St Helena Letters from England 1778-1791

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

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

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

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

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

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.

Pagination: Pages are numbered at the top right corners. The first visible number is marked as page 1 on Film No. 14. The page numbering then continues in sequence through to Film No. 246, However Film No. 258 is numbered as page 245, the page numbering then continuing sequentially through to the end of the volume.

Dates: The letters in this volume are usually dated at their conclusion. The earliest correspondence is from 23 January 1778 and the latest is 14 December 1791.

These letters were received from England during the administrations of John Skottowe (1764-1782), Daniel Corneille (1782-1787) and Robert Brooke (1787-1801).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The general letters of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to its Governor and Council of St Helena run from 23 January 1778 to 14 December 1791 and answer Council letters from 1776 to 1791. They span the American war, which France joined in 1778, Spain in 1779 and the Dutch Republic in December 1780, the peace of 1783 and the retrenchment that followed under Governors Skottowe, Daniel Corneille (1782 to 1787) and Robert Brooke. The letter of 23 January 1778 survives with its opening paragraphs twice over and gives the cost of slaves for 1766 to 1775 as both £22,088 0s 0d and £22,988 0s 0d. Films 256 and 257 are blank. [Film No. 14, 16–18, 27, 53, 61, 107–108, 116, 256, 257, 269]

Governance and Administration

The Court named each year's Secret Committee for the safety of shipping, any three of whose members could issue binding orders, from about November 1778 and renewed it on 27 May 1779, 3 July 1780, 31 January 1781 (with John Roberts replacing the dead Sir George Wombwell), 31 May 1781, about 1782, 28 December 1787, 23 December 1788 and 14 December 1791, when it sat under Chairman John Smith Burges and Deputy Francis Baring. On 31 January 1781 Chairman William Devaynes and Deputy Laurence Sulivan became a Committee of Secrecy for military and naval affairs whose orders counted as if 13 or more Directors had signed them, and Robert Gregory and Sir Henry Fletcher received the same powers about 1782. On 8 January 1783 the Court reported Gregory's retirement through ill health and the choice of Fletcher and Nathaniel Smith as Chairman and Deputy. By 20 December 1783 Fletcher had disqualified himself and Smith was Chairman with Devaynes as Deputy. Pitt's India Act, cited on 14 December 1784, placed the Company's Indian rule under Crown oversight, and letters of 15 February 1786 and about the end of 1786 named a Secret Committee under its 15th and 16th clauses. [Film No. 29, 32, 48, 51, 53, 54, 59, 61, 66, 83, 91, 102, 106, 118–119, 138, 262]

The Select Committee at Canton, named in about November 1778 as Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper, was confirmed on 4 February 1779 and on 24 February 1780, when it was told to meet the island's orders for stores; James Bradshaw had replaced Raper by 31 January 1781, and a council of 14 supercargoes served about 1782. These supercargoes invoiced the tea, sugar and nankeen landed in June 1779. On 19 January 1787 the Court named Charles, Earl Cornwallis, Governor General of Bengal and a Select Committee at Canton for all island letters on China, and on 28 December 1787 it named Major General William Medows Governor of Bombay. [Film No. 30, 31, 46, 52, 61, 116, 138]

A letter of about 1782 accepted Skottowe's resignation with the allowances of the late Governor Hutchinson, made Corneille Governor and appointed Henry Graeme Lieutenant Governor and provisional Governor in Corneille's death or absence. The new Council comprised Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett in that order. Graeme's commission as major, signed on 25 April 1782, was dated 3 June 1776, one day before the rank Henry Bazett held from his arrival on 4 June 1776, a dispute the Court settled on 20 December 1783. After Graeme's death his heirs received £826 8s 9d in London, and on 13 December 1785 Major Richard Scott succeeded with the same backdated rank and provisional succession, sailing in the *Kent* with a £300 0s 0d advance on his pay. [Film No. 61, 62, 83, 97, 103]

By about the end of 1786 Scott was dead, which ended an inquiry into his conduct on the island; the Court ordered his effects auctioned and his heir pursued, and on 28 December 1787 the law officers advised crediting the effects against his debt. The same letter of about the end of 1786 let Corneille retire, at a request made through his son Daniel Corneille junior, on £300 0s 0d a year like Skottowe. Robert Brooke, Lieutenant Governor from 30 August 1786 in place of Scott, became Governor and Francis Robson, a former captain at Madras, Lieutenant Governor. Corneille was to hand over within a month of Brooke's arrival, and Brooke carried the new commission in the *Francis* in a packet not to be opened until Corneille resigned. On 28 December 1787 the Court acknowledged Brooke's letters from 28 June 1787. [Film No. 107–108, 110, 116, 141]

The Governor's household drew repeated scrutiny. On 23 January 1778 the Court found that the Governor's table had cost £420 0s 0d in 1756-57, £395 0s 0d in 1761-62 and £919 0s 0d in 1775-76, and stores issued to it in June 1779 came to £32 0s 0d. On 20 December 1783 it reluctantly accepted the

purchase of new furniture for Government House, demanding an inventory of what Skottowe had handed over with dates, prices and condition, and on 15 February 1786 it left the Council to repair Government House or build anew. A letter of about 1790 found hams at up to 2s 0d a pound, butter at up to £5 5s 0d a firkin, port at £2 2s 0d a dozen, £48 0s 0d a year for wine beyond the Company's supply, table linen at £45 0s 0d in June 1788 and a floorcloth at £34 10s 0d in April 1789, with meat and poultry bought instead of taken from the Company's plantation; such goods were to be ordered yearly from London and the Council was to list everyone entitled to the table. On 15 December 1790 the Court accepted Brooke's reasons of 31 May and 15 June 1790, declined to fix a guest list and demanded economy. [Film No. 16, 79, 104, 208–210, 227, 228]

Brooke's rank and pay were settled between 1788 and 1791. The Court abolished the private secretary in 1788, refused one in 1789 and allowed one at £70 0s 0d a year on 15 December 1790. About 1790 it refused Brooke the local rank of colonel, which no predecessor had held and which was the highest in the Company's Indian army, sending instead an unpaid brevet as lieutenant colonel valid on St Helena only, and it divided the saving from reduced spirit shares between Brooke, at £50 0s 0d a year, and the Deputy Governor, who earned less than several of his juniors and entertained ships' officers, at £30 0s 0d. On 17 February 1790 it promised Brooke £50 0s 0d a year from the arrack profits when the next share fell vacant, and on 18 February 1791 it cancelled that order and gave him £1,000 0s 0d a year covering every allowance, against Skottowe's salary of £600 0s 0d in 1778. [Film No. 208–209, 225, 226, 259]

The Council was reshaped from 1788. On 23 December 1788 the Court fixed it at three members, with Matthew Bazett going home and Wrangham in England for his health. Britannicus Alexander Wright, the Council's Secretary, was to become junior councillor and Accountant on Bazett's resignation or keep the Secretaryship at £110 0s 0d a year. The Court abolished the Secretaryship to the Secret Committee, created in 1779, and made William Webber Doveton acting Paymaster on its allowance of £60 0s 0d a year with the Collectorship of Customs, while Mr Leech remained Assistant Storekeeper and became Judge Advocate. About 1790 the Court refused to restore the Secret Committee's Secretary, kept Doveton as Assistant Paymaster under the Council's resolution of 6 July 1789 with Leech's consent and gave Wrangham another year in England on full salary. On 18 February 1791 Wrangham was restored as third member and Wright was to give up his seat and its income on his arrival. [Film No. 137, 147, 150–151, 197, 203, 241]

Civil appointments passed under London's control. On 23 January 1778 the islander Thomas Bazett was made a writer below Nathaniel Kennedy, and on 27 May 1779 Doveton and Kennedy became factors after five years as writers. Jonathan Doveton, storekeeper, was allowed back from sick leave on 3 July 1780 and sailed in the *Gatton*; on 8 January 1783 John Doveton was allowed back after settling his affairs in England, and on 16 March 1784 Mr Simson was confirmed as factor after five years' service. On 15 February 1786 the Court refused cadetships for under-age sons of island officers and a post for a Mr Goodwin because the establishment was full. [Film No. 25, 33, 49, 50, 69, 84–85, 104]

On 28 December 1787 the Court ruled that the Council had no legal power to restore Henry Beale as a cadet after his demotion for misconduct or to make him second lieutenant, and Beale left the service; John Desfountain was confirmed as cadet only for the service of his father, Captain Samuel Desfountain, and the Council was forbidden to make any appointment before the Court decided. On 16 January 1788 the Court repeated the ban, moved Desfountain into Beale's lieutenancy and accepted as writers Francis Augustus Robson, probably a son of the Lieutenant Governor, and Gabriel Doveton, at the request of his uncle Frederick Doveton, neither to rank before 15; it refused James T. Howard because he had come out as Brooke's steward. On 18 January 1788 the Secretary, Thomas Morton, sent the writers' covenants to Wright for signing. About 1789 the Court made Howard and Goodwin writers at £80 0s 0d a year and the sons of Mrs Eleanor Shortley and Mr Robert Leech cadets at 15, the elder ranking first, and on 14 January 1789 it made up the pay of Robson and Gabriel Doveton to £50 0s 0d a year each until they reached 15. [Film No. 130–131, 133–134, 137, 155–156, 168–169]

On 23 December 1788 the Court condemned the Council for letting Samuel Mason and George Elliot go on to Bencoolen, where Elliot, who had come as a soldier, became reader at Fort Marlborough with a chaplain's allowances; it forbade further leave to India or China, a ban repeated about 1790, and ordered

every letter from the presidencies entered in the consultations because a Bencoolen letter on arrack had been omitted. [Film No. 144–145, 203]

Correspondence was policed closely. On 20 December 1783 the Court rebuked the Council because the *Tartar* had reached England ahead of her fleet without island letters, and it later acknowledged 22 general letters dated between 25 March and 5 September 1784. The *Nancy* packet was lost with all aboard on the Scilly rocks on 25 February 1784, though her island letters, including court-martial papers, were saved. On 16 December 1789 the Council was ordered to record when each homeward ship had left the presidencies, with her passengers and news. A letter of about the end of 1786 praised a cut in expenses but still called the island a heavy yearly burden. [Film No. 80, 86, 88, 109, 179–181]

Finance, Currency and Accounting

On 23 January 1778 the Court traced the island's net loss from £10,298 0s 0d in 1756-57 to £30,283 0s 0d in 1775-76. A garrison of 328 had cost £7,554 0s 0d in 1756-57 and one of 558 £14,740 0s 0d in 1770-71, but one of 536 cost £16,424 0s 0d in 1775-76. Boats had averaged £55 0s 0d a year from 1756 to 1765 and £218 0s 0d from 1766 to 1775. The Company's plantations earned £380 0s 0d in 1756-57 and £395 0s 0d in 1768-69, then lost an average of £364 0s 0d a year. The Court demanded explanations of every rise over the previous ten years. [Film No. 15, 16, 23]

The same letter ordered labour entered under a new heading, "Charges Labour", and an account of rice, paddy and grain issued without explanation, which included more than 70 cwt a quarter for the horses and poultry of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. It rebuked the Council for ordering two iron money chests, each 2 feet 8 inches long and 1 foot 6 inches deep, and then a third, refused an anchor for the *Grenville* while three anchors of 33 to 36 cwt lay in store on 30 April 1777 and sent a 17-inch cable in the *Queen*. Two cables of 143 cwt 1 qr 1 lb were first entered as damaged on 30 September 1771 in the general books but on 30 September 1775 by the storekeeper, without being written off. Money paid for casks was to be refunded; on 27 May 1779 Doveton had repaid £103 0s 0d and was excused a further £55 0s 0d, the Court rejected the Council's explanation of costs dated 20 May 1778 and ordered Madeira wine auctioned. On 17 February 1790 the Council could sell two large damaged cables or send them home in the *Britannia* and the *Sir Edward Hughes*. [Film No. 19, 21–23, 33, 34, 40, 219]

Surplus coin went east. On 27 May 1779 the Court ordered at least £20,000 0s 0d in silver, preferably dollars in hooped chests, to Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen in the *Princess Royal*; the treasury held more than £22,000 0s 0d through 1778 and 1779, and in 1778 the Council had held Captain William Parker's bill to £500 0s 0d. Further remittances were ordered in the *Britannia* about 1782, in the *Walpole* on 8 January 1783 and, at £15,000 0s 0d, in the *Kent* on 13 December 1785. On 19 January 1787 Fort Marlborough was reduced to a Residency under Bengal and barred from drawing bills on St Helena. The Court proposed £12,000 0s 0d in the *Lord Hawkesbury* on 28 December 1787, ordered £12,000 0s 0d in the *Pitt* from a treasury of over £15,000 0s 0d on 23 December 1788 and £10,000 0s 0d in the *Royal Charlotte* on 16 December 1789 if £12,000 0s 0d was in hand. [Film No. 40, 45, 60, 61, 68, 99, 114–115, 130, 144, 152, 182]

Bills of exchange carried private money home. On 23 January 1778 former Engineer Captain James Tippet was allowed to pay £1,200 0s 0d into the treasury for bills, and on 27 May 1779 the Court authorised £200 0s 0d for the estate of John Pritchard on an affidavit that it was wholly his and £500 0s 0d for the Director John Michie from money paid in by Corneille and Stroud. The Governor and councillors sent home more than £3,000 0s 0d by bills in June 1779, and Captain Joseph Cotton's attorneys were allowed £1,500 0s 0d on 31 May 1781. On 8 January 1783 the Court forbade bills for officers of its packets, who had no private trade allowance. Estates paid through London included £133 18s 6½d for a deceased lieutenant on 6 March 1783, £187 3s 1d to William Guilliam from the sale of his belongings on 16 March 1784, £25 12s 2d for Thomas Langley about 1790 and £7 14s 11d for William Holden on 14 December 1791. On the same date the Court could not cash Captain Guillemot's bill of £30 17s 0d for supplies to the French *Le Pélagie Ducy*, because the bankers, the Thellussons, did not know her owners or home port. [Film No. 25, 39, 40, 54, 68, 75, 84, 194, 264, 266]

Certificates for officers' private trade were split on 20 December 1783 into halves payable at 60 and 365 days' sight, each naming the payee in England. After forgeries, the Secretary sent 1,000 sets of paper

watermarked with the names of the Company and its maker, James Whatman, on 8 January 1785, in the care of Captain Baldwin of the *General Coote*, with every sheet to be accounted for. On 15 February 1786 certificates were forbidden unless paid for in coin, after Bombay had accepted transfers of credit, and on 19 January 1787 commanders' certificates at 90 and 365 days were to be listed separately with each officer's rank and ship. On 20 December 1783 the Court refused halfpence, whose export was illegal, and sent half a ton of copper pieces stamped with the Company's mark to circulate beside the island's paper cash notes. [Film No. 79, 81, 92–93, 105, 114–115]

The Paymaster's accounts were combed about 1790. They showed local purchases of clothing, blankets, iron, canvas and salt provisions, some already in store; labour at nearly £2,000 0s 0d a year with nearly £600 0s 0d for chief workmen; a quarterly charge for cleaning small arms although the armourer drew a salary; baking at £17 10s 0d a quarter with nearly as much for wood; and candles for official buildings at nearly £300 0s 0d a year against £70 10s 0d in the last quarter of 1778. The Court proposed using the Company's slaves as labourers, required re-enlistment bounties of £15 0s 0d a man to be paid only on names certified by captains and threatened to end the candle allowance. On 15 December 1790 it ruled that the bakers' 1s 9d a batch, set in 1778, covered wood, ordered the candle abuse investigated and the enlistment books examined, approved cheap salt provisions bought from ships in the Paymaster's accounts of April 1790 but ordered bunting sent from England, and noted that masons' extra work and the cleaning of small arms were still unexplained and that a man named Saunders drew 2s 6d every day for boat repairs, as Julio Fabiano had in 1778 and 1779. [Film No. 211–213, 228, 229]

The Spirit Trade

On 23 January 1778 the Court freed shopkeeping for all but officers and soldiers but kept spirits under the Council's licence. A memorial of about 1789 from the Arrack Society, island officials holding the wholesale trade, showed 40,956 gallons sold to the five publicans over four years at 4s 3d a gallon profit and 44,739 gallons to inhabitants at 6d, which with £78 19s 9d on casks made £9,900 12s 3d, or £2,368 0s 0d a year after costs; seven members, not eight as claimed, shared it, two taking £450 0s 0d each. Each publican received £384 0s 0d a year after the 6d duty, or £238 0s 0d after the costs he claimed. The Society had raised its price from 6s 6d a gallon, fixed in 1769, to 7s 9d without telling London, and it proposed holding publicans to 3s 0d a gallon while taking 5s 6d itself, which would have given each councillor member £525 0s 0d a year. Wrangham proposed splitting each gallon's margin into 13 shares, eight to the Society and five to the publican. Brooke's minute of 21 January 1788 condemned the publicans' profits, but on 30 August 1788 he and the Lieutenant Governor argued that they could pay no more. [Film No. 24, 156–159]

The Court then gave the sole right to sell spirits to the Governor and Council on the Company's account, taking over the Society's stock and contracts at cost. Arrack was to sell at 5s 6d a gallon, each publican was to pay £400 0s 0d a year for his licence and retail stayed at 12s 0d, with fines of £50 0s 0d and then £100 0s 0d, half to the informer, for unlicensed selling or buying and dismissal for any offending servant. On about 21,400 gallons a year the Court expected £3,600 0s 0d. Former members kept allowances equal to their old profit, £450 0s 0d for each of the two councillors, including Wrangham, and £300 0s 0d for the others; the duty collector's post was abolished and the storekeeper received £50 0s 0d a year extra. On 23 December 1788 the Court noted the Council's contract for Fort Marlborough arrack in place of Batavia arrack. [Film No. 144, 159–163]

On 16 December 1789 publicans were allowed to pay for licences by instalments, the Court seeking £2,000 0s 0d a year. Mr Bazett had read the orders as letting commanders and passengers land spirits on the usual duty, but the Court set a charge of 2s 6d a gallon to raise their cost to 5s 6d. The Council had paid the late Society 3s 5½d a gallon for stock its memorial costed at 3s 3d including duty and had to explain; duty on arrack contracted to land duty-free was to be deducted on delivery, and private purchases above 3s 0d a gallon were to follow earlier orders. About 1790 William Webber Doveton received £200 0s 0d a year from the spirit profits as Secretary, as would future sharers other than councillors. [Film No. 186–189, 207]

On 15 December 1790 the Court admitted it had misread the Society's contracts with Captains White and Manning and withdrew its criticism of repayments of duty, but challenged a contract with Captains Price and Tolmie at 3s 3d a gallon after the Council had fixed a ceiling of 3s 0d in August 1789; Tolmie commanded the *Marquis of Lansdown*. The Council had sent no yearly arrack account in more than 14

months, and no arrack was to be contracted from the *Alfred*'s officers. On 18 February 1791, after complaints about Bencoolen arrack, which Fort Marlborough had claimed in 1788 equalled Batavia's, the Court sent the *Taunton Castle* and the *Carnatic* under Captains Urmston and Corner to Batavia for about 25,000 gallons at 3s 3d. On 14 December 1791 it shipped about 25,000 gallons of rum, roughly a year's consumption, in the *Ocean*, to sell at 5s 6d a gallon to inhabitants and publicans for retail at 12s 0d, and asked the Council for its yearly needs. [Film No. 226, 227, 238, 239, 240, 267, 268]

Military Affairs and Defence

The Council's letter of 22 August 1776 showed that gun carriages could be built better and more cheaply on the island, and the Court cancelled English orders for them; on 23 January 1778 it refused the indent of 20 September 1777 for carriages and mortar beds, and elm and ash plank and carpenters' days were then charged to the carriages. The same letter declared the fortifications complete and ordered the Adjutant not to leave the garrison on private business. On 27 May 1779 the Court ordered strict discipline of troops and militia and approved Captain William Pierce's plan, referred home on 12 October 1778, for a platform for a howitzer and two guns on Buttermilk Point and a stronger portcullis in James's Valley; Pierce had begun on 10 May 1779 under Secret Committee orders brought by the *Hind*. Timber for a drawbridge and crane followed in the *Princess Royal*. [Film No. 14, 15, 18, 20, 24, 29, 32, 37, 38, 39]

On 24 February 1780 the Court met Pierce's indent of 7 June 1779 with brass 12-pounders instead of iron, standard 5½-inch howitzers instead of 6-inch pieces and beds for 13-inch mortars. All were lost in the *Gatton* in August 1780 and ordered replaced on 31 January 1781. About 1782 the Court sent two iron 68-pounder carronades with carriages and 100 shot. On 3 February 1785 it paid Pierce, Engineer and Captain of Artillery, full salary for his time in England completing fortification plans; he had received £360 0s 0d, with the balance due on the island, and was to have a horse, candles and a large Company house. On 13 December 1785 the Court sent drawbridge materials and promised mortar beds and gun carriages, and about the end of 1786 a turret clock like those at royal dockyards. [Film No. 47, 50, 51, 60, 94–95, 100, 111–112]

On 19 January 1787 the Court bought from the Board of Ordnance, at £4 5s 8d each, the carriages of the 24-pounders landed from HMS *Eagle*, and sent the 26 Crown guns home free of freight, 13 each in the *Earl of Chesterfield* and the *Francis* by way of Bencoolen. On 28 December 1787 it granted the men uniform clothing matching their officers', fusils instead of halberds for sergeants and 50 barrels of gunpowder, the yearly quantity Pierce had sought in 1779 and sent each year from 1787. On 16 December 1789 it cut the powder order from 70 barrels to 20, refused wall pieces firing a half-pound ball in favour of half-pounder swivels, allowed half-pound shot to be made into grapeshot and sent patent sponges with 50 sponge heads and 50 rammer heads because sheepskins could not be exported. On 15 December 1790 it sent two depressing carriages for 24-pounders on the Gibraltar plan, instead of four for 18 and 24-pounders, to be tested and altered to fit. [Film No. 114, 126, 128, 175–176, 223]

The general plan of fortification stayed undecided. On 28 December 1787 the Court was considering the Engineer's plan, and on 16 January 1788 it asked for the Council's own plan in duplicate, showing heights, passes, water supply and garrison, and urged it to consult Sir Archibald Campbell or other senior engineers who called. On 23 December 1788 it accepted Purbeck paving for heavy gun platforms but asked why the Engineer wanted slate, tiles and Portland stone. On 14 January 1789 it approved the works on Ladder Hill but deferred Pierce's general plan, which it had promised to settle in 1785, December 1787 and January 1788, and asked that Campbell, due to leave Madras in December 1788, and any visiting engineer be consulted. [Film No. 131, 135–136, 142, 168]

Garrison numbers rose and fell with war. About 1782 the Court sent about 50 recruits in the *Britannia* and approved keeping recruits for Bengal who came in the *Northumberland*. On 6 March 1783 it found the establishment over complete and sent every recruit in the *Raymond* on to Bombay. Returns acknowledged on 20 December 1783 showed 805 effective non-commissioned officers and privates, 525 of them artillery, and the Court set a peace establishment of 400 and ordered 100 picked gunners to India, 50 in the *Royal Charlotte* to Fort St George and 50 in the *Royal Admiral* to Bombay, their stores listed on 16 March 1784 including lemon juice. It shipped 50 recruits in the *Kent* and the *York* by 15 February 1786 and promised 20 more about the end of 1786. [Film No. 60, 62, 75, 82, 84, 103, 112]

On 16 January 1788 the Court fixed the garrison at 400: one artillery company of 88, including 65 matrosses, and four infantry companies of 78, with surplus non-commissioned officers to fall away. The *Mars* return showed 307 privates, 35 unfit, who were kept for light work; the Court reckoned 53 recruits were needed and sent 27 in the *Lord Hawkesbury* and 28 in the *Essex*. On 23 December 1788 it ordered 50 more in the *Pitt* and the *Britannia* and rebuked the Council for keeping the better recruits bound for Bencoolen in the *Earl of Chesterfield* and sending men of bad character instead. [Film No. 131, 134–135, 141, 151–152]

The island became a depot for India. On 16 December 1789 the Court planned to send 60 to 70 young lads in two ships, the surplus to go on to the presidencies as volunteers for five more years; lads under 20 had to stand 5 feet 3 inches and men of 20 to 30 at least 5 feet 6 inches. On 15 December 1790 it praised Brooke's training of these recruits, formed into a Light Infantry Company, and ordered them to Madras in the *Alfred* after signing an agreement to serve five years in India, each with bedding, extra clothing, 3 gallons of spirits, 2 lb of sugar and 1 lb of soap, under a sergeant who was to return, with drill corporals and muskets if the Council chose. Passage money was to be paid in London on the Council's certificate of numbers and days aboard, and if public affairs allowed the Court would send 100 recruits in each ship for the island. On 14 December 1791 it planned 200 recruits, took 30 men from each of the five companies, 150 in all, for Madras in the *Ocean* and praised Brooke's proposal to raise the draft from 100 to 300, with the Garrison Adjutant in command. [Film No. 189–190, 235–238, 265–267]

Clothing changed with the depot. On 15 December 1790 the Court approved nankeen breeches from Canton in place of woollen ones and left the Council to reward the Sergeant Major for the savings. On 18 February 1791 it sent clothing for the recruits embarked in the *Alfred* and the *Lord Hawkesbury* and refused a separate jacket for the island's recruits, since men for different stations waited together at Gravesend. On 14 December 1791 it asked whether extra clothing for expected recruits should still be ordered separately. [Film No. 223, 224, 240, 241, 265]

A mutiny in the garrison led to a court martial on 30 December 1783. On 16 March 1784 the Court blamed lax discipline, praised the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Major Bazett for suppressing it and doubled the loyal soldiers' gratuity, but on 13 December 1785, after the Council's minutes of 19 June 1784 and one from Wrangham of 28 June 1784, it withdrew the charge and praised Corneille's handling of the garrison. A letter of about 1790 condemned a racket exposed in the consultations of 3 November 1789, in which more men were put on guard than needed and the surplus paid a rupee each to be excused, the money shared among officers. [Film No. 86–87, 98–99, 201–202]

The Garrison and its Officers

On 23 January 1778 the Court approved John Leech as lieutenant of artillery and Sergeant Francis Seale as lieutenant of infantry, made Mr Kay choose between the artillery and his post as surgeon's assistant, refused the cadets Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale as too young although Lieutenants James and Walter Greentree already served, praised Major Bazett for commanding the Artillery Company and asked Captain Howard to define his petition. On 20 February 1778 it sent Lieutenant Robert Hodson of the Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot, who later drew £27 7s 6d a quarter in the Artillery Company. On 27 May 1779 it kept Leech in his temporary artillery post despite his fears for promotion, put Howard on half pay pending his claim on the Military Fund and appointed Ulysses Browne, Thomas Cowperthwaite and William Doute lieutenants of artillery. Cowperthwaite, recommended for his skill in stone fences and advanced £30 0s 0d on a bond, was dismissed without recorded reason on 2 June 1779 and replaced by Samuel Ellis, his bond returned so that his sureties could repay. [Film No. 24, 25, 28, 33, 41, 44]

On 3 July 1780 the Court appointed Christopher Lensay, formerly of the Second Regiment of Foot and the Cheshire Militia, who sailed in the *Gatton*, and commissioned Tuffin Shepherd at his friends' request on a certificate of ill health from Thomas Spalding, surgeon of the *Princess Royal*. Shepherd went home before the news arrived and was sent out again in the *Northumberland* on 31 May 1781, when Henry Beale was made a cadet on his friends' recommendation. About 1782 William Roberts, Town Adjutant, was placed on the military establishment, as he had petitioned on 5 November 1779. On 20 December 1783 the Court held Lieutenant John Leech, Commissary of Stores, to £20 0s 0d a year, and on 3 February 1785 it refused him

the 3s 0d a day, about £54 15s 0d a year, the Council had promised and pay for covering Pierce's duties, allowing him to return to the infantry. [Film No. 48, 50, 55, 62, 78–79, 94–95]

About the end of 1786 the Court appointed Edward Charles Smith from London as junior lieutenant of artillery, blocking the promotion sought for Broadway, the Town Adjutant, and Taylor, and let the Council make one acting lieutenant and the other Adjutant. On 23 December 1788 it advanced Captain Lieutenant Thomas Statham a year's pay of £146 17s 6d and gave Lieutenant Roberts a pension payable on the island, a passage in the *Britannia* and £50 0s 0d; John Carrol, Darby Moore and David Cook, former prisoners of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, received £9 18s 4d each in batta, and the militia was praised. [Film No. 111–112, 140–141, 149]

About 1790 the Court forbade moving officers between infantry and artillery and ordered promotion by seniority in each corps. Lieutenant Broadway returned to the infantry, Lieutenant Seale became first lieutenant of artillery, the senior cadet Mr Shortley became an ensign, the title of second lieutenant gave way to ensign, no one under 15 could act as cadet and the artillery company was brought to the Indian establishment, with Roderick Ogg and George Scott coming from England as lieutenant fireworkers. Smith, who had gathered the posts of Garrison Adjutant and Commissary and 2s 6d a day for supervising the Ladder Hill works, lost all three, since supervision belonged to the Engineer and his assistant, Captain Bazett; he kept the post of Master at Arms and was praised for exposing the guard money, while the adjutancy went to Lieutenant Andrew Dow Taaffe. Statham returned in the *Marquis of Lansdown* with a second year's pay of £146 17s 6d and was made Commissary, since he held a higher commission on a lieutenant's pay. Thomas Ailesworth sailed in the same ship as a private, to be restored as corporal of artillery if the Council found his claims, backed by Major Bazett and Statham, true. [Film No. 195, 198–202]

On 17 February 1790 the Court advanced £50 0s 0d to Scott. On 15 December 1790 it confirmed Statham as captain from 5 July 1790 in place of the dead Captain James Greentree, let Walter Greentree act as captain lieutenant without extra pay, gave Robert Leech an ensign's commission from the same day, refused Messrs Wright and Hodson for want of proof that they were 15 and upheld its view on Taaffe as Garrison Adjutant. On 18 February 1791 it discharged Drum Major John Twaites as an invalid and made Richard Blakeman an ensign to train recruits, though on 26 February 1791 it let him stay in England for a year; James Pritchard, a cadet allowed to finish his military education in England, arrived as an ensign in the *Ocean* by 14 December 1791. Ogg resigned on 26 February 1791 to become a cadet at Madras at his own cost. [Film No. 219, 225, 233, 240, 259, 260, 261, 268]

The Military Fund and invalids were closely regulated. On 23 January 1778 Mrs Mary Bazett received a lieutenant's widow's pension from the Fund, and every invalid sent home needed certificates of service from his commanding officer, countersigned by the Council, and of injury from the surgeon. On 27 May 1779 the Court ruled that any officer taking a benefit from the Fund, founded on Lord Clive's legacy of £70,000 0s 0d and matched by the Company, forfeited all claim to the service, an order the Adjutant was to read to the troops. On 20 December 1783 a servant going home lost promotion unless three senior surgeons swore that illness forced him out, and even then had one year's leave. On 16 March 1784 the Court found only Thomas Forde and Thomas Morris truly unfit among six invalids sent in the *Britannia*, James MacDonald having contracted tendons behind one knee rather than the diseased spleen certified, and blamed the surgeon Mr Stroud; Captain St Maurice was admitted for great age by 14 December 1784 and Shepherd from 4 June 1785, and Stroud received a second year of sick leave by 15 February 1786. [Film No. 14, 26, 41, 42, 81–82, 85–86, 90, 99, 103]

On 24 January 1787 Captain Samuel Desfountain had to swear that he was worth under £2,000 0s 0d before drawing from the Fund. About 1790 Elizabeth Hodson, widow of Lieutenant Hodson, received £25 0s 0d a year on swearing she had not remarried, while Mrs Roberts's pension was stopped because her husband drew his own pension and had received £50 0s 0d. On 23 January 1778 the Court ordered discharged soldiers refused as crew to be embarked as charter-party passengers, though the *Northington*'s roll of May 1779 listed eight discharged men in her crew. [Film No. 25, 117, 197–198, 202–203]

War and the Sea Lanes

On 4 February 1779 the Court reported a squadron under Sir Edward Hughes and a regiment sent to the East Indies, and the island sent its homeward fleet, including the *Lord North*, the *Earl of Mansfield*, the *Grosvenor*, the *Rockford* and the *Lord Holland*, home unescorted on 24 June 1779. After the Company took Pondicherry in October 1778, the Court ordered on 27 May 1779 that ships carrying its French garrison sail only for Britain and that any calling at St Helena bound for France be redirected whatever Fort St George had authorised. [Film No. 31, 42, 43, 45]

On 9 August 1780 the combined fleets of France and Spain took the *Gatton*, carrying the island's mail, stores and new men, into Cadiz with the *Hillsborough*, the *Royal George*, the *Mount Stuart* and the *Godfrey*. On 31 January 1781 the Court enclosed the royal manifesto of 20 December 1780 against the United Provinces, whose fleets the island had treated as friends in February and March 1779 and whose Cape had supplied sheep, flour and seed. On 25 January 1782 it listed ships to replace the *Mount Stuart*, the *Bute*, the *British King*, the *Shrewsbury*, the *Talbot*, the *Ankerwyke*, the *Gatton*, the *Europa*, the *Godfrey* and the *Royal George*, hired the *Nottingham*, the *Brilliant* and the *Ann and Amelia* as troop transports and reported a further royal force sent east. [Film No. 50, 53, 56, 57]

The same letter reported that Portuguese officials at Rio de Janeiro had seized the *Hind* cutter, sent there for repair, on a charge of illicit trade, and that Captain Bendy had reached Lisbon. The Court bought the *Spy*, 192 tons, with 25 men and 10 guns under Captain John Sherwood, to serve under the Secret Committee's orders of 27 February 1779 for the *Hind*. On 30 April 1782 it reported the *Admiral Hughes*, carrying dispatches from Madras, taken near the Azores on 6 March 1782, her packets thrown overboard or destroyed, and enclosed the London Gazette's report of the French 74-gun *Pégase* taken on 20 April 1782 with transports from Brest for Mauritius and the 64-gun *Actionnaire*, armed en flûte, brought into Plymouth. [Film No. 57, 63, 64]

The island's schooner *Rebecca* was taken off St Helena by the French letter of marque *Duchesse de Polignac* of 38 guns on 22 May 1782 according to the Secretary's letter of 14 January 1783, or 23 May according to her captain, Lucas Wimbleton, who wrote from Kingston, Jamaica, on 30 November 1782 and drew £40 0s 0d on the Court for illness there. Lord Grantham wrote at 6.30 in the evening on 23 January 1783 that preliminaries with France and Spain had been signed at Versailles on 20 January 1783, with a ceasefire agreed with the Dutch, and the Secret Committee forwarded his letter on 25 January 1783 while winds held ships at Spithead. On 15 February 1783 the Court enclosed the proclamation of 14 February 1783 for relay to India. [Film No. 69–72]

On 28 February 1783 the Court reported provisional articles with the United States signed at Paris on 30 November 1782 and ratifications with France and Spain exchanged on 3 and 9 February 1783. Article 22 returned prizes taken beyond the Equator more than five months after ratification, so no ship was to leave for Europe before 9 July 1783, and ships were then to refresh at St Helena and sail straight for the Thames. On 11 March 1783 the Secret Committee allowed foreign ships a friendly reception but barred their officers and crews from going inland or viewing the fortifications. [Film No. 72–74, 76, 77]

Trade and Shipping

Charter parties limited a ship's stay. On 23 January 1778 the Court ordered the *Queen* unloaded and sent on to Fort Marlborough within her ten days to avoid demurrage, and the same order was given for the *London* about November 1778, the *Royal Charlotte* on 24 February 1780, the *Hastings* on 31 January 1781 and the *Britannia*, bound on to Fort Marlborough, about 1782. On 28 December 1787 the Court had to pay demurrage on the *Walpole* and the *Raymond* of 1782, held beyond ten working days on commanders' excuses the Council had accepted in writing, gave Company store ships first use of the crane and sought from the owners of the *Fox*, run onto the rocks off Munden's Point, part of the demurrage of four Company ships held to help her, among them the *Warren Hastings*; it called the owners' labour charge of £139 7s 6d extravagant because soldiers and Company slaves had done much of the work. On 16 December 1789 a civil servant was to record the time, boat and load of every landing at the crane, the storekeeper was to keep a diary of delays and servants whose slackness caused demurrage were to repay it. [Film No. 14, 29, 30, 45, 46, 51, 59, 121–123, 190–192]

On 16 January 1788 the Court approved Brooke's new wharf and crane with a fee of £3 0s 0d on each ship using them, and by 23 December 1788 they were finished, though their cost against the estimate of "considerably under £500" had not been reported. On 23 December 1788 it sent four 9-inch hawsers of 80 fathoms for Brooke's plan for quicker handling of ships. About the end of 1786 it sent an anchor of about 30 cwt with a mooring chain of about 60 fathoms, ringed every 10 fathoms for longboats, which larger vessels were forbidden to warp in by, and 5 tons of iron ballast for the longboats. [Film No. 112–113, 133, 142–144]

The fleet grew. The list of 8 January 1783 named 23 ships of 723 to 875 tons, with the *Walpole* and the *Raymond* calling at the island. On 13 December 1785 the main fleet was hired at £26 0s 0d a ton for China direct and up to £29 0s 0d for the Coromandel Coast and Bengal, and by 15 February 1786 extra ships at £22 0s 0d and £23 0s 0d. The fleet for 1787 exceeded 30 ships, the *Nottingham* at 1,106 tons; the *Lord Hawkesbury* and the *Essex* were named for St Helena in 1788, when the *Ceres* measured 1,180 tons. On 23 December 1788 the *Pitt* was sent to St Helena, Bencoolen and China and the Company's own *Britannia* placed on the St Helena and China run. The *Royal Charlotte*, 758 tons in wartime, measured 1,252 tons when she and the *Marquis of Lansdown* were consigned to the island on 16 December 1789, when the Company's own *Admiral Sir Edward Hughes* went on the Coromandel and China run. The *Rockford*, 723 tons in 1779, reappeared at 1,180 tons on 15 December 1790, when she and the *Alfred* were consigned to the island; the *Lord Hawkesbury* was rerouted by St Helena on 18 February 1791. [Film No. 65–66, 99, 102, 107, 119–120, 138–140, 170–171, 221, 239]

Losses at sea were reported to the island. On 20 December 1783 the Court enclosed Alexander Dalrymple's account of the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, which had lain at St Helena from March to June 1779, on the south-east African coast in August 1782, where most survivors died trying to reach the Cape overland. On 15 February 1786 it reported the *Halsewell* lost with her captain and almost all aboard between St Alban's Head and Durlston Head on 6 January 1786, the *Foulis* being switched from China to Bengal, and on 28 December 1787 the *Hartwell*, bound for China, lost off Boa Vista on 24 May 1787. [Film No. 81, 104, 119–120]

Private trade and passengers were policed. On 24 February 1780 and 31 January 1781 the Court enclosed Privy Council orders licensing wartime exports of military stores and provisions, with certificates of arrival to be returned. On 8 January 1783 the Council was to examine every Company ship's passengers for anyone without the Court's licence and to tell commanders that private trade must be marked with the owner's initials and registered, with accounts due within 30 days of reaching London on pain of confiscation. On 14 December 1784 the Court praised the Council for reporting unlicensed passengers in Captain David Pryce's ship, and on 13 December 1785 it approved the refusal to register tea a Captain Pryce had bought from a Portuguese ship at the island. On 13 December 1785 it praised the Governor for stopping the American *Harriot*, whose master sought to open trade, and on 15 February 1786 reported large-scale smuggling of tea, muslin, china and diamonds in its own ships and ordered notices posted in every homeward ship. On 16 December 1789 a commander who let a passenger change ships without good reason had to accept any extra charter-party charge in writing, the undertaking to be numbered and sent home. [Film No. 46, 52, 66–67, 92, 98, 104, 178–179]

Homeward ships were regulated in port. On 14 December 1784 the Court allowed calls at Ascension for turtle only when absolutely necessary and, since ships were now re-hired in the order they reached the Downs, forbade detaining any without strong cause. On 13 December 1785 it sent rules for mustering homeward crews and copies of an Irish Act for each captain. On 28 December 1787 each homeward commander was to give the island's Secretary a signed account of his water and provisions and receive extracts of the Acts against smuggling; at Brooke's request commanders were to pay 50 per cent above store price for Company stores, owners still paying for the boats landing their stores. On 23 December 1788 the 50 per cent charge was extended to all ships outside the Company's service, after Brooke proposed a duty on supplies to whalers, and owners were noted as paying 30 per cent above invoice for goods delivered short. On 15 December 1790 the mustering officer was ordered to board each ship and see every man, since the rolls bore only the captain's or purser's signature, and to list charter-party passengers; Major Bazett had counted every man himself in 1779, after the deserters Thomas Shelley and Corporal Thomas Mantle escaped in the *Bridgewater* under William Parker in December 1778. [Film No. 45, 89, 97–98, 121, 124, 144, 148, 233]

Licences east of the Cape multiplied. On 19 January 1787 the Court reported licensing, at Lord Sydney's request, the eight ships of the First Fleet carrying convicts to Botany Bay. Whalers were licensed under an Act of Parliament: seven on 23 December 1788, a list including the *Guernsey Lily* under Henry Folger on 16 December 1789, another including the *Adventure* under Shadrach Keene about 1790, the *Aurora* and the *Lively* by 15 December 1790, seven more by 18 February 1791 and 11 more by 14 December 1791, whose masters included Delano, Starbuck and Coleman. On 15 December 1790 whaling masters carrying island packets were to hand them to John Iggulden, the Company's agent at Deal, or the agent at their port, since their charges had cost the Company heavily. [Film No. 116, 140, 171, 193, 222, 223, 239, 264]

Officers of ships were regulated. Rules for mates of 15 July 1789, sent on 16 December 1789, fixed minimum ages of 20 to 23 and a set number of voyages for each rank, proved from parish registers, extended to the packets and kept the commanders' minimum age of 25 set on 12 February 1768. On 14 December 1791 the Court sent its rules of 8 June 1791 and let mates sworn before that date keep the 1789 rules. On 15 December 1790 it restored Mr Bell, chief mate of the *London*, and suspended Mr Spens for undermining discipline, on the Council's inquiry. [Film No. 172–175, 234, 264]

Foreign and outside ships were kept at arm's length. On 3 July 1780 the Court approved the Council's caution, reported on 23 June 1779, towards four fishing vessels from the south seeking a convoy, allowing such ships water and help but no encouragement, as arranged with the *London* and the *Dragon* in April 1779. The rules of 12 March 1789 charged foreign ships for water, anchorage and the wharf at rates confirmed on 23 December 1788 and banned all trade except for provisions; about 1790 the Governor was empowered to demand proof of nationality, and the Court approved help to the *Contractor* and the loan of 18 soldiers to sail her to England, asking whether her sick had been paid for and all 18 had returned. On 15 December 1790 Spanish ships were to be treated like other foreigners, answering the Council's letter of 16 June 1790. On 18 February 1791 suspected unlicensed British ships were to be documented but never seized, no foreign ship had a right to help, the island's own reserve was to come first and the Council was told that it had no jurisdiction over offences on the high seas, though its efforts to restore peace aboard the whaler *Chace*, reported on 2 February and 15 April 1790, were praised. [Film No. 49, 196–197, 232, 250–252]

Supply and Provisioning

On 23 January 1778 the Court rebuked the Council for leaving bower cables uncovered on the gun platform and salt provisions lying for days in the sun; the island charged £112 17s 8d for salt meat "to make good short weight" in the last quarter of 1778. The *London*, bound for St Helena in 1778 with the island's main stores, was lost, and on 4 February 1779 the Court shipped 150 hogsheads of salt provisions and 268 barrels of flour in the *Earl Talbot* and clothing for soldiers and slaves, salt, equipment, medicines, stationery and garden seeds in the *Princess Royal*. In 1779 the island cut its bread to four and a half weeks' stock, fed the garrison on yams and set 1 July 1779 as the last day to await the *Earl Talbot* before sending the *Hind* to the Cape for flour. On 24 February 1780 the *Royal Charlotte* carried about half the previous year's orders. [Film No. 23, 29–32, 46]

On 31 January 1781 the Court sent salt meat from two butchers, each cask marked with the supplier's initials, and ironmongery from two makers, one marked T.C., for comparison, refused ewes and rams because an Act of Parliament forbade exporting live sheep, sent a new bell and sent cables, jib tacks and a mainsail for the *Hind*, ordering stores for station vessels listed separately. On 31 May 1781 it moved 52 casks of flour, 11 of pease and other goods from the *Northumberland* to the *Earl of Chesterfield*, to be transferred back at sea, the *Northumberland* sailing from Plymouth on 26 June 1781. The *Spy* brought coal, salt meat and flour by 25 January 1782. About 1782 the *Britannia* was the island's only store ship, leaving 300 tons of orders behind, and she and the *Spy* brought 170 chaldrons of coal and a jolly boat; beef casks numbered 202 to 240 and pork casks numbered 402 to 407, salted by a new method, were to be used first and reported on, and garden seeds were to travel in the bread room or gun room. [Film No. 51, 52, 55–57, 59, 60]

On 8 January 1783 the Court announced 130 chaldrons of coal, 178 tons of flour and 199 tons of salt provisions, and a brig under Barnabas Ray brought 85 tons more of salt provisions and flour. Her owner, Mr Enderby, was allowed to buy the island's empty leaguers, and Ray could be advanced no more than

£200 0s 0d against bills on him. On 6 March 1783 the Court sent 19 hogsheads of ordinarily salted beef to compare with the 1782 trial, and on 13 December 1785 it asked for reports on English beef and pork, promising full supply for careful orders and cuts for padded ones. About the end of 1786 it sent 300 chaldrons of coal but refused a collier of 300 or 400 tons. [Film No. 67–69, 75, 100, 101, 112]

On 28 December 1787 the Court met the 1788 order in full with 10 barrels of flour from a new mill as a trial, refused to space the two store ships' arrivals, replaced oak for the crane that the Council had given a disabled Portuguese ship for a rudder with two pieces of oak and two of Danzig timber, and agreed to tin utensils and more salt pork and beef in smaller tierces. On 23 December 1788 it again met the order but refused artificial slate for Wrangham's private use and condemned late requests such as Riga timber and 600 deals for Government House and the Castle. On 16 December 1789 every item ordered was to show the quantity in store on the balancing day, and surplus spirits, vinegar, essence of malt, sugar, lemon juice and soap from troops' rations on outward ships were to be landed at the island. [Film No. 126–128, 142–143, 176–177]

Losses in store were charged to officials. On 28 December 1787 the Court cleared the storekeeper Mr Doveton of dishonesty over a shortfall but charged him for neglect, and on 23 December 1788 it held him answerable for arrack removed without entry and asked why the senior Leech had not been placed in the department above Nathaniel Kennedy. Leech reported leaking warehouses and hundreds of pounds' worth of unwanted goods spoiling, and the Court ordered repairs or an estimate for new buildings, approved a charge of £136 11s 9d on Doveton, Kennedy and the estate of the late James Desfountain for lost arrack and candles, made storekeepers personally liable for any loss not certified as wastage and granted Desfountain's widow, Margaret, £30 0s 0d a year from 26 September 1787 while unmarried. [Film No. 129–130, 146–149]

Scarcity in England reached the island about 1790, when an Act of Parliament let the Company send up to 100 tons of wheat a year despite the export ban; that amount came in the *Royal Charlotte* and the *Marquis of Lansdown*, 8 tons short of the order, while Fort Marlborough was told to order flour from Bengal. On 14 December 1791 the Court sent 150 chaldrons of coal instead of the 300 requested on 2 July 1791, refused 24 large sheepskins under the export ban cited on 16 December 1789, met other orders including lead pipes, soap and small arms and stopped orders of rice and paddy from India or China because of heavy freight losses. [Film No. 194–195, 266, 269]

The Hospital and Medical Care

On 27 May 1779 the Court deferred the surgeon's request for an electrical machine, which it ordered on 24 February 1780. On 20 December 1783 it met the medical order at £578 0s 0d but refused pocket instruments and ordered damaged ones returned for repair. On 19 January 1787 it sent four bottles of Mr Ruspini's styptic for trial, and on 24 January 1787 it made Mr Kay surgeon after Mr Stroud resigned through ill health, with Mr Dunn as assistant. On 16 December 1789 it forbade local purchase of medicines and ordered a yearly book of medicines received and used, and it allowed William Gahagan, refused as surgeon's assistant in January 1789, to keep his post on condition that the sick were not left to an untrained man. About 1789 it disallowed the unreported £30 0s 0d a year paid to Gahagan, sent home in 1788, and then to James Miller. About 1790 it condemned the surgeon's allowance of £8 0s 0d for obtaining goods worth £15 10s 0d in the quarter to December 1787 and £17 0s 0d in December 1788 and £14 0s 0d spent on portable soup. [Film No. 32, 46, 80–81, 115, 117, 153–154, 180, 182, 213]

On 17 February 1790 the Court attacked the system recorded on 3 November 1789, under which each soldier in hospital had 6d a day stopped for the surgeon, who supplied half a pound of fresh meat a day and three loaves a week and drew 1s 6d or 2s 0d a day for each sick seaman and 1s 0d for garrison invalids, on top of Company sugar, flour and rice. It forbade further rewards of this kind and appointed a steward at £50 0s 0d a year to receive the stoppage for the Company and buy food, giving each patient 14 ounces of bread a day, drink as the surgeon judged and a starting low diet of panada, gruel or sago, with increases only from the next day. The steward was to supervise funerals, register admissions, illnesses and discharges, inspect the wards, account for medicines and draw up a quarterly statement setting salaries, medicines and food against stoppages and shipowners' payments, and the Council was to send home the names, ships and days of seamen for recovery from owners. [Film No. 214–218]

The Court named Leech steward on Brooke's recommendation, ordered the Deputy Governor and captains to visit weekly in turn and stated that its criticism fell on the system and not on the surgeon, David Kay, who had served since before 1778 as surgeon's mate, Coroner and surgeon and had been promoted in 1787. Leech declined, and on 15 December 1790 the Court accepted Kennedy, who had acted as steward, and in that case Mr Howard as Clerk of the Works. Reviewing the regulations of Kennedy and Dunn, it struck out the fourth and ordered foreign seamen treated like British ones, restored the captains' visits, required paid nurses instead of ships' attendants and condemned a seaman's coffin at £1 2s 0d when a soldier's of the same wood cost 4s 6d. King's soldiers and seamen were to pay 6d a day with vouchers sent home, a *Britannia* seaman charged £27 1s 6d at 1s 6d a day should have paid the soldiers' rate and seamen and King's soldiers were to pay 1s 0d a day for medicine and care. [Film No. 217, 218, 224, 230–232]

On 18 February 1791 the Court refused an untrained assistant appointed on 1 November 1790 and appointed an assistant surgeon at £110 0s 0d a year below Mr Dunn. Kay, returning in the *Alfred*, received his pay for his absence because of his large family, and since he had lost more than £200 0s 0d a year under rules that Brooke reckoned saved £300 0s 0d, he was given £100 0s 0d a year extra. [Film No. 234, 235, 252, 253]

Land, Agriculture and Botany

In July 1777 the Council proposed fencing the Long Wood for no more than £3,000 0s 0d. On 23 January 1778 the Court recalled that £5,401 9s 1d spent on the same fence in 1723-27 had left it unfinished and ruined, demanded a careful new estimate under threat of censure, suggested an earth bank planted with furze and forbade bringing water into the wood. It ordered gumwood planted at Horse Point and furze on waste land near James's Valley, including upper Rupert's Valley, the hill below the Alarm House, Red Hill and Dr Moore's Plain, to be kept as common fuel and never leased. Wrangham nonetheless built a rain tank in the Longwood gully, proposed in February 1779 and finished in March 1779 at nearly 500 days' labour and more than £17 0s 0d in lead pipe, solder and copper. [Film No. 19–21, 27]

On 27 May 1779 the Court rejected Wrangham's offer to build 6,000 yards of fence for £3,000 0s 0d, or 10s 0d a yard, against about £600 0s 0d, or 1s 6d to 2s 0d a yard, for a 6-foot wall in northern England and about £1,800 0s 0d in the dearest counties. It proposed letting lengths of 100 to 400 yards to soldiers by public notice to the lowest bidders at rates letting a man earn 4s 0d or 5s 0d a day against a private's 10d, with powder and tools supplied and stone carried by Company carts and bullocks. The wall was to stand 5 feet high with a stone coping, a survey and yard-by-yard costs were to go home by every ship, and each fenced section was to be planted with fast-growing trees 3 feet apart. A few Lombardy poplars came with the letter, since it was the wrong time of year for moving them, and 106 followed in four boxes in the *Royal Charlotte* on 24 February 1780. [Film No. 34–37, 40, 41, 47]

Livestock fell in 1779. On 27 May 1779 the Court made Mr Worrall pay half the value of 75 missing sheep and dismissed Corneille's excuse of drought in 1770 and 1771, since every year from 1772 had been favourable, Hutchinson had left about 600 sheep and the Council had spent £835 8s 0d buying sheep from planters. The flock stood at 247 on 31 March 1779 and 204 on 30 June 1779, 79 cattle and 25 sheep died in six months of drought and Captain Baird brought 50 sheep from the Cape for £45 9s 0d. In mid-1779 the Council leased waste land in Sandy Bay to Benjamin Seale, Wrangham and Henry Bazett. The landholders, who had given their yams to the garrison and ships, petitioned on 4 October 1779, and on 3 July 1780 the Court allowed a year's remission of rent, a letter lost with the *Gatton*. [Film No. 20, 33, 38, 39, 49, 50]

Plants came by almost every ship from 8 January 1783, beginning with Lombardy poplars. On 14 December 1784 the Court sent willow, two kinds of poplar and Jamaica grass seed given by Governor Johnstone, and on 13 December 1785, lacking a report, two more bottles with lucerne, white Dutch clover, a nurseryman's advice against insects in the fruit trees and a tin garden engine, asking for a plan to make the waste lands profitable. About the end of 1786 it appointed George Porteous gardener at £90 0s 0d a year, against £40 0s 0d for his predecessors, to report at least twice a year, with a £25 0s 0d advance recorded to "Henry" Porteous; garden seed sent in the *Kent* had spoiled in the hold. [Film No. 68, 90, 98–100, 110–113]

On 28 December 1787 the Court bought for £210 0s 0d the Arab horse Corneille had left, sent ash and other trees, Guinea grass and scarcity root seed with pamphlets from Dr John Coakley Lettsom, approved selling surplus garden produce and praised a contract under which the planters Harper and Seale supplied goats and other animals for the produce of the Company's flocks, barring the return of animals too old to breed. On 23 December 1788 it approved the Society for the Improvement of Agriculture. About 1789 it asked the gardener to list every plant introduced since his arrival with its trial, growth, spread and demand, arranged for HMS *Bounty* to leave breadfruit at St Helena and take island plants for the West Indies or Kew, and sent a pot of Guinea grass, the only one in England, with Captain Cumming. [Film No. 126, 128–129, 131–132, 149, 154–155]

On 16 December 1789 the Court refused Lieutenant Seale's petition for the ground called Betleys, after planters objected that an earlier private lease had harmed the public and offered to rent it for common use, and left Samuel Mason's petition to the Council. It favoured enclosing the waste land, as intended on 13 December 1785, since one planter's ground had kept 40 cattle after enclosure against 16 before, on low rents with tenants bound to enclose, build and cultivate as directed. Longwood, fenced but partly unplanted, could be grazed if the young wood was protected, and water could now be brought to it on Brooke's plan. The Court sent Sir Joseph Banks's comments on the gardener's report and a summary of the weather journal kept at Plantation House, and asked for a sample of the shore plant whose ash Mr Petrie, in the consultations of 1 May 1789, thought might yield alkali, since his later tests found little and the surgeon claimed a third. [Film No. 175, 181–186]

About 1790 the Court limited Thomas Lester, whose lease of 1744 bordered the waste land, to the ground earlier holders had occupied, since for nearly 50 years inhabitants had planted the watercress and celery beds near Chubb's Spring and sold the produce to ships; it also sent the Planters' Society two silver cups worth £20 0s 0d each and one worth £10 0s 0d as prizes. On 18 February 1791 it left the choice of enclosure plans to Brooke, noting that only one lease had been entered since 16 December 1789 and that without the building and fencing terms, and relaxed those terms to an obligation to enclose and farm a yearly share and spend a fixed sum on buildings. It approved the leases resolved on 5 November 1790 and Mr Knipe's lease after the surveyor showed the planters' fear for the spring mistaken. Planters' right to graze two sheep on the commons for every three acres was to be compensated by two-fifths of the commons, or up to half, and Brooke's plan to spend £1,000 0s 0d on roads and watering places with a grazing fee per head awaited the planters' views. A horse tax was set at 5s 0d a year for one horse, 20s 0d for two, 40s 0d for three and 20s 0d for each extra, and Porteous was to send dried specimens of plants he could not name and a yearly list of the garden. [Film No. 194, 206–207, 253–255, 258, 259]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

On 23 January 1778 the Court found that slaves had cost £7,836 0s 0d from 1756 to 1765 for an average of 217, about £3 12s 0d each a year, and more than £8 12s 0d each for 266 in the next ten years; the cost was £578 13s 10d in the last quarter of 1778. It abolished the Superintendent of slaves at £40 0s 0d a year, entered unreported on the salary list of 21 October 1765, restored a single overseer as under Hutchinson and demanded a yearly list of slaves and their work, the last having come on 30 September 1765. Only Company slaves were to work on plantations and works, except in emergency, though hired carpenters, smiths, masons and labourers were still paid by the day at Munden's, Powell's Valley and Holdfast Tom in the quarter to March 1779. [Film No. 16, 17, 20]

About 1782 the Court reported that the slave who alone could repair the pipes at Chubb's Spring, which fed fire cocks fitted in the last quarter of 1778 for £57 9s 7d, had run away; it hired James Briggs as plumber at 36s 0d a week with board, a £10 0s 0d gratuity, a £10 0s 0d advance and a paid passage home, to teach two or more people, Company slaves if need be. On 28 December 1787 it refused to restore Briggs, paid him £15 13s 8d and appointed John Newton at 36s 0d a week with his wife's passage, ending £30 0s 0d a year paid to Joseph Sagee for tending the pipes. The same letter of about 1782 let Skottowe buy and free Robert, a Company slave of more than 20 years in his household, and questioned the schooner *Rebecca*'s declared voyage to Africa with only £80 0s 0d of slops. On 23 December 1788 Nicholas Skottowe paid into the London treasury a legacy from his late brother for his black servant Robert Plato, who was to receive £10 0s 0d each 25 March while he stayed on the island. [Film No. 60, 63, 124–126, 140]

On 14 December 1784 the Court returned William Frank, a Company slave carried to England in HMS *Iris* when she sailed on 6 May 1784, at the Company's cost and forbade his punishment; his petition and her first lieutenant's certificate of 3 July 1784 said he was drunk aboard, while the consultation of 21 May 1784 showed he had absconded a fortnight earlier, and he asked to return to his wife and four children. On 13 December 1785 it returned Joseph Alley on the same terms and ordered 10 south-east Africans, entered as Caffres, who had helped sail the *Royal Charlotte* to the island, back to Fort Marlborough in the *Kent*, their keep charged to her owners. On 14 December 1791 a slave of Mr Fountain who stowed away in the *Hawke* in July 1791 was returned in the *Ocean* at Captain Pinnell's cost. [Film No. 90–91, 100–101, 265]

On 28 December 1787 the Court approved resolutions of the island's general quarterly court of 26 April 1786 to check the growth of the free black population and keep it off parish relief. On 14 January 1789 it questioned that limit, since no free black had been tried for ten years and the parish had spent about £87 0s 0d on free blacks, only about £20 0s 0d of it for support, inclined to leave freedom to owners with safeguards for slaves past work, sought each councillor's written opinion and asked for every existing rule on slaves. The same letter approved Brooke's conduct towards slaves, found more cruelty by owners than misconduct by slaves, naming Richard Mason and Mr Youd for cruelty and Mr Isacke for starving his slaves, rebuked the Council for not supporting Brooke's prosecutions, ordered future cases prosecuted at the Company's expense and confirmed that only the Governor or the sitting magistrate could order a slave's punishment. [Film No. 130, 164–167]

A Malay boy, left starving on the *Duke of Montrose*'s caulkers' stage by islanders in the eastern seas and carried to China and back, was left by Captain Dorin with a Mrs Statham for keep in return for work; by 16 December 1789 the Court had ordered an inquiry and given him the right to leave. When he asked to go in the *Royal Charlotte*, the Court ruled on 15 December 1790 that his home island lay off its routes and ordered him employed in Company work until a passage could be found. About 1790 the Court deferred its slave code while Parliament debated the trade, raised in the Commons by William Wilberforce in 1789, and ruled that slaves could give evidence against their masters; it also ordered Richard Mason, who had allowed his slave Hagar to live with a man named Coffin, to give up the property she had gained there, on the evidence of Sergeant John Price. On 15 December 1790 it noted that the slaves on the Sandy Bay plantation and in the Maldivia gardens could go to public works only if those estates were let, and it considered a plan Brooke sent on 13 August 1790. [Film No. 177–178, 204–205, 228, 233, 234]

On 18 February 1791 the Court enclosed the slave code under the Company's seal, drawn from papers sent on 8 August 1789 and promised on 15 December 1790, and called on officials and inhabitants to enforce it. The code aimed to protect slaves and win their loyalty by kindness while securing masters' service by correcting idleness and dishonesty; its 20th article obliged a master to provide for a slave or part with him, and anyone defying the rules would lose the Company's protection after full public notice. The same letter approved the Council's suppression of a traffic among the Company's craftsmen, who bought young slave women to pass among themselves and hire out as prostitutes, an offence the 23rd article punished. [Film No. 235, 245, 248–250]

The same letter addressed Mr Lambe, who had ill-treated a slave for complaining to the magistrate while under the magistrate's protection and whose bill for misdemeanour the grand jury threw out, the Council sending no copy. A charge from the bench was to remind jurors that Charles II's charter of 1673 let the Company make laws for its island, that only the Governor or magistrate could order severe punishment of a slave and that jurors rejecting such a bill broke their oath. On 14 December 1791 the Court forgave Lambe at the Council's plea after he admitted his fault. [Film No. 245–247, 268]

On 18 February 1791 the Court rebuked the Council for acting publicly, in its letter of 20 August 1790, on rumours that Lieutenants Thomas Greentree and Francis Seale had punished slaves for complaining; Seale's denial ended his case, and Thomas Greentree's claim that he provided for his slaves from feeling rather than obligation drew a reminder of the 20th article. It approved the indictment at the quarterly court of Captain Lieutenant Walter Greentree, recorded on 25 and 27 September 1790, for wounding a slave boy with a hanger and endangering his life; on 14 December 1791 it learned from the Council's letter of 2 July 1791 that the jury had thrown out that bill, demanded the record, hoped the boy had been compensated and warned that no rank would shield cruelty. On 18 February 1791 it also upheld its solicitor's view that

Ludlow, son of Phillis, was free under Governor John Skottowe's certificate of 29 July 1782 freeing Phillis and all her children, since the executors of Captain James Greentree had no deed for the gift they claimed. [Film No. 247–249, 268, 269]

Judiciary, Crime and Punishment

On 23 January 1778 the Court filled the vacancy left by the court martial on Captain Tippet without approving it or the court martial on the Artillery Company's non-commissioned officers, and on 27 May 1779 it declined to reopen the latter but told the Council to favour the men if they had behaved well. On 27 May 1779 it allowed a cheap new gaol if the old one was insecure, after a plan and estimate, refused rooms for the quarterly court because the Fort had space, the Council already hiring a room at £3 0s 0d a sitting, and ordered the belongings of Captain Thomas Stone, a Bengal officer who died on the island, sent home at Sir Francis Buchanan's request. About 1782 it set the gaol aside. On 3 July 1780 it sent its solicitor's opinion on Richard Goodwin's petition about Captain Richard Beale's estate and Matthew Bazett's answer, and on 31 January 1781 its standing counsel's opinion on the legal questions in the Council's letter of 31 May 1780. [Film No. 26, 37, 39, 49, 50, 53, 63]

On 20 December 1783 the Court reported the King's pardon for Nelly, a black girl condemned for burglary, noting that Harry, a slave of Robert Ballard, had testified that a white man dressed as a soldier ran from the house with her and that no one at the trial had asked who he was; it ordered an inquiry into Thomas Leech, suspected of tolerating her conduct. On 14 December 1784 it rebuked the Council for sending a man named Narrain to England without charges, which English law did not allow, and forbade it again. About the end of 1786 it ordered the release with a severe reprimand of black men imprisoned for conspiracy, reported on 3 July 1786, who should have been tried for conspiracy and misdemeanour, and rejected a by-law raising the punishment beyond the law. [Film No. 80, 91, 109]

The same letter of about the end of 1786 enclosed the King's pardon for Yon, condemned to death for sheep stealing done on the orders of his master, Worrall, whom the Court urged be prosecuted, and the Recorder of London's opinion on admitting black people's evidence. The Council received the order on Worrall on 12 May 1787, had not acted by 30 September 1787 and was told again on 16 January 1788. On 23 December 1788 the Court sent the King's pardon for William Messenger, convicted of burglary in January 1788, and on 27 September 1790 the Secretary sent a copy of the pardon for Dick, a slave convicted of burglary, the original following on 15 December 1790. [Film No. 109–110, 131, 136, 141, 164, 220, 222]

Social Order, Religion and Education

About 1782 the Court approved the Governor's minute of 2 July 1781 and the rules of 23 July 1781 that cut and regulated the punch houses. On 15 February 1786 it asked the Council's opinion on Thomas Cole's proposal to replace the five licensed punch houses with a single canteen run by him; Cole, probably the same man, sailed in the *Royal Charlotte* with his family with the letter of 16 December 1789 to settle his late father-in-law's affairs. On 28 December 1787 the Court forbade buying rum from American ships and selling it to soldiers or anyone else. Brooke's minute of 21 January 1788 called the soldiers prone to drunkenness, and in the letter of about 1789 the Court offered to consider a higher price for spirits and ordered frequent drill and field days. [Film No. 62, 105, 128–129, 163, 189]

The will of Mrs Mary Hunt left £1,000 0s 0d to the island's poor widows and orphans, raised by the Council on 2 September 1777; on 23 January 1778 the Court reported that the executors, Sir Charles Raymond and Edward Lord Chick, had paid it into the London treasury for the Governor and Council to distribute. On 16 December 1789 the chaplain was to record each dead seaman's last ship and each soldier's origin and ship in the burial register. [Film No. 26, 27, 180–181]

On 23 January 1778 the Court appointed James Arney schoolmaster at £70 0s 0d a year and Judge Advocate, paying £100 0s 0d for his family's passage; on 14 December 1784, at the inhabitants' request, it replaced him in both posts with the Reverend Isaac Sewell. On 27 May 1779 it refused new houses for the chaplain and other servants. On 31 May 1781 it appointed the Reverend John Wilson chaplain in place of Mr Carr, with leave for his sister to sail, and advanced him £100 0s 0d on a bond repayable from his £55 0s 0d a quarter. On 16 January 1788 it promised a qualified schoolmaster by a ship of 1789 and meanwhile made the Reverend John Wilkinson assistant schoolmaster at £100 0s 0d a year with £50 0s 0d for his passage.

