenor of this Warrant carried§ §into due and proper execution, according to the best§ §of my Skill and Power.§ §So help me God.§ §By Order of Lieut. Coll. Robert Brooke Govr.§ §Major Fras. Robson Lieut. Govr. & R. A. Wright Esqr. of§ §Council§ §To Captain William Pierce§ §You are hereby Empowered§ §to sit as President of a General Court Martial§ §which is Ordered to be held on Wednesday the§ §20 instant, at eight o'Clock in the Morning§ §and after the customary Oath has been administered§ §to the President and Sitting Members as directed§ §by the Articles of War. You are then to proceed§ §to the Trial of all such Prisoners as shall then§ §and there be brought before you.§ §Given under our Hands at St. Helena§ §this 18 day of February 1791§ §(Signed) R. B.§ §F. R.§ §R. A. W.§ **Margin Notes:** §Form of a§ §Warrant for§ §holding a§ §Genl. Court§ §Martial.§ §(On the Outside is wrote)§ §To Capt. A B Presidt. of a Genl. Court§ §Martial Ordered to be held the 20 Feby.§ §1791§	The overseer's oath followed. Each overseer, named in the form as A B, swore to carry out his duty as overseer of the highways truly, faithfully and diligently, and to do all he could to see the terms of his warrant properly carried out, to the best of his skill and power, calling on God to help him. A form of warrant for holding a general court martial came next. It was issued by order of Lieutenant Colonel Robert Brooke, Governor, Major Francis Robson, Lieutenant Governor, and Britannicus Wright, of the Council, and addressed to Captain William Pierce. He was **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** empowered to sit as president of a general court martial, ordered to be held at eight o'clock in the morning on Wednesday 20 February 1791. Once the judge advocate had given the usual oath to the president and the sitting members, as the Articles of War directed, the court was to try all prisoners brought before it. The warrant was given under the Council's hands at St Helena on 18 February 1791. A note in the margin recorded that the outside of the warrant was addressed to the captain as president of a general court martial ordered to be held on that day in 1791. **Interpretations** Governor Brooke and his Lieutenant Governor both held army rank by 1791, unlike Skottowe and Corneille in 1775, who held their commands through Company service. After the war the Company placed more weight on the island's military character and appointed experienced officers to govern it. Brooke had served in the Company's army in India before coming to St Helena. This warrant was the working version of the model drafted in the 1770s and later struck out. It named a real president, a real date and the members of the Council who issued it. The court's authority still rested on the Council's written order, as it had under Skottowe, keeping military justice on the island in the hands of the Company's government.
78	71	Copy of a Letter to Commdrs. of Whalers who carry Packets§	The heading read: Copy of a letter to commanders of whalers who carry packets.

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		§To A B§ §Master of the Whaling Vessel C D§ §Sir§ §You having obligingly offered to take§ §charge of a Packet from us to the Honble. the Court of§ §Directors for Affairs of the United East India Company§ §We request that upon Your Arrival in the Downs said§ §Packet may be sent on Shore to Mr. Jno. Iggulden their§ §Honors Agent at Deal or to their Agent at any other§ §Port your Vessel may put into.§ §Wishing you a prosperous Voyage§ §We remain§ §Sir§ §Your Obedient Servant§ §Signed§ §St. Helena R. B.§ §1791 F. R.§ §R. A. W.§ §Form of a Receipt for the Packets the Commrs. of Whalers§ §take.§ §Recd. of Robert Brooke Esqr. Govr. &c.§ §Council of St. Helena One Packet safe Sealed & directed to§ §the Honble. the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United§	The letter was addressed to the master of a whaling vessel, named in the form as A B of the C D. It thanked him for kindly offering to take charge of a packet from the Council to the Court of Directors of the United East India Company. On reaching the Downs, he was asked to send the packet ashore to Mr John Iggulden, the Court's agent at Deal, or to its agent at any other port his ship might put into. The Council wished him a prosperous voyage. The letter was dated at St Helena in 1791 and signed with the initials R B, F R and B W. A form of receipt for the packets that whaling commanders took followed. In it the master acknowledged receiving from Governor Brooke and the Council of St Helena one packet, safely sealed and addressed to the Court of Directors of the United [continues]. **Interpretations** British whalers working the South Atlantic called at St Helena for water and fresh food on their way home, and the Council used them as an extra post to London. Company ships came only in seasons, while whalers arrived at other times of year, so they filled gaps between Indiamen. They were not in the Company's service, so the letter asked rather than ordered. A packet could thus go home whenever any trusted British ship was leaving, without waiting months for the next homeward fleet. Deal lay on the Kent coast opposite the Downs, the anchorage where ships waited before entering the Thames. The Company kept an agent there to collect letters and dispatches the moment a ship anchored and send them overland to London. That saved days compared with waiting for the ship to work up the river. The signed receipt gave the Council proof of who had taken each packet, should it go astray.
79	72	East India Company, which I Promise upon my§ §Arrival in the Downs to send on shore to Mr. John§ §Iggalden their Honors Agent at Deal or to their Agent§ §at any other Port my Vessel may put into.§ §St. Helena A B.§ §April 1791§ §Directions of the Letters to§ §India.§ §To the Honble. the President and Council§ §for all the Forces & Affairs of the§ §English Nation at§ §Fort St. George§ §Honble. Sir & Sirs§ §To Jno. Harrison Junr. Esqr. & the Select§ §Committee of Supra Cargoes at§ §Canton§ §To the Rt. Honble. the Govr. Genl. & the Honble.§ §the Council for all the Forces & Affairs of the§ §English Nation at Calcutta in§ §Bengal§ **Margin Notes:** §[...]§	The packet was addressed to the United East India Company. The master promised that on reaching the Downs he would send it ashore to Mr John Iggulden, the Court's agent at Deal, or to its agent at any other port his ship might put into. The receipt was dated at St Helena in April 1791 and signed A B. The proper forms of address for letters to India followed. To Fort St George: To the President and Council for all the forces and affairs of the English nation at Fort St George, with the salutation "Honourable Sir and Sirs". To Canton: To John Harrison junior and the select committee of supercargoes at Canton. To Bengal: To the Governor General and the Council for all the forces and affairs of the English nation at Calcutta, in Bengal. **Interpretations** The forms of address marked the rank of each settlement. Calcutta, seat of the Governor General since 1774, headed the Company's governments in India, and its letters went to the Governor General in Council. Madras, governed from Fort St George, stood below it with a President and Council. At Canton the Company held no territory and had no government. It kept only a committee of supercargoes, the merchants who bought its tea, and letters went to them by name. Keeping the correct titles on file let the island's clerks address each settlement properly, which mattered in an age when a wrong style could give offence.
80	73	To the Revd. Mr. John Wilson§ §Chaplain§ §Sir§ §This Certifieth that I have this Day§ §received written information from the Worshipful Robt.§ §Brooke Governor Stating that on the part of the§ §Honble. Company he Consents to the Marriage of§	A letter was addressed to the Reverend John Wilson, chaplain. William Webber Doveton, secretary, certified that he had that day received written word from Governor Brooke that, for the Company, the Governor consented to the marriage of Rippon, a male slave, and Elizabeth, a female slave, both the property of the Company. Wilson was asked to report the

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		§Rippon a Man Slave with Elizabeth a Woman§ §Slave both the property of the said Honble. Company§ §the Marriage when Solemnised you are requested to§ §Report to§ §Sir§ §St. Helena Your Obedient Servant§ §25 May 1792 Signed§ §W. W. Doveton§ §Secty.§ §According to the Prayer of§ §the Petition of the Executrix of A B Decd.§ §as entered upon Consultation of this day We§ §do hereby admit of the Names of C D Son of E F &§ §F H Son of to Stand on this Lease in the room of G H &§ §I K the Deceased Nominees, the said Executrix and§ §Executors having paid the usual Fine.§	marriage once it had been performed. The letter was dated at St Helena on 25 May 1792. A form of endorsement for a lease followed. In answer to the petition of the executrix of a deceased leaseholder, named in the form as A B, entered in the Council's minutes that day, the Council admitted the names of C D, son of a named person, and of another named son, to stand in the lease in place of the deceased nominees, named as G H and I K. The executrix and executor had paid the usual fine. **Interpretations** Slaves on St Helena could not marry without their owner's consent, and for the Company's slaves that consent came from the Governor himself. The Company had an interest in such marriages. Settled couples were thought less likely to run away, and their children would be born the Company's slaves. Recording the consent in writing and having the chaplain report the ceremony gave the marriage a formal place in the island's records. That had become more common by the 1790s as attitudes to slavery began to shift in Britain. The endorsement for an executrix shows that a lease could be renewed after the leaseholder's own death. The executors managing the estate could put new lives into the lease on behalf of the heirs, keeping the land in the family. The usual fine was the renewal fee, half a year's rent for each name as the Council had set it in 1775.
81	74	St. Helena§ §25th Feby. 1792§ §This Certifies that Capt. A B§ §Commander of Ship C has had the Governor§ §and Councils Permission to leave at this Island§ §D E, F G, H I, K L, M N, O P, Q R, S T, eight§ §Dischd. Soldiers from India, and that the§ §above Men have been entertained as Soldiers in§ §this Garrison. Also that at the Request§ §of the Governor and Council Capt. A B has§ §permitted V U a Joiner belonging to his Ship§ §to remain here for the purpose of assisting in§ §Finishing the New Plantation House.§ §Signed,§ §W. W. Doveton Secy.§ §St. Helena§ §1st July 1792§ §We the Governor & Council§ §of the said Island Do hereby Certify to§ §the Honble. the Ct. of Director for Affairs of the§ §United East India Company that we have§ §Recd. from Capt. A B Comr. of Ship C on their§ §Account 358 Gall. Arrack and 59 Gall. Rum, the§ §Arrack estimated by the Storekeeper at 2/6 & the Rum at 4/ per Gall.§	A form of certificate dated at St Helena on 25 February 1792 followed. It certified that the commander of a ship, named in the form as Captain A B of the C, had the Governor and Council's permission to leave at the island eight soldiers discharged from service in India, named as D E, F G, H I, K L, M N, O P, Q R and S T. These men had been enlisted as soldiers in the garrison. It also certified that, at the Governor and Council's request, the commander had allowed a joiner from his ship, named as V U, to remain on the island to help finish the new Plantation House. William Webber Doveton signed it as secretary. A second form of certificate, dated at St Helena on 7 July 1792, followed. In it the Governor and Council certified to the Court of Directors of the United East India Company that they had received from a ship's commander, named as Captain A B of the C, on the Company's account, 358 gallons of arrack and 59 gallons of rum. The storekeeper valued the arrack at 2s 6d a gallon and the rum at 4s a gallon [continues]. **Interpretations** Discharged soldiers from India were a ready source of trained recruits. Men whose terms had ended in the Company's Indian armies were sailing home, and some chose to stay at St Helena and enlist in its garrison, as Thomas Stork had done in 1776. The certificate gave the commander proof that he had landed them with the Council's leave, so he could not be charged with leaving men behind contrary to his orders. The Council gained seasoned soldiers without the cost of shipping raw recruits from England. The joiner kept back from the ship shows the Company building a new Plantation House in the early 1790s, replacing the older country house worked on throughout the 1770s. Skilled craftsmen were scarce on the island, so a ship's joiner was a welcome addition. Fine interior work such as panelling, doors and staircases needed hands the island's own carpenters could not supply in time.
82	75	For which we have signed to two Certificates§ §of this Tenor & Date, the one being paid,§ §the other to be Void.§ §Signed,§ §R. Brooke§	For the arrack and rum, the Governor and Council had signed two certificates of the same wording and date, one to be void once the other was paid. Governor Brooke, Francis Robson and William Wrangham signed them.

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		§F. Robson§ §Wm. Wrangham§ §To Mr. A B.§ §C D Minor having on Mon-§ §day last Petitioned the Board for Liberty§ §to choose you his Guardian for the better§ §Management & Security of his Property.§ §We do therefore in compliance§ §with the Petitioners Request Authorise and§ §empower You the said A B to take upon§ §You the said Guardianship and to act therein§ §according to Law. Given under our Hands§ §at St. Helena this 4th Day of Feby. 1793.§ §(Signed,)§ §R. B.§ §F. R.§ §W. W.§	A form of letter followed, addressed to a man named as A B. A minor, named as C D, had petitioned the Council the previous Monday for leave to choose A B as his guardian, so that his property would be better managed and protected. Granting the petition, the Council authorised and empowered A B to take on the guardianship and to act in it according to law. The letter was given under the Council's hands at St Helena on 4 February 1793 and bore the initials R B, F R and W W. **Interpretations** Under English law a minor over the age of 14 could choose his own guardian, subject to a court's approval. With no court of chancery on the island, the Governor and Council gave that approval. A guardian managed an orphan's land, slaves and money until he came of age. Appointing one under the Council's authority gave him legal standing to collect rents, sign leases and defend the property. It also made him answerable to the Council for his stewardship. William Wrangham still sat on the Council in 1792 and 1793, nearly 20 years after the paymaster's accounts of 1775 had shown his wide dealings on the island. He had remained one of its leading figures under three governors.
83	76	Island St. Helena§ §25 June 1793.§ §These are to Certify whom§ §it may Concern, that the Ship Heeby Arrived in§ §St. Helena Roads on the 24th of this instant§ §June, And that in Consequence of Interrogatories§ §and Affidavits taken before the Worshipful the§ §Governor and Council of the said Island; It appears§ §that she was Captured on the 8th of June in Walvisch§ §Bay (she being then under French Colours) by the§ §Brothers English Letter of a Marque, and that§ §therefore they believe the said Ship Heeby is a§ §Lawful Prize.§ §By Order of the said Governor§ §and Council§ §(Signed)§ §W. W. Doveton Secy.§	A certificate dated at St Helena on 25 June 1793 stated that the ship *Heeby* had arrived in St Helena road on 24 June. Interrogatories and sworn statements taken before the Governor and Council showed that she had been captured in Walvis Bay on 8 June, while sailing under French colours, by the *Brothers*, an English ship holding a letter of marque. The Governor and Council therefore believed the *Heeby* to be lawful prize. William Webber Doveton signed the certificate as secretary by order of the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** France had declared war on Britain in February 1793, and news of it had reached the South Atlantic by the early summer. The *Brothers* held a letter of marque, a government licence allowing a private ship to seize enemy vessels without being treated as a pirate. She took the French ship in Walvis Bay, on the coast of south-west Africa, a common resort of whalers, and brought her to St Helena as the nearest British port. The Council did not condemn the prize itself. It took the master's and crew's answers to the standard interrogatories and sworn statements, then certified that the evidence pointed to lawful capture. The certificate gave the captors a record made close to the event, which a full admiralty court could rely on later. It also shows the island once more at the centre of wartime traffic in the South Atlantic, as it had been with Johnstone's Dutch prizes in 1781.
84	77	Copy of a Warrant to the Inspector of Black Cattle§ §To Mr. A B.§ §Whereas you were Nominated in§ §Vestry held the Day of April last Inspectors of Black§ §Cattle in the West Division of this Island.§ §These are therefore to authorize & impower§ §you to cause all the Cattle belonging to the Honble. Compy.§ §& Inhabitants in said Division to be examined & the Worms§ §carefully extracted & destroyed giving the Honble. Companys§ §Pasture Hands and Inhabitants Notice of the Days you§ §purpose inspecting their respective Stocks that they may§ §keep such of their Servants to assist therein, as are§ §most conversant & expert in the Business And that§ §you continue your Inspection from the Date hereof, until§ §the 1st Day of September 1795.§	The heading read: Copy of a warrant to the inspectors of black cattle. The warrant was addressed to a man named as A B. He had been nominated in the vestry in April as one of the inspectors of black cattle in the West Division of the island. It authorised and empowered him to have all the cattle belonging to the Company and to the inhabitants of that division examined, and the worms in them carefully extracted and destroyed. He was to give the Company's pasture keepers and the inhabitants notice of the days he meant to inspect their stock, so that they could send those of their servants most familiar and skilled in the work to help. He was to continue his inspection from the date of the warrant until 1 September 1795. He was also directed to report his proceedings to the bench of justices on every court day from then until his inspection ended. A fee of [...] was to be charged for every worm extracted, from the cattle of both the Company and the inhabitants. The warrant was given under the Council's hands on 10 November

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		§You are also directed to make Report§ §of your Proceedings in the execution of this Business to the§ §Bench of Justices upon every Sessions Day from the present§ §Period to the End of your Inspection.§ §A Fee of 1/ is to be charged for every§ §worm extracted, both from the Cattle of the Honble. Company§ §and the Inhabitants. Given under our Hands this 10 Day§ §of Novr. 1794.§ §Signed.§ §Robt. Brooke§ §F. Robson§ §R. A. Wright§ §You are further enjoined to§ §examine the Marks of each Inhabitants Stock of Cattle§ §in said Division & be particularly careful in observing§ §if any Person makes use of, or retains§ §more than one Mark for such Stock.§	1794 and signed by Robert Brooke, Francis Robson and Britannicus Wright. He was further empowered to examine the marks on each inhabitant's stock of cattle in the division, and to take particular care to find out whether anyone **Start of crossed out section** be forced to **End of crossed out section** used or kept more than one mark for his stock. **Interpretations** The worms were probably the grubs of the warble fly, which burrow under a beast's hide and emerge through holes in its back. Infested cattle lost condition and their hides were spoiled. Each grub had to be squeezed out by hand and destroyed before it could hatch and lay eggs on the next animal. Inspecting every herd in the division, the Company's and the planters' alike, was the only way to break the cycle. A single neglected herd would reinfest its neighbours. Charging a fee for each worm put the cost on the owners and paid the inspector by results. Reporting to the justices on every court day gave the work legal force, so an owner who refused access or hid his cattle could be dealt with by the bench. The rule against more than one mark, first set for sheep in 1781, was now applied to cattle too. It ensured each beast inspected could be traced to its true owner.
85	78	Form of Arrack Certificate§ §St. Helena List of Arrear§ §6 Sept. 1795§ §We the Govr. & Council of said Island§ §Do hereby Certify to the Honble. the Court of Directors§ §for Affairs of the United East India Company that§ §there has been Deposited in their Stores here by Capt. Chs.§ §Christie Commander of Ship Belvidere 204 Galls. Arrack§ §which is estimated to be worth 2/9 per Gallon for which§ §we have Signed to two Certificates of this Tenor & Date.§ §To Captain A B.§ §Commander of Ship§ §Sir C D§ §It is ordered by the Governor§ §and Council that you send on Shore§ §immediately to the Officer of the Main§ §Guard whatever discharged Soldiers§ §You may have on board from any§ §of the Honble. Companys Settlements§ §in India.§ §St. Helena I have the honor to be§ §June 1799 Sir§ §Your Obedt. Servant§ §Signed.§ §G. Doveton§ §Secy.§	The heading read: Form of arrack certificate. In a certificate dated at St Helena on 6 September 1795, the Governor and Council certified to the Court of Directors of the United East India Company that Captain Charles Christie, commander of the *Belvedere*, had deposited 204 gallons of arrack in the Company's stores on the island. It was valued at 2s 9d a gallon. They had signed two certificates of the same wording and date for it. A note in the margin labelled the entry as a list of arrack. An order followed, addressed to the commander of a ship, named in the form as Captain A B of the C D. By order of the Governor and Council, he was to send ashore at once, to the officer of the main guard, any discharged soldiers he had aboard from any of the Company's settlements in India. G. Doveton signed it as secretary at St Helena in June 1799, with the day not legible. **Interpretations** Arrack deposited by a ship's commander was bought on the Company's account and paid for by certificate, as the Council had done with salt meat and spars since the 1770s. The certificate let the commander's owners claim the value from the Company in London, and gave the Court a check that the spirit had reached the island's stores. The order on discharged soldiers turned an older practice into a fixed rule. In 1792 the Council had allowed one commander to leave eight discharged men at the island, and had enlisted them. By 1799 every commander was ordered to land all such men at once. During the long war with revolutionary France the garrison needed every trained soldier it could get. Men already seasoned by service in India were the most valuable recruits the island could find, and sending them straight to the main guard brought them under military control before they could slip away into the town.
86	79	St. Helena§ §1802§ §A. B. has permission to go§ §or send on board any Ship or Ships on their Arrival in these Roads§ §upon the following Conditions, That she shall find an Approved§ §Surety who will be responsible for her honest Dealing as well§	A form of licence, dated at St Helena in 1802, followed. It gave a woman, named in the form as A B, permission to go, or send someone, aboard any ship or ships when they arrived in the road, on certain conditions. She had to find an approved surety who would answer for her honest dealing and her proper conduct. Her business aboard was to be strictly limited to collecting washing. Any departure from that limit would forfeit the licence and expose her to whatever

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		§as her Correct Conduct in limiting her transactions on board§ §Ship solely to the business of procuring Washing. Any deviation§ §from such restriction will forfeit this Licence, besides subjecting her§ §to such further Penalty as may be inflicted by the Acting§ §Magistrate, her Surety being held liable for the Trust reposed§ §in her by Strangers.§ §Signed. Thos. H. Brooke Govt. Secy.§ §Signed. A. B.§ §Signed. C. D.§ §Surety.§ §Licenced Persons, Bondsmen§ §Cath. Chaplin: Bondsmen Lieut. J. McKay§ §Ann Eldridge: Bondsmen do.§ §Jane Lloyd: Bondsmen Sergt. Willm. Lloyd§ §Hannah (Free): Bondsmen Mr. Thos. Yates§ §Susan Moyce (Free): Bondsmen Lieut. J. McKay§ §Ellen Connelly: Bondsmen Lt. J. McKay§	further penalty the acting magistrate imposed. Her surety would also be held liable for the trust that strangers placed in her. The licensee signed as A B, and her surety as C D. Thomas H. Brooke signed as the Governor's secretary. A list of the licensed women and their bondsmen followed. Licensed women and their bondsmen Catherine Chaplin, bondsman Lieutenant J. McKay Ann Aldridge, bondsman Lieutenant J. McKay Jane Lloyd, bondsman Sergeant William Lloyd Hannah, recorded as free, bondsman Mr Thomas Yates Susan Moyce, [...], bondsman Lieutenant J. McKay Ellen Connolly, bondsman Lieutenant J. McKay **Interpretations** Ships in the road gave washerwomen steady work, since officers, passengers and crews had months of soiled linen and clothing after the voyage. The licence restricted each woman's dealings aboard to the washing alone. A woman going freely among the ships could also have sold spirits, carried goods ashore without duty, or helped a soldier or slave to hide aboard. Those were the same dangers the Council's standing orders to commanders were meant to prevent. Limiting the licence to named women, each with a surety, kept the trade small and traceable. The surety made the licence enforceable. A washerwoman held a stranger's clothes and linen in trust and could vanish with them before the ship sailed. Her bondsman would then have to make good the loss, so he had a reason to vouch only for women he trusted. Most of the bondsmen were garrison men, and Sergeant William Lloyd was very probably Jane Lloyd's husband. Lieutenant McKay stood surety for four of the six, perhaps as the officer responsible for soldiers' wives. Hannah's entry as free marked her as a freed slave, admitted to the trade on the same terms as the white women once a respectable islander stood behind her.
87	80	Form of a Manifest in the event of Articles being omitted§ §to be inserted in the General Manifest in India.§ §Island St. Helena§ §1802§ §Captain A B Commander§ §of the Honble. Companys Ship C D this day came before§ §me and made Oath that the following Articles were omitted§ §to be entered in the foregoing Manifest at E F and requests§ §that they now might be inserted as follow.§ §Sworn before me this§ §day of Year abovewritten§ §Signed G H§ §Governor§ §Marks & Nos., Quantity, Quality, To whom Consigned or belonging§ §A B: Marks & Nos. No. 1 & 2, Quantity 2 Boxes, Quality Madeira Wine, To whom Consigned or belonging John Hodges Esqr. London§ §Signed§ §A B Commander§ §Form of a Certificate to be given the Commander§ §of a Ship on Signing his Bond.§ §This is to Certify that Captain A B of Ship§ §C D has Signed the Bond alluded to in the Printed Port Regulations.§ §To Mr. R. Bazett§ §Master Attend.§ §Signed E F§	The heading read: Form of a manifest for use when goods had been left out of the general manifest made in India. In a form dated at St Helena in 1802, the commander of one of the Company's ships, named as Captain A B of the C D, came before the Governor and swore that certain goods had been left out of the manifest made at a port named as E F. He asked that they now be added as follows. The oath was sworn before the Governor, named as G H, with the day and month left blank. The commander signed the addition. Goods omitted from the manifest Marks A B, numbers 1 and 2, 2 boxes of Madeira wine, consigned to John Hodges, London A form of certificate to be given to a ship's commander on signing his bond followed. It certified that the commander, named as Captain A B of the C D, had signed the bond referred to in the printed port regulations. It was addressed to Mr R. Bazett, master attendant, and signed with the initials E F. **Interpretations** The general manifest listed every package a ship carried, and it was checked against the cargo when she reached London. Goods not on it could be seized as smuggled, even if they had been loaded honestly. A commander who found an omission could correct it at St Helena by swearing before the Governor. The sworn addition, made before the ship reached England, showed that the goods had been aboard from the start and were not slipped in along the way. The example of two boxes of Madeira for a London consignee shows the kind of small private shipment that could easily be left off.