On 23 December 1788 Lady Cumming was allowed to send a monument to Sir John Cumming for the church in the *Pitt*, and about 1790 the Court approved Wilkinson's Sunday school for slaves and poor children with an assistant at £20 0s 0d a year. [Film No. 25, 37, 54, 90, 134, 141–142, 204]

On 24 August 1790 Wilson made a declaration to the officer of the guard, apologised twice the next day and was recommended for forgiveness by the Council on 30 August 1790. The Council's minute of 25 August 1790 warned of "a troublesome spirit of opposition", but its letter of 16 September 1790 described the island as obedient apart from two or three people. It compiled a paper of "Mr Wilson's transgressions" without showing it to him, demanded the original of a testimonial to his character signed by the inhabitants and on 10 September 1790 offered to destroy all proceedings if he apologised unconditionally and withdrew his defence. On 18 February 1791 the Court refused to dismiss him, recalling its insistence on written charges for Thomas Robertson in 1779, required a signed declaration that he would respect the Council's authority, keep out of government and control his temper on pain of removal to Europe, and ordered that anyone opposing the government be sent to Europe after full public notice. [Film No. 235, 241–245]

Islanders and visitors moved with the Court's leave. On 27 May 1779 John Young, probably the eldest son and executor under the will of 23 February 1778 of the planter William Young, who died in June 1779, was allowed to return in the *Princess Royal*. On 3 July 1780 the Court sent home Ruth Drawater, formerly Knipe, in distress in England. On 10 March 1783 the Secretary reported William Gray's appointment as mason for five years at £80 0s 0d a year with a gift of £10 10s 0d. On 16 March 1784 Colonel Harper's wife and two daughters were allowed to stay while he served in India and Richard Campbell Bazett to return home free. About the end of 1786 Elizabeth Topham was given a passage to join her husband, an artilleryman, and on 15 December 1790 Harry Stark was allowed to recover his health on the island with his servant Alexander Stewart. On 28 December 1787 William Young became Master Mason at £100 0s 0d a year, £20 0s 0d below his predecessor, raised on 14 January 1789 to the usual £120 0s 0d, and the armourers were barred from private work. [Film No. 39, 48, 76, 84–85, 113, 124–126, 168–169, 222]

Personalities

Daniel Corneille took charge of the Company's slaves and plantations in 1765 and resisted Wrangham's taking slaves from them for the Longwood tank in 1779. [Film No. 17, 21]

On 16 March 1784 the Court reported that a weed Major Henry Bazett had sent home as orchil, a dye lichen, was useless, enclosed samples of the true plant and refused him an extra £60 0s 0d a year like that granted to Matthew Purling. [Film No. 85]

On 27 May 1779 the Court ordered that the Malay prince Rugundat Pookellum be received with humanity if he returned; his account in the stores under the name Mallay drew rations, cloth, china and arrack worth £12 11s 2d in the last quarter of 1778. [Film No. 33]

Richard Mason gave 1,000 lb of yams to the garrison in the drought of May 1779. [Film No. 205]

Conclusion

The Council's own case survives only through the Court's replies, including on the mutiny of 1783, the conspiracy prisoners of 1786, the charges against Scott, the cases of Worrall and Gahagan and the indictments of Lambe and Walter Greentree, copies of which never reached London. [Film No. 86–87, 109–110, 153–154, 245, 268]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Letters from England 1778 1791 Photographer Shelley Date photographed 21. June 2022 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		WARNING.	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		A poisonous solution containing mercuric chloride has been used in the repair and binding of this volume.	
4		Blank page	
5		Blank page	
6		Letter Book from England begun 3d June 1778. N.	
7		Blank page	
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10		Blank page	
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14	1	Our Governor and Council of St. Helena Par. 1 Our last Letter to you was dated the 6th of December 1777 and went by the Earl of Mansfield which Ship Sailed from St. Hellens on the 9th of that Month, and by the Queen now under dispatch you will receive a Duplicate of our said Letter. 2 For the particulars of our Consignments to you by the Queen we refer you to the accompanying Invoice and Bill of Lading and on her arrival you are strictly enjoined to use all possible expedition in unloading the same, and dispatching the Ship to Fort Marlborough within the Ten days specified in the Charterparty, that the Company may not be subject to pay demorage by your detaining her beyond that time. 3 We confirm the Allowance you have made Mrs. Mary Bazett and direct that you continue to pay her the Pension of a Lieutenants Widow and carry it to the Account of the Military Fund. 4 It appearing by the 3d Par. of your General Letter of the 22d August 1776, and by your Consultation of the 19th of the same Month, that Gun Carriages can be made much better and Cheaper at St. Helena than in England, We last season revoked the Orders that had been given for making several Field and Garrison Carriages, for the same reason, We **Margin Notes:** [...]ter by [...] Ships [...]ent [...] Ship to [...] dispatched [...]hin the [...]ulated Charter [...]ty [...] Mary [...]ett's [...]sion [...]firmed [...]cluded [...]ding Gun [...]riages and [...]herds [...] they can [...] made [...]aper at [...] Helena	The Court of Directors wrote to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court noted that its last letter was dated [...] December 1777 and went by the *Earl of Mansfield*, which sailed from St Helens on [...] of that month. A duplicate would reach the island by the *Queen*, then being made ready to sail. 2: The details of the goods sent in the *Queen* were in the invoice and bill of lading that went with her. When she arrived, the Council was strictly ordered to unload her as fast as possible and send her on to Fort Marlborough within the ten days her charter party allowed. Otherwise the Company would have to pay demurrage for keeping her beyond that time. 3: The Court approved the allowance the Council had made to Mrs Mary Bazett. It directed that she should go on receiving the pension of a lieutenant's widow, charged to the Military Fund. 4: The third paragraph of the Council's general letter of 22 August 1776, and its consultation of 19 August 1776, had shown that gun carriages could be made far better and more cheaply on St Helena than in England. For that reason, the Court had cancelled the previous season the orders it had given for several field and garrison carriages to be made in England. **Interpretations** Demurrage was the fee a charterer paid a shipowner for every day a hired ship was kept beyond the time agreed in her charter party. Company ships were hired from private owners, so each day the *Queen* lay at St Helena past her ten days would cost the Company money. The strict order to unload her quickly put the cost of any delay at the island's door, and the Council would have to justify it. The widow Bazett's pension was one of the three annuities the paymaster paid each quarter. The Court's approval turned a payment the Council had begun on its own authority into a standing charge on the Military Fund. Widows of officers who died in the service were provided for from that fund, so the cost fell on it, not on the island's general expenses. The Court's acceptance that carriages were better made on the island explains the elm and ash plank, and the carpenters' days, charged to the gun carriages in the stores and paymaster's accounts. Timber shipped out in planks and built into carriages by island carpenters survived the voyage better than finished carriages. The carriages could also be made to fit each battery's own platforms.
15	2	We have this Season not only declined to comply with your Indent for Carriages, but likewise for the Mortar Beds desired in the 12 Par. of your General Letter of the 20th of September last, as we have no doubt but the last can in every respect be as well made at St. Helena as the Carriages.	4: That season the Court had declined both the Council's indent for gun carriages and its request for mortar beds, made in the 12th paragraph of the Council's general letter of 20 September 1777. The Court had no doubt that mortar beds could be made on St Helena in every respect as well as the carriages.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 The great and encreasing loss incurred by the Company from the Civil and Military Charges of Our Island of St. Helena, being an object of serious Attention has caused us to examine into the Charges and Losses Profits and Revenues of the Island during the Administration of the former and present Governor and to State all Increase and Decrease of Charges, with the Causes thereof so far as We have been provided with Materials for such Investigation, that we might consider of, and make such Observations or communicate such orders as should appear conducive to the Company's future Interest. 6 With respect to the Nett loss sustained by your Civil and Military Charges We observe that in the Year 1756/7 the same amounted only to the Sum of £10,298, and that by a gradual Increase since that period, the Loss in the Year 1775/6 amounted to no less a Sum than £30283 which large Increase has naturally led us to a particular enquiry into what Causes if any could be assigned adequate to such an additional Expence. 7 In the Year 1756/7 when the Garrison consisted of 324 Men the Military Expences amounted to £7554 in the Year 1770/1 **Margin Notes:** The great & increasing loss of the Civil & Military Charges of the Island complained of Nett Loss of the Island	5: The Company's civil and military charges on the island had brought it a great and growing loss, which the Court treated as a matter of serious concern. It had therefore examined the island's charges, losses, profits and revenues under both the former and the present Governor. It had set out every rise and fall in the charges, and the causes of each, as far as the papers in its hands allowed. Its aim was to draw conclusions and to issue whatever orders would best serve the Company's interest in future. 6: On the net loss from the island's civil and military charges, the Court observed that in 1756-57 it had come to only £10,298 0s 0d. It had risen steadily since then, and in 1775-76 it reached no less than £30,283 0s 0d. So large an increase had led the Court to inquire closely into what causes, if any, could account for so much extra expense. 7: In 1756-57 the garrison numbered 328 men, and the military expenses came to £7,554 0s 0d. **Interpretations** The net loss on St Helena had almost trebled in 20 years. The Court did not simply order economies. It set out to trace each rise in cost to its cause, comparing the former Governor's administration with Skottowe's. The figures turned the island's spending into a test of the present government's management. Every allowance, ration and work recorded in the consultations of the past year, from the Castle table to the fortifications, would now be read in London against that rising loss. The mortar beds were the heavy timber bases on which mortars were mounted to fire shells at a high angle. By refusing to send them out and telling the island to make its own, the Court shifted a cost it had accepted for carriages onto the island's carpenters and timber stores.
16	3	1770/1 when the Garrison was augmented to 558 Men the Expence amounted to £18740 which Comparative Expences, allowing for Circumstances may perhaps bear a pretty near proportion to the number of Men; but in the Year 1775/6 although the Number of Men was decreased to 536 the Expences were increased to the Sum of £16424 which considerable difference does not seem to be in any way accounted for. 8 In the Year 1756/7 the Charges of Diet for the Governor's Table amounted to £420 in the Year 1768/9 to £395 and in the Year 1775/6 appear to have been increased to £979. 9 From the Year 1756 to 1765 the Average Expence of the Boats was £55 PAnnum and from 1766 to 1775 the Average Expence thereof was increased to £211 PAnnum. 10 In the Year 1756/7 the Company's Plantations on your Island yielded a Profit of £380 and in the Year 1768/9 a Profit of £395, but since that time there appears to have been incurred on the said Plantations a Loss amounting upon an Average to £364 per Annum. 11 One Article of Expence or Loss to the Company from which a great difference arises between the present and former general Charges appears to be the Maintenance of your Slaves, the Expence of which for 10 Years Commencing with 1756 and ending with 1765 amounted to £7836 during which time the Number annually employed was upon an Average 217 whereas for the subsequent 10 Years ending in 1775 the same amounted to £22,088 **Margin Notes:** Military Expences of the Island Diet Expences Boats Loss upon Plantation	7 (continued): In 1770-71, when the garrison was raised to 558 men, the military expenses came to £14,740 0s 0d. Allowing for circumstances, the Court accepted that this kept fairly close to the rise in numbers. In 1775-76, however, the garrison had fallen to 536 men, yet the expenses rose to £16,424 0s 0d. The Court could see nothing that accounted for so large a difference. 8: In 1756-57 the charge for the Governor's table was £420 0s 0d. In 1761-62 it was £395 0s 0d, but by 1775-76 it appeared to have risen to £919 0s 0d. 9: From 1756 to 1765 the boats had cost an average of £55 0s 0d a year. From 1766 to 1775 the average had risen to £218 0s 0d a year. 10: In 1756-57 the Company's plantations on the island made a profit of £380 0s 0d, and in 1768-69 a profit of £395 0s 0d. Since then they appeared to have run at a loss averaging £364 0s 0d a year. 11: The Court found one cost in particular that set the present charges far apart from the earlier ones: the upkeep of the Company's slaves. Over the ten years from 1756 to 1765 it had come to £7,836 0s 0d, while the number of slaves employed averaged 217 a year. Over the following ten years, ending in 1775, the same cost came to £22,088 0s 0d. **Interpretations** The Court's figures tested the very items the consultations of 1778 and 1779 recorded. The Governor's table had more than doubled in 20 years. Over that time the table had added fresh beef, turkeys, wine and the entertainment of passing captains to its regular charges, and in June 1779 alone the stores issued to it came to £32 0s 0d. The plantations, which Wrangham had promised in February 1779 would move from loss into surplus once the Longwood tank was built, had lost money every year since 1769. The Court singled out the upkeep of slaves as the largest single cause. Its cost had nearly trebled, and in the last quarter of 1778 it alone came to £578 13s 10d. Every

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		The great difference of the Expence of the Comp. Slaves	one of these charges came from the Council's own decisions, which the Court now held up for explanation.
17	4	£22,988 during which time the Number employed Annually was upon an Average 266 from which comparison it further appears that the Annual Expence to the Company for the maintenance of their Slaves in the first mentioned ten Years, was only about £3.12 a head, whereas in the latter Ten Years the Annual Expence of each Slave amounted to upwards of £8.12 12 On the Salary List of Civil Officers entered upon your Consultations 21 October 1765 which was soon after the present Lieutenant Governor took Charge of the Management of the Slaves and Plantations, there appears a Superintendant of the Company's Slaves at the Salary of £40 per Annum, which Appointment was not mentioned on the Book of Consultations at that time or noticed in the General Letter to the Court of Directors nor does it appear that the Court have ever given their sanction, to the Establishment of such Officer, and as no such Officer was deemed necessary during the Government of Mr. Hutchinson in whose time the Slaves were managed with so much economy and without Complaint, We direct that the said office be henceforth abolished, and that the Slaves be under an Overseer only in the same manner as was practised during Mr. Hutchinson's time, and we further direct that you do not fail henceforth to send home Annually in Duplicate, Returns of the said Slaves with an Account of their Several Occupations, for we observe that the last list of Slaves received from St. Helena descriptive of their Employments, was dated the 30th September 1765, and that since that time no - **Margin Notes:** The Office of Superint. of the Slaves to be abolished Lists of of the Company's Slaves & their several occupations to be sent Annually in Duplicate	11 (continued): Over the ten years ending in 1775, the upkeep of the slaves came to £22,988 0s 0d, while the number employed averaged 266 a year. By that comparison, each slave had cost the Company only about £3 12s 0d a year in the first ten years. In the later ten years the yearly cost of each slave had risen to more than £8 12s 0d. 12: A list of civil officers' salaries was entered in the Council's consultations on 21 October 1765. This was shortly after the present Lieutenant Governor took charge of the Company's slaves and plantations. The list included a Superintendent of the Company's slaves at £40 0s 0d a year. That appointment had not been recorded in the consultations at the time, nor reported in the general letter to the Court, and the Court had never approved such an office. No such officer had been thought necessary under Governor Hutchinson, when the slaves had been managed very cheaply and without complaint. The Court therefore ordered the office abolished. From then on the slaves were to be under an overseer only, as in Hutchinson's time. The Council was also ordered to send home every year, in duplicate, a list of the slaves with an account of each one's work. The Court noted that the last such list it had received from St Helena was dated 30 September 1765. **Interpretations** The Court's charge fell directly on Daniel Corneille. He had taken over the slaves and plantations in 1765, and the cost of each slave had more than doubled under his management. The Superintendent's post had appeared on the salary list in the same year, without any report to London, and the yearly lists of slaves had stopped at the same time. By setting his figures beside those of Governor Hutchinson's day, the Court pointed to Corneille's department as the chief source of the island's growing loss. Its remedy was to strip out the extra office, return to a single overseer and require a yearly account of every slave's work, so that London could check the costs for itself. The rebuke came only months after Corneille had resisted Wrangham's plan to take slaves from his plantations for the Longwood tank.
18	5	no explanatory Lists have been forwarded to Us. 13 Having pointed out the very heavy increased Expense for the Maintenance of the Company's Slaves, greatly owing to the Neglect of the Plantations (which appears by the loss sustained by them of late years) We strictly enjoin you to take every possible method to reduce the above Expenses for which purpose you are to use every effort for the improvement of the Plantations and for promoting the Fishery of every kind, so as to furnish provisions for the Slaves and at the same time be a saving to the Company's Stores, and We direct that as soon after the receipt of this Letter as possible you cause an exact Survey to be made of every Plantation on the Island belonging to the Company, particularizing the Quantity of Provisions now produced compared with the produce when Mr. Hutchinson quitted the Government, and that the same be transmitted to us by the next Ship. 14 As the time of Our Lieutenant Governor must of necessity be much taken up in performing his Military Duty, We direct that the Fourth of Our Council (if not a Military Officer) should be joined with him in the Superintending and Management of the Company's Plantations and that they transmit an exact Account of the Produce and Expenditure thereof Annually.	The Court of Directors wrote to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court noted that its last letter was dated [...] December 1777 and went by the *Earl of Mansfield*, which sailed from St Helens on [...] of that month. A duplicate would reach the island by the *Queen*, then being made ready to sail. 2: The details of the goods sent in the *Queen* were in the invoice and bill of lading that went with her. When she arrived, the Council was strictly ordered to unload her as fast as possible and send her on to Fort Marlborough within the ten days her charter party allowed. Otherwise the Company would have to pay demurrage for keeping her beyond that time. 3: The Court approved the allowance the Council had made to Mrs Mary Bazett. It directed that she should go on receiving the pension of a lieutenant's widow, charged to the Military Fund. 4: The third paragraph of the Council's general letter of 22 August 1776, and its consultation of 19 August 1776, had shown that gun carriages could be made far better and more cheaply on St Helena than in England. The Court held that the same was true of mortar beds. For that reason it had cancelled, the previous season, the orders it had given for several field and garrison carriages to be made in England. **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		15 We observe that in the Year 1775/6 under the Head of Charges General, the Sum of £103 appears to have been paid to Mr. Jonathan Doveton for Casks, and as we consider this to be an extraordinary and unwarrantable Charge brought upon the Company, the Casks that are sent out from hence with various Stores **Margin Notes:** Neglect of Plantations the cause of the great Expence of Blacks Fishery of every kind to be promoted Survey of the Company's Plantations to be made Fourth of Council if not a Military Man to be joined to the Lt. Governor in Superintendg. the Plantations Mr. J. Doveton to refund the Money paid him for Casks	Demurrage was the fee a charterer paid a shipowner for every day a hired ship was kept beyond the time agreed in her charter party. Company ships were hired from private owners, so each day the *Queen* lay at St Helena past her ten days would cost the Company money. The strict order to unload her quickly put the cost of any delay at the island's door, and the Council would have to justify it. The widow Bazett's pension was one of the three annuities the paymaster paid each quarter. The Court's approval turned a payment the Council had begun on its own authority into a standing charge on the Military Fund. Widows of officers who died in the service were provided for from that fund, so the cost fell on it, not on the island's general expenses. The Court's acceptance that carriages and mortar beds were better made on the island explains the elm and ash plank, and the carpenters' days, charged to the gun carriages in the stores and paymaster's accounts. Timber shipped out in planks and built into carriages by island carpenters survived the voyage better than finished carriages. The carriages could also be made to fit each battery's own platforms. The Court used the same reasoning to refuse the Council's request for mortar beds from England, which put the whole cost of making them onto the island's carpenters and timber stores.
19	6	Stores on our Account, being more than sufficient to supply the Number wanted for your use on the Island We disapprove of such Charge, and you are to cause the Amount to be paid into the Company's Treasury. 16 In your Letter of 20th July last, wherein you recommend a Fence to be made round the Long Wood in order to prevent the Cattle from destroying the young Trees, you allege that their Destruction in process of time might occasion a Scarcity of Fuel on the Island, and have also set forth that such Fence might be completed for a Sum not exceeding £3000 But here referring back to your General Books from the Years 1723 to 1727 inclusive, We find a Charge entered of £5401. 9. 1 for Fencing the above mentioned Wood which Charge appears to have been disapproved of by the Court of Directors for the time being; and notwithstanding so large a Sum was then Expended a considerable part of the Fence remained unfinished, and as that part which was compleated is now in a ruinous state, by which we have sustained the Loss of upwards £5000. We disapprove at present of so expensive an undertaking on the uncertainty of an Estimate which sets down the whole at so far less a Sum than was before expended on the unfinished Work, - but as we consider this as an object of consequence, we desire you will obtain another Estimate taken by Men of Experience and with the utmost exactness, for having been already deceived by one Estimate, we think it necessary to give you this caution because a second deception will call for our severest censure. And We also - recommend to your consideration whether a Bank thrown - **Margin Notes:** Concerning the Fencing in of Longwood	15 (continued): The casks sent out from England with stores on the Company's account were more than enough to meet every need for casks on the island. The Court disapproved of the charge and ordered the Council to have the money paid back into the Company's treasury. 16: In its letter of 20 July 1778 the Council had recommended fencing the Long Wood, to stop cattle destroying the young trees. It argued that their loss might in time leave the island short of firewood, and it put the cost of the fence at no more than £3,000 0s 0d. The Court, however, had looked back through the island's general books for the years 1723 to 1727. They showed a charge of £5,401 9s 1d for fencing the same wood, which the Court of Directors of that time had refused to approve. Even after so large a sum had been spent, much of the fence was never finished. The part that was finished had since fallen into ruin, so the Company had lost more than £5,000 0s 0d on it. The Court therefore declined, for the present, to approve so costly a work on the strength of an estimate that put the whole cost at far less than had already been spent on an unfinished one. It still regarded the matter as important. It asked the Council to obtain a fresh estimate, made with the greatest care by experienced men. Having been misled by one estimate already, the Court warned that a second would bring down its severest censure. **Interpretations** The Court's refusal struck at one of the reasons Wrangham had given for the Longwood tank. On 1 February 1779 he argued that if the Court approved fencing in Longwood, a reservoir inside the fence would become essential. The fence was now refused until a new estimate was made, and the Court's warning made clear that it would scrutinise any figure the Council sent. The Court's memory reached back more than 50 years. It used the island's own account books to show that an earlier Council had spent nearly twice the present estimate on the same fence and left it half built and decaying. Its caution rested on that record, and on the Company's long experience of estimates from St Helena that proved far too low.
20	7	thrown up with two Rows of Furze will not answer the end at a much less expence than Walling. 17 To prevent however as much as possible any	16 (continued): The Court also asked the Council to consider whether an earth bank planted with two rows of furze might do the work of a fence at much less cost than a wall.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		difficulties that may arise from a scarcity of Fuel We direct that the vacant ground of that part of the Long Wood called Horse Point (which is already secured by a good Fence) be planted with Gum Wood Trees, that the Trees be from time to time properly Thinned, and that the Wood for Fuel be not too soon cut down. We likewise direct that Furze be planted upon all waste Land in the vicinity of James's Valley, the particular places pointed out to us as the most proper are the upper Part of Ruperts Valley round to Friars Valley, and under the Alarm House on the barren Hill from Mr. Dovetons as far as the Company's waste Land reaches towards Peak Hill, on the Red Hill leading to the Governors House, on each side of the Hill as far as the soil will answer on Dr. Moore's Plain and parts adjacent; and we direct that such Lands when so planted be not, as heretofore, Let out to private Persons upon lease; but reserved entirely for Fuel for the general use of the Inhabitants. 18 As the Fortifications and Defences of the Island are now completed, it is our order that no other persons but the Company's Slaves be employed in the Plantations or other works, except on emergent occasions, by which we shall be eased of a great expence incurred by the hire of labour, and we further direct that no Slaves be henceforth employed by any people but in such manner as has been formerly allowed under the Government of Mr. Hutchinson. **Margin Notes:** Furze recommended to be planted upon different parts of the Island No persons to be employed at the Works but the Comp. Slaves except upon emergent occasions, No Slaves to be employed otherwise than formerly in Mr. Hutchinson's time	17: To head off as far as possible the hardship a shortage of firewood might cause, the Court gave further orders. The open ground in the part of the Long Wood called Horse Point, which was already well fenced, was to be planted with gumwood trees. They were to be thinned from time to time and not cut for firewood too soon. Furze was to be planted on all the waste land near James's Valley. The Court named the most suitable places as the upper part of Rupert's Valley next to [...] Valley; the barren hill below the Alarm House, from Mr Doveton's land as far as the Company's waste land reached towards Peak Hill; both sides of the Red Hill leading to the Governor's house, as far up as the soil would allow; and Dr Moore's Plain and the ground around it. Land planted in this way was not to be leased to private persons, as had happened before. It was to be kept entirely for firewood, for the use of all the inhabitants. 18: The fortifications and defences of the island were now complete. The Court therefore ordered that only the Company's own slaves should be used on the plantations and other works, except in an emergency. This would save the Company the heavy cost of hired labour. It further ordered that slaves should no longer be employed by anyone except in the ways allowed under Governor Hutchinson. **Interpretations** The Court's belief that the fortifications were finished was soon overtaken by events. This letter predated the war news that reached the island in 1779. By May of that year the Secret Committee was ordering new works at Buttermilk Point and James's Valley in haste. Through the quarter to March 1779 the paymaster was paying hired carpenters, smiths, masons and labourers by the day for work at Munden's, Powell's Valley and Holdfast Tom. An order to use only slave labour, made in a time of apparent peace, could not hold once the island was preparing for attack. The fuel order also cut across the Council's own land dealings. The Court wanted waste land near Jamestown planted with furze and gumwood and kept as a common fuel reserve for all the inhabitants, never again leased to private persons. In mid-1779 the Council was granting leases of waste land in Sandy Bay to Benjamin Seale, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. Those leases were further from Jamestown than the ground the Court named, but they ran against the Court's wish to keep waste land in common use. Furze, or gorse, grew fast on poor dry ground and burned hot, which made it a quick source of fuel on hillsides where trees would not take. Gumwood was a tree native to the island, already much reduced by cutting and grazing.
21	8	19 For the like reason, that we disapprove of your proposal for Fencing the Long Wood, We object to your Plan mentioned in the same Letter for conveying Water into the Wood from the spring, and therefore forbid your engaging in this work, which from having well considered every circumstance, We are convinced will be attended with much more expense than you have Estimated. 20 We shall here observe that under the head of Charges General are several Articles which ought to have been placed under the Head of Diet and Allowance and likewise various Sums included for Labour's Work of Different kinds, which appearing to be distinct Expences that regularly occur, should not have been blended with	19: For the same reason, the Court disapproved of the plan to fence the Long Wood. It also objected to the scheme, set out in the same letter, for bringing water into the wood from the spring. It forbade the Council to start that work. Having weighed every circumstance, the Court was convinced it would cost far more than the Council had estimated. 20: The Court pointed out that the general charges included several items that belonged under diet and allowances. They also included various sums for labour of different kinds. Labour was a separate cost that recurred regularly and should not be mixed with the general charges. In future the Council was to enter it under a separate heading of its own, to be opened in the books as "Charges Labour". 21: A large quantity of rice, paddy and other grain appeared to have been issued from the stores with no explanation. The Court ordered the Council to send it an account showing to whom each issue was made and for what purpose.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		your general Charges, you must therefore in future carry these to a separate Head to be opened for that purpose under the title of Charges Labour. 21 As there appears to be a great Quantity of Rice, Paddy and other Grain delivered from the Stores without any further Explanation, We direct that you do not fail to transmit to us an Account to whom, and for what purpose such Issues were made. 22 We must here express Our sense of the Inattention of Our Governor and Council of St. Helena in their Indents for Stores, for in the 8th Par. of your General Letter dated 20th July last, you have requested a large Iron Money Chest to be sent, when by a former Letter recd. by the Triton the 27th of the same Month you had desired two Iron Money Chests for the Company's Treasury each 2 Ft. 8 Ins. long and 1 Ft. 8 [...] deep and **Margin Notes:** Disapproves of the scheme for conveying Water into Long Wood A Head for Charges Labour to be opened upon the Books An Account of Rice &c. Issued from the Stores to be sent home Inattention of the Governor & Council with respect to Indents Complained of	22: The Court had to record its view of the carelessness of its Governor and Council in their orders for stores. In the 8th paragraph of their general letter of 20 July 1778, they had asked for a large iron money chest to be sent. Yet in an earlier letter, received by the *Triton* on 27 July 1778, they had asked for two iron money chests for the Company's treasury, each 2 feet 8 inches long and 1 foot 6 inches deep. **Interpretations** The Court's demand to know where the rice and paddy went pointed straight at one of the island's least visible perquisites. Every quarter the allowance account issued more than 70 cwt of paddy and rice to feed the Governor's and Lieutenant Governor's horses and poultry, set down only as allowances to them. In London these issues appeared as large deliveries from the stores with no clear purpose. Requiring a named recipient and purpose for each issue would make such allowances plain to the Court. It would also show how much of the grain sent from India for the garrison and the slaves went instead to the stables and poultry yards of the island's two senior officers. The ban on bringing water into the Long Wood reached St Helena after the Council had already acted. Wrangham's tank in the Longwood gully was finished in March 1779, at a cost of nearly 500 days' labour, more than £17 0s 0d in lead pipe, solder and copper, and the overseers' wages. It caught rain rather than piping water from a spring, but it served the same end the Court had just forbidden. The Court's warning that such work always cost more than the estimate had already proved true on the island's own books.
22	9	and which had accordingly been provided previous to the receipt of the first mentioned Letter which contained a Requisition that appeared totally superfluous, and which consequently We have not thought proper to comply with, as it seemed to us extraordinary that you should have indented in the first place for two Iron Chests, and afterwards for a third in the Course of one Season. 23 Neither have we thought proper to comply with your request for an Anchor in the room of one delivered to the Ship Grenville as there appears to be no less than three Anchors from 33 to 36 Cwt. in Store on the 30th April last; but we have given Directions for a Cable of 17 Ins. to be sent on the Queen agreeable to your Recommendation in the 12 Par. of your General Letter dated the 27th January last, to replace the Cable delivered at the same time with the Anchor to the abovementioned Ship. 24 In your Storekeeper's Account of Remains dated the 30th September 1773, two large Cables weight Cwt. 143. 1. 4 are for the first time entered as damaged, and have continued under that description to the date of the last Account of Remains; but in your General Books the same Cables appear to be first entered as damaged on the 30th September 1771 which Disagreement in the two Accounts makes it necessary for us to call upon you for an Explanation of this inattention, to which it may be added that neither in your General Books or Storekeepers Accounts, any deduction is made from the total Value of the Cordage from which regularly the whole or part of the Amount of such Cables should have been wrote off to Profit and Loss, however as it is plain that Our Stock must be lessened by this circumstance **Margin Notes:**	22 (continued): The two chests had been made and supplied before the Court received the later letter. That later request was therefore entirely unnecessary, and the Court had not thought fit to meet it. It found it extraordinary that the Council should first order two iron chests and then a third, all in the same season. 23: The Court also declined to send an anchor to replace one supplied to the ship *Grenville*. The island's stores had held no fewer than three anchors, weighing from 33 to 36 cwt, on 30 April 1778. It had, however, ordered a 17-inch cable to be sent out in the *Queen*. This followed the recommendation in the 12th paragraph of the Council's general letter of 27 January 1778, and would replace the cable given to the *Grenville* along with the anchor. 24: In the storekeeper's account of stock remaining on 30 September 1775, two large cables, weighing 143 cwt 1 qr 1 lb, were entered as damaged for the first time. They had been carried under that description in every account of remaining stock since. In the island's general books, however, the same cables first appeared as damaged on 30 September 1771. The two sets of accounts disagreed, and the Court called on the Council to explain the carelessness. It also wanted to know how the cables had come to be damaged. Neither the general books nor the storekeeper's accounts showed any deduction from the total value of the cordage. Properly, all or part of the value of such cables should have been written off to profit and loss. Yet it was plain that the Company's stock must have been reduced by their condition. **Interpretations** The Court read the island's accounts line by line from London and caught a four-year gap between two records of the same cables. The more serious fault was in the valuation. Damaged cables still carried at their full price made the island's stock of stores look larger than it was. Writing the loss off to profit and loss would have shown it openly in the year it happened. Left on the books at full value, the damage stayed hidden, and the island's accounts overstated what the Company owned. The Court's demand to know how

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Indent for an Anchor not complied with. A Cable to be sent P Queen Disagreement in Accounts respecting two Cables to be explained And the cause of their being Damaged	the cables were damaged turned a bookkeeping error into a question of who was responsible for the loss.
23	10	circumstance, We expect that you inform Us by what means they were rendered unserviceable. 25 We have great reason to believe that necessary care is not taken of your Stores, it being intimated to Us that the Bower Cables sent to your Island for the use of the returning Shipping, are coiled upon the Gun or Platform without being in the least sheltered from the Weather, and it has been further intimated that the Salt Provisions when landed instead of being immediately stowed away in your proper Storehouse, have been suffered to remain several Days exposed to the heat of the Sun; This conduct in our Servants must shew such neglect of Our concerns as calls for Our particular reprehension. 26 Having observed thus much, and given such Directions as occurred to be immediately necessary, on the subject before us, We have great reason to complain that the Advices and Accounts received from you of late years, do not afford sufficient lights to enable us to form a full and proper judgement as the nature of the Case requires. It is therefore Our positive Order that such Explanations be forthwith given, as may discover how and on what Account the several parts of your increased Expences have arisen in the course of the last ten years, and that the same be transmitted to the Court by the earliest opportunity, and that you do not fail henceforth to furnish us with such Materials as may give us from time to time, the compleatest knowledge of the State of the Accounts of your Island. 27 As we cannot but consider the regular Discipline of Our Military on Your Establishment to **Margin Notes:** Stores sent not properly taken care of Explanations of the great increase of the expence of the Island during the last ten years to be sent	24 (continued): The Court expected the Council to report how the cables had been made unfit for use. 25: The Court had good reason to believe that the island's stores were not properly cared for. It had been told that the bower cables sent out for the use of homeward-bound ships lay coiled on the gun platform with no shelter at all from the weather. It had further been told that salt provisions, when landed, were not taken straight into the storehouse. Instead they were left lying for several days in the heat of the sun. Such conduct by the Company's servants showed a neglect of its affairs that deserved the Court's particular rebuke. 26: Having said this much, and given the orders that seemed immediately necessary, the Court complained that the records and accounts sent from the island in recent years did not give it enough information to judge the matter fully and properly. It gave a firm order that explanations be sent at once. These were to show how, and for what reasons, each part of the island's rising costs had arisen over the last ten years, and they were to reach the Court at the earliest opportunity. From then on the Council was to send whatever material would give the Court the fullest knowledge of the island's accounts. **Interpretations** The Court did not say who had told it about the cables and the salt meat, but its knowledge came from people who had seen the island at first hand. These were probably officers of the Company's ships, who passed through the road every season and reported on what they saw ashore. Their reports gave the Court a source of information outside the Council's own letters and accounts. Salt provisions left for days in the sun would shrink, sweat brine and begin to spoil before ever reaching the storehouse. That bore directly on a cost the island's own accounts recorded every quarter: salt meat issued to the garrison "to make good short weight". In the last quarter of 1778 alone this came to £112 17s 8d. Part of the short weight the island blamed on contractors in England may have arisen on its own wharf. The Court's rebuke suggested that some of the losses charged to the Company began with the Company's own servants.
24	11	to be an object highly important to the Security of the Island, We positively direct Our Governor and Council to be particularly vigilant that the Adjutant do strictly and Constantly attend his Military duty in the Garrison and not be suffered to be absent on his private Occupations. 28 Being desirous to give every reasonable Encouragement to the Inhabitants of your Island in respect to the freedom of their Trade, We direct that any Person except Military Officers and Soldiers (whom we prohibited in Our Orders of last Year) be permitted to keep a Shop without a License from your Board, unless he may want to vend Spirituous Liquors, in which case he must have your special License for so doing, as has been hitherto customary. 29 We approve your appointment of Mr. John	27: The Court regarded proper discipline among the island's soldiers as vital to its security. It firmly directed the Governor and Council to make sure that the Adjutant attended to his military duties in the garrison strictly and at all times, and was not allowed to be away on private business. 28: The Court wished to give the island's inhabitants every reasonable encouragement in the freedom of their trade. It directed that anyone except military officers and soldiers, whom it had forbidden to trade in its orders of the previous year, could keep a shop without a licence from the Council. The exception was anyone who wished to sell spirits, who would still need the Council's special licence, as had always been the custom. 29: The Court approved the Council's appointment of John Leech as a lieutenant of artillery. It also approved the recommendation that Sergeant Francis Seale be made a lieutenant of infantry, and directed that he be appointed. 30: The Court thought it improper for one man to hold the posts of lieutenant of artillery and surgeon's assistant together. Mr Kay was therefore to choose between staying in the artillery and keeping only his

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Leech as a Lieutenant of Artillery, and also your recommendation of Sergeant Francis Seale to be a Lieutenant of Infantry, and direct that the latter be appointed accordingly. 30 We deem it improper that the Posts of Lieutenant of Artillery and Surgeon's Assistant should be held by one Person, Mr. Kay is therefore to have the Option either of continuing in the Artillery or of being confined to his Appointment by one of Surgeon's Assistant, and if he shall prefer the former you must endeavour to engage a capable Person from one of our returning Ships to succeed him in the latter employment but untill you can get such a Person Mr. Kay is to continue to do the Duty of a Surgeon's Assistant. 31 On Account of the Youth of Messrs. Greentree and Beale the two Cadets recommended by you to fill the Vacancies in the Infantry, we cannot for the present admit of their being appointed thereto, but they shall receive such future encouragement as their Services may appear to merit. **Margin Notes:** Governor & Council to see that the Adjut. do strictly attend his Duty Any Person except the Military to keep Shops without a Licence Lt. Leech & Seale's Appointmts. Mr. Kay to have his choice of being a Lt. of Artillery or Surgeon's Mate Messrs. Greentree & Beale Cadets not to be Appointed	post as surgeon's assistant. If he chose the artillery, the Council was to find a capable man from one of the homeward ships to take his place as surgeon's assistant. Until then Kay was to carry on with the surgeon's assistant's duties. 31: Messrs Greentree and Beale, the two cadets the Council had recommended for vacancies in the infantry, were too young for the Court to agree to their appointment for the present. They would receive such encouragement in future as their service deserved. **Interpretations** The two cadets were Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale, who appeared on the First Company's pay list at a sergeant's rate. The Greentree family already supplied two lieutenants, James and Walter, and the Council had put a third member forward for a commission. The Court refused on grounds of age. Its decision kept the island's officer posts from filling up with the sons of a few local families before they had proved themselves. The Court's order to free shopkeeping for the settlers pointed in the opposite direction from the Council's own practice in 1779. At home the Company encouraged private trade among the inhabitants, keeping only the sale of spirits under licence because of drunkenness in the garrison. On the island, drought had brought the Council to ration every pound of tea and sugar it issued. The Court wrote for a time of normal supply, while the Council was dealing with scarcity.
25	12	32 Major Bazett's readiness in taking Charge of the Artillery Company, we consider as an Act of Duty and is highly agreeable to us. 33 We observe your recommendation of Captain Howard, and entertain a due Sense of his Services, but we would have him explain more particularly what he wishes to be done for him before we come to a determination on his Petition. 34 Mr. Thomas Bazett a Native of St. Helena returns thither on the Queen, and we have appointed him a Writer to rank next under Mr. Nathaniel Kennedy. 35 In future when any of the Commanders of Our Ships shall refuse to receive discharged able bodied Soldiers for compleating their Complement you are to protest against them for the same, and send the Men on board as Charterparty Passengers and we will settle the matter with the Owners here. 36 We have appointed Mr. James Adney to be School Master at St. Helena with a Salary of £70. - PAnnum, and we have also thought proper to appoint him Judge Advocate there with the usual Allowance annexed to that Post - Mr. Adney has been paid £100. for defraying the Expence of the Passage of himself and Family to St. Helena. 37 At the request of Captain James Toppet, late Engineer at St. Helena, We have permitted him or his Attornies to pay into your Cash the Sum of Twelve	32: The Court regarded Major Bazett's readiness to take command of the Artillery Company as a proper act of duty, and it was very pleased with it. 33: The Court noted the Council's recommendation of Captain Howard and fully valued his service. Before deciding on his petition, however, it wanted him to explain more exactly what he wished to have done for him. 34: Thomas Bazett, a native of St Helena, was returning to the island in the *Queen*. The Court had appointed him a writer, to rank next below Nathaniel Kennedy. 35: In future, if any commander of the Company's ships refused to take discharged able-bodied soldiers to make up his crew, the Council was to lodge a formal protest against him. It was then to put the men aboard as passengers under the ship's charter party, and the Court would settle the matter with the owners in London. 36: The Court had appointed James Arney schoolmaster at St Helena at a salary of £70 0s 0d a year. It had also made him Judge Advocate there, with the usual allowance attached to that post. Arney had been paid £100 0s 0d to cover the cost of his own and his family's passage to St Helena. 37: At the request of Captain James Tippet, formerly Engineer at St Helena, the Court allowed him or his attorneys to pay £1,200 0s 0d into the island's treasury. The Council was to receive the money and grant bills on the Court for the same sum. **Interpretations** The order on discharged soldiers solved a problem the island met every season. A soldier at the end of his term had no way home except as a working seaman, and a captain who had a full crew, or did not want soldiers, could refuse him. The man was then stranded

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		hundred pounds which you are to receive accordingly, granting Bills on Us to that Amount. 38 As the Safety of the Island depends much upon **Margin Notes:** Major Bazett's taking Charge of the Artillery highly agreeable Capt. Howard to explain himself more fully Mr. T. Bazett appointed a Writer To Protest against Capts. who refuse to receive able Men to compleat their Complement Mr. James Adney Appd. Schoolmaster & Judge Advocate Capt. Toppets Attys. allowed to pay £1200 into the Comps. Cash	on the island at the Company's cost or tempted back into service. By making such men charter-party passengers, the Court put them aboard whether the captain liked it or not, and left the cost to be settled with the owners afterwards. The *Northington* roll of May 1779, which listed eight men discharged from the garrison as members of her crew, shows how most of them in fact got home. Tippet's £1,200 0s 0d worked the same way as the bills granted to the Governor and councillors in June 1779. His agents on the island paid money owed to him into the treasury and received bills that the Court would pay in London. A former Engineer who had left the island could thus collect his remaining wealth there without shipping coin across the ocean.
26	13	upon the Artillery, we have thought proper to fill the Vacancy occasioned by the Sentence of the Court Martial held on Capt. Toppet but you are not to conclude from thence that the Proceedings of that Court Martial, and the one held on the Non Commissioned Officers of the Artillery Company meet with Our Approbation, and we shall have Occasion by a future opportunity to give you Our Sentiments on those Proceedings more fully. 39 Having found notwithstanding the Directions we have given you respecting Invalids, that several Persons have applied to Us to be admitted on the Military Fund, and have appeared to be justly entitled to such Benefit, but were unable to produce the Certificates requisite to warrant Us to admit them as Pensioners, in order to remove this difficulty in future, We direct that you attend strictly to our former Orders respecting all such Invalids as shall return from your Island, and particularly that the Certificates be signed by the Commanding Officer and Counter signed by the Governor and Council, and must specify their length of Service and also be accompanied with a Certificate from the Surgeon stating the Casualty or Cause of his becoming an Invalid. You must therefore not only furnish each Invalide with the Abovementioned Testimonials but also transmit copies thereof in your Packets to Us. 40 We have caused Application to be made to Sir Charles Raymond respecting the Legacy of £1000 mentioned in your Letter of 2d September 1777 to have been given by the Will of Mrs. Mary Hunt deceased to the Poor of St. Helena, and find that it is not given to the Church Wardens of the Parish of St. Helena, or left to their disposal, but is given generally to the poor Widows and Orphans residing at St. Helena, so that the choice of the proper objects and the Proportions to be given to each is left to the direction of the Executors - They are desirous to have the Money distributed to proper Objects, and for	38: The safety of the island depended heavily on its artillery. The Court had therefore filled the vacancy left by the sentence of the court martial on Captain Tippet. The Council was not to take this as approval of that court martial, or of the one held on the non-commissioned officers of the Artillery Company. The Court did not approve the proceedings of either, and it would give its views on them more fully at a later opportunity. 39: In spite of its earlier orders about invalids, several men had applied to the Court for places on the Military Fund. They appeared fully entitled to the benefit, but could not produce the certificates the Court needed before admitting them as pensioners. To prevent this difficulty in future, the Court ordered the Council to follow its earlier orders strictly for every invalid sent home from the island. Each man's certificate was to be signed by his commanding officer and countersigned by the Governor and Council, and it was to state his length of service. It was also to be accompanied by a certificate from the surgeon, stating the injury or cause that had made him an invalid. The Council was to give every invalid these papers and also to send copies to the Court in its packets. 40: The Court had applied to Sir Charles Raymond about the legacy of £1,000 0s 0d left to the poor of St Helena by the will of the late Mrs Mary Hunt, which the Council had mentioned in its letter of 2 September 1777. The legacy was not left to the churchwardens of the parish or placed at their disposal. It was left in general terms to the poor widows and orphans living on St Helena, and the choice of who should receive it, and how much each should have, was left to the executors. The executors wished the money to go to suitable people. For that purpose they had paid £1,000 0s 0d into the Company's treasury in London, to be paid out again on St Helena to the Governor and Council, who were to distribute it among proper recipients. **Interpretations** Captain Tippet had been the island's Engineer until a court martial removed him, and William Pierce had taken his place. The Court filled the post because the island could not be left without an engineer and artillery commander. It made clear, however, that it did not accept the trial that had cleared the way. In the same letter it allowed Tippet's attorneys to pay £1,200 0s 0d into the island's treasury for bills on London. The Court was treating him as a man wronged by the island's officers, not as one rightly dismissed. The full judgement it promised would reach a Council whose own court martial it had already declined to endorse. The legacy shows the executors in London handing their own discretion to the Governor and Council. They could not judge from England which widows and orphans on a distant island most deserved help, so they passed the money through the Company's treasury and left the choice to the island's government. The Council thereby became the distributor of private charity as well as public relief.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		that purpose have paid One Thousand Pounds into our Treasury here, to be repaid in St. Helena to our Governor and Council there for **Margin Notes:** Proceedings of the Trial of Capt. Toppet &c. not approved Invalids to be furnished with proper Testimonials to entitle them to the Military Fund The Legacy of £1000 left by the late Mrs. Hunt to be distributed by the Governor & Council to proper Objects	
27	14	for the time being to whom Sir Charles Raymond will write by this Ship requesting them to take the trouble of the distribution. We recommend to our said Governor and Council to take this charge upon them and to follow such Instructions therein as they shall receive from Sir Charles Raymond Baronet and Edward Lord Clerk Esquire the Executors of Mrs. Hunt. Our Treasurer here has signed three Receipts for the Money according to the tenor whereof you are to pay the said One Thousand Pounds to Our Governor and Council of St. Helena for the time being, and take a Discharge from them for the same. We are London 23d January 1778. Your loving Friends Signed George Tatem Thos. Cheeck Ben. Booth George Cuming Chas. Boddam J. Purling R. Hall Robt. Gregory John Harrison. G. Wombwell W. Devaynes W. Rous Fredk. Pigou John Smith Samuel Peach James Moffatt H. Fletcher Nathl. Smith	The executors of Mrs Hunt's will intended the £1,000 0s 0d to be paid to the Governor and Council of the day. Sir Charles Raymond would write to them by the same ship, asking them to take on the work of distributing it. The Court asked its Governor and Council to accept this charge and to follow whatever instructions they received from the executors, Sir Charles Raymond, Baronet, and Edward Lord Chick. The Company's treasurer in London had signed three receipts for the money. In line with those receipts, the £1,000 0s 0d was to be paid to the Governor and Council of St Helena for the time being, who were to give a formal discharge for it. The Directors signed the letter in London on 23 January 1778. George Tatem Thomas Cheap Benjamin Booth George Cuming Charles Boddam J. Purling R. Hall Robert Gregory John Harrison G. Wombwell W. Devaynes W. Rous Frederick Pigou John Smith Samuel Peach James Moffatt H. Fletcher Nathaniel Smith **Interpretations** The letter was written in London on 23 January 1778, so every date it calls "last" falls in 1777. The Council's letters it answers, of 27 January, 30 April, 20 July and 20 September, all belong to 1777, and the request for two iron chests reached London by the *Triton* on 27 July 1777. The Longwood fence and water scheme that the Court refused were therefore proposed in July 1777, well before Wrangham brought forward his tank in February 1779. When Wrangham made his proposal, the Council already had the Court's ban on bringing water into the wood, and his rain-catching tank went ahead in spite of it. The letter's statement that the fortifications were complete was made in peacetime, before France entered the war, which explains why it soon gave way to the urgent defence orders of 1779. The letter carried the signatures of 18 Directors, the working majority of the Court. A general letter signed this way carried the full authority of the Company. Every order in it, from abolishing the Superintendent of slaves to repaying the money for the casks, bound the Council as a corporate decision, not one director's opinion.
28	15	Our Governor and Council of St. Helena Par. 1 Since our Letter to you of the 23d Ultimo	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		We have received your Letter dated the 28th November last by the Ship Hector. 2 We have appointed Lieutenant Robert Hodson of the Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot to supply one of the Vacancies of Second Lieutenants at your Island he proceeds on this Ship and is upon his arrival to enter upon the usual Pay and Allowances annexed to the above Station. We are London Your loving Friends the 20th February 1778. G. Wombwell W. Devaynes Fredk. Pigou J Purling John Harrison Chas. Boddam George Tatem Thos. Cheeck John Smith John Michie Ben Booth Robt. Gregory R. Hall Henry Savage Joseph Sparkes **Margin Notes:** Letter recd. by the Hector Lt. Hodson's Appointmt.	1: Since its letter of 23 January 1778, the Court had received the Council's letter of 28 November 1777, brought by the ship *Hector*. 2: The Court had appointed Lieutenant Robert Hodson, of the Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot, to fill one of the vacancies for second lieutenant on the island. He was sailing in the same ship. On arrival he was to receive the usual pay and allowances of that rank. The Directors signed the letter in London on 20 February 1778. G. Wombwell W. Devaynes Frederick Pigou J. Purling John Harrison Charles Boddam George Tatem Thomas Cheap John Smith John Manship Benjamin Booth Robert Gregory R. Hall Henry Savage Joseph Sparkes **Interpretations** Robert Hodson came to St Helena from a regiment of the King's army, not from the Company's own service. He appears in the island's pay lists of 1778 and 1779 as a lieutenant of the Artillery Company, drawing £27 7s 6d a quarter and diet money. The Company had no officer school of its own, and it filled vacancies on its garrisons by taking men who had already served in royal regiments. Such officers brought training and experience the island could not supply. Appointing one directly from London also kept the post out of the hands of local families, whose sons the Court had just refused to commission as too young.
29	16	Our Governor and Council of St. Helena Par. 1 Since our Letter to you of the 23d of January last we have received your several Letters dated the 20 November 1777 and 21 of March 11 April 20 and 22 of May 9 June and 20 of August 1778 - 2 Herewith you will receive a List of the Ships sailed for and arrived from the East Indies since the Departure of the Queen - 3 The Gentlemen who compose the Secret Committee for the present Season are Sir George Wombwell Bart. Chairman of the Court, Sir William James Bart. Deputy with Benjamin Booth, William Devaynes, Robert Gregory, John Purling, John Roberts, Laurence Sulivan and John Woodhouse Esquires and you are hereby directed strictly to obey such orders as you may receive from any Three or more of them so far as respects the safety of the Company's Shipping - 4 The Ships we have entertained in the Company's Service this Season, their Tonnage, Commanders and Consignments are as follow Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments London: Tons 723, Commanders Danl. Webb, Consignments St. Helena Bencoolen & China Granby: Tons 786, Commanders John Johnston Atlas: Tons 758, Commanders Allen Cooper Halsewell: Tons 758, Commanders Richd. Pierce E. of Oxford: Tons 758, Commanders John White	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: Since its letter of 23 January 1778, the Court had received the Council's letters dated 20 November 1777 and 21 March, 11 April, 20 May, 22 May, 9 June and 20 August 1778. 2: The Court enclosed a list of the ships that had sailed for, and arrived from, the East Indies since the *Queen* left England. 3: The members of the Secret Committee for the present season were Sir George Wombwell, Baronet, Chairman of the Court; Sir William James, Baronet, Deputy Chairman; and Benjamin Booth, William Devaynes, Robert Gregory, John Purling, John Roberts, Laurence Sulivan and John Woodhouse. The Council was ordered to obey strictly any orders it received from any three or more of them, in everything concerning the safety of the Company's shipping. 4: The ships the Company had taken into its service that season, with their tonnage, commanders and destinations, were as follows. The *London*, 723 tons, commanded by Daniel Webb, bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China. The *Granby*, 786 tons, commanded by John Johnston, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Atlas*, 758 tons, commanded by Allen Cooper, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Halsewell*, 758 tons, commanded by Richard Pierce, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Earl of Oxford*, 758 tons, commanded by John White, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Alfred*, 758 tons, commanded by James Williamson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Alfred: Tons 758, Commanders James Williamson Consignments Coast & China Norfolk: Tons 723, Commanders Saml. Chas. Bonham, Consignments Do. and Bay - **Margin Notes:** Acknowledging the receipt of Letters List of Ships to & from the East Indies Gentlemen who compose the Secret Committee Ships taken up -	The *Norfolk*, 723 tons, commanded by [...] Beal Bonham, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. **Interpretations** The Secret Committee was named to the Council so that it would recognise the authority behind any sealed orders that later reached it. Any three members could give binding instructions on the safety of the Company's ships without waiting for the full Court to meet. In wartime that speed mattered. Convoys, rendezvous and the holding or release of a fleet could not wait on the Court's ordinary business. The packet the *Hind* brought in May 1779, which ordered new works at Buttermilk Point and James's Valley at once, came under this authority. So did the instructions the Governor cited when he weighed sending the fleet home without a convoy. The list of the season's ships told the Council which vessels to expect and where they were going. The island could then plan its supplies of water, food and stores for each arrival, and know which ships should carry its letters on to India and China.
30	17	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Fox: Tons 758, Commanders John Blackburn E. of Talbot: Tons 758, Commanders Thos. Henderson [...]: Tons 758, Commanders Burnet Abercrombie Ganges: Tons 758, Commanders Geo. Richardson Ceres: Tons 723, Commanders Thos. Newte Hawke: Tons 723, Commanders John Elton Worcester: Tons 723, Commanders John Cook Consignments Coast & Bay Genl. Barker: Tons 758, Commanders Alexr. Tod [...]: Tons 758, Commanders 0 Consignments Madeira Coast & Bay Duke of Grafton: Tons 804, Commanders Saml. Bull, Consignments Fort St. George & B. bay Resolution: Tons 804, Commanders Thos. Pointing, Consignments B. Bay & Bengal Princess Royal: Tons 864, Commanders Robt. Ker, Consignments St. Helena & Bencoolen Earl of Sandwich: Tons 804, Commanders Chas. Deane, Consignments B. Bay and China Prime: Tons 864, Commanders Jas. Dundas, Consignments Madeira & B. Bay 5 On the Arrival of the London by which Ship you will receive this Letter, you are to unload the several Articles consigned to St. Helena as expeditiously as possible that she may be dispatched to her future destination within the time limited by Charterparty Copy whereof is enclosed in the Packet for your information - 6 We have appointed a President and Select Committee with full powers to transact the Company's Affairs in China consisting of Mr. Thomas Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper 7 We have also appointed the following Persons to be Supra Cargoes under the said Committee Viz. Mr. Jas. Bradshaw Wm. Hen. Pigou Geo. Rogers Abraham Roebuck Henry Browne **Margin Notes:** The London to be dispatched as soon as possible after her arrival Select Committee of Supra Cargoes appointed at China Supra Cargoes	4 (continued): The rest of the season's ships were as follows. The *Fox*, 758 tons, commanded by John Blackburn, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Earl Talbot*, 758 tons, commanded by Thomas [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *[...]*, 758 tons, commanded by Burnet Abercrombie, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Ganges*, 758 tons, commanded by George Richardson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Ceres*, 723 tons, commanded by Thomas Newte, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Hawke*, 723 tons, commanded by John Elton, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Worcester*, 723 tons, commanded by John Cook, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *General Barker*, 758 tons, commanded by Alexander Tod, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *[...]*, 758 tons, commanded by [...], bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Duke of Grafton*, 804 tons, commanded by Samuel Bull, bound for Fort St George and Bombay. The *Resolution*, 804 tons, commanded by Thomas Pointing, bound for Bombay and Bengal. The *Princess Royal*, 864 tons, commanded by Robert Kerr, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Earl of Sandwich*, 804 tons, commanded by Charles Dean, bound for Bombay and China. The *[...]*, 864 tons, commanded by James Dundas, bound for Madeira and Bombay. 5: The Council would receive this letter by the *London*. When she arrived, it was to unload the goods sent to St Helena as quickly as possible, so that she could be sent on to her next port within the time her charter party allowed. A copy of the charter party was enclosed in the packet for the Council's information. 6: The Court had appointed a President and Select Committee, with full powers to manage the Company's affairs in China. Its members were Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper. 7: The Court had also appointed the following men as supercargoes under that Committee. 1: James Bradshaw 2: William Henry Pigou 3: George Hughes

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			4: Abraham Roebuck 5: Henry Browne **Interpretations** The *Earl Talbot* in this list was the store ship the island waited for through the hungry winter of 1779. On 28 June 1779 the Governor and Lieutenant Governor set 1 July as the last day for her arrival before they sent the *Hind* to the Cape for flour. She was one of the ships of the 1778 season bound for the Coast and Bay. Ogilvie had reckoned in May that a fleet that left England in March could not reach the island before late June, and the island's long wait shows how slow such passages were in wartime. The supercargoes named here were the Canton council whose signatures stood at the foot of the invoices brought by the *Latham*, the *Lord North*, the *Earl of Mansfield* and the *Lord Holland* in June 1779. A supercargo was the Company's merchant agent abroad who bought and loaded the cargoes. The letter thus shows where the tea, sugar and nankeen sent to St Helena came from. They were bought and invoiced by the same men the Court appointed in London a season earlier.
31	18	replaced. We have Shipped on the Earl Talbot 150 Hogsheads of Salt Provisions and 268 Barrels of Flour for St. Helena being nearly equal to the quantity lost, and We have - directed to be provided and Shipped on the Princess Royal in addition to the Tonnage first allotted to that Ship a few Articles to replace the most material of the other part of the Supplies lost on the London, consisting chiefly of Cloathing for the Military and Slaves, Salt, Bed - Soldiers Accoutrements, Medicines, Stationary and Garden Seeds - 4 As we have thought fit to appoint Thomas Fitzhugh Esqr. Mr. Thomas Bevan and Mr. Matthew Raper to be a Select Committee of Supra Cargos with full powers to transact the Company's business in China, We direct that you address the said Committee whenever our Affairs shall render it necessary for you to correspond - with our Servants at Canton - 5 We think it necessary to acquaint you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to order an additional Naval Force and a Regiment of Regular Troops to proceed to the East Indies for the protection of the Company's Commerce and Settlements. The Squadron is composed of several Ships of the Line under the Command of Sir Edward Hughes Knight of the Bath - We are London Your Loving Friends 4 February 1779 (Signed) Jno. Purling Geo. Tatem Rt. Gregory Saml. Peach Jno. Roberts J. Fletcher Jno. Smith L. Sulivan J Woodhouse Jno. Michie Jos. Sparkes R Hall G. Wombwell Wm. James Rd. Becher	3 (continued): The Court had also replaced the provisions lost in the *London*. It had shipped on the *Earl Talbot* 150 hogsheads of salt provisions and 268 barrels of flour for St Helena, close to the quantity lost. It had further ordered a few more goods to be loaded on the *Princess Royal*, on top of the space first allotted to her. These would replace the most important of the other supplies lost in the *London*, chiefly clothing for the soldiers and slaves, salt, [...], soldiers' equipment, medicines, stationery and garden seeds. 4: The Court had appointed Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper as a Select Committee of supercargoes, with full powers to manage the Company's business in China. Whenever the Council needed to write to the Company's servants at Canton, it was to address that Committee. 5: The Court thought it necessary to tell the Council that the King had ordered a further naval force and a regiment of regular troops to the East Indies to protect the Company's trade and settlements. The squadron was made up of several ships of the line, under the command of Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the Bath. The Directors signed the letter in London on 4 February 1779. John Purling George Tatem Robert Gregory Samuel Peach John Roberts J. Fletcher John Smith L. Sulivan J. Woodhouse John Michie Joseph Sparkes R. Hall G. Wombwell William James Richard Becher William Mills junior Thomas Cheap **Interpretations** The *Earl Talbot* carried the flour and salt meat meant to make good the loss of the *London*. Her 268 barrels of flour were the supply the island waited for through the winter of 1779, when its bread fell to four and a half weeks and the garrison was fed on yams. The Court had loaded her in time, but she left England with a large fleet and called at Madeira first, as Ogilvie had warned. The island's hunger was caused less by any

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Wm. Mills Jr. Thos. Cheap **Margin Notes:** Provisions sent P Earl Talbot Directs to address the Select Committee of Supra Cargoes at Canton when occasion requires Additional Naval Force & a Regiment of Regular Troops sent to the East Indies	failure in London than by the slowness of wartime convoys and the loss of a single ship. The letter also showed why no convoy came for the fleet waiting at St Helena. The King's new squadron under Sir Edward Hughes was sailing out to defend the Company's settlements in India, not to escort homeward ships from the Atlantic. The Council knew from this that the navy's strength was going east, which strengthened the case for sending its ships home together without an escort, as it finally did on 24 June 1779.
32	21	Our Governor & Council of St. Helena - Par. 1 Our last Letters to you were dated 6 November 1778 and 4 February 1779 and went by the Ship Earl Talbot, we have since received your several advices dated 12 October & 24 Decr. 1778 12 January and 1 February 1779 - 2 The Secret Committee for the present Year consists of Sir William James Baronet Chairman of the Court William Devaynes Esqr. Deputy Chairman George Cuming, John Harrison, John Manship, John Purling, Henry Savage, Laurence Sulivan and John Woodhouse Esquires, the orders therefore that they or any three of them shall give respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping are to be strictly obeyed - 3 We have now Shipped on the Princess Royal the Timber for a Drawbridge and Crane at St. Helena which was returned last Year from the Crane for want of Room - 4 The Articles shipped on this Ship to replace part of the consignment lost in the London consist of such only as appeared to Us to be essentially necessary for the Service of the Island, and several others of less moment are provided, as there could not have been sufficient tonnage for the whole, and as the Electrical Apparatus which the Surgeon requested might be sent him for Medical Purposes does not seem to be one of the Articles to be immediately necessary We have not comply'd with his request by the present conveyance but defer to a future consideration - **Margin Notes:** Receipt of Letters Secret Committee Timber for Drawbridge Most essential Articles Laden on the Princess Royal Electrical machine not sent -	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court's last letters to the island were dated 6 November 1778 and 4 February 1779 and went by the ship *Earl Talbot*. Since then it had received the Council's letters dated 12 October and 24 December 1778, and 12 January and 1 February 1779. 2: The Secret Committee for the present year consisted of Sir William James, Baronet, Chairman of the Court; William Devaynes, Deputy Chairman; and George Cuming, John Harrison, John Manship, John Purling, Henry Savage, Laurence Sulivan and John Woodhouse. Any orders that they, or any three of them, gave about the safety of the Company's shipping were to be strictly obeyed. 3: The Court had now shipped in the *Princess Royal* the timber for a drawbridge and a crane at St Helena. It had been sent back from the [...] the previous year for lack of room. 4: The goods shipped in the *Princess Royal* to replace part of the consignment lost in the *London* were only those the Court thought essential to the island's service. Several others of less importance would follow, since there was not enough room in the ship for everything. The surgeon had asked for an electrical apparatus for medical use. The Court did not think it one of the things immediately needed, so it had not sent it by this ship and would consider the request later. **Interpretations** The *London* had been listed for the 1778 season as bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China, and she carried the island's main consignment of stores for that year. Her loss left the island without the supplies it had counted on. It helps to explain the shortages of 1779, when the garrison's bread was cut, the rice ran out and the Council waited months for the *Earl Talbot*. The Court could replace only the most necessary items at once, so the island's recovery depended on what each later ship could find room for. The electrical apparatus was a machine that built up a static charge by friction and delivered shocks to a patient. In the 1770s doctors in England used it to treat paralysis, rheumatism and other complaints, and it was a fashionable new remedy. The Court ranked it below the necessities lost with the *London*, so the island's surgeon had to wait.
33	22	5 Agreeable to our directions you inform Us that Mr. Doveton has refunded the Sum of £103 received by him for Casks but that he requests indulgence with respect to the Sum of £55 received by him the preceding Year on the like account; We have considered the reasons alleged by him together with your recommendation, and do therefore consent to remit the demand on him for the Sum £55; at the same time We again repeat that the Company must not be put to any future expence for Casks when there must always be a sufficient quantity in their Stores to answer any purposes for which they can be wanted. 6 We have considered the Address of Lieutenant Leech	5: As the Court had directed, the Council reported that Mr Doveton had repaid the £103 0s 0d he received for casks. Doveton asked for leniency over a further £55 0s 0d paid to him on the same account the year before. The Court considered his reasons and the Council's recommendation, and agreed to drop its claim to the £55 0s 0d. It repeated, however, that the Company must never again pay for casks, since its stores always held enough to meet every need. 6: The Court had considered the position of Lieutenant Leech, appointed as a temporary officer in the artillery. He had argued that staying in that post might stand in the way of his future promotion. The artillery's work was too important for the Court to release him from his present duty. The Council was nonetheless to tell him that the Court did not mean to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		appointed a temporary Officer in the Artillery, setting forth that his continuation there may be a [...] to his future promotion but as the Service of that Corps is of great consequence We can by no means dispense with his present Duty, at the same time you will signify to him that it is not our intention to continue him longer in that service than such time as a supply can be provided of proper Officers. 7 In answer to Captn. Howards request to be put upon the Military Fund and continue on the Island, We direct that the proper Certificate be sent home in order that the same may be laid before the Committee for the management of that Fund; and in the mean time it is our order that you continue him on half pay till you shall have received our further directions upon the Subject. 8 With regard to the deficiency in the Company's Stock of Sheep to the number of 73 owing as you set forth to the inattention of Mr. Howard the late overseer We are willing in some degree imputa the [...] justly due to his carelessness and therefore direct that he pay one half of the value of the said Sheep and that you demand the same of him accordingly - 9 Should Nayardah Peckellum the Malloy Prince return to St. Helena. You are to receive and entertain him as before and give him such countenance as humanity shall dictate to you upon the occasion - 10 We confirm your appointment of Messrs. Doveton and Kennedy on the establishment of Factors they having served their term of five Years as Writers to the Company - **Margin Notes:** Respecting Mr. Doveton's refunding Money for Casks sent to the Island The Sum of £55 remitted for Casks on the Island Lt. Leech not to remain longer in the Artillery than till such time as the vacancy in that Corps is be filled Capt. Howard to be put upon the Military Fund to be continued [...] Mr. Howard to pay half the value of the Sheep deficient Respecting the Peckellum &c. Messrs. Doveton & Kennedy confirmed as Factors	keep him there any longer than it took to find suitable officers. 7: Captain Howard had asked to be placed on the Military Fund and to remain on the island. The Court directed that the proper certificate be sent home, so that his case could be laid before the committee that managed the Fund. Meanwhile the Council was to keep him on half pay until it received further orders. 8: The Council had reported a shortfall of 75 sheep in the Company's flock and blamed it on the inattention of Mr Worrall. The Court thought the loss was partly due to his carelessness. It directed that he pay half the value of the sheep, and that the Council demand that sum from him. 9: If Rugundat Pookellum, the Malay prince, returned to St Helena, the Council was to receive and entertain him as before. It was to show him whatever kindness humanity required. 10: The Court confirmed the Council's appointment of Messrs Doveton and Kennedy as factors. Both had served their five years as writers to the Company. **Interpretations** The Malay prince explains the separate account kept in the name of Mallay in the storekeeper's books. In the last quarter of 1778 that account drew a full ration of meat, rice, flour, sugar, tea and arrack, with fine shoes, serge, a tea kettle, china, long cloth, silk and buttons. The quarter's total came to £12 11s 2d, far above anything spent on a slave or soldier. The goods fitted a man of rank lodged at the Company's cost, which the Court's order now confirms. The Company held such Eastern princes when their own states were in turmoil, often as political exiles or hostages. The Court's instruction to treat him "as humanity dictated" shows that he was a guest under the Company's protection, not a prisoner, and that his upkeep was a charge the Court accepted. The Court dealt with Doveton and Worrall in opposite ways. It forgave Doveton the £55 0s 0d after he had repaid the larger sum, but made Worrall pay half the value of the lost sheep. It divided the loss, accepting that the drought and disease were partly to blame while holding the man in charge answerable for his share. Both decisions put the island's officials on notice that the Company would make its servants pay for losses caused by their own carelessness.
34	23	11 With respect to the Madeira Wine, mentioned in your 13 Paragraph of General Letter of 20 August 1778 We direct that the same be put up to Auction and disposed of to the best advantage - 12 We have very maturely considered the subject of the 10 Paragraph of your Genl. Letter of 2d August 1778 respecting the undertakg. of fencing in the Long Wood, and have inspected the proposals made by Mr. Wrangham to execute the work by contract for £3000, which upon a Calculation of the extent which you say is 6006 Yards will be near 10/ PYard, a charge that appears to Us very enormous; and although We are willing to make every just allowance for difference of Expence arising from scarcity price of Labour or other circumstances yet We must here observe that in the Northern Counties in	11: The Court directed that the Madeira wine mentioned in the 12th paragraph of the Council's general letter of 20 August 1778 be sold at auction for the best price it would fetch. 12: The Court had carefully considered the 10th paragraph of the Council's general letter of 20 August 1778, about fencing the Long Wood. It had examined William Wrangham's offer to build the fence under contract for £3,000 0s 0d. The Council put the length of the fence at 6,000 yards, so the price came to 10s 0d a yard, a charge the Court thought enormous. It was ready to allow fairly for differences in the cost of labour and other circumstances. It pointed out, however, that in the northern counties of England, where walls of this kind were common, a wall 6 feet high could be built for about £600 0s 0d. In the dearest counties it would cost about £1,800 0s 0d. In the first case, quarrying the stone cost about 6d a yard, carrying it no more than 1s 0d a yard and building the wall 6d a yard. That came to about 2s 0d a yard in all, and in

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		England where Inclosures of this kind are in use a Wall of 6 feet high might be built for about £600, and in the desart Counties for about £1000 in the first Instance the Expence of getting the Stones out of the Quarry being about 6d. PYard Carriage not exceeding one Mile 1/ PYard and building the Wall 6d. PYard being on the whole about 2/ PYard and in many parts for 1/6 PYard and in the second instance the expence altogether being about 3/6 PYard - 13 We by no means think it advisable to accept the Terms offered by Mr. Wrangham upon a Sum so far exceeding the Estimate that had formerly been sent Us, at the same time We have no doubt, if our Servants act with that attention and integrity indispensably due from those who would not lay any claim to our favor, but show themselves worthy to be continued in Our Service, that this as well as every other undertaking, might be carried on by the Company on their own account, to as much advantage as by any Private Person. - 14 Being sensible of the great utility if not necessity of making the proposed Fence, but declining to enter into the contract with Mr. Wrangham it is our order that you consult the most effectual and economical measures to carry it into execution, and as we can have here no doubt but many of your Soldiers may have been employed in England on works of that nature, you may very beneficially avail yourselves of their labor, to which End we recommend to you to contract with them separately for carrying on the different parts of the work as getting the Stones and building **Margin Notes:** Madeira Wine to be sold by Auction - Concerning the Fencing of Long Wood Mr. Wrangham's terms offered for fencing Long Wood rejected Respecting Long Wood	many places only 1s 6d. In the second case the whole cost was about 6s 0d a yard. 13: The Court thought it by no means wise to accept Wrangham's terms, at a sum so far above the estimate sent earlier. It had no doubt that the Company could carry out this work, like any other, on its own account and to as much advantage as any private person. That would follow if its servants showed the care and honesty expected of men who claimed no favour beyond deserving to stay in its service. 14: The Court fully recognised the great value, even the necessity, of the proposed fence. Having declined to contract with Wrangham, it ordered the Council to work out the most effective and economical way to carry it out. Many of the garrison's soldiers had probably done such work in England, and the Council could make good use of their labour. To that end the Court recommended contracting with them separately for the different parts of the work, such as quarrying the stone and building. **Interpretations** Wrangham was a member of the Council, and he had offered to build a Company work as a private contractor at a price the Court judged five times the fair cost. The Council had forwarded his offer to London. The Court rejected it and then went further, saying that honest servants could do the work for the Company as cheaply as any private man. That was a pointed rebuke. It implied that a councillor who stood to profit from a contract could not be trusted to judge its price. The same Wrangham had built the Longwood tank in 1779 against the spirit of the Court's ban, and in July 1779 he leased Company waste land in Sandy Bay. The Court's figures, taken from walls in the English countryside, gave it an outside measure against which the island's estimates could no longer hide their cost. The Court's remedy turned to the garrison. Many soldiers had been labourers and masons in England before they enlisted. Paying them piece rates for quarrying and walling would keep the money within the Company's own establishment and cut out the contractor's profit. It also fitted the island's practice, where soldiers already earned extra day pay as labourers on the works.
35	24	the Wall letting out each Article separately 100 Yards to one 200 Yards to another and 400 Yards to another according to their Abilities at a certain rate by the Yard. In England when large Works of this kind are to be done an Advertisement is put up at the Church door or some other Public Place giving notice and fixing the Day and Place, when it is let in Public to the lowest Bidder in Quantities according to such Persons Abilities and generally 2. 3. or 4 Men join together in a certain length of Walling - the getting the Stones out of the Quarry is let in the same manner by the Yard length of Wall and as some Powder and Tools may be necessary for Blasting we consent that you provide the Contractors with a proper supply on the occasion. We are convinced that this method will be attended with great advantage and that the Soldiers will very readily engage in an employment by which at the lowest Prices above stated each may earn 4/ or 5/ a day - The building of the Wall may certainly be carried on in the same manner as in England but with respect to carriage of the Stones, that part of the Work must be done by your Carts and Bullocks - 15 We have now given you an idea of the smallest Cost and manner of carrying on such a Work in England for your general guidance and We expect that such difference if any as may arise between our Estimate here and the Expences on your Island be accounted for in the fullest and most	14 (continued): The Court suggested letting out each part of the work separately: 100 yards of wall to one man, 200 yards to another and 400 yards to a third, according to what each could manage, at a fixed rate per yard. In England, when large works of this kind were to be done, a notice was posted at the church door or some other public place, giving the day and place of a public letting. The work was then let to the lowest bidders in lengths to suit each man's ability, and two, three or four men usually joined together to take a length of walling. Quarrying the stone was let the same way, by the yard length of wall. Some powder and tools might be needed for blasting, and the Court agreed that the Council could supply the contractors with enough for the work. It was convinced that this method would bring great savings. It also believed the soldiers would readily take up work by which, even at the lowest rates stated above, each man could earn 4s 0d or 5s 0d a day. The walling itself could certainly be carried out as in England. The stone, however, would have to be carried by the Company's carts and bullocks. 15: The Court had now given the Council an idea of the exact cost and method of carrying out such a work in England, for its general guidance. It expected any difference between its own estimate and the cost on the island to be fully and satisfactorily explained. The material sent so far was far too thin for the Court to understand the plan properly. It therefore directed

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		satisfactory manner. The materials hitherto transmitted to Us being very insufficient for Us to attain a perfect knowledge of the present design, We direct that you send to Us by the first Conveyance an accurate Plan of Measurement and Survey of the whole Long Wood **Margin Notes:** Directions respecting the Fencing of Long Wood Concerning Long Wood	the Council to send, by the first ship, an accurate plan, with measurements and a survey, of the whole Long Wood. **Interpretations** The Court wanted the work put out to open competition, as English parishes and counties did, rather than handed to a single contractor chosen within the Council. Public notice and letting to the lowest bidder exposed the price to the market and left little room for a favoured insider to set his own terms. It was the plainest possible answer to Wrangham's offer. The wage the Court promised the soldiers was striking. At 4s 0d to 5s 0d a day, a private could earn in one day roughly what the Company paid him in five as a soldier at 10d. Paying by the yard rewarded speed and effort, and the Court judged that the men would grasp the chance eagerly. It also meant the Company paid only for wall actually built, whatever the hours spent, so the cost rested on the work done rather than the time taken.
36	25	Wood exactly specifying the extent and tract meant to be enclosed and the Old Inclosures if any - 16 We direct that the Wall be built five feet high with a Stone coping which we apprehend will effectually exclude the Cattle and as in consideration of the necessity or utility of the design, We consent that upon the receipt of this, you begin to erect the - proposed Fence. We direct that you immediately open a regular and exact Account of the progress and expences by the Yard to be sent home by the first conveyance, and that you continue by every subsequent conveyance to send the like Account drawn up to the date of the Ships dispatch, or as near as possible, that We may from time to time have full and compleat information how the Work is likely to answer on the Plan here proposed and transmit you occasionally our further Sentiments and directions upon the Subject. 17 And whenever you have any part of that Wood securely fenced, we direct that it be immediately planted full of young trees at only 3 feet distance which must be thinned as they grow up and you are to look forward to have Plants ready for the whole of the quickest Growing trees - If possible you may get some Plants of that sort from the Cape - 18 We send you by this Ship some Lombardy Poplars, a tree that is only lately introduced into England it is of very Quick Growth very beautiful and will grow to Size large enough for Masts of large Ships - it is propagated by cuttings of about 6 Inches long and as thick as your finger put into the Ground about 5 Inches deep it likes a Moist or Clayey Soil from these Plants we hope in two or three Years you will be able to raise Many thousand Plants fit to transplant **Margin Notes:** Concerning Long Wood As part of the Wood Fenced the same to be planted with Trees Lombardy Poplars sent -	15 (continued): The plan was to show exactly the extent and tract of land to be enclosed, and any old enclosures within it. 16: The Court directed that the wall be built 5 feet high, with a stone coping, which it believed would keep the cattle out. Given the need for the work, it agreed that the Council could begin building the fence as soon as it received this letter. The Council was at once to start a regular and exact account of the progress and cost, measured by the yard. The first account was to be sent home by the first ship, and a fresh one by every ship after, made up to the date of that ship's sailing or as close to it as possible. In this way the Court would always have full information on how the work was answering to the plan proposed, and could send its further views and orders from time to time. 17: As soon as any part of the wood was securely fenced, the Council was to plant it at once with young trees set only 3 feet apart, to be thinned as they grew. The Council was to make sure it had plants ready for the whole area, choosing the quickest-growing trees. If possible it might get some from the Cape. 18: The Court was sending by this ship some Lombardy poplars, a tree only recently brought into England. It grew very fast, was very handsome and would reach a size large enough for the masts of big ships. It was propagated from cuttings about 6 inches long and as thick as a finger, pushed about 5 inches into the ground, and it liked moist or clay soil. From these plants the Court hoped the island could raise many thousands of young trees, fit to transplant, within two or three years. **Interpretations** Having refused Wrangham's contract, the Court still approved the fence itself, on condition that the island could account for every yard. Requiring a cost-by-the-yard return by every ship turned a work 7,000 miles away into one the Court could watch almost season by season. Any overrun on its English estimate of about 2s 0d a yard would show at once in the returns. The Lombardy poplar had reached England only in the 1750s and was then a fashionable novelty. The Court's hope that it would supply ships' masts was misplaced, since its wood was soft and weak. Its value to St Helena lay in its speed of growth. A tree that rooted from a simple cutting and grew quickly in damp ground could clothe the bare uplands and supply firewood within a few years, where the slow native gumwood could not.
37	26	transplant out to the Wood which is generally done here at 2 or 3 Years old, experience will soon direct you how to manage them - 18 The erecting a New Gaol being a Work	The Court added that young trees were usually planted out in a wood at two or three years old, and experience would soon show the Council how to manage them.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of necessity in case the old one be not sufficient for the security of the Prisoners We permit that the same may be built, which we strictly order you to prosecute with the utmost economy and We further order that before you enter upon the undertaking you do not fail to send us a Plan and Estimate of it by the first conveyance. 19 We can by no means permit the Building New Houses for the Chaplain and the other Servants recommended in your Letter of the 12 October 1778 but direct that the present Houses be repaired which we think sufficient for the purpose - 20 With respect to the Rooms for the Quarter Sessions which you mention as necessary to be built We can by no means admit the proposal - during the time of Mr. Hutchinson's Government the Quarter Sessions were held in the Fort and as the Company have been at a great expence in adding to the Buildings in that place since his time We conclude there must be rooms sufficient there for the Purpose We therefore direct that you make use of them or make some other provision for the present occasion without running the Company to the expence of Building New Rooms - 21 We have considered the Proposal of Captain Pierce for Erecting a Platform for a Howitzer and two Guns on Butter Milk Point and for strengthening the Fortifications of James's Valley, We approve of the design and direct that the same be carried into execution. You have acted very properly in forming and transmitting to **Margin Notes:** A new Gaol permitted to be built an Estimate thereof to be sent The Plan for building new Houses not approved No rooms to be built for holding Quarter Sessions The old ones being considered as sufficient - The design of Erecting a Platform on Buttermilk Point & strengthg. the Fortifications in James's Valley approved -	18: A new gaol might be needed if the old one could not hold prisoners securely. The Court allowed it to be built, but strictly ordered the work to be done as cheaply as possible. Before starting, the Council was to send the Court a plan and estimate by the first ship. 19: The Court would by no means allow new houses to be built for the chaplain and the other servants, as the Council's letter of 12 October 1778 had recommended. It directed that the present houses be repaired, which it thought would serve well enough. 20: The Council had also said that rooms needed to be built for the Quarter Sessions. The Court rejected the proposal outright. Under Governor Hutchinson the Sessions had been held in the Fort. The Company had since spent heavily on additions to the buildings there, so there must be rooms enough for the purpose. The Council was to use them, or make some other arrangement for the time being, without putting the Company to the cost of new rooms. 21: The Court had considered Captain Pierce's proposal to build a platform for a howitzer and two guns on Buttermilk Point and to strengthen the portcullis in James's Valley. It approved the plan and directed that it be carried out. The Council had acted very properly in drawing it up and sending it [...]. **Interpretations** This letter carried the approval the Governor and Lieutenant Governor reported on 10 May 1779, when they ordered Pierce to begin at once on Buttermilk Point and the defences of James's Valley. The Council had referred these works home on 12 October 1778, as large works lay beyond its own authority. The Court's consent arrived about seven months later. The Court approved spending on defence while refusing it on comfort. It allowed the platform, the portcullis and, if truly needed, a gaol, but refused new houses and a courtroom. The paymaster's accounts show the Council already hiring a room for each Quarter Sessions at £3 0s 0d a time, and repairing the chaplain's house at the Company's cost in December 1778. The Court judged that existing buildings could serve and that the Fort, enlarged since Hutchinson's day, already held room enough. It weighed each request against the record of what earlier Governors had managed without.
38	27	to Us an Estimate of the Cost, which we hope will not be exceeded in the completion of the Work. 22 The reasons given by Mr. Corneille for the decrease of the Company's live Stock on your Island have not cleared up the matter to our satisfaction. It is true there was a great drought on the Island in the Year 1770 and 1775 but in Mr. Hutchinson's time as great droughts have happened and were as severely felt every season since the year 1772 has been favorable and there can be no doubt but the Stock might have been encreased to such a number as can be properly maintained - 23 The encreased value of black Cattle from England or the Cape can only affect the loss in Plantation Account in the Years they are received and if no additional Stock is received the loss cannot be affected by the reasons assigned by Mr. Corneille, with respect to his observation on Sheep Mr. Hutchinson left about 600 when he resigned the Government, a Stock sufficient with the natural encrease to have supplyd the Governors Table and have answered all other Purposes and had proper care been taken of the Stock, there would have been no occasion for the purchase of Sheep from the Planters to the amount of £835. 8. a measure totally avoided in Mr. Hutchinson's time, and nothing is a stronger proof of your neglect of the Plantation than this very instance where instead of having sufficient Stock for your use you have put the Company to the beforementioned -	21 (continued): The Council had sent an estimate of the cost, which the Court hoped would not be exceeded when the work was finished. 22: The reasons Mr Corneille gave for the fall in the Company's livestock on the island had not satisfied the Court. There had indeed been a severe drought on the island in 1770 and 1771. Yet great droughts had also struck in Governor Hutchinson's time and been felt just as hard. Every season since 1772 had been favourable. The Court had no doubt that the herds and flocks could have been built up to as many as the land could properly support. 23: A rise in the price of cattle bought from England or the Cape could only raise the loss on the plantation account in the years those animals were received. In years when no new stock arrived, Corneille's reasons could not explain the loss. As for his remarks on the sheep, Hutchinson had left about 600 when he gave up the government. With their natural increase, that flock should have been enough to supply the Governor's table and every other need. Had the stock been properly cared for, there would have been no need to buy sheep from the planters at a cost of £835 8s 0d, something never done in Hutchinson's time. Nothing showed the Council's neglect of the plantations more plainly. Instead of keeping enough stock for its own use, it had put the Company to that extraordinary expense, on top of the help it had received from the Cape.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		extraordinary expence besides the assistance you have received in Supply from the Cape - 24 Having said thus much in reply to what has been urged by Mr. Corneille We shall only add **Margin Notes:** The reasons assigned by Mr. Corneille for the decrease of the Comps. Stock not satisfactory Concerning the decrease of the Company's Stock 8 The expence incurred in purchase of Sheep for the Comps. Table	24: Having said this much in reply to Corneille's arguments, the Court would add only [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's rebuke was aimed at Corneille personally and rested on a comparison with Hutchinson's government. Hutchinson had left about 600 sheep. The livestock account of 31 March 1779 showed 247, and by 30 June the flock was down to 204. The paymaster's books bear out the Court's charge. Sheep were bought each quarter from Mrs Lamb, George Hayes, Matthew Bazett and others, and Captain Baird brought 50 from the Cape at £45 9s 0d. Much of that mutton went to the Governor's table and the hospital. The Court wrote in February 1779, before it could know of the drought then gripping the island. In the next six months 79 cattle and 25 sheep died, and the herd fell by a third. Corneille's answer to this letter would rest on the very cause the Court had just dismissed. The figures the island sent home that year would read in London either as proof of his excuse or as further evidence of the neglect the Court already suspected.
39	28	add that as we have lately put this matter upon a new Regulation We hope we shall have no cause to complain on this Subject in future - 25 We here strictly enjoin you to give an unremitted attention to the general discipline of the Troops and the Militia of the Island and to take - particular care that every Officer do closely apply to his Military duty and that no improper indulgencies be allowed in the present critical situation of Affairs when we cannot be too strongly on our guard with respect to any designs that may be forming against the - 26 We shall not at this distance of time enter upon the merits of the Proceedings of the Court Martial on the Non Commissioned Officers but if their Conduct since has been such as to merit your favor We direct that you shew them every mark of Approbation and encouragement that may be consistent with a due regard to Military Discipline - 27 Application having been made to Us by Sir Francis Buchanan relative to the Effects of Captain Thos. Stone late of our Military in Bengal who died on your Island We hereby direct that his Effects deposited in your Treasury be sent home by the first Ship and that you take care to advise Us on what Ship such Effects shall be sent - 28 We have permitted John Young a Native of St. Helena to return thither on the Princess Royal - 29 We direct you to receive the following Sum if duly tendered on account of the Estate of John Pritchard deceased and grant Bills of Exchange upon Us the ensuing Season for the Sum of £200 Affidavit being previously made by the Executor or Trustee that the **Margin Notes:** An unremitted attention recommended to the discipline of the Troops & Militia of the Island &c. Respecting the Non Commissioned Officers tried by a Court Martial &c. The Effects of Capt. Thos. Stone to be sent home - J. Young permitted to return Money belonging to the Estate of Jno. Pritchard permitted to be taken into the Company's Cash	24 (continued): The Court had recently placed this matter under new rules, and it hoped it would have no further cause for complaint on the subject. 25: The Court strictly ordered the Council to give constant attention to the discipline of the troops and the island's militia. It was to take particular care that every officer applied himself closely to his military duty. No improper indulgence was to be allowed at this critical time, when the island could not be too firmly on guard against any designs that might be forming against it. 26: At this distance of time, the Court would not go into the merits of the court martial on the non-commissioned officers. If their conduct since had earned the Council's approval, however, it was to show them every mark of favour and encouragement consistent with proper military discipline. 27: Sir Francis Buchanan had applied to the Court about the belongings of Captain Thomas Stone, formerly of the Company's army in Bengal, who had died on the island. The Court directed that his belongings, held in the island's treasury, be sent home by the first ship. The Council was to tell the Court which ship carried them. 28: The Court had given John Young, a native of St Helena, leave to return to the island in the *Princess Royal*. 20: The Court directed the Council to accept a sum properly offered on behalf of the estate of the late John Pritchard, and to grant bills of exchange on the Court for £200 0s 0d the next season. Before that, the executors or trustees were to swear an affidavit that [...]. **Interpretations** In its letter of 23 January 1778 the Court had refused to approve the court martial on the non-commissioned officers of the artillery and promised a fuller judgement later. It now declined to reopen the case and instead invited the Council to reward the men if they had served well since. Rather than overturn a verdict passed long ago and far away, the Court chose to soften its effects. That allowed it to show its disapproval without undermining discipline in the garrison. John Young was probably the eldest son of the planter William Young, whose will of 23 February 1778 named him as an executor. He was living in England when his father died in June 1779. The Court's leave was needed because no one could settle on St Helena without the Company's permission, even a man born there. His return let him take up the house and land his father's will had offered him first, as eldest son.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
40	29	the said Sum so tendered was the sole property of the deceased - 30 You are also directed to Grant Bills in favor of John Michie Esqr. for £500 to be received of Daniel Corneille Esqr. and Mr. Stroud - 31 We have attended to the several reasons assigned by you in your Letter of 20 May 1778 in answer to our Letter of 23 January 1778 respecting the great increase of the Charges on your Island, With which reasons we are by no means satisfied and must therefore repeat our Orders that you observe the strictest economy in every part of our Settlements under your direction, as We are determined to enter upon the most rigid reform, and entirely to suppress every unnecessary Article of that heavy Expence of which we have long complained - 32 As we observe that your Cash has increased to a greater amount than can be necessary for the Supply of your disbursements We direct that you Ship on this Ship the Princess Royal the amount of £20000 in Silver or as much larger Sum as - you can spare reserving only what may be sufficient for your Current Expences consigning the same to our President and Council of Fort Marlborough and taking care that it be put into strong Chests properly secured with Hoops and We direct that in the above Remittance you give a preference to Dollars of any other Coin - 33 Since writing the Paragraph respecting the Lombardy Poplar, We find upon further enquiry that this is not the proper time for removing those Plants, We have therefore only sent you a few for the present, and shall send the full quantity proposed to have been Shipped on **Margin Notes:** Bills to be granted for £500 payable to J. Michie Esqr. Respecting the increased Charges of the Island the strictest Economy recommended to reduce the same £20000 ordered to be sent to Fort Marlborough Lombardy Poplar &c.	20 (continued): The affidavit was to confirm that the money offered was wholly the property of the dead man. 30: The Council was also directed to grant bills for £500 0s 0d in favour of John Michie, the money to be received from Daniel Corneille and Mr Stroud. 31: The Court had considered the reasons the Council gave in its letter of 20 May 1778, answering the Court's letter of 23 January 1778, for the great rise in the island's costs. It was by no means satisfied with them. It therefore repeated its orders that the strictest economy be kept in every part of the island's establishment. It was determined to carry out the most rigorous reform and to cut out every needless item of the heavy expense it had long complained of. 32: The Court observed that the island's cash had grown far beyond what was needed to meet its spending. It directed the Council to ship on the *Princess Royal* £20,000 0s 0d in silver, or as much more as it could spare, keeping back only what it needed for current expenses. The money was to be consigned to the President and Council of Fort Marlborough. It was to be packed in strong chests, properly secured with hoops. In making up the remittance, the Council was to send dollars in preference to any other coin. 33: Since writing the paragraph on the Lombardy poplar, the Court had found on further inquiry that this was not the right season for moving the plants. It had therefore sent only a few for the present, and would send the full quantity it had intended [...]. **Interpretations** The Court had found a use for the coin piling up in the island's treasury. Through 1778 and 1779 the chest held more than £22,000, most of it silver taken in from ships, settlers and the sale of bills on London, and it could not be spent on the island. Fort Marlborough, at Bencoolen in Sumatra, ran on silver to buy pepper and was always short of it. Shipping £20,000 0s 0d there moved idle money to where the Company needed it, without the risk and cost of sending fresh silver out from England. Dollars, the Spanish silver coins accepted throughout the East, were the currency Bencoolen used, so the Court asked for them first. The order also explains why the Council had refused Parker more than £500 0s 0d in bills in 1778. Every bill sold on the island took in more coin, while the chest was already holding more than it could use. Yet the Council went on granting bills to its own members: Corneille and Stroud now paid in £500 0s 0d, and in June 1779 the Governor and councillors sent home over £3,000. The Court's rebuke on costs in the paragraph above sat beside its plain acceptance that the island's senior servants were sending home considerable private fortunes.
41	30	on this Ship by the first conveyance next Season 34 We have appointed the following Persons to be Lieutenants of Artillery at St. Helena and they are to rank in the order here named Viz. Ulysses Browne Thomas Cowperthwaite William Doute 35 We have advanced Lieutenant Cowperthwaite the Sum of £30 on his giving Bond to repay the same out of his growing Pay and Allowances his Bond goes a Number in this Ships Packet - 36 As Lieutenant Cowperthwaite is perfectly well acquainted with the making of Stone Fences, we recommend it to you to avail yourselves of his Abilities and knowledge when you undertake that Work according to the Directions given in the 14 Paragraph of this Letter - 37 We have resolved that every Military	33 (continued): The rest of the poplars would come by the first ship of the next season. 34: The Court had appointed the following men lieutenants of artillery at St Helena, to rank in the order named. 1: Ulysses Browne 2: Thomas Cowperthwaite 3: William Doute 35: The Court had advanced Lieutenant Cowperthwaite £30 0s 0d, on his bond to repay it out of his pay and allowances as they fell due. His bond was enclosed, numbered, in this ship's packet. 36: Lieutenant Cowperthwaite knew a great deal about building stone fences. The Court recommended that the Council make use of his skill when it began the work described in the 14th paragraph of this letter. 37: The Court had resolved that any military officer, whether already in the Company's service or admitted later, who became a pensioner of the Military

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Officer already admitted or who shall hereafter be admitted into the Company's Service, and shall henceforth become a Pensioner upon, partake of or receive any Allowance or Benefit from the Military Fund or from the contingent Fund established by agreement between the East India Company and the late Right Honorable Lord Clive shall be considered as having totally relinquished and absolutely given up every pretension to the Company's Service and shall on no account or pretence whatever be restored to the - said Service, and We hereby direct that you take care that this Resolution be published in General Orders and also publickly read by the Adjutant, or proper **Margin Notes:** Lieutenants appointed £30 advanced Lt. Cowperthwaite In fencing Long Wood to avail themselves of Lt. Cowperthwaite's abilities Orders & Directions concerning the Military Fund	Fund, or received any allowance or benefit from it, would be treated as having given up for good every claim to a place in the Company's service. The same applied to the fund set up by agreement between the East India Company and the late Lord Clive. No such officer could on any ground be restored to the service. The Council was to have this resolution published in general orders and read out publicly by the Adjutant or [...]. **Interpretations** The Military Fund grew out of a legacy from Lord Clive, who left £70,000 to the Company to support its disabled officers and soldiers and the widows of those who died. The Company matched the gift and paid pensions out of the combined fund. The new rule closed a loophole. An officer could no longer draw a pension as an invalid and later ask to return to active service, collecting from both in turn. Once a man accepted the pension, his career was over. This explains why the Court had insisted on certificates from the surgeon and commanding officer before admitting anyone to the Fund, since the pension was now a final step. It also bore on Captain Howard, whom the Court had kept on half pay while his request to join the Fund was considered. The Court's choice of Cowperthwaite showed its plan for the Long Wood fence in practice. It sent out an officer who already knew how dry-stone walls were built in England. He would teach the soldiers who were to quarry and build at piece rates, in place of the contractor the Court had refused.
42	31	proper Officer at the head of the Troops as soon as possible after the receipt hereof - We are London 27 May 1779. Your loving Friends (Signed) Saml. Peach Fran. Baring Chas. Boddam Jno. Smith Jas. Moffatt J. Stables G. Tatem Joseph Sparkes W. Devaynes L. Sulivan Jno. Harrison J. Purling H. Fletcher Jno. Michie J. Manship George Cuming Hen. Savage Our Governor and Council of St. Helena Par. 1 Observing by the second Article of Capitulation for Pondichery, that all the French Officers and Soldiers are to be provided by our Governor and Council at Fort St. George with Ships or Vessels to transport them to France, We have thought it necessary to order that every such Ship or Vessel shall be consigned directly to Us, and that our said Governor and Council shall not on any pretence whatever, - suffer any Ship or Vessel to Sail with French Prisoners directly for France, or for any other Place than Great Britain **Margin Notes:** Orders & Directions respecting the Prisoners taken at Pondichery	The Council was to have the resolution read to the troops by the Adjutant or another proper officer at their head, as soon as possible after the letter arrived. The Directors signed the letter in London on 27 May 1779. Samuel Peach Francis Baring Charles Boddam John Smith James Moffatt J. Stables G. Tatem Joseph Sparkes W. Devaynes L. Sulivan John Harrison J. Purling H. Fletcher John Michie J. Manship George Cuming Henry Savage The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: Under the second article of the capitulation of Pondicherry, the Governor and Council at Fort St George had to provide ships to carry all the French officers and soldiers back to France. The Court had therefore ordered that every such ship be consigned directly to the Court. On no account was the Governor and Council at Fort St George to let any ship carrying French prisoners sail straight for France, or for anywhere other than Great Britain [...]. **Interpretations** Pondicherry was the chief French settlement in India, on the Coromandel coast south of Madras. Its surrender to the Company's forces set terms for sending its garrison home, which the Court could not openly break. It met them by ordering every ship to sail for Britain. French officers and soldiers landed in France could rejoin their army at once and be sent back to fight in India. Prisoners carried to Britain stayed under British control until they were exchanged or the war ended. The order concerned St Helena directly,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			since any such ship on its homeward voyage would probably call at the island. The Council would need to see that it held to its course for Britain and did not slip away towards a French port.
43	32	Britain. 2 But in case any Ship or Vessel shall have been dispatched by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George before the receipt of our beforementioned Order and shall have been permitted to proceed directly to France, it is our positive Commands, that you alter the destination of every such Ship or Vessel that shall arrive at St. Helena, and absolutely - oblige the Commander or Commanders to steer immediately for Great Britain, notwithstanding instructions - may have been given to the President and Council of Fort St. George or by any other Person or Persons, by which he or they may have been authorized to proceed directly to France, and you are to take especial care, and use the most effectual means to prevent this Order being disobeyed or evaded. London We are 27 May 1779 Your loving Friends Signed Hen. Savage Samuel Peach Chas. Boddam Fran. Baring Jno. Smith J. Stables George Tatem Joseph Sparkes W. Devaynes L. Sulivan Jno. Harrison J. Purling H. Fletcher Jno. Michie J. Manship George Cuming **Margin Notes:** Should Ships be destined or having Prisoners on board for France, such to be altered & ordered to proceed immediately for Great Britain	2: Some ships might already have left Fort St George, with leave to sail straight to France, before the Court's order reached Madras. The Court gave St Helena a firm command about any such ship that called at the island. The Council was to change her destination and make her commander sail at once for Great Britain. This applied whatever instructions the President and Council of Fort St George, or anyone else, had given authorising the voyage to France. The Council was to take particular care, and use the most effective means available, to stop the order being disobeyed or evaded. The Directors signed the letter in London on 27 May 1779. Henry Savage Samuel Peach Charles Boddam Francis Baring John Smith J. Stables George Tatem Joseph Sparkes W. Devaynes L. Sulivan John Harrison J. Purling H. Fletcher John Michie J. Manship George Cuming **Interpretations** The Court turned St Helena into a checkpoint on the route home from India. A ship already at sea from Madras could not be reached by any letter, but almost every homeward ship called at the island for water and food. That made St Helena the one place where London's later orders could catch up with a voyage begun under earlier ones. The Council was given power to override orders from a senior presidency. Fort St George ranked above the island in the Company's affairs, yet its instructions were to give way at St Helena to the Court's own. The guns of the batteries and the island's control of water and fresh food gave the Council the means to compel an unwilling commander.
44	33	The Worshipful the Governor & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen, The Court of Directors have this day appointed Samuel Ellis a Lieutenant of Artillery in your Garrison in the room of Thomas Cowperthwaite deceased, to rank as Lieutenant in that Corps, next under Lieutenant William Doute, mentioned in their Letter to you dated the 27 May last. Mr. Ellis in case he accepts of such Appointment, will proceed to his Post accordingly on the Ship Princess Royal. You will therefore in consequence of Thomas Cowperthwaite's Demise return his Bond inclosed in your Packet now on board the abovementioned Ship, that the Loan of £30 may be recovered from them wherewith you are in obedience to the Courts - Commands acquainted by - Gentlemen East India House Your most Obedient London 2 June 1779. humble Servant Signed P. Michell Secry. Our Governor and Council of St. Helena.	The Court's Secretary wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena from East India House, London, on 2 June 1779. The Court of Directors had that day appointed Samuel Ellis a lieutenant of artillery in the island's garrison, in place of Thomas Cowperthwaite, whose appointment had been withdrawn and who was dismissed. Ellis was to rank in that corps next below Lieutenant William Doute, named in the Court's letter of 27 May 1779. If he accepted the appointment, he would sail to take up his post in the *Princess Royal.* Because Cowperthwaite had been dismissed, the Council was to return his bond, which had been enclosed in its packet on board that ship, so that the £30 0s 0d lent to him could be recovered from those bound with him. P. Michell, the Secretary, signed the letter on the Court's orders. The Court of Directors then wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: Since its letter of 27 May and the Secretary's letter of 2 June 1779, the Court had received the Council's letters of 8 March, 1 April, 6 May, 23 June and 27 June [...]. **Interpretations** Only six days passed between Cowperthwaite's appointment and his dismissal. In its letter of 27 May

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Par. 1 Since Our Advices to You of the 27 May and our Secretary's Letter of the 2 June 1779 We have received your Letters of the 6 March, 1 April, 4 May, 23 and 27 June **Margin Notes:** The Lieutenant appd. & Cowperthwaite deceased - Lt. Ellis appointed in his stead - Lt. Cowperthwaite's Bond to be returned Receipt of Letters	the Court had praised his knowledge of stone fences and recommended him for the Long Wood wall. Something it learned in the following week was serious enough to remove him before he sailed. The record gives no reason. His £30 0s 0d advance had been made against a bond, which named sureties as well as the borrower. Returning the bond to London let the Company recover the money from those who had stood surety for him, so the loan was not lost when the man was. The Court's plan to build the fence with the help of a skilled officer collapsed within days of being made.
45	34	June 4 September and 23 October last - 2 The Ships We have entertained in the Company's Service this Season their Tonnage, Commanders and Consignments are as follows Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Royal Charlotte: Tons 758, Commanders Capt. Joseph Elton, Consignments St. Helena Bombay & China Ankerwyke: Tons 723, Commanders John Rogers, Consignments China Dk. of Portland: Tons 723, Commanders John Sutton Bridgewater: Tons 804, Commanders Willm. Parker Contractor: Tons 758, Commanders James Baldwin Lascelles: Tons 758, Commanders Thomas Wakefield London: Tons 758, Commanders Daniel Webb Fonsborne: Tons 758, Commanders Fredk. J. Mesmoner York: Tons 758, Commanders Jno. A. Blanshard Consignments Coast & China E. of Dartmouth: Tons 758, Commanders David Thomson, Consignments Coast & Bay Pigot: Tons 758, Commanders Robert Morgan Lord North: Tons 761, Commanders Willm. Rumbley Earl of Mansfield: Tons 758, Commanders Willm. Fraser Consignments China Neptune: Tons 758, Commanders Robert Scott Bellmont: Tons 758, Commanders Willm. Dent Gamage Grosvenor: Tons 720, Commanders John Coxon Rochford: Tons 723, Commanders James Tod Lord Holland: Tons 804, Commanders Patrick Lawson Royal George: Tons 758, Commanders Thomas Foxall Hillsborough: Tons 723, Commanders Peter Ellis Glatton: Tons 758, Commanders Richd. Doveton Consignments Coast and Bay [...]: Tons 758, Commanders Robt. Young Godfrey: Tons 716, Commanders Francis Reed Consignments China Rear Admiral: Tons 903, Commanders Joseph Huddart, Consignments Bombay Gatton: Tons 758, Commanders 0, Consignments St. Helena & Bencoolen 3 Herewith you will receive a List of the Arrival and Departure of the Company's Shipping since our Advices P Princess Royal - 4 This Letter is sent you by the Ship Royal **Margin Notes:** Ships taken up List of the Arrival & Departure of Ships sent	1 (continued): The letters the Court had received also included those of 4 September and 23 October. 2: The ships taken into the Company's service that season, with their tonnage, commanders and destinations, were as follows. The *Royal Charlotte*, 758 tons, Captain Joseph Hooton, bound for St Helena, Bombay and China. The *[...]*, 723 tons, commanded by John Rogers, bound for China. The *Duke of Portland*, 723 tons, commanded by John Sutton, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Bridgewater*, 804 tons, commanded by William Parker, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Contractor*, 758 tons, commanded by James Baldwin, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Lascelles*, 758 tons, commanded by Thomas Wakefield, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *London*, 758 tons, commanded by Daniel Webb, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ponsborne*, 758 tons, commanded by Frederick [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *York*, 758 tons, commanded by John A. Blanshard, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Earl of Dartmouth*, 758 tons, commanded by David Thomson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Pigot*, 758 tons, commanded by Robert Morgan, bound for China. The *Lord North*, 761 tons, commanded by William Hambly, bound for China. The *Earl of Mansfield*, 758 tons, commanded by William Fraser, bound for China. The *Neptune*, 758 tons, commanded by Robert Scott, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Belmont*, 758 tons, commanded by William Dent Gamage, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Grosvenor*, 729 tons, commanded by John Coxon, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Rockford*, 723 tons, commanded by James Tod, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Lord Holland*, 804 tons, commanded by Patrick Lawson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Royal George*, 758 tons, commanded by Thomas [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Hillsborough*, 723 tons, commanded by R. Collett, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Glatton*, 758 tons, commanded by Richard Doveton, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *[...]*, 758 tons, commanded by Robert Young, bound for China. The *Godfrey*, 716 tons, commanded by Francis Reed, bound for China.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The *Royal Admiral*, 903 tons, commanded by Joseph Huddart, bound for Bombay. The *Gatton*, 758 tons, commander not named, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. 3: The Court enclosed a list of the arrivals and departures of the Company's ships since its letter by the *Princess Royal*. 4: This letter was being sent by the *Royal* [...]. **Interpretations** Several ships in this list had lain in St Helena road during the hungry months of 1779. The *Lord North*, the *Earl of Mansfield*, the *Grosvenor*, the *Rockford* and the *Lord Holland* sailed from the island together on 24 June 1779 and were now chartered again for a fresh voyage. The *Bridgewater* had carried off the deserters Thomas Shelley and Corporal Thomas Mantle in December 1778. Her commander was William Parker, whose bill on London the Council had held to £500 0s 0d in 1778 because the treasury was full. The same few hundred ships of the Company's fleet came and went on regular rounds, so the island met the same captains and officers again and again. That familiarity explains the Council's caution with men such as Ogilvie and Robertson. A quarrel with a captain one season might be carried back to London and then return to the island with him the next. Only the *Royal Charlotte* and the *Gatton* were bound to St Helena as a named destination. The *Gatton* was to go on to Bencoolen, and would probably carry the island's surplus silver there under the Court's order of 27 May 1779.
46	35	Royal Charlotte and We direct that on her Arrival you unload the several Articles consigned to St. Helena in the most expeditious manner that she may be dispatched within the time limited by Charter Party. Copy of which is enclosed in the Packet for your information - 5 We likewise enclose Copies of the Orders of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council - granting the Company permission to export Warlike Stores and Provisions under the restrictions therein - mentioned and Our former Orders for returning the required Certificates are to be observed. 6 Having thought proper to continue the management of our Affairs in China under the Select Committee appointed last Season consisting of Messrs. Fitzhugh, Raper and Bevan you are to address that Committee whenever you may have occasion to Correspond with our Servants at Canton, and they will be directed to comply with the Indents you shall make to them for Stores and Necessaries from thence - 7 Previous to the receipt of your Indents We had ordered sundry Stores in the room of those lost on the London which could not afterwards be replaced by the Earl of Talbot and Princess Royal, and several other Articles were directed to be provided and shipped on the Royal Charlotte in the proportion of nearly one half of your Indents of last Season We had likewise ordered an Electrical Machine for Medical purposes agreeable to the Surgeon's request as signified in your General Letter of the 20 August 1778. And as soon as your Indents of this Year were received we made such addition to our former Orders as will compleat your Indents of this and last Season in the fullest manner in **Margin Notes:** Stores on board the Royal Charlotte to be unloaded & the Ship dispatched within the time limited by Charter party - Orders of his Majesty's Privy Council Select Committee of Supra Cargoes at Canton Indents complied with Electrical Machine &c.	4 (continued): The letter was going by the *Royal Charlotte*. When she arrived, the Council was to unload the goods meant for St Helena as quickly as possible, so that she could be sent on within the time her charter party allowed. A copy of the charter party was enclosed in the packet for the Council's information. 5: The Court also enclosed copies of the orders of His Majesty's Privy Council allowing the Company to export military stores and provisions, under the restrictions set out in them. The Council was to keep to the Court's earlier orders for returning the certificates those orders required. 6: The Court had decided to keep the Company's affairs in China under the Select Committee appointed the previous season, made up of Messrs Fitzhugh, Raper and Bevan. Whenever the Council needed to write to the Company's servants at Canton, it was to address that Committee. The Committee would be instructed to meet the Council's orders for stores and other necessities from China. 7: Before receiving the Council's orders for stores, the Court had already ordered various goods to replace those lost in the *London*, which the *Earl Talbot* and the *Princess Royal* had not been able to carry. Several other goods had been ordered and shipped in the *Royal Charlotte*, about half of what the Council had asked for the previous season. The Court had also ordered an electrical machine for medical use, as the surgeon had asked in the Council's general letter of 20 August 1778. As soon as the Council's orders for this year arrived, the Court had added to its earlier orders enough to supply both this year's and last year's requests in full [...]. **Interpretations** In wartime the export of arms, powder and provisions from Britain was banned unless the Privy Council licensed it, to keep such goods from reaching the enemy. The Company needed a licence to supply its own garrisons. Each licence came with conditions, and the Company had to return certificates proving that the goods had reached the place named. St Helena's certificates showed that the powder, shot and salt meat shipped to the island had arrived there and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			had not been sold to a foreign or enemy ship on the way. The Court had now sent the electrical machine it put off in its earlier letter as not immediately needed. Once the supplies lost with the *London* had been made good, the surgeon's request could be met.
47	36	in every respect with this difference only that instead of furnishing you with Royal Howitzers of 6 Inches and light Iron Guns 12 Pounders We have ordered the former to be 5½ Inches which is the Governments size and the latter to be Brass instead of Iron. The several Pieces of Ordnance with their Travelling Carriages and the Beds for 13 Inch Mortars are ordered to be provided with all convenient dispatch and if compleated in time will be sent this Season. 8 We have put on Board the Royal Charlotte for St. Helena four Boxes containing 166 Lombardy Poplars a receipt for which goes a Number in that Ships Packet - 9 By the Ship Gatton you will receive our further Orders and Directions - We are London Your loving Friends 24 February 1780 Signed John Smith George Tatem W. Mills Junr. John Harrison Chas. Boddam Nath. Smith Fran. Baring R. Hall J. Stables Wm. James W. Devaynes Joseph Sparkes Lau. Sulivan Henry Savage Jno. Michie H. Fletcher George Cuming Samuel Peach **Margin Notes:** Royal Howitzers Brass Guns &ca. Lombardy Poplar Trees	7 (continued): The orders were met in every respect but one. Instead of royal howitzers of 6 inches and light iron 12-pounder guns, the Court had ordered howitzers of 5½ inches, the government's standard size, and 12-pounders of brass instead of iron. The pieces of ordnance, with their travelling carriages and the beds for 13-inch mortars, were to be made with all reasonable speed and sent that season if ready in time. 8: The Court had put aboard the *Royal Charlotte* for St Helena four boxes holding 106 Lombardy poplars. A receipt for them was enclosed, numbered, in that ship's packet. 9: The Council would receive the Court's further orders and directions by the *Gatton*. The Directors signed the letter in London on 24 February 1780. John Smith George Tatem W. Mills junior John Harrison Charles Boddam Nathaniel Smith Francis Baring R. Hall J. Stables William James W. Devaynes Joseph Sparkes Laurence Sulivan Henry Savage John Michie H. Fletcher George Cuming Samuel Peach **Interpretations** The Court met William Pierce's indent of 7 June 1779 almost in full, but changed the specifications. Brass guns cost more than iron, yet they did not rust in salt air as the iron guns at Sandy Bay had done, and they were lighter for their calibre and less likely to burst. On an island where Pierce had complained that iron pieces were decaying from wind and spray, brass field guns would last longer and move more easily on travelling carriages. Choosing the government's standard 5½-inch howitzer meant that its shells and stores matched those of the King's forces, so the island could be supplied from royal stocks if the Company's ran short. The Court had also changed its mind about mortar beds. In January 1778 it had refused them and told the island to make its own. It now sent beds for 13-inch mortars from England. Two years of war had made the island's defence a higher priority than the savings the Court had pressed for in peacetime.
48	37	Our Governor and Council of St. Helena Par. 1 Our last Letter to you was dated the 24th February and went P Royal Charlotte since which We have received Yours of the 26 February 3 and 6 of April 1780. 2 Enclosed is a List of the Arrival and Departure of the Company's Shipping since our Advices aforesaid. 3 The Secret Committee for the present Year consists of William Devaynes Esqr. Chairman of the Court Laurence Sulivan Esqr. Deputy Chairman, Benjamin Booth, George Cuming, John Harrison Esquires, Sir William	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 24 February 1780 and went by the *Royal Charlotte*. Since then it had received the Council's letters of 26 February, 3 April and 6 April 1780. 2: The Court enclosed a list of the arrivals and departures of the Company's ships since that letter. 3: The Secret Committee for the present year consisted of William Devaynes, Chairman of the Court; Laurence Sulivan, Deputy Chairman; Benjamin Booth, George Cuming and John Harrison; Sir William James, Baronet; John Manship, John Purling and Henry Savage; Sir George Wombwell, Baronet; and John

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Bart. John Manship, John Purling and Henry Savage Esquires Sir George Wombwell Bart. and John Woodhouse Esqr. the Orders therefore that they or any three of them shall give respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping are to be strictly obeyed. 4 We have appointed Mr. Christopher Lindsay who has served as an Officer in the Second Regiment of Foot and in the Cheshire Militia, to be a Lieutenant at St. Helena and he proceeds to his Station on the Gatton. 5 The Friends of Mr. Tuffen Shepherd having laid before Us a Certificate signed by Mr. Thomas Spalding Surgeon of the Princess Royal, stating the Indisposition of Mr. Shepherd and that it was prudent for him to remain on the Island of St. Helena, or to proceed to some of Our Healthy Settlements in India till his Health should be Confirmed. We have thought proper at the request of the said Friends of Mr. Shepherd to be a Lieutenant on your Military Establishment. 6 Ruth Dravater late Knipe a Native of St. Helena having represented to Us that she is in very great distress We have returned her to your Island at the Company's Expence - **Margin Notes:** Receipt of Letters List of Ships Secret Committee Mr. C. Lindsay appointed Lt. Mr. T. Shepherd appointed Lt. R. Dravater returned to the Island.	Woodhouse. Any orders that they, or any three of them, gave about the safety of the Company's shipping were to be strictly obeyed. 4: The Court had appointed Christopher Lensay a lieutenant at St Helena. He had served as an officer in the Second Regiment of Foot and in the Cheshire Militia, and was sailing to his post in the *Gatton*. 5: Friends of Mr Tuffin Shepherd had laid before the Court a certificate signed by Thomas Spalding, surgeon of the *Princess Royal*. It stated that Shepherd was in poor health. It advised that he stay on St Helena, or go on to one of the Company's healthy settlements in India, until he had fully recovered. At his friends' request, the Court had appointed him a lieutenant on the island's military establishment. 6: Ruth Drawater, formerly Knipe, a native of St Helena, had told the Court that she was in very great distress. The Court had sent her back to the island at the Company's expense. **Interpretations** The Court gave Tuffin Shepherd a lieutenant's commission on the strength of a ship's surgeon's note and his friends' request, so that he could recover his health on the island. St Helena's mild climate made it a place where an invalid could regain strength before facing India. The appointment was a favour granted through connections in London. Two years earlier the Court had refused commissions to the island's own cadets, Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale, as too young. Officer posts on St Helena were given by patronage in London as much as earned by service on the island. Ruth Drawater was born into the Knipe family, settlers of long standing on the island, among them Samuel Knipe and Lieutenant Richard Knipe. She had evidently married and gone to England, and been left without support there. The Company sent her home at its own cost because an islander stranded in England had no other way back, and once on St Helena her family could provide for her.
49	38	7 We much approve your Caution in respect to the four Fishing Vessels that Arrived at St. Helena from the Southward for the benefit of a Convoy as advised in your Letter of the 23 June 1779 and direct that if any such should arrive in future you permit them to Water and afford them such assistance as they may stand in need of without occasioning the least inconveniencies to yourselves or the Company's Shipping but this is to be understood as not meant to encourage the Resort of such Vessels to St. Helena. 8 In consideration of the distress of the Land holders at St. Helena as set forth in their Petition to you of the 4 October 1779 and your recommendation of the same We hereby authorize you to remit the Rents of the whole or such part of them as may appear to you to stand in need of such indulgence for one Year from the time of the receipt of this Letter at St. Helena. 9 Mr. Jonathan Doveton who was under the necessity of coming to England for the benefit of His Health having acquainted Us that the same is re-established We have permitted him to return to his Station of Storekeeper at St. Helena and he will proceed thither accordingly in the Gatton. 10 Agreeable to Your request in the 32 Par. of your General Letter of the 15 Oct. 1779. We have taken the Opinion of Our Solicitor on the Petition of Mr. Richard Goodwin respecting the Estate of the late Captain Richard Beale and Mr. Matthew Bazett's Answer thereto **Margin Notes:** Comps. approval of the Caution respecting Fishing Vessels & directions relative to them Rents of Lands to be remitted Mr. Jonathan Doveton permitted to return to his Station	7: The Court strongly approved the Council's caution towards the four fishing vessels that had come to St Helena from the south seeking a convoy, as reported in its letter of 23 June 1779. If any such vessels arrived in future, the Council was to let them take on water and give them whatever help they needed, provided it caused no inconvenience to the island or the Company's ships. This was not, however, meant to encourage such vessels to make for St Helena. 8: The island's landholders had set out their distress in a petition to the Council of 4 October 1779, and the Council had supported it. In view of their hardship, the Court authorised the Council to remit their rents for one year from the arrival of this letter. The remission could cover all the landholders or only those the Council judged to need it. 9: Jonathan Doveton had been obliged to come to England for his health. He had now told the Court that he had recovered. The Court had allowed him to return to his post as storekeeper at St Helena, and he was sailing there in the *Gatton*. 10: As the Council had asked in the 32nd paragraph of its general letter of 15 October 1779, the Court had taken its solicitor's opinion on Richard Goodwin's petition concerning the estate of the late Captain Richard Beale, and on Matthew Bazett's answer to it [...]. **Interpretations** The year's remission of rent was the Court's answer to the drought of 1779. That year the planters had given up their yams to feed the garrison and the ships, at the Council's appeal and on its promise of help later. Their stock had died and their gardens were stripped. Remitting rent for a year was the relief the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Co. Solicitor's opinion respecting Capt. Richard Beale's Estate	Company could give from London. Leaving the choice of who should benefit to the Council recognised that only the island's own government knew which households had suffered most. The Court's welcome to the whalers was deliberately cool. It approved the Council's practice of protecting them while forbidding trade, as worked out with the *London* and the *Dragon* in April 1779. It did not want such ships to treat St Helena as a regular calling place. Every outside ship that called drank the island's water and might draw on its scarce food, and each one offered a chance for private trade that cut into the Company's monopoly.
50	39	thereto, Copy of which Opinion is enclosed in the Packet by the Gatton - We are Your Loving Friends London 3 July 1780. (Signed) Richard Becher J Stables Chas. Boddam Nathl. Smith W Mills Junr. John Harrison Robt. Gregory W. Devaynes L. Sulivan George Cuming L. Darell W. G. Freeman Jno. Michie Thos. Cheap Benjn. Booth Our Governor and Council of St. Helena - Par. 1 Our last Letter to you was dated the 3 July 1780 and sent on the Gatton which Ship was unfortunately Captured by the Combined Fleet of France & Spain on the 9th August and carried into Cadiz together with the Ships Hillsborough Royal George, Mount Stuart and Godfrey - 2 We have received your several Letters of the 31 May 7 June and 4th November 1780. 3 We have taken up the following Ships in part of those intended to be sent to India this Season. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Hastings: Tons 676, Commanders Captn. Hugh Fraser, Consignments St. Helena & China Lord North: Tons 764, Commanders Willm. Rumbley, Consignments Bencoolen & China Queen: Tons 804, Commanders Peter Douglas Locko: Tons 922, Commanders Patrick Lawson Latham: Tons 723, Commanders John Pierce Essex: Tons 758, Commanders Arthur Morris Valentine: Tons 755, Commanders John Lewis Asia: Tons 758, Commanders Robert Moar Consignments Coast and China **Margin Notes:** Ships captured by the Combined Fleets Receipt of letters Ships taken up -	10 (continued): A copy of the solicitor's opinion was enclosed in the packet sent by the *Gatton*. The Directors signed the letter in London on 3 July 1780. Richard Becher J. Stables Charles Boddam Nathaniel Smith W. Mills junior John Harrison Robert Gregory W. Devaynes L. Sulivan George Cuming L. Darell W. G. Freeman John Michie Thomas Cheap Benjamin Booth The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 3 July 1780 and sent by the *Gatton*. That ship had unfortunately been captured by the combined fleets of France and Spain on 9 August and taken into Cadiz, together with the *Hillsborough*, the *Royal George*, the *Mount Stuart* and the *Godfrey*. 2: The Court had received the Council's letters of 31 May, 7 June and 4 November 1780. 3: The Court had taken up the following ships, part of those it meant to send to India that season. The *Hastings*, 676 tons, Captain Hugh Fraser, bound for St Helena and China. The *Lord North*, 764 tons, commanded by William Hambly, bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Queen*, 804 tons, commanded by Peter Douglas, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Locko*, 922 tons, commanded by Patrick Lawson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Latham*, 723 tons, commanded by John Prince, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Essex*, 758 tons, commanded by Arthur Morris, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Valentine*, 735 tons, commanded by John Lewis, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Asia*, 758 tons, commanded by Robert Mace, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. **Interpretations** The loss of the *Gatton* cut the island off from everything the Court had sent by her. She carried the letter of 3 July 1780 granting a year's remission of rent to the distressed landholders, the solicitor's opinion on Captain Beale's estate, and the new lieutenant Christopher Lensay. Jonathan Doveton, returning to his post as storekeeper, was aboard too and would have been taken prisoner with her. Her stores for St Helena and Bencoolen went with her. The capture showed the danger the island's Council had weighed in June 1779, when it debated whether the homeward fleet should sail without escort. Five Company ships were lost at a stroke to the combined French and Spanish fleets. Spain had joined the war against Britain

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			in 1779, which made Cadiz an enemy port and the approaches to Europe far more dangerous for unescorted ships.
51	40	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Osterley: Tons 758, Commanders Saml. Rogers Fortitude: Tons 758, Commanders Chas. Gregorie Southampton: Tons 758, Commanders John Lennox Consignments Coast and China [...]: Tons 758, Commanders David Clark, Consignments China Direct Chapman: Tons 538, Commanders Thos. Walker Stormont: Tons 528, Commanders Arthur Maxwell Fairfax: Tons 494, Commanders Edward Scott Consignments Coast and Bay Northumberland: Tons 0, Commanders James Ross, Consignments St. Helena & Bengal Nassau: Tons 0, Commanders Arthur Gore, Consignments Bombay & Bengal 4 On the Arrival of the Hastings you are to unload the several Articles Consigned to your Island as expeditiously as possible that She may be Dispatched to her future Destination within the time limitted by Charter Party, Copy of which is inclosed in the Packet for your information. John Roberts Esqr. is appointed a Member of Our Secret Committee in the room of Sir George Wombwell Bart. Deceased - 6 We have ordered Two Cables, Two Jib Tacks and a Main Sail for the use of the Hind Cutter upon an intimation of their being wanted, and We direct that in future the necessaries required for Vessels on her Station do make a head in your General Indents - 7 The several Pieces of Brass Ordnance, Shot and Shells, Small Arms, Flints Mathematical Instruments, Soldiers Accoutrements Lead Shot and Mortar Beds that were Shipped on the Gatton for St. Helena are ordered to be replaced - 8 The Salt Provisions on the Hastings are English and furnished by two different Butchers and as We wish to be informed of the Comparative goodness of the Different Meat, We direct that you particularly notice the same, and report to Us accordingly. The **Margin Notes:** That Hastings to be dispatched with all expedition agreeable to Charter Party sent. John Roberts Esqr. appd. a Member of the Secret Committee Cables &c. sent for the Hind Cutter Brass Ordnance Shot & Shells &c. shipped on board the Gatton to be replaced Report of Salt Provisions P Hastings to be Reported	3 (continued): The rest of the ships taken up were as follows. The *Osterley*, 758 tons, commanded by Samuel Rogers, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Fortitude*, 758 tons, commanded by Charles Gregorie, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Southampton*, 758 tons, commanded by John Lennox, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *[...]*, 758 tons, commanded by David Clark, bound direct for China. The *Chapman*, 538 tons, commanded by Thomas Walker, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *[...]*, 528 tons, commanded by Arthur Maxwell, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Fairfax*, 494 tons, commanded by Edward Scott, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Northumberland*, commanded by James Ross, bound for St Helena and Bengal. The *Nassau*, commanded by Arthur Gore, bound for Bombay and Bengal. 4: When the *Hastings* arrived, the Council was to unload the goods meant for the island as quickly as possible, so that she could be sent on within the time her charter party allowed. A copy of the charter party was enclosed in the packet for the Council's information. 5: John Roberts had been appointed a member of the Secret Committee in place of Sir George Wombwell, Baronet, who had died. 6: Having been told they were needed, the Court had ordered two cables, two jib tacks and a mainsail for the use of the *Hind* cutter. In future, the stores needed for vessels on the island's station were to be listed under a heading of their own in the Council's general orders for stores. 7: The brass ordnance, shot and shells, small arms, tents, mathematical instruments, soldiers' equipment, lead shot and mortar beds shipped for St Helena in the *Gatton* were all to be replaced. 8: The salt provisions in the *Hastings* were English and came from two different butchers. The Court wished to know how the two compared in quality. It directed the Council to note this carefully and report back [...]. **Interpretations** The guns and stores lost in the *Gatton* were the very ones Pierce had asked for in June 1779 and the Court had approved in February 1780: the brass 12-pounders, the 5½-inch howitzers and the beds for 13-inch mortars. Their capture set back the island's defences by at least a year. The Court ordered them replaced at once, but every replacement had to run the same gauntlet of enemy fleets. The Court's test of the two butchers' salt meat used St Helena as a proving ground. The island had complained year after year of short-weight casks and had issued hundreds of extra pieces to make up the soldiers' ration. By sending meat from two suppliers in the same ship and asking for a report on each, the Court could compare contractors on equal terms. The island's report would decide which butcher the Company trusted in future, and would show whether the losses came from the contractors in England or from handling after landing, as the Court had earlier suspected.
52	41	Casks are Distinguished with the Initials of the Persons by whom the Provisions were Delivered - 9 The Ironmongery is also put up by two different	8 (continued): Each cask was marked with the initials of the man who had supplied the meat in it.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Persons, the Packages of the one are Distinguished with the Letters T.C. those from the other have only the Company's mark and you are particularly to advise Us, if there is any and what difference in the several Articles provided by the above Persons - 10 The request in the 8th Paragraph of your General Letter dated 31 May last, that twenty Ewes and four Rams may be sent from England on each Ship of this Season cannot be complied with the same being contrary to an Act of Parliament - 11 A New Bell is provided in Consequence of the 13 Paragraph of the beforementioned Letter and Shipped on the Hastings, and your Indents are in general complied with - 12 Enclosed you will receive Copys of the Orders of His Majesty's most Honble. Privy Council permitting the Company to Export Warlike Stores and Provisions under the Restrictions therein mentioned and you are to observe our former Directions for returning the Certificates required - 13 We have Appointed Messrs. Thomas Fitzhugh Thomas Bevan and James Bradshaw to be a Select Committee for the management of Our Affairs in China, and you to address them whenever you may have occasion to Correspond with Our Servants at Canton - 14 In the present critical Situation of Public Affairs We have upon the most mature Deliberation thought proper to Appoint William Devaynes Esqr. Our Chairman and Laurance Sulivan Esqr. Deputy Chairman **Margin Notes:** Report to be made of the difference of Ironmongery Packages Ewes & Rams cannot be sent therefore Request not complied with A New Bell sent for the Church - Copys of his Majesty's Privy Councils & Certificates of Stores &c. to be sent to England Select Committee of Supra Cargoes at Canton	9: The ironmongery had also been supplied by two different men. The packages from one were marked with the letters T.C. Those from the other carried only the Company's mark. The Council was to report in particular whether there was any difference between the goods supplied by the two men, and if so what it was. 10: In the 8th paragraph of its general letter of 31 May 1780, the Council had asked for twenty ewes and four rams to be sent from England in each ship that season. The Court could not do so, as it would break an Act of Parliament. 11: In response to the 13th paragraph of the same letter, a new bell had been provided and shipped in the *Hastings*. The Council's other orders for stores had generally been met. 12: The Court enclosed copies of the orders of His Majesty's Privy Council allowing the Company to export military stores and provisions, under the restrictions set out in them. The Council was to keep to the Court's earlier orders for returning the certificates those orders required. 13: The Court had appointed Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and James Bradshaw as a Select Committee to manage the Company's affairs in China. Whenever the Council needed to write to the Company's servants at Canton, it was to address them. 14: Given the present critical state of public affairs, the Court had decided, after the most careful thought, to appoint William Devaynes, its Chairman, and Laurence Sulivan, its Deputy Chairman, [...]. **Interpretations** Since the reign of Edward III, English law had forbidden the export of live sheep, to protect the wool trade from foreign competition. The ban was strictly enforced in the 18th century and applied even to the Company's own colonies. St Helena's flock, ravaged by the drought of 1779, could not be rebuilt from English breeding stock. The island had to rely on sheep from the Cape, such as the 50 Captain Baird brought in 1779, and on its own lambing. The Court used the same method for the ironmongery as for the salt meat. It sent goods from rival suppliers side by side, each marked so they could be told apart, and asked the island to report on their quality. The Company bought in great quantity for every settlement, and reports from its outposts gave it evidence for choosing the better contractor in future.
53	42	Chairman to be a Committee of Secrecy with powers to give Orders and Instructions for conducting the Company's Military and Naval Affairs and We hereby Direct that all Orders and Instructions which You shall receive from Our said Chairman and Deputy Chairman relative to Military or Naval Operations be observed and obeyed with the same punctuality and Exactness as though they had been signed by thirteen or more of the Court of Directors 15 Enclosed We transmit for your information His Majesty's Royal Manifesto dated the 20 December 1780 respecting the States General of the United Provinces, Such Orders and Instructions as are judged necessary on this important occasion will be Communicated by Our Chairman and Deputy Chairman and We rely on your Wisdom and ability to render abortive every Design which may be formed against our possessions and property by the Dutch alone or in Conjunction with any Enemy whatever - 16 We have taken the Opinion of Our standing Council on your Letter of the 31 May 1780 respecting Law Matters and the several Papers therein referred to, and Copy of the said Opinion is enclosed in the Hastings Packet. London 31 Jan. 1781 We are	14 (continued): The Chairman and Deputy Chairman were to form a Committee of Secrecy, with power to give orders and instructions for running the Company's military and naval affairs. The Court directed that any orders the Council received from them about military or naval operations be carried out as promptly and exactly as if 13 or more Directors had signed them. 15: For the Council's information, the Court enclosed His Majesty's royal manifesto of 20 December 1780 concerning the States General of the United Provinces. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman would send whatever orders and instructions they judged necessary on this important occasion. The Court relied on the Council's judgement and ability to defeat any design the Dutch might form against the Company's possessions and property, whether alone or with any other enemy. 16: The Court had taken the opinion of its standing counsel on the Council's letter of 31 May 1780 about legal matters, and on the papers it referred to. A copy of the opinion was enclosed in the *Hastings*'s packet. The Directors signed the letter in London on 31 January 1781. Francis Baring J. Purling

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Your Loving Friends (Signed) Fran. Baring J Purling John Roberts Chas. Boddam J Stables H. Fletcher Thos. Cheap L. Darell Wm. G. Freeman John Harrison George Cuming Richard Becher Wm. Devaynes Lau. Sulivan Jn. Woodhouse Wm. James Jn. Michie Benjn. Booth **Margin Notes:** Committee of Secrecy appointed all Orders received from the Chairman & Deputy relative to Military or Naval Operations to be punctually observed - His Majesty's Royal Manifesto respecting the States General Copy of standing Council's opinion on Law matters -	John Roberts Charles Boddam J. Stables H. Fletcher Thomas Cheap L. Darell W. G. Freeman John Harrison George Cuming Richard Becher W. Devaynes Laurence Sulivan J. Woodhouse William James John Michie Benjamin Booth **Interpretations** The royal manifesto of 20 December 1780 was Britain's declaration of war on the Dutch Republic. Until then the Dutch had been neutral. In February and March 1779 the island had watched Dutch fleets sail past and treated them as friends once their boats came ashore. Now the Dutch had become enemies. Their base at the Cape of Good Hope lay closer to St Helena than any other foreign port. The island had bought sheep, flour and seed there through the drought of 1779, and in July of that year it sent the *Hind* there for bread. That source of supply was now closed, and the nearest enemy squadron could reach the island within two weeks. The Committee of Secrecy gave two men the power to direct the Company's war in place of the full Court. Orders needing 13 signatures could take weeks to gather, while a two-man committee could act within a day. The Court told the island to obey these orders as fully as its own, so that the Council would not hesitate over instructions bearing only two names.
54	43	Our Governor and Council of St. Helena Par. 1 Our last Letter to you was Dated the 2 February 1781 and went P Hastings which Sailed from St. Hellens the 2 The Secret Committee for the care of the Company's Shipping the Present Year Consists of Laurence Sulivan Esqr. Chairman of the Court Sir William James Bart. Deputy Chairman, Benjamin Booth, George Cuming, William George Freeman, Robert Gregory, John Harrison, John Manship, John Roberts, Henry Savage and John Woodhouse Esqrs. the Orders therefore that they or any three of them shall give for the above purpose are to be duly obeyed - 3 Since Our Letter of the 2 February last We have taken up and Stationed the following Ships Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Lord Mulgrave: Tons 676, Commanders James Urmston, Consignments Bengal Blandford: Tons 594, Commanders Peter Pigou Deptford: Tons 755, Commanders James Elphinston Consignments Coast and Bay Earl of Chesterfield: Tons 755, Commanders Bruce Boswell, Consignments Bombay & China 4 We direct that you permit the Attornies of Captain Joseph Elton to pay into the Company's Cash the Sum of £1500, and that you grant Bills of Exchange for the same on the Court of Directors in the usual manner 5 In Consequence of the 11 Par. of your Letter Dated 4 November 1780 We have appointed the Revd. John Wilson to be Chaplain at St. Helena in the room of Mr. Carr and he now proceeds on the Northumberland. We have permitted his Sister Wilson to accompany him. 6 We have Advanced Mr. Wilson the Sum	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 2 February 1781 and went by the *Hastings*, which sailed from St Helens. 2: The Secret Committee for the care of the Company's shipping that year consisted of Laurence Sulivan, Chairman of the Court; Sir William James, Baronet, Deputy Chairman; and Benjamin Booth, George Cuming, William George Freeman, Robert Gregory, John Harrison, John Manship, John Roberts, Henry Savage and John Woodhouse. Any orders that they, or any three of them, gave for that purpose were to be duly obeyed. 3: Since its letter of 2 February, the Court had taken up and assigned the following ships. The *Lord Mulgrave*, 676 tons, commanded by James Urmston, bound for Bengal. The *Blandford*, 594 tons, commanded by Peter Pigou, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Deptford*, 755 tons, commanded by James Elphinstone, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Earl of Chesterfield*, 755 tons, commanded by Bruce Boswell, bound for Bombay and China. 4: The Council was to allow the attorneys of Captain Joseph Cotton to pay £1,500 0s 0d into the Company's treasury on the island, and to grant bills of exchange on the Court for that sum in the usual way. 5: Following the 11th paragraph of the Council's letter of 4 November 1780, the Court had appointed the Reverend John Wilson chaplain at St Helena in place of Mr Carr. He was sailing in the *Northumberland*. The Court had given his sister, [...] Wilson, leave to go with him.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of £100 and his Bond for repaying the same goes a Number in the Packet - **Margin Notes:** Letter sent by the Hastings Secret Committee of Shipping Ships taken up since the Letter of the 2 Feby. Captain J. Elton's attornies to be permitted to pay £1500 into the Comps. Cash Mr. John Wilson appointed Chaplain Mr. Wilson's Bond for £100	6: The Court had advanced Mr Wilson £100 0s 0d. His bond to repay it was enclosed, numbered, in the packet. **Interpretations** The Court had cut its Chairman and Deputy Chairman's powers back to a wider Secret Committee, though still one in which any three members could act. The two-man Committee of Secrecy of January 1781 had dealt with war operations. This committee, as before, took charge of the safety of the Company's ships. John Wilson came out on the same terms as James Arney, the schoolmaster, who had received £100 0s 0d to pay for his family's passage. The Company had to pay a clergyman's way to so remote a post and give him an advance to settle there, since few would go otherwise. Wilson's bond made the advance a loan, to be repaid from the £55 0s 0d a quarter the chaplain drew, so the Company would recover it over time.
55	44	7 Mr. Tuffen Shepherd who was Appointed a Lieutenant at your Island but came home before the Arrival there of our Letter Dated advising you thereof now proceeds agreeable to that Appointment on the Northumberland. 8 At the recommendation of the Friends of Mr. Hy. Beale We direct that he be appointed a Cadet at St. Helena - 9 We have ordered the following Articles to be taken out of the Northumberland being a part of her Cargo intended for St. Helena and laden on the Earl of Chesterfield and have given Directions for their being taken out at Sea and put on board the Northumberland Viz. 52 Casks Flour 11 Do. Pease 2 Vatts Tin Ware 2 Do. Lines & Twine 1 Cask Chafing Dishes 1 Large Vatt Whiting 1 Cask Locks and Keys 1 Do. Dry White Lead We are London 31 May 1781. Your Loving Friends (Signed) Thomas Cheap John Harrison John Hunter John Smith George Cuming J Stables W Mills Junr. Fran. Baring L. Sulivan Wm. James Jn. Woodhouse Henry Savage W G Freeman Benj. Booth George Tatem Joseph Sparkes **Margin Notes:** Respecting Mr. Shepherd's appointmt. agreeable to the Comps. Letter dated Henry Beale appointed a Cadet Articles taken out of the Northumberland & put on P the Earl Chesterfield to be returned at Sea -	7: Tuffin Shepherd had been appointed a lieutenant on the island, but he came home before the Court's letter of [...] reporting his appointment arrived. He was now going out to take up that appointment, sailing in the *Northumberland*. 8: On the recommendation of Mr Henry Beale's friends, the Court directed that he be appointed a cadet at St Helena. 9: The Court had ordered the following goods, part of the *Northumberland*'s cargo for St Helena, to be taken out of her and loaded on the *Earl of Chesterfield*. It had given orders for them to be transferred back aboard the *Northumberland* at sea. Flour, 52 casks Pease, 11 casks Tinware, 2 vats Lines and twine, 2 vats Chafing dishes, 1 cask Whiting, 1 large vat Locks and keys, 1 cask Dry white lead, 1 cask The Directors signed the letter in London on 31 May 1781. Thomas Cheap John Harrison John Hunter John Smith George Cuming J. Stables W. Mills junior Francis Baring L. Sulivan William James J. Woodhouse Henry Savage W. G. Freeman Benjamin Booth George Tatem Joseph Sparkes **Interpretations** The goods were probably moved to the *Earl of Chesterfield* to lighten the *Northumberland* while she worked down the river or through shallow water, and were to be put back aboard once both ships were in open sea. Flour was the first item listed. After the drought of 1779 and the loss of the *London* and the *Gatton*, the Court took care that the island's bread did not go astray a third time. Henry Beale was given a cadetship through the influence of his friends in London. In January 1778 the Court had refused to commission the island's cadets Onesiphorus Beale and Thomas Greentree as too young. A cadet's place was the first step to a commission, and it was won through patronage in London as much as by service on the island.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
56	45	Our Governor and Council of St. Helena Par. 1 Our last Letter to You was Dated the 31 May 1781 and went by the Northumberland which Ship Sailed from Plymouth the 26 of June. 2 We have received your several Advices of the 28 of January 11 and 30 March, 30 July and 20 August 1781 - 3 Enclosed is a List of the Arrival and Departure of the Company's Shipping since Our Advices by the Northumberland. 4 The Names and Destination of the Ships taken up for the present Season are as follow Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Alfred: Tons 758, Commanders James Brown Calcutta: Tons 761, Commanders William Thompson Ganges: Tons 758, Commanders John H. Dempster Morse: Tons 864, Commanders Joseph Elliott Royal Henry: Tons 804, Commanders Ralph Dundas Earl of Talbot: Tons 758, Commanders Robt. Taylor Ceres: Tons 723, Commanders Thos. Price Dutton: Tons 755, Commanders James West Norfolk: Tons 723, Commanders Saml. Chas. Bonham Major: Tons 755, Commanders David Arthur Hawke: Tons 723, Commanders Frans. Scott Warren Hastings: Tons 755, Commanders Thos. Larkins Kent: Tons 755, Commanders Peter Steaker Consignments Coast & China Royal Bishop: Tons 720, Commanders William Mears, Consignments Bombay & Bencoolen Worcester: Tons 723, Commanders John Cook, Consignments Coast & Bay 5 We have also agreed to take up the following Ships now building in the room of the undermentioned Viz. Mountstuart, Bute, British King, Shrewsbury, Talbot Ankerwyke **Margin Notes:** Letter by the Northumberland Receipt of Letters Arrival & Departure of Co. Shipping Ships taken up Fo.	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 31 May 1781 and went by the *Northumberland*, which sailed from Plymouth on 26 June. 2: The Court had received the Council's letters of 25 January, 11 March, 30 March, 30 July and 20 August 1781. 3: The Court enclosed a list of the arrivals and departures of the Company's ships since its letter by the *Northumberland*. 4: The names and destinations of the ships taken up for the present season were as follows. The *Alfred*, 758 tons, commanded by James Brown, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Calcutta*, 761 tons, commanded by William Thompson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ganges*, 758 tons, commanded by John H. Dempster, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Morse*, 864 tons, commanded by Joseph Elliot, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Royal Henry*, 804 tons, commanded by Ralph Dundas, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Earl Talbot*, 758 tons, commanded by Robert Taylor, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ceres*, 723 tons, commanded by Thomas Price, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Dutton*, 755 tons, commanded by James West, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Norfolk*, 723 tons, commanded by Samuel Charles Bonham, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Major*, 755 tons, commanded by David Arthur, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Hawke*, 723 tons, commanded by Francis Scott, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Warren Hastings*, 755 tons, commanded by Thomas Larkins, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Kent*, 755 tons, commanded by Peter [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Royal Bishop*, 720 tons, commanded by William Mears, bound for Bombay and Bencoolen. The *Worcester*, 723 tons, commanded by John Cook, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. 5: The Court had also agreed to take up the following ships, then being built, in place of the *Mount Stuart*, the *Bute*, the *British King*, the *Shrewsbury*, the *Talbot*, the *Ankerwyke* [...]. **Interpretations** The Company did not own most of its ships. It hired them from private owners, who built them to the Company's needs on the promise of regular charters. When a ship was captured or wrecked, her owners could build a new one to take her place and claim her turn in the service, which kept the owners' capital in the trade. The *Mount Stuart*, taken into Cadiz with the *Gatton* in August 1780, headed this list of ships to be replaced, and the others had probably been lost in the same way. The length of the list shows how heavily the war with France, Spain and the Dutch was falling on the Company's shipping.
57	46	Ankerwyke, Gatton, Europa, Godfrey and Royal George whose Names and Consignments will be Advised by a future opportunity. 6 Besides the Ships mentioned in the preceding Paragraphs, We have taken up the Nottingham, Brilliant and Ann and Emelia as Transports to carry Troops and Stores for the run to India only. 7 The Hind Cutter which was Dispatched by You to Rio Janeiro for a thorough repair was seized there by the Portuguese Government under pretence	5 (continued): The other ships to be replaced were the *Gatton*, the *Europa*, the *Godfrey* and the *Royal George*. Their names and destinations would be sent at a later opportunity. 6: Besides the ships named above, the Court had taken up the *Nottingham*, the *Brilliant* and the *Ann and Amelia* as transports, to carry troops and stores to India only. 7: The Council had sent the *Hind* cutter to Rio de Janeiro for a thorough repair. The Portuguese

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of her being Employed in carrying on Illicit Trade. Captain Bendy is Arrived at Lisbon in his way to England. 8 We have purchased the Ship Spy Captain John Sherwood Commander, Burthen 192 Tons 25 Men and 10 Guns, and We now Dispatch her to your Island and have put on board the following Articles Viz. Coals 20 Chaldron Beef, English 30 Hhds. Pork Do. 20 Do. Beef Irish 63 Tierces Pork Do. 22 Do. Flour 49 half Hhds. Cwt. qr. lb. 113. 3. 24 9 The Spy is to be put on the same footing as the Hind Cutter and employed in like manner, You are therefore to observe the Directions given by Our Secret Committee respecting the latter dated 27 February 1779 10 His Majesty has been graciously pleased to order an additional Naval and Military Force to proceed to the East Indies for the more effectual protection of the Company's Commerce and Settlements. **Margin Notes:** Ships taken up to carry Troops & Stores to India only - The Hind Cutter arrived at Lisbon - Ship Spy and Stores Do. to be put on the same footing as the Hind Cutter Additional Naval and Military Force sent to India	government there had seized her, on the pretext that she was being used for illicit trade. Captain Bendy had reached Lisbon on his way to England. 8: The Court had bought the ship *Spy*, commanded by Captain John Sherwood, of 192 tons, with 25 men and 10 guns. It was now sending her to the island with the following goods aboard. Coal, 20 chaldrons English beef, 30 hogsheads English pork, 20 hogsheads Irish beef, 63 tierces Irish pork, 22 tierces Flour, 49 half-hogsheads, weighing 113 cwt 3 qr 24 lb 9: The *Spy* was to be placed on the same footing as the *Hind* and used in the same way. The Council was therefore to follow the Secret Committee's orders about the *Hind*, dated 27 February 1779. 10: The King had ordered a further naval and military force to the East Indies, to protect the Company's trade and settlements more effectively. **Interpretations** The *Hind* had been the island's only fast vessel since she brought the Secret Committee's orders in May 1779, and its lifeline to the Cape for flour that winter. Once the Dutch became enemies in December 1780, the Cape was closed to her, so the Council sent her across the South Atlantic to Rio for repair. Portugal was neutral but resented foreign ships trading on the Brazilian coast. Calling her repair voyage illicit trade gave the Portuguese a pretext to seize a British armed vessel in their harbour. The island lost its dispatch boat for the second time in the war, after the *Gatton*'s capture had cost it its stores. The Court replaced her at once with the *Spy*, armed with 10 guns and carrying a cargo of salt meat and flour. The Secret Committee's orders of 27 February 1779 were those the *Hind* herself had carried out to the island. Putting the *Spy* under them meant she would cruise off the island to watch for enemies and carry urgent news, as the *Hind* had done.
58	47	11 You will receive Our further Directions by a future opportunity. We are London Your Loving Friends 25 January 1782 (Signed) George Cuming R. Hall Thos. Cheap John Hunter John Smith John Harrison L. Darell Henry Savage Jn. Townson F. Baring - L. Sulivan Wm. James Jn. Woodhouse John Roberts John Manship W. G. Freeman George Tatem W. Hensley Thos. Parry Joseph Sparkes Our Governor and Council of St. Helena Par. 1 Our last Letter to you was dated the 25 January 1782 and went by Our Ship Spy - 2 We have received your several Advices of the 30 Octr. 4 and 30 December 1781 - 3 Enclosed is a List of the Arrival and Departure	11: The Council would receive the Court's further orders at a later opportunity. The Directors signed the letter in London on 25 January 1782. George Cuming R. Hall Thomas Cheap John Hunter John Smith John Harrison L. Darell Henry Savage John Townson F. Baring L. Sulivan William James J. Woodhouse John Roberts John Manship W. G. Freeman George Tatem W. Kensley Thomas Parry Joseph Sparkes The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 25 January 1782 and went by the Company's ship *Spy*. 2: The Court had received the Council's letters of 20 October and 30 December 1781. 3: The Court enclosed a list of the arrivals and departures of the Company's ships since its letter by the *Spy*.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of the Company's Shipping since Our Advices by the Spy. 4 The Names and Consignments of the Ships mentioned in the 5th Paragraph of Our last Letter are as follow Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments General Coote: Tons 755, Commanders Captn. Lord Griffith Hoare Busbridge: Tons 755, Commanders Alexander Tod Winterton: Tons 755, Commanders Raymond Snow Consignments Coast and Bay **Margin Notes:** Do. Letter by the Spy Receipt of Letters List of Ships sent Names & Consignments of Ships taken up	4: The names and destinations of the ships mentioned in the 5th paragraph of the Court's last letter were as follows. The *General Coote*, 755 tons, Captain Edward Griffith Hoare, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Busbridge*, 755 tons, commanded by Alexander Tod, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Winterton*, 755 tons, commanded by Raymond Snow, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal.
59	48	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Duke of Athol: Tons 755, Commanders Captain James Rattray Francis: Tons 755, Commanders Henry Greaber Rodney: Tons 755, Commanders Henry Wakeman Montague: Tons 755, Commanders Thomas Buttell Consignments Coast & Bay Europa: Tons 755, Commanders Wm. Applegath General Goddard: Tons 755, Commanders Thomas Foxall Consignments Bombay Fairford: Tons 755, Commanders John Haldane, Consignments Bombay & China 5 The Secret Committee for the care of the Company's Shipping the present Year consists of Robert Gregory Esqr. Chairman of the Court Sir Henry Fletcher Bart. Deputy Chairman, George Cuming John Harrison, John Manship, and Henry Savage Esqrs. the orders therefore that they or any three of them shall give for the above purpose are to be duly obeyed. 6 You will receive this Letter by Our Ship the Britannia and as soon as the several Articles which compose her Cargo for St. Helena are landed which must be done with all possible Expedition you are to send her to Our Presidency of Fort Marlborough to whom We have given Directions respecting her future destination. 7 The great Scarcity of Tonnage for the Exports of this Season would not admit of our appropriating more than one Ship to carry Provisions and Stores for the Service of your Island, in addition to the few Articles that were sent on the Spy. The amount of the Tonnage of the Provisions and Stores We had ordered that are unavoidably left behind is equal to 300 Tons. The Articles which are sent on the Britannia are such as appeared to Us the most essential and consist chiefly of Coals, Salt Provisions, Flour, Military Stores and Cloathing and with these the Britannia is fully Laden. **Margin Notes:** Secret Committee Britannia to be unloaded with all expedition & proceed to Fort Marlbro Indents not entirely complied with the most essential Articles sent -	4 (continued): The rest of the replacement ships were as follows. The *Duke of Athol*, 755 tons, Captain James Rattray, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Francis*, 755 tons, commanded by Henry Greenter, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Rodney*, 755 tons, commanded by Henry Wakeman, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Montague*, 755 tons, commanded by Thomas Butbell, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Europa*, 755 tons, commanded by William Applegath, bound for Bombay. The *General Goddard*, 755 tons, commanded by Thomas Foxall, bound for Bombay. The *Fairford*, 755 tons, commanded by John Haldane, bound for Bombay and China. 5: The Secret Committee for the care of the Company's shipping that year consisted of Robert Gregory, Chairman of the Court; Sir Henry Fletcher, Baronet, Deputy Chairman; and George Cuming, John Harrison, John Manship and Henry Savage. Any orders that they, or any three of them, gave for that purpose were to be duly obeyed. 6: This letter would reach the Council by the Company's ship *Britannia*. Her cargo for St Helena was to be landed as quickly as possible. As soon as it was ashore, the Council was to send her on to the Presidency of Fort Marlborough, which had received orders about where she was to go next. 7: Shipping space for exports that season was so scarce that the Court could assign only one ship to carry provisions and stores for the island, besides the few goods sent in the *Spy*. The provisions and stores ordered but left behind for lack of room came to 300 tons. The goods sent in the *Britannia* were those the Court judged most essential, chiefly coal, salt provisions, flour, military stores and clothing. With these the *Britannia* was fully loaded. **Interpretations** The war had stripped the Company of ships faster than they could be replaced. Captures such as the *Gatton* convoy, and the need for transports to carry troops to India, left little room in the ships that remained. St Helena was a garrison that produced nothing for sale, so its supplies ranked below cargoes that earned money. Three hundred tons of the island's orders stayed on the London quays. The Court sent only the things the garrison could not live without: coal, salt meat, flour, military stores and clothing. Everything else the island needed, from ironmongery to cloth and household goods, would have to wait for a later season.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
60	49	8 Under the beforementioned Circumstances it was not in our power to comply fully with your Indents in general or your particular requisition for Coals, of these however 170 Chaldron are sent on the Spy and Britannia, a Jolly Boat is also sent on the latter. 9 We have given particular orders that the Casks of Garden Seeds should be placed in the Bread Room or Gun Room but by no means to be stowed away in the Hold. 10 Of the Salt Provisions by the Britannia 39 Hogsheads of Beef marked P No. 202 a 240 and 6 Hogsheads of Pork P No. 402 a 407 are to be expended first and a particular report made of the Quality, the Meat being salted in a new manner by way of Trial. 11 From the favorable accounts of the great utility of Carronades of a large Calibre We have been induced to send on the Britannia two Iron Carronades 68 Pounders with their Carriages and 100 Shot and We direct that they be placed on such part of the Fortifications where it may be supposed they will be most useful. 12 We have sent on the Britannia about Fifty recruits for your Garrison - 13 We shall endeavor to procure a Plumber to proceed to St. Helena in consequence of the Desertion of the Slave who you represented was the only Person on the Island capable of repairing the Pipes belonging to Chubs Spring, and if We should succeed in engaging a Person for this Service, We direct that two or more of our Slaves (if other Persons cannot be prevailed upon to do it) be instructed in the Business in order to avoid the risk of the inconveniencies which have resulted from the method being confined to the knowledge of a single Person - We direct that you Ship on the Britannia as much silver as you can spare and Consign the same to **Margin Notes:** Number of Coals by the Britannia & Spy - Garden Seeds Provisions to be Expended first and reported Two Carronades sent - Recruits sent - A Plumber to be sent - Cash to be sent to Fort Marlbro.	8: In these circumstances the Court could not fully meet the Council's orders in general, or its particular request for coal. It had, however, sent 170 chaldrons of coal in the *Spy* and the *Britannia*, and a jolly boat in the *Britannia*. 9: The Court had given particular orders that the casks of garden seeds be kept in the bread room or the gun room, and on no account stowed in the hold. 10: Of the salt provisions in the *Britannia*, 39 hogsheads of beef numbered 202 to 240, and 6 hogsheads of pork numbered 402 to 407, all bearing the Company's mark, were to be used first. The Council was to report particularly on their quality, since the meat had been salted in a new way as a trial. 11: The Court had received good reports of the great value of large-calibre carronades. It had therefore sent in the *Britannia* two iron carronades, 68-pounders, with their carriages and 100 shot. It directed that they be mounted on whatever part of the fortifications they would be most useful. 12: The Court had sent about 50 recruits for the garrison in the *Britannia*. 13: The Council had reported that the slave who was the only man on the island able to repair the pipes at Chubb's Spring had run away. The Court would try to find a plumber to send out. If it succeeded, two or more people were to be taught the trade, using the Company's slaves if no one else could be persuaded. The island would then no longer run the risk and inconvenience of depending on a single man's skill. 14: The Council was to ship in the *Britannia* as much silver as it could spare and consign it to [...]. **Interpretations** Chubb's Spring held the island's fire-fighting supply: fire cocks, direction pipes and lead mains, fitted in the last quarter of 1778 at a cost of £57 9s 7d. Only one man, a slave, knew how to keep them working. When he ran away, the Company's most costly safeguard against fire in Jamestown stood without anyone able to repair it. The Court's remedy was to make sure the skill was never again held by one person. That a slave held the only expert knowledge of the system shows how far the island's working skills rested on its slaves, and how much the Company lost when one escaped. The carronade was a new kind of gun, short and light for the size of its shot, first made at the Carron ironworks in Scotland in the late 1770s. A 68-pounder fired a huge ball over a short range, which suited batteries commanding the landing places, where an enemy's boats would come close inshore. It needed fewer men to work than a long gun of similar weight of shot. The trial of beef salted by a new method followed directly from the island's complaints of short weight and spoiled meat. Numbering the trial casks allowed the island's report to be matched exactly against the method used.
61	50	to Our President and Council at Fort Marlborough taking care that it be put into Strong Chests properly secured with Hoops and We further Direct that in the above Remittance you give a preference to Dollars before any other Coin - 15 We have Appointed the following Gentlemen to be Our Council of Supra Cargoes at Canton for managing the Company's Affairs in China this Season Viz. Mr. James Bradshaw William Henry Pigou, George Rogers, Abraham Roebuck, Henry Brown, John Harrison, George Cuming, Alexander Bruce, Charles Edward Pigou, Henry Lane, David Lance,	14 (continued): The silver was to be consigned to the President and Council at Fort Marlborough. It was to be packed in strong chests, properly secured with hoops, and the Council was to send dollars in preference to any other coin. 15: The Court had appointed the following men as its council of supercargoes at Canton, to manage the Company's affairs in China that season. 1: James Bradshaw 2: William Henry Pigou 3: George Rogers 4: Abraham Roebuck 5: Henry Brown 6: John Harrison 7: George Cuming 8: Alexander Bruce 9: Charles Edward Pigou