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			The master attendant was the officer in charge of the harbour, the moorings and the boats in the road. By 1802 the island had printed port regulations, and every commander had to sign a bond to obey them before he could do business at St Helena. The certificate told the master attendant that the bond was signed, so he could then give the ship her mooring and services. R. Bazett belonged to the Bazett family, who had served the Company on the island since the 1770s.
88	81	The Governor§ §W. W. Doveton Esqr.§ §Major James Cocks§ §Members of Council.§ §Major Thos. Greentree§ §Senior Field Officer on the Strength of the Lieut. Governor§ §Gabriel Doveton Esqr.§ §David Kay Senr. Esqr.§ §Thomas H. Brooke Esqr.§ §Major F. Seale§ §Mr. John Goodwin§ §Revd. Doctor Wilkinson§ §Heads of Offices Field Officers and Head Surgeons.§ §Captain Seale§ §Mr. Geo. Leech§ §Capt. Den Taaffe§ §Mr. John D'Fountain§ §Capt. Smith§ §Mr. John Mason§ §Capt. Fraser§ §Mr. Henry Bazett§ §Capt. Desfountain§ §Mr. R. A. Wright§ §Capt. Bazett§ §Mr. Richard Leech§ §Capt. Lt. Shirley§ §Mr. Dav. Kay Junr.§ §Capt. Lt. Pritchard§ §Capt. Lt. Mills§ §Capt. Lt. Wright§ §Mr. J. C. Dunn§ §Capt. Lt. Greentree§ §Captains, Factors, Acting Captains and Second Surgeons.§ §Mrs. Mary Wright§ §Mrs. Marg. Will§ §Mrs. Flora Goodwin§ §Mrs. Sarah Forbes§ §Mrs. Mary Greentree§ §Mrs. Marg. Desfountain Senr.§ §Mrs. Marg. D'Fountain Junr.§ §Mrs. Mary Beale§ §Mrs. Ann Beale§ §Widows of Civil and Military Servants above the Rank of Subalterns.§ §Lieut. Lester§ §Mr. John Kay§ §Lieut. Broadway§ §Lieut. Chas. Hodson§ §Lieut. Weir§ §Lieut. Statham§ §Lieut. Kay§ §Lieut. Mason§ §Lieut. Kitlin§ §Lieut. Alexander§ §Lieut. Neve§ §Lieut. B. Hodson§ §Lieut. Rd. Knipe§ §Lieut. Kinnaird§ §Lieut. Roberts§ §Mr. John Gamble§ §Lieutenants, Writers & 3d Surgeons.§ §Mrs. Gurling§ §Ensign Sampson§ §Mrs. Mary Bazett§	The Council's market list, as fixed in December 1802, set the order in which the island's officers and their families were entitled to be served at the market. The names were grouped by rank, as follows. Market list as regulated by Council, December 1802 Members of Council The Governor W. W. Doveton Major James Cocks Major Thomas Greentree Gabriel Doveton : Senior field officer [...], heads of offices, field officers and head surgeons David Kay senior Thomas H. Brooke Major F. Seale Mr John Goodwin The Reverend Doctor Wilkinson Captain Seale Mr George Leech : Captains, factors, acting captains and second surgeons Captain Den Taaffe Mr John Desfountain Captain Smith Mr John Mason Captain Fraser Mr Henry Bazett Captain Desfountain Mr B. A. Wright Captain Bazett Mr Richard Leech Captain Lieutenant Shirley Mr David Kay junior Captain Lieutenant Pritchard Captain Lieutenant Mills Captain Lieutenant Wright Mr J. C. Dunn Captain Lieutenant Greentree Widows of civil and military servants above the rank of subaltern Mrs Mary Wright Mrs Margaret Wild Mrs Flora Goodwin Mrs Sarah Forbes Mrs Mary Greentree Mrs Margaret Desfountain senior Mrs Mary Desfountain junior Mrs Mary Beale Mrs Ann Beale Lieutenants, writers and third surgeons Lieutenant Lester Mr John Kay Lieutenant Broadway Lieutenant Charles Hodson Lieutenant Weir Lieutenant Statham Lieutenant Kay Lieutenant Mason Lieutenant Kellin Lieutenant Alexander Lieutenant Neve Lieutenant B. Hodson

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		§Ensign Young§ §Ensign Knipe§ §Ensign Pritchard§ §Ensign Wright§ §Ensign Cole§ §Ensign Hanson§ §Ensigns and the Widows of Subalters.§	Lieutenant R. Knipe Lieutenant Kinnaird Lieutenant Roberts Mr John Gamble Ensigns and the widows of subalterns Mrs Gurling Ensign Sampson Mrs Mary Bazett Ensign Young Ensign Knipe Ensign Pritchard Ensign Wright Ensign Cole Ensign Hanson The group headings were written vertically beside brackets in the manuscript. The exact limits of the first three groups were not clearly marked, so those divisions are approximate. **Interpretations** Fresh meat, vegetables and fish were always scarce on the island, and there was seldom enough at the market for everyone. The Council therefore fixed an order of precedence: the Governor and Council first, then heads of offices and field officers, and so on down the ranks to the ensigns. When supplies ran short, those lowest on the list went without. The 1777 rule that cattle killed for the market came before those killed for the ships protected the island's supply as a whole. The 1802 list decided how that supply was shared among the officials themselves. Widows kept a place matching their late husbands' rank. Widows of officers above subaltern came after the captains and before the lieutenants, and widows of subalterns ranked with the ensigns. That spared a widow from losing her standing, and her food, when her husband died. The names Greentree, Desfountain, Bazett, Knipe, Doveton and Seale had all appeared in the records of 1775. The same families still held the island's offices and commands a generation later.
89	82	Mr. Thos. Wezell Purser of the Ship Walpole§ §came before me this day and made Oath on the Holy§ §Evangelist, that the Seven Bags of Pepper Marked B P W§ §and Consigned to the said Thos. Wezell, mentioned in§ §the within Manifest were not sent on board, and that§ §in consequence of this circumstance the Governor & Council§ §at St. Helena have granted him permission to fill§ §up the above deficiency of Tonnage with Tea.§ §St. Helena§ §1802§ §To Mr. Henry Bazett§ §Actg. Master Attendant.§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to§ §inform you that they conceive the Duty of Mustering the§ §Ships ought to be executed by the Person holding the§ §situation of Master Attendant, you are therefore directed§ §by them to perform that Service until further Orders.§ §I am Sir§ §29th April Your Obd. Servant§ §1803 Signed§ §T. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §NB. Mr. Bazett was furnished§ §with an Extract of the Company's§ §Orders respectg. Mustering Ships and§ §a Copy of Instructions to the§ §Master Attendant.§	Thomas Wezell, purser of the *Walpole*, swore on the Gospels before the Governor that the seven bags of pepper marked BPW and consigned to him, as listed in the attached manifest, had never been loaded aboard. Because of this, the Governor and Council of St Helena gave him leave to fill the unused tonnage with tea. The entry was dated at St Helena in 1802. A letter followed, addressed to Henry Bazett, acting master attendant. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote that the Council considered that the duty of mustering ships should be carried out by whoever held the post of master attendant. Bazett was therefore directed to perform that service until further orders. The letter was dated 29 April 1803. A note recorded that Bazett had been given an extract of the Company's orders on mustering ships and a copy of the instructions to the master attendant. **Interpretations** An officer's allowance of private trade was measured in tons of hold space. Wezell's pepper had been entered on the manifest but left behind, so his share of the hold stood empty. Without the Council's leave, any goods he loaded at St Helena to fill it would have appeared as cargo not on the manifest, open to seizure in London. His sworn statement proved the pepper had never been aboard, and the Council's permission made the tea a lawful substitute within his allowance. Tea was the most profitable private cargo an officer could carry home. Mustering ships had once been the work of a member of Council, as William Wrangham had done aboard every Indiaman in the 1770s. By 1803 the Council handed the task to the master attendant, the harbour officer who already boarded each ship to moor her and check her bond. Joining the two duties saved a councillor's time and placed the search for deserters

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			and stowaways with the officer best placed to watch every boat in the road.
90	83	Instructions to the Master Attendant§ §at§ §St. Helena§ §You are under the Orders of§ §the Governor and Council to take charge of§ §all the Honble. Company's Boats, their Tackle§ §and Furniture, and as any Injury to the§ §one or wasteful Expenditure of the Other will be§ §strictly investigated. You will be made§ §responsible in either Case.§ §The Opportunities that offer for§ §their repair, and to prevent injury from the§ §Worm, you are never to omit, that they may§ §be ready at all times for Service when required.§ §Their Crews are to be under your§ §immediate Cognizance whom you are daily to§ §muster to see they are sober and diligent in§ §the discharge of their duty, and to prevent§ §Desertion to the utmost.§ §You are to be very vigilant§ §over all who may go afloat and to report if§ §they do not return, and when you suspect§ §any plans for desertion, you are to counteract§ §and prevent it by every personal exertion.§ §Wherever the Boats may be§ §employed you must have constant Inspection§ §and to see that no loss of time or Impediment§	The heading read: Instructions to the master attendant at St Helena. The master attendant served under the orders of the Governor and Council and took charge of all the Company's boats, with their tackle and fittings. Any damage to the boats, or wasteful use of their gear, would be strictly investigated, and he would be held responsible in either case. He was never to miss a chance to repair the boats and protect them from worm, so that they would always be ready when needed. Their crews were under his direct oversight. He was to muster them every day, to see that they were sober and diligent in their duty, and to do everything he could to prevent desertion. He was to keep a close watch on everyone who went afloat and report anyone who failed to return. Whenever he suspected a plan to desert, he was to foil and prevent it by every personal effort. Wherever the boats were employed, he was to keep them under constant inspection and see that no time was lost and no obstacle allowed to [continues]. **Interpretations** The boats were the island's only link with the ships in the road, and they also offered the easiest route off the island. A boatman could row out to an outward-bound ship and hide aboard, or a soldier or slave could steal a boat at night. Making the master attendant muster the crews daily and count everyone who went afloat turned the harbour into a closely watched frontier. His personal responsibility for any boat damaged or gear wasted gave him every reason to keep both the boats and their crews under tight control. The worm was the shipworm, a boring mollusc that riddled the timbers of any wooden hull left long in warm seawater. Boats had to be hauled out, cleaned, tarred and sometimes sheathed to keep it at bay. A boat left in the water through neglect could be ruined within a season.
91	84	to the Service be the Consequence of mismanagement§ §on the Part of the Crews.§ §When a Signal is made for a§ §Ship, you will repair to the Water Side and§ §if any of the Long Boats are disengaged, have§ §an Anchor and Hawser put on board to§ §wait her Arrival, when you will repair on§ §board, and afford them such assistance in§ §berthing the Ship as your knowledge of the§ §Place and the use of your Boat &ca. can§ §give, but that on no account you assume§ §the direction of her.§ §The Cranes their Gear and the§ §Men who work at them are to be under§ §your care, superintendance and controul§ §and every Boat is to accomodate in Watering§ §Unloading or Loading in rotation unless some§ §very particular occasion requires when you§ §must give Notice thereof to the Governor who§ §will direct such Alteration.§ §In the landing housing and§ §transporting the Company's Stores your§ §Superintendance and Attention is required in§ §a very particular manner, that they be not§ §exposed or injured beyond what is absolutely§ §necessary.§ §To check and ascertain the Light§ §Master's conduct and Plumber's Department§ §and every other which the Governor and§	The master attendant was to see that the service suffered no delay or obstacle through the crews' mismanagement. When a signal was made for an approaching ship, he was to go to the waterside. If any of the longboats were free, he was to have an anchor and hawser put aboard one to wait for her arrival. He was then to go aboard the ship and give such help in mooring her as his knowledge of the anchorage and the use of his boat allowed. On no account, however, was he to take command of her. The cranes, their gear and the men who worked them were under his care, supervision and control. Every boat was to be served in turn for watering, unloading or loading, unless some very particular need arose. In that case he was to inform the Governor, who would direct any change. He was to take very particular care over the landing, storing and moving of the Company's stores, so that they were not exposed or damaged more than was absolutely necessary. He was also to check and keep watch on the conduct of the [...] master, the plumber's department and every other department that the Governor and Council [continues]. **Interpretations** The ban on taking command of a ship kept the lines of authority clear. A ship's commander answered to her owners and the Company for her safety, and could not hand that responsibility to a harbour officer. The master attendant brought local knowledge of the rocky bottom of James Bay and a boat with a spare anchor, but the commander made the decisions. If the

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			ship struck or dragged her moorings, the blame could not be shifted onto the island. Serving the boats in rotation stopped favouritism at the landing place. Ships competed for the cranes and the water supply so they could turn round quickly and sail. A strict order of turns meant no commander could jump the queue by bribing the crane men or befriending the harbour officer. Only the Governor could alter the order, which kept any exception visible and accountable.
92	85	Council may think it necessary to direct.§ §To be aiding and assisting to§ §quell all disturbances and to prevent by your§ §early interference the usual effects of the Seamen§ §of the Fleet intemperance by either giving§ §Notice to the several Commanders of any§ §Tumult among their Crews who are on shore§ §and to report to the Governor thereon.§ §To make Quarterly Returns of§ §every thing under your charge and to be§ §observant of every Means of Improvement§ §in the conduct of the business under your§ §Notice.§ §As the Periods of exertions will§ §be occasional only. You will have sufficient§ §opportunities for attention to the other duties§ §of your Situation in the Company's Service,§ §and it is expected that as an adequate Salary§ §for the Station has been allotted, you will§ §discharge the duty with that Zeal, Fidelity§ §and Attention they have a right to expect.§ §By Order of the Honble. Court of Directors§ §W. W. Doveton§ §Secy.§ §St. Helena§ §9th May 1797§	The master attendant was to oversee any other department the Governor and Council thought it necessary to place under him. He was to help put down all disturbances and, by stepping in early, prevent the usual results of drunkenness among the seamen of the fleet. He was to do this by warning the commanders of any trouble among their crews ashore, and by reporting it to the Governor. He was to make quarterly returns of everything in his charge and to watch for every means of improving the way the business under his care was conducted. Since the periods of heavy work would come only now and then, he would have ample time for the other duties of his post in the Company's service. As an adequate salary had been allotted to the post, the Court expected him to carry out his duties with the zeal, loyalty and attention it had a right to expect. William Webber Doveton signed the instructions as secretary, by order of the Court of Directors, at St Helena on 9 May 1797. **Interpretations** A homeward fleet could put several hundred seamen ashore at once, men paid off from months at sea with money to spend and drink easy to find. Brawls between crews, or between sailors and soldiers, were a constant risk in a small town like Jamestown. The master attendant knew the commanders and their crews, so he could warn a captain to call his men back aboard before trouble spread. The garrison was kept for real disorder, not routine drunkenness. The closing paragraph explained why one man could combine these tasks with other duties. Ships came in waves, and between them the harbour was quiet. The Court paid a fixed salary for the whole year and expected full effort when ships were in. It also reminded him that he was paid enough not to need fees or favours from commanders, which closed the door to bribery at the landing place.
93	86	To John Sam Timins Esqr.§ §Commander of the Hon. Comps. Ship§ §Royal George§ §Sir§ §Your Ship being reported ready§ §for Sea, You are hereby directed to make the best§ §of your way to Fort Marlbro, on the West Coast§ §of the Island Sumatra, following such Instructions§ §as you may have received from the Honble.§ §Court of Directors.§ §Wishing you a Speedy and§ §prosperous Voyage, we remain§ §Sir§ §Your Most Obedt. Humble§ §Servants§ §St. Helena§ §18th March 1803§ §Signed§ §Robt. Patton§ §W. W. Doveton§ §Robt. Leech§	An order was addressed to John Sam Timmins, commander of the Company's ship *Royal George*. His ship had been reported ready for sea, so he was directed to sail without delay to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra, following any instructions he had received from the Court of Directors. The Council wished him a speedy and prosperous voyage. Governor Robert Patton, William Webber Doveton and Robert Leech signed the order at St Helena on 18 March 1803. **Interpretations** The order was the working form of the sailing order kept in the draft book since the 1770s, here sending an outward ship on to Sumatra once her business at the island was done. Robert Patton had become Governor by 1803, and the Council's members were again drawn from long-established island families such as the Dovetons and Leeches. The ship sailed only on the Council's written order, which confirmed that she had landed her stores and cleared her dealings at St Helena before going on to the East.
94	87	To Mr. Henry Bazett§ §Acting Master Attendant.§ §Sir§	A letter was addressed to Henry Bazett, acting master attendant. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote by order of the Council that the greatest vigilance must

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		§I am directed by the Board to inform you, that§ §the utmost vigilance must be exerted to prevent Ships taking off Water§ §before it is Certified to you that their Commanders have Signed§ §the Bond alluded to in the Printed Port Regulations.§ §I am Sir§ §St. Helena Your Most Obedient Servant§ §30th April 1803 Signd.§ §T. H. Brooke Secty.§ §To Gabriel Doveton Esqr.§ §Storekeeper.§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to inform you§ §that you are every Monday Morning to give in to the Governor &§ §Council a written Return of the Cash recd. by you during§ §the preceding Week, distinguishing the different Species of Coin§ §and the Quantities of each Specie.§ §You are also directed at the beginning of every Month§ §to pay into the Companys Treasury the Amount of your Receipts§ §corresponding to your Weekly Return.§ §I have the honor to be§ §Sir§ §St. Helena Your Obedt. Servant§ §11 July 1803 Signd.§ §T. H. Brooke Secty.§	be used to stop ships taking on water before Bazett had been certified that their commanders had signed the bond required by the printed port regulations. The letter was dated at St Helena on 30 April 1803. A second letter was addressed to Gabriel Doveton, storekeeper. Brooke informed him by order of the Council that every Monday morning he was to give the Governor and Council a written return of the cash he had received during the previous week, listing the different kinds of coin and the amount of each. He was also directed to pay into the Company's treasury at the start of every month the sum of his receipts, matching his weekly returns. The letter was dated at St Helena on 11 July 1803. **Interpretations** Water was the one thing every ship needed at the island, so it gave the Council its strongest hold over commanders. A ship that could not water could not sail. Refusing water until the bond was signed made the port regulations impossible to ignore, since a commander had to accept the rules before he received the island's most essential service. The weekly cash return tightened control over the storekeeper, who took in large sums from sales. In 1775 his takings had been paid into the treasury only at the end of each quarter, which left months of receipts in his hands. A weekly account, listing each kind of coin, let the Council check his cash often and spot any gap quickly. Coins on the island came in many currencies, including dollars, rupees, pagodas and English money, so naming each kind prevented a storekeeper from substituting coins of lower value for the ones he had taken in.
95	88	To William Ramsay Esqr.§ §Secretary &c. &c.§ §Sir§ §I do myself the pleasure to inform§ §you, that in compliance with the Instructions contained in the§ §Lists of Packets per Ships Royal George & Huddart, I have recd.§ §the Sum of £ 26 .. 18 being part of the Amount of Fees on§ §the Commissions & Covenants lately granted to Gentlemen upon§ §this Establishment, which Sum is entered on the Cash Account of§ §last Monday, and which I conceive most eligible to pay into the§ §Companys Treasury immediately, without waiting for the§ §remaining £ 5 .. 11 .. 6, as the Cash I have recd. consists entirely of§ §Porto Nova Pagodas, the value of which is to be reduced on§ §the first from 8/ to 7/6.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §20th July 1803 Your Most Obedt. Humble Servt.§ §Signd.§ §T. H. Brooke Secty.§ §To William Ramsay Esqr.§ §Secretary &c. &c.§ §Sir§ §In the Packet from Bengal to St. Helena§ §by the Ship Mangles a Counterpart of the Charter Party was§ §enclosed, besides the Copy which it is customary to transmit.§ §I therefore forward it to you, conceiving that it was not intended§ §for this Government.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §22d July 1803 Your Obedient Servant§	Thomas H. Brooke, secretary at St Helena, wrote to William Ramsay, secretary to the Court of Directors, on 20 July 1803. Following the instructions in the lists of packets sent by the *Royal George* and the *Huddart*, Brooke had received £26 18s 0d, part of the fees due on the commissions and covenants recently granted to gentlemen on the island's establishment. He had entered the sum in the cash account the previous Monday. He thought it best to pay it into the Company's treasury at once, without waiting for the remaining £5 11s 6d, because the cash he had received consisted entirely of Porto Novo pagodas. Their value was to be reduced on the first of the month from 8s to 7s 6d. Brooke wrote to Ramsay again on 22 July 1803. The packet from Bengal to St Helena by the *Mangles* had contained a counterpart of the charter party as well as the copy usually sent. Brooke was forwarding it to him, believing it had not been meant for the island's government. **Interpretations** Officers appointed to the Company's service paid fees on their commissions and covenants, the documents that fixed their rank and their contract with the Company. Brooke collected these fees on the island for the Court in London. He paid in the part he held at once because the coin was about to lose value. The Porto Novo pagoda was a gold coin struck in southern India, and the island was cutting its official value by 6d. Paying it into the treasury before the change protected the Company from a loss of about 3d in the pound on every pagoda. Holding it a few days longer would have cost the fund money through no fault of his own. The charter party fixed the terms under which a ship's owners let her to the Company. Two parts were drawn up, one kept by the owners and one by the Company. A stray counterpart belonged in London with the Court's records, not on the island, so Brooke sent it on rather than keep a document St Helena had no use for.

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96	89	To Edwd. Chas. Smith & Jno. Chas. Dunn Esqrs. and the other§ §Proprietors of the Public Rooms, on the Parade.§ §Gentlemen§ §The Board upon taking the Subject of your§ §Petition into consideration are of opinion that the Lease of the Piece§ §of Ground adjoining the Public Rooms or Tavern should not be§ §permitted to be Sold, but resumed on Account of the Company§ §upon Public Motives and for the safety of the Garrison, and as§ §you wish to dispose of it, and at a stated Price (as it is§ §understood) the Board require a preference, and desire to know§ §what Sum you are willing to Sell it for.§ §The Varanda to the abovementioned building§ §being an unauthorized encroachment upon the Grand Parade§ §must be pulled down, & no encroachment or incumberance§ §whatever will be suffered to be made upon the Parade, beyond§ §the threshold of the Door.§ §I have the honor to be,§ §St. Helena Gentlemen§ §25th July 1803 Your Obedient & humble Servant§ §Signd.§ §T. H. Brooke§ §Secty.§ §To William Ramsay Esqr. Secretary &c. &c.§ §Sir§ §Since my Letter to you of the 20th July§ §Duplicate of which is enclosed; the Gentlemen of Council§ §have expressed their opinion that it is better to transmit§ §you Bills for the Amount of the Fees, than to carry the Sum§ §to the Cash Account. I therefore do myself the pleasure of§	Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, wrote on 25 July 1803 to Edward Charles Smith, John Charles Dunn and the other owners of the Public Rooms on the Parade. The Council had considered their petition. It held that the lease of the piece of ground beside the Public Rooms, or tavern, should not be allowed to be sold to anyone else. It should instead be taken back on the Company's account, for public reasons and the safety of the garrison. Since the owners wished to dispose of it, and at a fixed price as the Council understood, the Council claimed first refusal and asked what sum they would accept. The veranda on the building was an unauthorised encroachment on the Grand Parade and had to be pulled down. No encroachment or obstruction of any kind would be allowed on the Parade beyond the threshold of the door. Brooke wrote again to William Ramsay, secretary to the Court of Directors. Since his letter of 20 July, a duplicate of which he enclosed, the members of Council had decided that it was better to send Ramsay bills for the amount of the fees than to enter the sum in the cash account. He therefore had the pleasure of [continues]. **Interpretations** The Grand Parade in Jamestown lay beneath the Castle and beside the main gate and batteries guarding the landing place. Ground there mattered to the defence of the island. In wartime it might be needed for troops, guns or stores, and a private building pushing onto it could block the garrison's movement or give cover to an enemy landing. The Council would not let the lease pass to an unknown buyer. Claiming first refusal and buying it for the Company kept that ground under public control. The order to pull down the veranda enforced the same principle on the building already there. The Council's change of mind on the fees reflected the falling pagoda. Sending bills on London for the exact sum fixed its value in sterling. Paying the coin into the island's treasury left the Company holding pagodas worth less after the first of the month.
97	90	enclosing you a first Bill of Exchange for £ 26 .. 18 and§ §have the honor to remain,§ §Sir§ §St. Helena Your Obedient & humble§ §29th July 1803 Servant.§ §Signed§ §T. H. Brooke§ §Secty.§ §I do hereby Certify that Mr. William§ §Gahagan, as Agent to Hugh Meehan, was required by this Government§ §to deliver up the Bills granted to the said Hugh Meehan as part§ §Freight, which part Freight has become forfeited according to the§ §Terms of the Charter Party.§ §Signd. Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secty. to Govt.§ §25th July 1803.§ §To Thos. Henry Brooke & John Chas. Dunn Esqrs.§ §Executors to the Estate of the late Major§ §Andrew Den Taaffe Decd.§ §Gentlemen§ §I am directed by the Board to inform you§ §that the late Major Andrew Den Taaffe stands indebted to the Honble.§ §Company in the Sum of One Hundred and fourteen Pounds one Shilling§ §you are therefore hereby required to pay that Sum into the Hands§	Brooke enclosed the first of a set of bills of exchange for £26 18s 0d and signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 29 July 1803. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary to the Governor, certified on 25 July 1803 that William Gahagan, acting as agent for Hugh Meehan, had been required by the island's government to hand back the bills granted to Meehan as part payment of freight. That part freight had been forfeited under the terms of the charter party. A letter was addressed to Thomas Henry Brooke and John Charles Dunn, executors of the estate of the late Major Andrew Den Taaffe. By order of the Council, the writer informed them that Major Den Taaffe owed the Company £114 1s 0d. They were therefore required to pay that sum to the paymaster on the island before settling with any of the major's other creditors, as the law of the island required. The letter was dated 20 August 1803 and signed by the sub-secretary. **Interpretations** Freight was paid to a ship's owners in stages, part of it in bills issued along the voyage. The charter party listed conditions, such as sailing on time or delivering the cargo intact, whose breach forfeited part of the freight. Meehan's agent already held bills for money the owners had since lost the right to. Making him surrender them stopped the bills being presented in London for a sum the Company no longer owed. The island's law gave the Company first claim on a dead man's estate ahead of his other creditors. Den

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		§of the Paymaster here, before you Compound with any other of the§ §Majors Creditors, according to the Law of the Island.§ §I am Gentlemen§ §20th August Your Obedt. humble Servant§ §1803 Signd.§ §A. Hodson§ §Sub Secty.§	Taaffe was the Captain Den Taaffe on the market list of 1802, so he was a senior officer who died in debt to the Company. The executors had to pay the Company before compounding with anyone else, meaning before agreeing to settle other debts at less than their full value. The Company was thus paid in full, and private creditors shared whatever remained. The rule protected public funds advanced to officers on the island, who often drew pay and stores on credit.
98	91	To§ §Mr. John Meredith§ §On board the Ship§ §Tottenham§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor§ §and Council to inform you that the preservation§ §of discipline on board the Honble. Company's Ships§ §requires, that an Assault upon the Commanding§ §Officer upon Deck be punished with suspension;§ §and as the Court of Enquiry has established this§ §charge against you The Governor and Council§ §do hereby suspend you from your situation§ §of Surgeon on board the Tottenham, until the§ §Honble. Court of Directors pleasure be known.§ §St. Helena I am Sir§ §21st of September 1803 your Obedient Servant§ §Signed§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To§ §Mr. W. Nowl,§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and§ §Council to inform you that they have come to the§ §Determination of sending the Ship Batavia, which you§ §command, to England, respecting your situation on board of§ §which, they refer you, till your Arrival there, to§	A letter was addressed to John Meredith, aboard the ship *Tottenham*. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, informed him by order of the Governor and Council that discipline aboard the Company's ships required an assault on the commanding officer on deck to be punished with suspension. A court of enquiry had found the charge proved against him. The Governor and Council therefore suspended him from his post as surgeon of the *Tottenham* until the Court of Directors' wishes were known. The letter was dated at St Helena on 21 September 1803. A second letter was addressed to W. Nowel. By order of the Governor and Council, the writer informed him that they had decided to send the ship *Batavia*, which he commanded, to England. As to his post aboard her, they referred him, until his arrival there, to the [continues]. **Interpretations** The Council acted as a disciplinary authority over the Company's ships in the road, not just over the island's own people. A surgeon who struck the officer of the watch had broken the chain of command on which a ship's safety depended. The Council held a court of enquiry, found the charge proved and suspended him, leaving the final decision to the Court of Directors. It did not dismiss him outright, since only the Court could end a man's service. Suspension removed him from duty at once and kept order aboard until London could rule. The *Batavia* was probably a prize or a hired ship, perhaps a captured Dutch vessel, given her name, taken during the war resumed with France and the Batavian Republic in 1803. The Council's decision to send her to England, with her commander's standing left to be settled on arrival, suggests a ship whose status the island could not decide on its own.
99	92	the enclosed Extract of the Governors Orders§ §to Captain Medows§ §Sir.§ §I am further directed to enquire§ §of you whether you have any sealed Packets addressed§ §to the Person to whom the Cargo of the Batavia§ §is consigned, in order that they may be delivered§ §to the Council & sealed up along with the rest of§ §the Ship Papers.§ §I am Sir§ §St. Helena your Obedient Servant§ §22d September 1803 Signed. Thos. H. Brooke Secry.§	The Council referred Nowel to the enclosed extract of the Governor's orders to Captain Meadows. **Start of crossed out section** Captain Meadows Sir Mr Nowel, sir **End of crossed out section** The secretary was further directed to ask Nowel whether he had any sealed packets addressed to the person to whom the *Batavia*'s cargo was consigned. If so, they were to be handed to the Council and sealed up with the rest of the ship's papers. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 22 September 1803. **Interpretations** The request for sealed packets confirms that the *Batavia* was a captured ship. When a vessel was taken as prize, all her papers, including letters to the cargo's consignee, had to be gathered, sealed and sent with her to the prize court. They were the chief evidence of who really owned the ship and her goods, and so of whether she was lawful prize. Sealing them on the island, before the master could destroy or alter any, preserved that evidence intact. Captain Meadows was evidently the naval or Company officer who had taken her and was to bring her home under the Governor's orders.