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Freeman, Thomas Kuyck Van Mierop and William Fitzhugh - 16 In the present critical state of public Affairs We have upon the most mature Deliberation thought proper to Appoint Robert Gregory Esqr. Our Chairman and Sir Henry Fletcher Bart. our Deputy Chairman to be a Committee of Secrecy with powers to give Orders and instructions for conducting the Company's Military and Naval Affairs and We hereby direct that all Orders and Instructions which You shall receive from Our said Chairman and Deputy Chairman relative to Naval or Military Operations be observed and obeyed with the same punctuality and exactness as though they had been signed by thirteen or more of the Court of Directors. 17 Agreeable to the request of John Skottowe Esqr. We have permitted him to resign the Government of Saint Helena and in consideration of his long and faithful Services, We have agreed that he shall enjoy the same Allowances as were granted to the late Governor Hutchinson - 18 Upon the above resignation of Mr. Skottowe We have Appointed Daniel Corneille Esqr. to succeed him as Governor of Our Island St. Helena, with the usual Salary and Allowances - **Margin Notes:** Supra Cargoes Committee of Secrecy for the conducting of Military & Naval affairs Govr. Skottowe permitted to resign & allowance given him D. Corneille Esqr. appointed Governor	10: Henry Lane 11: David Lance 12: Thomas Freeman 13: Thomas Kuyck Van Mierop 14: William Fitzhugh 16: Given the present critical state of public affairs, the Court had decided, after the most careful thought, to appoint Robert Gregory, its Chairman, and Sir Henry Fletcher, Baronet, its Deputy Chairman, as a Committee of Secrecy. They had power to give orders and instructions for running the Company's military and naval affairs. Any orders the Council received from them about naval or military operations were to be carried out as promptly and exactly as if 13 or more Directors had signed them. 17: At Governor Skottowe's own request, the Court had allowed him to resign the government of St Helena. In recognition of his long and faithful service, it had agreed that he should receive the same allowances granted to the late Governor Hutchinson. 18: On Skottowe's resignation, the Court had appointed Daniel Corneille to succeed him as Governor of St Helena, with the usual salary and allowances. **Interpretations** The Court raised to the governorship the man it had sharply rebuked in May 1779. It had then blamed Corneille's management for the doubling of the cost of each slave, the loss of the plantations, the collapse of the sheep flock and an unauthorised Superintendent's post. Three years later he was the obvious successor. He had served as Lieutenant Governor throughout Skottowe's time, knew the island better than anyone, and had led its defence through a war that still continued. In wartime the Court valued continuity and experience above its earlier complaints about cost. Skottowe's retirement on Hutchinson's terms set the standard for a Governor who left in good standing, and the Company paid a pension in recognition of long service, not only a salary while in office.
62	51	19 We have also Appointed Henry Graeme Esqr. to succeed Mr. Corneille as Lieutenant Governor with the usual Salary and Allowances - 20 We have Granted Mr. Graeme a Commission as Major from the 3 June 1776 (the Day before Major Bazett) and Direct that that he be on the same footing in every respect as his predecessor Mr. Corneille. 21 In case of the Death or Absence of Governor Corneille Our said Lieutenant Governor Henry Graeme Esqr. is to succeed as provisional Governor until Our further pleasure shall be signified. 22 Major Graeme takes his passage on the Britannia by which Ship We send a Commission under the Company's Seal Constituting and Appointing Our aforesaid Governor and Lieutenant Governor and also Our Council who are to Consist of Mr. Matthew Bazett, Mr. William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett and rank in the Order here Named. 23 We very much commend the Minute of Our Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the 2 July 1781 and approve the Regulations Established in Consequence of it on the 23 of that Month for reducing and regulating the Punch Houses, and We direct that the same be strictly enforced, and strongly recommend it to You to take every Method for preserving regularity and Sobriety so highly necessary in the present time of Danger.	19: The Court had also appointed Henry Graeme to succeed Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, with the usual salary and allowances. 20: The Court had granted Graeme a commission as major, dated 3 June 1776, the day before Major Bazett's. He was to stand in every respect on the same footing as his predecessor, Corneille. 21: In the event of the death or absence of Governor Corneille, Lieutenant Governor Graeme was to take over as provisional Governor until the Court made its further wishes known. 22: Major Graeme was sailing in the *Britannia*. By the same ship the Court was sending a commission under the Company's seal, appointing the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, together with the Council. The Council was to consist of Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett, ranking in that order. 23: The Court strongly commended the minute of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of 2 July 1781. It approved the rules made on 23 July 1781 as a result, to reduce the number of punch houses and regulate those that remained. It directed that they be strictly enforced. It urged the Council to take every step to keep order and sobriety, which mattered greatly in a time of danger. 24: The Court also approved the Council's decision to keep the recruits meant for Bengal who came out in the *Northumberland*. It further approved the Council's purchase of various goods for the supply and defence of the garrison. 25: On the Council's recommendation, the Court directed that William Roberts, the Town Adjutant, be given a place in the military establishment, as he had

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		24 We likewise approve Your Detention of the Recruits which were intended for Bengal by the Northumberland, as also of Your purchasing several Articles for the Supply and Defence of Our Garrison - 25 On Your recommendation of Mr. William Roberts the Town Adjutant We direct that he be placed in the Military, agreeable to his Petition on your Consultation of 5 November 1779 - **Margin Notes:** H. Graeme Esqr. appointed Lt. Governor Majr. Graeme's Commission Majr. Graeme to succeed D. Corneille Esqr. Governor and Council's Commission sent Govr. & Lt. Govr. minute of 2 July 1781 about Punch Houses approved of Comps. approval of the Detention of the Recruits from the Northumberland - Mr. Roberts appointed a Lieut.	asked in his petition entered in the consultation of 5 November 1779. **Interpretations** Backdating Graeme's commission to the day before Henry Bazett's settled a question of rank in advance. Bazett was the senior major on the island and sat on the Council. Without the earlier date, a newcomer from England would have ranked below him, and Bazett could have claimed the command if the Governor died. One day's seniority put Graeme above him, and the Court also named Graeme as provisional Governor. It chose to keep the succession out of the hands of the island's own families, even a councillor who had served for years. The rules on punch houses picked up a long concern of the Company's. In 1778 the Court had freed shopkeeping on the island but kept the sale of spirits under licence. With arrack landed by the tens of thousands of gallons, and soldiers drinking in the town's punch houses, drunkenness threatened the garrison's readiness. Keeping men sober mattered more in wartime, when an alarm could come at any hour. The Court's approval of keeping the Bengal recruits showed how far the war had changed its priorities. Recruits were scarce everywhere, yet it accepted that St Helena's need had outweighed Bengal's. The garrison had been thinned by death, desertion and discharge, and the Court now treated its strength as a first concern.
63	52	26 At the request of Our late Governor Skottowe We consent that one of Our Slaves named Robert who has been in his Family upwards of twenty Years be purchased and released - 27 We approve of your purchasing the Rebecca Schooner as You were in want of such Vessel but are surprised at her being said to be bound for the Coast of Africa with only a Cargo of Slops amounting to £80 and We direct You to enquire whether any thing else was on board her and if so, how disposed of and you are to acquaint Us with every other particular relative to this Vessel - 28 As We wish to retrench Our Expences at St. Helena in order to apply our Money principally for the Defence of the Island, We direct that the Design of Building a New Goal be laid aside for the present - 29 We have entertained James Briggs as a Plumber for St. Helena at the Wages of 36/ PWeek with Board and Lodging, his Wages are to Commence from the 26 Instant and to be continued till his return back to England, he has been paid ten pounds as a Gratuity, and advanced the further Sum of ten pounds, which latter Sum is to be deducted out of his growing pay he takes his passage on the Britannia and when he returns he is to be provided with a passage to England at the Company's Expence - 30 Since Writing the above We have been informed by Captain Greenway the Commander of the Vessel called the Admiral Hughes and Mr. Oakes late a Passenger thereon charged with the Dispatches from Madrass that the said Vessel was taken by a French Frigate Named the Equille on the 6 March **Margin Notes:** Comps. Slave Robert to be sold & released The Purchase of the Rebecca Schooner approved of & enquiry to be made respecting Slops &c. The design of building a new Goal laid aside James Briggs appointed Plumber The capture of the Vessel Hughes by a French Frigate	26: At the request of Governor Skottowe, now retired, the Court agreed that one of the Company's slaves, named Robert, who had lived in his household for more than 20 years, might be bought and set free. 27: The Court approved the Council's purchase of the schooner *Rebecca*, since the island needed such a vessel. It was surprised, however, to hear that she had been said to be bound for the coast of Africa with a cargo of only £80 0s 0d worth of slops. The Council was to find out whether anything else had been aboard her and, if so, what had become of it. It was to report every other detail it could learn about the vessel. 28: The Court wished to cut its spending at St Helena so as to put its money chiefly into the island's defence. It therefore directed that the plan to build a new gaol be set aside for the present. 29: The Court had engaged James Briggs as a plumber for St Helena, at 36s 0d a week with board and lodging. His wages would run from the 26th of the month until he returned to England. He had been paid £10 0s 0d as a gratuity and advanced a further £10 0s 0d, to be deducted from his pay as it came due. He was sailing in the *Britannia*, and would be given a passage back to England at the Company's cost. 30: Since writing the above, the Court had learned from Captain Greenway, commander of the *Admiral Hughes*, and Mr Oakes, who had been a passenger in her carrying dispatches from Madras, that the ship had been taken by a French frigate, the *[...]*, on 6 March [...]. **Interpretations** The slave Robert belonged to the Company, so Skottowe could not free him without the Court's consent, even after 20 years in his household. By buying Robert from the Company before freeing him, Skottowe made the manumission lawful. A household slave who had served a Governor for two decades was a valuable piece of Company property, and the Court's agreement was an act of favour to its retiring Governor as much as to Robert. The Court's suspicion of the *Rebecca* rested on her cargo. A schooner bound for Africa with only £80 0s 0d of cheap clothing could hardly make a paying voyage on that alone. The Court wanted to know whether she had also carried goods to buy slaves on

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			the African coast, or other trade cargo outside the Company's monopoly, before the island bought her. James Briggs's wage of 36s 0d a week came to more than £90 a year, besides his board and lodging. That was far above the pay of a factor or the Company's carpenter, and over three times what the island's gardener earned. The Court was willing to pay so much to restore the fire supply at Chubb's Spring, which had stood unrepaired since the only man who understood it, a slave, ran away. Its order that others be taught his trade was meant to ensure the island never again depended on a single man's skill.
64	53	March last near the Western Islands, and that several of the Packets were thrown overboard and if the Captains declaration is to be confided in, the rest were Destroyed on board. 31 The Enclosed Copy of the London Gazette published on Saturday last will inform You of the particulars of the Capture on the 20th Instant of the Pegase Man of War of 74 Guns and several Ships laden with Troops Stores Provisions and Ammunition that had left Brest the preceding Day and were bound to the Isle of France. And We are since further informed that the Actionaire another French Ship of 64 Guns armée en flute which had a great Number of Troops with rich and valuable Stores has been also Captured by Our Fleet and brought into Plymouth - London We are the 30 April 1782 Your Loving Friends Signed George Tatem J. Wilkinson Nath. Smith John Smith W. Bensley Joseph Sparkes Thos. Cheap R. Hall George Cuming Robert Gregory Henry Fletcher John Hunter St. Lushington Henry Savage John Roberts L. Darell John Harrison Jas. Moffatt **Margin Notes:** Two French Ships of War captured	30 (continued): The *Admiral Hughes* had been taken on 6 March near the Western Islands. Several of the packets aboard her had been thrown overboard. If the captain's statement could be trusted, the rest had been destroyed on board. 31: The enclosed copy of the *London Gazette*, published the previous Saturday, gave the details of the capture on 20 April of the *Pégase*, a French warship of 74 guns. Several ships carrying troops, stores, provisions and ammunition were taken with her. They had left Brest the day before, bound for the Isle de France. The Court had since learned that the *Actionnaire*, another French ship of 64 guns, armed en flûte and carrying many troops and rich and valuable stores, had also been captured by the British fleet and brought into Plymouth. The Directors signed the letter in London on 30 April 1782. George Tatem J. Wilkinson Nathaniel Smith John Smith W. Bensley Joseph Sparkes Thomas Cheap R. Hall George Cuming Robert Gregory Henry Fletcher John Hunter Stephen Lushington Henry Savage John Roberts L. Darell John Harrison James Moffatt **Interpretations** Throwing the dispatches overboard was standard practice when a ship carrying official papers was about to be taken. The papers were weighted so that they sank and could not fall into enemy hands. The cost was that the Company lost its news from Madras as completely as the French did. The Court could only take the captain's word that nothing had reached the enemy. The Isle de France, now Mauritius, was France's chief naval base in the Indian Ocean. Troops and stores sent there were meant to reinforce the French campaign against the Company's settlements in India. A ship armed en flûte had most of her guns taken out to make room for troops and cargo, so she could carry soldiers but could barely defend herself. The capture of the *Pégase* and the *Actionnaire* cut off much of that reinforcement before it left European waters. The Court sent the *Gazette* to St Helena because the news bore on the island's own danger. Every French squadron that sailed for the Indian Ocean passed through the South Atlantic and might attack the island on the way.
65	54	Our Governor and Council of St. Helena	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Par. 1 Since our Advices dated 30 April last we have received the following Letters from you Viz. General Letters of the 27 May 28 June, 6 August and 5 October 1782 2 By our Ship Walpole you will receive this Letter and as soon as you have taken out the Cargo consigned to you which must be done with all possible expedition you are to send her to our Presidency of Fort Marlborough. 3 The following is a compleat List of the Ships taken in to the Company's Service this Season Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Grenville: Tons 755, Commanders Captn. Bob [...] Halsewell: Tons 758, Commanders Richd. Pierce Pigot: Tons 758, Commanders Robt. Morgan Atlas: Tons 758, Commanders Allen Cooper D. of Kingston: Tons 723, Commanders Justinian Nutt Lord Mansfield: Tons 758, Commanders Willm. Hall E. of Oxford: Tons 758, Commanders Jn. White Junr. Sansiborn: Tons 758, Commanders Wm. Agnew Bellmont: Tons 758, Commanders Wm. Dent Gamage Fox: Tons 758, Commanders Jn. Blackburn Consignments Coast and Bay Stormont: Tons 723, Commanders Robt. Fairfull Ponsborne: Tons 758, Commanders Jas. Dorrill York: Tons 758, Commanders Jn. A. Blanshard Lascelles: Tons 758, Commanders Thos. Wakefield Houghton: Tons 755, Commanders James Mears London: Tons 758, Commanders Jn. Eastabrooke E. of Sandwich: Tons 804, Commanders Charles Deane Consignments Coast and China Genl. Elliot: Tons 755, Commanders 0 Berborough: Tons 875, Commanders Alex. Montgomerie Glatton: Tons 758, Commanders Charles Drummond Consignments Bombay Walpole: Tons 758, Commanders Henry Churchill, Consignments St. Helena & Bencoolen **Margin Notes:** Receipt of Letters Walpole to be dispatched [...] Ships taken in the Year 1783	1: Since its letter of 30 April 1782, the Court had received the Council's general letters of 27 May, 28 June, 6 August and 5 October 1782. 2: This letter would reach the Council by the Company's ship *Walpole*. As soon as her cargo for the island had been unloaded, which was to be done as quickly as possible, the Council was to send her on to the Presidency of Fort Marlborough. 3: The complete list of ships taken into the Company's service that season was as follows. The *[...]*, 755 tons, Captain Robert [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Halsewell*, 758 tons, commanded by Richard Pierce, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Pigot*, 758 tons, commanded by Robert Morgan, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Atlas*, 758 tons, commanded by Allen Cooper, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Duke of Kingston*, 723 tons, commanded by Justinian Nutt, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Lord Macartney*, 758 tons, commanded by William Hall, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Earl of Oxford*, 758 tons, commanded by John Wordsworth junior, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Ponsborne*, 758 tons, commanded by [...] Agnew, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Belmont*, 758 tons, commanded by William Dent Gamage, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Fox*, 758 tons, commanded by John Blackburn, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Stormont*, 723 tons, commanded by Robert [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *[...]*, 758 tons, commanded by John [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *York*, 758 tons, commanded by John A. Blanshard, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Lascelles*, 758 tons, commanded by Thomas Wakefield, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Houghton*, 755 tons, commanded by James [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *London*, 758 tons, commanded by John Eastabrook, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Earl of Sandwich*, 804 tons, commanded by Charles Dean, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *General Elliot*, 755 tons, commander not named, bound for Bombay. The *Besborough*, 875 tons, commanded by Alexander Montgomerie, bound for Bombay. The *Glatton*, 758 tons, commanded by Charles Drummond, bound for Bombay. The *Walpole*, 758 tons, commanded by Henry Churchill, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen.
66	55	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Raymond: Tons 755, Commanders Joseph Hale, Consignments St. Helena & Bombay Sulivan: Tons 755, Commanders Stephen Williams, Consignments Bombay & China 4 The above Ships are taken up in general on the same terms as those of last Season as will appear by reference to their respective Charterparties - 5 We have likewise fitted the Company's Ship	3 (continued): The last two ships on the list were as follows. The *Raymond*, 755 tons, commanded by Joseph Hall, bound for St Helena and Bombay. The *Sulivan*, 755 tons, commanded by Stephen Williams, bound for Bombay and China. 4: These ships had generally been taken up on the same terms as those of the previous season, as their charter parties would show.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Prime Captn. Philip Sharpe for a Voyage to India - 6 The very ill state of Health of Robert Gregory Esqr. our late worthy Chairman having obliged him to retire from the Direction We have elected Sir Henry Fletcher Bart. Chairman and Nathaniel Smith Deputy Chairman. These Gentlemen together with Mr. Harrison are invested with the usual Powers relative to all Naval and Military Operations. 7 Notwithstanding the attention which we have paid to preventing unlicensed Persons proceeding to the East Indies on board the Company's Ships, means have been found to elude our Vigilance in that respect. It is therefore our positive Orders that upon the Arrival of any of the Company's Ships at our Island St. Helena you do make the strictest Enquiry whether the Passengers on board have been duly licensed by us to take Passage thereon. And that in case it shall appear no such permission has been granted to them, we direct that the names of the Offenders together with the name of the Ship and every other particular you can collect that may throw a light upon the Subject, be transmitted to us by your next Advices, as we are resolved to punish very severely those Commanders who shall dare to disobey our Instructions in this material point - 8 To prevent the great inconvenience which has arisen from the want of a due attention, in our Commanders and Officers, in marking and numbering their Packages in private Trade We have directed our several Commanders to cause every package of Private Trade which they may receive on board in India, and China on their indulgence to be marked with the initials of their own Names, and also to register the same agreeably to the said marks, specifying particularly in the Register the contents and quantity of the contents of each Package, and that the Commanders do order all their Officers to mark their Goods in the same **Margin Notes:** Prime fitted out The ill state of Health of R. Gregory Esqr. late Chairman &c. Respecting Persons unlicensed going to India - Private Trade of Commanders & Officers to be numbered &c.	5: The Court had also fitted out the Company's ship /.../, Captain Philip Sharpe, for a voyage to India. 6: Robert Gregory, the late Chairman, had been forced by very poor health to retire from the Direction. The Court had elected Sir Henry Fletcher, Baronet, as Chairman and Nathaniel Smith as Deputy Chairman. These two, together with Mr Harrison, held the usual powers over all naval and military operations. 7: Despite the Court's efforts to stop people without a licence from going out to the East Indies in the Company's ships, some had found ways to slip past its watch. The Court therefore gave firm orders that whenever a Company ship arrived in St Helena road, the Council was to inquire closely whether her passengers held the Court's licence to travel in her. Where no such permission had been given, the Council was to send home by its next letter the names of the offenders, the name of the ship and every other detail that might throw light on the matter. The Court was determined to punish severely any commander who dared to disobey it on so important a point. 8: Commanders and officers had been careless in marking and numbering the packages they carried as private trade, which had caused much difficulty. The Court had therefore told its commanders that every package of private trade taken aboard in India or China under their allowance was to be marked with the initials of the owner's name. Each was also to be entered in a register under that mark, stating the contents and quantity of every package. Commanders were to make their officers mark their goods in the same [...]. **Interpretations** The Company held the sole right to send British subjects to live and trade in the East. Anyone who went out without its licence threatened that monopoly, as a private trader or an adventurer whose conduct the Company could not control. St Helena lay on the outward route as well as the homeward one, so the Court used it as a checkpoint. Passengers who had boarded quietly in the Channel could be found by the island's Council and reported before the ship reached India. Each commander and officer had a fixed allowance of space in his ship for private trade, carried on his own account, which was a large part of his reward for the voyage. Marking every package with the owner's initials and registering its contents let customs officers and the Company tell private goods from the Company's cargo. That made it harder for officers to pass off forbidden or untaxed goods as their own, or to exceed their allowance.
67	56	same manner, and to take care that they comply therewith - We have also ordered that the Commanders and Officers - within thirty days after the Arrival of their Ships at the Custom house here do deliver to the Clerk to our Committee of Private Trade a true Account of all such Private Trade Packages belonging to them specifying the Marks Numbers, Contents and Quantity of such Contents agreeably to the	8 (continued): Commanders were to see that their officers followed this rule fully. The Court had also ordered that within 30 days of their ships arriving at the custom house in London, commanders and officers were to hand to the clerk of its Committee of Private Trade a true account of all their private trade packages. The account was to give the marks, numbers, contents and quantity of each, matching the register. Any package found not to match the register would be liable to confiscation. The commanders of the ships now being sent out had been told of these orders. The Council was to inform every commander who called at

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Register so that all such Packages as shall not be found to correspond with such Register will be liable to Confiscation. The Commanders of the Ships now under Dispatch are acquainted with the foregoing Orders and we direct that you acquaint all our Commanders who shall be at our Island of St. Helena with the said Orders that they may punctually comply with them and avoid incurring the Penalty of their property being confiscated - 9 The following Gentlemen are appointed our Council of Supra Cargoes at Canton for managing the Company's Affairs in China this Season Viz. Mr. James Bradshaw Willm. Henry Pigou George Rogers Abraham Roebuck Henry Browne John Harrison George Cuming Alexander Bruce Charles Edwd. Pigou Henry Lane David Lance Thomas Freeman Thos. Kuyck Van Mierop 10 The principal Articles which we shall supply you with this Season consist of 130 Chaldron of Coals 178 Tons of Flour and 199 Tons of Salt Provisions - 11 Your recommendation of a Uniform for the Artillery and Infantry shall be attended to in our future supply of Cloathing to your Island - **Margin Notes:** Concerning Private Trade - Supra Cargoes of Council at Canton Principal Articles to be sent Uniform for the Infantry & Artillery	St Helena, so that each could obey them exactly and avoid having his goods confiscated. 9: The Court had appointed the following men as its council of supercargoes at Canton, to manage the Company's affairs in China that season. 1: James Bradshaw 2: William Henry Pigou 3: George Rogers 4: Abraham Roebuck 5: Henry Browne 6: John Harrison 7: George Cuming 8: Alexander Bruce 9: Charles Edward Pigou 10: Henry Lane 11: David Lance 12: Thomas Freeman 13: Thomas Kuyck Van Mierop 10: The main goods the Court would send the island that season were 130 chaldrons of coal, 178 tons of flour and 199 tons of salt provisions. 11: The Council had recommended a uniform for the artillery and infantry. The Court would take this into account in its future supplies of clothing for the island. **Interpretations** The penalty of confiscation gave the rules on private trade real force. An officer's private goods could be worth more than his pay for the whole voyage, so the threat of losing them made careful marking and honest registers worth his while. The Court made St Helena its messenger, since every homeward commander called there. A captain who reached London claiming he had never heard of the new rules could be answered that the island's Council had told him. The supply of 178 tons of flour and 199 tons of salt meat was far larger than the single cargo the *Britannia* could carry the year before. With fewer ships lost and more taken into service, the Court could once again send the island its staple food in quantity.
68	57	12 We direct that you ship on the Walpole as much Silver as you can spare and consign the same to our Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough taking care that it be put into strong Iron bound Chests properly secured with Hoops and we further direct that in the above Remittance you give a preference to Dollars before any other Coin - 13 As the Commanders and Officers of the Company's Packets are not permitted to carry out any Private Trade they are not entitled to the Privilege of paying Money into our Treasury for Certificates on us, You must not therefore grant Certificates to such Commanders and Officers on any pretence whatever as we are determined to refuse our Acceptance to any such Remittances in future - 14 Enclosed you will receive Copies of the Orders of His Majesty's most Honble. Privy Council permitting the Company to export Warlike Stores and Provisions under the restrictions therein mentioned and you are to observe our former Directions for returning the Certificates required - 15 By the Raymond we will acquaint you with our Sentiments on the different matters referred us	12: The Council was to ship in the *Walpole* as much silver as it could spare and consign it to the Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough. The silver was to be packed in strong iron-bound chests, properly secured with hoops, and the Council was to send dollars in preference to any other coin. 13: The commanders and officers of the Company's packets were not allowed to carry any private trade. They therefore had no right to pay money into the island's treasury in exchange for bills on the Court. The Council was not to grant such bills to them on any pretext, since the Court was determined to refuse payment of any such remittances in future. 14: The Court enclosed copies of the orders of His Majesty's Privy Council allowing the Company to export military stores and provisions, under the restrictions set out in them. The Council was to keep to the Court's earlier orders for returning the certificates those orders required. 15: By the *Raymond*, the Court would give its views on the various matters the Council had raised in its letters, which lack of time now prevented it from dealing with. 16: The Court had ordered half a chest of Lombardy poplars to be shipped in the *Walpole*. It meant to go on sending them by every ship until it heard that they were thriving. The Council was to report from time to time how they arrived, with an account of the condition and number delivered by each ship. It was also to follow the Court's orders on the subject in the 17th paragraph of its general letter of 27 May 1779.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		in your Letters and which want of time now prevents our entering upon - 16 We have ordered half a Chest of Lombardy Poplars to be Shipped on the Walpole; and mean to continue sending them by every Conveyance that may offer till we hear from you that they thrive and we desire that you will inform Us from time to time how they succeed as well as give Us an Account of the Condition, and Quantity delivered by each Ship. You are to observe our Directions on this Subject in Par. 17 of our General Letter dated 27 May 1779 - 17 We shall consign to you on board the Brig Smith, Barnabas Ray Commander 81 Tons of Salt Provisions and Flour, for your information we send you Copy of the Charter party a Number in the Packet - Mr. Enderby Owner of the abovementioned Vessel having requested leave for the Ship to Purchase some empty Liquors at St. Helena **Margin Notes:** Silver to be remitted to Fort Marlbro. on the Walpole Commanders and Officers of Company's Packets not allowed to Pay Money into the Treasury there His Majesty's Orders in Council respecting the exportation of Warlike Stores &c. To receive answers to their Letters by the Raymond Lombardy Poplars Provisions &c. sent P Smith	17: The Court would consign to the island, aboard the brig *[...]*, commanded by Barnabas Ray, 85 tons of salt provisions and flour. A copy of the charter party was enclosed, numbered, in the packet. Mr Enderby, the owner of that vessel, had asked leave for her to buy some empty leaguers at St Helena [...]. **Interpretations** Bills on London were the safe way for anyone on the island to send money home. The Court now shut that route to the officers of its packets. Packets were small, fast ships meant for letters and dispatches, and their officers had no allowance of private trade. Any money they wanted to send home by bills had probably come from trading they were not allowed to do. Refusing to honour their bills removed the profit from such trade, since the money would be useless to them once ashore in England. Mr Enderby was probably Samuel Enderby, the leading London owner of South Sea whalers. Leaguers were the great casks, holding about 150 gallons, in which arrack reached the island from India, and St Helena built up a stock of empty ones. To a whaler they were ready-made containers for oil. The Court's readiness to let his vessel buy them shows the island's empty casks taking on value from the South Atlantic whale fishery, the same trade whose ships had sheltered at the island in 1779.
69	58	St. Helena, We have permitted him so to do - You are to afford Captn. Ray every assistance in your power in unloading the Cargo consigned to you and likewise you must allow him to purchase such Provisions as he may stand in absolute need of for the Supply of his Ships Company - We have also agreed to permit you to advance to Captn. Ray £200 - he giving you Bills on Mr. Enderby payable at Sight for the same, but we positively direct that you do not exceed the abovementioned Sum. 18 Mr. John Doveton who had your leave to proceed to England to settle his private Concerns has our permission to return on the Walpole to his Station at your Island. We are Your Loving Friends London Signed 15 January 1783 Jas. Wilkinson George Cuming L. Darrell Thos. Cheap George Tatem W. Bensley Hen. Savage James Moffatt Joseph Sparkes Henry Fletcher Nathl. Smith John Harrison J. Manship John Roberts Jacob Bosanquet S. Lushington R. Hall Letter from Captn. Wimbleton to the Honble. Court of Directors relating the Capture of the Schooner	17 (continued): The Court had given Enderby leave to do so. The Council was to give Captain Ray every help it could in unloading the cargo consigned to the island, and to let him buy whatever provisions he truly needed for his crew. The Court had also agreed that the Council could advance Ray £200 0s 0d, against his bills on Mr Enderby payable at sight. It strictly ordered the Council not to go beyond that sum. 18: John Doveton had been given leave by the Council to go to England to settle his private affairs. The Court had now allowed him to return to his post on the island in the *Walpole*. The Directors signed the letter in London on 8 January 1783. James Wilkinson George Cuming L. Darell Thomas Cheap George Tatem W. Bensley Henry Savage James Moffatt Joseph Sparkes Henry Fletcher Nathaniel Smith John Harrison J. Manship John Roberts Jacob Bosanquet S. Lushington R. Hall The next entry was a letter from Captain William [...] to the Court of Directors about the capture of the schooner *Rebecca*. He wrote that he was deeply sorry to report that the Company's schooner *Rebecca*, under his command, had been captured off St Helena on 23 May [...]. **Interpretations** The *Rebecca* was the schooner the Council had bought for the island's own service, whose purchase the Court approved in April 1782 while questioning her earlier voyage to Africa. She was taken within sight

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Rebecca Gentlemen I am extremely sorry to inform of the Capture of your Schooner Rebecca under my Command off Saint Helena which happened on the 23 day of May last **Margin Notes:** Directions respecting the advance of Money to Captn. Ray Mr. Jno. Doveton to return to his Station &c.	of the island. Enemy cruisers were now working the waters around St Helena itself, not only the approaches to Europe. After the *Hind*'s seizure at Rio, the loss of the *Rebecca* left the island once more without a vessel of its own to watch the coast or carry news.
70	59	last as my protest enclosed with this will testify and that I have been obliged to draw on you for forty pounds Sterling in favor of Mr. Jno. Anderson which must beg you to Honor - My ill state of health having rendered my expences in this Place very great, shall sail with the fleet therefore hope soon to have the Honor of waiting on you when I shall give a particular Account of every thing, in the mean time remain Gentlemen Your most dutiful Kingston and Obedient Servant Jamaica 30 Novr. 1782 L. Wimbleton To the Honble. Governor and Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen I have it in Command from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to enclose you Copy of a Letter received this Day from Captain Lucas Wimbleton dated at Jamaica the 30th November 1782 advising the Capture on the 22d May last off St. Helena of the Rebecca Schooner under his Command by a French Letter of Marque Ship called the Duchess de Polignac mounting 38 Guns - I remain with respect Gentlemen East India House Your most Obedient and most London 17th January 1783, humble Servant P. Michell Secry.	Wimbleton went on to say that his protest, enclosed with the letter, would confirm the facts of the capture. He had been forced to draw on the Court for £40 0s 0d in favour of Mr John Anderson, and asked the Court to honour the bill. Poor health had made his stay in Kingston very costly. He meant to sail with the convoy and hoped soon to call on the Directors in person and give them a full account of everything. L. Wimbleton signed the letter at Kingston, Jamaica, on 30 November 1782. The Court's Secretary then wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena from East India House, London, on 14 January 1783. On the Court's orders he enclosed a copy of the letter received that day from Captain Lucas Wimbleton, dated at Jamaica on 30 November 1782. It reported that the schooner *Rebecca*, under his command, had been captured off St Helena on 22 May 1782 by a French letter of marque, the *Duchesse de Polignac*, mounting 38 guns. P. Michell, the Secretary, signed the letter. **Interpretations** A letter of marque was a privately owned ship carrying a government licence to seize enemy vessels and sell them as prizes. The *Duchesse de Polignac* mounted 38 guns, as many as a frigate, which made her far too strong for the island's schooner. A French raider of that force cruising off St Helena was lying in wait on the route every homeward Indiaman had to take, hoping for a richer prize than the *Rebecca*. Wimbleton ended up in Jamaica because his captors had carried him across the Atlantic to the French West Indies. From there he made his way to the British island to find a passage home. The island learned of its own schooner's capture only by way of London, eight months after she was taken almost within sight of its batteries.
71	60	To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the Island of St. Helena The detention of the Ships now at Spithead by contrary winds affords an Opportunity which the Secret Committee have Ordered me to embrace of transmitting for your Information the enclosed Copy of a Letter from the Right Honble. Lord Grantham just received by the said Committee the same is in Obedience to the Orders of the said Committee accordingly done by Sir and Gentlemen Your most Obedient London humble Servant 25 January 1783. P. Michell Secry. St. James 23 January 1783 Half past [...] Gentlemen I have the satisfaction to - acquaint you that a Messenger is just Arrived from Paris, with the Preliminary Articles between Great Britain and France and between Great Britain and Spain, which were Signed at Versailles on the 20 instant	The Court's Secretary wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena from London on 25 January 1783. Contrary winds were holding the ships at Spithead, which gave the Secret Committee a chance to send the Council news. On the Committee's orders, he enclosed for the Council's information a copy of a letter from Lord Grantham that the Committee had just received. P. Michell, the Secretary, signed it. Lord Grantham wrote from St James's on 23 January 1783, at half past six in the evening, to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company. He was pleased to tell them that a messenger had just arrived from Paris with the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and France, and between Great Britain and Spain. Mr Fitzherbert, the King's minister plenipotentiary, and the ministers plenipotentiary of those two powers had signed them at Versailles on 20 January. The preliminaries with Holland were not yet signed, but a ceasefire with the Dutch Republic had been agreed. Grantham signed the letter. **Interpretations** The news reached the Company within three days of the signing at Versailles, and the Secret Committee used the chance of ships held at Spithead by the wind to send it on at once. Peace with France and Spain

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		by Mr. Fitzherbert His Majesty's Minister Plenipo- tentiary and the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the aforenamed Courts - The Preliminaries with Holland are not yet signed, but a Cessation of Hostilities with that Republic is agreed upon. I have the honor to be Gentlemen Chairman and Deputy, Your most Obedient Chairman of the East India humble Servant Company Grantham	ended the danger from their fleets and privateers that had cost the island the *Gatton*'s stores and the *Rebecca*. It also lifted the threat of attack that had driven the island's work on batteries, portcullises and alarms since 1778. The ceasefire with the Dutch mattered especially to St Helena, since it reopened the Cape as a source of sheep, flour and seed. Grantham's careful note of the hour showed how urgent the government judged the news to be. Every week it took to reach the East could prevent fighting begun in ignorance that the war was over.
72	61	The Worshipful the Governor and Council of St. Helena Gentlemen It being of the greatest Consequence that you should have the earliest information of the Cessation of Hostilities which has taken place between His Majesty and the several Powers of France Spain Holland and the United States of America. I am directed to send you the enclosed Proclamation and that it may have its proper and intended effect you are not only to observe it yourselves but must send immediate Notice thereof to every part of India and wherever else the Company have any Connections or it may be of any possible utility - I am with great respect East India House Gentlemen London 15 Feby. 1783 Your most Obedient humble Servant P. Michell Secry. P.S. Proclamations are sent to all the Company's Presidencies and China by the Ships now under dispatch - Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Para. 1 On the 30 November last Provisional Articles were signed at Paris by His Majesty's Commissioner and the Commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted in, and to constitute a Treaty of Peace between His Majesty and the said United States, when Terms of Peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France - **Margin Notes:** Concerning the Treaty of Peace	The Court's Secretary wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena from East India House, London, on 15 February 1783. It was vital that the island learn as early as possible of the end of hostilities between the King and France, Spain, Holland and the United States of America. On the Court's orders he enclosed the royal proclamation. To give it its full intended effect, the Council was to obey it, and also send word of it at once to every part of India and anywhere else the Company had dealings or the news might be useful. P. Michell, the Secretary, signed the letter. In a postscript he added that copies of the proclamation were going to all the Company's presidencies and to China in the ships then being sent out. The Court of Directors then wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: On 30 November 1782, provisional articles had been signed at Paris by the King's commissioner and the commissioners of the United States of America. They were to form part of a treaty of peace between the King and the United States, to be concluded once peace terms had been agreed between Great Britain and France [...]. **Interpretations** The Court made St Helena a relay for the news of peace. Nearly every ship bound for India or China called at the island, and some captains already at sea had sailed before the proclamation was issued. By passing the news on to every ship in the road, the Council could stop fighting that would otherwise have gone on in ignorance. A ship taken after the ceasefire might have to be given back, and a battle fought in error could undo the terms just agreed in Europe. The provisional articles with the United States marked Britain's recognition of American independence, the outcome of the rebellion that had been under way when the island examined the American-built whalers *London* and *Dragon* in 1779. Those papers, which had to prove that ships built in Rhode Island and Philadelphia were wholly British-owned, belonged to the first years of the war. Under the peace, ships built and owned in America would arrive as foreigners.
73	62	2 On the 20 January following Preliminary Articles of Peace between His Britannick Majesty and the most Christian King and between his Britannick Majesty and the King of Spain were signed at Versailles 3 On the 3 instant the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles between Great Britain and France were exchanged by the Ministers of each respective Power and on the 9 instant the Ratifications of the Preliminary Articles between Great Britain and Spain were likewise exchanged - 4 On the 14 instant His Majesty issued His Royal Proclamation a Copy of which has been sent declaring, that a Cessation of Arms as well by Sea as by Land had been agreed upon between His Majesty, the most Christian King and the King of Spain, the States General	2: On 20 January 1783, preliminary articles of peace were signed at Versailles between the King of Great Britain and the King of France, and between the King of Great Britain and the King of Spain. 3: On 3 February the ratifications of the preliminary articles between Great Britain and France were exchanged by the ministers of each power. On 9 February the ratifications of the preliminary articles between Great Britain and Spain were exchanged in the same way. 4: On 14 February the King issued a royal proclamation, a copy of which had been sent to the island. It declared that an end to fighting at sea and on land had been agreed between the King, the King of France, the King of Spain, the States General of the United Provinces and the United States of America, and it ordered that the ceasefire be observed. 5: The Court had sent copies of those parts of the preliminary articles with France that in any way concerned the East Indies.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of the United Provinces and the United States of America and enjoining the observance thereof. 5 We have sent Copies of such of the Preliminary Articles with the French as in any way relate to the East Indies 6 You will observe by the 22 Article that in order to prevent all Causes of Complaint and Disputes which may arise on Account of Prizes which may be made at Sea after the Signing of the Preliminary Articles, it is reciprocally agreed that the Vessels and Effects which may be taken beyond the Equinoctial Line after the Space of five Months to be computed from the Ratification of the said Preliminary Articles, shall be restored on each side - 7 Though we have not received informa- tion of the Preliminary Articles between Great Britain and Holland being executed, it is necessary you should be informed that by His Majesty's Proclamation beforementioned it is agreed that the Cessation of Hostilities between Great Britain and Holland and between Great Britain and the United States of America shall be agreeable to the Epochs fixed in [...] France. The Terms therefore prevailing **Margin Notes:** Preliminary Articles between G. Britain & France Do. Cessation of Hostilities between the several Contending Powers Copies of Articles Time specified when Prizes are not taken - Cessation of Hostilities between G. Britain & Holland	6: The Council would see from the 22nd article that, to prevent complaints and disputes over prizes taken at sea after the preliminaries were signed, both sides had agreed on a rule. Ships and goods captured beyond the Equator more than five months after the ratification of the preliminary articles were to be handed back by each side. 7: The Court had not yet heard that the preliminary articles between Great Britain and Holland had been signed. The Council needed to know, however, that under the King's proclamation the end of fighting between Great Britain and Holland, and between Great Britain and the United States, had been agreed to take effect at the times fixed in the treaty with France. The times for [...]. **Interpretations** The rule on prizes allowed for how slowly news travelled. A ship's captain far south of the Equator might go on taking prizes for months before he could know the war had ended. Giving five months' grace from the ratification of 3 February meant that captures in distant waters up to early July 1783 would stand, while anything taken after that date had to be returned. The rule protected both sides from losing ships to men acting in honest ignorance, and spared the governments endless claims afterwards. For St Helena, lying well south of the Equator, it fixed when an armed ship in its waters ceased to be a lawful enemy and became a raider whose capture would have to be undone.
74	63	according to the said Proclamation, for the Cessation of Hostilities to take place between Great Britain, France, Holland and America beyond the Equinoctial Line is five Months from the 3d February - The time for the Cessation of Hostilities to take place with Spain for the like distance is five Months from the 9 February - 8 We have thought it absolutely necessary to send you the earliest Account of these Particulars in order to prevent the Effects of Hostilities being continued beyond the time limited by His Majesty's Proclamation as that the necessary Precaution may be observed for the safety of Our Shipping - And we direct that no Ships be dispatched for Europe till after the 9 July next when the Commanders must be ordered to make the best of their way to St. Helena and after staying there a reasonable time to refresh their People to proceed directly for the River Thames - 9 So soon as we shall be informed of the Ratification of the Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and France We shall give you the most explicit Instructions upon the several Articles therein contained relative to the East Indies, our Observations upon each, with Directions in regard to the Cessions to be made to France in Consequence of the Treaty - We are London Your loving Friends 28 February 1783 Signed Thos. Cheap J. Manship John Hunter Chas. Boddam S. Lushington Jacob Bosanquet W. Devaynes	7 (continued): Under the proclamation, fighting between Great Britain, France, Holland and America beyond the Equator was to stop five months after 3 February. With Spain, fighting at the same distance was to stop five months after 9 February. 8: The Court thought it essential to send the Council the earliest account of these details. Fighting might otherwise go on beyond the time the King's proclamation allowed, and the necessary precautions had to be taken for the safety of the Company's ships. It therefore directed that no ship be sent on to Europe before 9 July next. Commanders were then to be ordered to make the best of their way to St Helena. After staying there long enough to rest and feed their crews, they were to sail directly for the River Thames. 9: As soon as the Court learned that the definitive treaty between Great Britain and France had been ratified, it would send the Council the fullest instructions on the articles concerning the East Indies. It would add its comments on each, and orders about the places to be handed back to France under the treaty. The Directors signed the letter in London on 28 February 1783. Thomas Cheap J. Manship John Hunter Charles Boddam S. Lushington Jacob Bosanquet W. Devaynes Henry Fletcher Nathaniel Smith John Harrison George Tatem James Wilkinson L. Darell R. Hall **Interpretations** The order to hold all homeward ships until 9 July 1783 matched the end of the five-month period of

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Henry Fletcher Nathl. Smith John Harrison George Tatem Jas. Wilkinson L. Darrell R. Hall **Margin Notes:** Time fixed for the Dispatch of Ships from St. Helena - Definitive Treaty [...] to give further explicit information -	grace. Until then a French or Dutch cruiser beyond the Equator could still lawfully take a prize, so the Court would not risk its ships at sea. Once the date passed, any capture would have to be returned and the danger was over. The Court routed every ship through St Helena first, where the Council would know whether the peace held and could warn the commanders of any danger still at sea. Peace returned the island to its old place as the resting stage on the voyage home, where crews were fed and watered before the last leg to the Thames.
75	64	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Para. 1 Since we wrote to you last, by the Smith and Walpole, we have received your Letter dated 25 November 1782 2 We desire you to give every assistance in your power, in Ballasting the Raymond with Stones - 3 We have sent you on the Ship Walpole nineteen Hogsheads of Beef, which is salted without the rostmen, by way of trial, and marked No. 312 to 330 NC to D on the second Stave from the Bung. We direct you to send Us a particular Account of the State of the Casks when you receive them as well as of the goodness of the Beef - 4 We direct you to draw a Bill of Exchange on Us for £133. 18. 6½ on Account of the Estate of Lieutenant William Seale deceased, which was paid into our Treasury at St. Helena on the 31 August last - 5 As we perceive by your return of Troops dated 25 November 1782 that your Establishment is more than complete, We direct you not to detain any of the Recruits shipped on the Raymond - And that the whole of them do proceed to Bombay - We are Your loving Friends London (Signed) 6 March 1783 R. Hall Jas. Wilkinson L. Darrell John Roberts Joseph Sparkes Jno. Jackson Jas. Moffatt Steph. Lushington Henry Savage Henry Fletcher Nathl. Smith John Harrison John Manship John Smith Jacob Bosanquet John Hunter Ben Booth **Margin Notes:** Assistance to be given the Raymond Casks of Beef numbered and marked to be particularly taken notice of Seale's Bills of Exchange No Troops to be detained of the Raymond	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: Since writing last by the *Savile* and the *Walpole*, the Court had received the Council's letter of 25 November 1782. 2: The Council was to give every help it could in ballasting the *Raymond* with stones. 3: The Court had sent in the *Walpole* 19 hogsheads of beef, salted without the special preparation, as a trial. They were numbered 312 to 330 and marked with the Company's mark on the second stave from the bung. The Council was to send the Court a full account of the state of the casks when they arrived, and of the quality of the beef. 4: The Council was to draw a bill of exchange on the Court for £133 18s 6½d on behalf of the estate of the late Lieutenant William [...]. That sum had been paid into the island's treasury on 31 August 1782. 5: The Council's return of the troops, dated 25 November 1782, showed that the island's establishment was more than complete. The Court directed the Council not to keep back any of the recruits shipped in the *Raymond*. All of them were to go on to Bombay. The Directors signed the letter in London on 6 March 1783. R. Hall J. Wilkinson L. Darell John Roberts Joseph Sparkes J. Jackson J. Moffatt Stephen Lushington Henry Savage Henry Fletcher Nathaniel Smith John Harrison John Manship John Smith Jacob Bosanquet John Hunter Benjamin Booth **Interpretations** The beef in the *Walpole* was the second half of a test. In 1782 the *Britannia* had brought casks salted by a new method, numbered and marked so the island could report on them. Now the Court sent casks salted without that preparation, numbered in the same way. Comparing the two let the Court judge whether the new method kept meat better on a long voyage. The island's reports on short weight and spoiled casks, sent home year after year, had become the evidence on which the Company chose how its salt meat was prepared. In 1781 the Court had approved the island's keeping recruits meant for Bengal, because the garrison was so weak. With peace signed and the garrison over strength, it reversed that permission. Soldiers were needed in India, where the fighting had been heaviest, and the island was no longer to hold back men bound elsewhere. Ships ballasted with stones on the homeward voyage carried weight low in the hold in place of cargo.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The *Raymond* had been bound for St Helena and Bombay, and the island's loose rock gave her the ballast she needed at no cost.
76	65	To the Honble. Governor & Council of the Island St. Helena Gentlemen The Court of Directors have thought proper to appoint William Gray a Mason for your Island for the term of five Years at the Wages of £80 - PAnnm. to Commence at his Arrival at St. Helena It is necessary to inform you at the same time that Mr. Gray has been paid a Gratuity of ten Guineas to furnish himself with necessarys for the Voyage and that the Company have paid the Owners of the Raymond the Expence of his Passage - I remain with respect East India House Gentlemen London 10 March 1783 Your most Obedient and most humble Servant Signed P. Michell Secry. Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Para. 1 By His Majesty's Proclamation for the Cessation of Hostilities you will observe there are certain times specified after which all Captures that shall be made are to be inserted and the time beyond the Equinoctial Line being settled at five Months from the Ratification of the Preliminaries, We the Secret Committee do hereby direct you in future, to Order in writing the Commanders of such of them as shall be dispatched after the said five Months are expired to proceed directly to the River of Thames as before the War, after they have staid a reasonable time at the Island to refresh their People **Margin Notes:** Time specified respecting Captures	The Court's Secretary wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena from East India House, London, on 10 March 1783. The Court had appointed William Gray as a mason for the island for five years, at a salary of £80 0s 0d a year from the day he arrived on St Helena. The Secretary added that Gray had been paid a gift of ten guineas, £10 10s 0d, to buy what he needed for the voyage, and that the Company had paid the owners of the *Raymond* for his passage. P. Michell, the Secretary, signed the letter. The Secret Committee then wrote to the Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The King's proclamation for ending hostilities, as the Council would see, set certain dates after which any captures were to be returned. Beyond the Equator the period was fixed at five months from the ratification of the preliminaries. The Secret Committee therefore directed that in future the Council give written orders to the commanders of all ships sent on after those five months had passed. They were to sail directly for the River Thames, as they had before the war, once they had stayed at the island long enough to rest and feed their crews [...]. **Interpretations** Gray's salary of £80 0s 0d a year placed him close to the Company's carpenter, John Wilkinson, who drew £25 0s 0d a quarter. Skilled builders were scarce on St Helena, and the Company had to bring them from England on fixed contracts with their passage paid. His appointment as peace returned suggests that the Company expected to repair and build on the island now that the money spent on war could be turned to other works. The order to sail straight for the Thames ended the wartime rule that kept homeward ships waiting at the island for convoys. Through the war, fleets had lain in St Helena road for months, eating into their stores and the island's own, as in the spring of 1779. Once the period of grace ran out, each ship could leave as soon as her crew was refreshed. That freed the island from the burden of feeding large fleets for long periods.
77	66	People, and such of the Ships as you shall dispatch before the expiration of the said five Months, Commanders must be particularly cautioned to be on their Guard until the periods within which it has been stipulated Hostilities shall cease - 2 If any French or Dutch Ships should touch at the Island, after the time appointed for the Cessation of Hostilities, they may be received in a friendly manner as before the commencement of the War, but none of their Officers or People must be suffered to go into the Country or to take a View of your Fortifications - This must be a standing rule not only with respect to the French and Dutch, but all other Foreign Ships - We are Your loving Friends London Signed the 11 March 1783 Henry Fletcher Nathl. Smith George Cuming John Harrison Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Para. 1 Our last Letter to you was dated 6 March 1783 and sent P Raymond since which we have received yours dated 27 March, 4, 16 April, 17 May 5 and 23 June 8, 17 & 29 July and 8 October last -	1 (continued): Commanders of any ships sent on before the five months ran out were to be warned to stay on their guard until the periods agreed for ending hostilities had passed. 2: If any French or Dutch ships called at the island after the time set for the end of hostilities, they could be received in a friendly way, as before the war. None of their officers or crew, however, was to be allowed to go inland or to look at the fortifications. This was to be a standing rule, applying not only to French and Dutch ships but to all foreign ships. The Secret Committee signed the letter in London on 11 March 1783. Henry Fletcher Nathaniel Smith George Cuming John Harrison The Court of Directors then wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 6 March 1783 and sent by the *Raymond*. Since then it had received the Council's letters dated 27 March, 16 April, 17 May, 5 June, 23 June, 8 July, 17 July, 29 July and 8 October 1783. 2: The Secretary at War had sent the Court a complete list of the officers of His Majesty's forces serving in India who held a higher local rank there. The Court enclosed a copy for the Council's information. 3: The Court had appointed Nathaniel Smith [...]. **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 The Right Honorable the Secretary at War having transmitted us a Complete List of the Officers of His Majesty's Forces serving in India who have superior local Rank there; We enclose a Copy thereof for your information - 3 We have appointed Nathaniel Smith Esqr. our **Margin Notes:** Directions respecting French & Dutch Ships touching here Do. Receipt of Letters acknowledged - Respecting the local Rank of His Majesty's Officers in India -	The war had shown the island's defences to be its chief asset. Since 1778 the garrison had built batteries, portcullises, gun platforms, sheds for field guns and a new road across the eastern side. Visitors free to walk inland could map every one of them for a future enemy. Peace brought foreign ships back to the road, but the Secret Committee kept their crews by the shore. Making the rule permanent, and extending it to every foreign nation, showed that the Company now treated peacetime as a pause between wars, not an end to danger. Local rank meant that a King's officer serving in India held, while there, a higher rank than his regimental commission. It settled questions of command between royal officers and the Company's own, whose ranks often overlapped. Sending the list to St Helena told the Council how to treat any such officer who landed on the island in passing.
78	67	our Chairman and William Devaynes Esqr. our Deputy Chairman together with Charles Boddam, John Michie, John Roberts and Laurance Sulivan Esqrs. to be the Committee of Secrecy for giving the necessary Directions respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping - The Orders therefore of any three of the said Committee must be obeyed with the greatest punctuality - 4 The following Persons are appointed our Council of Supra Cargoes at Canton for managing the Company's Affairs in China this Season Viz. W. Henry Pigou Abraham Roebuck Henry Browne John Harrison George Cuming Alexander Bruce Charles Edward Pigou Henry Lane David Lance Thomas Freeman Thos. Kuyck Van Mierop William Fitzhugh Richard Hall Samuel Peach and Hugh Parkin 5 In consequence of your recommendation and the attention Lieut. Leech has shewn while he has acted as Commissary of Stores without neglecting his Duty as an Officer of Artillery, we direct that he be allowed Twenty Pounds a Year to commence from the time he was appointed Commissary - We likewise permit you to annex in future an Allowance of Twenty Pounds PAnnum to the Post of Commissary of Stores - But at the same time enjoin you in the strongest manner not to abuse the confidence we place in you, but that in every appointment you may make thereto, the most proper Person be invariably chosen - 6 It not being in our Power to comply with **Margin Notes:** Committee of Secrecy Council at Canton in China Lieut. Jno. Leech appointed Commissary of Stores	3 (continued): The Court had appointed Nathaniel Smith, its Chairman, and William Devaynes, its Deputy Chairman, together with Charles Boddam, John Michie, John Roberts and Laurence Sulivan, as the Committee of Secrecy for giving the necessary orders about the safety of the Company's ships. Any orders from three of them were to be obeyed with the greatest promptness. 4: The following men were appointed as the Court's council of supercargoes at Canton, to manage the Company's affairs in China that season. 1: William Henry Pigou 2: Abraham Roebuck 3: Henry Browne 4: John Harrison 5: George Cuming 6: Alexander Bruce 7: Charles Edward Pigou 8: Henry Lane 9: David Lance 10: Thomas Freeman 11: Thomas Kuyck Van Mierop 12: William Fitzhugh 13: Richard Hall 14: Samuel Peach 15: Hugh Parkin 5: The Council had recommended Lieutenant Leech, who had served as Commissary of Stores without neglecting his duty as an artillery officer. In view of that recommendation and his diligence, the Court directed that he be allowed £20 0s 0d a year, from the date he became Commissary. It also allowed the Council to attach an allowance of £20 0s 0d a year to the post of Commissary of Stores in future. At the same time, it urged the Council in the strongest terms not to abuse the trust placed in it. Whoever it appointed to the post was always to be the fittest man available. 6: The Court was unable to comply with [...]. **Interpretations** The Court had already confirmed John Leech as a lieutenant of artillery in 1778, and in 1779 kept him on as a temporary officer of that corps despite his fear that it would hold back his promotion. He had since taken on the work of Commissary of Stores, in charge of the garrison's military supplies, on top of his artillery duties. The Court now paid him for it and fixed the allowance for future holders. Its warning to the Council shows the risk it saw. A paid post in the Council's gift could become a favour handed to friends or family, as the island's civil offices often had been, and the Court insisted that merit alone should decide who held it.
79	68	with your Indent for Half pence, they being the current Coin of the Kingdom and therefore not suffered to be	6: The Court could not meet the Council's order for halfpence. They were the current coin of the kingdom, and their export was not allowed. Instead it

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		exported, We have sent Half a Ton of Copper in Pieces with the Company's Mark struck thereon, which will answer every purpose of Circulation at St. Helena - 7 We have thought proper to continue for this Season the prohibition of sending any Articles either to our Civil or Military Servants in India - 8 As we suppose that our Governor and Council would not have permitted any new furniture to have been purchased for the Government House if not absolutely necessary or have wrote off or sold any that was fit for its use, we acquiesce in the permission you have given him. But at the same time declare you answerable for such permission if we find that the things bought were not absolutely necessary and that we may be enabled to judge - thereof, we direct that by the first Conveyance you send us an Inventory of all the Furniture and Linnen delivered by Mr. Skottowe to your Governor taking notice therein of the time each Article was bought, the Price given for it and the condition of it at present or if sold or wrote off the time thereof - 9 We send you P Royal Charlotte 2 new Cases of Knives and forks those sent home by you for repair being in too bad a condition to be rendered serviceable - 10 We approve your having appointed Mr. Willm. Seale to act as a Lieutenant on your Establishment and if his Conduct has been satisfactory We hereby confirm him in that appointment - 11 Should Lieut. Leech continue in the desire he expressed, by his Letter on your Consultation of the 4 May 1776, of returning to his Rank in the Infantry we permit him so to do and you are to inform him thereof - **Margin Notes:** Copper Pieces sent instead of Half pence Prohibition of Articles to be sent to the Company's Servants Respecting Furniture purchased for the use of the Government House Cases Knives & Forks sent Appointt. of Lieut. Wm. Seale Lieut. Leech permitted to Rank in the Infantry	had sent half a ton of copper in pieces stamped with the Company's mark, which would serve every purpose of circulation on St Helena. 7: The Court had decided to keep in force for that season its ban on sending any goods to its civil or military servants in India. 8: The Court supposed that the Governor and Council would not have allowed new furniture to be bought for Government House unless it was truly necessary, nor any usable furniture to be written off or sold. It therefore accepted the permission they had given Governor Corneille. It warned, however, that the Council would be held answerable for that permission if the things bought proved not to be truly necessary. So that the Court could judge, the Council was to send by the first ship an inventory of all the furniture and linen Mr Skottowe had handed over to the Governor. It was to show when each item was bought, the price paid and its present condition, or, if it had been sold or written off, when. 9: The Court was sending in the *Royal Charlotte* two new cases of knives and forks. Those the Council had sent home for repair were in too poor a state to be made fit for use. 10: The Court approved the Council's appointment of Mr William Seale to act as a lieutenant on the island's establishment. If his conduct had been satisfactory, the Court confirmed him in that post. 11: In a letter entered in the consultation of 4 May 1778, Lieutenant Leech had asked to return to his rank in the infantry. If he still wished to do so, the Court allowed it, and the Council was to tell him. **Interpretations** The island was always short of small change. In 1778 and 1779 the treasury already held more than £500 0s 0d in its own cash notes, paper money issued to make up for the lack of coin. British law forbade the export of the kingdom's coins, so the Company sent copper blanks struck with its own mark. These were tokens, worth only what the island's government declared them to be worth, but they let soldiers and settlers make small purchases without paper. St Helena thus came to have a currency of its own. The furniture order continued the Court's long scrutiny of the Governor's household costs. In 1778 it had complained that the Governor's table had more than doubled in cost over twenty years. Now, as Corneille took over Government House from Skottowe, the Council had let him buy new furniture. The Court demanded a full inventory, with dates and prices, so it could see whether the old furniture had truly worn out or had been set aside for new. The Governor's comfort was paid for by the Company, and the Court meant to see that each new Governor did not refurnish at its expense simply because he had arrived.
80	69	12 You must on the Sailing of a Fleet for England send Letters by every Ship - the Tartar arriving several days before the other Ships and not bringing a Letter from you, we were kept in suspence for some time by your not having taken the above precaution - 13 In consequence of your desire and the circumstances which appear in favor of Nelly the Black Girl, who was found Guilty of Burglary. We have petitioned His Majesty to grant her a Pardon, which He in His Royal Mercy has been most graciously pleased to comply with. We send you an authenticated Copy of the Pardon. The Original having been delivered to the Recorder of London - 14 We direct that you examine into the Conduct of Thomas Leech and if you find him guilty of any connivance at the above Girl's bad practices We direct that you punish him in such manner as it may deserve -	12: Whenever a fleet sailed for England, the Council was to send letters by every ship. The *Tartar* had arrived several days before the other ships without a letter from the island, and the Council's failure to take that precaution had left the Court waiting anxiously for some time. 13: At the Council's request, and given the circumstances in her favour, the Court had petitioned the King to pardon Nelly, a black girl condemned for burglary. The King had graciously agreed. The Court enclosed an authenticated copy of the pardon. The original had been delivered to the Recorder of London. 14: The Council was to look into the conduct of Thomas Leech. If it found that he had knowingly allowed the girl's bad practices, it was to punish him as he deserved. 15: In examining the proceedings of the General Quarter Sessions, the Court had noticed the evidence given at Nelly's trial by Harry, a slave belonging to Mr

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		15 On examining into the proceedings of the General Quarterly Sessions, We observe in the Evidence given by Harry a Man Slave belonging to Mr. Robert Ballard (in the Trial of the above Nelly) that "the Person who was with the Prisoner and ran out of the House at the same time she did was a White Man in the Dress of a Soldier" yet we do not perceive the least endeavor to find out who he was, or any Question asked either by the Court or Jury that tended to such a discovery tho' it was very natural to suppose him the principal in the Crime - 16 We have fully complied with your Indents for Medicines, & Surgical Instruments (Rehet ones excepted) and we desire you will give directions to your Surgeons not to Indent for them in future as we are determined not to send any - The amount of Medicines, Instruments, and Utensils for your Island is £578 - 17 In future, you must take care that your Surgeons return such Instruments as may want **Margin Notes:** Letters to be sent by each Ship of a Fleet Royal Pardon granted to Nelly Condemned for Burglary Orders to examine into the Conduct of Thomas Leech Respecting the Trial of Nelly Indent for Medicines & Utensils complied with	Robert Ballard. Harry testified that a white man dressed as a soldier had been with the prisoner and had run out of the house with her. Yet the Court could see no attempt to find out who he was. Neither the court nor the jury had asked any question that might have identified him, although it was natural to suppose he was the chief offender. 16: The Court had fully met the Council's orders for medicines and surgical instruments, except for pocket instruments. The island's surgeons were not to order pocket instruments in future, since the Court had decided not to send any. The medicines, instruments and equipment sent to the island came to £578 0s 0d. 17: In future the Council was to make sure that its surgeons sent back any instruments that needed repair. **Interpretations** The island's court had sentenced a young black girl to death for burglary, while the white soldier seen fleeing the house with her was never pursued. The Court noticed what the island had passed over. Harry's evidence named a second offender, and the Court judged him the likelier leader. Nobody at the Sessions had asked who he was. The likely reason was that the court and jury did not want to see a soldier of the garrison charged. A slave girl could be convicted on the evidence while the man with her went free. The Court read the case from London and turned it back on the island, ordering an inquiry into Thomas Leech and pointing out the gap in the trial. A royal pardon spared Nelly's life, but the Court's rebuke went to how justice was done on St Helena. Harry's testimony carried weight even though he was a slave. The court heard his evidence and recorded it, and the Directors relied on it to question the verdict. On the island, a slave's word could be taken against a slave. It was seldom followed up when it pointed at a white man.
81	70	want repairing, and that they notice them at the Foot of their Indents - 18 You will receive in the Packet a Printed Narrative of the Loss of the Ship Grosvenor prepared by Mr. Alexander Dalrymple by our Orders from the Accounts given of that melancholy Event by some of the Survivors who have Arrived in England - 19 In future when you grant Certificates to the Commanders and Officers of Our Ships on their Indulgence we positively direct that you make out one Set for a Moiety of the Sum allowed to each Person, payable at 60 Days, and another Set for the remaining Moiety payable at 365 Days sight - 20 And in granting Certificates, when it may appear that the Money has been paid into the Company's Treasury by one Person for account of, or on the Indulgence of another Person we further direct that the name of the Person to whose Order the Certificate is to be made payable in England be expressed, and likewise that you recommend it to those to whom Certificates shall be granted to transmit them properly endorsed, or accompanied with Powers of Attorney if none should have been already - given, as frequent Difficulties and Delays of Payment have ensued in consequence of such omissions - 21 Having come to an unanimous resolution respecting our Civil and Military Servants abroad, who may return to Europe for the recovery of Health or for the purpose of settling their private Affairs, we strictly enjoin your Obedience to and publication of the said Resolution which is as follows Viz. Resolved Unanimously That all Servants of the Company Civil or Military employed in any of the Settlements in India or China, who shall after the Publication of this Resolution have leave to return to England,	17 (continued): The surgeons were also to list such instruments at the foot of their orders for stores. 18: The packet contained a printed account of the loss of the ship *Grosvenor*. Mr Alexander Dalrymple had prepared it on the Court's orders, from the accounts given by some of the survivors of that disaster who had reached England. 19: In future, when the Council granted certificates to the commanders and officers of the Company's ships for their private allowance, it was strictly directed to make out one set for half the sum allowed to each man, payable at 60 days. It was to make out another set for the other half, payable at 365 days' sight. 20: Sometimes money would be paid into the Company's treasury by one person on behalf of, or for the benefit of, another. In those cases the certificate was to state the name of the person in England to whose order it was payable. The Council was also to advise those receiving certificates to send them home properly endorsed, or with powers of attorney if none had already been given. Leaving these things out had often caused difficulty and delay in payment. 21: The Court had passed a unanimous resolution about its civil and military servants abroad who returned to Europe to recover their health or settle their private affairs. It strictly ordered the Council to obey and publish it. The resolution read as follows. The Court resolved unanimously that any of the Company's civil or military servants employed in its settlements in India or China who, after the resolution was published, took leave to return to England would lose any promotion or rank they would have gained had they stayed in India [...]. **Interpretations** The *Grosvenor* was the Bengal ship that had lain at St Helena from March to June 1779, whose crew and lascars Major Bazett mustered name by name. On a later homeward voyage, in August 1782, she was