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100	93	Form.§ §Answer to Application for leave to Sail.§ §Sir,§ §In reply to your Report that§ §your Ship is ready for Sea, I am directed by the§ §Governor to inform you that you are not to§ §Sail until further Orders§ §St. Helena I am Sir§ §1803 Your Obedient Servant§ §Signed. Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary§ §To Captain G. Richardson§ §Commander of the H. C. Ship§ §United Kingdom§ §Sir§ §The Governor & Council have appointed§ §Mr. Robertson, Surgeons Mate of the United Kingdom,§ §to Act as Surgeon of the Tottenham for the Passage§ §home; you are desired to send him on board that Ship§ §as soon as possible.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §22d Septr. 1803 Your Obedt. humble Servt.§ §Signd.§ §T. H. Brooke Secty.§	The heading read: Form of answer to an application for leave to sail. In reply to a commander's report that his ship was ready for sea, the secretary was directed by the Governor to tell him that he was not to sail until further orders. Thomas H. Brooke signed the form as secretary at St Helena in 1803. A letter was addressed to Captain G. Richardson, commander of the Company's ship *United Kingdom*. The Governor and Council had appointed Mr Robertson, surgeon's mate of the *United Kingdom*, to act as surgeon of the *Tottenham* for the voyage home. Richardson was asked to send him aboard that ship as soon as possible. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 22 September 1803. **Interpretations** War with France had resumed in May 1803. Homeward ships were now held at St Helena until enough had gathered to sail together under escort, so a commander ready to leave could be told to wait. A standard form for refusing leave shows how routine such delays had become. Robertson's appointment filled the gap left by John Meredith, the *Tottenham*'s surgeon, suspended the day before for assaulting his commanding officer. A ship could not sail home with troops and passengers aboard and no one to treat the sick. The Council drew a qualified mate from another ship in the road, which still had her own surgeon, and placed him aboard the *Tottenham* for the passage. The Council's power to move men between ships ensured that discipline in one case did not leave a ship without medical care.
101	94	To Mr. Robertson,§ §Surgeon's Mate of the Honble.§ §Company's Ship§ §United Kingdom§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor &§ §Council to inform you, they have appointed§ §you Acting Surgeon of the Hon. Company's§ §Extra Ship Tottenham, for the Passage§ §home; you are therefore required to go§ §on board that Ship as soon as possible§ §I am Sir§ §St. Helena Your Obed. Servt.§ §23d Sept. 1803 Sigd. T. H. B.§ §Secty.§ §St. Helena 23d September 1803.§ §Papers of the Ship Batavia§ §sealed up and delivered to Mr. Thos.§ §Carter in charge of that Ship in the§ §presence of Captain William Norval.§ §By order of the Govr. & Council§ §Signed§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secty.§	A letter was addressed to Mr Robertson, surgeon's mate of the Company's ship *United Kingdom*. By order of the Governor and Council, the secretary informed him that he had been appointed acting surgeon of the Company's extra ship *Tottenham* for the voyage home. He was therefore to go aboard that ship as soon as possible. The letter was dated at St Helena on 23 September 1803 and signed with the secretary's initials, T H B. A note dated at St Helena on 23 September 1803 recorded that the papers of the ship *Batavia* had been sealed up and delivered to Mr Thomas Carter, who was in charge of that ship, in the presence of Captain William Nowel. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary by order of the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The *Tottenham* was an extra ship, hired by the Company for a single voyage to meet extra demand, unlike the regular ships contracted for several voyages. Extra ships were often hired in wartime to carry troops and stores. Robertson's direct appointment completed the arrangement made through his commander the day before. Addressing him personally gave him written authority to serve on another ship, so that he could not later be charged with deserting his own. The sealed papers went to Thomas Carter, who now had charge of the *Batavia*, in the presence of William Nowel, her former commander. Nowel's presence as witness showed that the papers handed over were the same ones found aboard, sealed without being opened or tampered with. Carter would carry them unbroken to the prize court in England, where they would decide whether the ship and her cargo were lawful prize.
102	95	Island St. Helena§ §Pursuant to the Orders§ §of the Honble. Company, for Licencing Public§ §Houses, We do hereby give Leave and Licence unto§ §you John Torbett, Thomas Yates, Thomas McRitchie§ §William Chamberlain, Thomas Allesworth, and John§	A licence headed Island of St Helena followed. Under the Company's orders for licensing public houses, the Council gave John Torbett, Thomas Yates, Thomas McRitchie, William Chamberlain, Thomas Allsworth and John Legg leave and licence to keep four public houses as a joint concern. Two were to serve only the garrison and the white

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		§Legg, to keep as a joint concern 4 Public Houses§ §namely two for the exclusive accommodation of the§ §Garrison & White Inhabitants, the third to be exclusively§ §appropriated to the accommodation of the Black§ §Inhabitants in terms of the Company's restrictions§ §respecting them and the fourth which is betwixt§ §the Line & Sea Gate, for the Special accommodation§ §of the Shipping; and in the said 4 Punch Houses you§ §are hereby licenced to Sell Arrack, Brandy, Rum, Gin,§ §Wine, Beer, Punch and other strong Liquors, with§ §Sugar and Tobacco, from the day of the date hereof until§ §the 1st day of January next ensuing, Paying to the§ §Honble. Company by Weekly Payments at the rate of§ §Six Hundred Pounds per Quarter the quantity for vending§ §weekly to be specified and authorized by the Board.§ §You are on the Week days to open§ §your Houses from Eight o'Clock in the Morning§ §until Eight o'Clock at Night, for the vending of§ §Spirituous and other Liquors, strictly observing the decent§	inhabitants. The third was to serve only the black inhabitants, under the Company's restrictions concerning them. The fourth, between the Lines and the Sea Gate, was to serve the shipping in particular. In these four punch houses they were licensed to sell arrack, brandy, rum, gin, wine, beer, punch and other strong drink, together with sugar and tobacco, from the date of the licence until the following 1 January. They were to pay the Company £600 0s 0d a quarter in weekly instalments. The quantity they could sell each week was to be fixed and authorised by the Council. On weekdays they were to open their houses from eight in the morning until eight at night for the sale of spirits and other drink, strictly observing the proper custom [continues]. **Interpretations** The licence replaced open competition with a single licensed syndicate, much as the society's cellar had held the spirit trade in 1775. The Council fixed the number of houses, the customers each could serve, the hours and even the weekly quantity sold. A rent of £600 0s 0d a quarter, or £2,400 0s 0d a year, made the drink trade one of the Company's largest sources of income on the island, far more than all the land rents of 1775 put together. Weekly payment kept the money flowing in and let the Council act quickly if the partners fell behind. Separating the houses by customer was a means of control. Soldiers and white inhabitants drank in two houses, black inhabitants in a third under special restrictions, and seamen in a fourth near the Sea Gate. Keeping sailors at the waterside, away from the town, limited the brawls the master attendant was told to prevent. A separate house for black inhabitants, slave and free, let the Council limit and watch their drinking, which it had long feared as a cause of disorder and escape.
103	96	custom of shutting them up on the Lord's day until§ §five o'Clock in the Evening, and again at the time§ §abovementioned.§ §In every Bowl of Punch, which shall§ §contain Four Pints, you shall allow one Pint of unadulterated§ §Spirits, mixed with such necessary and wholesome ingredients§ §as shall be required. And you are hereby positively forbid§ §to sell Arrack, or any other Spirituous Liquor in Drams,§ §but to mix it with Water or make it into Punch, in§ §proportion of Three Pints of Water to one of Spirits, as§ §abovementioned, neither are you on any account§ §whatever to take more or less than Eighteen Pence per§ §Pint, Nine Pence the half Pint, and four Pence half Penny§ §the Quartern, mixed as aforesaid, for whatever Spirituous§ §Liquor you may vend in future, except Rum and§ §Brandy.§ §You shall not suffer any of the§ §Garrison or others to Game in your Houses, or to fight§ §or quarrel therein, neither are you to trust them nor§ §any other Persons for any sort of strong Liquors, under§ §peril of losing your Debt, and forfeiting your Licence.§ §You shall on no account Purchase§ §or take in Exchange Clothes or Provisions from any Non§ §commissioned Officer, or Soldier.§ §You shall not Trade, Traffic, or Merchandize§	On Sundays the houses were to stay closed, following the proper custom, until five in the evening, and were then to close again at the hour already set. Every bowl of punch, holding four pints, was to contain one pint of unadulterated spirit, mixed with whatever necessary and wholesome ingredients were required. The licensees were strictly forbidden to sell arrack or any other spirit as neat drams. It had to be mixed with water or made into punch, at three pints of water to one of spirit, as stated above. For any spirit sold from then on, except rum and brandy, they were on no account to charge more or less than £0 1s 6d a pint, £0 0s 9d a half pint and £0 0s 4½d a quartern, mixed in that way. They were not to allow soldiers of the garrison or anyone else to gamble, fight or quarrel in their houses. Nor were they to give soldiers or anyone else strong drink on credit, on pain of losing the debt and forfeiting their licence. They were on no account to buy, or take in exchange, clothes or provisions from any non-commissioned officer or soldier. They were not to trade or deal in any way with black people or servants, or to receive or shelter any of them by day or night on any pretext. Nor were they to allow or hide anyone else acting contrary [continues]. **Interpretations** The ban on neat drams was the core of the Council's drink policy. A soldier tossing back raw arrack became drunk far faster than one drinking punch diluted three parts to one. Fixing the strength of every bowl and the price of every measure stopped the licensees from selling strong spirit cheaply to draw custom, or watering it down to cheat drinkers. Rum and brandy were left out of the fixed price.

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		§with any Blacks or Servants, or entertain or harbor any§ §either by day or night on any pretence whatever, or connive§ §at, or conceal any other Person or Persons acting§	They were dearer imported spirits, drunk mostly by officers and better-off inhabitants, not the cheap arrack that fuelled the barracks. The ban on credit and on taking soldiers' clothes or rations in payment closed the usual road to ruin in a garrison town. A soldier with no cash could otherwise drink on tick, or pawn his uniform and food for punch. He would then be unfit for duty, ragged on parade and dependent on the Company to reclothe and feed him. Forfeiting the debt as well as the licence made credit a losing risk for the publican.
104	97	contrary hereto, in any or either of these Articles,§ §without giving due notice of such evil or clandestine§ §practice to Us.§ §You are not to suffer any Liquor belonging§ §to the Inhabitants to be lodged in your Punch Houses§ §neither are you to lend Liquor to any of them under§ §any pretence whatever.§ §You are to Purchase all the Arrack§ §or other Spirituous Liquors, you vend in your Houses,§ §from the Company's Stores, at the rate of Five Shillings§ §and Six Pence per Gallon, paying ready Money for the§ §same and in case you do presume at any time or§ §under any pretence whatever, to buy the smallest§ §quantity of Spirituous Liquors from any Person or Persons§ §whomsoever, the Penalty annexed to such Offence will be§ §immediately levied on you and your Effects, and you will be§ §further rendered incapable of having a concern in the§ §Licence for keeping Punch Houses.§ §As you are all joined together in One§ §Licence it is expected that if any artifice is made use§ §of to defraud any of you, or the Company, that one§ §of you will write a Letter to the Governor, acquainting him§ §with the same, on which the Letter will be destroyed,§ §and the whole of the Punch House Keepers sent for before the§ §Board, and proper enquiry established; without the§ §Name of the Person who gave the Information being§ §mentioned.§ §You are on no account whatsoever to serve§ §any Non Commissioned Officer, Private Soldier, or any other§ §Person or Persons with Spirituous Liquors, or any other sort§ §of Liquor if they appear intoxicated, and all Liquor you vend,§ §must be drank in your Houses, and not suffered under any§ §pretence, to be carried out.§	The licensees were not to allow anyone to break any of these articles without reporting such wrongful or secret dealing to the Council. They were not to let any inhabitant store his own liquor in their punch houses, nor to lend liquor to any inhabitant on any pretext. They were to buy all the arrack and other spirits sold in their houses from the Company's stores, at £0 5s 6d a gallon, paying ready money. If they ever presumed, on any pretext, to buy even the smallest quantity of spirits from anyone else, the penalty for that offence would be levied at once on them and their goods. They would also be barred from any further share in the licence for keeping punch houses. Since they were all joined in one licence, the Council expected that if any trick was used to cheat any of them, or the Company, one of them would write to the Governor about it. The letter would then be destroyed, and all the punch-house keepers summoned before the Council for a proper enquiry, without the informant's name being mentioned. They were on no account to serve any non-commissioned officer, private soldier or anyone else with spirits or any other drink if he appeared drunk. All liquor they sold had to be drunk in their houses and was not, on any pretext, to be carried away. **Interpretations** Requiring the licensees to buy only from the Company's stores made the Company both landlord and sole supplier of the island's drink trade. It drew a quarterly rent of £600 0s 0d and also sold the spirit at £0 5s 6d a gallon. Arrack bought from ships at about 2s 6d to 2s 9d a gallon, as the certificates of the 1790s show, was resold to the punch houses at roughly double. A punch house that bought cheaper spirit from a passing ship would have undercut the Company and escaped its control of strength and quantity, so the penalty for doing so was ruin. Destroying the informant's letter protected the partners from one another. Six men sharing one licence each had reason to suspect the others of cheating the joint account or the Company. A secret report allowed any one of them to raise a complaint without becoming an open enemy of his partners, and the Council could then question them all together. The rule against carrying liquor away kept all drinking under the licensee's eye, where drunkenness, credit and the sale of drink to slaves could be watched.
105	98	You may in future, serve the Slaves (on§ §their producing the necessary Note from their Master or§ §Mistress) with a Noggin of Spirits per day, mixed as beforementioned,§ §which they are to drink at the Bar, and immediately to leave§ §your Houses, and the Free Blacks are not to be under any§ §other prohibition than is common to the rest of the§ §Inhabitants, who frequent your Houses.§ §If three Guns, or more, are at any time§ §fired as an Alarm for Ships coming in, without the Pass§	From then on the licensees could serve a slave with a noggin of spirit a day, mixed as described above, if he brought the necessary note from his master or mistress. He was to drink it at the bar and leave the house at once. Free black people were to be under no restriction beyond those that applied to all other inhabitants who used the houses. If three or more guns were fired at any time as an alarm for approaching ships, without the [...] being fired, the licensees were to shut their punch houses at once. No servant was to be served any liquor for his master or the household unless he brought a signed note for it.

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		§being fired, You are immediately to shut up your Punch§ §Houses.§ §No Servant is to be served any Liquor§ §for his Master, or Family, unless he brings a Signed§ §Note for the same.§ §This Licence is not to be made over§ §to any Person or Persons on any pretence whatever§ §nor is any Person to be deputed to manage the business,§ §or keep the Bar on the joint Account without his name§ §having been given in to Council, and the nomination§ §approved of.§ §If any Complaint is made against§ §any of the Six Persons joined in the concern the others§ §are not to be distressed thereby, on the contrary if any§ §such Complaint be found just, and one or more in§ §consequence dismissed, the majority of the remaining§ §number may nominate a Person or Persons they§ §may think it safe to associate with, and if the Governor§ §and Council approve of the nomination, the names§ §of the Person or Persons, so chosen will be put in the§ §place of those dismissed.§ **Margin Notes:** §(Pass)§	The licence was not to be transferred to anyone on any pretext. Nor was anyone to be put in to manage the business or keep the bar on the joint account unless his name had been given to the Council and his appointment approved. If a complaint was made against any of the six partners, the others were not to suffer for it. If a complaint was found to be just and one or more partners were dismissed as a result, a majority of the rest could nominate anyone they thought safe to take into partnership. If the Governor and Council approved, the person chosen would take the place of the one dismissed. **Interpretations** A slave could drink only with his owner's written leave, one noggin a day, about a quarter of a pint of diluted punch, taken at the bar and not carried away. The note made each owner answerable for his own slaves' drinking. Free black people, by contrast, were placed on the same footing as white inhabitants. By the early 1800s the island had a growing free black population, and the licence recognised their legal difference from slaves in plain terms. Closing the punch houses at an alarm of three guns kept the garrison sober at the moment it might be called to the batteries. Soldiers drinking when an enemy fleet was sighted would be useless at the guns. The rule on servants fetching drink for their masters closed a gap, since a slave could otherwise claim to be buying for his owner and drink it himself.
106	99	And lastly you shall well and truly§ §observe and keep all the foregoing, and such further§ §Orders, and Instructions as you may from time to§ §time receive from Us, on Penalty not only of forfeiting§ §this Licence but being rendered incapable of ever§ §holding another, and be further dealt with according§ §to Law, for your breach and contempt thereof.§ §Given under Our Hands§ §and the Honble. Company's Seal, this 1st day of§ §January 1803.§ §Signed.§ §Robert Patton§ §W. W. Doveton§ §The following Letter is entered in its wrong place.§ §To Captain Musgrave§ §Commander of the Extra Ship§ §Atlas§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council§ §to communicate to you their thanks and approbation for the very§ §handsome manner in which your Services were offered upon the late§ §Occasion of a Boat and Crew being in distress, and your§ §Exertions upon that emergency, which they will intimate§ §to the Honble. Court of Directors.§ §The Board have ordered a Bullock,§ §and an Allowance of Grog for your Ships Company, which§ §will be delivered on application to the Clerk of the Market and§ §the Storekeeper.§ §I have the honor to be, Sir,§ §St. Helena Your Obedient Servant§ §15th August 1803 Signed T. H. Brooke Secretary§ **Margin Notes:** §(Pass) Page 112§	Lastly, the licensees were to observe and keep all these rules faithfully, along with any further orders and instructions the Council might issue from time to time. If they failed, they would not only forfeit the licence but also be barred from ever holding another, and would be further dealt with by law for their breach and contempt. The licence was given under the Council's hands and the Company's seal on 12 January 1803 and signed by Robert Patton and William Webber Doveton. A note recorded that the following letter had been entered out of its proper place. The letter was addressed to Captain Musgrave, commander of the extra ship *Atlas*. By order of the Governor and Council, the secretary conveyed their thanks and approval for the generous way Musgrave had offered his services when a boat and its crew had recently been in distress, and for his efforts during that emergency. The Governor and Council would report it to the Court of Directors. The Council had ordered a bullock and an allowance of grog for his ship's company, to be delivered on application to the clerk of the market and the storekeeper. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 15 August 1803. **Interpretations** The penalty for breaking the licence went beyond losing the business. A partner who broke the rules would be barred from ever holding another licence. With only one licensed concern on the island, that meant being shut out of the drink trade for good. The threat of further proceedings at law for contempt made the Council's rules enforceable in court, not just a condition of a private contract. The Council's thanks to Captain Musgrave show how sea rescues were rewarded. Boats rowing between the shore and ships in the open road of James Bay were often caught by the swell or swept out to sea, and a ship's crew might put off to save them at some risk. A bullock and a ration of grog gave the whole crew a feast and a drink, a reward felt by every man who had helped. Reporting the act to the Court of Directors could also count in Musgrave's favour when he next sought a command.

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107	100	Additional Clause added to the Publicans Licence§ §10 October 1803§ §The foregoing Licence having been§ §forfeited by the misconduct of one of the Barkeepers§ §vending Liquor contrary to Regulation, The Governor§ §and Council agree that it shall be restored with the§ §following additional Clause.§ §That in future one of You§ §shall regularly take in rotation the Charge and§ §direction of the whole of the Punch Houses and be§ §deemed the responsible Person, in place of the whole,§ §during the period of his Superintendance; & if the§ §Conditions of the Licence should be infringed, the§ §forfeiture shall fall singly upon the faulty§ §Individual & not upon the other Publicans.§ §The period of this Charge is to be Monthly, and§ §the officiating Publican is to be reported regularly§ §upon his Succession to the Officer of Police, who will§ §Register his Name and report him to the Acting§ §Magistrate.§ §To John Chas. Dunn & J. D'Fountain Esqrs.§ §Agents to Major James Cockes.§ §Gentlemen§ §In answer to your§ §letter of last Monday, requesting permission to§ §dispose of a Lease granted to Major Cockes in James§ §Valley, I am directed by the Board to inform you§ §that the Conditions of the Lease having been found§	The heading read: Additional clause added to the publicans' licence, 10 October 1803. The licence had been forfeited through the misconduct of one of the barkeepers, who had sold liquor against the regulations. The Governor and Council agreed to restore it with the following additional clause. From then on, one of the partners was to take charge of all the punch houses in turn and be treated as the person responsible for the whole concern during his period of supervision. If the conditions of the licence were broken, the forfeiture would fall on that one individual alone and not on the other publicans. Each turn was to last a month. The publican in charge was to be reported promptly on taking over to the officer of police, who would register his name and report him to the acting magistrate. **Start of crossed out section** A letter was addressed to John Charles Dunn and J. Desfountain, agents for Major James Cocks. In answer to their letter of the previous Monday asking permission to dispose of a lease granted to Major Cocks in James Valley, the secretary was directed by the Council to inform them that the conditions of the lease having been found [...] **End of crossed out section** **Interpretations** The original licence made all six partners answer jointly, so one barkeeper's offence cost the whole syndicate its licence. That punished the innocent with the guilty and left the island with no lawful punch houses. The Council chose to restore the licence instead of letting it lapse, but changed where liability fell. Under the new clause, each partner in turn bore sole responsibility for a month. Any breach during his month cost him alone. That gave each man a strong reason to watch the barkeepers closely while he was in charge, and protected the rest from his failings. Registering the publican in charge with the officer of police meant the authorities always knew whom to hold to account. If disorder or illegal sales arose, the magistrate did not need to work out which partner was responsible. The name was already on record for that month.
108	101	erroneous they require the following corrections to be made in§ §an additional Clause before the Premises be sold; Viz. that§ §the grant shall be limited to 60 feet in front, extending§ §Southward from the North Wall at present built, which is to be§ §the boundary on that side & that the right of the road leading§ §to the Barracks & the upper Parade thro the Companys ground§ §lately purchased, shall be preserved by a Passage of 14 feet in§ §breadth & further that a good & sufficient channel built§ §with Stone & lime for the water be made & kept in repair by the§ §purchaser & subject always to the of such Person§ §the Council may please to appoint.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §St. Helena Gentlemen§ §17 October 1803 Yr. Obedient Servant§ §Signd. Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To Mr. Harrison,§ §Auctioneer.§ §Sir§	**Start of crossed out section** The conditions of the lease had been found erroneous, and the Council required the following corrections to be made in an additional clause before the premises were sold. The grant was to be limited to 60 feet of frontage, extending southward from the north wall as already built, which was to be the boundary on that side. The right of way along the road leading to the barracks and the upper parade, through the Company's ground lately purchased, was to be kept by a passage 14 feet wide. A good and sufficient stone-lined channel for the water was also to be built and kept in repair by the purchaser, always subject to the [...] of whatever person the Council chose to appoint. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 17 October 1803. **End of crossed out section** A letter was addressed to Mr Harrison, auctioneer. The Governor asked him to send in that day a signed account of all slaves sold by auction since 1 May. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary at St Helena on 3 October 1803. **Interpretations** The cancelled letter shows the Council again protecting public ground in Jamestown when a private lease changed hands. Before Major Cocks's agents could sell his lease in James Valley, its frontage was to be fixed. A 14-foot passage to the barracks and upper parade was to be kept open, and the

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		§The Governor desires that you will this§ §day, send in a signed account of all such Slaves as have been§ §Sold by Auction since the 1st day of May last.§ §I am Sir§ §St. Helena Your Obedient Servant§ §31st October Signd. Thos. H. Brooke§ §1803 Secy.§	purchaser was to maintain a stone water channel. These were the same concerns that shaped the Council's demand to buy the ground beside the Public Rooms in July 1803: the troops' freedom to move, and the town's water. The clerk crossed the letter out, probably because it was redrafted or entered elsewhere. The demand for a signed account of slaves sold at auction let the Governor keep track of every change of ownership. A slave sold on the island passed from one owner to another and might be taken off St Helena by a buyer from a passing ship. A full record helped the Council check that sales followed the island's rules, that duties were paid and that no free person had been sold as a slave.
109	102	To Mr. B. Mason Senr. Mr. Henry Porteous & Mr. John§ §Legg Senr.§ §Gentlemen§ §The Board have selected You as§ §a Committee to estimate the Commons in the East District§ §and in the West District of the Island, separately by determining§ §the Number of Sheep which each of these is fit to maintain or§ §pasture throughout the Year according to the best of your§ §Judgment and Opinion. And to give in a written Report§ §of such Opinion to the Board with your Signatures at it.§ §November 4th 1803 I am Gentlemen§ §your Obedient Servants§ §Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Circular§ §Island St. Helena§ §Every Ship or Vessel coming into the§ §Roads (except those in His Majestys Service) is required to§ §obey the Orders of the Commanding Officer in the Roads, whose§ §Ship is distinguished by a Broad Pendant, respecting§ §the Berth or Station to be occupied.§ §By Command of the Governor.§ §Signed§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary.§ §And no Ship is to Sail until the Commanding§ §Officer be informed of the Governors permission§ §having been granted.§ **Margin Notes:** §1 W. Daly. [...]§	A letter was addressed to Mr B. Mason senior, Mr Henry Porteous and Mr John Legg senior. The Council had chosen them as a committee to assess the commons in the East District and the West District of the island separately. They were to decide, to the best of their judgement, how many sheep each common could support at pasture throughout the year, and to give the Council a written report of their opinion with their signatures. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary on 4 November 1803. A circular headed Island of St Helena followed. Every ship or vessel coming into the road, except those in His Majesty's service, was to obey the orders of the commanding officer in the road, whose ship would fly a broad pennant, as to the berth or station she was to take. A note added that no ship was to sail until the commanding officer had been told that the Governor had given permission. Thomas H. Brooke signed the circular as secretary by command of the Governor. **Interpretations** Assessing how many sheep each common could carry was the next step after the sheep counts of 1779 and 1781. The Council already knew how many animals each owner had. Now it wanted to know how many the land could bear without being stripped bare. Overgrazing by sheep and goats had already destroyed much of the island's native woodland and left hillsides open to erosion. A figure for each common gave the Council a basis for limiting the numbers each planter could turn out, and for charging those who exceeded them. The circular placed merchant shipping in the road under a naval officer in wartime. The broad pennant marked a commodore, the senior naval officer present. He decided where each ship anchored, so the road could be defended and convoys made up in good order. Requiring him to be told of the Governor's permission before any ship sailed kept ships from slipping away alone, where privateers could take them.
110	103	To§ §Sergeant William Lloyd.§ §I am directed by the Governor and§ §Council to inform you, that they have resolved to dismiss§ §you from your Situation of Garrison Baker, and You are§ §hereby directed to give over your Charge to Henry Hammond§ §who has been ordered to succeed you.§ §Signed§ §11th November T. H. Brooke§ §1803 Secretary§ §To Captain A. Cumming§ §Commander of the H. C. Ship Castle Eden &§ §Senior Commander of the H. C. Ships in§ §St. Helena Roads§ §Sir§	A letter was addressed to Sergeant William Lloyd. By order of the Governor and Council, the secretary informed him that they had decided to dismiss him from his post as garrison baker. He was directed to hand over his charge to Henry Hammond, who had been ordered to succeed him. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary on 11 November 1803. A letter was addressed to Captain R. Cumming, commander of the Company's ship *Earl Howe* and senior commander of the Company's ships in St Helena road. A letter matching the enclosed instructions had been sent to the commander of every ship in the road. So that all vessels approaching the island could learn of the regulations then in force before they anchored, the secretary enclosed the accompanying letters, enabling Cumming to pass

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		§A Letter corresponding to the enclosed Instructions§ §has been sent to the Commanders of every Ship in the Roads, & that all§ §Vessels approaching the Island may be acquainted with the regulation§ §now adopted, before they Anchor, I enclose you the accompanying§ §Letters, that you may have it in your power to communicate it§ §them in proper time.§ §I have the honor to be§ §Sir§ §7th Decr. 1803 Yr. Obt. Servant§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy. to Govt.§	them on in good time. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary on 7 December 1803. **Interpretations** The Council dismissed William Lloyd as garrison baker without giving a reason in the letter. The garrison baker turned the Company's flour into the troops' daily bread and handled large quantities of flour on the Company's account. Dismissal from such a post usually followed short weight, poor bread or flour unaccounted for. Lloyd was the sergeant who in 1802 had stood surety for Jane Lloyd, one of the licensed washerwomen, so the loss of his post may also have touched her bond. Using the senior Company commander to pass the regulations to arriving ships made sure they reached each vessel before she anchored. A ship already at anchor that did not know the rules on berths, sailing leave or boats might break them in ignorance. The senior commander met incoming ships as they arrived, so he could hand over the Council's letters at once, a practical step in a crowded wartime road.
111	104	To Captain Alexr. Cumming§ §Commandr. of the H. C. S. Castle Eden§ §Sir,§ §You are hereby Ordered by the Governor, to land the§ §undermentioned Packages, belonging to the Rt. Honble. Lord Clive, contained§ §in the Manifest of your Ship, which his Lordship requires for his use, during§ §his residence on the Island Viz.§ §Marked "Lord Clive" Two half Chests Wine§ §I have further to inform you, that on your producing§ §the Manifest at my Office, the abovementioned Packages shall be struck§ §off therefrom.§ §I am§ §St. Helena Sir§ §11th 1803 Your Obedt. Servant§ §Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To,§ §Mr. Thomas & John Mather,§ §Christopher Street,§ §Finsbury Square,§ §London.§ §Gentlemen,§ §By direction of the Honble. Robert§ §Patton Esqr. Governor of the Island, I transmit to you Copies of§ §Letters, with the results of the measures pursued for the security of your§ §property on board two Prize Ships at present at this§	A letter was addressed to Captain Alexander Cumming, commander of the Company's ship *Castle Eden*. By order of the Governor, he was to land the following packages belonging to Lord Clive, listed in his ship's manifest, which Lord Clive needed for his use while staying on the island. Packages marked Lord Clive, half chests of wine, 2 The secretary added that when Cumming produced the manifest at his office, these packages would be struck off it accordingly. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena in 1803, with the day and month not legible. A letter was addressed to Messrs Thomas and John Mather, Christopher Street, Finsbury Square, London. On the instructions of Governor Robert Patton, the secretary sent them copies of letters setting out the results of the measures taken to secure their property aboard two prize ships then at the island [continues]. **Interpretations** Lord Clive was Edward Clive, son of the famous Robert Clive, returning from his term as Governor of Madras. Landing goods from a homeward Indiaman would normally breach the bond against breaking bulk. The Governor's order and the striking off of the packages from the manifest made the landing lawful, so the shortfall would not be charged against the ship in London. A peer staying on the island during his passage home was given his own wine for his table, with every step recorded. The Mathers were London merchants who owned goods aboard two ships captured and brought into St Helena. Their property had been taken along with the enemy cargo, or was claimed as British property wrongly seized. The Governor reported directly to them the steps taken to protect it until a prize court could rule, so they could press their claim with full knowledge of what had been done.
112	105	Port, which he supposes may be essential to your interests§ §I am Gentlemen§ §St. Helena Your Obt. humble Servant§ §3d Jany. 1804 (Signed) T. H. Brooke Secy.§ §P. S.§ §The final Report respecting the State of the Hold on§ §board the Ganges, has not yet been given in.§ §To,§ §Wm. Ramsay Esqr.§ §Secretary &ca. &ca.§ §Sir,§	The Governor believed the letters about the two prize ships might be essential to the Mathers' interests. Thomas H. Brooke signed as secretary at St Helena on 3 January 1804. A postscript noted that the final report on the state of the hold aboard the *Ganges* had not yet been submitted. A letter was addressed to William Ramsay, secretary to the Court of Directors. For the satisfaction of the owners of the South Sea whaler *Scorpion*, the Governor had directed the secretary to send him authenticated extracts from the Council's minutes of 15 December 1803 and 2 January 1804. The Governor asked Ramsay to seal them and

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		§For the Satisfaction of the Owners of the Scorpion§ §South Sea Whaler, the Governor has directed me to transmit§ §the enclosed authenticated Extracts from Consultations of 15th§ §Decr. and 2nd Jany. which he requests you will be so obliging as to§ §Seal and forward to them. He also directs me to enclose§ §you the Copy of a Correspondence with the Masters of the§ §Duke of Portland, Inspector and Diana, South Sea Men§ §which he thinks may with propriety be transmitted to§ §the Owners Mr. Bennet Black Heath of those Ships.§ §Mr. Thos. Greentree & Mr. James Denty§ §having been informed of the necessity of procuring Sureties§ §in England, upon the occasion of their late Appointments§ §as Writers on this Establishment; I am requested by the former§ §to mention that Messrs. Thomas & George Devaynes Bankers§ §in London, have been written to on his part, and the§ §Friends of Mr. Denty have addressed Mrs. Catherine Jones,§ §No. 5 Hertford Street Fitzroy Square, on the same Subject.§ §I am &ca.§ §4th Jany. 1804 (Signed) T. H. Brooke Secy.§	forward them to the owners. He was also sending a copy of correspondence with the masters of the *Duke of Portland*, the *Inspector* and the *Diana*, South Sea whalers. The Governor thought it proper to pass this on to Mr Bennet of Blackheath, owner of those ships. Mr Thomas Greentree and Mr James Denty had been told that they must find sureties in England on being appointed writers on the island's establishment. Greentree had asked the secretary to mention that Messrs Thomas and George Devaynes, bankers in London, had been written to on his behalf. Denty's friends had approached Mrs Catherine Jones, of 5 Hertford Street, Fitzroy Square, on the same matter. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary on 4 January 1804. **Interpretations** South Sea whalers worked the Pacific and the southern Atlantic for sperm whales and called at St Helena for water and food. In wartime they were also chased and sometimes captured by French privateers, or became involved in disputes over prizes brought into the road. The Council sent its records of these matters to the owners through the Court of Directors, since the island had no direct line to private merchants in London. The Company's packets were the most reliable post home. Every writer entering the Company's civil service had to give security, a bond backed by sureties in England who would pay the Company if he embezzled its money or ran into debt. A young man appointed on the island had no means of arranging this himself. Naming the bankers and friends who had been asked to stand surety let the Court in London complete the bonds, so his appointment could be confirmed. Thomas Greentree was a son of the long-established Greentree family on the island.
113	106	To,§ §Major E. C. Smith§ §Actg. Chief Engineer§ §Sir,§ §The Board direct that you will order a§ §survey to be held on the Chaplains House, the State of which is to§ §be reported in writing to Council, on Monday next.§ §I am &ca. &ca.§ §To§ §George Leech Esqr.§ §Sir,§ §The Board direct me to inform§ §you, that they have appointed you Superintendant of Public§ §Sales, the duty of which Office will best be explained by the§ §enclosed Copy of the Governors Minute on that Subject.§ §I am &ca. &ca.§ §To Lieut. B. Hodson§ §Sir,§ §I enclose you an extract of the Govrs.§ §Minute upon this Day's Consultation, together with the§ §Boards resolution in consequence granting you the pay of 3/§ §per day for your Office of Assistant Engineer and the same§ §Sum as Overseer of the Works.§ §I am &ca.§ §To§ §Lieuts. B. & C. Hodson.§ §Gentlemen.§ §I am directed by the Board to inform§ §you§	A letter was addressed to Major E. C. Smith, acting chief engineer. The Council directed him to order a survey of the chaplain's house and to report its condition in writing to the Council the following Monday. A letter was addressed to George Leech. By order of the Council, the secretary informed him that he had been appointed superintendent of public sales. The duties of the post would best be explained by the enclosed copy of the Governor's minute on the subject. A letter was addressed to Lieutenant C. Hodson. The secretary enclosed an extract of the Governor's minute at that day's meeting, together with the Council's resolution that followed it. It granted Hodson pay of £0 3s 0d a day for his post as assistant engineer, and the same sum as overseer of the works. A letter was addressed to Lieutenants B. and C. Hodson. The secretary was directed by the Council to inform them [continues]. **Interpretations** The post of superintendent of public sales followed from the auction rules the island had developed since the 1780s. Ships' private goods, damaged stores, prize cargoes and slaves were all sold at public auction, and the Council wanted a single officer to oversee them. He would ensure that sales were advertised, lots were fair and the proceeds and duties accounted for. Giving the task to one named man, with written instructions, placed responsibility for the island's auctions on a single officer instead of leaving them to private auctioneers alone. Lieutenant Hodson drew two separate allowances, as assistant engineer and as overseer of the works, much as the Company's officers in 1775 had held several posts with a payment for each. With few trained men on the island, an engineer officer was

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			given both the design and the supervision of public works and paid for each role.
114	107	you of their having granted the prayer of your petition of this§ §date, provided the purchaser be approved of.§ §I am &ca. &ca.§ §To§ §Captain Leigh.§ §Sir,§ §I am directed by the Board to inform you§ §of their having acceded to your request to be allowed to Ship§ §yourself as Steward and Purser's Mate of the Georgiana.§ §I am &ca. &ca.§ §To§ §The Reverend Doctor Wilkinson,§ §Sir§ §In answer to your Letter of the 8th§ §Instant to the Govr. which he has laid before the Board I§ §am directed to inform you, that the Chief Engineer will order§ §a Survey on the Chaplains House, and an Inventory of Books§ §and any other property of the Honble. Company, will be§ §taken by the Sub Secretary.§ §I am &ca. &ca.§ §(Signed) T. H. Brooke Secy.§ §To,§ §Gabriel Doveton Esqr.§ §Storekeeper§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to inform you that§ §as the Island, has now got a supply of American Flour, you will in future dispose of§ §it to the Company's Servants and Inhabitants, at the rate of 4d. per§ §pound, in the usual quantities. The English Flour is to be reserved§ §for the Use of the Garrison, the allowance to whom is to be, Six§ §Pound per Week each Man, including Officers and Compys. Servants§ §I have the honor to be,§ §&ca. &ca. &ca.§ §6th Feby. 1804 (Signed) T. H. Brooke Secy.§	The Council informed the two Hodsons that it had granted the request in their petition of that date, provided the purchaser was approved. A letter was addressed to Captain Leigh. By order of the Council, the secretary informed him that it had agreed to his request to be allowed to sign on [...] as steward and boatswain's mate of the *Georgiana*. A letter was addressed to the Reverend Doctor Wilkinson. The Governor had laid his letter of the 8th of the month before the Council. In reply, the secretary informed him that the chief engineer would order a survey of the chaplain's house, and that the sub-secretary would take an inventory of the books and any other Company property there. A letter was addressed to Gabriel Doveton, storekeeper. By order of the Council, the secretary informed him that the island now had a supply of American flour. In future he was to sell it to the Company's servants and the inhabitants at [...] a pound, in the usual quantities. The English flour was to be kept for the garrison, whose allowance was to be 6 lb a week for each man, including officers and the Company's servants. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary on 6 February 1804. **Interpretations** The Council split its flour supply by source. American flour, bought from neutral United States ships trading in the South Atlantic during the war, went to the inhabitants. The English flour, shipped by the Company and more certain in supply, was kept for the garrison. With France at war and convoys from England slow and uncertain, the soldiers' bread was secured from the Company's own stock. The island's civilians relied on whatever neutral traders brought. A fixed ration of 6 lb a week for every soldier, officer and Company servant set a known demand on the English stock and made it last until the next store ships arrived. The inventory of the chaplain's books followed the arrival or departure of a chaplain. The Company had supplied a library on the island since the 1760s, and the chaplain's house held part of it. Listing the books, along with the survey of the house, fixed what Company property the incoming chaplain received, so he could be held to account for it later.
115	108	To§ §Gabl. Doveton Esqr.§ §Storekeeper.§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to inform You§ §that on account of the reduced state of the Stock of Flour, they§ §wish that the Quantity purchased weekly or Monthly by§ §Individuals for their Families, should be reduced one half,§ §until they know what supply they are to receive by the§ §next Store Ship from England, in lieu of which Rice may§ §be charged, to compensate for such reduction.§ §I am &ca. &ca.§ §30th January (Signed)§ §1804 T. H. Brooke. Secy.§ §To§ §Captain George L. Philips,§ §Commander of the Extra Ship§ §Herculean§ §Sir§	A letter was addressed to Gabriel Doveton, storekeeper. By order of the Council, the secretary informed him that because the stock of flour was so low, the Council wished the amount individuals bought each month for their families to be cut by half. This was to last until the Council knew what supply the next store ship from England would bring. Rice could be issued in its place to make up for the reduction. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary on 30 January 1804. A letter was addressed to Captain George L. Philips, commander of the extra ship *Herculean*. In answer to his letter of that date, the Council had checked the Company's instructions and did not find itself authorised to advance so large a sum on account of a ship in the circumstances his was then in. He would therefore need to reduce his demand as far as he could and give the Council his reasons for it, so that it could meet his request. J. Desfountain signed the letter as deputy secretary on 4 February 1804. **Interpretations** The two flour letters show the Council rationing step by step. On 30 January 1804 it halved what families could buy and offered rice in its place. A week later, once American flour had arrived, it

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		§The Board direct me to inform You in§ §Answer to your letter of this date, that upon consulting the§ §Instructions of the Company, they do not find themselves§ §empowered to advance so large a Sum on account of a§ §Ship, under the circumstances of Yours at present. It will be§ §therefore be necessary for You to reduce your demand as§ §much as you can, and to State to them your reasons for§ §making it, to enable them to comply with your request.§ §I have the honor to be,§ §&ca. &ca. &ca.§ §4th Feby. (Sigd.)§ §1804 J. Desfountain§ §Depy. Secy.§	reserved the English stock for the garrison and sold the American supply to inhabitants. The island depended on store ships for its bread, and with war delaying convoys it could not tell when the next one would come. Rationing early, and swapping rice for flour where it could, stretched the stock until relief arrived. Advances to ships' commanders were limited by the Company's instructions. A commander short of money for repairs, provisions or crew's wages could ask the island for cash, repaid later by the owners. The *Herculean*'s request was too large for the rules. The Council did not refuse outright. It asked Philips to cut the sum and explain his need, so it could advance what was justified and report its reasons to London.
116	109	To§ §Thos. Brooke Esqr.§ §Secretary to Government,§ §Sir§ §I have to request you will inform the§ §Governor in Council, I could wish he would allow me to be§ §advanced to defray the Expences of the Honble. Compys. Extra§ §Ship Herculean at this Port, the Sum of Four Hundred§ §Pounds at the usual exchange and date as advanced to the§ §Ships of the same Class as the Herculean.§ §I have the honor to be§ §Sir§ §4th Feby. Your Obt. Servant§ §1804 (Signed)§ §Geo. L. Philips.§ §I W. Dawson Do hereby solemnly make Oath that all such§ §Packets and letters as shall be delivered to me by the Governor or§ §Government of St. Helena, I will safely deliver as directed and§ §such as are marked to be destroyed in case of danger of an Enemy§ §I will most punctually & effectually destroy rather than they should§ §fall into the hands of an Enemy, but not until the last extremity.§ §So help me God.§ §17th February§ §1804§	George L. Philips wrote to Thomas H. Brooke, secretary to the government, on 4 February 1804. He asked Brooke to tell the Governor in Council that he wished to be advanced £400 0s 0d to pay the expenses of the Company's extra ship *Herculean* at the island. The advance was to be at the usual exchange and date allowed to ships of the same class as the *Herculean.* An oath sworn by J. W. Dawson on 17 February 1804 followed. He swore that he would safely deliver, as directed, every packet and letter given to him by the Governor or government of St Helena. Any marked to be destroyed if an enemy threatened, he would destroy promptly and thoroughly rather than let them fall into enemy hands, but not until the last extremity. He called on God to help him. **Interpretations** Philips's second letter answered the Council's request of the same day by naming a definite sum and tying it to the usual terms for ships of his class. That gave the Council a precedent to follow. It could advance the money on the same footing as other extra ships and report it to London without stepping outside its instructions. The oath bound the bearer of the island's dispatches to sink them rather than let them be captured. Letters from St Helena carried news of convoys, sailing dates, defences and the movements of the Company's ships, all of great value to French privateers and warships. Packets marked for destruction were usually weighted with lead so they would sink at once when thrown overboard. The words "not until the last extremity" kept a nervous bearer from throwing them away at the first strange sail, since lost dispatches could do as much harm as captured ones.
117	110	To§ §Captain Henry Leigh§ §Commanding the H. C. S. Georgiana, &§ §Senior Commr. of the H. C. Ships in§ §St. Helena Roads§ §Sir§ §The Board direct you will Appoint§ §a Court of Enquiry to investigate the enclosed§ §Complaint, and report the result to the Board.§ §I have the honor to be,§ §Sir§ §St. Helena Your Obt. humble Servant§ §16 February 1804 Signed, Thomas H. Brooke§ §Secretary§ §To§ §Mr.§ §Whereas you have been Nominated§ §by the Vestry Committee Inspector of the Flocks of	A letter was addressed to Captain Henry Leigh, commander of the Company's ship *Georgiana* and senior commander of the Company's ships in St Helena road. The Council directed him to appoint a court of enquiry to investigate the enclosed complaint and to report the result to the Council. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary at St Helena on 16 February 1804. A form of warrant followed, addressed to a man whose name was left blank. He had been nominated by the vestry committee as inspector of the flocks of sheep and goats in a division of the island, also left blank. The warrant authorised and empowered him to pen the sheep and goats and take an exact count of them during the current and following months, showing how many each person in the division owned [continues]. **Interpretations**

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		Sheep§ §and Goats in the Division of this Island§ §These are therefore to authorize and impower§ §you to impound and take an exact Account of the§ §said Sheep, and Goats, in the present and ensuing Month§ §particularizing the number each Person has in said§ §Division§	The Council used the senior Company commander in the road to hold courts of enquiry into disputes aboard the ships. A complaint by a seaman or officer against his superiors was best judged by experienced commanders who knew shipboard law and custom. The Council kept the final say by requiring the result to be reported to it, as in the case of the *Tottenham*'s surgeon in 1803. The inspector's warrant now covered goats as well as sheep, and the nomination came from the vestry committee, not the open vestry. The committee was the body the Council had created in the 1770s to nominate island and parish officers. Goats did even more damage than sheep, stripping bark and seedlings and climbing where sheep could not. Counting them in the same round gave the Council a full picture of the grazing on each common, matching the committee's survey of how many beasts the commons could bear.
118	111	Division and the number separately which are at present found to§ §be upon each particular Range and render an Account thereof§ §to Us, the first Council Day in the Month of April next.§ §You are further enjoined to examine the§ §Marks of each Inhabitants Stock of Sheep & Goats in said§ §Division, and be particularly careful in observing§ §if any Person makes use of, or retains more than§ §one Mark, for such Stock.§ §Given under our hands, this day§ §of§ §To Mr. Abijah Northey§ §Master of the American Brig Augusta§ §Sir§ §In answer to your Letter of this date, I have§ §to inform you that the Governor & Council agree to pay you the Sum§ §of 600 Dollars for the passage of a Gentleman from this Island to§ §the Cape of Good Hope, and back again, which you are to receive on§ §our Return to St. Helena; the Council will also furnish you with§ §[...] & lend you your new [...] free of Expence, the Gentleman will§ §furnish himself with Stores. Upon these terms it is expected that you will§ §use your utmost Endeavors to effect a quick Passage to the Cape & back again.§ §The Gentleman to be sent is Captain Hanson the Governors Aid de Camp.§ §I am, Sir,§ §St. Helena your very Obedt. humble Servant§ §27 Feby. 1804 Signed. Thos. H. Brooke Secy. to Govt.§	The inspector was also to record the number of animals found on each separate range, and to report to the Council on its first meeting day in the following April. He was further directed to examine the marks on each inhabitant's sheep and goats in the division, and to take particular care to find out whether anyone used or kept more than one mark for his stock. The warrant was to be given under the Council's hands, with the day and month left blank. A letter was addressed to Mr Abijah Northey, master of the American brig *Augusta*. In answer to his letter of that date, the secretary informed him that the Governor and Council agreed to pay him 600 dollars for carrying a gentleman from the island to the Cape of Good Hope and back again. He would receive the money on his return to St Helena. The Council would also supply him with [...] and lend him [...] free of charge. The gentleman would provide his own stores. On these terms, Northey was expected to do all he could to make a quick passage to the Cape and back. The gentleman to be sent was Captain Hanson, the Governor's aide-de-camp. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 27 February 1804. **Interpretations** The Cape was Dutch in 1804, returned by the Peace of Amiens and now under the Batavian Republic, an ally of France. A British officer could not sail there openly on a British ship. A neutral American brig could enter Table Bay without question, carrying the Governor's aide-de-camp. His errand was probably to buy grain and flour for the island, in its worst shortage of the year, or to gather news of French and Dutch forces in the region. Paying only on the brig's return made sure Northey brought Hanson back as well as taking him out. The price was fixed in dollars, the Spanish silver coin then used across the Atlantic and Indian Ocean trade and preferred by American shipmasters.
119	112	To Mr. Henry Bazett§ §Acting Master Attendant§ §Sir§ §The Governor directs that every Ship§ §Coming into these Roads shall be furnished with the Port§ §Regulations.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §6th March 1804 Your most obedient§ §humble Servant§ §Signed, Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To§ §Captain§	A letter was addressed to Henry Bazett, acting master attendant. The Governor directed that every ship coming into the road was to be given a copy of the port regulations. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary at St Helena on 6 March 1804. A form of letter followed, addressed to the commander of one of the Company's ships, with his name and the ship's name left blank. The Court of Directors had sent cordage to the island specially to supply any of its ships that needed it. By order of the Governor and Council, the secretary informed the commander of this. He also asked for a written statement of whether or not the ship needed cables of any kind. If she did, he was to specify the type and quantity that would let him reach his port of