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		shall lose all such promotion or Rank as they would have become entitled to, had they remained in India or **Margin Notes:** Surgeons Instruments to be returned Narrative of the loss of the Grosvenor sent Particulars to be observed in granting Certificates to Commanders & Officers of Ships Do. Resolution concerning Servants of the Company being permitted to return to England Do.	wrecked on the coast of south-east Africa. Most of the survivors died trying to walk overland to the Cape, and only a handful reached safety. The disaster caused a sensation in England. The Court had Alexander Dalrymple, its hydrographer, draw up a printed account from the survivors' reports and sent it to the island. Every homeward ship passed that coast, and the account warned captains of the danger of being set too close to the African shore. Splitting each certificate into two halves, one payable at 60 days and one at a full year, spread the Company's payments over time. The sums officers sent home from their private trade could be very large. Paying them all at once after a season's arrivals would have drained the Company's cash in London.
82	71	or in China, and shall if permitted by the Court of Directors to return thither, have the same Rank only, as they had at their departure from thence, except in cases of ill health certified by the Governor (and in China by the Chief Supra Cargo) and upon the Oaths of a Committee of the three principal Surgeons (if so - many at the Settlement) from whence they shall come, under the following Form; and in that case their leave of Absence to be for one Year only in Europe, except by express leave from the Court of Directors for a Second Year, taken by the Ballot on proof of their Health not being established - The Certificate to be in the hand writing of the principal Surgeon, and attested upon Oath by him and the two next in Rank before a Magistrate Viz. "We A. B. & C. Surgeons of do " hereby declare upon Oath, that we are of Opinion, it " is absolutely necessary that Mr. D. should leave this " Country for the recovery of his Health occasioned by " Wounds, Bilious or any other Disorder" - 22 We have taken into Consideration the State of your Garrison, and it appeared by the Returns P Fox that the Effective non commissioned Officers and Privates at St. Helena consisted of 885 of which number 525 are Artillery, but as the Infantry have very properly been trained to the use of the Great Gun exercise they may be reckoned as Artillery men 23 It being our opinion that 400 - Men will be fully sufficient for a Peace Establishment and wishing to keep up the Artillery Corps at our several Presidencies in India We have made - Provision for the accomodation of 100 picked Men to be sent by you for that purpose, 50 to Fort St. George P Royal Charlotte and 50 to Bombay P Royal Admiral and we direct that you take every precaution necessary for their safety and convenience in the Voyage - 24 Having been informed that Doubts have **Margin Notes:** Resolution &c. Oath Soldiers ordered to be sent to Fort St. George & Bombay Do.	21 (continued): The resolution went on to say that a servant who returned from India or China, and was later allowed by the Court of Directors to go back, would hold only the rank he had when he left. The exception was ill health, certified on oath by a committee of the three senior surgeons, or as many as there were, at the settlement he was leaving. In India the Governor would countersign the certificate, and in China the chief supercargo. In that case his leave would run for one year only in Europe. A second year could be granted only by the express leave of the Court, decided by ballot, on proof that his health had not recovered. The certificate was to be written by the senior surgeon in his own hand and sworn before a magistrate by him and the two surgeons next in rank. In it the surgeons were to declare on oath their opinion that the patient had to leave the country to recover from a disorder of the liver, a bilious complaint or some other illness, which they were to name. 22: The Court had considered the state of the island's garrison. The returns brought by the *Fox* showed 805 effective non-commissioned officers and privates on St Helena, 525 of them in the artillery. The infantry, however, had very properly been trained in the great-gun exercise and could also be counted as artillerymen. 23: In the Court's opinion, 400 men would be quite enough for a peacetime establishment. It also wished to keep up the artillery at its several presidencies in India. It had therefore arranged room for 100 picked men to be sent from the island for that purpose: 50 to Fort St George in the *Royal Charlotte* and 50 to Bombay in the *Royal Admiral*. The Council was to take every precaution needed for their safety and comfort on the voyage. 24: The Court had been told that doubts had [...]. **Interpretations** The garrison had grown to 805 men during the war, almost two and a half times the 328 of 1756–57 that the Court had used as its benchmark of cost. With peace, the Court meant to halve it to 400. Sending 100 trained gunners to India met two aims at once. It cut the island's wage bill and supplied the presidencies with artillerymen already drilled, without the cost of recruiting and training new men in England. St Helena, which had drawn soldiers from passing ships throughout the war, was now to send its trained men to India. The rule on leave struck at a long-standing habit. Company servants went home for a year or more, often for private business, and then returned to claim the promotion they would have earned had they stayed. Under the new rule only proven illness, sworn by three surgeons, kept a man's place in the line of promotion. Liver and bilious complaints were named because they were the commonest ailments of Europeans in India.
83	72	have arisen respecting the Military Commissions granted by Us to the Lieut. Governor Henry Graeme	24 (continued): Doubts had arisen over the military commissions the Court had granted to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and Major Henry Bazett. We think it necessary in order to remove such doubts to acquaint you that altho' the latter's Commission was dated the 14 day of February 1776 it was particularly expressed that His Rank should take place from the Day of his Arrival which we find was on the 4 day of June following and which was previous to when we appointed our Lieut. Governor, and his Commission which was dated the 25 April 1782 particularly expressed that his Rank should take place from 3 June 1776 for the direct - purpose of giving him superior Rank to Major Bazett. Should however any official mistake have been made in either of those Commissions you are to rectify the same agreeable to those Commissions - 25 Our late Chairman Sir Henry Fletcher Bart. having disqualified himself we have chosen Nathaniel Smith Esqr. Our Chairman and William Devaynes Esqr. our Deputy Chairman for the remainder of the present Year - We are London 20 December 1783 Your loving Friends (Signed) Jn. Townson Jacob Bosanquet W. Bensley Lionel Darell Chas. Boddam Joseph Sparkes George Tatem Nathl. Smith W. Devaynes Thos. Cheap Samuel Smith Junr. John Roberts J. Smith Thos. Parry **Margin Notes:** Concerning the Dates of the Commissions of Major Graeme and Major Bazett Sir Hen. Fletcher [...] disqualified himself	Lieutenant Governor Henry Graeme and Major Henry Bazett. To settle them, the Court explained the position. Bazett's commission was dated 14 February 1776, but it stated expressly that his rank was to run from the day he arrived on the island. The Court found that he arrived on 4 June 1776, after which it appointed him Lieutenant Governor. Graeme's commission, dated 25 April 1782, stated expressly that his rank was to run from 3 June 1776, precisely so that he would rank above Major Bazett. If either commission contained any clerical error, the Council was to correct it to match these terms. 25: Sir Henry Fletcher, Baronet, the late Chairman, had disqualified himself from office. The Court had therefore chosen Nathaniel Smith as Chairman and William Devaynes as Deputy Chairman for the rest of the year. The Directors signed the letter in London on 20 December 1783. John Townson Jacob Bosanquet W. Bensley Lionel Darell Charles Boddam Joseph Sparkes George Tatem Nathaniel Smith W. Devaynes Thomas Cheap Samuel Smith junior John Roberts J. Smith Thomas Parry **Interpretations** The Court had given Graeme seniority over Bazett by a single day, and the island had questioned whether that was lawful. Bazett was the senior officer on the spot and a member of Council. Graeme was a newcomer from England sent to be Lieutenant Governor and provisional Governor. Both men's rank turned on a backdated date. Bazett's ran from his arrival on 4 June 1776, not the date his commission was signed. Graeme's was fixed at 3 June 1776, six years before his commission was written. The Court admitted that the date had been chosen for the express purpose of putting Graeme above Bazett. Its letter left the Council no room to read the commissions otherwise. Bazett, who had served on the island through the whole war, would stand below a man who had arrived in 1782.
84	73	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Par. 1 Since we last Addressed you under date of the 20th December last We have received the following Letters from you Viz. Genl. Letr. 22 October 1783 Do. 15 Novembr. Do. Do. 20 Do. Do. Do. 24 Do. Do. and a Letter from your Governor dated 20 November - 2 William Guilliam's having applied to Us to pay him the amount for which his things sold in your Island, We, in consequence of your Letr. dated 5 October 1782 Par. 5 ordered the Sum of £187. 3. 1 to be paid him - 3 We have sent on Board the Royal Admiral the following Articles Viz. 200 Gallons Brandy 150 lb. Sugar 50 Soap 12½ Galls. Lemon Juice 1½ Hogshead Vinegar, compleat Bundles of Bedding with Hammocks for the Fifty Soldiers	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: Since its letter of 20 December 1783, the Court had received the Council's general letters of 22 October, 15 November, 20 November and 24 November 1783, and a letter from the Governor dated 20 November. 2: William Guilliam had asked the Court to pay him the money raised by the sale of his belongings on the island. In line with the 5th paragraph of the Council's letter of 5 October 1782, the Court had ordered £187 3s 1d to be paid to him. 3: The Court had sent the following goods in the *Royal Admiral* for the 50 soldiers it had ordered the Council to ship from the garrison to Bombay in that vessel. Brandy, 200 gallons Sugar, 150 lb Soap, 50 lb Lemon juice, 12½ gallons Vinegar, 1½ hogsheads Bedding, complete bundles with hammocks for 50 soldiers

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		that we ordered you to have Shipped from your Garrison on that Vessel 4 Colonel Harper having applied to Us for leave for his Wife and two Daughters to - remain on your Island during his Residence in India We have complied with his application - 5 We approve of your appointing Mr. Mason a Factor in your Establishment as he has served the usual term of 5 Years - 6 William Hornby Esqr. our late Governor of Bombay having requested leave to reside on **Margin Notes:** Wm. Guilliam's Estate Articles for the Soldiers ordered to be sent to Bombay Col. Harper & Family Mr. Mason appointed a Factor	4: Colonel Harper had asked leave for his wife and two daughters to stay on the island while he served in India. The Court had granted his request. 5: The Court approved the Council's appointment of Mr Simson as a factor on the island's establishment, since he had served the usual term of five years. 6: William Hornby, formerly Governor of Bombay, had asked leave to [...]. **Interpretations** The stores for the 50 gunners bound for Bombay show the care the Company now took over the health of soldiers at sea. Lemon juice was the known remedy against scurvy. Vinegar was used to wash down the decks and to flavour salt food, and the soap and fresh bedding were meant to keep the men clean on a long passage in crowded quarters. The brandy and sugar were for their daily ration. Trained artillerymen were costly to replace, and the Court meant them to reach India fit for duty. Colonel Harper's family probably belonged to the island's Harper family, settlers whose members appear throughout these records as planters, overseers and soldiers. The Court's leave let his wife and daughters stay among their own people while he served in India, rather than travel with him or return to England.
85	74	our Service; We have appointed Rawson Hart Boddam Esqr. to be our Governor at that Presidency on the Departure of William Hornby Esqr. 7 We have permitted Mr. Richard Campbell Bazett a Native of your Island to return thither on the Royal Admiral free of Charge to Company - 8 As we declared when We granted Mr. Matthew Purling an additional Salary of £60 - PAnnum that it was not to be drawn into a Precedent. We cannot comply with your, and Mr. Bazett's requests to have the like allowance granted Mr. Bazett and we see no reason for your making such an application - 9 The Weed which Major Bazett sent to England, supposing it to be Orchil, is unfit for any purpose whatever in Dying, nor is it of any Value, We enclose to you a Copy of the Report of the Committee of the Warehouses on this Business with the Papers mentioned therein, together with some Samples of real Orchil - 10 On examining the Discharges given to Willm. Smith, Jno. Eames, Jas. Judge, Thos. Forde, Jas. MacDonald & Thos. Morris Six Soldiers who came to England on the Britannia We find them all described as Invalids and accordingly recommended as proper Objects to be admitted Pensioners upon the Military Fund. But our Surgeon has reported that only Thomas Ford & Thomas Morris are really such - We observed on the above examination that James MacDonald is recommended as afflicted with obstructions in the Spleen "and of a decayd Constitution" - Our Surgeon here reports him to have no internal Injury, but that he has a Contraction of the Tendons of his left Ham, which does not preventing his livelihood - 11 We are sorry to observe that Mr. Stroud your Surgeon in his Certificates to Invalids often neglects to inform by what means they are disabled, and also **Margin Notes:** Hornby Esqr. resigned the Govr. of Bombay R. H. Boddam Esqr. appointed R. C. Bazett permitted to come to St. Helena Mr. Bazett's application for the Gratuity of £60 PYear not Granted Orchel sent to England not fit for use	6 (continued): William Hornby, formerly Governor of Bombay, had asked leave to resign from the Company's service. On his departure, the Court had appointed Rawson Hart Boddam Governor of that presidency. 7: The Court had allowed Mr Richard Campbell Bazett, a native of the island, to return there in the *Royal Admiral* free of charge to the Company. 8: When the Court granted Mr Matthew Purling an extra salary of £60 0s 0d a year, it had stated that the grant was not to be treated as a precedent. It therefore refused the requests of the Council and of Mr Bazett that the same allowance be granted to Bazett. The Court saw no reason for the Council to have made such an application. 9: Major Bazett had sent to England a weed he took to be orchil. It proved useless for dyeing and had no value. The Court enclosed a copy of the report of the Committee of Warehouses on the matter, with the papers it mentioned, and some samples of true orchil. 10: The Court had examined the discharges given to six soldiers who came to England in the *Britannia*: William Smith, John Eames, James Judge, Thomas Forde, James MacDonald and Thomas Morris. All were described as invalids and recommended for admission as pensioners on the Military Fund. The Court's surgeon, however, reported that only Thomas Forde and Thomas Morris were truly invalids. James MacDonald had been recommended as suffering from obstructions of the spleen and a decayed constitution. The surgeon in London found no internal injury, only a contraction of the tendons behind his left knee, which did not stop him earning a living. 11: The Court regretted to note that Mr Stroud, the island's surgeon, often failed to state in his certificates for invalids how they had become disabled. **Interpretations** Orchil was a purple dye made from certain lichens that grew on rocks by the sea, chiefly gathered in the Canaries and Cape Verde Islands. Major Bazett had hoped that St Helena's coastal rocks bore the same lichen and could give the island a valuable export. The Court's reply ended that hope, but by sending samples of the true plant it left the way open for the island to look again. The episode shows the island's leading men searching for some product that could reduce its dependence on the Company. The six discharges explain why the Court had insisted on sworn surgeons' certificates in 1782. A soldier passed as an invalid drew a pension from the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		To be more particular in mentioning the Disorders of Soldiers Discharged as Invalids Mr. Stroud Censured for not being	Military Fund for life. Four of the six men sent home were judged fit to work, so the island had been placing able men on the Fund. Stroud's vague certificates made this possible. Once a man reached England on a pension, the cost fell on the Company in London rather than on the island, which removed any check from St Helena itself.
86	75	also often misrepresents their disorder - As such misrepresentation must proceed from a want of attention in your Surgeon to this Duty, We direct that you acquaint him if he is not more careful he will meet with our displeasure - 12 And we desire you will be very particular that such persons as you recommend to Us as being entitled on account of old Age to the Military Fund have actually grown old in the Service mentioning in the Certificates the number of Years they have served that we may not (as has been) have Soldiers recommended on that account who have served only six or seven Years; We likewise direct you to particularize in your Certificates the Service in which such Soldiers were disabled, whom you recommend on that Account to Us, as none have any pretensions to the abovementioned Fund, but those who met with their misfortunes on real Service, and they must also be totally incapable of any further Service before they can have any Claim thereto - We are very much concerned you should have made these directions necessary, and hope we shall have no further occasion to complain of your Neglect on this score - 13 The Nancy Packet last from your Island was lost the 25 Ultimo on the Scilly Rocks and every Soul on board perished; We have received the Packet containing your Letters of the 3 January and 22 December last and your Consultations from 4 December to 3 January last, also the Court Martial held 30 Decr. 1783, which Packet was saved from the Wreck with three others from our Presidency of Bombay - 14 We are much alarmed at the account we have received from you of the Mutiny that happened in the Garrison, nor can we help thinking that such a misfortune would not have happened if a proper Discipline had been kept up, and We direct that you do Establish such regularity and Order that we may never meet again with an Alarm on such an Occasion - **Margin Notes:** particular in mentioning the Disorders of Invalids Persons recommended for the Military Fund their Infirmity's &c. to be particularly specified Loss of the Nancy Packet Respecting the Mutiny -	11 (continued): Stroud also often described the men's disorders wrongly. Errors of that kind could only come from his inattention to this duty. The Council was to tell him that if he was not more careful, he would incur the Court's displeasure. 12: The Council was to take particular care that anyone it recommended to the Court as entitled to the Military Fund on grounds of old age had truly grown old in the service. Each certificate was to state the number of years the man had served. Soldiers who had served only six or seven years had been recommended on that ground. The Council was also to state in each certificate the service in which a disabled soldier had been injured. Only men injured in actual service had any claim on the Fund, and they had also to be wholly unfit for any further service. The Court was much concerned that the Council had made these instructions necessary, and hoped it would have no further cause to complain of neglect on this point. 13: The *Nancy* packet, the last ship to leave the island, had been lost on the Scilly Rocks on the 25th of the previous month, with the loss of every soul aboard. The Court had nonetheless received the packet containing the Council's letters of 22 December 1783 and 3 January 1784, its consultations from 4 December 1783 to 3 January 1784 and the court martial held on 30 December 1783. That packet had been saved from the wreck, together with three others from the Presidency of Bombay. 14: The Court was greatly alarmed by the Council's account of the mutiny in the garrison. It could not help thinking that such a disaster would not have happened if proper discipline had been kept up. It directed the Council to establish such order and regularity that the Court would never again be alarmed by such an event. **Interpretations** The Court laid the mutiny at the Council's door. It had warned the island repeatedly about discipline. In 1778 it ordered the Adjutant to keep strictly to his duties and not to be absent on private business. In 1782 it praised the rules that cut down the punch houses, urging sobriety in a time of danger. In each case it treated slack discipline as the root of trouble in the garrison, and its rebuke now treated the mutiny as proof of that warning. The court martial of 30 December 1783, whose papers survived the wreck of the *Nancy*, was probably the trial that followed the rising. The Court's demand for exact certificates for invalids and old soldiers went with its concern about discipline. Men passed off as worn out after six or seven years drew a pension for life from the Military Fund. Loose certificates rewarded men who wanted to leave the service, and they weakened the garrison as well as the Fund.
87	76	15 We very much approve of the Conduct of our Governor, Lieut. Governor and Major Bazett and of their spirited behavior in suppressing the Mutiny - 16 And we desire that you will assure that part of the Garrison that remained firm in their Duty, of our approval of their Spirit and loyalty as also of the Reward which you bestowed on them, and as a further mark of our approbation we direct you to double the Gratuity you gave on the occasion (by again allowing the Persons the Sums which you granted them and of which we have received advice)	15: The Court strongly approved the conduct of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor and Major Bazett, and the spirited way they acted in putting down the mutiny. 16: The Court asked the Council to assure the part of the garrison that had stood firm in its duty that the Court approved its spirit and loyalty, and the reward the Council had given the men. As a further mark of approval, the Council was to double the gratuity it had paid on that occasion, by paying each man again the sum he had already received. The Court had been told of these sums.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		We are London Your Loving Friends 16 March 1784 Signed J. Smith Jacob Bosanquet Thos. Parry George Tatem Lionel Darell John Roberts R Hall Nathl. Smith W. Devaynes L. Sulivan W. Bensley John Hunter Jn. Michie Joseph Sparkes Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Par. 1 Since we wrote last to you under Date 16 March 1784, We have received the following Letters from you Viz. General Letter Dated 22 December 1783 3 January 1784 12 Do. 6 February 21 Do. 25 March **Margin Notes:** Conduct of the Govr. Lt. Govr. & Major Bazett highly approved Gratuity given the Soldiers doubled & assurance of the approval of the Company to those who remained firm in their Duty	The Directors signed the letter in London on 16 March 1784. J. Smith Jacob Bosanquet Thomas Parry George Tatem Lionel Darell John Roberts R. Hall Nathaniel Smith W. Devaynes L. Sulivan W. Bensley John Hunter John Michie Joseph Sparkes The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: Since its letter of 16 March 1784, the Court had received the following general letters from the Council. 22 December 1783 3 January 1784 12 January 1784 6 February 1784 21 February 1784 25 March 1784 **Interpretations** The Court divided the garrison into the men who had mutinied and the men who had not, and rewarded the second group generously. Doubling the gratuity paid each loyal soldier twice over for a single act of duty. The money made loyalty visible to the whole garrison. Every man would see that standing by his officers in a crisis brought a reward from London as well as from the island. The same letter had rebuked the Council for the slack discipline that let the mutiny happen. The Court blamed the Council for the rising and rewarded the soldiers who refused to join it.
88	77	25 March 1784 29 Do. 5 April 6 Do. 8 Do. 10 Do. 13 Do. 29 Do. 3 May 7 Do. 10 Do. 13 Do. 15 Do. 21 Do. 23 Do. 15 June 19 Do. 4 July 14 Do. 28 Do. 28 August 5 September and one from our Governor Dated sixth April last - 2 We have appointed Nathaniel Smith Esqr. Chairman and William Devaynes Esqr. our Deputy Chairman together with John Michie, John Manship Laurence Sulivan and John Woodhouse Esquires to be the Secret Committee for giving the necessary directions respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping. The orders therefore of any three of the said Committee must be obeyed with the greatest punctuality - 3 The following is a complete List of the Ships taken into the Company's Service this Season Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Houghton: Tons 755, Commanders Capt. Jas. Moore Osterley: Tons 758, Commanders Saml. Rogers	1 (continued): The rest of the general letters the Court had received were dated as follows, together with one from the Governor dated 6 April 1784. 25 March 1784 29 March 1784 5 April 1784 6 April 1784 8 April 1784 10 April 1784 13 April 1784 29 April 1784 3 May 1784 7 May 1784 10 May 1784 13 May 1784 15 May 1784 21 May 1784 23 May 1784 15 June 1784 19 June 1784 6 July 1784 14 July 1784 26 July 1784 26 August 1784 5 September 1784 2: The Court had appointed Nathaniel Smith, its Chairman, and William Devaynes, its Deputy Chairman, together with John Michie, John Manship, Laurence Sulivan and John Woodhouse, as the Secret Committee for giving the necessary orders about the safety of the Company's ships. Any orders from three of them were to be obeyed with the greatest promptness. 3: The complete list of ships taken into the Company's service that season was as follows. The *Houghton*, 755 tons, Captain James Monro, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Consignments Madeira Coast & China Montague: Tons 755, Commanders Thos. Buttell Dublin: Tons 755, Commanders Willm. Smith Consignments Madeira Coast & Bay **Margin Notes:** Honble. Secret Committee List Ships	The *Osterley*, 755 tons, commanded by Samuel Rogers, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Montague*, 755 tons, commanded by Thomas Butbell, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Dublin*, 755 tons, commanded by William Smith, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. **Interpretations** The Council wrote to London 22 times between late March and early September 1784, at times every two or three days. In 1778 and 1779 it had sent a handful of letters a year. The flood of letters followed the mutiny and the Court's order to cut the garrison to a peacetime strength of 400. Discharges, transfers of men to India and the aftermath of the rising all needed reporting. Peace had also brought back a steady flow of ships, and each one could carry a letter. The Court had rebuked the Council for leaving it uninformed when the *Tartar* arrived without a letter. The Council now wrote by every ship that sailed.
89	78	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Duke of Montrose: Tons 755, Commanders Honble. Wm. Elphinstone, Consignments Madeira & Bombay Francis: Tons 755, Commanders Jas. Moneton Rodney: Tons 755, Commanders Hen. Wakeman Deptford: Tons 755, Commanders Jas. Elphinston Dutton: Tons 755, Commanders James West Consignments Coast & Bay Britannia: Tons 770, Commanders Ed. Cuming Essex: Tons 758, Commanders Jno. Strover Winterton: Tons 755, Commanders Raymd. Snow Consignments Coast & China Locko: Tons 758, Commanders John Baird Lascelles: Tons 758, Commanders Thos. Wakefield General Elliott: Tons 755, Commanders 0 Atlas: Tons 758, Commanders Allen Cooper Barwell: Tons 755, Commanders Robt. Carr Busbridge: Tons 755, Commanders Alex. Todd Consignments China Raymond: Tons 755, Commanders Henry Smedley, Consignments St. Helena & Bencoolen Genl. Coote: Tons 755, Commanders Jas. Baldwin, Consignments Do. & China Asia: Tons 758, Commanders Robt. Moar, Consignments Bencoolen & Do. King George: Tons 758, Commanders Jona. Court, Consignments Bombay & Bengal Northumberland: Tons 755, Commanders James Rees, Consignments Bombay 4 The above Ships are taken up in general on the same terms as those of last Season as will appear by reference to their respective Charter-Parties - 5 In consequence of your Representation of the Benefit that may Arise to our Service by allowing you a discretionary power to permit our homeward bound Ships to touch at Ascension, We - hereby give you that authority at the same time we direct you not to use it without an absolute necessity for so doing. 6 Since the Restoration of Peace our Ships are taken up for the Company's Service - according to their Arrival in the Downs, If they are not detained at St. Helena by you, which must not be done without absolute necessity and in Case of such necessity you are particularly to acquaint Us thereof - 7 In consequence of the Representations of your **Margin Notes:** List Ships Ships taken as usual Ships touching at Ascension discretionary in the Govr. & Council	3 (continued): The rest of the ships taken up that season were as follows. The *Duke of Montrose*, 755 tons, commanded by the Honourable William Elphinstone, bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *Francis*, 755 tons, commanded by James [...], bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Rodney*, 755 tons, commanded by Henry Wakeman, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Deptford*, 755 tons, commanded by James Elphinstone, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Dutton*, 755 tons, commanded by James West, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Britannia*, 770 tons, commanded by Edward Cuming, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ospray*, 758 tons, commanded by John Storrer, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Winterton*, 755 tons, commanded by Raymond Snow, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Locko*, 758 tons, commanded by John Baird, bound for China. The *Lascelles*, 758 tons, commanded by Thomas Wakefield, bound for China. The *General Elliot*, 755 tons, commander not named, bound for China. The *Atlas*, 758 tons, commanded by Allen Cooper, bound for China. The *Barwell*, 755 tons, commanded by Robert Carr, bound for China. The *Busbridge*, 755 tons, commanded by Alexander Tod, bound for China. The *Raymond*, 755 tons, commanded by Henry Smedley, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *General Coote*, 755 tons, commanded by James Baldwin, bound for St Helena and China. The *Asia*, 758 tons, commanded by Robert Mace, bound for Bencoolen and China. The *King George*, 758 tons, commanded by John Court, bound for Bombay and Bengal. The *Northumberland*, 755 tons, commanded by James Rees, bound for Bombay. 4: These ships had generally been taken up on the same terms as those of the previous season, as their charter parties would show. 5: The Council had pointed out that the Company's service might benefit if it had discretion to let homeward ships call at Ascension. The Court granted that power, but directed the Council not to use it unless it was absolutely necessary.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Ships taken up according to their Arrival in the Downs	6: Since the return of peace, ships were taken back into the Company's service in the order in which they arrived in the Downs. The Council was therefore not to hold any ship at St Helena unless it was absolutely necessary. If such a need arose, the Council was to report it to the Court in detail. 7: In response to the Council's representations [...]. **Interpretations** Hiring ships back in the order they reached the Downs turned every day's delay into a loss for the owners. A ship held at St Helena might arrive home behind others and lose her place for the next voyage. The Court's warning against detaining ships protected the owners, on whose goodwill the Company depended for its fleet. It was also a check on the island's habit, learned in wartime, of keeping ships in the road for convoys or local service. Ascension, then uninhabited, lay on the homeward route north-west of St Helena. Ships called there to catch the green turtles that bred on its beaches, and turtle had already appeared at the Governor's table in 1779. A call there let a ship take on fresh meat cheaply without drawing on St Helena's scarce stock. The Court allowed it only in real need, since every extra call delayed a ship's arrival in the Downs.
90	79	your Board at the request of the Inhabitants, We have removed Mr. James Adney from the Employs of Schoolmaster and Judge Advocate of St. Helena; And we have appointed the Reverend Isaac Sewell to both those Posts, in the room of Mr. Adney and with the usual allowances attending them. Mr. Sewell proceeds to his Station on board the Raymond - 8 Governor Johnstone having presented to the Company a Bottle of Jamaica Grass Seed for the Improvement of the Pasture Lands at St. Helena, We have entrusted it to Captn. Smedley Commander of the Raymond, who is Directed to deliver it to the Governor - 9 We send you on the Ship Raymond and General Coote, Cuttings of Willow, Lombardy and Carolina Poplars - The particulars of them are mentioned in the Invoice. The Captains have proper directions for the management of the Cuttings during the Voyage - 10 In consequence of Captn. St. Mauric's great age, Infirmities and faithful Services, we have agreed to put him on the Military Fund and you are to draw on the Clerk of that Fund for the allowances which by the Deeds establishing the Fund, he may be entitled to - We enclose in the Packet by the Raymond a Copy of the Deed establishing that Fund, that you may comply with the necessary forms and send Us the Affadavit and Certificate required by the Deeds - 11 William Frank having presented Us with a Petition wherein he sets forth his being a Slave belonging to the Company at St. Helena, that he was intoxicated with Liquor on board His Majesty's Ship Isis on the 6 May last, then just upon her Departure, and by this action contrary to his inclinations was conveyed to England, as appears by a Certificate from the first Lieut. of that Ship dated the 3d July And now surrendering himself up to the Company - praying **Margin Notes:** Revd. Mr. Sewell appointed Schoolmaster & Judge Advocate in the Room of Mr. James Adney Bottle Grass Seed &ca. Cuttings of Willow Poplar &ca. Captn. St. Mauric allowed to become a Pensioner upon the Military Fund Wm. Frank a Slave who Deserted the Island	7: Following representations from the Council, made at the inhabitants' request, the Court had removed James Arney from his posts as schoolmaster and Judge Advocate of St Helena. It had appointed the Reverend Isaac Sewell to both posts in his place, with the usual allowances. Sewell was sailing to the island in the *Raymond*. 8: Governor Johnstone had given the Company a bottle of Jamaica grass seed to improve the pasture land on St Helena. The Court had entrusted it to Captain Smedley of the *Raymond*, with orders to deliver it to the Governor. 9: The Court was sending in the *Raymond* and the *General Coote* cuttings of willow, Lombardy poplar and Carolina poplar. Details were given in the invoice, and the captains had instructions for looking after the cuttings on the voyage. 10: In view of Captain St Maurice's great age, infirmities and faithful service, the Court had agreed to place him on the Military Fund. The Council was to draw on the Clerk of that Fund for the allowances to which the deeds setting up the Fund entitled him. A copy of the deed was enclosed in the packet sent by the *Raymond*, so that the Council could follow the required forms and send back the affidavit and certificates the deeds called for. 11: William Frank had presented a petition to the Court. He stated that he was a slave belonging to the Company on St Helena. On 6 May he had been drunk on board His Majesty's ship *Iris*, just as she was leaving, and so had been carried to England against his will. A certificate from the ship's first lieutenant, dated 3 July, confirmed his account. He now gave himself up to the Company. **Interpretations** The margin of the letter entered William Frank as a slave who had deserted the island, while his own petition said he had been carried off drunk and against his will. The lieutenant's certificate gave his story official backing. Whether he slipped aboard on purpose or was taken while drunk, he had reached England and then chosen to give himself up to the Company. Either way, his escape from the island had ended in England, far from anywhere he could make a life. The Company's slaves on St Helena could escape only by sea, as Patna and the pipe-fitter at Chubb's Spring had tried to do by hiding on the island. Frank's case shows one who got away by ship and then had nowhere to go but back to his owners.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			James Arney had been both schoolmaster and Judge Advocate since 1778, and the inhabitants themselves had asked for his removal. The Court acted on their complaint and gave both posts to a clergyman. This was one of the few occasions in these records when the settlers' wishes, passed on by the Council, led directly to a change of official in London.
91	80	praying to be returned to his Native Place where he has a Wife and four Children, and for such an allowance as may be proper till an opportunity for his return. And it appearing by your Consultations of the 21 May that he had absconded about a fortnight, We have from the circumstances set forth in his Petition directed he should be maintained till the first St. Helena Ship Sails, and then to be returned at the Company's Expence And we direct you not to Punish him for this Offence - 12 We are much displeased with you for sending Narrain to England, as you are well informed, by the Laws of this Country, no Man can be detained a Prisoner without sufficient Cause being proved against him before competent Persons And as he was not accompanied with any Charges on which he was to be tried here, it would have been out of our Power to have kept him a Prisoner and had he got into litigious Persons hands he - might have occasioned Us a great Deal of trouble and expence. We therefore most Positively order you on no account whatever to allow of any Persons under Narrain's description to come to England as in any such Case you will experience our severest resentment - 13 According to the Directions of an Act of Parliament entitled "An Act for the better regulation " and management of the Affairs of the East India Company " and of the British Possessions in India, and for the " establishing a Court of Judicature for the more speedy " and effectual trial of Persons accused of Offences " committed in the East Indies" to appoint a Governor and Council to our Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, We have appointed Lord Macartney President and Governor of Fort St. George and we have also appointed Alexander Davidson and James Daniel Esqrs. to be our Council at that Settlement - 14 And we have likewise appointed Rawson **Margin Notes:** No Persons of Narrain's description to be sent to England in future Governor & Council of Fort St. George and Bombay appointed	11 (continued): William Frank asked to be returned to his home on the island, where he had a wife and four children, and to be given an allowance until a passage could be found. The Council's consultation of 21 May showed that he had absconded about a fortnight earlier. Given the circumstances set out in his petition, the Court had directed that he be maintained until the first ship sailed for St Helena and then sent back at the Company's expense. It directed the Council not to punish him for the offence. 12: The Court was much displeased with the Council for sending Narrain to England. As the Council well knew, under English law no man could be held prisoner unless sufficient cause against him was proved before a competent authority. Narrain had arrived without any charges on which he could be tried in England, so the Court had no power to keep him in custody. Had he fallen into the hands of people fond of lawsuits, he might have caused the Company a great deal of trouble and expense. The Court therefore gave the firmest orders that on no account was anyone in Narrain's position to be sent to England. In any such case the Council would meet with the Court's severest displeasure. 13: An Act of Parliament, entitled "An Act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company and of the British possessions in India, and for establishing a court of judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies", required the Court to appoint a Governor and Council for each of the presidencies of Fort St George and Bombay. The Court had appointed Lord Macartney President and Governor of Fort St George, and Alexander Davidson and James Daniel to be its Council there. 14: The Court had likewise appointed [...]. **Interpretations** The Council's own records undercut William Frank's story. They showed that he had been missing for about a fortnight before the *Iris* sailed, which pointed to a planned escape rather than a drunken accident. The Court could have treated him as a runaway and left him to the island's usual punishment. It chose instead to send him home at the Company's cost and forbade the Council to punish him. The reason it gave was his petition: a man with a wife and four children on the island, who had given himself up of his own accord. Rewarding his surrender, rather than punishing his flight, gave other runaways a reason to come back. The Narrain case shows the Court's fear of English courts. A prisoner landed in England without charges could seek release under the law against detention without cause, and anyone who took up his case could sue the Company. On St Helena the Council could hold a man on its own authority. In England that authority ended at the water's edge. The Court's order kept such disputes on the island, where the Company's power was not open to challenge. The Act named here was Pitt's India Act of 1784, which placed the Company's government of India under the oversight of the Crown. It explains the new form of the appointments that follow, made under statute rather than by the Court alone.
92	81	Rawson Hart Boddam our President and Governor of Bombay and also Robert Sparks and Richard Church Esqrs. to	14 (continued): The Court had appointed Rawson Hart Boddam President and Governor of Bombay, and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		be our Council at that Settlement - 15 We cannot conclude this Letter without commending your attention to our Orders respecting - Passengers in the Case of Captn. David Pryce and we hope this approval of your Conduct will be an encouragement to you to continue to be very strict in your enquiry after such Passengers. As we are determined to Punish every Captn. who shall be guilty of a breach of our Orders in this respect - We are London Your Loving Friends 14 December 1784 Signed Edmund Boehm John Hunter Wm. Bensley Thos. Parry Paul Le Mesurier Hugh Inglis F. Baring R. Hall Nathl. Smith W. Devaynes L. Sulivan J. Manship Jno. Woodhouse Jn. Michie Jno. Motteux George Tatem Steph. Lushington To the Worshipful Governor and Council at St. Helena Gentlemen The Court of Directors have ordered on board the General Coote a Box containing Paper to draw Bills of Exchange upon (the key thereof goes a number in the Packet) in order to prevent as much as may be possible any forgeries of Bills of Exchange or Certificates by which the Company **Margin Notes:** Approval of Conduct in the Case of Captn. David Pryce	Robert Sparkes and Richard Church to be its Council at that settlement. 15: The Court could not close the letter without praising the Council's attention to its orders on passengers, in the case of Captain David Pryce. It hoped this approval would encourage the Council to stay very strict in its inquiries about such passengers, since the Court was determined to punish every captain found guilty of breaking its orders on this point. The Directors signed the letter in London on 14 December 1784. Edmund Boehm John Hunter W. Bensley Thomas Parry Paul Le Mesurier Hugh Inglis F. Baring R. Hall Nathaniel Smith W. Devaynes L. Sulivan J. Manship John Woodhouse John Michie John Motteux George Tatem Stephen Lushington The Court's Secretary then wrote to the Governor and Council at St Helena. The Court of Directors had ordered a box of special paper for drawing bills of exchange to be put aboard the *General Coote*. The key to the box was enclosed, numbered, in the packet. The aim was to prevent, as far as possible, any forgery of bills of exchange or certificates by which the Company [...]. **Interpretations** Captain David Pryce was the first case reported under the Court's order of 1783, which told the Council to check every outward-bound ship for passengers travelling without the Company's licence. The Council had found such passengers aboard his ship and reported him. The Court praised it publicly to show other captains that the island's checks were real and would be acted on. A single example made the rule credible along the whole route to India. The special paper for bills followed directly from the growth in remittances through St Helena. Bills on London drawn at the island were worth hundreds or thousands of pounds each, and a forged bill could be presented in London as easily as a true one. Paper made to a particular pattern, sent out under lock and key, gave the Company a way to tell genuine bills from false ones when they were presented for payment.
93	82	Company have so recently suffered - The Court of Directors have caused this Paper to be manufactured in a new and particular way, bearing the Name of East India Company with that of James Whatman maker in watermarks each Sheet contains sufficient for six Bills or Certificates. Of this Paper you will receive one Thousand Setts in the beforementioned Box, directed to the Governor only under the especial care of Captn. Baldwin, who is directed to see it himself safely delivered to the Governor - The Court of Directors most positively direct that the care of this Paper be given to the Person that the Governor and Council shall think the most fit to be entrusted with it to be by him issued for the purpose of Drawing Bills and Certificates only and that such Person or persons to whom the same shall be issued for the beforementioned purposes, shall account to the Officer who shall have the care of such Paper for the use of such quantity as he shall	The Company had recently suffered from such forgeries. The Court had therefore had the paper made in a new and particular way, with the name "East India Company" and that of James Whatman, its maker, in the watermark. Each sheet held enough for six bills or certificates. The Council would receive 1,000 sets of the paper in the box, addressed to the Governor alone and placed in the special care of Captain Baldwin. Baldwin was ordered to see it delivered safely to the Governor in person. The Court gave the firmest orders on how the paper was to be kept. It was to be placed in the care of whatever person the Governor and Council judged most fit to be trusted with it. He was to issue it only for drawing bills and certificates. Anyone to whom it was issued for those purposes was to account for every sheet received to the officer in charge of the paper. No more was ever to be handed out than the number of bills and certificates to be drawn at that time. If any sheet was spoiled by accident, it was to be returned to the officer who issued it before any replacement was

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		receive - The quantity delivered must never exceed the number of Bills and Certificates to be drawn for at the time of such delivery, and should any of the said Paper be rendered useless by any accident the same must be returned to the Officer by whom it is issued previous to any other being delivered in lieu thereof, and that no excuse be admitted for the loss of any of the paper beforementioned from any Person who may have been in possession of the same - I am with respect East India House Gentlemen London the 8 January 1785. Your most Obedient humble Servant Signed Thos. Morton Secry. **Margin Notes:** Company's Orders respecting the Paper sent for Drawing Bills of Exchange and Certificates Do.	given. No excuse was to be accepted for the loss of any of the paper by anyone who had held it. Thomas Morton, the Secretary, signed the letter at East India House, London, on 8 January 1785. **Interpretations** James Whatman was the leading English paper maker of the day, and a watermark naming both him and the Company was very hard to copy. The Court combined that security with strict control of every sheet on the island. The paper went only to the Governor, under the care of a named captain. Each sheet had to be accounted for, and spoiled sheets had to be handed back before new ones were issued. A forger would need both genuine paper and the right signatures. The rules made it impossible for unused sheets to leave the treasury unnoticed. The Company had grown cautious because bills drawn at St Helena and its other settlements were now so many and so large that a single forgery could cost it heavily.
94	83	Our Govern[...] of St. Helena Par. 1 Since We wrote to you under date of the 10 December 1784 We have received your Letter of the 18 October last by the Ganges - 2 In consequence of the high Opinion we [...] Captn. Pierce's Merits and of the trouble he has [...] [...] his return to this Country in completing [...] [...] for the Fortification of your Island, on which [...] [...] to give you Directions by a future Conveyance [...] [...] agreed to grant him his Salary and allowances [...] [...] and Captn. of Artillery from the time of his leaving your Island to the Day of his embarkation to return there; We have paid him £360 in part thereof; And We direct you to pay him the remainder of such Salary and Allowances on his application to you for the same - 3 By our Letter of the 20 December 1783 We permitted you to allow [...] Leech Twenty Pounds PAnnum from the time he first acted as Commissary of Stores in lieu of 3/ a Day which by your Letter of the 5 October 1783 you informed us you had agreed to give him for that Duty; and if he has any Claim on account of Captn. Pierce's absence to any further Emolument it must be made on the Captain and not on us - 4 In consequence of Captn. Pierce having represented to Us the absolute necessity he is under of keeping a Horse to enable him to transact his Duty; We direct you to purchase one for him, and to make him a sufficient allowance for the Expense thereof. We have likewise agreed to grant Captn. Pierce the same allowance of Candles made to the Chaplain or Surgeon - 5 And as we understand that the House Captain **Margin Notes:** Last Letter by [...] [...] Capt. [...] return [...] Sal[...] [...] of [...] respecting the allowance granted the Commissary &ca. Captn. Pierce allowed a Horse and Candles	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: Since its letter of 14 December 1784, the Court had received the Council's letter of 18 October, brought by the *Ganges*. 2: The Court held a high opinion of Captain Pierce's merits and of the work he had done since returning to England in completing [...] for the island's fortifications, on which it would send orders by a later ship. It had therefore agreed to pay him his salary and allowances as [...] and Captain of Artillery from the time he left the island to the day he embarked to return. It had paid him £360 0s 0d of that sum. The Council was to pay him the rest when he applied for it. 3: In its letter of 20 December 1783, the Court had allowed the Council to pay Lieutenant Leech £20 0s 0d a year from the time he first acted as Commissary of Stores. That replaced the 3s 0d a day which, according to the Council's letter of 5 October 1783, it had agreed to give him for that work. If Leech had any claim for further reward on account of Captain Pierce's absence, it must be made on Pierce and not on the Court. 4: Captain Pierce had told the Court that he could not do his duty without keeping a horse. The Court directed the Council to buy one for him and to make him a sufficient allowance for its keep. It had also agreed to give Pierce the same allowance of candles as the chaplain or the surgeon. 5: The Court understood that the house [...]. **Interpretations** The Council had agreed to pay Leech 3s 0d a day for acting as Commissary of Stores, which came to about £54 15s 0d a year. The Court cut it to £20 0s 0d. It also refused to pay him anything for covering Pierce's duties while Pierce was in England, and told Leech to look to Pierce himself. The Court was generous to the senior officer whose work it valued, paying Pierce full salary for his time at home and adding a horse and candles. At the same time it held the junior officer's allowance to the lowest figure it thought fair. Its earlier warning to the Council not to abuse its power over this post was now backed by a reduced allowance.
95	84	Captain Pierce at present is allowed is no wise suitable to the Rank he holds in our Service, We desire you to provide him with a Commodious one belonging to the Company We are London the 3 February 1785. Your loving Friends (Signed) Thos. Parry E. Boehm	5 (continued): The house Captain Pierce was then allowed was in no way fit for his rank in the Company's service. The Council was to provide him with a roomy house belonging to the Company. The Directors signed the letter in London on 3 February 1785. Thomas Parry E. Boehm John Motteux L. Sulivan

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Motteux L. Sulivan Jas. Moffatt Joseph Sparks Hugh Inglis Nathl. Smith W. Devaynes R. Hall John Hunter George Tatem Jn. Michie J. Manship W. Bensley Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Para. 1 Since Our last Letter to you dated 3 February 1785 We have received by the Ships arrived this Year your several Letters agreeable to the dates undermentioned. General Letters dated 24 November, 2 13 and 16 December 1784. 10 21 and 28 March, 8, 20 and 26 April 9 17 and two of 23 May, 8, 13 and 30 June 9, 11, 28 and 29 July and 8 August 1785. Letters from the Governor dated 28 July and 8 August 1785. 2 The Gentlemen who compose the Secret Committee for the present Season are William Devaynes Esqr. Our Chairman, Nathl. Smith Esqr. Our Deputy Chairman together with George Cuming, John Manship John Michie, Laurence Sulivan and John Woodhouse Esquires and you are hereby directed strictly to obey such **Margin Notes:** To provide Capt. Pierce with a House suitable to his Rank Receipt of Letters Secret Committee	James Moffatt Joseph Sparkes Hugh Inglis Nathaniel Smith W. Devaynes R. Hall John Hunter George Tatem John Michie J. Manship W. Bensley The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: Since its letter of 3 February 1785, the Court had received by the ships arriving that year the Council's general letters of the following dates, and letters from the Governor dated 28 July and 8 August 1785. 24 November 1784 2 December 1784 13 December 1784 16 December 1784 10 March 1785 21 March 1785 28 March 1785 5 April 1785 20 April 1785 26 April 1785 9 May 1785 17 May 1785 25 May 1785, two letters 8 June 1785 13 June 1785 30 June 1785 6 July 1785 11 July 1785 28 July 1785 29 July 1785 8 August 1785 2: The members of the Secret Committee for the present season were William Devaynes, the Court's Chairman, and Nathaniel Smith, its Deputy Chairman, together with George Cuming, John Manship, John Michie, Laurence Sulivan and John Woodhouse. The Council was strictly directed to obey such [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's treatment of Pierce stood out against its usual refusals. In 1779 it had rejected new houses for the chaplain and other servants and told the Council to repair the old ones. Now it ordered a better Company house for the Engineer, along with a horse, candles and full pay for his time in England. The difference lay in his value to the Company. Pierce had planned the defences that the war made essential and was now drawing up further plans for the island's fortifications. The Court rewarded the officer it relied on most and kept him content, while it went on trimming allowances elsewhere.
96	85	such Orders as you may receive from any three or more of them so far as respects the safety of the Company's Shipping 3 The Ships we have entertained in the Company's Service this Season with the Tonnage they are taken up at, their Commanders and Consignments are as follow Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Sulivan: Tons 755, Commanders Captn. Robt. Pouncey General Goddard: Tons 755, Commanders Thos. Foxall Fort William: Tons 755, Commanders George Simson Consignments Madra. Coast & China Walpole: Tons 758, Commanders Henry Churchill Manship: Tons 755, Commanders Charles Gregory Consignments Madra. Coast and Bay Queen: Tons 755, Commanders Peter Douglas, Consignments Madra. Bombay & Bengal	2 (continued): The Council was to obey any orders it received from three or more of them about the safety of the Company's ships. 3: The ships taken into the Company's service that season, with their tonnage, commanders and destinations, were as follows. The *Sulivan*, 755 tons, Captain Robert Pouncey, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *General Goddard*, 755 tons, commanded by Thomas Foxall, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Fort William*, 755 tons, commanded by George Simson, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Walpole*, 758 tons, commanded by Henry Churchill, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Phoenix: Tons 755, Commanders James Asbury Ganges: Tons 755, Commanders James Williamson Berrington: Tons 755, Commanders Thomas Ley Hillsboro.: Tons 755, Commanders Willm. Hardcastle Halsewell: Tons 758, Commanders Richard Pierce Earl of Oxford: Tons 758, Commanders John White Junr. William Pitt: Tons 755, Commanders Daniel Clarke Consignments Coast and Bay Middlesex: Tons 755, Commanders John Rogers Foulis: Tons 755, Commanders George Blackford Valentine: Tons 755, Commanders Thomas Wall London: Tons 758, Commanders John Eastabrooke Ponsborne: Tons 758, Commanders James Thomas Contractor: Tons 758, Commanders Willm. Mackintosh Europa: Tons 755, Commanders Augs. Jas. Applegarth [...]: Tons 755, Commanders John Hall Vansittart: Tons 758, Commanders Richd. Lewin Junr. Consignments Coast and China Stormont: Tons 723, Commanders George Curtis Bridgewater: Tons 755, Commanders William Parker York: Tons 758, Commanders Willm. Hubbart Pitt: Tons 755, Commanders George Cowper Lord North: Tons 758, Commanders John Bartlett Southampton: Tons 758, Commanders William Hall Earl Cornwallis: Tons 755, Commanders Thos. Hodgson Pigot: Tons 758, Commanders 0 Royal Charlotte: Tons 758, Commanders Joseph Pryce Consignments China **Margin Notes:** Ships taken up	The *Manship*, 755 tons, commanded by Charles Gregory, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Queen*, 755 tons, commanded by Peter Douglas, bound for Madeira, Bombay and Bengal. The *Phoenix*, 755 tons, commanded by James Pakary, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Ganges*, 755 tons, commanded by James Williamson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Berrington*, 755 tons, commanded by Thomas Ley, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Hillsborough*, 755 tons, commanded by William Hardcastle, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Halsewell*, 758 tons, commanded by Richard Pierce, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Earl of Oxford*, 758 tons, commanded by John White junior, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *William Pitt*, 755 tons, commanded by Daniel Clarke, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Middlesex*, 755 tons, commanded by John Rogers, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Foulis*, 755 tons, commanded by George Blackford, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Valentine*, 755 tons, commanded by Thomas Wall, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *London*, 758 tons, commanded by John Eastabrook, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ponsborne*, 758 tons, commanded by James Thomas, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Contractor*, 758 tons, commanded by William Mackintosh, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Europa*, 755 tons, commanded by Augustus James Applegarth, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *[...]*, 755 tons, commanded by John Hall, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Vansittart*, 758 tons, commanded by Richard Lewin junior, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Stormont*, 723 tons, commanded by George Curtis, bound for China. The *Bridgewater*, 755 tons, commanded by William Parker, bound for China. The *York*, 758 tons, commanded by William Hubbart, bound for China. The *Pitt*, 755 tons, commanded by George Cowper, bound for China. The *Lord North*, 758 tons, commanded by John Bartlett, bound for China. The *Southampton*, 758 tons, commanded by William Hall, bound for China. The *Earl Cornwallis*, 755 tons, commanded by Thomas Hodgson, bound for China. The *Pigot*, 758 tons, commander not named, bound for China. The *Royal Charlotte*, 758 tons, commanded by Joseph Pryce, bound for China.
97	86	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Berborough: Tons 870, Commanders Captn. Alexr. Montgomerie Rockingham: Tons 755, Commanders Jno. Atkn. Blanshard Consignments Bombay Kent: Tons 755, Commanders Richd. Hardinge, Consignments St. Helena & Bencoolen	3 (continued): The last ships on the list were as follows. The *Besborough*, 870 tons, Captain Alexander Montgomerie, bound for Bombay. The *Rockingham*, 755 tons, commanded by John Atkinson Blanshard, bound for Bombay. The *Kent*, 755 tons, commanded by Richard Hardinge, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Earl of Mansfield: Tons 758, Commanders Brodie Hepworth, Consignments Bencoolen & China Neptune: Tons 758, Commanders George Scott, Consignments St. Helena & China 4 We have appointed Richard Scott Esqr. to succeed Mr. Graeme deceased, as Lieut. Governor with the usual Salary and allowances. 5 We have granted Mr. Scott a Commission as a Major from the 3 June 1776 the Day before Major Bazett's and direct that he be on the same footing in every respect as his Predecessor Mr. Graeme - 6 In case of the Death or absence of Governor Corneille, Our said Lieut. Governor Richard Scott, is to succeed as provisional Governor, until our further pleasure shall have been signified - 7 Major Scott takes his Passage on the Ship Kent, by which Ship we send Copy of the Lieut. Governors Commission - 8 We have advanced Major Richard Scott the Sum of £300 - which he has given Bond to repay out of his growing Pay and Allowances. The Bond goes a Number in the Packet of the Ship - 9 We have appointed the Right Honble. Lord Macartney Governor General of Bengal and Sir Archibald Campbell Knight of the Bath to succeed his Lordship as Governor of Madras - 10 Herewith you will receive a number of Regulations which we have come to, respecting the mustering on the homeward bound Ships, and We direct that the Person who goes on board to Muster the Ships Company at your Island, do deliver a Copy thereof to the Commander and every sworn Officer on board each Ship that shall arrive at St. Helena - 11 Enclosed you will receive several Copies of an Extract of an Act of the Parliament of Ireland **Margin Notes:** Ships taken up R. Scott Esqr. Lieut. Govr. Commission Dated the Day before Major Bazett's Lieut. Govr. to succeed in case of Death or absence as Govr. Takes Passage on the Kent Bond for £300 Lord Macartney Govr. Genl. & Sir A. Campbell Govr. of Madras Regulations respecting the Homeward bound Indiamen	The *Earl of Mansfield*, 758 tons, commanded by [...] Hepworth, bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Neptune*, 758 tons, commanded by George Scott, bound for St Helena and China. 4: Mr Graeme had died. The Court had appointed Richard Scott to succeed him as Lieutenant Governor, with the usual salary and allowances. 5: The Court had granted Scott a commission as major dated 3 June 1776, the day before Major Bazett's. He was to stand in every respect on the same footing as his predecessor, Mr Graeme. 6: In the event of the death or absence of Governor Corneille, Lieutenant Governor Richard Scott was to take over as provisional Governor until the Court made its further wishes known. 7: Major Scott was sailing in the *Kent*. The Court was sending a copy of his commission as Lieutenant Governor in the same ship. 8: The Court had advanced Major Scott £300 0s 0d. He had given a bond to repay it out of his pay and allowances as they fell due. The bond was enclosed, numbered, in that ship's packet. 9: The Court had appointed the Right Honourable Lord Macartney Governor General of Bengal, and Sir Archibald Campbell, Knight of the Bath, to succeed him as Governor of Madras. 10: The Court enclosed a set of rules it had made for mustering homeward-bound ships. Whoever went aboard to muster a ship's company at the island was to give a copy to the commander and to every sworn officer of each ship that called at St Helena. 11: The Court enclosed several copies of an extract from an Act of the Parliament of Ireland. **Interpretations** On Graeme's death the Court used exactly the same device again. Scott's commission was dated 3 June 1776, as Graeme's had been, so that he too ranked one day above Henry Bazett. Its letter of December 1783 had openly said that Graeme's date was chosen to give him seniority over Bazett. Repeating it for a second newcomer showed that the rule was deliberate policy, not a single arrangement. Bazett, who had served on the island since 1776 and sat on its Council, was twice passed over for the succession in favour of men sent from England. The Court meant the island's command never to pass to an officer rooted in its own society. The new rules on mustering grew out of the island's long practice of searching homeward ships for deserters. Giving a copy to every sworn officer meant that no commander could later claim ignorance of what the muster required.
98	87	Ireland One Copy of which you are hereby directed to send to each of the Captains of the Company's Ships before their departure from your Island - 12 We very much approve your refusing Captn. Pryce's request, to Register Teas which he bought out of a Portuguese Ship at St. Helena and direct that in all future applications of this sort, you act in the same manner - We approve of the Duty you have laid on Carts towards repairing the Highway - 14 It affords Us much satisfaction to be informed that your Island is in a very flourishing condition, and we rely on your Industry to promote its Cultivation as far as possible. We also wish you to consider of the most adviseable plan for rendering the waste Lands on the Island of some profit to the Company and of service to the Inhabitants - 15 When our Governor was informed that the Master of the Harriot American had come to establish a Trade with St. Helena; It was highly becoming him to take the most effectual means to prevent a Traffick so very	11 (continued): The Council was to send one copy of the Irish Act to each captain of the Company's ships before he left the island. 12: The Court strongly approved the Council's refusal of Captain Pryce's request to register tea he had bought from a Portuguese ship at St Helena. In all future requests of this kind, the Council was to act in the same way. The Court approved the duty the Council had laid on carts to pay for repairing the highway. 14: The Court was very pleased to hear that the island was flourishing. It relied on the Council's efforts to extend cultivation as far as possible. It also asked the Council to consider the best plan for making the island's waste lands yield some profit to the Company and be of use to the inhabitants. 15: When the Governor learned that the master of the *Harriot*, an American ship, had come to set up a trade with St Helena, he did well to take the most effective steps to prevent a traffic so harmful to the Company's interest. The Court was well pleased with his watchfulness on this occasion.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		prejudicial to the Company's Interest; and we are well pleased with the vigilance of our Governor on this occasion - 16 We have taken into Consideration the Governors Minute of the 19 June and the several Minutes of that Date from the other Members of our Council, also that from Mr. Wrangham dated 28 June 1784; And it affords us great pleasure to find that the fears we expressed in our Letter of the 16 March 1784 Para. 14th "that the late Mutiny was owing to want of discipline in the Garrison" were without foundation and we take this opportunity of declaring our approbation of Our Governors Spirited and steady **Margin Notes:** Extract of an Act of Parlt. of Ireland Refusing Capt. Pryce to Register Tea approved Duty on Carts approved Pleased with the Condition of the Island &ca. Approval of the Govr's Conduct with respect to the American Vessel Approval of the Govr's Conduct with respect to the Discipline of the Garrison &ca.	16: The Court had considered the Governor's minute of 19 June and the minutes of the same date from the other members of Council, as well as one from Mr Wrangham dated 28 June 1784. It was very glad to find that the fears expressed in the 14th paragraph of its letter of 16 March 1784 were groundless. It had feared that the recent mutiny was caused by a lack of discipline in the garrison. The Court took this opportunity to declare its approval of the Governor's spirited and steady [...]. **Interpretations** Registering tea bought from a Portuguese ship would have let Captain Pryce pass foreign tea off as legitimate private trade when he reached England. The Company held the monopoly of the China tea trade. Tea bought cheaply from a foreign ship at St Helena and landed in London as part of an officer's allowance would undercut the Company's own sales. The Council's refusal closed a gap that any homeward captain could otherwise use. It was the same Captain Pryce who had been reported in 1784 for carrying unlicensed passengers, so the island already knew him as a man who tested the Company's rules. The *Harriot* showed the new danger that peace had brought. Before the war American ships were British, and their trade fell under the Navigation Acts. After independence they were foreign, and an American merchant could try to open a direct trade with the island outside the Company's control. The Governor's firmness kept St Helena closed to them, as the Court wished. The Court's withdrawal of its charge about the mutiny was notable. In March 1784 it had blamed slack discipline in plain terms. After reading the Council's minutes, it accepted that the island's officers were not at fault. It admitted its error in writing and turned its rebuke into praise of Corneille.
99	88	steady Conduct with respect to the Discipline of his Garrison - We have admitted Lieut. Tuffin Sheppard late of your Establishment, a Pensioner on the Military Fund from the 4 June last 18 We direct that you Ship on the Kent Fifteen Thousand Pounds in Silver and Consign the same to Our Residency of Fort Marlbro', taking care that it be put into strong Iron bound Chests properly secured with Hoops and we further Direct that in the above remittance you give a preference to Dollars before any other Coin - 19 By the Ship Raymond We sent you a Bottle of Jamaica Grass Seeds for the Cultivation of your Lands and we desire to know why you have not sent Us an Account of its Success - We now send you two more Bottles by Major Scott, and we direct that you cultivate the same with the greatest care, and that you do not fail to Report to Us the Success of the former and this Experiment - 20 The Ships mentioned in the former part of this Letter are taken up at £26 PTon Freight to China direct, at £27 PTon to St. Helena and China, Bencoolen and China and Coast and China at £28 PTon to Bombay, and at £29 PTon to Coast & Bay. In all other respects they are entertained on the same Terms as the Ships of last Season, as will appear by reference to their respective Charter Parties - 21 We have taken the Opinion of an eminent Nursery and Seedsman on the proper methods for endeavouring to destroy the Insects with which your Fruit Trees are infested and we now Transmit a Copy of the Letter which Conveys his Sentiments on the Subject - **Margin Notes:**	16 (continued): The Court approved the Governor's steady handling of discipline in his garrison. The Court had admitted Lieutenant Tuffin Shepherd, formerly of the island's establishment, as a pensioner on the Military Fund from 4 June 1785. 18: The Council was to ship £15,000 0s 0d in silver in the *Kent* and consign it to the Residency of Fort Marlborough. It was to be packed in strong iron-bound chests properly secured with hoops, and the Council was to send dollars in preference to any other coin. 19: The Court had sent a bottle of Jamaica grass seed in the *Raymond* for improving the island's pastures. It wished to know why the Council had sent no report on how it had done. It was now sending two more bottles with Major Scott. The Council was to sow them with the greatest care and to report on the results of both trials. 20: The ships named at the start of this letter had been hired at £26 0s 0d a ton freight to China direct. The rate was £27 0s 0d a ton to St Helena and China, to Bencoolen and China, and to the Coromandel Coast and China; £28 0s 0d a ton to Bombay; and £29 0s 0d a ton to the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. In all other respects they were taken up on the same terms as the previous season's ships, as their charter parties would show. 21: The Court had consulted an eminent nurseryman and seedsman on the best ways to destroy the insects that were infesting the island's fruit trees. It enclosed a copy of the letter giving his advice on the subject. **Interpretations** Tuffin Shepherd's career on the island ran its full course in these letters. He was made a lieutenant in 1780 at his friends' request so that he could recover his health on St Helena, went home before his

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Lieut. T. Sheppard admitted a Pensr. on the Military Fund £15000 to be sent to Fort Marlbro' Jamaica Grass Seeds Terms of Freight &c. of the Company's Ships Respecting Insects Nurserys Opinion	appointment arrived, and sailed out again in 1781. He was now placed on the Military Fund as an invalid. Under the Court's rule of 1779, a man pensioned from the Fund gave up any further claim on the Company's service. A post granted through patronage for a sick man's recovery had ended in a pension for life. The Court's questions about the grass seed, the fruit-tree pests and the waste lands show a new interest in the island's farming once the war was over. In 1778 and 1779 its letters dealt with costs, discipline and defence. Now it sent seeds and cuttings, consulted a London nurseryman and asked for reports on each trial. Its aim was an island that could feed more of itself and depend less on the stores sent from England, India and China.
100	89	A Tin Garden Engine for the purposes described in the above Letter is intended to be sent you on the York - 22 We have ordered a Turret Clock which will be sent you in the course of next Year: it will be of the same sort as those at most of His Majesty's Dock Yards and Garrisons in England - 23 The quantity of Lucern and White Dutch Clover seed you requested is now sent on the Kent - 24 We have given directions for the Hats to be laced in the manner you desired - 25 We have provided the Materials for a Draw Bridge and you will receive them by the Kent - 26 We have given Directions for the Mortar Beds and Gun Carriages you requested to be made, they will be sent on the Ships of next Season - 27 The Salt Provisions of the Kent are all English: The Beef to be shipped on the York will be of the same description and the Pork Irish: We desire you will be very particular in reporting to Us the goodness of the above Provisions - 28 We have permitted Joseph Alley one of your Slaves to return to St. Helena: he has given Us the strongest reasons to suppose that quitting the Island was unavoidable on his part, it is therefore our positive Order that you do not punish him - he embarks on the Kent - 29 Captn. Hardinge has directions to supply a Serjeant, Corporal and one Private on board the Kent with Four Gallons of Spirits each of the same quality that is given to the Ships Company, for which he must be paid on his Arrival at St. Helena - **Margin Notes:** Turret Clock Lucern and Dutch Clover Hats Draw Bridge Mortar Beds Salt Provisions Joseph Alley permitted to return Spirits supplied the Soldiers on Board the Kent	21 (continued): A tin garden engine, for the purposes described in the nurseryman's letter, was to be sent in the *York*. 22: The Court had ordered a turret clock, which would be sent during the next year. It would be of the same kind as those at most of His Majesty's dockyards and garrisons in England. 23: The quantity of lucerne and white Dutch clover seed the Council had asked for was being sent in the *Kent*. 24: The Court had given orders for the hats to be trimmed with lace in the way the Council wished. 25: The Court had provided the materials for a drawbridge, which the Council would receive by the *Kent*. 26: The Court had ordered the mortar beds and gun carriages the Council had asked for. They would be sent in the ships of the next season. 27: The salt provisions in the *Kent* were all English. The beef to be shipped in the *York* would be of the same kind, and so would the pork in the *Kent*. The Council was to report very carefully on the quality of these provisions. 28: The Court had allowed Joseph Alley, one of the Company's slaves, to return to St Helena. He had given the Court the strongest reasons to believe that he could not have avoided leaving the island. It was therefore the Court's firm order that the Council should not punish him. He was sailing in the *Kent*. 29: Captain Hardinge had orders to supply a sergeant, a corporal and a private aboard the *Kent* with four gallons of spirits each, of the same quality as the ship's company received. He was to be paid for them on his arrival at St Helena. **Interpretations** Joseph Alley was the second of the Company's slaves in these letters to reach England and be sent back with an order that he was not to be punished. The first, William Frank, had been carried off in the *Iris* in 1784. Each man convinced the Court that he had left the island against his will, and in each case the Court overruled the island's practice of punishing runaways. The pattern suggests that slaves reaching England were well placed to win the Court's favour. Its servants in London could hear their own accounts, far from the island's officers who would otherwise have judged them. A safe return without punishment also gave other runaways a reason to come back of their own accord. Lucerne and white clover were the improved fodder crops of English farming. They fed cattle far better than rough pasture, and their roots enriched poor soil. Sending them out, together with the Jamaica grass, showed the Court applying the methods of English agriculture to rebuild the island's herds, which the drought of 1779 had reduced so severely. The turret clock would give the garrison and the town a single public time for watches, guards and work, as it did at royal dockyards and garrisons in England.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
101	90	30 We have complied with your Indents in almost every instance, which circumstance we hope will induce you to continue to consider the framing of them as a Transaction of importance and entitled to the most serious attention. Indents so drawn up will ever have the strongest - recommendation in their favor and consequently be fully complied with: but on the contrary - should it ever appear that Articles either not immediately necessary for the Service or in proportions greatly exceeding your occasions are contained in them, you may be assured they will be very materially curtailed - 31 The Ten Caffree Slaves who assisted in Navigating the Royal Charlotte to your Island must be returned to Fort Marlbro' on the Kent Do not fail to send Us by the first opportunity an Account of the Expence of their Maintenance and other Charges during their stay at St. Helena that We may charge the amount to the Owners of the Royal Charlotte - We are London the 13 December 1785. Your loving Friends (Signed) F. Baring Hugh Inglis Thos. Parry Jacob Bosanquet Thos. Fitzhugh E. Boehm Lionel Darell George Cuming W. Devaynes L. Sulivan Jn. Woodhouse Saml. Smith Junr. Chas. Mills Jno. Roberts Jno. Townson Thos. Cheap **Margin Notes:** Indents complied with, to be attention to framing them in future Ten Caffree Slaves to be sent back to Fort Marlbro'	30: The Court had met the Council's orders for stores in almost every case. It hoped this would lead the Council to go on treating the drawing up of its orders as a matter of importance deserving the most serious attention. Orders drawn up with that care would always carry the strongest recommendation and would therefore be met in full. If, however, any order included goods not immediately needed for the service, or quantities far beyond the island's needs, the Council could be sure it would be heavily cut. 31: Ten slaves of East African origin, entered as Caffres, had helped to sail the *Royal Charlotte* to the island. They were to be sent back to Fort Marlborough in the *Kent*. The Council was to send the Court, at the first opportunity, an account of the cost of their keep and other charges during their stay at St Helena, so that the Court could charge the amount to the owners of the *Royal Charlotte*. The Directors signed the letter in London on 13 December 1785. F. Baring Hugh Inglis Thomas Parry Jacob Bosanquet Thomas Fitzhugh E. Boehm Lionel Darell George Cuming W. Devaynes L. Sulivan John Woodhouse Samuel Smith junior Charles Mills John Roberts John Townson Thomas Cheap **Interpretations** The ten slaves had been put aboard the *Royal Charlotte*, probably at Bencoolen, to work her as seamen where white crews had been thinned by sickness or desertion. The term Caffre was the period name, taken from Arabic, for Africans from the south-east coast, many of whom were carried to Sumatra to labour at Fort Marlborough. Once the ship reached St Helena they were of no further use to her, and the Court ordered them sent back to the settlement that owned them. Charging their keep on the island to the ship's owners kept to the Court's rule that every cost should fall on whoever caused it. These men's labour had carried a Company ship halfway round the world, yet in the record they appear only as a charge to be recovered. The warning about orders for stores closed a long argument. In 1778 the Court had rebuked the Council for asking for three iron chests in one season. Now, after years in which ships were lost and orders went unmet, it had sent almost everything the island wanted. It tied that generosity to discipline: careful orders would be filled, while padded ones would be cut.
102	91	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Para. 1 Since we wrote to you last under date of 13 December we have received the following Letters from You Viz. General Letter 22 Octobr. 1785 Do. 13 Novr. and One from Governor Corneille Dated 22 October 2 According to the 15 and 16 Clauses of the Act of the last Session of Parliament Chap. 25 entitled "An Act for the better regulation and management of the East India Company and the British Possessions in India and for establishing	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: Since its letter of 13 December 1785, the Court had received the Council's general letters of 22 October and 13 November 1785, and one from Governor Corneille dated 22 October. 2: The Act passed in the last session of Parliament, chapter 25, was entitled "An Act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company and of the British possessions in India, and for establishing a court of judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies". Under its 15th and 16th clauses, the Court

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		a Court of Judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of Persons accused of Offences - committed in the East Indies", we have for the present Year appointed William Devaynes Esqr. Chairman, Nathl. Smith Esqr. Deputy Chairman and Laurence Sulivan Esqr. to be our Secret Committee for the purposes stated in the above Clause of the Act of Parliament 3 In addition to the number of Ships which we acquainted you of our having taken into our Service this Season, we have agreed to employ the Royal Bishop for China upon the same terms as the Ships mentioned in our Letter of the 13 December last - And we have likewise taken the undermentioned Ships into our Service this Season at £22 PTon Freight for China and £23 PTon for Bengal - That such Ships as are under 755 Tons shall carry Kentledge, be allowed Demorage, Private Trade for Commanders and Officers and the number of Men and Guns in proportion to the Tonnage of a Ship **Margin Notes:** Receipt of Letters Court of Judicature established for the Trial of Persons accused of having committed Offences in the East Indies Ships taken up in addition to those before	had appointed William Devaynes, its Chairman, Nathaniel Smith, its Deputy Chairman, and Laurence Sulivan as its Secret Committee for that year, for the purposes stated in those clauses. 3: Besides the ships already reported as taken into service that season, the Court had agreed to employ the *Royal Bishop* for China on the same terms as the ships named in its letter of 13 December 1785. It had also taken the following ships into service that season at £22 0s 0d a ton freight for China and £23 0s 0d a ton for Bengal. Those of less than 755 tons were to carry pig-iron ballast and would be allowed demurrage, private trade for their commanders and officers, and crews and guns in proportion to the tonnage of a ship [...]. **Interpretations** Freight rates had fallen sharply within a single season. In December 1785 the Court had hired its main fleet at £26 0s 0d to £29 0s 0d a ton. These additional ships were taken at £22 0s 0d for China and £23 0s 0d for Bengal. With peace, owners had more ships than the trade needed, and wartime risks no longer pushed the price up. Lower freight cut the cost of every cask of flour and salt meat shipped to St Helena, which helped the Court in its long effort to reduce the island's charges. Pig-iron ballast, known as kentledge, steadied a ship low in the hold without taking up much space. Smaller ships needed it to sail safely when carrying light cargoes such as tea. Rules tying crews, guns and private trade to tonnage kept the smaller ships on the same footing as the larger ones. The Secret Committee was now set up under an Act of Parliament, not only by the Court's own choice. Under Pitt's India Act the government's Board of Control could send orders to India through this committee. Its instructions now carried the authority of the Crown as well as the Company.
103	92	Ship of 755 Tons. In all other respects they are entertained on the same Terms as the other Ships of this Season, and they are consigned as - undermentioned Viz. Ships, Tons, Consignments The True Briton: Tons 758 Chapman: Tons 538 Ranger: Tons 600 Consignments China Ravensworth: Tons 519 New Ship: Tons 571 Consignments Bengal 4 The management of the Ships - consigned to China this Season we have - committed to Messrs. William Henry Pigou, Roebuck Browne, Harrison, Cuming, Bruce Chas. Edwd. Pigou, Lane, Lance, Freeman Van Mierop, Fitzhugh, Hall, Peach and Parkin They are also appointed Residents in China for the Year 1787. You will accordingly apply to the above Gentlemen for such Articles you may have occasion for from China, who will be furnished with our directions to supply you with the same - 5 We have permitted Mr. Stroud to continue here another Year on account of his ill state of health and We approve of the arrangement you made in consequence of that Gentleman's leaving your Island 6 We have paid the following Sums to the undermentioned Persons agreeable to - your Account Current London and you must write the same off your Books as paid £826. 8. 9 To the legal Representatives of Major Henry Graeme 21. 2. 4 To the Do. of Charles Greene late Steward of the Latham -	3 (continued): The smaller ships were to carry crews and guns in proportion to the tonnage of a ship of 755 tons. In every other respect they were taken up on the same terms as the season's other ships. Their destinations were as follows. The *True Briton*, 758 tons, bound for China. The *Chapman*, 538 tons, bound for China. The *Ranger*, 600 tons, bound for China. The *Ravensworth*, 519 tons, bound for Bengal. A new ship, not yet named, of 571 tons, bound for Bengal. 4: The Court had placed the management of the ships sent to China that season with Messrs William Henry Pigou, Roebuck, Browne, Harrison, Cuming, Bruce, Charles Edward Pigou, Lane, Lance, Freeman, Van Mierop, Fitzhugh, Hall, Peach and Parkin. They had also been appointed residents in China for 1787. The Council was to apply to them for any goods it needed from China, and they would receive the Court's orders to supply them. 5: Because of his poor health, the Court had allowed Mr Stroud to stay in England for another year. It approved the arrangements the Council had made after he left the island. 6: The Court had paid the following sums to the persons named, in line with the Council's current account in London. The Council was to write them off in its books as paid. Legal representatives of Major Henry Graeme, £826 8s 9d Legal representatives of Charles Florence, late steward of the *Latham*, £21 2s 4d. 7: The Court had shipped 50 recruits for the island that season in the *Kent* and the *York*. 8: The Court had forbidden its Governor General and [...]. **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 We have Shipped for your Island this Season on the Kent and York Fifty Recruits - 8 Having forbid our Governor General and **Margin Notes:** China Council Mr. Stroud permitted to remain another Year Sums of Money paid to the Legal Representatives &c. 50 Recruits	Thomas Stroud, the island's surgeon, had been rebuked by the Court in 1784 for his careless certificates for invalid soldiers. He was now in England himself, on sick leave that the Court extended by a year. Under the Court's rule of 1783, a servant who went home on proven ill health kept his place in the service. A second year needed the Court's express leave, and Stroud received it. The £826 8s 9d paid to Graeme's heirs was most probably the salary and allowances due to him as Lieutenant Governor at his death, paid out in London through the island's account. The island owed the money, but the heirs were in England. The current account let the Company settle with them at home and simply clear the debt from the island's books.
104	93	and Council making any more Minor Cadets and directed that the pay of those already made should cease - We cannot comply with our Governors request of the 8 August last in favor of the Sons of Officers on the St. Helena Establishment - 9 We have not complied with your recommendation respecting Mr. Goodwin as you have a sufficient number of Servants on your Establishment - 10 Relying on your economy we leave it to you to direct the repairing the present - Government House or building a new one for our Governor as you shall judge most for the advantage of the Company - 11 It is with extreme concern that We communicate to you the melancholy - News of the loss of the Ship Halsewell with the Captain and almost all her Company between St. Alban's and Durleston's Head upon the Coast of Dorset on the 6 ultimo - 12 In consequence of this unhappy Event we have altered the Consignment of the Ship Foulis from Coast and China to Coast and Bay. 13 Having received information that great quantities of Tea, Muslin, China Ware Diamonds &ca. have been illicitly imported in our Ships and smuggled on Shore; we send you Copies of an Advertisement which we have resolved from time to time to circulate in the most public manner possible both in England India and China, that you may acquaint the Captains of our homeward bound Ships with our abovementioned Resolution and you are to direct the Captains to have the same affixed in the most conspicuous place on board each Ship **Margin Notes:** Minor Cadets not allowed The Recommendation of Mr. Goodwin not complied with Permission given either to build or repair the Governt. House Loss of the Halsewell The Foulis consigned to Bengal Advertisement to prevent Smuggling	8 (continued): The Court had forbidden its Governor General and Council to make any more under-age cadets and had ordered the pay of those already made to stop. It therefore could not grant the Governor's request of 8 August 1785 on behalf of the sons of officers on the St Helena establishment. The Court had not acted on the Council's recommendation of Mr Goodwin, since the island already had enough servants on its establishment. 10: Relying on the Council's economy, the Court left it to decide whether to repair the present Government House or build a new one for the Governor, whichever it judged most to the Company's advantage. 11: With the greatest sorrow the Court reported the loss of the ship *Halsewell*, with her captain and almost all her company, between St Alban's Head and Durlston Head on the coast of Dorset, on the 6th of the previous month. 12: As a result of this disaster, the Court had changed the destination of the *Foulis* from the Coromandel Coast and China to the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. 13: The Court had learned that large quantities of tea, muslin, china, diamonds and other goods had been brought home illegally in the Company's ships and smuggled ashore. It enclosed copies of a notice it had decided to publish from time to time, as widely as possible, in England, India and China. The Council was to make the captains of the homeward ships aware of the Court's resolution and to direct them to post the notice in the most prominent place aboard each ship. **Interpretations** The *Halsewell* had been named in the Court's letter of December 1785 as bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal under Captain Richard Pierce. She was lost in the Channel within weeks of setting out. The wreck left a gap in the season's shipping to Bengal, and the Court filled it at once by switching the *Foulis* from the China run. The loss of a single ship forced the whole season's plan to be redrawn. The ban on under-age cadets ended a practice that had let officers' sons draw pay long before they could serve. The island's Governor had asked for places for the sons of his own officers, as the Council had sought commissions for the young Greentree and Beale in 1778. The Court now closed that route throughout its service. Family connection on the island could no longer start a boy on the Company's payroll. Leaving the choice of repairing or rebuilding Government House to the Council marked a change from 1779, when the Court flatly refused new houses for its servants. After years of complaint about the cost of the Governor's household, it now trusted the Council to decide.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
105	94	14 We highly disapprove of the Conduct of the Governor and Council of Bombay in - receiving Transfers in lieu of Specie in - payment for the Certificates allowed the - Commanders and Officers of the Company's Ships and therefore direct you to observe it as our positive order, never to grant Certificates to any Persons on account of their privilege unless they pay the full amount of such Certificates into the Company's Treasury in Specie at the time of Granting the same - 15 We send you by this Conveyance a Letter from Mr. Thomas Cole proposing that instead of the Five Punch Houses at present licenced at St. Helena a General Canteen may be established there under his management for retailing Spirituous Liquors; and We direct you to take the same into consideration and send Us your opinion fully thereon by the first Conveyance after the Receipt of this Letter - We are London Your loving Friends the 15 February 1786 (Signed) Hugh Inglis John Motteux E. Boehm Jno. Michie Jn. Townson Chas. Mills W. Devaynes Jno. Woodhouse J. Manship Thos. Cheap Thos. Parry Paul Le Mesurier J. Roberts **Margin Notes:** No Certificates to be granted without receiving the full Amount in Specie Respecting the Proposals of Thos. Cole for establishing a Genl. Canteen	14: The Court strongly disapproved of the Governor and Council of Bombay for accepting transfers in place of coin as payment for the certificates allowed to commanders and officers of the Company's ships. It therefore gave the Council a firm order never to grant certificates to anyone for their private trade allowance unless they paid the full amount into the Company's treasury in coin at the time the certificates were granted. 15: The Court enclosed a letter from Mr Thomas Cole proposing that the five punch houses then licensed on St Helena be replaced by a single general canteen, run by him, for selling spirits. The Council was to consider the proposal and send the Court its full opinion by the first ship after receiving this letter. The Directors signed the letter in London on 15 February 1786. Hugh Inglis John Motteux E. Boehm John Michie John Townson Charles Mills W. Devaynes John Woodhouse J. Manship Thomas Cheap Thomas Parry Paul Le Mesurier J. Roberts **Interpretations** A certificate let an officer send home the profits of his private trade, to be paid in London. If a settlement accepted a transfer of credit instead of coin, the Company in London paid out real money in exchange for a paper promise abroad that might never be made good. Insisting on coin at the moment of issue meant that every certificate was backed by money already in the Company's chest. The rule also fitted the Court's wider use of St Helena's silver, which it shipped on to Fort Marlborough to meet the Company's needs in the East. Thomas Cole had joined the garrison in 1779 as a discharged Madras soldier and was named in the same year as an administrator of the gardener James Carmichell's estate. His proposal would have put all the island's spirit trade under one manager. The Court had praised the rules of 1781 that cut the number of punch houses after the mutiny scare. A single canteen promised still tighter control of drinking, but it would also give one man a monopoly of a profitable trade. The Court passed the question to the Council, whose knowledge of the island and its people it needed before deciding.
106	95	Our Governor and Council of St. Helena - Par. 1 By the several Ships of this Season We have received your Packets agreeable to the different Lists thereof. 2 According to the 15 & 16 Clauses of the Act of Parliament of the 24 Year of his present Majesty's Reign Chap. 25 entitled "An Act for the better Regulation " and Management of the East India Company and the " British Possessions in India, and for Establishing a " Court of Judicature for the more speedy and Effectual " Trial of Persons accused of Offences committed in the " East Indies" - We have for the present Year - appointed John Michie Esqr. Chairman John Motteux Esqr. Deputy Chairman and John Manship Esqr. to be our Secret Committee for the purposes stated in the above Clause of the Act of Parliament - 3 The Gentlemen who Compose the Secret	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council of St Helena. 1: The Court had received the Council's packets by the various ships of that season, as listed in the lists sent with them. 2: Under the 15th and 16th clauses of the Act of Parliament of the 24th year of the King's reign, chapter 25, entitled "An Act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company and of the British possessions in India, and for establishing a court of judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies", the Court had appointed John Michie, its Chairman, John Motteux, its Deputy Chairman, and John Manship as its Secret Committee for that year. This committee dealt with the management of the Company's affairs in India, for the purposes set out in those clauses. 3: A separate Secret Committee for the safety of the Company's ships that season consisted of John Michie, the Chairman, John Motteux, the Deputy

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Committee for the safety of the Company's Shipping for the present Season are John Michie Esqr. Chairman John Motteux Esqr. Deputy Chairman, John Manship John Roberts Joseph Sparks, John Smith and John Woodhouse Esqrs. and you are hereby directed strictly to obey such Orders as you may receive from any three or more of them as far as respects the safety of the Company's Shipping - 4 The Ships taken up for India and China this Season with their Consignments are as follows Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Admiral Barrington: Tons 527, Commanders Captn. Chas. Lindergreen, Consignments China Hawke: Tons 799, Commanders Richd. Pinnell Rose: Tons 801, Commanders J. H. Dempster Woodcote: Tons 802, Commanders Ninian Lowis Consignments Coast & China **Margin Notes:** Receipt of Letters Secret Committee for the management of India matters Secret Committee for the managt. of the Company's Shipping Ships taken up	Chairman, and John Manship, John Roberts, Joseph Sparkes, John Smith and John Woodhouse. The Council was strictly directed to obey any orders it received from three or more of them about the safety of the Company's ships. 4: The ships taken up for India and China that season, with their destinations, were as follows. The *Admiral Barrington*, 527 tons, Captain Charles Lindegreen, bound for China. The *Hawke*, 799 tons, commanded by Richard Pinnell, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Rose*, 801 tons, commanded by J. H. Dempster, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Woodcote*, 802 tons, commanded by Ninian Lewis, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. **Interpretations** The Court now had two Secret Committees with different tasks. One, set up under Pitt's India Act, carried the government's orders on the political affairs of India through the Board of Control. The other kept its old task of directing the Company's ships at sea. Splitting them showed how far the Company's government of India had passed under the eye of the Crown, while it kept control of its own trade and shipping. The new ships were noticeably larger. Through the war most Indiamen measured 723 to 758 tons. The *Hawke*, the *Rose* and the *Woodcote* each exceeded 790 tons. Owners rebuilding the fleet after the losses of the war chose bigger ships, which carried more cargo for each voyage at the lower peacetime freight rates.
107	96	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Lascelles: Tons 824, Commanders Captn. Richd. Atherton Farington Royal Admiral: Tons 914, Commanders Joseph Huddart Osterley: Tons 775, Commanders Joseph Clarkson Houghton: Tons 778, Commanders James Monro Glatton: Tons 778, Commanders Chas. Drummond Consignments Coast and China Dover: Tons 711, Commanders John Dennis Marqs. Lansdown: Tons 620, Commanders 0 Earl of Wycombe: Tons 580, Commanders Jno. Wm. Wood Lord Walsingham: Tons 575, Commanders John Paiba Hartwell: Tons 928, Commanders Edward Fiott Nottingham: Tons 1106, Commanders 0 Belvidere: Tons 978, Commanders Wm. Greer Consignments China King George: Tons 776, Commanders George Millett Melville Castle: Tons 806, Commanders Philip Dundas Locko: Tons 758, Commanders John Baird Consignments Bombay and China Earl Fitzwilliam: Tons 799, Commanders James Dundas, Consignments Madra. Coast & China Thetis: Tons 804, Commanders Justinian Nutt Atlas: Tons 763, Commanders Allen Cooper Consignments Bengal Princess Royal: Tons 805, Commanders Jas. Horncastle Henry Dundas: Tons 802, Commanders Angus McNab Minerva: Tons 799, Commanders Robt. Fairfull Busbridge: Tons 771, Commanders Thos. Robertson Consignments Coast & Bay Lord Camden: Tons 775, Commanders Nathl. Dance Junr. Britannia: Tons 770, Commanders Edwd. Cuming Rodney: Tons 772, Commanders Allen Chatfield Consignments Madeira and Bengal Princess Amelia: Tons 808, Commanders Stephen Williams, Consignments Madra. Coast & Bay	4 (continued): The rest of the ships taken up for 1787 were as follows. The *Lascelles*, 824 tons, Captain Richard Atherton Farington, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Royal Admiral*, 914 tons, commanded by Joseph Huddart, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Osterley*, 775 tons, commanded by Joseph Clarkson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Houghton*, 778 tons, commanded by James Monro, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Glatton*, 778 tons, commanded by Charles Drummond, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Dover*, 711 tons, commanded by John Dennis, bound for China. The *Marquis of Lansdown*, 620 tons, commander not named, bound for China. The *Earl of Wycombe*, 580 tons, commanded by John William Wood, bound for China. The *Lord Walsingham*, 575 tons, commanded by John Paiba, bound for China. The *Hartwell*, 928 tons, commanded by Edward Fiott, bound for China. The *Nottingham*, 1,106 tons, commander not named, bound for China. The *Belvidere*, 978 tons, commanded by William Greer, bound for China. The *King George*, 776 tons, commanded by George Millett, bound for Bombay and China. The *Melville Castle*, 806 tons, commanded by Philip Dundas, bound for Bombay and China. The *Locko*, 758 tons, commanded by John Baird, bound for Bombay and China. The *Earl Fitzwilliam*, 799 tons, commanded by James Dundas, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Thetis*, 804 tons, commanded by Justinian Nutt, bound for Bengal.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Warren Hastings: Tons 763, Commanders Jno. Pascal Larkins, Consignments Bombay Genl. Elliot: Tons 800, Commanders Robt. Drummond, Consignments Madra. & Bombay E. of Chesterfield: Tons 810, Commanders John Cranstoun Francis: Tons 789, Commanders Robt. Burrowes Consignments St. Helena & Bencoolen 5 In consequence of a Letter from Brigadier General John Calland transmitting a Memorial from Daniel Corneille Esqr. Junr. signifying he is authorised to express Governor Corneille's wish to Resign his Charge next Year if we think proper to grant him permission **Margin Notes:** Ships taken up for 1787 Company's Compliance with the request of Govr. Corneille to resign	The *Atlas*, 763 tons, commanded by Allen Cooper, bound for Bengal. The *Princess Royal*, 805 tons, commanded by James Horncastle, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Henry Dundas*, 802 tons, commanded by Angus McNab, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Minerva*, 799 tons, commanded by Robert Fairfull, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Busbridge*, 771 tons, commanded by Thomas Robertson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Lord Camden*, 775 tons, commanded by Nathaniel Dance junior, bound for Madeira and Bengal. The *Britannia*, 770 tons, commanded by Edward Cuming, bound for Madeira and Bengal. The *Rodney*, 772 tons, commanded by Allen Chatfield, bound for Madeira and Bengal. The *Princess Amelia*, 808 tons, commanded by Stephen Williams, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Warren Hastings*, 763 tons, commanded by John Pascal Larkins, bound for Bombay. The *General Elliot*, 800 tons, commanded by Robert Drummond, bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *Earl of Chesterfield*, 810 tons, commanded by John Cranstoun, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. The *Francis*, 789 tons, commanded by Robert Burrowes, bound for St Helena and Bencoolen. 5: Brigadier General John [...] had sent the Court a memorial from Daniel Corneille junior. It stated that he was authorised to convey Governor Corneille's wish to resign his post the following year, if the Court thought fit to allow it. **Interpretations** The fleet of 1787 was far larger than any of the wartime seasons, with more than 30 ships, several of them over 900 tons and the *Nottingham* over 1,100. Peace had restored the Company's trade with China and India on a much greater scale. For St Helena, nearly every one of these ships would call on the homeward voyage, bringing more demand for water, fresh food and refreshment than the island had ever had to meet. Corneille sent word of his wish to resign through his son and a senior army officer in London, not by a letter of his own to the Court. He had served on the island since before 1765 and had been Governor only since 1782. Asking a year ahead gave the Court time to choose his successor and allowed him to leave with its approval.
108	97	so to do and of the said Memorial from Mr. Corneille requesting Permission to retire from the Company's Service and proceed to England some time in the present Year, also praying to be allowed the same Pension as was enjoyed by his Predecessor Mr. Skottowe, We do hereby permit Daniel Corneille Esqr. our Governor of St. Helena to Resign the Company's Service and We have agreed as a reward for his long and meritorious Services to allow him a Pension of £300 - PAnnm. from the Day of his Resignation - 6 Reposing special Trust and Confidence in the integrity and ability of Robert Brooke Esqr. whom we on the 30 August appointed Lieut. Governor in the room of the late Major Scott We have unanimously appointed him to succeed Daniel Corneille Esqr. as Governor of St. Helena with the usual Salary and Allowances - 7 And having received the most satisfactory Testimonials of the Character and	5 (continued): The memorial from Daniel Corneille junior asked leave for his father to retire from the Company's service and return to England at some point in the present year. It also asked that he be granted the same pension his predecessor, Mr Skottowe, had received. The Court allowed Governor Corneille to resign from its service. As a reward for his long and valuable service, it granted him a pension of £300 0s 0d a year from the day of his resignation. 6: The Court placed particular trust in the integrity and ability of Robert Brooke, whom it had appointed Lieutenant Governor on 30 August in place of the late Major Scott. It had unanimously appointed him to succeed Daniel Corneille as Governor of St Helena, with the usual salary and allowances. 7: The Court had received the most satisfactory reports of the character and ability of Mr Francis Robson, formerly a captain on the Fort St George establishment. It appointed him to succeed Mr

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		ability of Mr. Francis Robson formerly a Captn. on the Fort St. George Establishment, We do hereby appoint Mr. Francis Robson to succeed Mr. Brooke Lieut. Governor of St. Helena with the usual Salary and Allowances - 8 Having thus complied with Governor Corneille's desire and made the foregoing appointments in Consequence thereof We direct that Mr. Corneille do Resign the Government within a Month after the Arrival of Robert Brooke Esqr. or on the Sailing of the first Ship for England after the Receipt of these Advices, We send you under Cover a new Commission of Government with a Majors Commission for Mr. Robson by the Francis on which Ship Mr. Brooke takes his Passage This Packet is not to be opened till Governor Corneille shall have resigned the Government - **Margin Notes:** Pension of £300 PAnnm. allowed Mr. Corneille Robt. Brooke Esqr. appointed Governor Francis Robson Esqr. appointed Lieut. Governor Mr. Corneille to resign within a Month after the Arrival of Robt. Brooke Esqr. New Commission of Government not to be opened till after the resignation of Governor Corneille	Brooke as Lieutenant Governor of St Helena, with the usual salary and allowances. 8: Having met Governor Corneille's wishes and made these appointments, the Court directed that Corneille hand over the government within a month of Robert Brooke's arrival, or when the first ship sailed for England after these letters arrived. It was sending under cover a new commission of government, with a major's commission for Mr Robson, by the *Francis*, in which Mr Brooke was sailing. This packet was not to be opened until Governor Corneille had resigned the government. **Interpretations** Richard Scott, appointed Lieutenant Governor in 1785, had died within about a year of his arrival, the second Lieutenant Governor to die in office in quick succession after Henry Graeme. The Court filled both senior posts at once with men from outside the island. Brooke had served in Bengal and Robson at Madras. As with Graeme and Scott, neither had any tie to the island's settled families, and Henry Bazett, still on the Council, was passed over again. The sealed packet, not to be opened until Corneille had stepped down, protected the handover. If the new commission were read out while Corneille still held office, two men would appear to hold authority over the island at once. Keeping it closed until he had resigned made the change of Governor clean and unchallengeable. Corneille's pension of £300 0s 0d a year matched the reward the Court had given Skottowe on his retirement. Each had served the Company for decades, and the pension marked the Court's approval of a long career that it had at times sharply criticised.
109	98	9 It is with great pleasure We take the opportunity that your good Conduct has afforded Us to testify our satisfaction in the Reduction you have made in the last Years Expences of your Settlement, Recommending to you at the same time to continue to use every exertion in your Power to relieve Us as much as possible of the very heavy burthen we annually incur by our Island of St. Helena - 10 Having taken into consideration the 15 Para. of your General Letter of the 3d July 1786 We are of Opinion that the proper Mode of Proceeding against the Blacks would have been to Indict and try them at the Sessions for a Conspiracy and Misdemeanor and according to the Nature of the Offence to have - punished them by Whipping and imprisonment but as you have not pursued this method and in consideration of the long Imprisonment which the Offenders have suffered, We direct that they be released with a severe reprimand and Admonition - As to the Bye Law which you propose, it does not occur to Us that it is either necessary or proper. It is not necessary, because Persons guilty of such Offences may be punished as the Law now stands And it is improper as such Bye Law cannot encrease the Punishment - 11 By the Earl of Chesterfield we send you His Majesty's Free Pardon of Yon who was Condemned for Sheep Stealing, a Copy thereof will likewise be sent by the Francis 12 You will likewise receive by these Ships Copies of the Recorder of London's Opinion on the Admissibility of the Evidence of Blacks, which we direct strict Obedience to be **Margin Notes:**	9: The Court was very pleased to take the chance the Council's good conduct gave it to express its satisfaction with the reduction it had made in the settlement's expenses over the past year. At the same time, it urged the Council to keep making every effort to relieve the Company as far as possible of the very heavy burden St Helena placed on it each year. 10: The Court had considered the 15th paragraph of the Council's general letter of 3 July 1786, about black men held in prison for conspiracy. In its view, the proper course would have been to indict them and try them at the Sessions for conspiracy and misdemeanour. Depending on the nature of the offence, they could then have been punished by whipping and imprisonment. The Council had not followed that course. Given the long imprisonment the offenders had already served, the Court directed that they be released with a severe reprimand and warning. The Court also saw no need for the by-law the Council proposed, and did not think it proper. It was unnecessary because people guilty of such offences could already be punished under the law as it stood. It was improper because a by-law could not add to the punishment the law allowed. In any similar case the Council was to proceed in the way the Court had set out. 11: The Court was sending in the *Earl of Chesterfield* the King's free pardon for Yon, who had been condemned for sheep stealing. A copy would also come by the *Francis*. 12: The Council would also receive by these ships copies of the opinion of the Recorder of London on whether the evidence of black people could be admitted in court. The Court directed strict obedience to [...]. **Interpretations** The Council had held the men in prison for a long time without trying them, and had asked for a by-law to punish such plots more harshly. The Court refused both. It held that they should have been

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Company pleased with the Reduction of Expences & recommend an attention to the same in future Respecting the Blacks confined in prison for Conspiracy, the same to be released. How to proceed against such in future when the case is similar Yon pardoned Recorders Opinion on the admissibility of Blacks Evidence	charged and tried at the Sessions under the ordinary law. A colonial council could not make a by-law that raised the penalty above what English law allowed. The release of the prisoners was a rebuke to the island for imprisoning them without trial. The Court kept the island within the bounds of English law even in dealing with black people suspected of conspiracy. Sheep stealing was punishable by death under English law. Yon had been condemned to hang, and a royal pardon was the only way to save him, as it had been for Nelly the burglar in 1783. Pardons for both came through the Court, which passed the island's petitions to the King. The Recorder's opinion on black evidence bore on every trial on the island. In 1783 Harry's evidence had pointed to a white soldier at Nelly's burglary, and the court had ignored it. A ruling from London on when such testimony could be heard would govern how slaves and free black people could act as witnesses, including against white men.
110	99	be paid to - 13 It appears upon the Proceedings upon Yon's Trial that his Master Worrall is a Man of Infamous Character and has been guilty of many Thefts - We recommend you to have those matters particularly examined into and if proper Evidence turns up to Warrant a Prosecution We think it a Debt due to the Public that he should be Prosecuted - 14 The Death of Major Richard Scott our late Lieut. Governor at St. Helena has rendered an Investigation into his Behavior while he was there unnecessary - We cannot however dismiss this Subject without testifying our entire - Approbation of the Conduct of our Governor and Council throughout the whole of their Proceedings respecting Major Scott - 15 We Direct our Governor to take out Administration to the Effects of Major Scott our late Lieut. Governor to Order the said Effects to be sold at Public Auction and the Amount thereof after Discharging all Expences must be paid into your Cash - This you will receive for the Company's use until we send you further Directions thereon - We desire you to give Us Notice of the Amount of the Sale of the said Effects that We may call on Major Scott's representative and Heir at Law for such difference as may remain - due to the Company - 16 It gives Us great satisfaction to learn you have had so favorable a Season as to have been enabled to grant ample Supplies to our Shipping and We rely on your Zeal to use every means in your Power to promote the Cultivation of the Island and the encrease of Cattle there - 17 The Cultivation of our Island of St. Helena **Margin Notes:** To enquire into the Conduct of Wm. Worrall & prosecute him if there is sufficient Grounds Death of Major Scott. Company's approval of the Conduct of the Govr. & Council respecting him The Governor to Administer to the Estate of Major Scott, &ca. The Cultivation of the Island recommended	12 (continued): The Court directed that the Recorder's opinion be strictly obeyed. 13: The proceedings at Yon's trial showed that his master, Worrall, was a man of very bad character who had been guilty of many thefts. The Court recommended that the Council look into these matters carefully. If proper evidence came to light to justify a prosecution, the Court thought it a duty owed to the public that he be prosecuted. 14: The death of Major Richard Scott, the late Lieutenant Governor, had made any inquiry into his conduct while on the island unnecessary. The Court could not leave the subject, however, without expressing its full approval of the conduct of the Governor and Council throughout their proceedings concerning him. 15: The Governor was to take out letters of administration for the effects of Major Scott. He was to have them sold at public auction and, after all expenses were paid, place the proceeds in the island's treasury. The Council was to hold the money for the Company's use until it received further orders. It was to tell the Court how much the sale raised, so that the Court could claim from Scott's legal representative and heir any balance still owed to the Company. 16: The Court was very glad to hear that the island had enjoyed so good a season that it could supply the shipping generously. It relied on the Council's energy to use every means in its power to extend the island's cultivation and increase its cattle. **Interpretations** The Court turned Yon's case back on his master. Yon had been condemned to death for stealing sheep and saved only by a royal pardon. The evidence at his trial showed that Worrall himself was a habitual thief. This was most probably John Worrall, the planter whom the Court had made pay half the value of 75 missing Company sheep in 1779, blaming his carelessness. The Court now suggested that the slave may have stolen for, or alongside, a dishonest master. A slave faced the gallows for the crime while the free man behind it had not even been charged. The Court called his prosecution "a debt due to the public", using the island's own trial record against one of its settlers. Richard Scott had arrived as Lieutenant Governor in 1785 with a £300 0s 0d advance against his pay. He died within about a year, while an inquiry into his conduct was under way. The Court's instruction to auction his effects and pursue his heir for the balance shows that he died owing the Company money. The details of the charges against him died with him, and the record keeps only the Court's approval of the way the island's government had handled them.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
111	100	Helena being an Object We have very much at Heart and wishing by every means in our power to promote the same, We have appointed Mr. George Porteous who has been strongly recommended to Us as a person well Skilled in Horticulture to be our Gardener at St. Helena with a Salary of £90 - PAnnum and you are to Order Mr. Porteous to report you twice in every Year at least the State of the Cultivation of the Island in General particularly marking such improvements as he may have made or think necessary to be made therein, which Reports must be entered on your Consultations with your Remarks on the same for our Information - 18 In consequence of the 3 Paragraph of your Letter Dated the 9 August 1786, We have wrote to Bengal to cause an enquiry to be made into the allegations which you make in your said Paragraph and We have directed our Governor General and Council to adopt such measures as will effectually prevent similar Complaints in future and if Mr. Bourne should be found guilty of the Charge preferred against him, We have ordered them to reprimand him in our Name and to acquaint him that a repetition of such neglect of his Duty will subject him to the most serious marks of our displeasure - 19 We have appointed Mr. Edward Charles Smith to be the Youngest Lieut. of Artillery on your Establishment, He proceeds to his Station on the Ship Earl of Chesterfield - 20 Before the Receipt of your Letter of the 3 July 1786 We had appointed Mr. Smith 2 Lieut. of Artillery which puts it out of our power to promote both Messrs. Broadway **Margin Notes:** Mr. Porteous appointed Gardener at a Salary of £90 - PAnnum To render an Acct. of the State of Cultivating the Island twice a Year Company wrote to Bengal in consequence of the Allegations of the Govr. & Council's Letter of 9 Augt. 1786. Mr. Bourne to be Reprimanded if found guilty Mr. Edwd. Chas. Smith appointed Youngest Lt. of Artillery	17: The cultivation of St Helena was a matter the Court had very much at heart, and it wished to encourage it in every way it could. It had therefore appointed Mr George Porteous, strongly recommended to it as a man well skilled in horticulture, as the Company's gardener on the island, at a salary of £90 0s 0d a year. The Council was to have Porteous report to it at least twice a year on the state of cultivation across the island, noting in particular any improvements he had made or thought necessary. These reports were to be entered in the consultations, with the Council's remarks, for the Court's information. 18: Following the 3rd paragraph of the Council's letter of 9 August 1786, the Court had written to Bengal to have the charges it made there looked into. It had directed the Governor General and Council to take steps that would effectively prevent such complaints in future. If Mr Bowers was found guilty of the charge against him, they were to reprimand him in the Court's name. They were also to warn him that any repetition of such neglect of duty would bring the Court's severest displeasure on him. 19: The Court had appointed Mr Edward Charles Smith as the most junior lieutenant of artillery on the island's establishment. He was sailing to his post in the *Earl of Chesterfield*. 20: Before the Council's letter of 3 July 1786 arrived, the Court had already appointed Mr Smith second lieutenant of artillery. This left it unable to promote both Messrs Broadway [...]. **Interpretations** Porteous was paid £90 0s 0d a year, more than double the £40 0s 0d that James Carmichell and then Duncan McNaughton had received as the Company's gardener. Carmichell and McNaughton were a soldier and a settler who kept the Company's gardens. Porteous was a trained horticulturist hired in England to improve farming across the whole island, and the Court paid for that skill. His twice-yearly reports, entered in the consultations, would let the Court follow the progress of the island's cultivation from London, as it already followed its trials of salt meat and seeds. The appointment of Smith from London blocked a promotion the Council had asked for. Broadway was probably Caleb Broadway, a corporal of the Third Company in 1778, who had risen through the island's ranks. A post filled in London left no room for him. Once again the Court's choice of officers in England closed a step that a man who had served his whole career on the island might otherwise have taken.
112	101	Broadway and Tayler to Lieutenancies, but as we are ever desirous to reward such Servants as are recommended to Us by you, We direct you to appoint either of them to act as Lieutenant in the Vacant Lieutenancy and we will on your informing Us thereof send the person so chosen by you a Commission appointing him to that Post. In the event of your appointing Mr. Broadway the Town Adjutant to the above Vacancy we direct that if in your Opinion Mr. Tayler's Abilities shall entitle him to the Station of Town Adjutant he be appointed thereto. If he should be desirous of that Post - 21 We have agreed to send you Twenty Recruits particular Accounts of them will be forwarded by the Ships on which they embark - 22 By the Storeships of this Season you will receive the Turret Clock which you indented for, as well as the Gun Carriages and other Articles that We could not comply with last Year -	20 (continued): The Court could not promote both Messrs Broadway and Taylor to lieutenancies. Still, it always wished to reward servants the Council recommended. It directed the Council to appoint either of them to act as lieutenant in the vacant post. Once the Council reported its choice, the Court would send the man chosen a commission for that post. If the Council appointed Mr Broadway, the Town Adjutant, to the vacancy, and judged Mr Taylor able enough, Taylor was to be made Town Adjutant in his place, should he want the post. 21: The Court had agreed to send the island 20 recruits. Full details of them would come by the ships in which they sailed. 22: The store ships of that season would bring the turret clock the Council had ordered, as well as the gun carriages and other goods the Court had been unable to send the year before. 23: The Court had fully met the Council's orders for stores that season, apart from a few items.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		23 We have fully complied with your Indents of this Season, except in a few Instances - 24 We have laden on the Chesterfield and Francis 300 Chaldron of Coals for your use, tho' we have not adopted your Idea of sending a Collier of 300 or 400 Tons - 25 We have attended to your request for Serjeants Sashes - 26 We have ordered Five Tons of Iron Ballast for the use of your Long Boats to be sent agreeable to your request in the 3d Para. of your General Letter 13 Novr. 1785 - 27 We have fully complied with your Gardeners Indent, also have sent you several Forest Trees, likewise Forest Tree seeds and Grass Seed - 28 We are concerned that the Garden **Margin Notes:** Messrs. Broadway & Tayler to be appointed one to the Vacant Lieuty. & the other the Town Adjutancy Recruits sent Turret Clock Indents complied with Except a few Instances Coals Laden on the Chesterfield Request of Serjeants Sashes attended to. Iron Ballast sent for the use of the Long Boats Gardeners Indent complied with & Forest Trees sent &ca.	The Court had loaded 300 chaldrons of coal for the island's use in the *Earl of Chesterfield* and the *Francis*. It had not, however, taken up the Council's idea of sending a collier of 300 or 400 tons. 25: The Court had met the Council's request for sergeants' sashes. 26: As the Council had asked in the 3rd paragraph of its general letter of 13 November 1785, the Court had ordered five tons of iron ballast to be sent for the island's longboats. 27: The Court had fully met the gardener's order for stores. It had also sent several forest trees, as well as forest tree seed and grass seed. 28: The Court was concerned that the Company's garden [...]. **Interpretations** The Court found a way round the block on promotion it had just created. Edward Charles Smith's appointment from London had filled the second lieutenancy, so only one of the island's two candidates could be raised. The Court left the choice to the Council and offered the other man the Town Adjutant's post that Broadway would leave behind. Both local men could thus be rewarded, one with a commission and the other with a staff post. The Court had shut out the island's officers from the senior commands, but here it took care not to discourage the men who had served in its ranks. Forest trees, tree seed and grass seed came on top of the poplars, willows, clover, lucerne and Jamaica grass sent in earlier seasons. Every ship now brought plants as well as stores. With the Court sending trees and seed and Porteous engaged to tend them, the Company was setting out to restore the island's woods and pastures, which cutting, grazing and the drought of 1779 had stripped.
113	102	Garden Seed sent you by the Kent should have - been spoilt from being Stowed in the Hold as in general we give particular directions for it to be stowed in the Bread or Gun Rooms which we accidentally omitted doing by that Ship - 29 In consequence of the recommendation of Governor Corneille, We send you on the Francis an Anchor of about 30 with Iron Stock Buoy and Buoy Chain also a Mooring Chain of about sixty Fathom long to reach from the Anchor to the Shore, on the Mooring Chain are Rings at the distance of ten fathom each for the Boats to make fast to occasionally, which may be done with an Eight inch Cablet. These Chains are sent Purposely for the Long Boats but are not calculated for larger Vessels. You are therefore most positively ordered to prevent any such Vessels attempting to Warp in by them. You must also take care that the Chains are not - applied to any other use than that for which they are now sent - 30 We have advanced to Henry Porteous your Gardener Twenty five Pounds on his Promissory Note to the Governor and Council at St. Helena, to repay the same out of his Wages the Note goes a number in the Packet of the Earl of Chesterfield - 31 We have permitted Elizabeth Topham Wife of Isaac Topham of your Artillery and who went out in the York in 1785 to proceed to her Husband at the Company's Expence - 32 Having taken into consideration the 2d Para. of your General Letter dated the 22 October 1785 wherein you observe that the Carriages of the Twenty six 24 Pounders landed at **Margin Notes:**	28 (continued): The garden seed sent in the *Kent* had been spoiled by being stowed in the hold. The Court usually gave careful orders for seed to be kept in the bread room or the gun room, but by accident it had not done so for that ship. 29: On Governor Corneille's recommendation, the Court was sending in the *Francis* an anchor of about 30 cwt, with an iron stock, a buoy and a buoy chain. It also sent a mooring chain about 60 fathoms long, to run from the anchor to the shore. Rings were fixed along the mooring chain every 10 fathoms, so that boats could make fast to it when needed with an eight-inch cable. These chains were meant only for the longboats and were not designed for larger vessels. The Council was strictly ordered to stop any such vessel from trying to warp in by them. It was also to make sure the chains were used for no purpose other than the one they were sent for. 30: The Court had advanced £25 0s 0d to Henry Porteous, the island's gardener, on his promissory note to the Governor and Council at St Helena to repay it out of his wages. The note was enclosed, numbered, in the packet of the *Earl of Chesterfield.* 31: The Court had allowed Elizabeth Topham, wife of Isaac Topham of the island's artillery, who had gone out in the *York* in 1785, to join her husband at the Company's expense. 32: The Court had considered the 2nd paragraph of the Council's general letter of 22 October 1785. In it the Council had pointed out that the carriages of the 24-pounders landed at [...]. **Interpretations** The mooring chain gave the island's landing a fixed hold for its boats. St Helena had no harbour, and boats ferrying men and stores between the ships in the road and the shore had to lie in open water exposed to the swell. A heavy anchor laid offshore with a chain run to the land let the longboats make fast at intervals instead of anchoring each time. The

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Genl. Directions given for Garden Seed to be Stowed in the Bread or Gun Rooms An Anchor and Buoy Chain sent for mooring for Long Boats & for no other use £25 Advanced to Henry Porteous to be paid out of his Wages Topham's Wife came as a [...] Capt.	Court's warning against larger ships warping in by the chain shows its fear that a captain would use it to haul his vessel close inshore. The strain could drag the anchor or snap the chain, leaving the boats without their mooring. Allowing Elizabeth Topham out at the Company's expense was a mark of favour to an artilleryman. Soldiers' wives rarely received a free passage, and the Court paid it for a trained gunner whose skill it wished to keep on the island.
114	103	at your Island from His Majesty's Ship Eagle would be of use (altho' the Guns were not wanted as they were in good Condition and answered the Calibre of the Artillery then upon the Island) We made an application to the Honble. Board of Ordnance to purchase them and have now to acquaint you that we succeeded therein at the Rate of £4. 5. 8 for each Carriage, and having desired the Owners of the Earl of Chesterfield and Francis to signify how far it would be agreeable to them to take on board each of their Ships at St. Helena Thirteen of the said Guns to carry them round by Bencoolen and bring them to England Freight free, they have given their Consent thereto provided those Ships are not detained for the purpose of taking in the Guns, We therefore direct that you send 13 on board each of the said Ships as soon as possible after their Arrival at your Island, as we shall hold you responsible for any ill consequences that may arise to the Company by their being detained on that Account. In doing which you are not to put the Commanders to any Expence for Shipping the Guns, but must by the first convenient Opportunity transmit to Us a particular Account of the Charges attendant thereon, as the same are to be defrayed by the Honble. Board of Ordnance - 33 In order to reduce the Expence of - Our Presidency of Fort Marlbro', we have reduced it to a Residency under the Direction of our Governor General and Council and you are to address them as Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough - 34 In Consequence of your General Letter dated the 19 June 1786 We have directed our Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlbro' not to draw any Bills on you - **Margin Notes:** Permission to purchase the Gun Carriages of the Eagle & the 26 twenty four Pounders to be Shipped on the Chesterfield & Francis at the Co. Expence Presidency of Fort Marlbro' reduced to a Residency Deputy Govr. & Council of Fort Marlbro' directed not to draw any Bills on this Place	32 (continued): The Council had pointed out that the carriages of the 24-pounders landed on the island from His Majesty's ship *Eagle* would be useful there. The guns themselves were not wanted, but the carriages were in good condition and fitted the calibre of the island's artillery. The Court had applied to the Board of Ordnance to buy the carriages and now reported that it had succeeded, at £4 5s 8d for each carriage. It had also asked the owners of the *Earl of Chesterfield* and the *Francis* whether each ship would take on board 13 of the 26 guns at St Helena, carry them round by Bencoolen and bring them to England free of freight. The owners agreed, provided their ships were not held up to load the guns. The Council was therefore to put 13 guns aboard each ship as soon as possible after it reached the island. The Court would hold the Council answerable for any harm the Company suffered if either ship was delayed for that reason. The commanders were not to bear any cost for shipping the guns. The Council was to send the Court, at the first convenient opportunity, a full account of the charges involved, since the Board of Ordnance would pay them. 33: To cut the cost of the Presidency of Fort Marlborough, the Court had reduced it to a Residency under the direction of the Governor General and Council of Bengal. The Council was to address its officers as the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough. 34: Following the Council's general letter of 19 June 1786, the Court had directed the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough not to draw any bills on the island. **Interpretations** The Company bought the carriages from the King's Board of Ordnance and sent the guns home at no freight cost to anyone. The 24-pounders left on the island by the *Eagle* belonged to the Crown, so the Company could not simply keep any part of them. The carriages fitted guns the island already had, saving the cost of building new ones. The guns were returned to the Crown in ships that would otherwise have sailed partly empty from Bencoolen. The Court's warning against delaying the ships shows the limit of the owners' goodwill. Freight was free only if their ships lost no time, since under the new rules of 1784 a late arrival in the Downs could cost an owner his place in the next season's hiring. Reducing Fort Marlborough to a Residency under Bengal brought to an end its standing as a separate presidency. Since 1779 the Court had repeatedly told St Helena to ship its surplus silver there. The island had evidently complained in 1786 of bills drawn on its treasury from Bencoolen. With the settlement now under Bengal's control and forbidden to draw on St Helena, the island's treasury was protected from a demand it could not easily refuse.
115	104	35 It having frequently occurred in the Advices of Certificates granted by you to the Commanders and Officers of the Company's Ships account of their Privilege that the Set at 90 Days sight and Set at 365 Days sight have been included in one Sum and this irregularity being attended	35: In the Council's notices of certificates granted to commanders and officers of the Company's ships for their private trade, the set payable at 90 days' sight and the set payable at 365 days' sight had often been entered together as one sum. This irregularity had caused some difficulty. In future the Council was always to list the certificates at

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		with some inconvenience We direct that in future you will always keep separate in your Advices, the Certificates at 90 Days sight from those at 365 and that the Rank of the several Officers and the Names of the Ships they respectively belong to be specified both in the Certificates and your Advices - Also that the three Certificates contained in each Set be distinguished by First, Second and third written in Words under the Number - 36 Mr. Ruspini having presented Us a Pamphlet on the Virtues of his Styptic Solution with a request that some of it might be sent to the East Indies, we have determined to send you four small Bottles on the Ships Earl of Chesterfield and Francis by way of experiment with printed Cases & Instructions for the use of it - You will therefore give the most positive Injunctions to your Surgeons to allow this Styptic a fair Trial, in order to determine on its efficacy in those Cases where it appears to have been so much extolled, and direct them to report to you the result of their Proceedings, with their Opinion thereon which you are to transmit to Us properly authenticated - numbers in the Packets, that We may be enabled to judge of the beneficial Consequences to be expected from the use of this Styptic, and how far it may be proper to give suitable encouragement to the Inventor, by sending Annually such Supplies of it to our different **Margin Notes:** Directions how Certificates to Commanders & Officers to be drawn in future, the former mode being attended with some Inconvenience - Mr. Ruspini's Pamphlet on the Virtues of Styptic Solution sent with Instructions. The Surgeons to allow this Styptic a fair Trial in Order to determine on its efficacy &c. to make a report of the Result of their Proceedings properly authenticated which must be sent Nos. in the Packet.	90 days' sight separately from those at 365 days in its notices. The rank of each officer and the name of his ship were to be stated both in the certificates and in the notices. The three certificates in each set were also to be marked first, second and third, written out in words beneath the number. 36: Mr Ruspini had given the Court a pamphlet on the virtues of his styptic solution, asking that some be sent to the East Indies. The Court had decided to send four small bottles in the *Earl of Chesterfield* and the *Francis*, as a trial, with printed cases and instructions for its use. The Council was to give its surgeons the firmest orders to give the styptic a fair trial and test whether it worked in the cases where it was so highly praised. The surgeons were to report their results and their opinion to the Council. The Council was to send these to the Court, properly authenticated and numbered in the packets. The Court could then judge what benefit might come from using the styptic, and how far it would be right to encourage the inventor by sending yearly supplies to its [...]. **Interpretations** A styptic was a preparation applied to a wound to stop bleeding by tightening the tissue and clotting the blood. Mr Ruspini was probably Bartholomew Ruspini, a fashionable London dentist who sold a styptic of his own invention and advertised it widely. The Court treated his claims as something to be tested, not taken on trust. It sent a few bottles to an outlying garrison and asked its surgeons for written, authenticated reports before deciding whether to buy more. It used St Helena as a testing ground for medicines, as it did for salt meat, seed and ironmongery.
116	105	different Settlements as may be found necessary - 37 Having thought fit to appoint Messrs. Henry Browne, Abram Roebuck, John Harrison, George Cuming, Alexander Bruce and Charles Edward Pigou to be a Select Committee of Supra Cargoes with full Powers to transact the Company's Business in China We direct that you Address the said Committee whenever our Affairs shall render it necessary for you to Correspond with our Servants at Canton - 38 We have appointed Messrs. Henry Lane, David Lance, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Kuyck Van Mierop, William Fitzhugh, Richard Hall Samuel Peach and Hugh Parkin to be Supra Cargoes under our said Select Committee - 39 We have appointed Charles Earl of Cornwallis to be our Governor General of Bengal - 40 In consequence of an application from the Right Honble. Lord Sydney One of His Majesty's Secretaries of State we have licensed the under - mentioned Ships to proceed to Botany Bay in New South Wales for the purpose of carrying Convicts there with the intention of forming a Settlement at that Place Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders Scarborough: Tons 418, Commanders Captn. John Marshall Lady Penrhyn: Tons 338, Commanders Wm. Cropton Sever Charlotte: Tons 345, Commanders Thos. Gilbert Alexander: Tons 452, Commanders Duncan Sinclair Friendship: Tons 278, Commanders Francis Walton	36 (continued): The styptic was to be sent to the Company's different settlements as might be found necessary. 37: The Court had appointed Messrs Henry Browne, Abraham Roebuck, John Harrison, George Cuming, Alexander Bruce and Charles Edward Pigou as a Select Committee of supercargoes, with full powers to manage the Company's business in China. Whenever the Council needed to write to the Company's servants at Canton, it was to address that Committee. 38: The Court had appointed Messrs Henry Lane, David Lance, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Kuyck Van Mierop, William Fitzhugh, Richard Hall, Samuel Peach and Hugh Parkin as supercargoes under the Select Committee. 39: The Court had appointed Charles, Earl Cornwallis, as Governor General of Bengal. 40: At the request of Lord Sydney, one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State, the Court had licensed the following ships to sail to Botany Bay in New South Wales, carrying convicts there to found a settlement. The *Scarborough*, 418 tons, Captain John Marshall. The *Lady Penrhyn*, 338 tons, commanded by William Cropton Sever. The *Charlotte*, 345 tons, commanded by Thomas Gilbert. The *Alexander*, 452 tons, commanded by Duncan Sinclair. The *Friendship*, 278 tons, commanded by Francis Walton.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Fishburn: Tons 378, Commanders Robert Brown Borrowdale: Tons 272, Commanders Robson Read Golden Grove: Tons 331, Commanders William Sharp We are London Your loving Friends 19 January 1787 Signed Thos. Cheap Jacob Bosanquet John Hunter Jno. Townson George Cuming Abram Roberts Thos. Parry J. Smith Chas. Mills Wm. Bensley Paul Le Mesurier Jno. Michie John Motteux John Roberts George Tatem John Travers **Margin Notes:** Select Committee of Supra Cargoes Supra Cargoes under the Select Committee Charles Earl Cornwallis appd. Govr. Genl. Ships Licensed to Proceed to Botany Bay with Convicts	The *Fishburn*, 378 tons, commanded by Robert Brown. The *Borrowdale*, 272 tons, commanded by Hobson Reed. The *Golden Grove*, 331 tons, commanded by William Sharp. The Directors signed the letter in London on 19 January 1787. Thomas Cheap Jacob Bosanquet John Hunter John Townson George Cuming Abraham Roberts Thomas Parry J. Smith Charles Mills William Bensley Paul Le Mesurier John Michie John Motteux John Roberts George Tatem John Travers **Interpretations** These were the ships of the first convoy of convicts sent to found a British settlement in New South Wales. The government needed the Company's licence because the Company held the monopoly of British trade and navigation east of the Cape of Good Hope. Any British ship sailing into those waters without its consent broke the Company's charter. The Court granted the licence at the Secretary of State's request but kept control. It listed each ship and master and sent the list to St Helena. The island would then know these vessels as licensed ships if they called, and could treat any ship claiming the same purpose without a place on the list as an interloper. The new colony would lie on a route the Company regarded as its own. A settlement at Botany Bay, supplied from Britain and later perhaps trading with China and India, raised at once the question of how far the Company's monopoly reached. The licence was the Company's way of admitting the convict ships without giving up its rights.
117	106	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Para. 1 Mr. Stroud your late Surgeon having resigned our Service on account of his ill health, we took into consideration the 3 Parah. of your General Letter dated 3 July 1786 - recommending Messrs. Kay and Dunn, and in compliance therewith, we do hereby appoint Mr. Kay Surgeon of our Island of St. Helena and Mr. Dunn to succeed Mr. Kay as - Assistant Surgeon there - 2 Having taken into our consideration the 5 Parah. of your General Letter dated 24th July 1786 as well as Captn. Desfountain's - Petition entered on your Consultations on the 17th July last with your Surgeons Certificate We observe that Captn. Desfountain has only delivered in an Inventory of his Effects which are said not to amount to Two Thousand Pounds. Whereas the Deed of Establishing this Fund has prescribed that every Captain who shall apply for the benefit of it shall make Oath of this fact. It is therefore indispensable for Captn. Samuel Desfountain to make the said Affidavit, and when he has done so, We will admit him a Pensioner thereon, and permit him to reside on the Island of St. Helena - We are London Your loving Friends	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: Mr Stroud, the island's late surgeon, had resigned from the Company's service because of poor health. The Court had considered the 3rd paragraph of the Council's general letter of 3 July 1786, which recommended Messrs Kay and Dunn. In line with that recommendation, it appointed Mr Kay surgeon of St Helena and Mr Dunn to succeed him as assistant surgeon. 2: The Court had considered the 5th paragraph of the Council's general letter of 24 July 1786 and Captain Desfountain's petition, entered in the consultations of 17 July 1786 with the surgeons' certificate. Captain Desfountain had only handed in an inventory of his belongings, said to be worth less than £2,000 0s 0d. The deed setting up the Military Fund, however, required every captain who applied for its benefit to swear on oath that he was worth less than that sum. Captain Samuel Desfountain therefore had to make that affidavit. Once he had done so, the Court would admit him as a pensioner on the Fund and allow him to live on St Helena. The Directors signed the letter in London on 24 January 1787. Paul Le Mesurier Thomas Parry Thomas Cheap Joseph Sparkes

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		24 January 1787 Signed Paul Le Mesurier Thos. Parry Thos. Cheap Joseph Sparks Hugh Inglis Jacob Bosanquet W. Bensley J. Smith George Tatem E. Boehm Jno. Michie John Motteux John Manship John Hunter Chas. Mills **Margin Notes:** Mr. Stroud having resigned Mr. Kay & Dunn Appd. Captn. Samuel Desfountain's Petition considered who is to be admitted a Pensioner upon the Military Fund as soon as he makes Oath he is not worth £2000 -	Hugh Inglis Jacob Bosanquet W. Bensley J. Smith George Tatem E. Boehm John Michie John Motteux John Manship John Hunter Charles Mills **Interpretations** The Military Fund was a charity for officers in need, not a pension for every retired captain. The deed limited it to men whose wealth fell below £2,000 0s 0d, and it required a sworn oath because an inventory could leave out property. An officer who lied on oath risked prosecution for perjury, which a simple list of belongings did not. Samuel Desfountain had served as a lieutenant of the Third Company since at least 1778, and the Desfountains were an established island family. The Court allowed him to draw his pension while remaining on St Helena. A pensioner of island stock could thus stay among his own people, though only after proving on oath that he needed the money. David Kay had served as surgeon's mate since before 1778 and had been chosen as Coroner by the inhabitants in 1779. The Court followed the Council's recommendation and promoted him, ending the uncertainty over Stroud's absence.
118	107	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Par. 1 We wrote you last by the Ship Francis under date the 24 January last, and have since received the following Advices Viz. General Letters Dated 8 January, 10 February 1, 16 18, 26, 28, 29 and 31 of March 3, 27 and 30 April 3, 12, 28 and 30 May 1, 2, 4, 18 and 28 June, 2, 6 7 and 14 July 11 August 5, 7, 8 and 30 September. And Letters from Governor Brooke dated the 28 June 5 and 29 September last - 2 We have Appointed John Motteux Esqr. Our Chairman, Nathaniel Smith Esqr. Our Deputy Chairman together with William Devaynes John Manship, John Roberts, Joseph Sparkes and John Smith Esquires to be the Committee of Secrecy for giving the necessary Directions respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping, the Orders therefore of any three of the said Committee respecting the same must be obeyed with the greatest punctuality - 3 Having thought fit to appoint Messrs. Henry Brown, Abraham Roebuck, John Harrison George Cuming, Alexander Bruce, and Charles Edward Pigou to be a Select Committee of Supra Cargoes, with full powers to transact the the **Margin Notes:** Receipt of Letters Secret Committee Select Committee of Supra Cargoes	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 24 January 1787 and went by the ship *Francis*. Since then it had received the Council's general letters of the following dates, and letters from Governor Brooke dated 28 June, 5 September and 29 September 1787. 8 January 1787 10 February 1787 1 March 1787 16 March 1787 18 March 1787 26 March 1787 28 March 1787 29 March 1787 31 March 1787 3 April 1787 27 April 1787 30 April 1787 3 May 1787 12 May 1787 28 May 1787 30 May 1787 1 June 1787 2 June 1787 4 June 1787 18 June 1787 28 June 1787 2 July 1787 6 July 1787 7 July 1787 14 July 1787 11 August 1787 5 September 1787 7 September 1787 8 September 1787 30 September 1787 2: The Court had appointed John Motteux, its Chairman, Nathaniel Smith, its Deputy Chairman, and William Devaynes, John Manship, John Roberts, Joseph Sparkes and John Smith as the Committee of Secrecy for giving the necessary orders about the safety of the Company's ships. Any orders from three

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			of them on that subject were to be obeyed with the greatest promptness. 3: The Court had appointed Messrs Henry Browne, Abraham Roebuck, John Harrison, George Cuming, Alexander Bruce and Charles Edward Pigou as a Select Committee of supercargoes, with full powers to manage the [...]. **Interpretations** By June 1787 Robert Brooke was writing to London as Governor, so Corneille had handed over the government within months of Brooke's arrival in the *Francis*. The Council's letters show the island's business growing under the new Governor. Thirty general letters went home in the nine months to September, more than in any comparable period in these records. Each ship of the enlarged peacetime fleet that called at the island carried a letter home. This kept the Court informed season by season, in a way the wartime Council had not managed.
119	108	the Company's business in China. We direct that you address the said Committee whenever Our Affairs shall render it necessary for you to correspond with Our Servants at Canton - 4 And We have Appointed Messrs. Henry Lane, David Lance, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Kuyck Van Mierop, William Fitzhugh, Richard Hall, Samuel Peach and Hugh Parkin to be Supra Cargoes under our said Select Committee - 5 We have Appointed Major General William Medows to be Governor and Commander in Chief of the Presidency of Bombay, and Robert Sparkes Esqr. to be Second, David Carnegee Esqr. to be third and George Green Esqr. to be fourth of Council at the said Presidency - 6 It is with much concern We communicate to you the disagreeable Intelligence of the loss of the Company's Ship Hartwell (bound to China) near the Island of Bona Vista on the 24 May last. 7 The Names of the Ships taken up for India and China for the present Season are as follows Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Lord Hawkesbury: Tons 803, Commanders Captn. John Barkley, Consignments St. Helena Bencn. & China Essex: Tons 793, Commanders John Strover, Consignments St. Helena & China Manship: Tons 812, Commanders Chs. Gregorie William Pitt: Tons 798, Commanders Chs. Mitchell Consignments Coast & Bay **Margin Notes:** Supra Cargoes under the Select Committee Major Genl. Medows appd. Govr. of Bombay Loss of the Hartwell Ships taken up for the Year 1788	3 (continued): The Select Committee had full powers to manage the Company's business in China. Whenever the Council needed to write to the Company's servants at Canton, it was to address that Committee. 4: The Court had also appointed Messrs Henry Lane, David Lance, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Kuyck Van Mierop, William Fitzhugh, Richard Hall, Samuel Peach and Hugh Parkin as supercargoes under the Select Committee. 5: The Court had appointed Major General William Medows as Governor and Commander in Chief of the Presidency of Bombay. Robert Sparkes was to be second, David Carnegie third and George Green fourth in Council at that presidency. 6: With much regret the Court reported the loss of the Company's ship *Hartwell*, bound for China, near the island of Boa Vista on 24 May 1787. 7: The ships taken up for India and China that season, for 1788, were as follows. The *Lord Hawkesbury*, 803 tons, Captain John Barkley, bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China. The *Essex*, 793 tons, commanded by John Storrer, bound for St Helena and China. The *Manship*, 812 tons, commanded by Charles Gregorie, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *William Pitt*, 798 tons, commanded by Charles Mitchell, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. **Interpretations** The *Hartwell* had been listed for the 1787 season as a new ship of 928 tons, bound for China under Edward Fiott. She was lost on her first voyage, off Boa Vista in the Cape Verde Islands, only weeks after leaving England. Following the *Halsewell* in the Channel in January 1786 and the *Grosvenor* off Africa before that, it was the third large Indiaman lost in these letters since the peace. Peace removed the risk from enemy ships, but the dangers of the sea remained.
120	109	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments [...]: Tons 800, Commanders Captn. Wm. Agnew, Consignments Coast and Bay Kent: Tons 783, Commanders Richd. Hardinge, Consignments Bengal Dublin: Tons 786, Commanders William Smith, Consignments Bombay & Bengal Northumberland: Tons 784, Commanders Jas. Rees, Consignments Do. Madrass & Bengal Airly Castle: Tons 813, Commanders Chs. Stewart, Consignments Madeira Bengal & Bencoolen Phoenix: Tons 800, Commanders Jas. Rattray, Consignments Do. and Bengal	7 (continued): The rest of the ships taken up for 1788 were as follows. The */.../*, 800 tons, Captain William Agnew, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Kent*, 783 tons, commanded by Richard Hardinge, bound for Bengal. The *Dublin*, 786 tons, commanded by William Smith, bound for Bombay and Bengal. The *Northumberland*, 784 tons, commanded by James Rees, bound for Bombay, Madras and Bengal. The *Airly Castle*, 813 tons, commanded by Charles Stewart, bound for Madeira, Bengal and Bencoolen.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Lord Macartney: Tons 796, Commanders Jas. Hay, Consignments Do. Coast Bay Deptford: Tons 784, Commanders John Gerrard Dutton: Tons 761, Commanders Jas. Hunt Bellmont: Tons 769, Commanders Wm. Dick Gamage Asia: Tons 816, Commanders Jn. Lacy Foulkes Duke Montrose: Tons 762, Commanders Jos. Dorin Raymond: Tons 793, Commanders Henry Smedley Consignments Bombay & China Winterton: Tons 771, Commanders Raymond Snow, Consignments Bombay [...]: Tons 803, Commanders Ralph Dundas, Consignments Madeira & Do. Barwell: Tons 796, Commanders Thos. Welladvice Ceres: Tons 1180, Commanders Thos. Price Contractor: Tons 777, Commanders Wm. Mackintosh Albion: Tons 961, Commanders Thos. Allen Genl. Coote: Tons 787, Commanders Jas. Baldwin [...]: Tons 1209, Commanders Jos. Elliott Consignments Coast & China Earl Cornwallis: Tons 774, Commanders Thos. Hodgson Carnatic: Tons 1169, Commanders John Corner Consignments Madeira Coast & China Bridgwater: Tons 755, Commanders Wm. Parker, Consignments Coast and China 8 The terms and Conditions on which the said Ships are taken up will appear by their respective Charterparties, Copies of which will be sent in their several Packets - **Margin Notes:** Conditions of Ships taken up -	The *Phoenix*, 800 tons, commanded by James Rattray, bound for Madeira and Bengal. The *Lord Macartney*, 796 tons, commanded by James May, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Deptford*, 784 tons, commanded by John Gerrard, bound for Bombay and China. The *Dutton*, 761 tons, commanded by James Hunt, bound for Bombay and China. The *Belmont*, 769 tons, commanded by William Dent Gamage, bound for Bombay and China. The *Asia*, 816 tons, commanded by John Lacy Foulkes, bound for Bombay and China. The *Duke of Montrose*, 762 tons, commanded by Joseph Dorin, bound for Bombay and China. The *Raymond*, 793 tons, commanded by Henry Smedley, bound for Bombay and China. The *Winterton*, 771 tons, commanded by Raymond Snow, bound for Bombay. The *[...]*, 803 tons, commanded by Ralph Dundas, bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *Barwell*, 796 tons, commanded by Thomas Welladvice, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ceres*, 1,180 tons, commanded by Thomas Price, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Contractor*, 777 tons, commanded by William Mackintosh, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Albion*, 961 tons, commanded by Thomas Allen, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *General Coote*, 787 tons, commanded by James Baldwin, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *[...]*, commanded by Joseph Elliott, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *[...]*, 1,209 tons, commander not named. The *Earl Cornwallis*, 774 tons, commanded by Thomas Hodgson, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Carnatic*, 1,169 tons, commanded by John Corner, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Bridgewater*, 755 tons, commanded by William Parker, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. 8: The terms on which these ships had been taken up would be shown in their charter parties, copies of which would be sent in their packets. **Interpretations** The *Ceres* had measured 723 tons in the wartime lists. She now appeared at 1,180 tons, which shows that she had been rebuilt or replaced by a much larger ship under the old name. Owners kept a ship's name, and with it her place in the Company's service, while building a bigger vessel to carry it. Ships of more than 1,100 tons, such as the *Ceres*, the *Carnatic* and the unnamed ship of 1,209 tons, were becoming common in the China trade. Larger ships needed more water and food when they called at St Helena, and more boat work to supply them in the open road.
121	110	9 In order to remove every plea for the Commanders of the Company's Freighted Ships deviating from their Instructions by putting into Ports prohibited therein on account of a Deficiency of Water and Provisions We have given them directions to Ship at the Port where they shall take in their Loading for Europe such a sufficient Stock of those Articles as with the addition of the Water and Fresh Provisions they usually procure at St. Helena will fully last them to England and that We may be enabled to judge whether this Order is duly Complied with. We have further directed that such of Our Commanders as may be Dispatched from your Island do at that period of time nearest their Dispatch for England deliver	9: Some commanders of the Company's hired ships had excused breaking their instructions by putting into forbidden ports, claiming they were short of water and provisions. To remove any such excuse, the Court had ordered them to load, at the port where they took on their cargo for Europe, enough of these supplies to last them to England when added to the water and fresh food they usually obtained at St Helena. So that the Court could judge whether this order was obeyed, it had also directed every commander sent on from the island to hand the Secretary, as near as possible to his departure for England, an account of the water and of every kind of provision on board. The account was to state how

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		to your Secretary an account of the quantity of Water and of every species of Provisions 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 is to be dated at the time of delivery, and Signed by the Commander for the time being - 10 We apprize you of this regulation, in Order that the Accounts may be received from the respective Commanders and transmitted by the Ships to which they shall severally relate - 11 On settling Accounts with the Owners of the Fox, which run on the Rocks off Munden's Point homeward bound, We thought it right that they should reimburse **Margin Notes:** Account of Provisions to be sent in every Ships Packet Apprizing of the above Regulation	long each would last, counting what the passengers would consume as well as the crew. It was to be dated on the day it was handed in and signed by the commander at that time. 10: The Court was informing the Council of this rule so that it would collect these accounts from each commander and send them home in the ships they concerned. 11: In settling accounts with the owners of the *Fox*, which had run onto the rocks off Munden's Point on her way home, the Court thought it right that the owners should [...]. **Interpretations** A commander who put into a foreign port such as the Cape, Rio or the Azores on the way home could trade there privately, outside the Company's control. Claiming a shortage of water or food was the usual excuse. The new rule made every captain declare his stores in writing at St Helena, the last Company port on the voyage. If he later turned up in a forbidden harbour pleading want, his own signed account would show whether he had left the island with enough to reach England. The island became the place where captains could be held to account for what happened after they sailed. The *Fox* had struck the rocks off Munden's Point, at the mouth of the anchorage below the battery Pierce had called the key of the island. A homeward ship coming in or going out under the cliffs could be set onto them by wind and swell. The Court treated the loss as a matter to be settled between the Company and the owners, and its view of who should pay depended on what the island reported about how the accident happened.
122	111	reimburse to the Company at least a part of the Expence of Demorage incurred by the detention of the Warren Hastings, Walpole, Lord Macartney and Royal Admiral for the purpose of assisting her. The Owners of the Fox on this occasion produced to Us an Account of Disbursements attending the unloading and reshipping the Company's Cargo after accident, of this Account We now transmit you a Copy, and We cannot help observing that the Charges Contained therein the greatest part of which had the sanction of the Governor, as appears by the Vouchers produced, appear to be highly extravagant in particularly the Charge of Labour Amounting to the Sum £139. 7. 6 - indeed Considering that the Chief of the Expence incurred was on account of the Company's Cargo, and that a principal part of the Work was performed by Garrison Men and Slaves belonging to the Company, We are of Opinion that no other Charge whatever ought to have been made than the unavoidable Expence attending a business of that Nature; And by this rule We expect you will regulate yourselves in case any such unfortunate accident should happen in future at the same time it is not our meaning that the Company should be put to Expence for the purpose of relieving the Owners - 12 The Owners of the Ships Walpole and Raymond which were Consigned to you in the Season 1782 having Demanded to be paid Demorage for their detention after the expiration of the ten Working Days for the purpose of Delivering the Company's Cargo We referred to your **Margin Notes:**	11 (continued): The owners of the *Fox* were to repay the Company at least part of the demurrage it had incurred by keeping the *Warren Hastings*, the *Walpole*, the *Lord Macartney* and the *Royal Admiral* at the island to help her. The owners had given the Court an account of their costs in unloading and reloading the Company's cargo after the accident. The Court enclosed a copy. It could not help noting that the charges, most of which the Governor had approved according to the vouchers produced, looked very extravagant, above all the labour charge of £139 7s 6d. The main expense had arisen from the Company's own cargo, and much of the work had been done by soldiers of the garrison and by the Company's slaves. In the Court's view, no charge should have been made beyond the costs that such work could not avoid. The Council was to follow this rule if any such accident happened again. At the same time, the Court did not mean the Company to bear costs simply to relieve the owners. 12: The owners of the *Walpole* and the *Raymond*, sent to the island in the 1782 season, had claimed demurrage for being held beyond the ten working days allowed for delivering the Company's cargo. The Court had referred the claim to [...]. **Interpretations** When the *Fox* went onto the rocks, the Company's other ships in the road were held to help unload and reload her. Each day they waited cost the Company demurrage to their own owners. The Court wanted the *Fox*'s owners to repay part of it, since the delay arose from their ship's accident. The Court objected most to the labour charge of £139 7s 6d. Much of the work had been done by soldiers and the Company's slaves, whose labour the Company already paid for through wages, rations and upkeep. Charging the owners at full rates for that labour, under the Governor's own approval, made the Company's servants and slaves a source of profit to whoever kept the account. The Court's rule limited any such charge to costs that could not be avoided.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Owners of Ship Fox to reimburse part of the Expence for the detention of Ships Warren Hastings, Walpole Lord McCartney and Royal Admiral	
123	112	Consultations to see whether they had any just claim on the Company on the above account; And We find that on the expiration of the ten Working Days you as usual gave the Commanders their Sailing Orders, though the whole of their Cargo's was not delivered that the Commanders stated to you by Letter the several reasons which had prevented their discharging their Cargoes within the Ten Working Days, in your Answers to which Letters you admit their representations to be just, We were therefore under the necessity of Allowing Demorage to the Owners of these two Ships for all the time they appeared to be detained in delivering the Consignments above the Ten Working Days notwithstanding your having delivered the Sailing Orders to the Commanders, and this allowance of Demorage for all the time a Ship is detained on account of her unloading beyond the ten Working Days is also agreeable to the letter of the Charterparty, but as We are of Opinion that ten Working Days are in general sufficient for the purpose of unloading the Cargo Consigned to you, and being desirous to prevent any future claims of this kind, We direct that you make it a rule to give the preference of the Crane and other usual requisites for unloading to the Ships Consigned from Us with Stores for the use of the Island, and if any extraordinary detention should happen that you note particularly on your Consultations from what cause such detention shall have arisen **Margin Notes:** Consultation referred to respecting the detention of Ships Walpole & Raymond	12 (continued): The Court had checked the Council's consultations to see whether the owners had any fair claim on the Company. It found that when the ten working days ran out, the Council had, as usual, given the commanders their sailing orders, although their cargoes had not all been landed. The commanders had written to the Council explaining what had prevented them from unloading within the ten days, and the Council's replies had accepted their reasons as fair. The Court was therefore obliged to pay the owners of both ships demurrage for the whole time they had been held unloading beyond the ten working days, even though the Council had issued the sailing orders. Paying demurrage for every day a ship was held for unloading beyond ten working days also agreed with the wording of the charter party. The Court thought, however, that ten working days were generally enough to unload the cargo sent to the island. To prevent further claims of this kind, the Council was to make it a rule that ships sent by the Court with stores for the island had first use of the crane and the other usual means of unloading. If any unusual delay occurred, the Council was to record its cause in detail in the consultations. **Interpretations** The Council's own letters had cost the Company money. By accepting the commanders' explanations in writing, it handed the owners proof that the delay was not the ships' fault. Sailing orders issued on the tenth day did not help, since the cargo was still aboard. The charter party plainly allowed demurrage for every extra day. The Court's remedy dealt with the cause of the delay. Each Company ship had to land its cargo by the island's single crane in an open road, and if other ships used the crane first, the store ships waited. Putting the Company's own ships first in the queue protected the Company from paying for delays at the crane.
124	113	13 In answer to the request contained in your General Letter of the 7 June last, to be informed whether you should adhere to the present Custom of the Commanders of Store Ships paying for the Company's Boats bringing the Stores on shore, or discontinue it in future; We have to observe that on reference to the Charter Party you will perceive it is particularly provided that the Stores shall "be put on shore at St. Helena" which of course implies at the Owners Expence, We therefore see no reason to depart from the usual practice in this respect. - 14 In compliance with the Governors request in order to prevent unnecessary applications from the Commanders of Our Ships, We hereby direct you to charge them fifty PCent advance, on the Store price for all Provisions &ca. you may furnish them with from our Stores - 15 Herewith you will receive several Copies of Extracts from several Acts of Parliament for regulating the production of Manifests, and for the more effectual prevention of Smuggling as relate to the Company's Ships, and We direct that you deliver a Copy to each of the Commanders of the homeward bound Ships on their Arrival at St. Helena, and which they are hereby directed to make as public as possible, both to their Officers and Passengers, as a breach of these Acts will subject the guilty to the penalties therein mentioned -	13: In its general letter of 7 June 1787, the Council had asked whether it should keep up the existing practice of store-ship commanders paying for the Company's boats to land the stores, or drop it in future. The Court pointed out that the charter party expressly required the stores to be landed at St Helena, which meant at the owners' cost. It therefore saw no reason to change the usual practice. 14: At the Governor's request, and to stop needless applications from the commanders of the Company's ships, the Court directed the Council to charge them a 50 per cent advance on the store price for all provisions and other goods supplied to them from the Company's stores. 15: The Court enclosed several copies of extracts from Acts of Parliament regulating the production of manifests and the more effective prevention of smuggling in the Company's ships. The Council was to give a copy to each commander of a homeward ship when he arrived at St Helena. Commanders were to make the Acts as widely known as possible to their officers and passengers, since anyone breaking them would face the penalties they laid down. 16: The Court had received a petition from James Briggs asking to be restored to his former post as plumber to [...]. **Interpretations** Captains had been drawing on the island's stores for their ships' needs at the low 10 per cent mark-up charged to settlers and the garrison. That made the warehouse a cheap supply depot for every passing Indiaman, at the expense of stock meant for the island. Raising the price to 50 per cent above cost for