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		§Commander of the H. C. Ship§ §Sir§ §The Honble. the Court of Directors having sent§ §Cordage to the Island on purpose to supply such of their Ships§ §as may be in want of it, I am directed by the Governor§ §& Council to intimate this circumstance to you, and to request§ §from you a declaration in writing whether or not your§ §Ship be in want of Cables of any kind and a specification§ §of the sort and quantity that will enable you to proceed to your§ §Port of Destination without having occasion to Stop at any§ §other Port on that account.§ §I have the honor to be,§ §St. Helena Sir, your Obedient Servt.§ §March 1804§	destination without needing to stop at any other port for that reason. The form was dated at St Helena in March 1804. **Interpretations** The cordage letter put into practice the Court's rule of 1783 that spare anchors, cables and topmasts be kept at St Helena. Commanders had used worn ground tackle as an excuse to put into Irish and western English ports, where private goods could be landed out of the Company's sight. By asking each commander in writing whether he needed cables, the Council closed that excuse in advance. A commander who declared his ship well supplied could not later claim he had been forced into Falmouth or Cork for want of a cable. One who asked for cordage got it at the island, at the Company's set price. Giving every arriving ship a printed copy of the port regulations meant no commander could plead ignorance of the rules on water, boats, sailing leave and the landing of goods. The bond he signed on arrival made those printed rules binding on him.
120	113	To Thomas Welladvice Esqr.§ §Commander of the H. C. Ship§ §Charlton§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board§ §to inform you they concur in Opinion of the Court§ §of Enquiry held on the Seamen belonging to the§ §[...] and in consequence you are authorized§ §to receive those Men on board your Ship, and deliver§ §them up to the first Kings Ship you may fall§ §in with.§ §I am Sir Your most Obedt. Servant§ §St. Helena Signed. Thos. H. Brooke§ §29 March 1804 Secretary§ §To Mr. D. Kay Junr. Register Mastr.§ §Sir§ §Enclosed I transmit to you an§ §an extract from last Monday's Consult., which the Board§ §direct you will particularly attend to, & see that their§ §orders are properly enforced.§ §I am Sir§ §Yr. most Obedt. Servt.§ §St. Helena Thos. H. Brooke§ §27th April 1804 Secy.§	**Start of crossed out section** A letter was addressed to Thomas Wellasdvice, commander of the Company's ship *Charlton*. By order of the Council, the secretary informed him that it agreed with the opinion of the court of enquiry held on the seamen belonging to the [...]. He was therefore authorised to receive those men aboard his ship and hand them over to the first King's ship he met. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary at St Helena on 29 March 1804. **End of crossed out section** A letter was addressed to Mr D. Kay junior, register master. The secretary enclosed an extract from the minutes of the previous Monday's meeting, which the Council directed him to pay particular attention to, seeing that its orders were properly enforced. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary at St Helena on 27 April 1804. **Interpretations** The cancelled letter shows how the island disposed of troublesome seamen in wartime. A court of enquiry had evidently found some sailors guilty of misconduct, perhaps mutiny or refusal of duty. Rather than keep them on the island, where the Council would not house deserters or idle seamen, they were to be carried away and handed to the first King's ship met at sea. The navy, always short of men, would take them into service. Removal to a warship served as both punishment and a way of keeping the island free of them. The clerk struck the letter out, probably because the arrangement changed or was recorded elsewhere. The register master kept the island's records of deeds, leases and registered goods. Passing him an extract of the Council's orders made him responsible for applying them. Since many of the Council's rules turned on registration, his enforcement mattered: the landing of private goods, the sale of slaves at auction and the renewal of leases all had to be entered in his books.
121	114	To§ §Nathaniel Dance Esqr.§ §Commander of the Earl Camden§ §& Senior Commander of the H. C. Ships§ §in St. Helena Roads§ §Sir§ §The Board direct you will require from§ §each Commander of the H. C. Ships here a written report§ §of what Provisions and other Articles they may want from§ §the Stores, and transmit the same to me for their information§	**Start of crossed out section** A letter was addressed to Nathaniel Dance, commander of the *Earl Camden* and senior commander of the Company's ships in St Helena road. The Council directed him to obtain from each commander of the Company's ships there a written report of the provisions and other articles they needed from the stores. He was to send these to the secretary for the Council's information, so that the storekeeper could be given the necessary instructions. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary on 11 June 1804. **End of crossed out section**

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		§in order that the Storekeeper may have the necessary§ §instructions on the subject.§ §I have the honor to be§ §11th June 1804 Sir§ §Your obedient Servant§ §Signed, Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary§ §To G. Doveton Esqr.§ §Storekeeper§ §Sir§ §The Board having resolved to appropriate§ §the Company's Provision Casks as well as Flour Casks§ §for the purpose of making Shingles on Account of the§ §Honorable Company You are directed to lay by and§ §carefully preserve the Staves of all Casks which§ §shall be emptied in the Stores and to deliver None§ §whatever without an Order Signed by the Governor§	A letter was addressed to G. Doveton, storekeeper. The Council had decided to set aside the Company's provision casks, as well as its flour casks, to make shingles on the Company's account. He was directed to put aside and carefully keep the staves of all casks emptied in the stores, and to hand none of them out without an order signed by the Governor. **Interpretations** Nathaniel Dance was the commander who, in February 1804, led the homeward China fleet that drove off a French squadron under Admiral Linois at the Battle of Pulo Aura, by bluffing that his Indiamen were warships. He was knighted for it. By June 1804 his fleet had reached St Helena, and as senior commander he was asked to gather the ships' needs so the stores could supply them together. Using empty cask staves to make shingles answered the island's lack of timber. Shingles were thin wooden tiles for roofing, and St Helena had almost no trees left to cut them from. The staves of salt-meat and flour casks were good seasoned oak or fir, already cut thin. Splitting them into shingles saved importing roofing timber or slate. Requiring the Governor's signed order before any stave was given out stopped them being sold or taken for firewood, which was equally scarce.
122	115	Captain Leigh of the Honble.§ §Companys Ship Georgiana has requested to be§ §Supplied with two Coils of 4½ Inch Rope, which§ §you are to deliver to his Order.§ §I have the honor to be§ §4 May Sir,§ §1804 Your Obedient Servant§ §Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary§ §To D. Kay Senr. Esqr.§ §Head Surgeon§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to§ §transmit you the accompanying Regulations respecting§ §the Hospital, which you are directed to communicate to the§ §Hospital Assistant and order a Copy to be placed on a§ §Board & hung up in his apartment, where a book is to be§ §kept for every official Person who visits, to register his name§ §& the date.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §2 July 1804 Sir§ §Your obedient humble Servant§ §Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secry.§	Captain Leigh of the Company's ship *Georgiana* had asked to be supplied with two coils of 4½-inch rope, which the storekeeper was to deliver to his order. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary on 4 May 1804. A letter was addressed to D. Kay senior, head surgeon. By order of the Council, the secretary sent him the accompanying regulations for the hospital. Kay was to pass them to the hospital assistant and have a copy fixed on a board and hung in the assistant's room. A book was also to be kept there for every official visitor to enter his name and the date. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary on 2 July 1804. **Interpretations** The rope for the *Georgiana* was drawn from the cordage the Court had sent to the island for its ships, which the Council had told commanders about in March 1804. Captain Leigh's written request was exactly what that letter asked for. A commander who took cordage at St Helena had no excuse left to stop at another port for cables on the way home. Hanging the hospital regulations on a board made them public to staff and patients alike, as the market rules had been in the 1770s. The visitors' book recorded each official inspection. It showed that the hospital was being regularly checked and let the Council see who had visited and when. Any neglect found later could then be traced to the period between visits, and the head surgeon held answerable for it.
123	116	To William Chamberlain Steward of the Stores§ §and Thomas Bushnell Master Cooper§ §Capt. Leigh of the Georgiana having stated§ §to the Board that a quantity of Provisions which he§ §has purchased appear to be in a damaged state, the§ §Governor & Council have nominated you as competent§ §judges to form a Committee of Survey in conjunction§ §with the Steward of one of the Honble. Companys§ §Ships here to inspect & report in writing your opinion§ §of the Provisions in question, to the truth of which§ §report you will be required to make Oath.§ §St. Helena Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §11 July 1804 Secretary§	A letter was addressed to William Chamberlain, steward of the stores, and Thomas Bushnell, master cooper. Captain Leigh of the *Georgiana* had told the Council that a quantity of provisions he had bought appeared to be damaged. The Governor and Council had named them as competent judges to form a committee of survey, together with the steward of one of the Company's ships in the road. They were to inspect the provisions and give their opinion of them in writing, and would be required to swear to the truth of their report. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 11 July 1804. A letter was addressed to Captain Isaac Richardson, commander of the Company's ship *Marquis Cornwallis*. Lieutenant Milne of his ship had petitioned to be transferred to the military establishment on the island. By order of the Council,

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		§To§ §Captn. Isaac Richardson§ §Commander of the H. C. Ship§ §Marquis Cornwallis§ §Sir§ §Lieut. Milne of your Ship having§ §petitioned to be transferred to the Military§ §Establishment on this Island, I am directed§ §to acquaint you that the Governor and§ §Council have accepted his offers of§ §Service§	the secretary informed Richardson that the Governor and Council had accepted Milne's offer of service [continues]. **Interpretations** The survey settled a dispute between buyer and seller. Captain Leigh had bought provisions, probably from the island's stores, and claimed they were spoiled. A committee made up of the stores steward, the master cooper and a ship's steward brought together people who knew the island's stock, the casks and the needs of a ship at sea. Requiring them to swear to their report gave it the weight of evidence. If the provisions were bad, Leigh could be compensated or given fresh stock. If not, his claim would fail on sworn testimony. Lieutenant Milne was a ship's officer, and his transfer gave the garrison an experienced man in wartime. As with discharged soldiers from India, the Council took any trained officer it could get. His captain's consent was still needed, since an officer could not simply leave his ship.
124	117	Service, and it is their desire that you§ §discharge him from the Marquis§ §Cornwallis.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §1st Augt. 1804 your obedt. Servant§ §Signed§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To§ §Jonathan Birch Esqr.§ §Commander of the Honble. C. Ship§ §Britannia§ §Sir§ §It is ordered by the Governor§ §and Council that you receive on board your Ship§ §William Marr, Seaman, who was left here Sick from§ §H. M. Ship Sceptre and upon your Arrival in the§ §Indian Seas to deliver him Over to any of His§ §Majs. Ships on that Station.§ §St. Helena I have the honor to be &c.§ §1st Aug. 1804 Signed. Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§	The Governor and Council asked Richardson to discharge Milne from the *Marquis Cornwallis*. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 1 August 1804. A letter was addressed to Jonathan Birch, commander of the Company's ship *Britannia*. By order of the Governor and Council, he was to take aboard William Marr, a seaman left sick at the island by His Majesty's ship *Sceptre*. On reaching the Indian seas, he was to hand Marr over to any of His Majesty's ships on that station. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary at St Helena on 1 August 1804. **Interpretations** A King's sailor left sick at St Helena still belonged to the navy once he recovered. The island would not keep him, and he had no right to go home on his own account. The Council sent him on in the direction his ship had gone, aboard an outward Company ship bound for India, to rejoin the navy on the Indian station. It cost the Company little, since an outward Indiaman had room, and it returned a trained seaman to a fleet that was always short of men.
125	118	To Mr. James Bartlett§ §Commander of the American Brig§ §Richmond§ §Sir§ §The Governor & Council have deemed it§ §necessary to remove you from the Command of your§ §Vessel on the passage to England, I am directed by§ §them to acquaint you that accommodations have§ §been provided for you on board the Vulture Whaler,§ §and for your Mate on board the Lively.§ §St. Helena I am Sir§ §17th August Your obedient Servant§ §1804 Signed, Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary to Govt.§ §To Mr. G. Chamberlain§ §Third Officer of the Ceylon,§ §Sir§ §Captain Graham the Senior§ §Commander of the Honble. Company's Ships here having§ §recommended you as a proper Person to be§	A letter was addressed to James Bartlett, commander of the American brig *Richmond*. The Governor and Council had found it necessary to remove him from command of his vessel for the passage to England. By their order, the secretary informed him that a berth had been arranged for him aboard the whaler *Vulture*, and for his mate aboard the *Lively*. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary to the government at St Helena on 12 August 1804. A letter was addressed to Mr G. Chamberlain, third officer of the *Ceylon*. Captain Graham, the senior commander of the Company's ships there, had recommended him as a suitable person to be entrusted [continues]. **Interpretations** An American master removed from his own ship and sent to England separately from his mate points to a seized vessel. The *Richmond* was probably detained as a suspected blockade-runner or as carrying enemy goods, which a neutral ship was forbidden to do in wartime. Taking the master and mate off and sending them home on different ships kept them from conferring over their evidence and from trying to retake the brig. The *Richmond* herself would go to England under a prize crew for a court to decide her fate. The *Ceylon*'s officer was very likely the man being recommended to command her on that passage.

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126	119	with the charge of the American Brig Richmond§ §which the Governor & Council have detained provisionally§ §for the purpose of being sent to England for§ §adjudication, I am directed to communicate to you§ §the Boards order that you assume the Command of§ §the Richmond and apply for Instructions to Charles§ §Boyles Esqr. Captain of His Majestys Ship Courageux§ §whose Signal Orders you are implicitly to obey & upon no account§ §to seperate from him until you arrive in the River Thames§ §or some other British Port of which circumstance you will§ §immediately advise the Secretary at the India House§ §from whom you will receive the necessary instructions§ §for your further proceeding.§ §I have the honor to be &c. T. H. Brooke§ §Secretary§ §To Mr. Francis Chas. Annesley§ §Acting Officer on board the§ §Ship Wyndham§ §Sir§ §Captain Graham the Senior Commander§ §of the Honble. Companys Ships here having recommended you§ §as a Person properly qualified to act as Chief Mate on board§ §the American Brig Richmond which Vessel the Governor &§ §Council have resolved to send home for adjudication you are§ §hereby provisionally appointed by them to that Station and§ §you are enjoined to observe implicit Obedience to all orders§ §you may receive from Mr. George Chamberlain under whose§ §Command the Richmond is to be Navigated to England§ §I am, Sir &c. Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§	Chamberlain had been recommended for the charge of the American brig *Richmond*, which the Governor and Council had provisionally detained in order to send her to England for a court's decision. By order of the Council, the secretary directed him to take command of the *Richmond* and apply for instructions to Charles Boyles, captain of His Majesty's ship *Courageux*. He was to obey Boyles's signals and orders exactly and on no account to part company with him until he reached the River Thames or some other British port. He was then to inform the secretary at East India House at once, from whom he would receive instructions for his next steps. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. A letter was addressed to Francis Charles Annesley, acting officer aboard the ship *Windham*. Captain Graham, the senior commander of the Company's ships in the road, had recommended him as properly qualified to act as chief mate of the American brig *Richmond*, which the Governor and Council had decided to send home for a court's decision. The Governor and Council therefore provisionally appointed him to that post. He was ordered to obey all orders from George Chamberlain, under whose command the *Richmond* was to sail to England. Thomas H. Brooke signed it as secretary. **Interpretations** The Council had only provisionally detained the *Richmond*. A neutral American ship could not be condemned on the island. Only an admiralty court in England could decide whether she had broken the rules of war, perhaps by carrying enemy goods or trading with an enemy port. Sending her home under a prize crew drawn from Company officers, sailing under the guns of the *Courageux*, kept her and her papers secure for the court. Staying close to the warship also stopped her being retaken by a French cruiser on the way. Chamberlain and Annesley were junior officers lent from Company ships for the voyage. Command of a detained ship was a chance for a young officer to prove himself, and the senior commander's recommendation carried weight with the Council.
127	120	Mr. Fowler H. Brown 3d Off. of the Calcutta was appointed 2d of§ §the Brig Richmond & recd. a Similar Letter§ §to the foregoing.§ §To§ §Thomas Brooke Esqr.§ §Secretary§ §Sir§ §I have to acquaint you, for the§ §information of the Worshipfull the Governor that§ §Captain Mortimer, of Honble. Companys Extra Ship§ §General Stuart, has reported, that Ship, ready for§ §Sea.§ §I am§ §St. Helena Sir§ §25th July 1804 Your obedient Servant§ §Signed§ §Thomas Graham§ §Senior Commander§ §Captain of the Port§ §To Thomas Graham Esqr.§ §Senior Commander of the H. C. Ships§ §in St. Road§ §Sir§ §In answer to your letter of this date§ §for the information of the Governor that Capt. Mortimer had§ §reported the Genl. Stuart ready for Sea, I am directed to§ §acquaint you that as a Committee of Survey had been§ §appointed to examine the State of the Genl. Stuart,§	A note recorded that Mr Fowler R. Bean, fifth officer of the *Calcutta*, had been appointed second mate of the brig *Richmond*, by a letter similar to the one before. Thomas Graham, senior commander and captain of the port, wrote to Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, at St Helena on 25 July 1804. For the Governor's information, he reported that Captain Mortimer of the Company's extra ship *General Stuart* had declared his ship ready for sea. A reply was addressed to Thomas Graham, senior commander of the Company's ships in St Helena road. In answer to his letter of that date, informing the Governor that Captain Mortimer had reported the *General Stuart* ready for sea, the secretary was directed to tell him that a committee of survey had been appointed to examine the state of the *General Stuart*, the [continues]. **Interpretations** The senior commander now also held the title of captain of the port, reporting each ship's readiness to sail to the Governor. That fitted the wartime system in which ships waited at the island until a convoy could be formed and no ship sailed without leave. Graham passed on Mortimer's report. The Council did not accept the commander's word that his ship was fit, but ordered a survey first. An extra ship hired for one voyage might be older or worse kept than a regular Indiaman, and one that foundered or straggled would endanger both her cargo and the convoy.

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128	121	the Governor is desirous of receiving from the§ §Gentlemen who composed it a confirmation of Captain§ §Mortimer's Report.§ §St. Helena I am Sir§ §25th July 1804 Your obedient Servant§ §Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To§ §Captain Thomas Mortimer§ §Commander of the H. C. Extra Ship§ §Genl. Stuart§ §Sir§ §In consequence of a representation§ §from Capt. Pouget a French Prisoner of War on board§ §the Windham, stating that he & his Lady are desirous§ §of exchanging accommodations with a like number§ §of French Prisoners on board your Ship, you have§ §the Governors permission to accede to this transfer,§ §the Honble. Company incurring no additional expence§ §thereby.§ §I am Sir§ §17th August Your most obedient Servant§ §1804 Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §A Letter to a similar purport to be Written to§ §Captain Graham.§	The secretary told Thomas Graham that a committee of survey had been appointed to examine the *General Stuart*. Governor Patton wanted the officers who sat on it to confirm Captain Mortimer's report that the ship was fit for sea. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 25 July 1804. On 12 August 1804 the secretary wrote to Captain Thomas Mortimer, commander of the Company's extra ship *General Stuart*. Captain Rouget, a French prisoner of war on board the *Windham*, had asked that he and his wife might change places with the same number of French prisoners held on the *General Stuart*. The Governor allowed the exchange, provided the Company bore no extra cost from it. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. A note directed that a letter to the same effect should go to Captain Graham. **Interpretations** French prisoners of war were being carried home on the Company's ships as they left St Helena in convoy, and each ship's commander was responsible for those placed on board. A captain travelling with his wife seems to have been counted as a person of rank whose comfort deserved some attention. The Governor could simply have refused to change a settled arrangement. Instead he agreed, but only if the Company paid nothing extra for passage or provisions. Two ships were involved, so letters went to both commanders. Mortimer and Graham, who was presumably commanding the *Windham*, each had to adjust his own numbers of prisoners and provisions.
129	122	To§ §Mr. Tout§ §Clerk of the Market§ §The Board have resolved that§ §One Beast shall be killed every Week for the Supply of§ §the Governors Table and that of the Members of Council,§ §and after serving them whatever Meat is over, is to be§ §distributed according to the following rule.§ §1 Mr. Leech 2 Lieut. Col. Greentree 3 Doctor Wilkinson§ §4 Mr. G. Doveton 5 Lieut. Col. Smith 6 Doctor Kay§ §7 Mr. Brooke 8 Major Seale 9 Major E. Smyth§ §Mr. Gabl. Doveton has now three Cattle for§ §this purpose.§ §15th August Signed T. H. Brooke§ §1804 Secretary§ §To Major Hill§ §of His Majesty's 66 Regiment§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to§ §transmit You the accompanying Copy of their§ §Resolution upon the Subject of your Correspondence§ §with Captain Murrock.§ §I have the honor to be, Sir,§ §10th Sept. Your Obt. humble Servant§ §1804 Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§	The Council wrote to Mr Tout, clerk of the market, on 15 August 1804. It had decided that one beast would be slaughtered each week to supply Governor Patton's table and those of the councillors. Any meat left over after they had been served was to be shared out in turn, in the following order: 1: Mr Leech 2: Lieutenant Colonel Greentree 3: Doctor Wilkinson 4: Mr G. Doveton 5: Lieutenant Colonel Smith 6: Doctor Kay 7: Mr Brooke 8: Major Seale 9: Major E. Smyth A note added that Mr Gabriel Doveton currently had three cattle ready for the purpose. T. H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. On 10 September 1804 the secretary wrote to Major Hill of His Majesty's [...] Regiment. On the Council's orders, he sent Hill a copy of its resolution about Hill's correspondence with Captain Sturrock. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. **Interpretations** Fresh beef was scarce enough to be rationed, and the Council kept control of every beast killed. The weekly animal went first to the Governor and the councillors. The rest was not sold on the open market but passed round a fixed list of senior officials, officers and doctors. Each person on the list presumably took the surplus in turn from week to week, so the rota decided who ate fresh meat among the island's leading households. The cattle came from Gabriel Doveton, a private landholder, which suggests the Company's own herds could not meet even this small demand. The letter went to the clerk of the market because he oversaw slaughtering and sales and was the official who could enforce the order.

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130	123	To Captain Henry Sturrock§ §Commander of the Honble. Company's§ §Ship Preston§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to§ §transmit you the enclosed Copy of their Resolution§ §upon the subject of your correspondence with§ §Major Hill, and a Copy of the opinion given§ §by Captain Edmonds, respecting the customary§ §privilege of Passengers frequenting the Cuddy.§ §I am,§ §Sir,§ §10th Septr. Your Obt. humble Servant.§ §1804 Signed T. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To Thomas Graham Esqr.§ §Commander of the Windham§ §& Senior Officer of the Honble.§ §Companys Ships in St. Helena Roads§ §Sir§ §In pursuance of the Boards§ §determination to send the Brig Richmond to England for§ §adjudication, I am directed to communicate to you their§ §desire that the Crew of that Vessel shall be sent on board§ §the different Companys Ships here & replaced by a§ §proportion§	On 10 September 1804 the secretary wrote to Captain Henry Sturrock, commander of the Company's ship *Preston*. On the Council's orders, he enclosed a copy of its resolution on Sturrock's dispute with Major Hill. He also sent a copy of Captain Edmeads's opinion on the usual right of passengers to use the cuddy. T. H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. **Start of crossed out section** A letter was addressed to Thomas Graham, commander of the *Windham* and senior officer of the Company's ships in St Helena road. The Council had decided to send the brig *Richmond* to England for a prize court to judge her case. The secretary was told to pass on the Council's wish that the brig's crew be split up among the Company's ships at the island and replaced by a share of seamen from them. **End of crossed out section** **Interpretations** The cuddy was the large cabin under the poop of an East Indiaman, where the commander kept his table and the passengers ate and spent their days. The right to use it came with the passage money and was governed by custom rather than written rules. That left room for disputes when an army officer felt the commander had restricted him. The Council could have ruled on the matter from its own authority. Instead it asked another Company commander, Captain Edmeads, how the custom stood and sent his opinion to both parties with its resolution. A judgement on shipboard practice from an experienced sea officer was harder for either side to dispute than a ruling by civilians on shore. The cancelled letter shows how the *Richmond* was to be handled once the Council chose to send her home for adjudication. Her American seamen would be split up among the Company's ships, so they could not combine to retake the brig or alter her papers during the voyage. The Company's men put on board in their place would keep her safe until she reached England. The letter also confirms that Graham, the senior commander, commanded the *Windham*.
131	124	proportion of British Seamen, for which you have the§ §Governor and Councils authority to issue the necessary§ §orders. If by this means the Richmond can not be furnished§ §with an adequate crew, the deficiency will be supplied upon§ §an application to Captain Boyle of his Majestys Ship§ §Courageux who has [...]§ §To Mr. W. Seale Junr.§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor§ §and Council to inform you that they have nominated§ §you as a proper Person to fill the Office of joint§ §Permanent Inspector of Sheep Goats and Fences,§ §with Mr. Thos. Allesworth the Salary to which§ §situation is £ 25 per Ann. from the Honble. Company§ §to each Inspector besides some fees of Office. You are§ §requested to inform the Board as soon as possible,§ §whether you are willing to accept the Office.§ §To Henry Leigh Esqr.§ §Commander of the Honble. Companys Ship Georgiana§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and§ §Council to communicate to you their order for assembling a Court§ §of Enquiry tomorrow morning of which you are to sit as President§	**Start of crossed out section** The Company's seamen sent on board the *Richmond* were to make up her new crew, and Governor Patton and the Council gave Graham authority to issue the orders needed. If the Company's ships could not supply enough men, Graham was to make up the shortfall by applying to Captain Boyles of His Majesty's ship *Courageux*, who had [...]. **End of crossed out section** The secretary wrote to Mr W. Seale junior to say that the Governor and Council had chosen him as a suitable man to serve as joint permanent inspector of sheep, goats and fences. His colleague in the post would be Mr Thomas Alesworth. The Company paid each inspector a salary of £25 0s 0d a year, as well as certain fees for the work. Seale was asked to tell the Council as soon as he could whether he would take the post. The secretary also wrote to Henry Leigh, commander of the Company's ship *Georgiana*. The Governor and Council had ordered a court of enquiry to meet the next morning, and Leigh was to sit as its president and [continues]. **Interpretations** Inspecting sheep, goats and fences was a way of protecting the island's land. Goats and sheep that strayed from their owners' ground stripped young trees and crops. The inspectors checked flock marks, kept a count of the animals and made sure fences were kept in order, so the cost of damage fell on the owner whose stock got out. The post was permanent and held jointly by two men, which suggests the work

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			was continuous across the island rather than an occasional inspection. Each inspector received a fixed Company salary and also earned fees from the people inspected. The salary gave the Company a hold over the men, while the fees gave them a reason to carry out their inspections. The cancelled letter set up a backup plan for crewing the *Richmond*. The Company's own merchant ships came first, and the Navy was to be asked only if they could not spare enough men. The Council preferred to keep the brig in the Company's hands. Turning to Captain Boyles first would have given the Navy a stronger claim over a vessel that might be condemned as a prize.
132	125	and Captain Greenway, the Chief Officer of the Maria, and§ §two senior Officers of the Georgiana as Members, to investigate§ §certain causes of Complaint alledged against Captain Grieve by the§ §Chief Officer and Surgeon of the Princess Mary, whose letter to the§ §Government upon this occasion I herewith enclose. After hearing§ §such evidence as may be adduced on either side the Court will§ §report their opinion to the Governor and Council.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §Sir§ §St. Helena Your Obedient humble Servt.§ §31st October 1804 Signed§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §This is to certify that in consequence§ §of Louis de Souza a Servant of Mrs. Geo. A. Van Dewr having§ §absconded at this place, every means on the part of the said§ §Mrs. G. A. Van Dewr was exerted to have him apprehended,§ §but without effect.§	The secretary's letter to Henry Leigh, commander of the *Georgiana*, named the members who would sit with him on the court of enquiry. They were Captain Greenway, the chief officer of the *Maria* and two senior officers of the *Georgiana*. The court was to look into complaints made against Captain Grieve by the chief officer and the surgeon of the *Princess Mary*. A copy of their letter to the island government was enclosed. The court would hear the evidence from both sides and then send its opinion to Governor Patton and the Council. Thomas H. Brooke, secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 31 October 1804. A certificate recorded that Louis de Souza, a servant of Mr George H. Van Deurs, had deserted at St Helena. Van Deurs had done everything he could to have him caught, without success. **Interpretations** The complaint against Captain Grieve came from two of his own officers, and it was not a matter for the courts. The Governor and Council sent it to a court of enquiry made up of a commander, a chief officer and senior officers from other Company ships. Men who knew the authority and duties of a ship's officers would be judging the matter. The court could only report its opinion. The decision stayed with the Governor and Council, and any further action was left to the Company in London. The certificate gave Van Deurs written proof that he was not to blame for the loss of his servant. A man with a name like Louis de Souza was probably a Portuguese or Eurasian servant brought from India. The Court of Directors had long told the island to watch over Indian servants landed there, as its instructions of 1783 showed. A master who arrived with a servant and left without him could face a penalty or be suspected of abandoning him. The document put on record that de Souza had run away and that Van Deurs had tried to get him back.
133	126	Mr. Thomas Alesworth & Mr. Chs. Scott§ §Inspectors of Sheep, Goats, Fences, &ca.§ §The Governor & Council having appointed you§ §Inspectors of Sheep, Goats, Fences &c. you are pointedly to§ §attend to the following Injunctions.§ §You are annually to inspect the different§ §Flocks of Sheep in the Months of February and March and§ §of Goats in the Months of November and December, by giving§ §Notice to the respective Proprietors in writing, specifying the§ §day you intend to have them impounded, and should you§ §have just cause to suspect, that the whole of the Flock shall§ §not have been collected, either Wilfully or thro Neglect on the part§ §of the Proprietor, or their Servants, you are to report the§	**Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** Mr Thomas Alesworth and Mr Charles Scott received written instructions as inspectors of sheep, goats, fences and related matters. Governor Patton and the Council had appointed them and expected them to follow these orders closely. Each year the inspectors were to examine the sheep flocks in February and March and the goat flocks in November and December. Before each inspection they had to tell the owners in writing which day the animals would be driven into the pound. An owner or his servants might hold back part of a flock, whether on purpose or through carelessness. If the inspectors had good reason to suspect this, they were to report it to the acting magistrate. Once the offence was proved, the magistrate would fine the offender up to £2 0s 0d for a first offence. A slave who could not pay the fine would be physically punished instead.

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		§circumstance to the Acting Magistrate, who upon the necessary§ §proof being adduced, will impose a fine not exceeding 40 Shillings§ §for the first offence, or if the Offender be a Slave, and unable§ §to pay such fine, Corporal Punishment will be inflicted.§ §When Sheep or Goats are collected in a§ §Pound, for your Inspection, you are to be very careful in taking§ §an Account of the Number belonging to each Proprietor, as§ §every Sheep, or Goat over & above the regulated Number, will§ §subject the owners to a forfeiture of one Shilling, which§ §forfeiture is to be considered as a fee to the Inspectors§ §who will also receive one penny for every Sheep & Goat§ §impounded.§ §In Order that you may be acquainted§ §with the Number of Sheep and Goats each Person has a§ §right to keep a Copy of the Register of Goat Ranges.§	When the animals were in the pound, the inspectors had to count carefully how many belonged to each owner. Every sheep or goat above the permitted number cost its owner £0 1s 0d. That money went to the inspectors as their fee, and they also received £0 0s 1d for every sheep and goat brought into the pound. To show them how many animals each person was allowed to keep, the inspectors were given a copy of the register of goat ranges, together [continues]. **Interpretations** The register of goat ranges was the basis of the whole system. Each grazing range on the island was recorded with the number of animals its holder could run on it. The limits were meant to stop goats and sheep from stripping the island's vegetation, and the annual count in the pound checked each owner against the limit. The inspectors kept the forfeit on every extra animal and a penny for each one impounded. Their pay therefore depended on finding animals over the limit, which gave them a strong reason to count carefully. It also meant owners had cause to complain that the inspectors gained from strict counting. Fines went through the acting magistrate, so the inspectors could report an offence but could not punish it themselves. The rule for slaves meant the owner's flock was protected at the cost of his slave's body when the slave could not pay. On 15 August 1804 or soon after, the Council had offered the second post alongside Alesworth to W. Seale junior. These instructions name Charles Scott instead. Seale perhaps turned the post down, and the cancelled line under the heading may have held a name entered and then replaced.
134	127	with the Boards Proclamation of 19th December 1803 and 14th§ §May 1804 are annexed to these Instructions; Lambs &§ §Kids are not to be included in your Returns.§ §You are occasionally to visit the different§ §Lands upon the Island, and at every Sessions report§ §such Defects as you may observe in respect to the state§ §of the Fences, and the quantity of Blackberries, specifying§ §whether the Proprietors of the respective Lands are making§ §any progress in the repairs of the one, and the§ §extirpation of the other.§ §And lastly You are to pay strict attention to such§ §further Orders and Instructions as you may from time§ §to time receive from the Governor and Council.§ §Signed. Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary§ §To Henry Leigh Esqr.§ §Commander of the H. C. Ship Georgiana§ §Sir§ §Two boys belonging to the Honble. Company's§ §Bombay Marine having deserted, and arrived here in§ §the Elphinstone and Essex, the Commanders of those§ §Ships have been ordered to send them on board the§ §Georgiana, where they are to remain until an opportunity§ §offers of sending them back to India. The Governor§ §& Council therefore direct you to receive them in§ §that§	The instructions to the inspectors went on to say that the register of goat ranges and the Council's proclamations of 19 December 1803 and 14 May 1804 were attached. Lambs and kids were not to be counted in the inspectors' returns. From time to time the inspectors were to go round the different holdings on the island. At each sitting of the court they had to report any faults they had found in the fences and how far blackberry had spread on each property. They were to say whether each landholder was repairing his fences and clearing out the blackberry. Finally, the inspectors were to follow closely any further orders the Governor and Council might give them. Thomas H. Brooke signed the instructions as secretary. The secretary wrote to Henry Leigh, commander of the Company's ship *Georgiana*, about five boys from the Company's Bombay Marine. They had deserted and reached St Helena on board the *Elphinstone* and the *Essex*. The commanders of those two ships had been ordered to send the boys over to the *Georgiana*, where they would stay until they could be sent back to India. Governor Patton and the Council therefore told Leigh to take them on board [continues]. **Interpretations** Blackberry had been brought to St Helena and spread across pasture and cleared ground. Uprooting it was a duty owners owed to the island, and the Council treated it in the same way as keeping fences in repair. The inspectors had no power to punish. Their task was to watch each holding over time and report to the court whether the owner was making progress. Pressure on neglectful owners therefore came from regular public reports rather than a single fine. Leaving lambs and kids out of the count meant the limits on each range applied to grown animals only. Owners could not be fined for the natural increase of the season before the young could be sold or killed.

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			The Bombay Marine was the East India Company's own armed naval service, based at Bombay. It protected the Company's trade in Indian waters, fought pirates and carried troops and dispatches. The boys were probably young seamen or servants in its ships who had slipped away by stowing themselves or signing on with homeward Indiamen. The Council did not let them stay on the island or travel on to England. It gathered them on one outward-bound ship so that they could be returned to the service they had left.
135	128	that view and you are further desired to give your Officers§ §strict injunctions to counteract any intentions to desert§ §which may be formed by the beforementioned Boys.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §November 30th 1804 Your Obedient humble Servant§ §Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary§ §To Captain Charles Jones§ §Commander of the H. C. Ship§ §David Scott.§ §Sir§ §In consequence of your Address to§ §the Governor of this date, I am directed by the Board§ §to acquaint you that a Court of Enquiry is Ordered to§ §assemble on board the H. C. S. Earl Spencer at Nine§ §o'Clock tomorrow morning when you will please to§ §give your attendance with your Evidences touching the§ §Subject of your Complaint against Mr. Baynes.§ §I am Sir§ §St. Helena Your Obedt. humble Servant§ §8th January Signed. Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§ §1805 to Government§	The secretary's letter told Leigh to take the five boys on board the *Georgiana* so they could be sent back to India. He was also to give his officers strict orders to stop any attempt by the boys to desert again. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 30 November 1804. Captain Charles Jones, commander of the Company's ship *David Scott*, had written to Governor Patton with a complaint against Mr Baynes. On 8 January 1805 the secretary replied on the Council's orders. A court of enquiry had been ordered to meet on board the Company's ship *Earl Spencer* at nine o'clock the next morning. Jones was asked to attend and to bring his witnesses on the subject of his complaint. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary to the government. **Interpretations** A commander already had wide powers to discipline his own officers and crew at sea, but Jones took his complaint against Baynes to the Governor instead. Doing so put the dispute on the record. Any action against Baynes would then rest on a finding by other Company officers, which was safer for Jones than his own punishment of the man when the voyage ended and the ship's owners or the Court of Directors looked into his conduct. The court met on the *Earl Spencer*, away from the *David Scott*, so neither side could control the hearing. Jones had to produce his own witnesses, which put the burden of proof on him as the complainant.
136	129	Mr. Charles Baynes§ §2d Officer of the H. C. Ship David Scott.§ §Sir§ §In consequence of your Address to the§ §Governor of yesterdays date; I am directed by the§ §Board to acquaint you that a Court of Enquiry is§ §ordered to assemble on board the H. C. S. Earl Spencer§ §at 9 o'Clock tomorrow Morning.§ §I am Sir§ §St. Helena your Obed. humble Servant§ §8 January Signed Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§ §1805 to Government§ §Mem. The Court was adjourned to the Sessions House on Thursday.§ §To Jno. Spratt Rainier Esqr.§ §Captn. of H. M. Ship§ §Centurion§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Govr. &§ §Council to transmit for your perusal a Letter addressed§ §to them from Mr. Jas. McIntosh Commander§ §of the Honble. Companys Extra Ship Union,§ §which brought Stores for this Island and is§ §outward bound for India. We hope if the§ §circumstances be as they are represented, that you§ §will§	Mr Charles Baynes, second officer of the Company's ship *David Scott*, had written to Governor Patton on 7 January 1805. The secretary replied on the Council's orders the next day, 8 January 1805. A court of enquiry had been ordered to meet on board the Company's ship *Earl Spencer* at nine o'clock the following morning. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary to the government. A later note recorded that the court had moved to the island's court house on shore. The Governor and Council sent John Spratt Rainier, captain of His Majesty's ship *Centurion*, a letter they had received from Mr James McIntosh to read. McIntosh commanded the Company's extra ship *Union*, which had brought stores for the island and was bound outwards for India. If the facts were as McIntosh described them, the Council hoped that Rainier would [continues]. **Interpretations** Captain Jones and his second officer both wrote to the Governor, and the Council called both of them before the same court. The court was therefore set up to hear a dispute between two parties, with each side making its own case, rather than to try Baynes alone. Moving the hearing from the *Earl Spencer* to the court house took the case off the Company's ships and into the island's own legal setting. That suggests the matter had grown larger or more serious than a quarrel to be settled among sea officers. The Council could order Company commanders, but it had no authority over a captain of the Royal Navy. It did not instruct Rainier. It sent him McIntosh's letter and put its request as a hope,

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			depending on whether the facts were true. That wording left the decision with Rainier and kept up good relations with the squadron that protected the island and its convoys. The Council still made clear that it supported the Company's commander.
137	130	will as far as you can consistently, prevent the§ §difficulties he represents on account of the§ §impossibility of procuring other Seamen or§ §Lascars at this Island.§ §I have the honor to be§ §Sir§ §Your Most Obedt. Servt.§ §Signed,§ §St. Helena Thos. Henry Brooke§ §11th Jany. Secy.§ §1805§ §To Mr. David Kay Junr.§ §Register Master§ §Sir§ §The Governor & Council direct me§ §to enclose you the accompanying copy of a§ §Proclamation to the object of which you will§ §pay proper attention;§ §I am§ §St. Helena Sir§ §1st April 1805 Your Obedt. Servant§ §Signed,§ §Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§	The Council hoped that Rainier would do what his duty allowed to spare McIntosh the problems he had described. No other seamen or lascars could be found at St Helena to replace any men the *Union* lost. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 11 January 1805. On 1 April 1805 Governor Patton and the Council had the secretary send Mr David Kay junior, register master, a copy of a proclamation. Kay was told to make sure its purpose was carried out. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter. **Interpretations** Lascars were seamen from India and the lands around the Indian Ocean. Company ships hired them in large numbers, mostly in Indian ports, and they often made up much of the crew of ships trading east of the Cape. A ship bound outwards from St Helena to India depended on whatever men she already had. The island had no pool of spare sailors, and it was no place to find lascars, who joined ships in the East. McIntosh's problem was almost certainly a threat to take men from the *Union* for the *Centurion*. A King's ship short of hands could take seamen from a merchant ship, and Company crews were a constant target. The Council could not forbid this. It made the practical argument that men taken at St Helena could not be replaced, so the stores ship might be unable to finish her voyage to India. The phrase about acting as far as Rainier consistently could admitted that his duty to man his own ship came first.
138	131	To Mr. Henry Bazett§ §Acting Master Attend.§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor &§ §Council to transmit you the enclosed Copy of§ §a Proclamation which is to be inserted in the§ §Port Regulations you furnish to Foreigners,§ §Whalers & Merchant Ships not in the Service§ §of the Company.§ §I am§ §Sir§ §Your Obedient Servant§ §Signed,§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To Mr. Thomas Bagley§ §Sir§ §The Petition for leave to Dispose§ §of your right in the lease of Dead Wood to Mr.§ §John Legg Junr. has been laid before the Governor§	On the orders of Governor Patton and the Council, the secretary sent Mr Henry Bazett, acting master attendant, a copy of a proclamation. It was to be added to the port regulations that Bazett handed to foreign ships, whalers and merchant ships outside the Company's service. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. The secretary also wrote to Mr Thomas Bagley. Bagley had petitioned for permission to sell his share in the lease of Deadwood to Mr John Legg junior. His petition had been put before the Governor and [continues]. **Interpretations** Bagley could not sell his share in the Deadwood lease freely. He had to ask the Governor and Council for permission. The Company owned the land and decided who held it. Its consent was needed whenever a lease changed hands, so it could judge whether the new tenant was suitable and keep the island's land in the hands of people it accepted. A lease was therefore an asset with some value, but the Company held a veto over who could buy it. Foreign ships, whalers and independent traders were not bound by the Company's orders to its own commanders. The master attendant was the official who boarded each ship as she arrived. He gave these ships a written copy of the port rules, which was the only way to make sure they knew what was expected of them. Adding the proclamation to that paper put the new rule into every such ship's hands as soon as she anchored.
139	132	& Council, I am directed to inform you, that§ §some circumstances have occurred which prevent§ §their giving an Answer until a further§ §consideration of the Subject.§ §St. Helena I am§ §1st April 1805 Sir§ §Your Obedt. Servant§	The secretary told Bagley that the Governor and Council had received his petition. Something had come up, however, and they would give no answer until they had looked at the matter again. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter at St Helena on 1 April 1805. The secretary also wrote to Charles Drummond, senior captain and commodore of the Company's

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		§Signd.§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §To§ §Chas. Drummond Esqr.§ §Senior Captain & Commodore of the§ §H. C. Ships in§ §St. Helena Roads§ §Sir§ §The Governor desires that§ §you will direct the Commanders of the§ §Company's Ships here, to transmit to the§ §Storekeeper, an account of what Tar they§ §may want, which with the Governor's Sanction§	ships in St Helena road. Governor Patton wanted Drummond to tell the commanders of the Company's ships at the island to send the storekeeper a list of the tar each of them needed. Once the Governor had approved the lists, the tar [continues]. **Interpretations** The Council did not explain why it held back Bagley's request, and it had no need to. The Company could refuse consent to a lease transfer, so it could also delay. A sale arranged between Bagley and Legg stayed on hold until the Council chose to act. The wording leaves open whether the delay concerned the buyer, the land itself or some claim against Bagley. Tar was essential for keeping a ship's rigging and seams in order, and every Indiaman at anchor would want more of it. The Governor did not let commanders draw it from the stores on their own. Each commander's request went through the commodore to the storekeeper, and the Governor approved the total before anything was handed out. Island stores were scarce and had to last until the next supply ship arrived. Putting every request through one channel let the Governor see the total demand and cut it down before the stores ran short.
140	133	be supplied to them from the American§ §Schooner Favourite.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §4th April 1805 Your Obedt. Servant§ §Mr. Henry Bazett,§ §Steward of the H. C. Hospital§ §Sir,§ §I am Commanded by the Governor and Council§ §to inform you, that in future the price of fresh Meat, approved§ §of by the Surgeons, for the use of the Sick in the Hospital, is§ §to be paid for at the rate of 8d. per lb. until further Orders.§ §And that the Hospital Charge for all Sick Seamen and§ §Kings Invalids is to be increased to 3/ per Diem.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §8th April 1805 Your Obedient Servant§ §Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§	The tar approved by the Governor would come from the American schooner *Favourite*. The letter to Drummond was dated at St Helena on 4 April 1805. On 8 April 1805 the secretary wrote on behalf of Governor Patton and the Council to Mr Henry Bazett, steward of the Company's hospital. From then on, fresh meat that the surgeons approved for the sick in the hospital was to be paid for at £0 0s 8d a pound until further notice. The daily charge for every sick seaman and every invalid of the King's forces was to rise to £0 3s [...]d. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. **Interpretations** The Company's own stores had no tar to spare, so the island bought it from an American trader at anchor in the road. Neutral American ships were bringing goods to St Helena that the Company could not supply itself. In wartime the island relied on them for naval stores as well as food. Buying tar for the Company's own ships from an American schooner showed how short British supplies had become. The two orders to the hospital steward were linked. Raising the price paid for fresh meat added to the hospital's costs. The Council did not let the Company absorb the extra cost. It raised the daily charge for sick seamen and soldiers of the King's forces. Those charges fell on the ships the seamen came from and on the Crown for its invalids. The higher cost of feeding patients therefore passed to the ship owners and the government in London, not the island's own budget.
141	134	To§ §Lieut. James Hanson§ §or the Officer Acting as Aid de Camp§ §to the Governor§ §Sir§ §I have the Commands of the Governor§ §and Council to acquaint you, that with a view to§ §the regulations of the Governor's Household in the§ §economy and General management of the Table,§ §it has been thought expedient to appoint to§ §the Superintendant of this Charge, the Officer§ §acting as A. D. C. to the Governor with a Salary§ §of £ 50 per Annum until the pleasure of the§ §Court of Directors be known.§ §In entering upon this trust,§	The secretary wrote on behalf of Governor Patton and the Council to Lieutenant James Hanson, or whichever officer was serving as the Governor's aide-de-camp. To keep the Governor's household economical and his table well run, the Council had decided to put the aide-de-camp in charge of it. The post carried a salary of £50 0s 0d a year until the Court of Directors gave its decision. The present steward, Mr Lie, had said that he meant to give up his post on 1 February. As his first task, Hanson was to make sure the steward carefully handed over to his successor all the Company's furniture, silver, table stores and other property. Hanson would take the new steward's receipts for these items and compare the lists of property so [continues]. **Interpretations**

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		§the Governor & Council direct me to inform you, that§ §the present Steward (Mr. [...]) having intimated§ §an intention of resigning his Station, on the first§ §of February next, you will have carefully made§ §over in Charge to his Successor all the Furniture,§ §Plate, Table Stores &ca. which belong to the Honble.§ §Company, taking the new Stewards Receipts for§ §the same, and Comparing the lists of effects so§	The Governor's household was not his private affair. The furniture, silver and stores on his table belonged to the Company, and the Company paid to run them as part of keeping up the Governor's position. A paid steward ran the household from day to day. The steward's departure gave the Council a chance to bring in a check on him. It did not simply hire a successor and leave him to manage alone. It placed a military officer over the steward, paid him a salary and made him answer for economy. Signed receipts and checked lists meant that every item could be traced from one steward to the next, and any loss or waste would fall on a named person. The salary was paid only until the Court of Directors decided, since the Council could not create a permanent paid post without London's approval. Hanson was already trusted with the island's business. In 1804 he had gone to the Cape on the American brig *Augusta* to buy flour. The Council relied on a few capable men and gave them extra duties.
142	135	delivered, with those which vouched their Amount§ §& description when the present Steward took them§ §in Charge.§ §You will also direct your attention§ §to the most Suitable allotment of the Servants§ §belonging to the Table, in their several§ §Capacities connected with it, that the whole§ §may be conducted with the greater regularity &§ §propriety. Your duty also will be to audit weekly§ §the Steward's Accounts which are to be§ §discharged by the Paymaster in monthly payments§ §after being previously inspected by the Governor§ §and Council, all the Vouchers accompanying the§ §Accts. will be presented with your Signature,§ §and it is directed that all supplies of Table§ §Stores which the Steward may stand in§ §need of, be drawn from the Honble. Companys§ §Stores at your Signature, and you will also§ §state monthly their progressive expenditure§ §along with the Accounts of Articles purchased§ §here. It is Moreover expected that you will§ §give your Most Carefull Superintendance§ §to the General Management of this important§ §branch of expenditure invariably employing§ §every means within your power to prevent§ §Misapplication or Waste and to promote all§ §proper economy.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §Your Obedt. Servant.§	Hanson was to compare the lists of the property handed over with the lists that had recorded the amount and description of each item when the outgoing steward took charge. He was also to decide how best to assign the table servants to their different duties, so that the household ran in a regular and orderly way. Each week he was to check the steward's accounts. The paymaster would settle them once a month after Governor Patton and the Council had examined them. Every receipt sent in with the accounts had to carry Hanson's signature. Any table stores the steward needed were to be drawn from the Company's stores only on Hanson's signature. Each month Hanson was to report how much of these stores had been used so far, together with the accounts for goods bought on the island. The Council expected him to oversee this costly part of the household with great care. He was to do all he could to stop waste or misuse and to keep spending down. The letter was dated at St Helena, with the day left blank. **Interpretations** Under the new system no single person controlled the money for the Governor's table. The steward ordered and spent, Hanson checked the accounts each week and signed every receipt, the Governor and Council examined the accounts and the paymaster paid them only once a month. Goods taken from the Company's stores and goods bought on the island were reported side by side each month. That let the Council see whether the table was using Company supplies and also running up bills with local sellers for the same things. The system set ordering, checking, approval and payment in separate hands, so any loss could be traced to the stage where it happened. Such close control over the Governor's own household suggests the table had been costing far more than the Company thought proper.
143	136	To Charles Drummond Esqr.§ §Senior Commander of the Honble.§ §Company's Ships in St. Helena Roads§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to§ §desire you will suspend all aid and assistance§ §of every kind to the Portugueze Ship Don Jose§ §Premiere, until further Orders.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §20th April 1805 Your Obedt. Servant§ §Signed,§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§	On 20 April 1805, on the Council's orders, the secretary told Charles Drummond, senior commander of the Company's ships in St Helena road, to stop all help of every kind to the Portuguese ship *Don Jose Premiere* until further orders. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. In a second letter to Drummond, the secretary passed on Governor Patton's request for a working party of 10 men under an officer. They were to be sent ashore the next morning from each [continues]. **Interpretations** The order to stop helping the *Don Jose Premiere* shows that the Company's ships had been giving her help, probably repairs, stores or men lent from their

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		§To Charles Drummond Esqr.§ §Senior Commander of the H. C. Ships§ §in St. Helena Roads§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor§ §to desire that you will order a working§ §party of ten Men under an Officer to be§ §sent on Shore tomorrow Morning from each§	crews. Portugal was neutral, and a ship in need at St Helena would normally get help as a courtesy. The Council's order cut that help off completely and gave no reason. "Until further orders" made it a temporary measure while some question about the ship was settled, rather than a final refusal. The wording leaves open whether the doubt concerned her papers, her cargo or her conduct while in the road. The Governor drew working parties from the Indiamen at anchor, as he could not find enough labourers on shore. Ships waiting for a convoy had spare hands, and the island had few workers. Asking for men from each ship spread the burden evenly, so no single commander had to strip his own crew.
144	137	of the Honble. Company's Ships here for the purpose of§ §carrying on the defensive Works now in Process, they§ §will receive their Instructions from Captain Benjamin§ §Hodson, Assistant Engineer.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir,§ §2nd May 1805 Your Obedt. Servant§ §Signed,§ §Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §To§ §Charles Drummond Esqr.§ §Senior Commander of the H. C. Ships in§ §St. Helena Roads.§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor to request that on§ §Monday Morning early you will Order a Detachment of 12§ §Men & an Officer from each Ship to assist in discharging the§ §Store Ships Cargo, their Services being no longer required§ §for the Works.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §4th May 1805 Your Obedient Servant§ §Signed, Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§	The working party was to come from each of the Company's ships at the island to help with the defence works then being built. The men would take their orders from Captain Benjamin Hodson, assistant engineer. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena on 2 May 1805. On 4 May 1805 the secretary wrote again to Charles Drummond, senior commander of the Company's ships in St Helena road. Governor Patton asked that early on Monday morning each ship send 12 men and an officer to help unload the store ship. The defence works no longer needed them. **Interpretations** The Governor used the crews of the Indiamen in the road as a source of labour and moved them from one job to another as needed. Two days after the order for the defence works, the parties were released from building and sent to unload the store ship, with more men sent from each ship than before. A store ship's cargo had to be landed quickly. Every day she lay waiting put her at risk from the weather and kept her from sailing with the convoy. Seamen who were used to handling cargo were the obvious choice for the work. The defences could wait, since they were being built for a possible attack, but the store ship and the convoy were due to sail.
145	138	To§ §Thomas Lushington Esqr.§ §Commander of the Honble. Company's Ship§ §Canton.§ §Sir,§ §The Governor having received Information requiring§ §the utmost exertions for forwarding the Defensive Works, all the§ §Troops of the Garrison off Duty are in consequence employed to§ §effect this important end. Application was therefore made by§ §the Governor to Captain Drummond the Senior Commander§ §of the Honble. Company's Ships here, for a Detachment of§ §12 Men and an Officer from each Ship to assist in discharging§ §the Stores from the Warren Hastings. The Governor is much§ §surprized at receiving a Report to day that his application has§ §not been complied with from your Ship and I am directed§ §to desire you will either furnish the Detachment or assign§ §your reasons for not Complying with his requisition.§ §St. Helena I have the honor to be§ §7th May 1805 Sir§	The secretary wrote on 7 May 1805 to Thomas Lushington, commander of the Company's ship *Canton*. Governor Patton had received intelligence that made it urgent to finish the defence works as quickly as possible. Every soldier of the garrison not on guard duty had been put to work on them. The Governor had therefore asked Captain Drummond, senior commander of the Company's ships at the island, for 12 men and an officer from each ship to help unload the stores from the *Warren Hastings*. A report that day showed that the *Canton* had not sent her men, and the Governor was very surprised. Lushington was told either to send the party or to explain in writing why he had refused. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. The same letter went to Captains W. Campbell and A. A. Brown, commanders of the Company's ships *Winchelsea* and *Marquis of Ely*. **Interpretations** This letter showed the reason for the earlier change of orders. The seamen were not taken off the defences because the works could wait. The works had become so urgent that the whole garrison was put on them. Soldiers who would usually have unloaded the store ship were no longer free, so the ships' crews had to take their place. The intelligence the Governor had received perhaps warned of an enemy squadron at sea. The Council's records do not say so.