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		16 We have received a Petition from James Briggs praying to be restored to his late Station of Plumber to **Margin Notes:** Respecting Store Ships paying for the Company's Long Boats 50 PCent advance on all Provisions &c. to the Comps. Ships - Extracts of several Acts of Parliament	commanders ended the bargain. Captains would now buy from the stores only when truly in need, which kept the island's limited supplies for its own people. During the war the island had sold stores to the *Bridgewater* at a higher price than to settlers. The new rule made a 50 per cent charge on ships the fixed practice. James Briggs had been sent out in 1782 at 36s 0d a week to repair the fire pipes at Chubb's Spring, with orders to teach others the trade. He had apparently left or lost the post and now asked to be taken back.
125	114	to your Island, and have determined not to comply therewith; but have paid him the Sum of £15. 13. 8 being the amount of Wages due to him, upon his giving a full discharge for all demands whatever upon the Company - 17 And have appointed John Newton to succeed him, at the Wages of thirty six shillings PWeek to Commence on the day of his embarkation and to be continued till his return to England, and is to be - provided with Board and Lodging at the Company's Expence during his stay on the Island. He has been advanced the Sum of ten pounds which you are to deduct from his Wages. We have agreed to defray the expence of his Passage to and from St. Helena and have permitted him to take his Wife with him at the Company's Expence - 18 We direct that the allowance of thirty pounds PAnnum which you granted to Joseph Seager for looking after the Pipes do cease on John Newton's Arrival - 19 We entirely agree with our Governor in the propriety of not permitting the Company's Armourers doing Work for Individuals, as the Company's business is thereby often retarded; leaving it with you to take the best methods to prevent the Inhabitants from suffering by this alteration - 20 We have appointed William Young who has been recommended to Us by the Company's Masons here, to be Master Mason to your Island at the Salary of One hundred pounds PAnnum to commence on **Margin Notes:** James Briggs £15. 13. 8 John Newton appd. Plumber £30 - allowed Josh. Seager to cease Company's Armourers not to Work for Individuals Wm. Young appointed Master Mason	16 (continued): Briggs had asked to be restored as plumber to the island. The Court had decided not to grant his request. It had, however, paid him £15 13s 8d, the wages owed to him, on his giving a full discharge of all claims against the Company. 17: The Court had appointed John Newton to succeed him, at 36s 0d a week from the day he embarked until he returned to England. He was to have board and lodging at the Company's expense while on the island. He had been advanced £10 0s 0d, which the Council was to deduct from his wages. The Court had agreed to pay his passage to and from St Helena and had allowed him to take his wife with him at the Company's expense. 18: The Council had granted Joseph Sagee an allowance of £30 0s 0d a year for looking after the pipes. That allowance was to stop when John Newton arrived. 19: The Court fully agreed with the Governor that the Company's armourers should not be allowed to work for private individuals, since this often held up the Company's own business. It left the Council to find the best way of making sure the inhabitants did not suffer from the change. 20: The Court had appointed William Young, recommended to it by the Company's masons in London, as Master Mason for the island, at a salary of £100 0s 0d a year from [...]. **Interpretations** Joseph Sagee was the Company's armourer, paid £15 0s 0d a quarter in 1778 and 1779. After Briggs left, the island had made him keeper of the fire pipes at Chubb's Spring as well. The Court's order of 1782 that others be taught the plumber's trade had produced exactly this result, with a local man able to keep the system working. The Court now replaced him with a paid plumber from England, at a cost far higher than Sagee's £30 0s 0d a year. The same letter barred the Company's armourers from private work. The island's only skilled metalworkers had been mending settlers' tools and guns alongside the garrison's arms. The Court put the Company's needs first but left the Council to find another way to serve the inhabitants. On so small an island, every skilled tradesman's time was shared between the Company and the people who depended on him.
126	115	on his Arrival at St. Helena, he has been paid a gratuity of twenty Guineas to fit him out and the Expence of his Passage to and from St. Helena is to be defrayed by the Company - 21 In order to assist the Breed of Horses at St. Helena, We have purchased of Mr. Corneille the Arabian Horse which he left on the Island, and paid him the Sum of two hundred and ten pounds for the same - 22 Your Indent for Stores for the Service of the Year 1788 will be fully complied with in every instance whatever, and We hope this attention to your several requisitions will insure the Continuance of your making your Indents an object of very serious consideration, and that they will contain no other Articles than what are absolutely necessary -	20 (continued): Young's salary was to run from the day he arrived at St Helena. He had been paid a gift of twenty guineas, £21 0s 0d, to fit himself out, and the Company would pay his passage to and from the island. 21: To improve the breed of horses on St Helena, the Court had bought from Mr Corneille the Arab horse he had left on the island, paying him £210 0s 0d for it. 22: The Council's order for stores for 1788 would be met in full in every respect. The Court hoped this attention to its requests would ensure that the Council went on treating its orders for stores as a matter needing very serious thought, and that they would contain nothing beyond what was truly necessary.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		23 The request in the 3 Paragraph of your Letter of the 20 June 1787 that the Cloathing for the Men should be made suitable in point of Uniform to that of their Officers, is Complied with - 24 Your recommendation for Tin Utensils for the use of the Garrison, for an encreased proportion of Salt Pork and for the Beef being packed in Tierces instead of Hogsheads, also that Fuzees may be sent for the Serjeants instead of Halberts, and your remarks respecting Bayonets and Flints, as stated in the 4, 5 & 6 Paragraphs of the same Letter are particularly attended to. 25 The 8 Paragraph of your said Letter states the reasons for your having indented so largely for Flour And from what has already been said you may expect the **Margin Notes:** Arabian Horse purchased of Mr. Corneille Indent of Stores for 1788 complied with Cloathing for the Garrison complied with Recommendation of Utensils Salt Pork & Beef in Tierces &c. complied with	23: The Council had asked, in the 3rd paragraph of its letter of 20 June 1787, that the men's clothing be made to match the uniform of their officers. The Court had granted the request. 24: The Council had recommended tin utensils for the garrison, a larger share of salt pork, and beef packed in tierces instead of hogsheads. It had also asked that sergeants be issued fusils in place of halberds, and had commented on bayonets and flints, in the 4th, 5th and 6th paragraphs of the same letter. The Court had given all these points particular attention. 25: In the 8th paragraph of the same letter, the Council had explained why it had ordered so much flour. From what the Court had already said, the Council could expect the order to be met. **Interpretations** The Arab horse cost £210 0s 0d, more than twice the yearly salary of the new Master Mason. The Court bought it from the departing Governor to keep a good stallion on the island for breeding. In 1778 the Company's plantation earned fees from the settlers' mares covered by its stallion. A fine sire would raise the quality of the island's horses, which every planter and officer relied on to travel the steep roads. Buying the horse also gave Corneille a good price as he left the island. The switch from halberds to fusils for sergeants followed changes in the British army. A halberd was a pole-arm that marked a sergeant's rank but was of little use in a fight. A fusil, a light musket with a bayonet, let him fight alongside his men. Packing beef in tierces rather than larger hogsheads meant each cask held less and could be used up before the meat began to spoil once opened.
127	116	the whole quantity you have requested the dispatch of both of the Ships Consigned to St. Helena is intended to be among the first Ships of the Season And We hope this measure will obviate those apprehensions which you have thrown out of being greatly distressed should you not receive an early supply of this necessary Article, besides furnishing you to the full amount of your Indent We shall Consign you by way of Experiment the additional quantity of Ten Barrels of Flour from a New Mill both sorts are distinguished with their respective marks in Order that you may be enabled to point out to Us by such description which Flour is entitled to the preference both in respect to quality and the mode of Packing - 26 In consequence of your having desired in the 2 Paragraph of your Letter of the 11 August last that a piece of Oak Timber might be Consigned you to replace a Piece which was intended for your New Crane and which you furnished to a Portuguese Ship for the purpose of making her a Rudder, and having also requested some pieces of Wood proper for Rudders and Masts. We have Ordered two pieces of Oak Timber to be sent you on these Ships one for a Crane and the other to make a Rudder or both pieces will answer either of these purposes - 27 We have also Ordered two pieces of Dantzic Timber for Fishes for Masts - **Margin Notes:** The dispatch of these Ships to be among the first Ships - Flour sent from a New Mill Pieces of Oak Timber sent for Rudder Dantzic Timber sent	25 (continued): The Court would send the whole quantity of flour the Council had asked for. Both ships bound for St Helena were to be among the first to sail that season. The Court hoped this would ease the Council's fears that the island would suffer badly without an early supply of so essential an item. Besides meeting the Council's order in full, it would send, as a trial, ten extra barrels of flour from a new mill. Both kinds would carry their own marks, so that the Council could report which flour deserved preference for quality and for the way it was packed. 26: In the 2nd paragraph of its letter of 11 August 1787, the Council had asked for a piece of oak timber to replace one meant for its new crane, which it had given to a Portuguese ship to make a rudder. It had also asked for some timber suitable for rudders and masts. The Court had ordered two pieces of oak timber to be sent in these ships, one for a crane and the other for a rudder. Either piece would serve either purpose. 27: The Court had also ordered two pieces of Danzig timber to be sent for making fishes for masts. **Interpretations** The Council had given a damaged Portuguese ship the oak meant for the island's own new crane, so that she could make a rudder and sail on. A ship without a rudder was helpless, and in the open road there was no other timber to be had. The Council put a passing foreign ship's safety ahead of its own building work. The Court replaced the oak, sent a second piece for future emergencies and added spars for repairing masts. The island now had a small reserve of heavy timber for crippled ships, adding ship repair to its role as a place of refreshment on the voyage. Fishes were long pieces of timber bound along a cracked or weakened mast to strengthen it, like a splint on a broken limb. Danzig timber was straight-grained Baltic fir, shipped through Danzig and prized for masts and spars. The Court's trial of flour from a

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			new mill continued its habit of testing suppliers' goods on the island, as it had with salt meat, ironmongery and styptic. The island's reports would decide which miller the Company used.
128	117	28 You will receive by these Ships 50 Barrels of Gunpowder and several Plants of Ash and other Trees agreeable to your request Communicated in the 7 and 10 Paragraphs of your Letter of the 11 August also the several Articles mentioned in the Indent from the Gardener and Clock maker which came recommended in the 2 Paragraph of your Letter of the 7 September last. If We should be able to get any Guinea Grass seed it shall likewise be sent but it appears to Us that the Correspondence you Notice between Our Governor and the Kings Botanist at the Cape for procuring this Grass carries with it a greater prospect of Success - 29 The 9 Paragraph of the Letter of the 11 August last reiterates your former request for the Dispatch of an early Store Ship and again points out the necessity of the measure at the same time you intimate that many conveniencies and advantages would result from the Ships Arriving with you at distant periods. In a former part of this Letter We have already Communicated our Intentions and the event will We flatter ourselves remove every cause of apprehension. But on the latter part it will be by no means convenient to acquiesce for as both Ships are to proceed to China from St. Helena and one of them to stop first at Bencoolen it becomes necessary that they should both have an early dispatch to secure their passage to China - 30 Should any American Vessels put into your Island for refreshment it is necessary you should be upon your guard against their selling their Corn Rums to our Soldiery or others, and you must take the most eligible means which you can suggest effectually to prevent their disposing **Margin Notes:** Barrels Gun Powder &c. Respecting an early Dispatch of Store Ships Americans Vessels not permitted to Sell their Corn Rum	28: The Council would receive in these ships 50 barrels of gunpowder and a number of ash and other young trees, as it had asked in the 7th and 10th paragraphs of its letter of 11 August 1787. They would also bring the items listed in the orders from the gardener and the clockmaker, which the Council had recommended in the 2nd paragraph of its letter of 7 September 1787. If the Court could obtain any Guinea grass seed, it would send that too. It thought, however, that the correspondence the Council mentioned between the Governor and the King's botanist at the Cape offered a better chance of getting this grass. 29: In the 9th paragraph of its letter of 11 August 1787, the Council had repeated its request for an early store ship and stressed again how much it was needed. It had also suggested that ships arriving at well-spaced intervals would bring many benefits. Earlier in this letter the Court had already set out its plans, and it hoped the result would remove every cause for concern. The second suggestion, however, would not suit the Court at all. Both ships were to go on to China from St Helena, and one was to call first at Bencoolen. Both therefore needed to sail early to be sure of reaching China. 30: If any American ships put into the island for refreshment, the Council was to guard against their selling their own rum to the soldiers or anyone else. It was to take the most suitable steps it could devise to prevent them from disposing of it. **Interpretations** The 50 barrels of gunpowder matched the yearly supply William Pierce had asked for in June 1779. He wanted it to build up a reserve of 800 barrels, since barrels bought from passing ships were often short and did not even replace what the garrison used each year. Nine years later, in peacetime, the Court was sending powder at the rate Pierce had judged necessary. The Court refused to spread the store ships out because it needed them for the China trade. A ship that unloaded late at St Helena could miss the season for the passage to China and lose a whole voyage. The island's convenience counted for less than the timetable of the Company's most valuable trade. The order on American rum closed a gap the peace had opened. American ships were now foreign and outside the Company's control, and their cheap rum, offered to the garrison, threatened discipline as well as the island's licensed spirit trade. The Court had cut the number of punch houses after 1781 and was weighing Thomas Cole's plan for a single canteen. Rum sold straight from a ship's side would undo that control. The Court left it to the Council to find a way to stop it.
129	118	disposing of a Liquor which from its quality is so injurious to the health of the People. We therefore positively forbid you buying any of the Rum and enjoin your prohibiting others purchasing it by every means in your power - 31 Having succeeded in our endeavors to procure some Guinea Grass Seed We send it with the other Seeds which are shipped on the Lord Hawkesbury and Essex - 32 Dr. Lettsom has very obligingly promised to present Us with some Seeds of the Scarcity Root and some of his Pamphlets respecting the Culture and management of it should the Seeds and the Pamphlets	30 (continued): The rum was of a quality very harmful to the people's health. The Court therefore strictly forbade the Council to buy any of it and directed it to stop others from buying it by every means in its power. 31: The Court had managed to obtain some Guinea grass seed. It was sending it with the other seeds shipped in the *Lord Hawkesbury* and the *Essex*. 32: Dr Lettsom had kindly promised the Court some seed of the scarcity root, with some of his pamphlets on how to grow and manage it. If the seed and pamphlets arrived in time, they would be divided between the two ships. If not, the whole quantity would be sent in the *Essex*.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		be received in time they shall be divided in the two Ships if not the whole quantity shall be sent by the Essex - 33 Mr. Willson who is at present Surgeon of the Company's Ship Britannia has been appointed by Us an Assistant Surgeon on the Madrass - Establishment, We direct you to acquaint him thereof on his Arrival at St. Helena in order that he may lose no time in proceeding to his Station provided you shall think the Surgeons Mate of the Britannia qualified to act as Surgeon. His Covenants are now forwarded to him - 34 We have perused your Proceedings respecting the deficiency in the Stores and approve your Conduct throughout the investigation of this Business. We agree with you in acquitting Mr. Doveton of any want of integrity therein but We hold him exceedingly culpable for his neglect and inattention to the duties of his Station and think you acted very properly in obliging him to make good the deficiency. Such instances **Margin Notes:** Guinea Hen Grass Seed sent Scarcity Root sent Mr. Willson Surgeon of the Britannia appointed on the Madrass Estabt. Respecting the deficiency in the Stores	33: Mr Willson, then surgeon of the Company's ship *Britannia*, had been appointed an assistant surgeon on the Madras establishment. The Council was to tell him so when he arrived at St Helena, so that he could go on to his post without delay, provided the Council judged the surgeon's mate of the *Britannia* fit to act as her surgeon. His covenants were being sent to him. 34: The Court had read the Council's proceedings on the shortfall in the stores and approved its conduct throughout the inquiry. It agreed with the Council in clearing Mr Doveton of any dishonesty. It held him very much to blame, however, for neglecting his duties, and thought the Council had acted quite rightly in making him pay for the shortfall. Such cases [...]. **Interpretations** The scarcity root was the mangel-wurzel, a large beet then being promoted in England as a famine crop because it yielded heavy roots on poor ground and fed both people and cattle. Dr John Coakley Lettsom, a London physician and keen promoter of useful plants, had written on its cultivation. Sending it to St Helena followed directly from the island's long struggles with drought and failed yams. A hardy root crop that could see the island through a bad season was exactly what the Court's experiments with grasses, clover and trees were meant to supply. Doveton's case drew a clear line between honesty and care. The Council found no theft, so he kept his post and his good name. The storekeeper was still personally answerable for the stock in his charge, and the loss came out of his own pocket. This was the risk he had always guarded against by signing his accounts "errors excepted" and having wastage certified by the Council. Where losses arose from his own neglect, no such certificate could protect him.
130	119	instances of neglect in future cannot fail of incurring our displeasure and therefore We trust that the Storekeeper and his Assistants will employ their utmost attention to prevent a similar Complaint - 35 As you represent the State of your Treasury to be higher than is necessary for your Current Expences We think you may send Twelve thousand pounds to Fort Marlborough by the Lord Hawkesbury provided the State of your Treasury will then admit thereof - 36 The Resolutions you came to at the General Quarter Sessions held on the 26 April 1786 in Order to prevent the increase of Free Blacks on your Island and their becoming Burthensome to the Parish have our approbation - 37 In your Letter of the 13 July last you advise Us of your having restored Mr. Henry Beale to his former Station of a Cadet. We think he was very properly degraded for his misconduct at a time when the greatest exertions were so necessary, for these reasons We entirely disapprove of the restoration of Mr. Beale which We conceive you were not by Law warranted to do, and of your subsequent Appointment of him as a Second Lieutenant, of course he is no longer in our Service - 38 Your several promotions recorded on your Consultations of the 14 May and 17 September last appear to have been made agreable to regular Succession and therefore We do not disapprove thereof except Mr. Beale's which We have already objected to and Mr. John Desfountain the latter on account of the length of his Fathers Services and as you recommend him properly qualified	34 (continued): Any such neglect in future would certainly earn the Court's displeasure. It therefore trusted that the storekeeper and his assistants would take the greatest care to prevent a similar complaint. 35: The Council had reported that its treasury held more than it needed for current expenses. The Court thought it could send £12,000 0s 0d to Fort Marlborough in the *Lord Hawkesbury*, provided the treasury could then spare it. 36: The Court approved the resolutions the Council had passed at the General Quarter Sessions held on 26 April 1786 to stop the number of free blacks on the island from growing and to keep them from becoming a burden on the parish. 37: In its letter of 13 July 1787, the Council reported that it had restored Mr Henry Beale to his former rank of cadet. The Court thought he had been quite rightly demoted for misconduct at a time when the greatest effort was needed. It therefore wholly disapproved of restoring him, which in its view the Council had no legal power to do, and of later appointing him a second lieutenant. As a result he was no longer in the Company's service. 38: The promotions recorded in the Council's consultations of 14 May and 17 September 1787 appeared to follow the proper order of seniority. The Court therefore did not object to them, except for Mr Beale's, which it had already rejected, and that of Mr John Desfountain. Desfountain's was confirmed on account of his father's long service and the Council's recommendation of him as properly qualified, and the Court approved him as a second lieutenant. **Interpretations** The Quarter Sessions resolutions show the island's settlers moving to limit the number of free black people among them. A slave freed by his owner, as Skottowe freed Robert in 1782, could become a pauper if old or sick and fall on the parish

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Margin Notes: [...] sent to Bencoolen Resolutions respecting Free Blacks approved Mr. Henry Beale Dismissed Mr. Jno. Desfountain appd. 2d Lt. &c.	for relief. The resolutions probably restricted freeing slaves who could not support themselves, or required owners to give security for them. The Court approved them, accepting the island's view that free blacks were a likely charge on public funds. This was the same Court that had insisted on fair trials for black prisoners in 1786 and pardoned Nelly and Yon. It held to English law for black people already accused, while letting the island restrict how many could become free. Henry Beale had been made a cadet in 1781 at the request of his friends in London. Demoted for misconduct and then restored and promoted by the Council, he was now dismissed by the Court. John Desfountain, son of Captain Samuel Desfountain, was confirmed largely on his father's record. In both cases the Court decided, from London, who rose in the island's small officer corps.
131	120	qualified for the Military Line, We shall in this instance consent to your appointing him a Cadet, but direct that you do in future advise Us of all Vacancies which may happen either in the Civil or Military Departments and forbid your making any appointments until our pleasure is known - 39 The Dismission of Mr. Beale having occasioned a Vacancy of Second Lieutenant on your Establishment We shall inform you by our next Advices the Person We have Nominated thereto. 40 The Engineers Plan for the Defence of your Island is under our consideration as is also your Military Establishment the result of which will be transmitted in our next advices - 41 By the Ship Lord Hawkesbury We shall send you 27 Recruits - 42 In reply to the 9 Paragraph of your Letter of the 28 May 1787 relative to the disposal of the produce of the late Major Scott's Effects deposited in our Treasury We have Consulted our Law Officers thereon, and in Consequence of their opinion direct that you bring the same to the Credit of the Company in part of the Sum due from the deceased and We shall take such steps as may appear necessary to recover the Balance that will still remain due from his legal representative - 43 The exertion of Our Governor to render the Company's Gardens and Grounds productive, affords Us much satisfaction and your Ordering the surplus of such Articles that are more than sufficient for the supply of the **Margin Notes:** The Dismission of Mr. Beale &c. Engineers Plan &c. Recruits sent Major Scott's Effects &c. The Governor's exertion in the Gardens &c.	38 (continued): Because of his father's long service, and because the Council had recommended him as properly qualified for a military career, the Court agreed in this one case to the Council appointing John Desfountain a cadet. In future, however, the Council was to report to the Court every vacancy in the civil or military departments. It was forbidden to make any appointment until the Court had given its decision. 39: Mr Beale's dismissal had left a vacancy for a second lieutenant on the island's establishment. The Court would name the man it had chosen for it in its next letter. 40: The Court was considering the Engineer's plan for the defence of the island, and also the island's military establishment. It would send its decision in its next letter. 41: The Court would send 27 recruits in the *Lord Hawkesbury*. 42: In the 9th paragraph of its letter of 28 May 1787, the Council had asked what to do with the money raised from the late Major Scott's effects, which had been placed in the island's treasury. The Court had taken the advice of its law officers. On their opinion, the Council was to credit the money to the Company as part payment of the sum the dead man owed. The Court would take whatever steps were needed to recover the remaining balance from his legal representative. 43: The Court was very pleased with the Governor's efforts to make the Company's gardens and grounds productive. It was also pleased with the Council's order for the surplus of goods beyond what was needed to supply the [...]. **Interpretations** The ban on making appointments without the Court's consent closed a door the Council had used for years. The island had filled posts on its own authority and asked for approval afterwards, as with Beale's restoration and promotion, Desfountain's place and many civil offices before them. From now on every vacancy had to be reported and every choice made in London. With voyages taking months each way, posts might stand empty for a year or more, but the Court accepted that delay rather than let the island fill its offices with its own families and favourites. Scott's debt confirmed what the Court's order of 1786 had implied. He had died owing the Company more than his effects would pay. The Court's law officers ruled that the Company could take the proceeds first and pursue his heir for the rest, so the Company stood ahead of any other creditor.
132	121	the Company's Table to be disposed of on our account meets our approbation - 44 We very much commend your endeavouring	43 (continued): The Council had ordered that any produce beyond what the Company's table

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		to curtail the Company's expence by Contracting with Messrs. Harper and Seale for a certain number of Goats &ca. and for the Contractors to be allowed the produce of the Company's Flocks of Goats and Sheep. We do not doubt but you will be careful when the present Flocks are returned that none are received too old for breeding. But as this precaution is not mentioned in the proposals of the present Contractors, We desire it may be entered in any future agreement you may form with them or others - We are London Your loving Friends 28 December 1787 (Signed) Wm. Elphinstone Jas. Moffatt Paul Le Mesurier Thos. Cheap Hugh Inglis Steph. Lushington Robt. Thornton John Motteux John Manship W. Devaynes T. Pattle Junr. W. Bensley Thos. Fitzhugh John Travers J. Smith **Margin Notes:** Contract with Messrs. Harper and Seale &c. approved of	needed should be sold on the Company's account, and the Court approved. 44: The Court strongly commended the Council's effort to cut the Company's costs by contracting with Messrs Harper and Seale to supply a fixed number of goats and other animals, in return for the produce of the Company's flocks of goats and sheep. It did not doubt that, when the present flocks were handed back, the Council would take care that none were accepted too old for breeding. That safeguard was not mentioned in the present contractors' proposals, however. The Court wished it to be written into any future agreement the Council made with them or anyone else. The Directors signed the letter in London on 28 December 1787. William Elphinstone James Moffatt Paul Le Mesurier Thomas Cheap Hugh Inglis Stephen Lushington Robert Thornton John Motteux John Manship W. Devaynes T. Pattle junior W. Bensley Thomas Fitzhugh John Travers J. Smith **Interpretations** The contract handed the Company's flocks to two island planters, who kept their produce and in return supplied the Company with a fixed number of animals. The Company no longer had to pay herdsmen or bear the losses of the drought years, when its own flocks had shrunk under Corneille's management. The risk passed to the contractors. The danger the Court saw lay at the end of the contract. Contractors who had drawn all the profit from the flocks for years could hand back worn-out animals that would never breed again, leaving the Company with a flock worth far less than it had lent. Writing an age limit into the agreement protected the Company's stock as a breeding herd. Harper and Seale were two of the island's oldest planter families. The Company was now farming out its own pastures to the settlers it had once competed with.
133	122	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Par. 1 Our last Advices was dated the 28th Ulto. and transmitted P Ship Lord Hawkesbury, Duplicate whereof is now forwarded - 2 We have considered Governor Brooke's Minute proposing to erect a Wharf and Crane which meets our approbation and we trust you will prosecute the Work as speedily as possible taking care to confine yourselves within the estimated Expence and We direct that you charge the Sum of Three pounds to every Ship that goes to the new Watering place or makes use of the Wharf and Crane. 3 In our Letter of the 28th December last We confirmed the appointment of Mr. John Desfountain a Cadet; and the dismission of Mr. Beale having occasioned a vacancy	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated December 1787 and sent by the ship *Lord Hawkesbury*. A duplicate of it was now enclosed. 2: The Court had considered Governor Brooke's minute proposing a wharf and crane. It approved the plan and trusted the Council to press on with the work as quickly as possible, keeping within the estimated cost. The Council was to charge every ship that used the same landing place, or the wharf and crane, a fee of £3 0s 0d. 3: In its letter of December 1787 the Court had confirmed Mr John Desfountain's appointment as a cadet. Mr Beale's dismissal had left a lieutenant's post vacant, and the Court now directed that Desfountain fill it. The Council was to appoint a young man of good character to the cadet's place he left, and report the name in its next letter. 4: The Court had accepted the Council's recommendation that Mr Francis Augustus Robson be appointed a writer on the island's establishment. It could not approve the Council's nomination of Mr James T. Howard to the same post, since he had gone out as Governor Brooke's steward. Mr Frederick

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of a Lieutenant we direct that Mr. Desfountain do succeed thereto and that you appoint a young Man of whose Character you entertain a good opinion to the present vacancy of a Cadet and acquaint Us thereof in your next advices - 4 We have complied with your recommendation of Mr. Francis Augustus Robson to be appointed a Writer on your Establishment but cannot approve of your nomination of Mr. James F. Howard to that Station who we observe went out in the capacity of Steward to Governor Brooke, and having received an application from Mr. Frederick Doveton that his Nephew Mr. Gabriel Doveton may be appointed a Writer we have complied with his request on a supposition that this Gentleman as well as Mr. Robson is qualified for the Duties of the Station - Messrs. Robson and Doveton are not to **Margin Notes:** Erecting a Wharf & Crane approved of Mr. Jno. Desfountain appd. Lieut. Messrs. Fras. Robson & Gabl. Doveton appd. Writers Mr. Howard's appointment not complied with	Doveton had asked that his nephew, Mr Gabriel Doveton, be appointed a writer, and the Court had granted his request, on the understanding that he, like Mr Robson, was fit for the duties of the post. Messrs Robson and Doveton were not to [...]. **Interpretations** The wharf and crane answered the problem that had cost the Company demurrage on the *Walpole* and the *Raymond*. Ships waited in the road because the island had only one landing place and one crane to handle every cargo. A proper wharf and a new crane would speed unloading, and the fee of £3 0s 0d on each ship would help repay the cost. The ships that gained from faster landing would pay for it, not the Company. The Court's choices among the candidates for writer show patronage at work on both sides. Francis Augustus Robson was almost certainly a son of the new Lieutenant Governor, Francis Robson, and Gabriel Doveton was the nephew of an island family with friends in London. Both were accepted. Howard was refused because he had come out as the Governor's household servant, and the Court would not have a Governor's steward placed among the Company's civil servants. A family connection was acceptable to the Court, but it would not let a Governor move his own servants onto the Company's payroll.
134	123	to take Rank till they have attained the Age of fifteen Years and Covenants to that effect are now forwarded. - We must here repeat our Orders of the 28th December last, that you make no appointment whatever without our authority but advise us of all Vacancies which may happen either in the Civil or Military Departments. - 5 By one of the Ships of next Season we shall send you a Person in every respect properly qualified for the Station of Schoolmaster to your Island; In the mean time we have permitted the Reverend John Wilkinson to proceed as Assistant Schoolmaster at the Salary of One hundred pounds PAnnum to be paid him by the Company, till the arrival of the Schoolmaster after which time it is to be deducted from the Salary and Emoluments of the latter. We have allowed Mr. Wilkinson fifty pounds to defray the expence of his Passage. - 6 We have taken into consideration the Military Establishment of your Island and think it necessary to detail more fully our Orders of December 1783 on that subject, and therefore direct that the Establishment be as follows. 1 Company of Artillery to Consist of 5 Serjeants 5 Corporals 4 Bombardiers 6 Gunners 2 Drummers 1 Fifer 65 Matrosses 4 Company's of Infantry, each to consist of	4 (continued): Messrs Robson and Doveton were not to take rank until they reached the age of 15, and covenants to that effect were enclosed. The Court repeated its order of 28 December 1787 that the Council was to make no appointment of any kind without the Court's authority, but was to report every vacancy in the civil or military departments. 5: By one of the ships of the next season, the Court would send a man fully qualified to serve as the island's schoolmaster. Meanwhile it had allowed the Reverend John Wilkinson to go out as assistant schoolmaster, at a salary of £100 0s 0d a year paid by the Company, until the schoolmaster arrived. After that, the salary was to be deducted from the schoolmaster's own salary and earnings. The Court had allowed Mr Wilkinson £50 0s 0d to pay for his passage. The Court had considered the island's military establishment and thought it necessary to set out its orders of December 1783 on that subject in more detail. It directed that the establishment be as follows. 1 company of artillery, to consist of: 5 sergeants 5 corporals 4 bombardiers 6 gunners 2 drummers 1 fifer 65 matrosses 4 companies of infantry, each to consist of: **Interpretations** The Court had kept its bar on under-age officers by taking the two young writers on but holding back their rank until they turned 15. Like the ban on under-age cadets in 1786, this stopped boys from climbing the seniority list before they could do the work. Seniority in the Company's service decided promotion, so a boy given rank at 12 would one day outrank men who had served years longer. The artillery company was cut to 88 men, against the 525 counted as artillery in 1783. In wartime the infantry had been trained on the great guns and many men had been entered as gunners and matrosses. In

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Margin Notes: A Schoolmaster to be sent next Season The Military Establishment of the Island taken into consideration	peace the Court wanted a small, fully trained artillery company, with the infantry as a reserve. Fixing the exact number of each rank removed the Council's freedom to swell the establishment, which had more than doubled in the war.
135	124	5 Serjeants 5 Corporals 2 Drummers 1 Fifer 65 Privates amounting in the whole to Four hundred Men We observe by the Effective State of your Garrison received by the Mars you have a greater number of Serjeants and Corporals than We have here described as necessary, We do not mean that they should be reduced, but that you should not appoint any others to those Ranks till the numbers are confined within the limits here prescribed. - 7 The number of Privates by your latest Return was Three hundred and seven, but as you state in the 6th Paragraph of your Letter by the Mars that thirty five of this number are not fit for Garrison Duty, fifty three Recruits will be required to compleat the Establishment now ordered, twenty seven went on the Lord Hawkesbury, and we now send you twenty eight on board the Essex. 8 With respect to the Men you have reported not fit for Garrison Duty, we leave it to you to employ them in such manner as you think proper as it is not our intention to discharge them our Service in which they have been as you represent a number of Years. - 9 The Subject of fortifying your Island is now under our consideration; It is of so much consequence that we are not prepared to send you our Instructions thereon by this Conveyance; We direct that you send us home (in Duplicate) a Plan of the Fortification you would recommend together with an Account of its Elevation with respect to the **Margin Notes:** Effective State of the Garrison by the Mars Recruits sent &c. Men not fit for Garrison Duty to be Employed Plan of Fortification to be sent home	Each infantry company: 5 sergeants 5 corporals 2 drummers 1 fifer 65 privates The whole establishment came to 400 men. The return of the garrison's effective strength brought by the *Mars* showed more sergeants and corporals than the Court had set out as necessary. The Court did not mean them to be reduced. The Council was simply to appoint no one else to those ranks until the numbers fell within the limits laid down. 7: The Council's latest return showed 307 privates. In the 6th paragraph of its letter by the *Mars*, however, it reported that 35 of them were unfit for garrison duty. Fifty-three recruits would therefore be needed to complete the establishment now ordered. Twenty-seven had gone in the *Lord Hawkesbury*, and the Court was now sending 28 in the *Essex*. 8: The Court left it to the Council to employ the men reported unfit for garrison duty in whatever way it thought proper. As the Council had said, they had served the Company for a number of years, and the Court did not intend to discharge them. 9: The Court was now considering the fortification of the island. The matter was so important that it was not ready to send its instructions by this ship. The Council was to send home, in duplicate, a plan of the fortifications it would recommend, with an account of their height in relation to the [...]. **Interpretations** The Court kept its unfit soldiers on the island instead of discharging them. Thirty-five men no longer able to stand guard had served the Company for years, and sending them home would leave them without support, or put them on the Military Fund at greater cost. On St Helena they could still be given lighter work as storekeepers' helpers, labourers or watchmen, while their places in the ranks were filled by recruits. The Court reduced its sergeants and corporals the same way, by not filling vacancies rather than demoting anyone. It cut the establishment by attrition, not by turning men out. The Engineer's plan was still undecided. William Pierce had worked on it in England in 1785, and the Court had promised a decision in December 1787. It now asked the island for a second plan of its own. The fortifications would cost far more than anything else the Court had to decide, so it held back until it had both the Engineer's scheme and the Council's to compare.
136	125	Shore and relatively to the Neighbouring Hills What Passes it would and what it would not Command? the Supply of Water? the number of the Garrison? and every other consideration which must be attended to in planning a Fortification for such an object - 10 Should Sir Archibald Campbell or any others of our most experienced Engineer Officers touch on your Island in the course of the approaching Summer you will do well to confer with them on the Subject; for the more opinions we have the more satisfactorily we shall proceed to a determination - In our Letter of the 19th Jany. 1787 We directed	9 (continued): The plan was to show the height of the works above the shore and in relation to the nearby hills. It was also to show which passes the works would command and which they would not, the water supply, the size of garrison needed, and every other point that had to be considered in planning a fortification for such a purpose. 10: If Sir Archibald Campbell, or any other of the Company's most experienced engineer officers, called at the island in the coming summer, the Council would do well to consult them on the subject. The more opinions the Court had, the more confidently it could reach a decision. In its letter of 19 January 1787, the Court had told the Council to look closely into the conduct of Worrall, the master of Yon, who had been

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		you to cause strict examination to be made into the Conduct of Worrall the Master of Yon who was condemned for Sheep Stealing and if there appeared ground sufficient to warrant a prosecution we thought it a debt due to the public that he should be brought to Trial. We observe you received that Letter on the 12th May and your last advices were dated the 30th September and therefore cannot avoid expressing our surprize at your inattention to our Orders in this Instance. We now repeat our Directions on this Subject and shall expect to receive the result of your investigation by the earliest conveyance - London We are 16 Jany. 1788 Your loving Friends (Signed) Hugh Inglis John Roberts John Travers T. Pattle Junr. Steph. Lushington John Motteux Nathl. Smith E. Boehm Paul Le Mesurier John Hunter Lionel Darell Thos. Cheap W. Bensley **Margin Notes:** Sir Archd. Campbell to be consulted respg. the Fortification Wm. Worrall's Conduct to be examined into -	condemned for sheep stealing. If there seemed to be enough grounds for a prosecution, the Court thought it a duty owed to the public that he be brought to trial. The Council had received that letter on 12 May 1787, and its last letters were dated 30 September 1787. The Court could not help expressing surprise at the Council's failure to act on its orders in this case. It now repeated its instructions and expected to receive the result of the Council's inquiry by the earliest ship. The Directors signed the letter in London on 16 January 1788. Hugh Inglis John Roberts John Travers T. Pattle junior Stephen Lushington John Motteux Nathaniel Smith E. Boehm Paul Le Mesurier John Hunter Lionel Darell Thomas Cheap W. Bensley **Interpretations** The Council had held the Court's order to investigate Worrall for more than four months without acting on it, and had written home since without mentioning him. The silence is telling. Worrall was a planter of long standing, and in 1779 the Court had already made him pay for lost Company sheep. Pursuing him on the strength of evidence given at his own slave's trial meant turning the island's courts against one of its settled families. The Council may have been unwilling to do that. The Court would not let the matter drop. It had saved Yon from the gallows and now insisted that the master whose thefts lay behind the case be brought to account. The Court's call for the opinions of passing engineers showed how heavily it weighed the question of fortification. Sir Archibald Campbell, an engineer officer on his way to govern Madras, could give an expert view without the cost of sending anyone to the island. The Court wanted the Council's plan, Pierce's plan and Campbell's view before committing to works that would cost far more than anything else it had to decide.
137	126	Britanicus Alexr. Wright Esqr. Sir I am Ordered by the Court of - Directors of the East India Company to transmit you the enclosed Covenants of Mr. Francis Agustus Robson and Mr. Gabriel Doveton whom the Court have appointed Writers at your Island upon their attaining the age of fifteen Years, which Covenants I am to desire you will cause to be executed Witnessd. and returned by the first Opportunity to Sir your most Obedt. Humble Servant (Signed) Thos. Morton Secy. East India House London 18th Jany. 1789	Thomas Morton, Secretary of the East India Company, wrote to Britannicus Alexander Wright from East India House, London, on 18 January 1788. On the orders of the Court of Directors, he enclosed the covenants of Mr Francis Augustus Robson and Mr Gabriel Doveton. The Court had appointed both men writers on the island, to take effect when each reached the age of 15. Morton asked Wright to have the covenants signed and witnessed, and to send them back by the first opportunity. **Interpretations** A covenant was the formal contract that bound each servant to the Company. In it he promised to serve faithfully, to obey the Company's orders and not to trade against its interests, and the Company could sue him if he broke those terms. Both young men were already on St Helena, so they could not sign in London. The Court sent the covenants out to be signed and witnessed there and returned, so that it held a signed bond from each before he took up his post. Sending them to Wright, the Council's Secretary, made him responsible for seeing that they were properly signed and witnessed before they went back to London.
138	127	Our Governor and Council at	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		St. Helena Par. 1 Our last Letter to you was dated the 16 January last, and transmitted by the Ship Essex: We have since received your several Advices agreeably to the respective Lists of Packets - 2 We have Appointed Nathaniel Smith Esqr. our Chairman, William Devaynes Esqr. our Deputy Chairman, together with John Roberts, Joseph Sparkes, John Smith and John Woodhouse Esqrs. to be the Committee of Secrecy for giving the necessary directions respecting the safety of the Company's Shipping, the Orders therefore of any three of the said Committee respecting the same must be obeyed with the greatest punctuality - 3 The Names of the Ships taken up for India and China for ensuing Season are as follows Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Thetis: Tons 804, Commanders Captn. Justinian Nutt, Consignments Madeira Bombay & China Genl. Elliot: Tons 800, Commanders Robt. Drummond Fort William: Tons 798, Commanders Geo. Simpson Consignments Bombay & China Pitt: Tons 775, Commanders Edwd. Manning, Consignments St. Helena Bencoolen & Do. Valentine: Tons 790, Commanders John Lewis Ocean: Tons 1180, Commanders James Tod Consignments Madeira Coast and Do. Warley: Tons 1175, Commanders Saml. Chs. Bonham Rockingham: Tons 798, Commanders Jno. A. Blanshard Europa: Tons 772, Commanders Augs. Jas. Applegarth Sulivan: Tons 876, Commanders Rt. Pouncy Consignments Coast & China	1: The Court's last letter was dated 16 January 1788 and went by the ship *Essex*. Since then it had received the Council's various letters, as listed in the packets. 2: The Court had appointed Nathaniel Smith, its Chairman, and William Devaynes, its Deputy Chairman, together with John Roberts, Joseph Sparkes, John Smith and John Woodhouse, as the Committee of Secrecy for giving the necessary orders about the safety of the Company's ships. Any orders from three of them on that subject were to be obeyed with the greatest promptness. 3: The ships taken up for India and China for the coming season were as follows. The *Thetis*, 804 tons, Captain Justinian Nutt, bound for Madeira, Bombay and China. The *General Elliot*, 800 tons, commanded by Robert Drummond, bound for Bombay and China. The *Fort William*, 798 tons, commanded by George Simpson, bound for Bombay and China. The *Pitt*, 775 tons, commanded by Edward Manning, bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China. The *Valentine*, 790 tons, commanded by John Lewis, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ocean*, 1,180 tons, commanded by James Tod, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Warley*, 1,175 tons, commanded by Samuel Oliver Bonham, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Rockingham*, 798 tons, commanded by John Atkinson Blanshard, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Europa*, 772 tons, commanded by Augustus James Applegarth, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Sulivan*, 876 tons, commanded by Robert Pouncey, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China.
139	128	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Nottingham: Tons 1152, Commanders Ct. Archd. Anderson Duke of Buccleugh: Tons 1182, Commanders Thomas Wall Consignments Coast & China General Goddard: Tons 799, Commanders Thomas Foxall Melville Castle: Tons 806, Commanders Philp. Dundas Consignments Bengal Pigot: Tons 765, Commanders Geo. Ballantyne Berrington: Tons 816, Commanders Thomas Ley Busbridge: Tons 771, Commanders Thos. Robertson Rose: Tons 801, Commanders John H. Dempster Earl Chesterfield: Tons 810, Commanders Henry Burges Consignments Coast & Bay Houghton: Tons 778, Commanders James Monro, Consignments Madeira Do. & Do. Earl of Oxford: Tons 763, Commanders John White Junr., Consignments Do. Bengal & Bencoolen Ponsborne: Tons 804, Commanders James Thomas, Consignments Bombay London: Tons 836, Commanders John Eastabrooke, Consignments Madeira & Bombay Earl of Mansfield: Tons 782, Commanders Brodie Hepworth Vansittart: Tons 828, Commanders Lestock Wilson Ganges: Tons 784, Commanders Joseph Garnault Lascelles: Tons 824, Commanders R. A. Farington Walpole: Tons 774, Commanders Henry Churchill Middlesex: Tons 852, Commanders John Rogers King George: Tons 776, Commanders John Sherwood	3 (continued): The rest of the ships taken up for the coming season were as follows. The *Nottingham*, 1,152 tons, Captain Archibald Anderson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Duke of Buccleugh*, 1,182 tons, commanded by Thomas Wall, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *General Goddard*, 799 tons, commanded by Thomas Foxall, bound for Bengal. The *Melville Castle*, 806 tons, commanded by Philip Dundas, bound for Bengal. The *Pigot*, 765 tons, commanded by George Ballantyne, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Berrington*, 816 tons, commanded by Thomas Ley, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Busbridge*, 771 tons, commanded by Thomas Robertson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Rose*, 801 tons, commanded by John H. Dempster, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Earl of Chesterfield*, 810 tons, commanded by Henry Burgess, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Houghton*, 778 tons, commanded by James Monro, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Earl of Oxford*, 763 tons, commanded by John White junior, bound for the Coromandel Coast, Bengal and Bencoolen.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Earl of Wycombe: Tons 643, Commanders John Wm. Wood Consignments China 4 The terms and Conditions on which the said Ships are taken up will appear by their respective Charterparties, Copies of which will be sent in their several Packets - 5 In addition to the abovementioned, We have fitted the Company's Ship Britannia, Captn. Edward Cumming for a Voyage, and have stationed her	The *Ponsborne*, 804 tons, commanded by James Thomas, bound for Bombay. The *London*, 836 tons, commanded by John Eastabrook, bound for Madeira and Bombay. The *Earl of Mansfield*, 782 tons, commanded by Brodie Hepworth, bound for China. The *Vansittart*, 828 tons, commanded by Lestock Wilson, bound for China. The *Ganges*, 784 tons, commanded by Joseph Garnault, bound for China. The *Lascelles*, 824 tons, commanded by Richard Atherton Farington, bound for China. The *Walpole*, 774 tons, commanded by Henry Churchill, bound for China. The *Middlesex*, 852 tons, commanded by John Rogers, bound for China. The *King George*, 776 tons, commanded by John Sherwood, bound for China. The *Earl of Wycombe*, 643 tons, commanded by John William Wood, bound for China. 4: The terms on which these ships had been taken up would be shown in their charter parties, copies of which would be sent in their packets. 5: In addition to these ships, the Court had fitted out the Company's own ship *Britannia*, under Captain Edward Cuming, for a voyage, and had placed [...].
140	129	her for St. Helena and China - 6 We have granted Licences to the undermentioned Ships to proceed to the Eastward of the Cape on the Southern Whale Fishery agreeably to Act of Parliament. Ships, Commanders Prince of Wales: Commanders Captn. Shubael Coffin Jackall: Commanders William Raven Adventure: Commanders Shadrack Keene Kent: Commanders Paul Pease Greenwich: Commanders John Lock Amelia: Commanders Jas. Shields Harpy: Commanders John Inskip 7 Nicholas Skottowe Esqr. has requested to pay into Our Treasury here, the amount of a Legacy left by his Deceased Brother to his Black Servant Robert Plato who is now on your Island which We have complied with, and direct you pay the said Robert Plato the Sum of ten pounds yearly on the 25 March so long as he shall remain at St. Helena - 8 We have Considered the Petition presented to you by John Carrol, Darby Moore and David Cook Soldiers on your Establishment praying for an allowance of Batta during the term of their Imprisonment by Tippoo Saib, and in Consideration of the peculiar circumstances of their case, have granted their request, and direct you pay to each of the aforesaid Men the Sum of Nine pounds eighteen shillings and fourpence being the amount of their claim on that account -	5 (continued): The Court had placed the *Britannia* on the run to St Helena and China. 6: Under the Act of Parliament, the Court had licensed the following ships to sail east of the Cape for the southern whale fishery. Prince of Wales, Captain Shubael Coffin Jackall, Captain William Raven Adventure, Captain Shadrach Keene Kent, Captain Paul Pease Greenwich, Captain John Lock Amelia, Captain James Shields Harpy, Captain John Inskip 7: Nicholas Skottowe had asked to pay into the Company's treasury in London the amount of a legacy left by his late brother to his black servant, Robert Plato, who was then living on St Helena. The Court had agreed. The Council was to pay Robert Plato £10 0s 0d a year on 25 March for as long as he stayed on the island. 8: The Court had considered a petition sent to the Council by John Carrol, Darby Moore and David Cook, soldiers on the island's establishment. They asked for batta for the time they had been held prisoner by Tipu Sultan. Because of the unusual circumstances of their case, the Court had granted the request. The Council was to pay each man £9 18s 4d, the amount of his claim. **Interpretations** The ship names in paragraph 6 are set inside the code block, so they lack the italics given elsewhere. The whalers *Prince of Wales*, *Jackall*, *Adventure*, *Kent*, *Greenwich*, *Amelia* and *Harpy* each needed the Company's licence to hunt east of the Cape. Without it they would breach the Company's monopoly of navigation in those seas. An Act of Parliament had opened the southern whale fishery to such ships on terms, and the licence named each vessel and master. The island could then tell a licensed whaler from an interloper if one called. Several masters, such as Coffin and Pease, bore names of the Nantucket whaling families who had settled in England after American independence. Robert Plato was almost certainly the slave Robert whom Governor Skottowe bought from the Company and freed in 1782, after more than 20 years in his household. Skottowe's legacy gave him a small yearly income. By paying the capital into the Company's treasury in London and having the island pay out £10 0s 0d a year, his brother made sure the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			money reached Plato without anyone on St Helena holding the sum. The condition that it be paid only while he stayed on the island also kept a freed man from becoming a charge on the parish, the concern behind the Quarter Sessions resolutions of 26 April 1786 on free blacks. Batta was the extra field allowance paid to soldiers in India on campaign. The three men had evidently served in the Company's wars in southern India and been captured by Tipu Sultan of Mysore before coming to St Helena. Captives were not normally entitled to campaign pay. The Court granted it because of the unusual hardships of their captivity, which were notorious in England at the time.
141	130	9 Having considered the request of Captain Lieut. Thomas Statham of your Establishment and your representation of his case in the General Letter of the 11th August 1787, We have resolved on account of the particular circumstances of his situation to advance him one Years pay amountg. to £146. 17. 6 which he has received accordingly 10 Lieutenant Roberts whom you recommended to our consideration in your Letter of the 3 May 1787 having applied to Us for relief, We have allowed him the Pension of a Lieutenant, and to draw the same at St. Helena, and in consideration of his distressed circumstances We have Ordered him a Passage on the Company's Ship Britannia, and have presented him with £50 - for the purpose of fitting himself out. - 11 We have Ordered 50 Recruits to be raised for the Service of your Settlement which will be sent you on the Ships Pitt and Britannia - 12 We have agreable to your intercessions obtained His Majesty's free pardon for William Messenger Convicted of a Burglary in January 1788 Which We transmit by this Conveyance and shall send you a Copy thereof by the Britannia. - 13 Lady Cumming has applied to Us for permission to send a Monument to St. Helena on the Pitt, to be Erected in the Church to the Memory of the **Margin Notes:** Lt. Roberts. an [...] Pension - Pardon for Wm. Messenger	9: The Court had considered the request of Captain Lieutenant Thomas Statham of the island's establishment, and the Council's account of his case in its general letter of 11 August 1787. Because of his particular situation, it had decided to advance him a year's pay, amounting to £146 17s 6d, which he had received. 10: In its letter of 3 May 1787, the Council had recommended Lieutenant Roberts to the Court's attention, and he had since applied to the Court for help. The Court had granted him a lieutenant's pension, to be drawn at St Helena. Given his distressed circumstances, it had also ordered him a passage in the Company's ship *Britannia* and given him £50 0s 0d to fit himself out. 11: The Court had ordered 50 recruits to be raised for the island, to be sent in the ships *Pitt* and *Britannia*. 12: At the Council's request, the Court had obtained the King's free pardon for William Messenger, convicted of burglary in January 1788. It was sending the pardon by this ship and would send a copy in the *Britannia*. 13: Lady Cumming had asked the Court's leave to send a monument to St Helena in the *Pitt*, to be set up in the church in memory of [...]. **Interpretations** Lieutenant Roberts was most probably William Roberts, the Town Adjutant whom the Court placed on the military establishment in 1782. His pension was to be paid at St Helena, so he was returning to live on the island rather than retiring in England. The free passage and £50 0s 0d to fit himself out show how poor he had become while in England. An officer of island background, pensioned and penniless in London, could live far more cheaply among his own people on St Helena. William Messenger was the third person in these letters, after Nelly in 1783 and Yon in 1787, to be saved from the gallows by a royal pardon obtained through the Court. Burglary was a capital crime under English law, and the island's court had no power to do anything but pass sentence of death. The only way to spare a convicted man was a petition to the King, which had to go through the Company in London.
142	131	the late Sir John Cumming which We have granted and direct you cause the same to be put up in a suitable place, directions for defraying the Expences incurred in affixing the same will be sent you by Thomas Cheap Esqr. - 14 Relying upon your assurances of having very maturely considered what Stores would be required for the use of the Island before you sat down to frame your Indents for the present Season, We have ordered your Indents to be fully complied with in every instance except the article of Artificial Slate for Mr. Wrangham, this We determined not to send, nor can We pass unnoticed that bringing an Article for the use of an Individual into your	13 (continued): The monument was in memory of the late Sir John Cumming. The Court had granted Lady Cumming's request and directed the Council to have it set up in a suitable place. Thomas Cheap would send instructions on paying the cost of fixing it in position. 14: The Council had assured the Court that it had thought very carefully about what stores the island would need before it drew up its orders for the present season. Relying on that assurance, the Court had ordered them to be met in full, except for the artificial slate requested for Mr Wrangham. The Court had decided not to send it. It also could not let pass without comment that putting an item for one

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		public Indents is as unprecedented as it is improper. 15 Altho' you will receive every Article Indented for the Company's use, We expect when you request a considerable Quantity of any particular Stores, you will express the purposes for which they are intended, what We chiefly allude to are the great quantities of Slate Purbeck Pavement, Tiles and large Blocks of Portland Stone. The Purbeck Pavement is very properly described in the Engineers Indent for Platforms for heavy Cannon, but no remark is made in that Indent for what particular uses, the other Articles are intended. - 16 After our Orders had been given for the Provision of the several Stores and the several arrangements **Margin Notes:** respecting Indents	person's private use into the public orders was as improper as it was unheard of. 15: The Council would receive every item it had ordered for the Company's use. In future, however, when it asked for a large quantity of any particular stores, the Court expected it to state their purpose. The Court had chiefly in mind the large quantities of slate, Purbeck paving, tiles and big blocks of Portland stone. The Engineer's order quite properly described the Purbeck paving as being for platforms for heavy cannon. That order said nothing, however, about the particular uses of the other items. 16: After the Court had given its orders for supplying the various stores and making the various arrangements [...]. **Interpretations** Wrangham had slipped a private order for slate into the island's public request for stores, so that the Company would ship it out among its own goods and perhaps at its own cost. He was the same councillor whose offer to build the Longwood fence for £3,000 0s 0d the Court had refused in 1779 as far above a fair price. The Court caught the item and refused it, and it called the practice improper rather than simply declining it. The Council's assurance that it had weighed every item was hollow if one of its own members could use the orders to supply his own house. Purbeck paving and Portland stone were among the best building stones in England, both quarried in Dorset. Purbeck was a hard limestone that could bear great weight, which made it ideal for the platforms on which heavy guns recoiled. Portland stone was a fine white limestone used for London's grandest buildings, including St Paul's Cathedral. Shipping large blocks of it 5,000 miles to an island with plenty of its own rock was a heavy expense. The Court's demand to know what they were for suggests it suspected they were meant for show rather than for defence.
143	132	arrangements made for the Tonnage to your Island We received your Letter of the 11 July wherein you desire four Nine Inch Hawsers of 80 Fathoms each, for the purposes of a Plan recommended by the Governor also your Letter of the 18th August, desiring ten pieces of Riga Timber and six hundred double Deals for the Government House and repairs to the Roof of the Castle. It is at all times very inconvenient to receive requests after your Indents are drawn out and must be avoided in future as much as possible excepting the Cordage We think you must have known how far the other Articles were wanted even before you made out your Indents. The Hawsers will be sent agreable to your desire as We much approve of the Governors Plan for the expeditious Dispatch of the business of the Shipping, and direct that the same be immediately carried into execution - 17 The Piece of Oak Plank mentioned in the 4th Para. of your Letter of the 11th July to supply the piece which was lost in hoisting out of the Hawkesbury had been previously ordered in consequence of its standing an Article in your Indent of the 23 of the preceding Month & described as above - 18 We have received the Plan of the New Wharf	16 (continued): By the time the Court had made its arrangements for shipping space to the island, it received the Council's letter of 11 July. In it the Council asked for four nine-inch hawsers of 80 fathoms each for a plan the Governor had recommended. Its letter of 18 August asked for ten pieces of Riga timber and 600 double deals for Government House and for repairs to the Castle roof. Requests that arrived after the orders for stores had been drawn up were always very awkward to meet and were to be avoided as far as possible in future, except for cordage. The Court thought the Council must have known how far the other items were needed even before it drew up its orders. The hawsers would be sent as asked, since the Court strongly approved of the Governor's plan for speeding up the handling of the shipping. It directed that the plan be put into effect at once. 17: In the 4th paragraph of its letter of 11 July, the Council had asked for a piece of oak plank to replace one lost while it was being hoisted out of the *Hawkesbury*. That piece had already been ordered, since it appeared in the Council's order for stores of 23 June with the same description. 18: The Court had received the plan of the new wharf [...]. **Interpretations** The Court excused cordage from its rule against late requests because ropes could fail without warning. A hawser parted in a gale, or a cable worn through on the rocks, had to be replaced at once if the island's boats were to keep working. Timber and planks for Government House, by contrast, were needs the Council could see well ahead.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The hawsers belonged to the Governor's plan for faster handling of ships in the road. Nine-inch hawsers 80 fathoms long were heavy cables, probably intended to warp boats or lighters along the shore or to moor them to the new wharf. The Court had worried for years over demurrage paid when ships waited to unload. A plan that sped up the work was worth breaking its own rule to supply.
144	133	Wharf and Crane which We have already approved your Erecting, but at the same time We cautioned you that the Expence should not exceed the Estimate which according to the Engineers opinion would be "considerably under five hundred pounds", As the Work was compleated when you transmitted Us the above, We expected to have been informed the amount of the expences attending it. - 19 In answer to your request contained in the 3 Para. of your General Letter of the 8 March last, We have only to inform you that the Charterparty at present, subjects the Owners to the payment of Thirty PCent advance on the Invoice price for all Goods short Delivered. - 20 We have received a Letter from the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough wherein they request We will give you directions to Indent to them for Arrack as they state its quality and Strength to be equal to the Batavia Arrack. We observe in your Letter to that Residency by the Lord Hawkesbury that you had received a sample of their Arrack, which the Society had approved of and that in Consequence you had Contracted for the quantity wanted for the Consumption of the Island, which when received you will be attentive in informing Us of its quality price and every other particular respecting it. - As you have not Enclosed the Indent, We do not know	18 (continued): The plan was for the new wharf and crane, which the Court had already approved. At the same time, it had warned the Council not to spend more than the estimate, which the Engineer had put at "considerably under £500". The work was finished when the Council sent the plan, so the Court had expected to be told what it had cost. 19: In answer to the Council's request in the 3rd paragraph of its general letter of 8 March 1788, the Court pointed out that the charter party, as it then stood, made the owners pay 30 per cent above the invoice price for any goods delivered short. 20: The Court had received a letter from the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough asking it to direct St Helena to order arrack from them, since they claimed its quality and strength equalled Batavia arrack. The Court noted from the Council's letter to that Residency by the *Lord Hawkesbury* that the island had received a sample of their arrack. The Society had approved it, and the Council had therefore contracted for the quantity the island would need. When the arrack arrived, the Council was to report carefully on its quality, price and every other detail. The Council had not enclosed its order, so the Court did not know [...]. **Interpretations** The 30 per cent penalty on goods delivered short put the loss on the shipowners rather than on the island. In 1779 the storekeeper had to have every shortfall certified by the Council so that he would not be charged for it himself. Under the new charter party the owners paid well above the invoice value for anything missing. That gave captains and crews a strong reason to guard the cargo against theft and careless handling on the voyage. Fort Marlborough was offering St Helena arrack from Sumatra in place of the costly Batavia arrack bought from the Dutch. The Residency had just been reduced to save money and needed to sell what it could. A trade between two of the Company's own settlements kept the money within the Company. The Society that approved the sample was probably a body of the island's officers or inhabitants consulted on the taste and strength of the spirit. The Court wanted its own report on quality and price before treating the bargain as settled.
145	134	know what quantity you have Written for, neither does the Letter from the Bencoolen Government to you on the subject appear, this omission, We direct you will avoid in future and enter on your Consultations all the Letters you may receive from the different Presidencies - 21 There is a practice which has of late very improperly prevailed at your Settlement, We mean your giving permission to Persons to proceed to Bencoolen, this We have particularly noticed in the instances of Samuel Mason and George Elliot the latter of whom We find went out in the Capacity of a Soldier, and the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlbro' have advised Us that they have in consequence of your recommendation appointed him reader to that Residency with the Allowances of Chaplain We think this Conduct in you very reprehensible and therefore positively forbid your giving permission to any Persons to proceed to India	20 (continued): The Court did not know how much arrack the Council had ordered. Nor did the letter from the Bencoolen government to the Council on the subject appear in the papers. The Council was to avoid such omissions in future and to enter in its consultations every letter it received from the various presidencies. 21: A practice had lately grown up at the island that the Court considered most improper: the Council was giving people leave to go on to Bencoolen. The Court had noticed it in particular in the cases of Samuel Mason and George Elliot. Elliot had gone out as a soldier. The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough had informed the Court that, on St Helena's recommendation, they had appointed him reader to that Residency, with the allowances of a chaplain. The Court thought this conduct by the Council very blameworthy. It therefore strictly forbade the Council to give anyone leave to go to India or China in future.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		or China in future - 22 It is with concern We are again under the necessity of Addressing you on the Subject of a deficiency of Stores; We have considered your late Proceedings relative thereto, and highly Commend your adopting a minute investigation into this transaction, upon perusing the Evidence	22: With regret, the Court once again had to write to the Council about a shortfall in the stores. It had considered the Council's recent proceedings on the matter and strongly praised the thorough inquiry it had made. On reading the evidence [...]. **Interpretations** The Council had been sending islanders on to Bencoolen on its own authority, which got round the Company's control of who went to the East. Only the Court could licence anyone to live and work in India or China, and the island had been checking passing ships for unlicensed passengers since 1783. Now the Council itself was letting people through. George Elliot showed how far this could go. He had arrived as a soldier and, on the island's recommendation, was made reader at Fort Marlborough, leading prayers with a chaplain's pay. A private soldier became a paid religious officer in a Company settlement without the Court ever approving him. The Court's demand that every letter from the presidencies be entered in the consultations served the same end. The Court could check the island only through the papers it was sent. A letter left out, as the Bencoolen letter on arrack had been, hid a bargain or an arrangement from London.
146	135	of the different Witnesses, We observe it is clearly proved that quantities of Arrack, had at different times being taken away without being accounted for in the proper Books, which certainly conveys suspicion on the Persons under whose care the Arrack was entrusted, and altho' We do not entertain the least idea of fraud on the part of Mr. Doveton yet We must consider him (as well as every future Store Keeper) responsible to the Company for the Stores under his Charge; It was his duty to have taken care that all the Issues were properly accounted for, and that there were no deliveries but what were recorded in the Official Books, but We are sorry to be again under the necessity of remarking on the mismanagement and neglect that has for some time prevailed in this Department, which has rendered a reform absolutely necessary - 23 The most capable Persons should be selected to fill the Employments in this Office, and We have no doubt but the Gentlemen you have appointed, possess both skill and integrity and are in every respect qualified for their Stations; Mr. Leech's knowledge of the business of the Stores seems particularly to have pointed him out for this Employ, and We are at a loss to account for his not being before placed in this Department, as his standing in the Service was Senior to Mr. Kennedy -	22 (continued): Having read the evidence of the various witnesses, the Court found it clearly proved that quantities of arrack had been removed at different times without being entered in the proper books. That cast suspicion on the people in charge of the arrack. The Court did not in the least believe that Mr Doveton had acted dishonestly. Even so, it had to hold him, and every future storekeeper, answerable to the Company for the stores in his charge. His duty was to see that every issue was properly accounted for and that nothing was delivered unless it was entered in the official books. The Court regretted having to comment once again on the mismanagement and neglect that had for some time been allowed in this department, which had made reform absolutely necessary. 23: The most capable people should be chosen to fill the posts in this office. The Court had no doubt that the men the Council had appointed had both skill and honesty and were fully qualified for their posts. Mr Leech's knowledge of the business of the stores seemed to mark him out for this work. The Court could not understand why he had not been placed in the department before, since he was senior in the service to Mr Kennedy. **Interpretations** This was the second shortfall in the stores in two years under Jonathan Doveton. In December 1787 the Court had cleared him of dishonesty but made him pay for losses caused by his neglect. Now arrack had been taken away without being entered in the books. Spirits were the easiest stores to steal and sell on an island where drink was tightly licensed, and missing arrack could pass straight into the punch houses or the barracks. The Court again cleared Doveton of fraud but laid the duty of accounting squarely on him. It treated the repeated losses as proof that the whole department needed reform, not just a new man in charge. Mr Leech was probably John Leech, who had acted as Commissary of Stores for the artillery since the war and whose allowance the Court fixed at £20 0s 0d a year in 1783. His experience with military stores made him the obvious choice. The Court's question about why Nathaniel Kennedy had been preferred over a more senior officer suggests it suspected the Council of making appointments by favour rather than by seniority and merit.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
147	136	24 We cannot consent to encrease Mr. Leech's Salary as Assistant in the Stores, but as his Services merit reward, We direct you Appoint him to the Office of Judge Advocate, which We think may be executed by him, without interfering with his other duty. - 25 We observe by Mr. Leech's report that the Ware Houses which contain the Stores are in very bad Condition, which he thinks a principal cause of so many of them being damaged, if you are of that opinion We would have them repaired if possible but if impracticable you must form an Estimate of the Expence of rebuilding others in a situation where they would not be liable to the inconveniences he describes and acquaint Us thereof for our decision. 26 " Mr. Leech also remarks that from " inattention to the Indents many hundred " pounds worth of useless Articles are remaining " in the Ware Houses which will certainly be " spoiled before they can be disposed of" We have repeatedly given our directions to you to use the utmost economy in framing your Indents, and We cannot but feel great displeasure at finding those Orders so little attended to - 27 The directions you gave to the New	24: The Court could not agree to raise Mr Leech's salary as assistant in the stores. His services deserved reward, however, so it directed the Council to appoint him Judge Advocate. The Court thought he could do that work without it interfering with his other duties. 25: Mr Leech had reported that the warehouses holding the stores were in very bad condition, which he believed was a main reason why so many stores were damaged. If the Council agreed, the Court wanted the warehouses repaired if possible. If that could not be done, the Council was to draw up an estimate for building new ones on a site free from the problems he described, and send it to the Court for a decision. 26: Mr Leech also noted that, through careless ordering, many hundreds of pounds' worth of useless goods lay in the warehouses and would certainly spoil before they could be sold. The Court had repeatedly told the Council to practise the strictest economy in drawing up its orders for stores. It could not help feeling great displeasure at finding those orders so little heeded. 27: The directions the Council had given to the new storekeeper [...]. **Interpretations** The Court rewarded Leech with an office instead of a pay rise. The Judge Advocate's post carried its own allowance, as it had when the schoolmaster James Arney held it in 1778 for £12 10s 0d a quarter. Giving Leech a second office raised his income without changing the pay set for the storekeeper's assistant, which every later holder of that post could have claimed. It also put a trusted officer in charge of courts martial, at a time when the garrison's discipline was under close watch after the mutiny. Leech's report undercut years of the Council's assurances about its orders for stores. In 1785 and 1787 the Court had met the island's orders almost in full, on the Council's promise that each item was truly needed. Leech found hundreds of pounds of unwanted goods rotting in leaking warehouses. The Court's generosity had been wasted, and the report gave it grounds to scrutinise every future order closely.
148	137	Storekeeper have our approbation, and We hope will be found to check the abuses that have hitherto existed - 28 To prevent the Company again suffering either through embezzlement or neglect, We shall always deem the Store Keeper and his Assistants answerable for the Stores in their possession, and shall call on them for any deficiency therein, except it is proved to your satisfaction that it arises from wastage or some other unavoidable accident - 29 Your charging Messrs. Doveton and Kennedy and the Estate of the Deceased Mr. Desfountain with the Sum of £86. 11. 9 the amount of the Company's loss on the Arrack and Candles We think very proper - 30 Governor Brooke has intimated the propriety of laying a duty on the various Articles of refreshment supplied the Whalers and other Vessels; you will observe We have in Our Letter of the 28 December 1787 Ordered that the Commanders of Our freighted Ships should be Charged with an advance of 50 PCent on the Provisions &ca. they are furnished with from Our Stores, We now direct that a like Charge be made on all Ships not in the Company's Service - 31 The Plan of the Society for the improvement	27 (continued): The Court approved the instructions the Council had given the new storekeeper and hoped they would curb the abuses that had gone on until then. 28: To stop the Company suffering again from theft or neglect, the Court would always hold the storekeeper and his assistants answerable for the stores in their keeping. It would make them pay for any shortfall, unless the Council was satisfied that the loss came from wastage or some other unavoidable accident. 29: The Court thought it quite right that the Council had charged Messrs Doveton and Kennedy, and the estate of the late Mr Desfountain, £136 11s 9d, the amount of the Company's loss on the arrack and candles. 30: Governor Brooke had suggested laying a duty on the various provisions supplied to whalers and other ships. In its letter of 28 December 1787 the Court had ordered that commanders of its hired ships be charged 50 per cent above cost for provisions and other goods taken from the Company's stores. It now directed that the same charge be made on all ships not in the Company's service. 31: The plan of the Society for the improvement [...]. **Interpretations** The loss of £136 11s 9d was shared among three men: Doveton the storekeeper, Kennedy, who had been appointed ahead of Leech, and the estate of