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		§Your Obedient Servant.§ §Signed, Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§ §A similar Letter to the above was also§ §written to Captains W. Campbell & A. A. Brown Commrs.§ §of the H. C. Ships Winchelsea & Marquis of Ely.§	The Governor could not punish the commanders of Company ships for refusing. They held their posts from the Company in London and answered to it for the safety of their ships and crews. He gave three of them a choice: send the men or put their reasons in writing. A written refusal would become part of the record and could be sent home to the Court of Directors. That threat to their standing with the Company was the Governor's main means of pressure. It was stronger than anything he could do to them at St Helena.
146	139	To§ §James Louden Carpenters Mate§ §You are required by the Governor &§ §Council to appear before them on Monday next, to§ §receive Judgment for your Contumacious Conduct§ §yesterday.§ §Signed. Thos. H. Brooke§ §St. Helena Secretary§ §26th May 1805§ §To Mr. Henry Bazett§ §Acting Steward of the Hospital§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Board to furnish§ §you with a Copy of the Head Surgeons letter to the Governor§ §and Council with the Resolution in consequence by which your§ §Conduct must be regulated in respect to Supplying the§ §Patients in the Hospital with fresh Meat.§ §A Boat has been purchased to be§ §employed in fishing for the Hospital.§ §I have the honor to be &c.§ §27 May 1805 Thos. H. Brooke Secretary§ §To David Kay Senr. Esqr. Head Surgeon§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor§ §and§	On the orders of Governor Patton and the Council, the secretary summoned James Louden, a carpenter's mate, to appear before them on the following Monday. He was to be sentenced for openly defying authority the day before. Thomas H. Brooke signed the summons as secretary at St Helena on 28 May 1805. On 27 May 1805, on the Council's orders, the secretary sent Mr Henry Bazett, acting steward of the hospital, a copy of the head surgeon's letter to the Governor and Council. He also sent the resolution the Council had passed in response, which would govern how Bazett supplied the hospital patients with fresh meat. The Council had also bought a boat to fish for the hospital. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. The secretary then wrote to David Kay senior, head surgeon, on the orders of the Governor and [continues]. **Interpretations** Louden was not called to answer a charge. He was summoned only to hear his punishment. His defiance had apparently happened in front of witnesses or of the Council itself the day before, so there was nothing to prove. The Governor and Council sat as a court, and a dispute with a working man in the Company's service went straight to sentence. "Contumacious" meant defiant refusal to obey lawful authority. It was a more serious offence than poor work, since it challenged the chain of command in a garrison under wartime pressure. The boat was a response to the cost and shortage of meat. On 8 April 1805 the Council had raised the price paid for the hospital's fresh meat to £0 0s 8d a pound. The head surgeon had now raised the meat supply again. The Council did not simply pay more for scarce beef. It bought its own boat to catch fish, which the island's waters supplied freely. Fish could replace part of the meat diet at almost no cost beyond the boat and its crew, and the hospital's supply would no longer depend on the cattle market.
147	140	Council to furnish you with a Copy of their Resolution§ §in consequence of your letter to me of the 24 Instant.§ §I have the honor to be &c.§ §28th May 1805 Signed Thos. H. Brooke Secy.§ §To Messrs. E. C. Smith Francis Seale, Geo. Alexander§ §&c. &c. &c.§ §Gentlemen.§ §In answer to your Petition of the§ §24th Instant addressed to the Governor and Council,§ §I am directed by them to transmit you the§ §accompanying Extract from their Proceedings§ §of Yesterday.§ §I have the honor to be &c.§ §28th May Signed Thos. H. Brooke§ §1805 Secretary§ §St. Helena 10th May 1805.§ §Mr. Geo. Vandeput Drury of the Honble. Company's§ §Civil Service on the Bombay Establishment, having	The secretary wrote to David Kay senior on the orders of Governor Patton and the Council and enclosed a copy of the resolution they had passed in response to his letter of 24 May 1805. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary on 28 May 1805. On the same day the secretary replied to E. C. Smith, Francis Seale, George Alexander and the others who had signed a petition to the Governor and Council on 20 May 1805. On the Council's orders, he sent them an extract from the Council's proceedings of the day before. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. Mr George Vandeput Drury of the Company's civil service in the Bombay presidency asked for a certificate stating how long he had been at St Helena. The secretary to the government certified at St Helena on 10 May 1805 that Drury had lived on the island for more than six months. Thomas H. Brooke signed the certificate. **Interpretations** Kay's letter of 24 May 1805 was the head surgeon's letter whose copy went to the hospital

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		applied for a§ §Certificate specifying the period of his stay at this Settlement.§ §I in compliance therewith, do declare, that he has resided§ §here Six Months and upwards.§ §Signed. Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary to Govt.§	steward on 27 May 1805. The resolution sent to Kay was therefore the same order on supplying the patients with fresh meat. The Council sent the ruling to both the surgeon, who stated what the sick needed, and the steward, who bought and issued the food. Neither could later claim not to know what had been decided. A Company civil servant in the Bombay presidency drew his pay, his rank and in time his pension according to his record of service. Time spent away from India had to be accounted for. Drury had spent more than six months at St Helena, a long stay for someone only passing through, and probably needed official proof of where he had been to support a claim to allowances or to explain his absence. A certificate from the secretary of another Company settlement carried weight that a private statement would not.
148	141	To§ §Charles Drummond Esqr.§ §Senior Commander of the H. C. Ships in St. Helena Roads§ §Sir,§ §I am directed by the Governor to request that at§ §One o'Clock this afternoon, you will order a Detachment of Ten§ §Men and an Officer from each Ship to assist in discharging the§ §Store Ships Cargoes; tomorrow morning it will be necessary to§ §encrease the number to Twenty Men from each Ship.§ §I have the honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir,§ §6th June 1805 Your Obedient humble Servant§ §Signed, Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secretary§	On 6 June 1805 the secretary wrote to Charles Drummond, senior commander of the Company's ships in St Helena road, with a request from Governor Patton. At one o'clock that afternoon Drummond was to send 10 men and an officer from each ship to help unload the store ships. The next morning the number would have to rise to 20 men from each ship. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary at St Helena.
149	142	To John Goodwin & George Leech Esqrs.§ §Gentlemen§ §The Governor and Council have§ §directed me to enclose you Copy of the 41st Paragraph§ §of the Honble. Company's General Letter dated 9th§ §April last, also Copy of part of a Paragraph to be§ §inserted in their next General Letter, and to request§ §that the Quarterly Accounts of the Hospital which§ §have not been transmitted may be laid before the§ §Governor and Council as soon as possible for§ §transmission to the Honble. Court of Directors.§ §I have the honor to be &c.§ §St. Helena Signed,§ §26th July 1805 J. De Fountain§ §Actg. Secy.§ §To H. Bazett Esqr.§ §Steward of the Hospital§ §Sir,§ §The Honble. Court of Directors§ §having expressed their disapprobation of the§ §Quarterly Hospital Accounts not being forwarded§ §to§	On 26 July 1805 J. De Fountain, acting secretary, wrote to John Goodwin and George Leech on the orders of Governor Patton and the Council. He enclosed a copy of paragraph 41 of the Company's general letter of 9 April 1805. He also sent part of a paragraph that the Council planned to put in its next general letter to London. The Council asked that the hospital's quarterly accounts, which had not yet been sent, be put before it as soon as possible so they could go on to the Court of Directors. A letter also went to H. Bazett, steward of the hospital. The Court of Directors had complained that the quarterly hospital accounts had not been sent to [continues]. **Interpretations** The Court of Directors kept watch over the island's spending through regular accounts sent to London. In its letter of 9 April 1805 it complained that the hospital accounts had not arrived. The Council sent the officials concerned the Court's paragraph and also part of its own planned reply. That told Goodwin and Leech exactly what London would be told about the delay, and probably where the blame would fall. The Council did not cover for them. It made them see that their failure was now known to the directors and that the only way to limit the damage was to produce the accounts before the next ship sailed. A letter written in London in April and answered at St Helena in July shows how long each exchange took. A quarter missed meant a delay of a year or more before the Court saw the figures.
150	143	to them to a later period than the 31st March§ §1801 except that for the Quarter ending the§ §30th September 1804, the Governor and Council§ §direct that in future the Quarterly Accounts§ §may be regularly given in for transmission§	The Court of Directors had received no quarterly hospital accounts for any period after 31 March 1801, apart from the quarter ending 30 September 1804. Governor Patton and the Council therefore told Bazett that from then on the accounts must be

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		§to the Court of Directors.§ §St. Helena I have the Honor to be &c.§ §26th July 1805 Signed,§ §J. De Fountain§ §Actg. Secy.§ §George Saltwell Esqr.§ §Commr. of the H. C. S. Admiral Gardner,§ §and Senior Commr. of the H. C. Ss. in the Harbor of§ §St. Helena§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to§ §communicate to you their order for assembling a Court of§ §Enquiry tomorrow morning, to consist of two Commanders§ §and three chief Officers of the Honble. Companys Ships, for§ §the investigation of the charges exhibited in the enclosed§ §letters. After hearing such Evidence as may be§ §adduced by each party, the Court will enter their§ §opinion on the whole for the consideration of the§ §Governor & Council.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §St. Helena Sir§ §2 Septr. 1805 (Signed) Yr. Most Ot. Servant§ §J. De Fountain Actg. Secy.§	handed in regularly so they could be sent to the Court. J. De Fountain, acting secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 26 July 1805. On 2 September 1805 the acting secretary wrote to George Saltwell, commander of the Company's ship *Admiral Gardner* and senior commander of the Company's ships in the harbour of St Helena. On the orders of the Governor and Council, he told Saltwell that a court of enquiry would meet the next morning. It would be made up of two commanders and three chief officers of the Company's ships, and it would look into the charges set out in the enclosed letters. After hearing the evidence from each side, the court would record its opinion on the whole case for the Governor and Council to consider. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. **Interpretations** The size of the gap showed how far the hospital's accounts had fallen behind. Apart from one quarter, London had received nothing for more than four years. Over that time the island had paid for sick seamen, soldiers of the King's forces and invalids of its own. Those charges were partly paid back by ship owners and the Crown, so the Court could not check what the hospital cost or what was owed to it. The order to Goodwin and Leech dealt with the arrears. The order to Bazett dealt with the future, making the steward responsible for handing in each quarter's accounts on time. The Court of Directors' attention to the gap probably also explains the Council's close control over the steward's purchase of meat in April and May 1805.
151	144	To§ §Captain Murray§ §Commr. of the H. C. Ship§ §Lady Castlereagh§ §Sir§ §In consequence of your letter of the 31st Ulto. I§ §am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you§ §that a Court of Enquiry is ordered to assemble tomorrow§ §morning when you will please to attend with your§ §Evidences.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §(Signed) Sir§ §Your most Obt. Servant§ §St. Helena J. De Fountain§ §2 September 1805 Actg. Secy.§ §Mr. S. W. Young Chief Officer of the H. C. Ship Lady Castlereagh§ §Sir§ §The Governor & Council having resolved in§ §their Public Capacity to investigate the Charges exhibited by you§ §against your Commander, Captain H. Murray you are§ §directed to give your attendance with your Evidences at§ §the Court House accordingly tomorrow morning at 10§ §o'Clock precisely.§ §I am Sir§ §Your most obedient Servt.§ §St. Helena§ §6 Septr. 1805 (Signed) J. De Fountain§ §Actg. Secy.§	Captain Murray, commander of the Company's ship *Lady Castlereagh*, had written to the Governor and Council on 31 August 1805. On 2 September 1805, on the orders of Governor Patton and the Council, the acting secretary told Murray that a court of enquiry would meet the next morning. Murray was asked to attend and bring his witnesses. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. On 6 September 1805 the acting secretary wrote to Mr J. W. Young, chief officer of the *Lady Castlereagh*. The Governor and Council had decided to look into Young's charges against his commander, Captain [...] Murray, themselves as the island government. Young was told to come to the court house with his witnesses at exactly ten o'clock the next morning. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. **Interpretations** The dispute aboard the *Lady Castlereagh* first went the usual way, to a court of enquiry made up of commanders and chief officers. That court only gave an opinion. Four days later the Governor and Council took over the enquiry themselves, sitting as the island government and hearing it at the court house. The Council could have accepted the sea officers' opinion and closed the matter. It chose to hear the case again itself. A chief officer had brought charges against his own commander, a serious matter for discipline on the voyage home. The sea officers' opinion had probably settled nothing, or the charges were too grave to leave to them. A hearing before the Governor and Council gave whatever followed the full weight of the island government. That mattered if the case went before the Court of Directors.
152	145	Captain H. G. Murray§ §Commr. of the H. C. Ship§ §Lady Castlereagh§ §Sir§ §The Governor & Council having resolved in§ §their Public Capacity to investigate the Charges exhibited by§ §you against your Chief Mate, you are directed to give§	Captain T. G. Murray, commander of the Company's ship *Lady Castlereagh*, received a letter on 6 September 1805. Governor Patton and the Council had decided to look into his charges against his chief mate themselves, as the island government. Murray was told to come to Government House with his witnesses at exactly ten o'clock the next morning. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary.

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		§your attendance with your Evidences at the Government§ §House accordingly tomorrow morning at 10 o'Clock precisely.§ §I have the Honor to be§ §(Signed) Sir§ §Your most Obedient Servant§ §6th Septr. 1805 J. De Fountain Actg. Secy.§ §John Goodwin Esqr.§ §Acting Storekeeper§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council§ §to inform you in consequence of a representation from the Town§ §Major & Quarter Master that the Shoes supplied the Garrison§ §from the Honble. Company's Stores is not to be charged higher§ §than 6/ per Pair.§ §I am Sir &c.§ §J. De Fountain§ §2d Septr. 1805 Acting Secy.§	On 2 September 1805 the acting secretary wrote to John Goodwin, acting storekeeper, on the orders of the Governor and Council. The town major and the quartermaster had complained about the price of shoes. From then on, shoes issued to the garrison from the Company's stores were to cost no more than £0 6s 0d a pair. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. **Interpretations** Murray and his chief mate had each brought charges against the other, and the Council called both men to the same hearing at the same hour. Neither man was treated as the accused. Each would have to prove his own charges and answer the other's in front of the Governor and Council together. Soldiers paid for their shoes from their own pay, so a high price at the stores came straight out of the men's wages. The Company priced stores issued on the island at cost plus an advance, as its 1783 instructions on stores at 30 per cent showed. The town major and the quartermaster both dealt with the garrison's welfare and discipline, and they spoke up for the men. The Council did not lower the Company's general rate. It set a maximum price for this one item. That protected the soldiers' pay without giving up the Company's markup on everything else. Goodwin was also one of the two officials asked in July 1805 for the overdue hospital accounts. As acting storekeeper he was responsible for the stores' accounts.
153	146	Captain C. Hodson, Town Major§ §and§ §Lieut. Patk. Kitlin Qr. Master§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to inform§ §you in answer to your Representation of this date, that the§ §Shoes supplied the Garrison from the Honble. Company's§ §Stores is not to be charged higher than 6/ per Pair,§ §of which the Storekeeper has been made acquainted.§ §(Signed) I am Sir &c.§ §J. De Fountain§ §2 Septr. 1805 Acting Secy.§ §Captain Thomas Jenkins§ §Comr. of the H. C. S. Lord Eldon§ §Sir§ §The Governor requires that you will send on Shore§ §immediately the Bill of Lading or a signed Abstract of the§ §Honble. Company's Cargo on board the Ship Lord Eldon under§ §your command. Also a list of Passengers.§ §I am &c.§ §8th Septr. 1805 (Signed) J. De Fountain Actg. Secy.§	On 2 September 1805, on the orders of Governor Patton and the Council, the acting secretary replied to Captain C. R. Gibson, town major, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Kitton, **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** quartermaster, about the complaint they had made that day. Shoes issued to the garrison from the Company's stores were to cost no more than £0 6s 0d a pair, and the storekeeper had been told. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. On 8 September 1805 the acting secretary wrote to Captain Thomas Jenkins, commander of the Company's ship *Lord Eldon*. The Governor told Jenkins to send ashore at once either the bill of lading or a signed summary of the Company's cargo on board the *Lord Eldon*, together with a list of her passengers. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. **Interpretations** A bill of lading was the master's signed receipt for goods taken on board. It listed each package by mark and number and served as the legal record of what the ship carried and for whom. The Governor asked for it, or a signed summary, as soon as the ship arrived, which showed exactly what Company goods she carried before anything was landed or moved. The island depended on cargoes from passing ships for stores and food. Knowing what the *Lord Eldon* carried let the Council decide what might be taken ashore for St Helena and check anything landed against the master's own signed figures. The passenger list served a different purpose. In wartime it let the Governor see who was arriving, who might try to stay and who might be carrying news or letters.
154	147	Captain Saltwell§ §Commr. of the Honble. C. Ship Admiral Gardner§ §& Senr. Commr. of the H. C. Ships in the harbor of§ §St. Helena§ §Sir§ §The Court of Enquiry which has been ordered to assemble§ §for investigating the Charges exhibited by Captain	On 9 September 1805 the acting secretary wrote to Captain Saltwell, commander of the Company's ship *Admiral Gardner* and senior commander of the Company's ships in the harbour of St Helena. The court of enquiry ordered to hear Captain Murray's charges against Mr Young would meet at eight o'clock the next morning at the Castle. Saltwell was

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		Murray against§ §Mr. Young is to meet at Eight o'Clock tomorrow morning§ §at the Castle for which you will please to give the§ §necessary Instructions.§ §I have the honor to be &c. &c.§ §(Signed) J. De Fountain Actg. Secy.§ §9th Septr. 1805§ §George Saltwell Esqr.§ §Commr. of the H. C. Ship Admiral Gardner§ §and Senr. Commr. of the H. C. Ss. in the Road of§ §St. Helena§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor & Council to communicate§ §to you their order for summoning a Court of Enquiry to be in§ §readiness for the Investigation of several charges exhibited by§ §Captain H. G. Murray of the H. C. Ship Lady Castlereagh dated§ §the 31st Ult. against his Chief Officer, Mr. S. W. Young on§ §which the Court will be required to proceed as soon as§ §the§	asked to give the necessary orders. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. In another letter to George Saltwell, the acting secretary passed on an order from Governor Patton and the Council. A court of enquiry was to be called and kept ready to examine several charges that Captain T. G. Murray of the *Lady Castlereagh* had made on 31 August 1805 against his chief officer, Mr J. W. Young. The court would be expected to begin as soon as the [continues]. **Interpretations** The Governor and Council had called both Murray and Young to Government House on 7 September 1805 to hear the charges each had made against the other. Two days later, Murray's charges against Young went back to a court of sea officers, now sitting at the Castle rather than on board a ship. The Council perhaps kept for itself the charges against the commander and left the charges against the chief officer to men of his own profession. A complaint that touched a captain's command of his ship was a matter for the government. Whether a chief officer had done his duty was a question that experienced commanders and chief officers could judge. Holding the court at the Castle kept it under the Governor's eye even though the sea officers sat as judges.
155	148	the Governor and Council have finished the examination§ §of Evidences, respecting the Charges instituted by Mr. Young§ §against Captain Murray & in support of Captain Murrays§ §Defence of which intimation will be given to the President.§ §The Court of Enquiry that you are directed to§ §summon is to consist of Captain Searle Wood of the Honble.§ §Company's Ship Worcester, being the Senr. Commr. as President§ §Captain Leigh of the Georgiana, Captain James Dalrymple§ §of the H. C. Extra Ship Tottenham, and the following Chief§ §Officers as Members Viz.§ §Mr. Joseph Young Chief Officer of the Admiral Gardner§ §unless he be called upon as an Evidence. Mr. Thomas Harton§ §of the Georgiana. Mr. Frederick Adams of the Skelton Castle§ §and failing of Mr. Young Mr. Francis Armitage of the Worcester.§ §I am Sir &c. &c.§ §7th Septr. 1805 (Signed) John De Fountain§ §Acting Secy.§ §Captains George Saltwell & Thos. G. Murray§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor§ §& Council to enclose for your information Copy of a letter§ §this day written to the Different Governments in India§ §to be communicated to Homeward bound Commanders of§ §the H. C. Ships.§ §I have the honor &c.§ §14th Septr. 1805 (Signed) J. D. Fountain§ §Actg. Secy.§	The court of enquiry would begin once Governor Patton and the Council had finished hearing the evidence on Mr Young's charges against Captain Murray and on Murray's defence. The president would be told when that was done. **Start of crossed out section** The secretary first wrote the word for "notice" in a form that he then replaced with another word of the same meaning. **End of crossed out section** Saltwell was to call the court, and its members were named. Captain Searle Wood of the Company's ship *Worcester*, as senior commander present, would preside. The other members were Captain Leigh of the *Georgiana*, Captain James Dalrymple of the Company's extra ship *Tottenham* and three chief officers: Mr Joseph Young, chief officer of the *Admiral Gardner*, unless he was called as a witness. Mr Thomas Horton of the *Georgiana*. Mr Frederick Adams of the *Skelton Castle*. Mr Francis Armitage of the *Worcester*, if Mr Young could not sit. John De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary on 7 September 1805. On 14 September 1805, on the orders of the Governor and Council, the acting secretary wrote to Captains George Saltwell and T. G. Murray. He sent them, for their information, a copy of a letter written that day to the various governments in India. That letter was to be passed on to the commanders of the Company's ships homeward bound from India. **Interpretations** The two sets of charges were dealt with in a fixed order. The Council finished hearing Young's charges against his commander before the court of sea officers dealt with Murray's charges against Young. The commander's case was therefore judged first, by the island government. The case against the chief officer, heard afterwards, could not reopen what the Council had decided. Joseph Young of the *Admiral Gardner* shared a surname with the accused chief officer. He was also considered a possible witness, so a replacement was named in advance. If he could not sit, Francis Armitage would take his place, and the court could not be stopped or challenged on that ground. A court of three commanders and three chief officers gave the

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			accused man judges of his own rank alongside the senior officers.
156	149	Mr. S. W. Young§ §Sir§ §You are hereby authorized to take§ §charge & Command of the H. C. S. Lord Eldon to England and§ §enjoined to pay due attention to all orders & Instructions§ §received from the Honble. Company by the late Captain Jasper§ §Sweete, and to all such further Orders and Instructions§ §as you may from time to time receive from the said Honble.§ §Company or their Agents during the time you may§ §continue in charge of the said Ship Lord Eldon.§ §We are Sir§ §St. Helena your obedient Servts.§ §14 Septr. 1805§ §Captain Searles Wood§ §Commr. of the Honble. C. Ship§ §Worcester§ §Sir§ §You have the Governor and Councils Permission to receive§ §on board your Ship and carry to England, John Smith§ §Seaman left here sick from H. M. S. L'Athenienne the Honble. Company§ §incurring no expence thereby.§ §I am &c. &c.§ §J. D. F.§ §17th Septr. 1805 Signed J. De Fountain Actg. Secy.§	On 14 September 1805 the Governor and Council authorised Mr J. W. Young to take charge and command of the Company's ship *Lord Eldon* for her voyage to England. He was to follow all the orders and instructions that the Company had given to her late commander, Captain Jasper [...]. While he remained in charge of the ship, he was also to follow any further orders he might receive from the Company or its agents. The Council signed the authority in its own name. On 17 September 1805 the acting secretary wrote to Captain Searle Wood, commander of the Company's ship *Worcester*. Governor Patton and the Council gave Wood permission to take John Smith, a seaman left sick at St Helena from His Majesty's ship *Athenienne*, on board the *Worcester* and carry him to England. The Company would bear no cost for the passage. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. **Interpretations** The *Lord Eldon* had lost her commander, and the Council had to give her a new one before she sailed. It could have promoted one of her own officers, who knew the ship and her cargo. Instead it gave the command to Young, chief officer of the *Lady Castlereagh*. A week earlier his own captain had brought charges against him, and the Governor and Council had only just heard his charges against Murray. Putting him in command of a Company ship shows that the Council, after hearing both cases, held him blameless and judged him fit to command. Doing so also took him out of the *Lady Castlereagh*, where he could not have gone on serving under the captain he had accused. The order was signed in the Council's own name, as the tea order to Normand had been. Only the Governor and Council could hand a Company ship and her cargo to a new commander.
157	150	St. Helena 20th Septr. 1805§ §Sir,§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to acknow-§ §ledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th Inst. and to inform§ §you that the Board express their concern at your ill§ §state of Health, and highly approve of your returning§ §to Europe as the Surgeons recommend that measure for§ §the Establishment of it.§ §I have Sir the honor &c. &c.§ §Major E. Smyth J. De Fountain§ §H. C. Corps of Artillery (Signed) Actg. Secy.§ §Captain James Normand§ §Commander of the H. C. S. Skelton Castle§ §Sir§ §You are hereby directed to send on Shore for§ §the use of the Garrison and Inhabitants at this Settlemt.§ §the following Quantity of H. C. Tea.§ §12 Boxes Twankay in place of the 6 Hyson & 6 Souchong§ §4 do. Congou.§ §We are§ §Septr. 1805 Sir &c. &c.§ §(Signed)§	On 20 September 1805, on the orders of Governor Patton and the Council, the acting secretary replied to Major E. Smyth of the Company's corps of artillery. Smyth's letter of 16 September 1805 had arrived. The Council was sorry to hear of his poor health. Since the surgeons advised it for his recovery, the Council fully approved his return to Europe. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. In September 1805 Captain James Normand, commander of the Company's ship *Skelton Castle*, was ordered to land some of the Company's tea for the garrison and the people of the island. The amounts were: Twankay tea, 12 boxes, in place of the 6 chests and 6 boxes Congou tea, 4 boxes **Start of crossed out section** The order was first closed in the secretary's name and signed by J. De Fountain as acting secretary. **End of crossed out section** The closing was changed so that the order went out in the Council's own name. **Interpretations** Twankay and Congou were the two ordinary grades of China tea carried home in bulk by the Company. Twankay was a cheap green tea, named after a district of China whose leaf the Company bought in large amounts and sold widely in Britain. Congou was the standard black tea, made from leaf rolled and fired at Canton and drunk across Britain at every social level. Neither was a luxury grade. Both were the everyday teas that garrison officers, soldiers' families and settlers bought from the Company's

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			stores at St Helena. The island had no other source, so the supply depended on homeward China ships agreeing to break into their cargo. The change in how the order was signed mattered. Tea was the Company's most valuable cargo from China, carried under the commander's charge to be sold in London. A commander could refuse to open his cargo on the word of an acting secretary. An order closed in the Council's own name gave Normand clear authority from the island government to land Company goods. It also showed in his accounts that he had acted on the Council's orders. The note that the 12 boxes of Twankay replaced an earlier amount suggests the first request had been in a mix of chests and boxes. Boxes were smaller and easier to land and share out. Major E. Smyth had been one of the nine officials on the rota for spare beef from the Governor's table set on 15 August 1804. His leave to go home on the surgeons' advice took one of the island's senior artillery officers away while the defence works were being hurried on.
158	151	Captain Searles Wood§ §Commr. H. C. S. Worcester§ §Sir§ §You have the Governor and Councils§ §permission to receive on board your Ship & carry to England Mr. Adam§ §Davis with his servant Henry Mash who arrived§ §here in the English Whaler Britannia, the Honble.§ §Company incurring no expence thereby.§ §I am Sir &c. &c.§ §St. Helena (Signed) J. D. Fountain Actg. Secy.§ §24 Septr. 1805§ §To Capt. Foster§ §Ship Policy§ §Sir§ §You have the Governor and Councils§ §permission to receive on board your Ship and§ §carry to England Mr. Henry Maclaghlan§ §Qr. Master of H. M. 84th Regt. who arrived§ §here in the H. C. S. Worcester the H. C. incurring no§ §expence thereby. I am &c.§	On 24 September 1805 Governor Patton and the Council gave Captain Searle Wood, commander of the Company's ship *Worcester*, permission to take Mr Aaron Davis and his servant Henry Mash on board and carry them to England. The two men had reached St Helena on the English whaler *Britannia.* The Company would bear no cost. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. A similar letter went to Captain Foster, **Start of crossed out section** commander of the Company's **End of crossed out section** master of the ship *Policy*. The Governor and Council gave him permission to take Mr Henry Maclaghlan, quartermaster of His Majesty's 84th Regiment, on board and carry him to England. Maclaghlan had come to the island on the *Worcester*. The Company would bear no cost. **Interpretations** Nobody left St Helena without the Governor and Council's permission, whether a private traveller, a soldier of the King's army or a Company servant. A commander could not simply take a passenger on board. Each passage needed a written authority, which let the government keep track of everyone who arrived and left. In wartime it also stopped debtors, deserters and slaves from getting away. The repeated condition that the Company bore no cost meant the passenger or his own employer paid. The island would not pay for anyone's passage. The struck words in the letter to Foster show the clerk first described the *Policy* as a Company ship and then corrected himself. She was a private ship, yet her master still needed the same permission. The Council's control covered every ship in the road, not just the Company's.
159	152	Captain James Dalrymple§ §Commr. of the H. C. S. Tottenham§ §Sir§ §You have the Governor and Councils permission to§ §receive on board your Ship and carry to England Mr.§ §Hillman the Honble. Company incurring no§ §expence thereby. I am Sir Yr. most Ot. &c.§ §(Signed) J. De Fountain Actg. Secy.§ §2d Octr. 1805§ §Captain James Dalrymple§ §Commr. of the H. C. Ship Tottenham§ §Sir§ §You have the Governor & Councils permission§ §to receive on board your Ship and carry to England§ §Mrs. Mackay who arrived here on the Ship Skelton Castle with her two Native Servants, and§	On 2 October 1805 Governor Patton and the Council gave Captain James Dalrymple, commander of the Company's ship *Tottenham*, permission to take Mr Holman on board and carry him to England. The Company would bear no cost. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. On the same day Dalrymple received a second permission, to take Mrs Mackay to England. She had reached the island on the *Skelton Castle*. With her went her two Indian servants and her three children, Mary, William and John Mackay. The Company again would bear no cost. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. **Interpretations** The servants travelling with Mrs Mackay were described as natives, meaning Indian servants

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		§three children Mary, William, & John Mackay§ §the Honble. Company incurring no expence thereby.§ §I am Sir &c. &c.§ §2d Octr. 1805 (Signed) J. De Fountain§ §Actg. Secy.§	brought from India. The Company had long kept watch over servants of this kind, as the Court's instructions of 1783 and the certificate about Van Deurs's servant on 31 October 1804 both showed. A family returning from India often took their Indian servants to England, where they could be left without work or a passage home. Naming the servants in the permission put their passage on the island's record. It showed that they had left St Helena with their mistress and had not been left behind as a charge on the island.
160	153	To Captain John Weir§ §Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council§ §to intimate to you their determination of granting you§ §permission to proceed to England under the circumstances§ §of your confirmed state of bad health, and to refer to§ §the Honble. Court of Directors the object of your Petition§ §to retire on the half pay. And they have further§ §directed me to inform you that they have granted§ §you three months pay in advance.§ §I am Sir &c. &c.§ §St. Helena Signed J. De Fountain Actg. Secy.§ §29 July 1805§ §To Lieut. Robt. Statham§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council§ §to inform, that they cannot consistently with§ §propriety, accede to your request for a Lease of any§ §Ground in front of your House; the Street in that part§ §of the Town being very narrow.§ §I am Sir &c.§ §3 December 1804 Signed T. H. Brooke§ §Secy.§	On 29 July 1805, on the orders of Governor Patton and the Council, the acting secretary wrote to Captain John Weir. Because his poor health was now beyond doubt, the Council had decided to let him go to England. Weir had also petitioned to retire on half pay, and the Council referred that request to the Court of Directors. It granted him three months' pay in advance as well. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. On 3 December 1804 the secretary wrote to Lieutenant Robert Statham on the orders of the Governor and Council. Statham had asked for a lease of ground in front of his house. The Council said it could not properly grant him any of that ground, because the street in that part of the town was very narrow. Thomas H. Brooke signed the letter as secretary. **Interpretations** The Council could grant Weir leave to go home, but only the Court of Directors could put an officer on half pay. Half pay was a lasting charge on the Company that would run for the rest of his life. Weir could not stay at St Helena while London considered his petition, which might take a year or more. The Council could have sent him off with nothing until the Court decided. It gave him three months' pay in advance to cover the voyage and his first weeks in England. That was the most it could do on its own authority without committing the Company to a pension. Statham wanted to enclose or build on the strip of ground between his house and the street. The Company owned all the ground in Jamestown, and a lease would have handed part of the street to him. The town lay in a narrow valley, and its streets had little room to spare. The Council refused because public passage came first, which it put as a matter of propriety. A favour to one officer would have narrowed a busy street for everyone else and invited similar requests from his neighbours.
161	154	Robert Leech Esqr.§ §Paymaster§ §Sir§ §I am directed by the Governor and Council to§ §inform you that the following Pay and allowances have§ §been ordered by the Honble. Court of Directors in their§ §letter of the 9th April last.§ §An addition of £ 60 per Annum to be made to§ §Mr. Leech's Salary from the profits on Spirits to commence from§ §the time he resigned his Seat in Council.§ §Lieut. Cols. Greentree and Smith to receive an§ §allowance of £ 40 per Annum each for House Rent until§ §Quarters can be provided for them.§ §Lieut. Col. Lane's Pay and Emoluments to§ §commence from the day of his arrival here on the§ §Admiral Gardner the allowance of Lieut. Governor§ §previous to Lieut. Col. Lane's return to this Island is§ §in the mean time to be received by Lieut. Col. Cocks.§	On the orders of Governor Patton and the Council, the acting secretary wrote to Robert Leech, paymaster. He set out the pay and allowances that the Court of Directors had ordered in its letter of 9 April 1805. Leech's own salary was to rise by £60 0s 0d a year, paid from the profits on spirits. The increase would count from the date he gave up his seat on the Council. Lieutenant Colonels Greentree and Smith were each to receive £40 0s 0d a year towards house rent until quarters could be found for them. Lieutenant Colonel Lane's pay and allowances were to start from the day he arrived at the island on the *Admiral Gardner*. Until Lane returned, Lieutenant Colonel Cocks would draw the lieutenant governor's allowance. Mr Mead was appointed permanent assistant surgeon at the hospital on the usual assistant surgeon's pay of £0 10s 0d a day, with £0 2s 6d a day for food. Major Pirie was to receive an allowance of £0 7s 6d a day. He would also receive £100 0s 0d a year from the profits on arrack, starting from 26 December 1804,

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		§Mr. Mead is appointed first Assistant Surgeon§ §at the Hospital with the usual Pay of Assistant Surgeon§ §Viz. 5/ a day and 2/6 a day for Diet.§ §Major Pierie is to be paid the allowance of§ §7/6 per day with the further sum of £ 100 per Annum from§ §the Profits on Arrack from the 26th Decr. last, to which§ §period he has drawn the same in England.§ §I have the Honor &c.§ §(Signed) J. De Fountain§ §Actg. Secy.§	since he had drawn that sum in England up to that date. J. De Fountain signed the letter as acting secretary. **Interpretations** Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India, Ceylon and Batavia from palm sap, rice or sugar. It reached St Helena in Company and private ships and was the main spirit drunk by the garrison and the slaves. The Company controlled the sale of spirits on the island, as the punch-house licence of 12 January 1803 showed with its fee of £600 a quarter and its fixed prices. The profits from that control went into a fund kept apart from the general revenue. Part of it paid extra salary to particular officials. Leech's increase and Pirie's £100 a year both came from it, so the island's drink trade helped pay its own officers. That gave the government a direct interest in keeping the spirit trade under licence and profitable, while its regulations were meant to limit drunkenness. Leech's increase was dated from when he left the Council. Leaving cost him the councillor's salary, and the Court made up the loss from the spirits fund. It did not raise the paymaster's ordinary salary, which would have set a precedent for whoever held the post after him.
162	155	Blank page	
163	156	The following Ships have been furnished with the§ §usual Letters, and the Letters respecting Cordage 1804.§ §Ships Names, Commanders§ §Lady Castlereagh: Commanders Wm. Edmeades§ §Preston: Commanders Henry Sturrock§ §Europe: Commanders William Gilden§ §Ferris: Commanders Charles Graham§ §Princess Mary: Commanders A. Greeves§ §Elphinstone: Commanders Milliken Craig§ §Essex: Commanders George Bonham§ §Venn Extra: Commanders Thomas Price§ §Hugh Inglis: Commanders Willm. Fairfax§ §Woodford: Commanders James Morton§ §Glory Extra: Commanders Robt. Douglass§ §Northampton: Commanders A. Barker§ §David Scott: Commanders Charles Jones§ §Brittannia: Commanders Jonathan Birch§ §Earl Spencer: Commanders Charles Keith§ §Lord Melville: Commanders Chs. Lennox§ §Euphrates: Commanders Geo. Welstead§ §Glatton: Commanders Chs. Drummond§ §Walmer Castle: Commanders C. H. Bond§ §Winchelsea: Commanders W. Campbell§ §Thames: Commanders J. Skottowe§ §Canton: Commanders Thos. Lushington§ §Marquis of Ely: Commanders A. Brocas§ §Cirencester: Commanders Thos. Robertson§ §Skelton Castle: Commanders James Normand§ §Worcester: Commanders Searles Wood§ §Tottenham: Commanders James Dalrymple§ §Lord Eldon: Commanders Thos. Jenkins, S. Young§ §Union: Commanders Jas. McIntosh§ §Batavia: Commanders D. Meadows§ §Anstey Castle: Commanders Wm. Burgen§	In 1805 the following ships received the usual letters and the letters about cordage: Lady Castlereagh, commander William Edmeades Preston, commander Henry Sturrock Europe, commander William Gilder Ferris, commander Charles Graham Princess Mary, commander A. Grieve Elphinstone, commander Milliken Craig Essex, commander George Bonham Lion, extra ship, commander Thomas Price Hugh Inglis, commander William Fairfax Woodford, commander James Martin Glory, extra ship, commander Robert Douglass Northampton, commander A. Barker David Scott, commander Charles Jones Britannia, commander Jonathan Birch Earl Spencer, commander Charles Raitt Lord Melville, commander Charles Lennox Euphrates, commander George Welstead Glatton, commander Charles Drummond Walmer Castle, commander C. H. Bond Winchelsea, commander W. Campbell Thames, commander J. Skottowe Canton, commander Thomas Lushington Marquis of Ely, commander A. Brocas Cirencester, commander Thomas Robertson Skelton Castle, commander James Normand Worcester, commander Searle Wood Tottenham, commander James Dalrymple Lord Eldon, commander Thomas Jenkins, later J. W. Young Union, commander James McIntosh Baring, commander D. Meadows [...] Castle, commander William Burges
164	157	William Wright§ **Margin Notes:** §William Wright§	The name William Wright was written twice, once in a large formal hand across the page and once in a smaller hand in the margin.
165	158	Warrants§ §Church Wardens§ §Page 22§ §Overseers of High Ways§ §70§ §Inspectors of Black Cattle§ §85§ §do. of Sheep & Goats§	The index listed the following warrants: Churchwardens, page 22 Overseers of highways, page 70 Inspectors of cattle, page 85 Inspectors of sheep and goats, page 85 General court martial, page 78 It listed the following certificates: Naval and ordnance stores, page 87 Military, page 87

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§For a General Court Martial§ §78§ §Certificates§ §For Naval & Ordnance Stores§ §Page 87§ §do. Military§ §87§ §do. Flour & Provision§ §88§ §To Mr. Gahagan, for Bills granted to Captn.§ §Meehan§ §102§ §Licences§ §Marriage§ §Page 22§ §Persons permitted to go on board Ships§ §within 48 Hours§ §91§ §Publicans§ §107§	Flour and provisions, page 88 To Mr Gahagan for bills granted to Captain Meehan, page 102 It listed the following licences: Marriage, page 22 Persons allowed to go on board ships within 48 hours, page 91 Publicans, page 107
166	159	Oaths§ §Church Warden's§ §Page 19§ §Sheriffs§ §20§ §Constable's§ §21§ §Chief Mate's on being appointed to the§ §Command of a Ship§ §43§ §Overseers of the High Ways§ §78§ §Secretary's Oath in Secret Department§ §89§ §Second Mate's§ §88§ §Gaugers§ §90§	The index listed the following oaths: Churchwardens, page 19 Sheriffs, page 20 Constables, page 21 Chief mates on appointment to command of a ship, page 43 Overseers of the highways, page 78 Secretary's oath in the secret department, page 89 Second mates, page 88 Gaugers, page 90 **Interpretations** A gauger measured the contents of casks of spirits, wine and other liquids to find how much they held. The figure set the duty or the price charged. At St Helena, the Company drew a large income from controlling the sale of spirits, and its punch-house licences fixed prices by the quantity sold. The gauger's measurement was the basis for that income. A short measure cut the Company's revenue, and a false one let a dealer pay too little. The gauger therefore took an oath, like the sheriff and the constables, which made a wrong measurement a breach of sworn duty rather than a simple mistake. The oaths for chief mates given command of a ship and for second mates show the Council filling vacancies on Company ships at the island when an officer died or was dismissed. J. W. Young's appointment to the *Lord Eldon* was one such case. A man appointed this way had no commission from the Court of Directors. The oath bound him to the Company's orders for the rest of the voyage, as a commander commissioned in London would have been. The secretary in the secret department swore a separate oath because he handled confidential letters, such as the Secret Committee's orders on convoys and the movements of the enemy. These could not be copied into the open records.
167	160	Manifest of Goods, if Omitted being Inserted in Genl. Manifest§ §Page 92§ §Regulated Market List by Council 1802§ §Page 93§ §Instructions to the Master Attendant and§ §directions for Mustering Ships§ §94 .. 95§ §Storekeepers directions to send in a written return§ §of Cash received in Store, Weekly and Cash to be§ §paid in Monthly§ §99§ §Letter to Wm. Ramsay Esqr. respecting the Fees of§ §Commissions &c. being paid in Treasury§ §100§	The index went on to list the following entries: Manifest of goods, and adding any omitted goods to the general manifest, page 92 Market price list fixed by the Council in 1802, page 93 Instructions to the master attendant, and directions for mustering ships' crews, pages 94 and 95 Storekeeper's orders to send in a written weekly return of cash received at the stores, and to pay the cash in monthly, page 99 Letter to William Ramsay about fees on commissions and similar charges being paid into the treasury, page 100 Letter to William Ramsay sending an extract from the charter party of the ship Mangles, page 100

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		§do. do. transmitting Counter Part of the§ §Charter Party of the Ship Mangles§ §100§ §do. to the Proprietors of the Public Rooms on the§ §Parade.§ §101§ §Letter to Wm. Ramsay Esqr. from the Secretary§ §mentioning having sent Bills of Exchange§ §for Commissions &c.§ §101§ §Letter directing to the Executors to the Estate of§ §Major Den Taaffe, requiring them to pay into§ §the Hands of the Paymaster £ 114 .. 1 .. being indebted§ §to the Honble. Company§ §102§ §Letter to Mr. Meredith, informing him of his§ §Suspension of the duties of Surgeon on board the§ §Tottenham§ §103§ §Letter to Mr. Norval (late Captain of the Dutch§ §Ship Batavia) informing him of the Boards§ §determination of sending that Ship to England§ §& sending Letters to England received by him.§ §103§	Letter to the owner of the public rooms on the Parade, page 101 Letter from the secretary to William Ramsay saying that bills of exchange for commissions and similar charges had been sent, page 101 Letter to the executors of the estate of Major Taaffe, telling them to pay £44 1s 0d owed to the Company to the paymaster, page 102 Letter to Mr Meredith telling him he was suspended from his duties as surgeon of the Tottenham, page 103 Letter to Mr Norval, late captain of the Dutch ship Batavia, telling him of the Council's decision to send that ship to England, and about sending to England the letters he had received, page 103
168	161	Answer to application for permission to Sail§ §Page 105.§ §Letter to Captain Richardson of the United Kingdom.§ §desiring him to send his Surgeon's mate on board§ §the Tottenham to act as Surgeon.§ §105.§ §do. to Mr. Robertson, Surgeon Mate of the U. Kingdom§ §informing him of his appointment as Actg. Surgeon§ §106§ §Papers of the Ship Batavia, delivered to Mr. Carter§ §in charge of that Ship.§ §106§	The index continued with the following entries: Reply to a request for permission to sail, page 105 Letter to Captain Richardson of the United Kingdom asking him to send his surgeon's mate on board the Tottenham to act as surgeon, page 105 Letter to Mr Robertson, surgeon's mate of the United Kingdom, telling him he had been appointed acting surgeon, page 106 Papers of the ship Batavia handed to Mr Carter, in charge of that ship, page 106
169	162	Blank page	
170	163	St. Helena§ §15th October 1819§ §The Governor grants permission to§ §John Herrington to remain upon this Island as§ §a husbandman in the Service of Richard§ §Scott so long as the said John Herrington shall§ §conduct himself with Sobriety and honesty§ §and that no motive shall present itself to the§ §Governor for withdrawing this permission§ §from him. But it is expressly conditional§ §Viz.§ §1st That he shall not quit the profession§ §or Calling mentioned in this Certificate and§ §attempt to follow any other line of life§ §without written permission from the Govr.§ §and Council.§ §2ndly That he shall perform Military Service§ §in the Volunteer Corps or Militia and should§ §he be found guilty of disobedience of orders§ §or a failure in attending Drills or disre-§ §spect to his Officers while upon duty as a§ §Volunteer or Militia man, in any or either§ §of these Cases this permission will be§	On 25 October 1819 Governor Lowe gave John Herrington permission to stay on the island as a farm labourer working for Richard Scott. The permission would last while Herrington stayed sober and honest, and while the Governor found no reason to withdraw it. It was granted only on the following conditions: 1: Herrington was not to leave the trade named in the certificate or take up any other work without written permission from the Governor and Council. 2: He was to serve in the volunteer corps or the militia. If he disobeyed orders, missed drills or was disrespectful to his officers while on duty, the permission would be [continues]. **Interpretations** The permit made Herrington's right to live on the island depend on his work, his behaviour and his military service, and the Governor could take it away at any time. He was allowed to stay as a farm labourer working for a named employer. He could not change his work without the Council's written consent, so he could not drift into running a shop, trading or idleness once he had been let in. The island wanted labour on the land, and the permit kept a man admitted for that purpose working at it. Linking residence to service in the volunteers or militia made every man allowed to stay part of the island's defence. Military discipline then became a further condition of staying. Refusing an order on the parade ground could lead to removal from the island. Holding that threat over a labourer was far stronger than any penalty the militia could impose.
171	164	rendered null and void and he the said John§ §Herrington will be sent off the Island the§	If John Herrington broke any of these militia conditions, his permission to stay would be cancelled

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		§first opportunity.§ §Sd. Thos. H. Brooke§ §Secy. to Govt.§	and he would be sent off the island on the first available ship. Thomas H. Brooke signed the certificate as secretary to the government.
172	165	Blank page	
173	166	Jno. Longlands 2 Offr.§ §George Rae Champion 3 Offr.§ **Margin Notes:** §W. W.§ §W. W.§	Two names were written in pencil, each with a rank: John Longlands, second officer George Rae Champion, third officer A mark set inside an oval beside the names read [...].
174	167	Petitions for the renewal of Leases, the Leases being§ §expired§ §Petitioners, Date of Petition, No. of Acres, Where Situate, Term, Buttings & Bounding, Remarks§ §Benjn. Mason Senr.: Date of Petition 7th May, No. of Acres, Where Situate, Term, Buttings & Bounding, Remarks§ §Petitions for the renewal of Leases, the Leases being§ §lost or mislaid§ §Blank§	The register was split into two sections. The first recorded petitions to renew leases that had run out, and it had one entry: Petitioner Benjamin Mason senior, petition dated 7 May, acres 0, situation 0, term 0, boundaries 0, remarks 0 The second section was for petitions to renew leases whose documents had been lost or mislaid. It had no entries. **Interpretations** Keeping a separate section for lost or mislaid leases shows that a tenant's own copy was not the only proof of his title. The Company kept its own register of grants, with acreage, situation, term and boundaries. A holder who had lost his deed could still ask for renewal, and the Council would check his claim against the official record rather than against a document he could not produce. The columns for boundaries and term were the details the Council needed to check before it renewed any lease. Without them, a renewal could not be told apart from a fresh grant of Company land.
175	168	Joseph Alesworth [...]§	The name Joseph Alesworth was written on the page, followed by a flourish of dotted ink. The rest of the line was smudged and cannot be read [...].
176	169	Charles Blake§	The name Charles Blake was written across the page and underlined with a long sweeping stroke.
177	170	Blank page	
178	171	Blank page	
179	172	Regulations of Taylors Bills 13th July 1767§ §Reduction of Punch Houses June 1767§ §Compys. Orders respectg. the Sale of Spirits 14th Jany. 1789§ §The Surgeon first allowed £ 8 per year for extra trouble in§ §supplyg. the Hospital with Fresh Meat 16th Octr. 17[...]§	A note listed the following orders for reference: Rules on tailors' bills, 13 July 1767 Reduction in the number of punch houses, June 1767 Company's orders on the sale of spirits, 14 January 1789 Surgeon first allowed £8 0s 0d a year for the extra work of supplying the hospital with fresh meat, 16 October 17[...]
180	173	Lady Castlereagh Edmeades§ §Preston Sturrock§ §Europe Gelston§	Three ships and their commanders were noted: *Lady Castlereagh*, commander Edmeades *Preston*, commander Sturrock *Europe*, commander Gelston
181	174	Memorandum of a Paper given Mr. Wm. Dunn Purser§ §of Ship Fort William 1790.§ §Wanted by the Store Ships of the Year 179[...]§ §One Hundred Puncheons Rum for the Island St. Helena§ §Should the Commanders of the Store Ships§ §choose to bring the above Quantity of Rum the§ §following are the terms it will be received on§ §It must be of a wholesome quality and§ §proper Rum Proof for which 3/3 per Gallon will be§ §given (the Casks included) upon its delivery at St. Helena§ §The whole quantity must be Landed at§ §the Company's Expence & Risk and afterwards Rolled§	In 1795 Mr William Dunn, purser of the ship *Fort William*, was given a written note of what St Helena needed. The island wanted 100 puncheons of rum brought out by the store ships of the year 179[...]. If the commanders of the store ships chose to bring it, the following terms would apply. The rum had to be of sound quality and at full proof strength. The Company would pay £0 3s 3d a gallon, with the casks included in the price, when it was delivered at St Helena. The Company would bear the cost and risk of landing the whole quantity. The commanders and the Company would share the cost of rolling the casks up to the Company's warehouses. If the rum proved weaker than proof strength, the price would be cut in line with how far it fell below the standard.

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		§up to their Ware Houses at their & the Company's§ §joint expence. Should the Spirit turn out under§ §proof a Deduction will accordingly be made in§ §proportion to the degree it may fall under the§ §Standard of proof Rum.§	**Interpretations** A puncheon was a large cask holding roughly 70 to 120 gallons, so 100 puncheons came to several thousand gallons, enough for the island for a year. "Proof" was the standard strength for spirits, tested by whether gunpowder soaked in the spirit would still burn. Rum below proof had been watered or was badly made, and the scaled cut in price protected the Company against both. The Company did not ship the rum on its own account. It offered fixed terms to the commanders of the store ships, who could bring the rum as a private venture and sell it at a guaranteed price on arrival. The commander risked his capital and his cargo space at sea. The Company took on the risk of landing, which it controlled with its own boats and men, and it shared the cost of carrying the casks up to the warehouses. The arrangement gave the Company a steady supply for its control of spirit sales without tying up its own money. Fixing the price in advance also stopped commanders from raising it on an island with no other source. A paper handed to a purser rather than the captain shows that pursers looked after the ship's trading business. The terms were meant to reach whoever handled the buying for the commanders.
182	175	Blank page	
183	176	Blank page	
184	177	Blank page	
185	178	Book cover	
186	179	EAP 1364 St Helena§ §Document Name and Date: SECRETARY'S PRECEDENT BOOK 1775-1819§ §Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm): 39cm x 26cm x 3cm§ §No. written pages: 170§ §No. blank pages: 8§ §Spine and cover: GOOD CONDITION§ §Inside pages: FOXING PRESENT THROUGHOUT VOLUME.§ §PAGES NUMBERED IN PENCIL ON LEFT§ §SIDE. SCRIBES NUMBERS START AT 9.§ §NO PAGE 11 IN THE PENCIL NUMBERING.§ §Additional comments: PAGES 87-90 in scribes numbering§ §are MISSING.§ §SCRIBES NUMBERING ONLY GOES TO§ §PAGE 141.§ §Time taken to photograph (hours): 2 hours§	