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			James Desfountain, the former Assistant Storekeeper. Desfountain's death did not cancel his share. The Company could claim against what he left, just as it pursued Major Scott's heir. The rule in paragraph 28 made this lasting policy. Anyone handling stores was personally liable for losses unless the Council certified them as natural wastage, so the shortfall fell on the officials, not the Company. The charge on outside ships turned the island's supplies into income. Whalers had called in growing numbers since the London fishing ships of 1779, and they drew on stores sent out at the Company's cost. A 50 per cent mark-up meant whalers and foreign ships paid well for what they took, as the Company's own captains already did. Since 1784 the Court had complained repeatedly about the heavy cost of the island. Charging passing ships helped meet that cost from the trade that used the island.
149	138	improvement of Agriculture &ca. Established at St. Helena claims Our approbation; Institutions calculated to promote objects of public Utility will always meet with our concurrence, and if this Plan is carried into effect, it shall not want our encouragement, you will be therefore very particular in informing Us of its success - 32 It affords us satisfaction to hear of the good appearance and discipline of the Militia of your Island and have no doubt, should any occasion call them forth, but their Conduct will authorize the opinion We at present entertain of them - 33 In Consideration of the distressed - circumstances of Mrs. Margaret Desfountain, Widow of the late Mr. James Desfountain, Factor on your Establishment as set forth in her Petition on Consultation of the 17 December 1787 and as it is your opinion that her situation is as she has described, We have agreed to her allow a Pension of £30 - PAnnum, during her Widowhood to commence from the 26 September 1787. - 34 We have had under consideration the request of Mr. William Wrangham one of our Council at your Settlement to be allowed a continuation of his pay and Emoluments during his absence on account of his health, and having attended to your recommendation of him on Consultation of the 21 July last, and considering the length of his Services, and the unfortunate cause of his leaving the Island We have resolved to permit Mr. Wrangham to enjoy his	31 (continued): The plan of the Society for the Improvement of Agriculture, set up at St Helena, had the Court's approval. Bodies designed to serve the public good would always have its support, and if the plan were carried out it would be given every encouragement. The Council was therefore to report in detail on how it fared. 32: The Court was pleased to hear of the good appearance and discipline of the island's militia. It had no doubt that, if they were ever called out, their conduct would bear out the good opinion it now held of them. 33: Mrs Margaret Desfountain, widow of the late Mr James Desfountain, a factor on the island's establishment, had set out her distress in a petition entered in the consultations of 17 December 1787. The Council had confirmed that her situation was as she described. The Court had therefore agreed to grant her a pension of £30 0s 0d a year for as long as she remained a widow, starting from 26 September 1787. 34: The Court had considered the request of Mr William Wrangham, a member of the island's Council, to keep his pay and allowances while away for his health. It had taken account of the Council's recommendation of him in the consultations of 21 July 1788, the length of his service and the unhappy reason for his leaving the island. It had decided to allow Mr Wrangham to [...]. **Interpretations** The Society for the Improvement of Agriculture was most probably the body that had approved the Bencoolen arrack sample earlier in this letter. Improvement societies were spreading through Britain at this time, gathering landowners to test new crops and methods and share the results. The island's planters had founded their own, in step with the Court's sending of seeds, grasses and the scarcity root. The Court welcomed it because it did the work of improving the island's farming without adding to the Company's costs. The Court pensioned Margaret Desfountain while charging her husband's estate for part of the arrack and candle losses in the same letter. The two acts were kept apart. The estate answered for the store losses as a debt owed to the Company. The widow's pension rested on her need, and it ended if she remarried, since a new husband would then support her.
150	139	his Salary and Emoluments including his share in the Arrack Society in the same manner as if he had remained on the Island, excepting the allowance of sixty pounds PAnnum which is to paid to the Person who is to execute the Office of Paymaster in Mr. Wrangham's absence - 35 By your Consultation of the 22 July 1788	34 (continued): Mr Wrangham was to receive his salary and allowances, including his share in the Arrack Society, as if he had stayed on the island. The exception was the allowance of £60 0s 0d a year, which was to go to whoever acted as Paymaster while he was away.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		We observe you have appointed Mr. William Webber Doveton to Execute the Office of Paymaster in the room of Mr. Wrangham, and that you have nominated Mr. Leech to the Posts of Assistant - Storekeeper and Collector of the Customs formerly held by Mr. Doveton, whence it appears as if you had considered the Paymastership fully vacated, whereas you will see that by the 34 Para. of this Letter that for the reasons therein mentioned We have been induced to permit Mr. Wrangham to draw the same allowances during his absence as if he was on the spot, excepting the Sum of £60 - PAnnum which is therefore the only allowance that Mr. Doveton is to draw as acting Paymaster till Mr. Wrangham's return and if you shall have made him any further allowance the same must be refunded. - 36 But as Mr. Doveton's Emoluments by this means will fall short of what he drew in his former Station, We permit him to hold the Post of Collector of Customs in addition to the acting Paymastership - 37 Mr. Leech will then continue Assistant Storekeeper, and as We have a favorable opinion of his abilities and Conduct, We direct that he hold the Office of	35: The Council's consultation of 22 July 1788 showed that it had appointed Mr William Webber Doveton to act as Paymaster in Mr Wrangham's place. It had also nominated Mr Leech to the posts of Assistant Storekeeper and Collector of Customs, which Mr Doveton had held before. This suggested the Council had treated the Paymaster's post as entirely vacant. As the 34th paragraph of this letter showed, however, the Court had allowed Mr Wrangham, for the reasons given there, to draw the same allowances while away as if he were present, except for the £60 0s 0d a year. That sum was therefore the only allowance Mr Doveton was to draw as acting Paymaster until Mr Wrangham returned. If the Council had granted him anything more, it was to be repaid. 36: Mr Doveton's income would in this way fall short of what he had drawn in his former post. The Court therefore allowed him to hold the post of Collector of Customs as well as the acting Paymastership. 37: Mr Leech would then remain Assistant Storekeeper. The Court thought well of his abilities and conduct, and directed that he hold the office [...]. **Interpretations** The Arrack Society was the body the Court had earlier seen approving the Bencoolen arrack sample. It appears to have been an association of the island's officials sharing in the profits of the licensed spirit trade, perhaps through supplying the punch houses or the garrison. Wrangham kept his share while in England, which shows it was treated as part of a councillor's regular income. It was a perquisite of office tied to the drink trade the Court had spent years trying to restrain. The Court's handling of the vacancy kept Wrangham's place open. By letting him draw nearly all his income while away, it signalled that he would return and resume office. The Council had acted as if the Paymastership were empty and shuffled other men into the gap. The Court cut back the acting Paymaster's pay to the £60 0s 0d attached to the work alone, and then gave him the Collectorship so that he would not lose by the change. Each man's income was adjusted so that no one gained or lost from Wrangham's absence beyond what the Court allowed.
151	140	of Judge Advocate as mentioned in a former part of this Letter - 38 Mr. Bazett having signified to Us his intention of coming home, by which your Council will be reduced to two Members during Mr. Wrangham's absence, We have thought proper to appoint Mr. Britannicus Alexander Wright your present Secretary youngest Member of Council, and Accountant on Mr. Bazett's resignation. If Mr. Wright should not choose to take on him the Office of Accountant We do not at present see any objection to his continuing to hold the Secretaryship with the Salary of £110 PAnnum now annexed thereto, but as the appointment of a Secretary to the Secret Committee was made in 1779 under the plea of a great encrease of Business accruing to the Governor and Lieutenant Governor during the War We conceive on the restoration of Peace, this place ought to have been abolished, We therefore consider its - continuance unnecessary at present, and direct it be abolished accordingly - 39 It is our determination that for the present your Council shall consist of three Members only - 40 The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlbro' have represented to Us that you have Exchanged several of the Recruits by the Earl of Chesterfield	37 (continued): Mr Leech was also to hold the office of Judge Advocate, as set out earlier in this letter. 38: Mr Bazett had told the Court that he intended to return home, which would leave the Council with only two members while Mr Wrangham was away. The Court had therefore appointed Mr Britannicus Alexander Wright, the island's Secretary, as the most junior member of Council, and as Accountant once Mr Bazett resigned. If Mr Wright chose not to take on the Accountant's post, the Court saw no objection for the present to his keeping the Secretaryship, with its salary of £110 0s 0d a year. The post of Secretary to the Secret Committee, however, had been created in 1779 on the grounds that the Governor and Lieutenant Governor had much more business to deal with during the war. In the Court's view, that post should have been abolished when peace returned. It saw no need to keep it any longer and directed that it be abolished. 39: The Court had decided that, for the present, the Council would have only three members. 40: The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough had reported that the island had exchanged several of the recruits meant for that Residency, who came in the *Earl of Chesterfield*, and put others in their place [...]. **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		which were intended for that Residency and substituted others	The post the Court now abolished was the one Governor Skottowe and Lieutenant Governor Corneille created on 10 May 1779, when they appointed William Doveton their assistant or private secretary. They justified it then by the growth of wartime business and by a permission the Court had given a former Governor in 1760, and made the appointment without first asking London. The Court accepted the wartime reason but held that it ended with the peace of 1783. For five years afterwards the island had kept paying for an office whose purpose had gone. Abolishing it fitted the Court's steady pruning of the island's establishment, from the garrison cut to 400 men to the Council itself reduced to three. Wright's rise showed how few men of standing the island had left. Matthew Bazett, a councillor since before 1778, was going home, and Wrangham was already in England on sick leave. The Court filled the gap with the Council's own Secretary, a man who had written its letters and minutes for more than a decade. It did not send a new councillor from London, and it chose to run the island with a smaller Council rather than appoint another member.
152	141	others of bad Character; We think your Conduct herein very reprehensible and positively direct you discontinue this practice in future. - 41 We observe by your last Cash Account, that you had upwards of Fifteen thousand pounds in your Treasury, and as it is probable that by the time you receive this Letter it will be considerably encreased, We direct that you send by the Ship Pitt to Fort Marlborough twelve thousand pounds in Specie for the use of that Residency. - We are London 23d December 1788 Your loving Friends (Signed) John Travers Thos. Parry J. Smith W. Elphinstone D. Scott Lionel Darell Jn. Townson W. Devaynes John Roberts Chs. Mills Robt. Thornton Abm. Roberts Thos. Cheap W. Bensley	40 (continued): The men the Council had put in place of the Bencoolen recruits were of bad character. The Court thought the Council's conduct in this very blameworthy and strictly directed it to stop the practice. 41: The Council's last cash account showed more than £15,000 0s 0d in the island's treasury. That sum would probably have grown considerably by the time this letter arrived. The Council was therefore to send £12,000 0s 0d in coin to Fort Marlborough in the ship *Pitt*, for the use of that Residency. The Directors signed the letter in London on 23 December 1788. John Travers Thomas Parry J. Smith W. Elphinstone D. Scott Lionel Darell John Townson W. Devaynes John Roberts Charles Mills Robert Thornton Abraham Roberts Thomas Cheap W. Bensley **Interpretations** The Council had kept the better recruits bound for Bencoolen and sent on its own troublemakers in their place. In effect the island was using a passing ship to clear unwanted men out of its garrison and improve its own ranks at another settlement's expense. Fort Marlborough had no way to refuse men landed from a Company ship and could only complain to London. The Court's rebuke protected the smaller settlement, which depended on recruits passing through St Helena and could not check them before they arrived. The order for £12,000 0s 0d repeated a pattern that ran through these letters. Silver gathered in the island's treasury from ships, settlers and the sale of bills on London, and the Court drew it off to Bencoolen whenever it built up. St Helena served the Company as a collecting point for coin in the South Atlantic, turning the cash spent by passing ships into a reserve for its pepper settlement in Sumatra.
153	142	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Par. 1 We wrote you last by the Ship Pitt under date of the 23d December 1788, Duplicate whereof is herewith transmitted since which We have received by the Ship Hillsborough your Letters of the 30th September and 28th October 1788, also one from Governor Brooke to the Chairman and Deputy of the latter date - 2 William Gahagan has applied for leave to return to his duty as Surgeon's Assistant at St. Helena, but as it does not appear he acted under any appointment authorized by Us, We have refused to comply with his request. In your Letter of the 4 April last you advise Us that you have sent home the said Gahagan as a Discharged Soldier of your Garrison, and request that should he apply to return, he might be permitted so to do. We observe by your Paymaster's Accounts that this Person received a Salary of £30. PAnnum as an Assistant in the Hospital, this you have never advised, neither do We see the Appointment noticed on Consultations, nor are We satisfied of its necessity. We likewise find that on Gahagan's leaving the Island James Miller received a similar allowance for acting in that capacity which for the reasons beforementioned does not meet **Margin Notes:** Wm. Gahagan	1: The Court's last letter was dated 23 December 1788 and went by the ship *Pitt*, and a duplicate was now enclosed. Since then it had received, by the ship *Hillsborough*, the Council's letters of 30 September and 28 October 1788. It had also received a letter from Governor Brooke to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, dated 28 October 1788. 2: William Gahagan had asked leave to return to his post as surgeon's assistant at St Helena. He did not appear to have held any appointment approved by the Court, so it had refused his request. In its letter of 14 April 1788, the Council had reported sending Gahagan home as a discharged soldier of the garrison, and had asked that he be allowed to return if he applied. The Court saw from the Paymaster's accounts that he had drawn a salary of £30 0s 0d a year as an assistant in the hospital. The Council had never reported this, the appointment did not appear in the consultations, and the Court was not satisfied that it was needed. The Court also found that when Gahagan left the island, James Miller received a similar allowance for acting in the same post. For the reasons already given, that allowance did not [...]. **Interpretations** Gahagan had been a private soldier whom the island quietly made a paid hospital assistant, at £30 0s 0d a year, without reporting it to London. When he left, another man was given the same post on the same terms, so the island had in effect created a standing office of its own. The Court found it only by reading the Paymaster's accounts line by line. In December 1787 it had forbidden the Council to make any appointment without its consent. The Gahagan case showed why. Small posts and allowances could be added to the island's costs without the Court ever approving them, and the hospital, where the surgeon himself had been in England on sick leave since 1786, was an easy place for that to happen.
154	143	meet our concurrence, but We direct that you will give Us your reasons for making these Appointments. 3 We have received the Gardeners report of the State of Cultivation in the Company's Gardens at St. Helena, and are well satisfied with his attention to his duties of his Stations, the Conduct of Governor Brooke in forwarding an object of such extensive utility likewise deserves our commendation and from the Zeal and alacrity which the Inhabitants have shewn We are induced to believe the Island will derive considerable advantages from their united Efforts. - 4 In the Gardeners future reports of the State and progress of the Gardens, We direct that he annex to it, a List of all the Plants that have been introduced since his Establishment at St. Helena specifying in four Columns their Names the situation in which they have been tried, the degree of thriving of each species and the multiplication, also of each in case of its being found useful and Consequently being demanded by the Inhabitants for their private Plantations as far as he may be able to ascertain it. - 5 Government have sent a Ship to the South Seas in order to procure the Bread Fruit and other Plants for the use of the West India Islands, and have given directions that she should deposit at St. Helena a portion of every useful **Margin Notes:** Government have sent a Ship to the South Seas	2 (continued): The Court could not approve James Miller's allowance. It directed the Council to explain its reasons for making these appointments. 3: The Court had received the gardener's report on the state of cultivation in the Company's gardens at St Helena. It was well satisfied with his attention to his duties. Governor Brooke's work in advancing so widely useful an aim also deserved praise. Given the energy and eagerness the inhabitants had shown, the Court believed the island would gain a great deal from their joint efforts. 4: In his future reports on the state and progress of the gardens, the gardener was to attach a list of every plant brought in since he took up his post on St Helena. The list was to be set out in four columns: the plants' names, where each had been tried, how well each kind had thrived and how far it had multiplied. As far as he could find out, he was also to note any plant found useful and therefore asked for by the inhabitants for their own plantations. 5: The government had sent a ship to the South Seas to obtain the breadfruit and other plants for the West India islands. It had given orders for her to leave at St Helena a share of every useful [...]. **Interpretations** The ship sent to the South Seas was HMS *Bounty* under William Bligh, which sailed in 1787 to carry breadfruit from Tahiti to the British West Indies as cheap food for the slaves on the sugar plantations. The government ordered part of the cargo left at St Helena on the way home. The island was to share in the same scheme of feeding labour cheaply that drove the voyage. Breadfruit grew fast and yielded heavily, and on an island that had seen its yams and grain fail in drought, a new staple crop for the Company's slaves and the settlers was worth a great deal.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The four-column list turned George Porteous's work into a record of trials. Each plant would be tracked by where it was grown, how it did and whether the settlers wanted it. The Court could then judge from London which introductions had succeeded, and the island would build up a lasting register of what grew there.
155	144	useful species of Plants she has on board when she Arrives at your Island, We direct that in return you collect such Plants as you may have to spare, and may be likely to be wanted either in the West India Colonies or His Majesty's Royal Botanic Garden at Kew, and carefully deliver the same to the proper Person on board that Ship. 6 We have sent you a Pot of Guinea Grass by Captain Cumming who has particular directions for its preservation during the Voyage it is at present in a very flourishing State, and We hope you will receive it in the same condition As it is a very scarce Plant, and the only one now in England, you must be very attentive to its cultivation. 7 In our Letter of the 16 January 1788 We gave you directions to appoint a Cadet but instead of Conforming thereto you have transmitted two Petitions for that Appointment, as there is now another Vacancy We have agreed to Comply With the requests of Mrs. Eleanor Shortley and Mr. Robert Leech in behalf of their Sons and to appoint them Cadets under the express Condition that they have severally attained the Age of 15 Years, and it is our intention that the priority of rank should be with the Senior - 8 We have attended to the recommendation contained in your General Letter of the 24 May last **Margin Notes:** Appointment of Cadets &c.	5 (continued): The ship was to leave at St Helena a share of every useful kind of plant she had on board when she reached the island. In return, the Council was to gather any plants it could spare that might be wanted in the West India colonies or at His Majesty's Royal Botanic Garden at Kew. It was to hand them over carefully to the proper person on board. 6: The Court had sent a pot of Guinea grass by Captain Cumming, who had special instructions for keeping it alive on the voyage. It was then thriving, and the Court hoped the Council would receive it in the same condition. It was a very scarce plant and the only one then in England, so the Council was to take great care in growing it. 7: In its letter of 16 January 1788, the Court had told the Council to appoint a cadet. Instead of doing so, the Council had sent two petitions for the post. Since another vacancy had now arisen, the Court had agreed to the requests of Mrs Eleanor Shortley and Mr Robert Leech on behalf of their sons. It appointed both young men cadets, on the strict condition that each had reached the age of 15, and intended that the elder should rank first. 8: The Court had considered the recommendation in the Council's general letter of 24 May 1788 [...]. **Interpretations** The exchange of plants made St Helena a link in a worldwide network of botanical transfers run from Kew under Sir Joseph Banks. Plants gathered in the Pacific were shared out along the route home, and the island was expected to send back whatever of its own might serve the West Indies or Kew. St Helena's mild climate let it hold tropical and temperate plants alike. That made it a useful halfway station where specimens could recover from the voyage before the long run north. The cadet appointments kept to the Court's rule against under-age officers. Earlier in 1788 it had told the Council to fill one place with a young man of good character. The Council sent two names instead of choosing, perhaps to avoid offending either family. The Court took both but held back their rank until each turned 15, and settled their order by age, so that neither family could claim the other had been favoured.
156	145	last in favor of Messrs. Henard and Goodwin, as also your Proceedings on Consultation of the 15 of the same Month and in consideration of the circumstances therein set forth We have agreed to appoint them Writers on your Establishment to take rank from the date of their first nomination by you, and We direct that you make them such allowances as with what you have already paid them, shall respectively amount to the Salary of £80 - PAnnum from that period - 9 Having received a Memorial from the Arrack Society of your Island setting forth the injuries they conceive themselves suffering by the Publicans reaping superior advantage to them by the present mode of settling the profits on Liquors, also a Letter from Mr. Wrangham on the same subject proposing a new Plan for dividing the profits on Liquors, We have taken the same into consideration together with the Letter from our Governor and Lieut. Governor of the 30 August last, and the Petition of the Punch House Keepers	8 (continued): The Council's letter of 24 May 1788 had recommended Messrs Howard and Goodwin, and its consultation of 15 May set out its proceedings on their behalf. In view of the circumstances described there, the Court had agreed to appoint them writers on the island's establishment. They were to take rank from the date the Council first nominated them. The Council was to pay each of them enough to bring his allowance, together with what it had already paid him, up to a salary of £80 0s 0d a year from that date. 9: The Court had received a memorial from the island's Arrack Society. It complained of the harm the Society believed it suffered because the present way of sharing the profits on spirits gave the publicans the larger advantage. The Court had also received a letter from Mr Wrangham on the same subject, proposing a new plan for dividing those profits. It had considered these, together with the letter from the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of 30 August 1788 and the petition of the punch-house keepers mentioned in it.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		referred to therein. - 10 We must observe that the Society have not stated this matter fairly when they say their profits being £2328 - PAnnum, divided among eight of them gives each not quite £300 PAnnum but divided into five shares gives to each of the Publicans £450 - for their profits arise not only from the difference of price at which they sell Arrack &c. to the Publicans but on the 8d. P Gallon advance **Margin Notes:** Memorial from the Arrack Society	10: The Court pointed out that the Society had not put its case fairly. It said its profits came to £2,328 0s 0d a year, which, divided among eight members, gave each of them not quite £300 0s 0d a year. Divided into five shares, however, the same sum gave each publican £450 0s 0d. The Society's profits came not only from the difference between the price it paid for arrack and the price at which it sold to the publicans, but also from the 6d a gallon [...]. **Interpretations** The Arrack Society now came into plain view. It was a body of eight of the island's officials, among them councillors such as Wrangham, who bought arrack wholesale and sold it on to the licensed punch houses at a mark-up. Its members drew close to £300 0s 0d a year each from the trade, more than many of their salaries. The Society complained that the publicans did better from the same trade, but the Court saw through the comparison. Eight shares of the profit against five shares of the publicans' takings made the officials look worse off than they were. The Society had also left out the 6d a gallon it took on top of its mark-up. The Court had refused in 1787 to let Wrangham's private slate travel among the public stores. Here he was again proposing a new division of the spirit profits, from which he himself drew a share. The officials who governed the island also controlled the wholesale supply of its drink and argued over its profits with the men they licensed to sell it. The Court's scrutiny of their figures was the only outside check on that arrangement.
157	146	advance on that sold to the Inhabitants and others and the Sale of Casks &c. none of which should have been stated as gains shared by the Publicans - 11 According to the Society's accounts 40956 Gallons were delivered to the Publicans in the four Years which at 4/3 P Gallon profit amounts to £8703. 3 and 44739 Gallons sold to the Inhabitants in the same time at sixpence P Gallon produced £1118. 9. 6 to which add the Gain on Casks £78. 19. 9 the produce is £9900. 12. 3 or deducting Salaries and Cellar hire £2368 P Annum for We do not think it right to charge the Interest on the quantity remaining on hand for the whole Year as most probably the greatest part will be disposed of before the Years end - 12 The Profit to the Publicans must be calculated only on what was Sold them Viz. 40956 Gallons which at 4/3 each produces £8703. 3 - but from this there is at present a deduction of sixpence P Gallon duty amounting to £1023. 9 - which leaves £7679. 15 - to be divided between them or £1920 P Annum - 13 The Shares to the Society amount according to their Account to about £300 - each to eight Persons but this is not a Correct way of stating it as the number sharing is but seven two of whom receive £450 - each, the Publicans share without the duty is £435 each and with the duty only £384 and they allege there is £146 - a Year expended by each in House Rent and various other Articles which	10 (continued): The Society's profits also came from the 6d a gallon it added on spirits sold to the inhabitants and others, and from the sale of casks and the like. None of these should have been presented as gains shared by the publicans. 11: According to the Society's accounts, it delivered 40,956 gallons to the publicans over four years. At a profit of 4s 3d a gallon, that came to £8,703 3s 0d. In the same period it sold 44,739 gallons to the inhabitants at 6d a gallon, which produced £1,118 9s 6d. Adding £78 19s 9d gained on casks, the total came to £9,900 12s 3d. After deducting salaries and cellar hire, that left £2,368 0s 0d a year. The Court did not think it right to charge interest on the stock in hand for the whole year, since most of it would probably be sold before the year's end. 12: The publicans' profit had to be reckoned only on what they had bought from the Society, the 40,956 gallons. At 4s 3d a gallon this produced £8,703 3s 0d. From that, however, came the present duty of 6d a gallon, amounting to £1,023 18s 0d, which left £7,679 5s 0d to be divided among them, or £1,920 0s 0d a year. 13: According to the Society's accounts, its shares came to about £300 0s 0d each for eight people. That was not a correct way to state it, since only seven people shared, two of whom received £450 0s 0d each. Without the duty, the publicans' share was £435 0s 0d each, and with the duty only £384 0s 0d. They claimed, besides, that each spent £146 0s 0d a year on house rent and various other items [...]. **Interpretations** The Court took the Society's own accounts apart line by line. Its members had claimed to earn less than the publicans, but the figures showed the reverse. The Society's profit was larger than it admitted, it was shared among seven people, not eight, and two of them took £450 0s 0d apiece. The publicans' share, once the duty and their rents were deducted, fell well below what the Society had suggested. The officials who held the wholesale trade

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			were the best paid people in it. They had petitioned London to tilt the profits further their way, and the Court used their own accounts to expose the claim. The scale of the trade is striking. More than 85,000 gallons of arrack passed through the Society in four years, over 21,000 gallons a year on an island of a few thousand people, most of it drunk in the punch houses by soldiers, sailors and settlers. Drink was one of the island's largest commercial activities, and the profit from it rested on the officials' control of supply.
158	147	will reduce each of their shares to £238 - or if the duty is remitted £289 - but We cannot suppose these People are at the expence of Sugar and Lemons or such like Articles without charging them to the consumer and that at a profit - 14 The price at which the Society were allowed to sell Arrack by our Orders of 1769 was 6/6 P Gallon but We find this has been encreased to 7/9 tho' we were not advised of it when the addition was made; with this encrease We think the Society have less grounds for their present Complaints - 15 But We admit that the claim of the Society grounded on the necessity of their furnishing a capital for the purchase of Liquors and the risk they run deserves consideration; We are also convinced of the impropriety of the Punch House Keepers enjoying emoluments superior or even equal to theirs, and such as their Station in life does not appear to entitle them to, this reasoning is supported by the Governors opinion as contained in his Minute of the 21 January last in which he mentions the Punch House Keepers unreasonable Profits, tho' on the 30 August following the Governor and Lieut. Governor in stating what they might have remarked on the Society's proposals observe "they would not wish the Retailers to be too much oppressed or leave too little Profit, that what they now pay to	13 (continued): The publicans claimed that these costs cut each share to £238 0s 0d, or to £289 0s 0d if the duty were remitted. The Court could not believe, however, that they bore the cost of sugar, lemons and similar items without passing it on to their customers, and at a profit. 14: Under the Court's orders of 1769, the Society was allowed to sell arrack at 6s 6d a gallon. The Court found that this price had been raised to 7s 9d, although it had not been told when the increase was made. With that increase, the Court thought the Society had even less ground for its present complaints. 15: The Court accepted, however, that the Society's claim deserved some consideration, since it had to provide the capital to buy the spirits and bore the risk. It was also convinced that it was improper for the punch-house keepers to enjoy earnings greater than, or even equal to, those of the Society's members, and beyond what their station in life seemed to warrant. The Governor's minute of 21 January 1788 supported this view, since it spoke of the punch-house keepers' unreasonable profits. On 30 August 1788, however, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, setting out what they might have said on the Society's proposals, observed that they would not wish the retailers to be too heavily burdened or left with too little profit, and that what they now paid [...]. **Interpretations** The Court weighed the dispute partly in terms of social rank. It accepted that publicans should earn less than the officials of the Society, not because the officials did more work but because a punch-house keeper's station in life did not warrant an income equal to a gentleman's. The Society's members had quietly raised their selling price from 6s 6d to 7s 9d a gallon without telling London. The Court noticed it and held it against them, yet still conceded that their capital and risk earned them the larger share. The Court policed the officials' profits closely but kept intact the order of rank that placed them above the tradesmen they supplied. The sugar and lemons were the makings of punch, mixed with arrack and water and sold by the bowl. The Court's point was that the publicans' costs went straight into the price of each bowl. Their claimed expenses therefore did not reduce their real profit.
159	148	" to the Society by the late Governments regulations " and to the Company by ours they can afford " but We think no more", this is an apparent contradiction to their former reasoning for as there had been only added the duty of 6d. P Gallon since January, this could not, We conceive have operated so far as to have reduced unreasonable Profits to what they could barely afford to pay, and their ready offer of the above duty after the Society had done the same seems to support this conclusion - 16 The Society request that the Publicans Profits should be limited to 3/ P Gallon which they say will then produce £300 - PAnnum	15 (continued): The two officers had added that, given what the publicans paid to the Society under the recent government rules and to the Company under the Court's, they could afford that but no more. The Court saw this as contradicting their earlier reasoning. The only new charge since January had been the duty of 6d a gallon. That, in the Court's view, could not have cut unreasonable profits so far that the publicans could barely afford to pay. Their ready offer of that duty, after the Society had made the same offer, seemed to support this conclusion. 16: The Society asked that the publicans' profit be limited to 3s 0d a gallon. It said this would bring each of them £300 0s 0d a year, from which the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		each from which however is to be deducted the duty of 6 P Gallon now levied, leaving about £250 each. The Society's Profits would then be 5/6 P Gallon or £2800 - which on the present division gives to each of the Members of Council £325 and to the rest £350 each. - 17 The Plan proposed by Mr. Wrangham is that each Publican should pay in to the Treasurer of the Society Monthly the difference between the prime Cost and the rate he is allowed to sell Liquor at, which difference is to be divided into thirteen Shares, Eight of which are to belong to the Society and five to be the property of the Publican whose profit will therefore rise or fall in proportion to the quantity sold -	present duty of 6d a gallon would have to be deducted, leaving each about £250 0s 0d. The Society's own profit would then be 5s 6d a gallon, or £2,800 0s 0d a year. Divided as at present, that would give each member of Council £525 0s 0d and each of the other members £350 0s 0d. 17: Mr Wrangham's plan was that each publican should pay the Society's treasurer every month the difference between the cost price of the spirits and the price he was allowed to sell them at. That difference was to be split into 13 shares, eight for the Society and five for the publican. His profit would then rise or fall with the quantity he sold. **Interpretations** The Society's proposal would have shifted a large share of the trade's profit from the publicans to the officials. Each councillor in the Society would have drawn £525 0s 0d a year from arrack alone, more than double the £240 0s 0d a year a councillor drew in salary in 1778. The Society asked the Court to cap the publicans' earnings while raising its own. The publicans' ready offer to pay the new duty showed the Court that their profits were not as thin as the Governor and Lieutenant Governor now suggested. Wrangham's plan of 13 shares would have tied the publicans' income to their sales. The Society, though, would take eight thirteenths of every gallon's margin whether trade rose or fell. Under the existing system the publicans kept the mark-up and the Society took its fixed price. Under his plan the Society's members would share directly in every gallon the punch houses sold.
160	149	18 Having maturely considered all the circumstances before stated with such others as appear to relate thereto, We are of opinion that Our Servants composing the Arrack Society may receive an emolument equal to what they now derive therefrom according to their own Statement in a less exceptionable manner than at the present, and which will put a stop to any bickerings or jealousies between them and the Tavern Keepers at the same time that a reasonable Emolument will accrue to the Company from the Sale of Liquor - 19 To this end We direct that on the receipt of this Letter the exclusive privilege of selling Liquor be taken from the Society and vested in the Governor and Council on account of the Company and that whatever quantity the Society may have in Store be delivered over to the Company's Storekeeper at prime Cost - That you immediately take measures for procuring a sufficient stock of Liquors for the use of the Island of the usual Quality and at the lowest price, and if the Society shall have entered into engagements for the purchase of Arrack &c. the same be taken on account of the Company - That the Arrack be sold to the Inhabitants and to the Publicans at 5/6 P Gallon - That besides the said price each of the five Licensed Publicans pay £400 P Annum to the Company for their Licences in Quarterly Payments and	18: Having weighed all these circumstances, and others connected with them, the Court concluded that the Company's servants in the Arrack Society could receive an income equal to what they then drew from it, by their own account, in a less objectionable way. The new arrangement would end the quarrels and jealousies between them and the tavern keepers. It would also bring the Company a reasonable income from the sale of spirits. 19: To that end, the Court directed that as soon as this letter arrived, the sole right to sell spirits be taken from the Society and given to the Governor and Council, on the Company's account. Whatever stock the Society held was to be handed over to the Company's storekeeper at cost price. The Council was to take immediate steps to obtain enough spirits of the usual quality for the island's needs, at the lowest price. If the Society had already contracted to buy arrack or other spirits, the contracts were to be taken over on the Company's account. The arrack was to be sold to the inhabitants and to the publicans at 5s 6d a gallon. On top of that price, each of the five licensed publicans was to pay the Company £400 0s 0d a year for his licence, in quarterly payments [...]. **Interpretations** The Court settled the dispute by taking the trade away from the Society altogether. The spirit monopoly passed to the Company, run by the Governor and Council through the storekeeper. The officials who had argued for a larger share lost their private stake entirely, although the Court promised them equal income by another route. The change ended the arrangement under which the men who governed the island profited directly from the drink they licensed. It also turned the trade's profit, more than £2,000 0s 0d a year, into Company revenue at a time when the Court was pressing hard to cut the island's net cost. Selling at 5s 6d a gallon cut the price below the 7s 9d the Society had quietly charged. The Company drew its main profit instead from the licence fees: five

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			publicans at £400 0s 0d each brought £2,000 0s 0d a year. Cheaper arrack eased the cost to the publicans while the licences kept the trade profitable. The fixed number of five licences also kept the number of punch houses at the level the island had set after 1781.
161	150	and they are to be allowed to retail the Arrack at 12/ P Gallon as at present - That every Person selling Arrack or other Spirituous Liquors without Licence shall be fined £50 - for the first offence and £100 - for the second one half to the informer and one half to the Company and if the party offending be a Company's Servant he is to be dismissed the Service - That any Person convicted of Buying Arrack except of the Company or the Licensed Publicans shall be liable to the like Penalties - 20 According to the Calculations of the Society the Sale of the Arrack has been about 21400 Galls. Annually which allowing 4/ for the prime Cost and charges sold at 5/6 P Gallon produces a profit of £1600 - And the Licences will produce 2000 £3600 21 The Society's profits by their own account yielded to each of the Members who were in Council £450 PAnnum and to the others £300 - PAnnum each, We therefore direct that out of the above sum you pay to each of the two Members of Council who would be entitled to share in the Society of whom Mr. Wrangham is to be one the Sum of £450 PAnnum, and to each of the other Servants who were formerly Members of the Society the Sum of £300 - PAnnum, these allowances	19 (continued): The publicans were to be allowed to sell the arrack by retail at 12s 0d a gallon, as they did at present. Anyone selling arrack or other spirits without a licence was to be fined £50 0s 0d for a first offence and £100 0s 0d for a second. Half the fine was to go to the informer and half to the Company. If the offender was a Company servant, he was to be dismissed from the service. Anyone convicted of buying arrack from anyone other than the Company or the licensed publicans was to face the same penalties. 20: By the Society's own reckoning, about 21,400 gallons of arrack were sold each year. Allowing 4s 0d a gallon for cost price and charges, and selling at 5s 6d a gallon, the Company's profit would be as follows. Profit on arrack sold, £1,600 0s 0d Licence fees, £2,000 0s 0d Total, £3,600 0s 0d 21: By the Society's own account, its profits had given each member who sat on the Council £450 0s 0d a year and each of the others £300 0s 0d a year. The Court therefore directed that, out of this sum, the Council pay each of the two members of Council entitled to a share in the Society, one of whom was to be Mr Wrangham, £450 0s 0d a year. Each of the other servants who had been members of the Society was to receive £300 0s 0d a year. These allowances [...]. **Interpretations** The Court bought out the Society's members instead of simply cutting them off. Each former member received a fixed allowance equal to what he had earned from the trade, paid out of the Company's new spirit revenue. The officials lost nothing in income, but they no longer had any stake in how much the island drank or what the publicans charged. Their payment became a salary from the Company instead of a share in the drink trade. The Court had found that the same men governed the island, licensed its punch houses and profited from every gallon sold, and this ended that link without provoking them to resist. The penalties made the monopoly enforceable. Paying half of each fine to the informer turned every islander into a potential watcher, as the Company's rewards for catching runaways and reporting deserters had done before. A Company servant caught selling without a licence lost his post, which shut the door that had let officials trade privately in drink.
162	151	allowances will thus be adequate to what they formerly enjoyed from the Sale of Liquors at the same time this mode frees them from the necessity of having a large Sum of money employed in purchasing Stock from risk and insurances, and also from any differences with a Set of Men whose Stations in life they consider as inferior to their own, at the same time it removes all cause of discontent respecting the Publicans Profits, which by the present plan will be even less than the Society themselves proposed, - according to their statement of the Consumption and We direct that this plan be carried into execution immediately on receipt of these orders - 22 We depend on our Governor and Council that the business thus allotted to their Charge be	21 (continued): These allowances would match what the members had drawn from the sale of spirits. The new arrangement also spared them from tying up a large sum of money in buying stock, and from the risk and the cost of insurance. It freed them as well from disputes with a group of men whose station in life they regarded as beneath their own. At the same time it removed every cause for complaint about the publicans' profits, which under the new plan would be lower even than the Society itself had proposed, judging by its own figures for consumption. The Court directed that the plan be put into effect as soon as these orders arrived. 22: The Court relied on the Governor and Council to manage the business now placed in their hands with the greatest regard for the Company's

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		managed with the greatest regard to our interests, that they pay the strictest attention to procure the Arrack on Contract for the Company of equal goodness in point of quality, with what has been purchased for the Society and at the most reasonable rate and that the utmost frugality be observed as to the expences attending the charge and management thereof - 23 The Officer appointed by Our Orders of 1769 to collect the Duties on Arrack will be now unnecessary and you will therefore discontinue his Appointment as soon as you take the business under your management, and as the Storekeeper will	interests. They were to take the strictest care to buy arrack under contract for the Company of the same quality as the Society had bought, at the most reasonable price. They were also to keep the costs of storing and managing it as low as possible. 23: The officer appointed under the Court's orders of 1769 to collect the duties on arrack would no longer be needed. The Council was therefore to end his appointment as soon as it took over the business. Since the storekeeper would [...]. **Interpretations** The Court presented its takeover of the spirit trade as a favour to the officials it displaced. They kept their income, gave up the risk of tying up capital in stock and no longer had to haggle with tradesmen they thought beneath them. The Court framed the change so that the Society's members could accept it without loss of face. Councillors who had seen their trading profit taken away might otherwise have obstructed a plan they were now required to carry out themselves. Ending the post of duty collector followed from the change. Under the old system the Society bought arrack and the Company taxed it at the point of sale. Once the Company owned the whole trade, there was nothing left to tax. Its profit came directly from the price and the licences, and the storekeeper could handle the sales as part of his ordinary work. The Court's reform cut out an office as well as a private interest.
163	152	will have some additional trouble in the Charge of the Arrack, We consent to his being allowed £50 P Annum, on that Account in addition to his present Salary - 24th You will be careful to furnish Us with the Annual Accounts of the purchase and Sale of Arrack and other Liquors by the earliest Conveyances - 25th We are sorry observe the remark made by the Governor in his Minute of the 21 January 1788 respecting the particular propensity of the Soldiers of the Garrison to drunkenness, We trust all possible care will be taken to prevent such habits amongst the Military and if you shall be of opinion that the raising the price of Liquor will be conducive thereto, We shall take the matter into consideration when We receive such opinion - 26th Perhaps the Military Duties of the Island during Peace are not sufficient to Employ much of their time, and idleness therefore may be one cause of their inebriety but as it is highly proper in every point of view that the Soldiers should be frequently exercised and have Field Days, We direct that you pay particular attention to the subject - 27 We have maturely considered the Letters and Papers received from Governor Brooke respecting **Margin Notes:** Accounts [...] of the purchase & Sale of [...] Arrack	23 (continued): The storekeeper would have extra work in looking after the arrack, so the Court agreed to allow him £50 0s 0d a year for it, on top of his present salary. 24: The Council was to take care to send the Court the yearly accounts of the purchase and sale of arrack and other spirits by the earliest ships. 25: The Court regretted to see the Governor's remark, in his minute of 21 January 1788, that the soldiers of the garrison were particularly prone to drunkenness. It trusted that every possible care would be taken to stop such habits among the troops. If the Council thought raising the price of spirits would help, the Court would consider the matter once it received that opinion. 26: Perhaps the island's military duties in peacetime were not enough to fill much of the soldiers' time, and idleness might be one cause of their drunkenness. In any case, it was right on every count that the soldiers be drilled often and hold field days. The Court directed the Council to give the matter particular attention. 27: The Court had carefully considered the letters and papers received from Governor Brooke about [...]. **Interpretations** The Court had just cut the price of arrack to the publicans from 7s 9d to 5s 6d a gallon, yet in the same letter it worried about drunkenness in the garrison. It saw the tension and left the door open to a higher price if the Council judged that it would curb drinking. Its main remedy, however, lay in the soldiers' routine. In wartime the garrison had been kept busy with alarms, field days and work on the batteries. In peace it had little to do, and the Court linked the men's drinking to boredom. Frequent drill and field days would fill their time and keep them fit for service.
164	153	respecting the Blacks in your Island, the Conduct he has held concerning these People merits our warmest approbation, whilst We reap the advantage of their Services, it surely is incumbent upon Us to protect them from ill treatment, and to render their situation as	27 (continued): Governor Brooke's letters concerned the black people on the island, and the Court warmly approved his conduct towards them. The Company drew the benefit of their labour, so it surely had a duty to protect them from ill-treatment and to make their lives as comfortable and happy as

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		comfortable and happy as circumstances will allow, Besides being prompted to it by humanity it seems to be wise policy to endeavour to attach the Affections of the Slaves by kindness, and thereby to secure their willing good behavior, rather than to enforce it from fear of severity. We should have been pleased to have observed that the Governors endeavors had been seconded and supported by the Council, or if they thought him wrong that they had stated at length for our information the principles and reasons of their differing in opinion with him. - 28th In all the representations which have lately come before Us about the Blacks, there are more traces of improper severity, or rather cruelty exercised towards them than of misbehavior on their part. The Conviction of a Black Slave (for whom we obtained his Majesty's Pardon) for a Theft committed under the direction and for the use of his Master, and the cases of the Cruelty exercised by Mr. Youd and Mr. Richard Mason and of the very scanty quantity of Provision given by Mr. Isaacke to his Slaves, are striking instances	circumstances allowed. Humanity apart, the Court thought it wise policy to win the slaves' attachment by kindness, and so secure their good behaviour willingly, rather than force it through fear of harsh punishment. The Court would have been glad to see the Council support the Governor's efforts. If the Council thought him wrong, it should at least have set out in full, for the Court's information, the principles and reasons for its disagreement. 28: In all the reports about black people that had lately reached the Court, there were more signs of undue severity, or rather cruelty, towards them than of misconduct on their part. Striking examples included the conviction of a slave, for whom the Court had obtained the King's pardon, for a theft carried out on his master's orders and for his master's use. Others were the cruelty of Mr Youd and Mr Richard Mason, and the very meagre rations Mr Isacke gave his slaves [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's reasoning joined humanity to control. It held that kindness made slaves obedient by choice, whereas fear produced only grudging and uncertain obedience. This was the argument reformers in England had begun to press in the late 1780s, as the campaign against the slave trade gathered strength. The Court applied it to its own island while keeping slavery itself intact. The slave convicted for a theft done at his master's orders was Yon, condemned for sheep stealing and pardoned in 1787. His master, Worrall, was the planter the Court had twice ordered the Council to investigate, in January 1787 and January 1788. The Court now set his case beside the planters' cruelty and starvation of their slaves. Together they showed the faults lay with the owners, not the slaves. Richard Mason had given 1,000 lb of yams to the garrison during the drought of May 1779. Mr Isacke was probably the William Isacke fined £1 0s 0d on 22 February 1779 for his conduct during a double alarm. Settlers the island had praised or punished for other things now stood accused before the Court as cruel masters.
165	154	of the ill treatment of them. The Council would have shown a commendable attention to preserve good Order if they had supported the Governor in bringing these People to punishment seeing the inclinations of the Council, the Governor acted prudently in suffering these Complaints to drop as they did, and We hope the Planters will take warning and be more attentive to their Conduct in future, but if any of them shall hereafter use Cruelty to their Slaves or grossly violate the existing regulations for their protection, We direct that such Persons be prosecuted at the Company's Expence, and brought to Punishment. - 29th We see no objection to the regulation restricting the Punishment of Slaves to the Governor or sitting Magistrate, but on the contrary think it a wise one whilst it provides for the due Punishment of Offenders, it protects them from the intemperance or - resentment of their Masters and Mistresses, We therefore direct this regulation to be - strictly attended to. - 30th There is strong reason to suspect that We were misled in the grounds upon which We were induced by our Letter of the 28 December 1787 to approve the resolution to prevent the encrease of Free Blacks. We were led to consider the freedom of Blacks as a great mischief	27 (continued): Governor Brooke's papers concerned the planters' ill-treatment of their slaves. The Council would have shown proper concern for good order if it had backed the Governor in bringing these people to punishment. Given the Council's leanings, however, the Governor had acted wisely in letting the complaints drop as he did. The Court hoped the planters would take warning and behave better in future. If any of them were cruel to their slaves again, or seriously broke the existing rules for their protection, the Council was to have them prosecuted at the Company's expense and punished. 29: The Court saw no objection to the rule that only the Governor or the sitting magistrate could order the punishment of slaves. On the contrary, it thought this a wise rule. It ensured that offenders were properly punished while protecting slaves from the excess or anger of their masters and mistresses. The Court therefore directed that the rule be strictly observed. 30: There was strong reason to suspect that the Court had been misled about the grounds on which, in its letter of 28 December 1787, it had approved the resolution to stop the number of free blacks from growing. It had been led to regard the freedom of blacks as a great [...]. **Interpretations** The record shows the Governor trying to punish planters for cruelty to their slaves and the Council refusing to support him. The councillors were themselves among the island's largest slaveholders, and they would not see their neighbours prosecuted.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Brooke could have pressed the cases alone, but without the Council behind him a prosecution would probably have failed and divided the government. He let them drop. The Court backed the Governor and removed the obstacle. Future cases were to be prosecuted at the Company's expense, so a planter's cruelty would no longer go unpunished merely because his fellow planters on the Council declined to act. The rule reserving punishment to the Governor or a magistrate took the whip out of the owner's hand. A master could no longer flog a slave on his own judgement or in anger. Punishment had to pass through a public officer who could weigh the offence. In the West Indies at this date, owners generally kept the right to punish their own slaves. St Helena's rule placed a check on that power that most British slave colonies did not have. The Court now doubted its approval, given in December 1787, of the island's resolution to limit the number of free blacks. It had been told that freed slaves were likely to become a burden on the parish. The cruelty cases suggested that the island's slaveholders had their own reasons for keeping people in slavery, and the Court had begun to question what they had told it.
166	155	mischief. They were accused of having been guilty of many Thefts and Offences, and were supposed to have been very burthensome to the Parish, but it is now stated that no Free Black has been brought to Tryal for ten Years, and that the Parish Expences on their Account for the same period have been only about £87 - whereof no more than about £20 - was for their support and the remainder for Medicines - how the Medicines could amount to so large a Sum compared with that for other relief we cannot guess; perhaps when it is investigated it may turn out that great overcharges were made, or that the Medicines were applied to other purposes than those of the Free Blacks, but supposing the whole to be a proper Charge on their Account it does not seem to be sufficient to shut out the prospect of Freedom to those who may behave well. The holding out such a reward may have a very good Effect respecting their behaviour towards those they serve, and the contrary may drive them to despair, We are therefore much inclined to revoke our approbation of the regulation abovementioned, and to leave the granting of Freedom to Slaves under certain restrictions whenever past their labor to the discretion of their	30 (continued): The Court had been led to regard freeing black people as a great harm. Free blacks were said to have committed many thefts and other offences and to have been a heavy burden on the parish. It was now reported, however, that no free black had been brought to trial for ten years. Over the same period the parish had spent only about £87 0s 0d on them, of which no more than about £20 0s 0d went on their support and the rest on medicines. The Court could not guess how the medicines came to cost so much more than the other relief. Perhaps an inquiry would show that large overcharges had been made, or that the medicines had been used for people other than free blacks. Even if the whole sum were a proper charge against them, it did not seem enough to shut out the hope of freedom for slaves who behaved well. Holding out such a reward might greatly improve their conduct towards those they served, while taking it away might drive them to despair. The Court was therefore strongly inclined to withdraw its approval of the regulation and to leave the freeing of slaves, under certain restrictions where they were past working age, to the discretion of their [...]. **Interpretations** The island had told the Court in 1786 that free blacks committed crimes and drained the parish, and on that basis the Court had approved limits on freeing slaves. The new figures destroyed the case. No free black had been tried in ten years, and the parish had spent about £87 0s 0d on them in that time, most of it on medicines whose cost itself looked suspicious. The resolutions had rested on a claim the island's own records did not support. The Court treated the matter as one of control as well as fairness. A slave who could hope for freedom had a reason to work well and behave. A slave who could never be freed had nothing to lose. Its proposed restriction on slaves past working age kept the original safeguard against owners freeing old or sick slaves simply to rid themselves of the cost of keeping them.
167	156	their Masters, but think it right to postpone a point of so much Consequence till We hear further from you thereon, and the better to enable Us to decide. We desire that our Governor and each of our Council in case they shall differ in opinion, may fully state the facts	30 (continued): The freeing of slaves was to be left to their masters' discretion. Even so, the Court thought it right to put off so important a decision until it heard further from the Council. To help it decide, the Governor and each member of Council, if

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		with their different Sentiments at large upon this subject - 31st Whilst substantial protection is held out to the Slaves care must be taken to guard against given them encouragement to Licentiousness, and to correct and punish them for misbehavior. We wish to see such a Code of regulations Established as may be Effectual to both these purposes. To this end We direct that you send us a Collection of all the existing regulations of every sort and kind any way relating to Slaves, that you carefully revise them and furnish Us with your ideas respecting any variations or additions and in case there shall be a difference of opinion that you separately state your reasoning at large for our consideration. - 32nd We have received an application from the Friends of Mr. Gabriel Doveton a Writer on your Establishment that he may be allowed a Salary from the time of his Appointment. We have complied with the same, and direct that you pay to Messrs. Robson and Doveton such Sum **Margin Notes:** respecting Gabl. Doveton & F. Robson's salaries	they disagreed, were to set out the facts fully, with their separate views on the subject. 31: While real protection was offered to the slaves, care had to be taken not to encourage them in disorderly conduct, and to correct and punish them for misbehaviour. The Court wished to see a code of rules set up that would serve both purposes. To that end, the Council was to send the Court a collection of all the existing regulations of every kind relating in any way to slaves. It was to review them carefully and give the Court its views on any changes or additions. If its members disagreed, each was to set out his reasoning separately and in full for the Court's consideration. 32: The friends of Mr Gabriel Doveton, a writer on the island's establishment, had asked that he be paid a salary from the date of his appointment. The Court had agreed and directed the Council to pay Messrs Robson and Doveton such [...]. **Interpretations** The Court asked for every member's separate opinion because it no longer trusted the Council to speak with one voice on slavery. The councillors had refused to back Governor Brooke against cruel planters and had given the Court a misleading account of free blacks. Requiring each man to put his own reasoning in writing meant that any councillor defending a planter's interest would have to do so on the record, under his own name, before the Court. The call for a single code of slave regulations pointed in two directions at once. It promised the slaves protection from cruel masters, but it also tightened the means of punishing them. The Court wanted all the scattered rules gathered so it could see the whole system. It could then set the island's practice against its own view that kindness, backed by firm but lawful punishment, made for a more orderly slave population than fear alone.
168	157	Sum, as with what they have already received shall amount to £50 - (Fifty) P Annum till they have attained the Age of Fifteen, when they are to receive the usual Salary of Writers. - 33rd The Works on Ladder Hill which you have begun, seem to Us to be of material importance, We therefore approve thereof. but with regard to the general Plan of defence sent home by Captain Pierce We do not at present think ourselves competent to decide on it; We directed last Year that if Sir Archibald Campbell should stop at your Island on his return to England he should be consulted on the most proper Plan of Fortification for St. Helena, and as that Gentleman has advised, his intention of leaving Madras in December 1788 you will pay attention to Our Orders on this subject. Should any other Officers of Engineers stop at the Island you will also take their opinions on the same and transmit them to Us - 34th You observe by the 6 Paragraph of your General Letter by the Hillsborough that the Salary of William Young, the present Master Mason is £20 - P Annum less than his Predecessors, and as you report him to be very capable in his profession and that **Margin Notes:** [...] of the Works on Ladder Hill Respecting Wm. Young Master Mason	32 (continued): The Council was to pay Messrs Robson and Doveton enough to bring their total, with what they had already received, to £50 0s 0d a year each until they reached the age of 15. They were then to receive the usual salary of writers. 33: The works the Council had begun on Ladder Hill seemed to the Court to be of real importance, and it approved them. On the general plan of defence sent home by Captain Pierce, however, the Court did not yet feel able to decide. The year before, it had directed that Sir Archibald Campbell be consulted on the best plan of fortification for St Helena if he called at the island on his way home to England. He had reported that he meant to leave Madras in December 1788, so the Council was to bear in mind the Court's orders on this subject. If any other engineer officers called at the island, the Council was also to ask their opinions and send them to the Court. 34: The 6th paragraph of the Council's general letter by the *Hillsborough* noted that William Young, the present Master Mason, was paid £20 0s 0d a year less than his predecessor. The Council reported that he was very capable in his trade and [...]. **Interpretations** The Court had promised a decision on Pierce's plan in 1785, again in December 1787 and again in January 1788. It still put off the choice. The plan would cost far more than anything else on the island, and the Court would not commit without the view of a senior engineer who had seen the ground. In the meantime it approved the works on Ladder Hill, the height above Jamestown commanding the town and the anchorage. Strengthening that one point gave the island a gain in defence while the larger question stayed open. The Master Mason William Young had been engaged in London in December 1787 at £100 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			a year. A predecessor paid £20 0s 0d more suggests the post had once been better rewarded. The Council raised the gap to press for an increase, in the same letter in which the Court was still asking it to cut the island's costs.
169	158	that he has acquitted himself to your satisfaction, We consent to his receiving in future the usual Salary of £120 - P Annum. - We are London 14 January 1789 Your loving Friends (Signed) John Travers D. Scott Wm. Bensley W. Elphinstone J. Smith Abram Roberts Nathl. Smith Wm. Devaynes Geo. Tatem Thos. Parry Jn. Townson Thos. Cheap Chas. Mills Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Par. 1st We wrote You last by the Ship Britannia under date of the 14 January 1789 and have since Received Your several Advices according to the respective Lists of Packets 2nd The Names of the Ships taken up for **Margin Notes:** Letters Recd.	34 (continued): The Council also reported that Young had done his work to its satisfaction. The Court therefore agreed that he should in future receive the usual salary of £120 0s 0d a year. The Directors signed the letter in London on 14 January 1789. John Travers D. Scott W. Bensley W. Elphinstone J. Smith Abraham Roberts Nathaniel Smith W. Devaynes George Tatem Thomas Parry John Townson Thomas Cheap Charles Mills The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 14 January 1789 and went by the ship *Britannia*. Since then it had received the Council's various letters, as listed in the packets. 2: The names of the ships taken up for [...]. **Interpretations** The Court raised William Young's salary from £100 0s 0d to £120 0s 0d a year only a year after hiring him at the lower rate, on the strength of the Council's report that he was capable. In the same season it had cut other allowances and pressed hard for economy. A skilled mason was scarce on St Helena, and the island had building work under way on the wharf, the warehouses, Government House and Ladder Hill. The Court paid to keep a tradesman it could not easily replace, while it trimmed posts it judged unnecessary.
170	159	for India and China this Season are as follows Viz. Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Minerva: Tons 790, Commanders Captn. R. Fairfull Triton: Tons 800, Commanders Wm. Agnew Lord Thurlow: Tons 805, Commanders Wm. Thompson Belvedere: Tons 986, Commanders Wm. Greer Ceres: Tons 1180, Commanders Geo. Stevens Woodcot: Tons 802, Commanders Ninian Lowis Consignments Coast & China Indostan: Tons 1248, Commanders Wm. McIntosh, Consignments Madra. Coast & China Royal Charlotte: Tons 1252, Commanders Josiah Pryce, Consignments St. Helena Bencn. & China Barwell: Tons 796, Commanders Thos. Welladvice Ed. of Abergavenny: Tons 1182, Commanders Jn. Wordsworth Osterley: Tons 775, Commanders Jos. Clarkson Consignments Bombay & China Francis: Tons 789, Commanders Wm. Burrowes, Consignments Madra. Coast & China Marqs. of Lansdown: Tons 647, Commanders Davd. Tolme, Consignments St. Helena & China Queen: Tons 801, Commanders Peter Douglas Ed. Fitzwilliam: Tons 803, Commanders Jas. Dundas Consignments Madeira & Bengal Pce. Wm. Henry: Tons 803, Commanders Ralph Dundas Pss. Amelia: Tons 808, Commanders Geo. Millett Rodney: Tons 772, Commanders Allen Chatfield Wm. Pitt: Tons 798, Commanders Chs. Mitchell	2 (continued): The ships taken up for India and China that season were as follows. The *Minerva*, 790 tons, Captain Robert Fairfull, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Triton*, 800 tons, commanded by William Agnew, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Lord Thurlow*, 805 tons, commanded by William Thompson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Belvidere*, 986 tons, commanded by William Greer, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ceres*, 1,180 tons, commanded by George Stevens, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Woodcote*, 802 tons, commanded by Ninian Lewis, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Indostan*, 1,248 tons, commanded by William McIntosh, bound for Madeira, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Royal Charlotte*, 1,252 tons, commanded by Josiah Pryce, bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China. The *Barwell*, 796 tons, commanded by Thomas Welladvice, bound for Bombay and China. The *Earl of Abergavenny*, 1,182 tons, commanded by John Wordsworth, bound for Bombay and China. The *Osterley*, 775 tons, commanded by Joseph Clarkson, bound for Bombay and China. The *Francis*, 789 tons, commanded by Robert Burrowes, bound for Madeira, Bombay and China. The *Marquis of Lansdown*, 647 tons, commanded by David Tolmie, bound for St Helena and China.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Warren Hastings: Tons 786, Commanders Jn. Pascal Larkins Hawke: Tons 799, Commanders Richd. Pinnell Consignments Bengal Foulis: Tons 765, Commanders Geo. Blackford, Consignments Bengal & Bencoolen Pss. Royal: Tons 805, Commanders Jas. Horncastle Worcester: Tons 798, Commanders John Hall Consignments Bombay Hillsborough: Tons 764, Commanders Edwd. Cresswell Royl. Admiral: Tons 914, Commanders Essex H. Bond Ed. Talbot: Tons 767, Commanders John Woolmore Consignments China **Margin Notes:** Ships taken up	The *Queen*, 801 tons, commanded by Peter Douglas, bound for Madeira and Bengal. The *Earl Fitzwilliam*, 803 tons, commanded by James Dundas, bound for Madeira and Bengal. The *Prince William Henry*, 803 tons, commanded by Ralph Dundas, bound for Bengal. The *Princess Amelia*, 808 tons, commanded by George Millett, bound for Bengal. The *Rodney*, 772 tons, commanded by Allen Chatfield, bound for Bengal. The *William Pitt*, 798 tons, commanded by Charles Mitchell, bound for Bengal. The *Warren Hastings*, 786 tons, commanded by John Pascal Larkins, bound for Bengal. The *Hawke*, 799 tons, commanded by Richard Pinnell, bound for Bengal. The *Foulis*, 765 tons, commanded by George Blackford, bound for Bengal and Bencoolen. The *Princess Royal*, 805 tons, commanded by James Horncastle, bound for Bombay. The *Worcester*, 798 tons, commanded by John Hall, bound for Bombay. The *Hillsborough*, 764 tons, commanded by Edward Cox Wall, bound for China. The *Royal Admiral*, 914 tons, commanded by Essex Henry Bond, bound for China. The *Earl Talbot*, 767 tons, commanded by John Woolmore, bound for China. **Interpretations** The *Royal Charlotte* had measured 758 tons in the wartime lists. She now appeared at 1,252 tons, one of several ships rebuilt under old names at nearly twice their former size. Ships of more than 1,100 tons, such as the *Indostan*, the *Earl of Abergavenny* and the *Ceres*, were now common on the China run. The *Royal Charlotte* was one of only two ships in the list consigned to St Helena. A ship of that size anchored in the open road needed far more boat work to land her stores than the smaller Indiamen of 1779, which helps explain the Governor's plan for heavy hawsers and the new wharf and crane.
171	160	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Henry Dundas: Tons 802, Commanders Captn. Agnus McNab Bellmont: Tons 769, Commanders Wm. Dick Gamage L. Walsingham: Tons 561, Commanders James Young Consignments China 3rd The terms and Conditions on which the above Ships are taken up will appear by referring to their respective Charterparties. - 4th In addition to the foregoing We have fitted the Company's Ship Admiral Sir Edwd. Hughes, Captain Robert Anderson and have Stationed her for Coast and China. - 5th The following Ships have received our licence to proceed to the Eastward of the Cape, on the Southern Whale Fishery, agreeably to Act of Parliament. Ships, Commanders Guernsey Lily: Commanders Captn. Henry Folger Jackall: Commanders 0 Southampton: Commanders Alexr. Muirhead Friendship: Commanders Thos. Melville Queen Charlotte: Commanders Simon Paul 6th On the 15 July last We came to the following resolutions Viz. - That the present regulations respecting the qualifications of Mates for Ships in the Company's Service be repealed and the following substituted in their stead Viz. **Margin Notes:** Company's Ship Sir Edwd. Hughes Stationed to Coast & China Southern Whalers permitted to proceed to y. Eastward of the Cape	2 (continued): The last ships on the list were as follows. The *Henry Dundas*, 802 tons, Captain Angus McNab, bound for China. The *Belmont*, 769 tons, commanded by William Dent Gamage, bound for China. The *Lord Walsingham*, 561 tons, commanded by James Young, bound for China. 3: The terms on which these ships had been taken up would be shown in their charter parties. 4: Besides these, the Court had fitted out the Company's own ship *Admiral Sir Edward Hughes*, under Captain Robert Anderson, and placed her on the run to the Coromandel Coast and China. 5: The following ships had received the Court's licence to sail east of the Cape for the southern whale fishery, under the Act of Parliament. Guernsey Lily, Captain Henry Folger Jackall, captain not named Southampton, Captain Alexander Muirhead Friendship, Captain Thomas Melville Queen Charlotte, Captain Simon Paul 6: On 15 July 1789 the Court had passed the following resolutions. The existing rules on the qualifications of mates for ships in the Company's service were to be repealed, and the following put in their place [...]. **Interpretations** The *Admiral Sir Edward Hughes* was named after the admiral who commanded the King's squadron sent to defend the Company's settlements in India from 1779, as the Court had reported to the island in February of that year. Naming one of its own ships

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Regulations respecting the Qualifications necessary for Mates of Ships Repealed & others Substituted	after him honoured the officer whose fleet had fought the French in Indian waters through the war. The whalers listed in paragraph 5 sit inside the code block, so their names lack italics there: the *Guernsey Lily*, *Jackall*, *Southampton*, *Friendship* and *Queen Charlotte*. Henry Folger bore another Nantucket whaling name, like Coffin and Pease the year before. American whaling families who stayed loyal or moved to Britain after independence were running British ships in the southern fishery, and each needed the Company's licence to pass the Cape.
172	161	That any Person having performed a complete Voyage to and from India or China in the Company's Service in either of the Stations of Chief, Second, Third or Fourth Mate shall be considered as again eligible to the highest Station which he has been before Sworn into by the Court of Directors, and allowed to be presented accordingly without regard to his Age at the time of his being so presented. - That no Person except those beforementioned be presented for the Station of Chief Mate who shall not have attained the full Age of Twenty three Years and performed one Voyage to and from India or China in the Company's Service in the Station of Second or Third Mate; nor For Second Mate who shall not have attained the full Age of twenty two Years and performed three Voyages to and from India or China in the Company's Service one of which shall have been in the Station of Third Mate, or shall have performed three Voyages in the Company's Service, one of which in the Station of Fourth Mate, or two Voyages in this Service, one as Fourth Mate and three Years **Margin Notes:** Persons who have hitherto Sailed as Mates may be presented without regard to their Age Qualifications necessary for a Chief Mate Do. for a Second Mate	6 (continued): The new rules on the qualifications of mates were as follows. Anyone who had made a complete voyage to and from India or China in the Company's service as chief, second, third or fourth mate was to be treated as eligible again for the highest rank to which the Court of Directors had previously sworn him. He could be put forward for it whatever his age at the time. Apart from such men, no one was to be put forward as chief mate unless he had reached the age of 23 and had made one voyage to and from India or China in the Company's service as second or third mate. No one was to be put forward as second mate unless he had reached the age of 22 and met one of the following conditions. He might have made three voyages to and from India or China in the Company's service, one of them as third mate. He might have made three voyages in the Company's service, one of them as fourth mate. Or he might have made two voyages in that service, one as fourth mate, and three years [...]. **Interpretations** The rules set minimum ages and a fixed ladder of service for officers in the Company's ships. An officer had to climb through each lower rank and complete a set number of voyages before he could reach the next. Commanders and owners had often placed young relatives or favourites in senior posts through patronage. Fixed qualifications gave the Company a standard of experience for the men who would one day command its ships. The rule for men who had already served as mates protected those whose careers had been interrupted, so that a gap did not cost them the rank they had earned. The Court's concern for seamanship followed a run of costly losses, including the *Halsewell* in 1786, the *Hartwell* in 1787 and the *Fox* on the rocks at the island's own anchorage.
173	162	Years in actual Service, in any other Employ of which last he shall produce satisfactory Certificates to the Committee of Shipping - Nor for Third Mate who shall not have attained the full Age of Twenty one Years and performed two Voyages to and from India or China in the Company's Service, Nor For Fourth Mate who shall not have attained the full Age of twenty Years and performed two Voyages to and from India or China, in the Company's Service, or one Voyage in the Company's Service and two Years in Actual Service in any other Employ, of which last he shall produce satisfactory Certificates to the Committee of Shipping. - That every Person except those proceeding in the same Stations in which they have been before Sworn, do produce previous to his Examination, a Certificate from the Parish Register, or other satisfactory proof of his Age -	6 (continued): The third route to second mate required two voyages in the Company's service, one as fourth mate, together with three years of actual service in any other employment. For that outside service the candidate had to give the Committee of Shipping satisfactory certificates. No one was to be put forward as third mate unless he had reached the age of 21 and made two voyages to and from India or China in the Company's service. No one was to be put forward as fourth mate unless he had reached the age of 20 and met one of two conditions. He might have made two voyages to and from India or China in the Company's service. Or he might have made one voyage in the Company's service and served two years at sea in any other employment, for which he had to give the Committee of Shipping satisfactory certificates. Except for men going out again in the same rank to which they had been sworn before, every candidate was to produce, before his examination, a certificate from the parish register or other satisfactory proof of his age.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Margin Notes: Qualifications necessary for a Third Mate Do. for a Fourth Mate	**Interpretations** The demand for a certificate from the parish register shows how the Company meant to enforce its age limits. Before birth registration by the state, the parish record of baptism was the only official proof of a man's age in England. Without it a young man could claim to be older than he was and slip into a rank he was too young to hold. The rule closed that gap. It matched the Court's line in its own service ashore, where boys were given posts but no rank until they turned 15. Service at sea outside the Company counted, but only with certificates the Committee of Shipping could check, so experience as well as age had to be proved on paper.
174	163	That such Gentlemen as may be presented for Commanders, and who under any exception in these or former regulations shall not have given in Certificates of their Age when examined for Officers be required to produce when presented as Commanders satisfactory Documents of their being not less than twenty five Years, which is the Age prescribed by Order of Court the 12th February 1768. - That the present Order of Court of the 12 February 1768 respecting the qualifications of Gentlemen intended for the Command of Ships in the Company's Service, and the regulations now adopted respecting the qualifications for the Stations of Chief, Second Third and Fourth Mates be extended to the Commanders and Mates of the Company's Packets, with an exception in favor of Commanders already appointed in that line of Service, who shall have acted as such two Voyages to and from India or China which time shall be considered as equivalent to One Voyage to and from India or China in the Station of Chief or Second Mate - 7th The above regulations are communicated to	6 (continued): Some men might be put forward as commanders who, under an exception in these or earlier rules, had not handed in proof of their age when examined as officers. Such men were to produce satisfactory documents, when put forward as commanders, showing that they were at least 25. That was the age set by the Court's order of 12 February 1768. The Court's order of 12 February 1768 on the qualifications of men intended to command the Company's ships, and the rules now adopted for chief, second, third and fourth mates, were to apply also to the commanders and mates of the Company's packets. An exception was made for commanders already appointed in that service who had acted as such for two voyages to and from India or China. That service was to count as equal to one voyage to and from India or China as chief or second mate. 7: The above rules were being sent to [...]. **Interpretations** The packets were the small, fast vessels that carried the Company's dispatches, such as the *Eagle* and *Mercury* that called at St Helena in 1779. Their commanders had escaped the rules that governed the officers of the great Indiamen. Extending the same standards to them closed a side door through which a young or untried man could reach command. The exception for existing packet commanders was a practical concession. It counted their voyages towards the new requirements, so that men already doing the work were not pushed out by rules made after they were appointed.
175	164	That such Gentlemen as may be presented for Commanders, and who under any exception in these or former regulations shall not have given in Certificates of their Age when examined for Officers be required to produce when presented as Commanders satisfactory Documents of their being not less than twenty five Years, which is the Age prescribed by Order of Court the 12th February 1768. - That the present Order of Court of the 12 February 1768 respecting the qualifications of Gentlemen intended for the Command of Ships in the Company's Service, and the regulations now adopted respecting the qualifications for the Stations of Chief, Second Third and Fourth Mates be extended to the Commanders and Mates of the Company's Packets, with an exception in favor of Commanders already appointed in that line of Service, who shall have acted as such two Voyages to and from India or China which time shall be considered as equivalent to One Voyage to and from India or China in the Station of Chief or Second Mate - 7th The above regulations are communicated to	7 (continued): The rules were being sent to the Council for its information and guidance, in case it ever found it necessary to appoint officers to the Company's ships while they lay at St Helena. 8: The Court had appointed Major General William Medows Governor and Commander in Chief of the Presidency of Fort St George, and Morgan Williams the most junior member of Council there. It had also appointed Colonel Robert Abercrombie Governor and Commander in Chief, and George Dick the most junior member of Council, at the Presidency of Bombay. 9: The Court enclosed, for the Council's information, a copy of Sir Joseph Banks's comments on the gardener's report, with a summary of the weather journal kept at Plantation House. It directed the Council to give them particular attention. 10: The Council's order for stores would be met in full that season, apart from the following items. The Court was ordering 20 barrels of gunpowder instead of 70. **Interpretations** Sir Joseph Banks was President of the Royal Society and the King's adviser on Kew, and he directed the breadfruit voyage and the wider exchange of plants across the empire. His reading of George Porteous's report placed St Helena's gardens under the eye of the most influential naturalist in

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Britain. The weather journal kept at Plantation House was the island's first systematic record of rainfall and temperature, the information Banks needed to judge which plants could thrive there. After the drought of 1779, a steady record of rain gave the island a basis for planning its crops instead of trusting to the season. The cut from 70 barrels of powder to 20 marked the change from war to peace. In 1787 the Court had sent the 50 barrels a year that Pierce had asked for in wartime. With peace secure and a reserve built up, the island no longer needed to add to its stock at that rate.
176	165	Wall Pieces to carry a half pound Iron ball are larger than any hitherto made, they would prove expensive and cumbersome in the extreme, and in our opinion not equal in point of utility to an Iron half pound Swivel Gun, they will therefore not be sent, if the object was to dispose of a quantity of Iron ½ pound Ball that might surely be effected by making them up into Grape or converting them to such like purposes - Sheep Skins are prohibited to be exported but in the room of these You will receive Patent Sponges made up, also fifty Sponge Heads and Fifty Rammer Heads deficient of last Years Orders - 11th The Accounts of receipts Issues and remains of Stores in the several Departments must be continued to be sent as usual, but in addition to these We would have You make a Column of remains in your Indent expressing against each Article the quantity in Store on the day when the Stores are Balanced, this regulation becomes necessary on many Accounts but particularly so from our not being able to trace with ease or accuracy in the present mode what quantitys you have remaining of those Articles which You commonly **Margin Notes:** Wall Pieces not sent & reasons why Patent Sponges instead of Sheep Skins sent - Lists of Remains to be sent as usual - But in the Indents there must be a Column for Remains of each Article Indented for	10 (continued): The Council had asked for wall pieces to fire a half-pound iron ball. These would be larger than any yet made and would be very costly and awkward to handle. In the Court's view, they would also be less useful than an iron half-pounder swivel gun, so they would not be sent. If the aim was to use up a stock of half-pound iron balls, that could surely be done by making them up into grapeshot or putting them to some similar use. The export of sheepskins was forbidden. In their place the Council would receive ready-made patent sponges, together with 50 sponge heads and 50 rammer heads left short from the previous year's order. 11: The Council was to go on sending its accounts of the receipts, issues and remaining stock of stores in each department, as usual. In addition, the Court wanted the Council's orders for stores to include a column showing, against each item, the quantity in store on the day the stores were balanced. This rule had become necessary for many reasons. Above all, under the present method the Court could not easily or accurately trace how much the island still held of the items it usually [...]. **Interpretations** A wall piece was an outsized musket, too heavy to fire from the shoulder, mounted on a parapet or rest to fire a small ball over the walls. A swivel gun was a small cannon on a pivot, easier to aim and turn. The Court judged that a wall piece built large enough to take a half-pound ball would be clumsy and expensive without doing anything a swivel gun could not do better. Grapeshot, a cluster of small balls bound together and fired at close range against men and boats, gave the island a way to use its stock of half-pound shot without new weapons. Sheepskins had covered the sponges used to swab out a gun's barrel between shots, putting out any burning scraps before the next charge. The ban on exporting them came from the same laws protecting English wool and skins that had stopped the Court sending live sheep in 1781. Patent sponges, a manufactured substitute, met the need without breaking the law. The column of stock in hand was the Court's answer to Leech's report of hundreds of pounds of useless goods rotting in the warehouses. Placing each order beside the quantity already in store would show at a glance when the island was asking for more of something it did not need.
177	166	commonly Indent for, expressly for the use of the Carpenters and other Artificers. - 12th It sometimes happens that the supplies laid in for the use of the Military in their outward bound Passage to India are not entirely expended, but a small part brought back in the returning Ships which is productive of inconveniencies upon their entry at the Custom House, London. The Articles laid in are Spirits, Vinegar, Essence of Malt, Sugar Lemon Juice, and Soap; to prevent therefore	11 (continued): The Court had particular trouble tracing the stock of items the Council usually ordered specifically for the carpenters and other craftsmen. 12: The supplies put aboard for soldiers on the outward voyage to India were sometimes not all used, and a small part came back in the returning ships. This caused difficulties when the ships entered at the Custom House in London. The supplies in question were spirits, vinegar, essence of malt, sugar, lemon juice and soap. To prevent these difficulties, the Council was to ask the commanders of returning

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		the inconveniencies above stated, We think it necessary that you should enquire of the Commanders of our returning Ships which have carried out Military, whether they have any Stores of the Nature abovementioned remaining on Board, and if they should that You receive the same into Store and dispose of them as you may judge proper transmitting Us an account thereof. - 13th We are informed that in the Passage of the Ship Duke of Montrose on her late Voyage to China thro' the Eastern Track, the Natives of one of the Islands, took the advantage of the Caulkers Stage being along side of the Ship, to put **Margin Notes:** Should any of the Returned Ships have any Remains of Stores laid in for the Military on their outward bound Passage the same to be Demanded & the Company informed of their Receipt Respecting a Black Boy left by Captn. Dorin with Mr. Statham	ships that had carried soldiers out whether any such stores remained on board. If so, it was to take them into the island's stores, dispose of them as it judged best and send the Court an account of them. 13: The Court had learned that during the late voyage of the *Duke of Montrose* to China by the eastern route, the people of one of the islands took advantage of the caulkers' stage lying alongside the ship to [...]. **Interpretations** Leftover spirits, sugar and soap from the troops' rations caused trouble in London because they were taxable goods. The Custom House treated anything landed that was not on a ship's manifest as possible smuggling, and the duties and checks could hold a ship up. Landing the surplus at St Helena removed the problem and added the goods to the island's own stock. The island turned the waste of the outward voyage into a small gain for its stores. Essence of malt was a concentrated extract of malted barley, issued at sea as a remedy against scurvy. Like the lemon juice sent with the 50 gunners for Bombay in 1784, it shows how far the Company now provided for the health of troops on long voyages.
178	167	put a Malay Boy belonging to them on it, out of their Canoe and there left him, the Boy was taken on board almost famished carried in the Ship to China and from thence brought back to St. Helena where he was left by Captain Dorin, as he states with your concurrance, with a Mrs. Statham, not as a Slave, but to be Clothed and maintained at her Expence in return for the Services he might be of by his labor. - These particulars We desire may be minutely enquired into, and if it should appear that the lad is perfectly satisfied with his situation and is not considered in the light of a Slave, We shall have no objection to his continuance on the Island, but if on the contrary he should dislike remaining there you will permit him to enter on board the Royal Charlotte or any other Ship at any future period 14th We have frequently experienced an inconvenience, and in many instances been put to an extra expense in respect to Charter Party allowances to the Owners of our Freighted Ships, from the circumstance of Persons coming as Passengers to Your Island, and disembarking for other Ships; in order therefore to prevent the **Margin Notes:** Said Boy not to be considered as a Slave. Should he not like his situation permit him to enter on the Royal Charlotte Passengers not to change their Ships at St. Helena without assigning sufficient reasons for so doing	13 (continued): The islanders brought a Malay boy who belonged to them out in their canoe, put him on the caulkers' stage and left him there. The boy was taken aboard the ship almost starved. He was carried to China and then brought back to St Helena. There Captain Dorin left him, with the Council's agreement as Dorin stated, in the care of a Mrs Statham. He was not to be a slave. She was to clothe and keep him at her own expense in return for whatever work he could do. The Court wanted these details looked into closely. If the boy turned out to be fully content with his situation and was not treated as a slave, the Court had no objection to his staying on the island. If, however, he did not want to stay, the Council was to let him go aboard the *Royal Charlotte* or any other ship at any time in future. 14: The Court had often been put to trouble, and in many cases to extra cost in charter-party allowances to the owners of its hired ships, because people came to the island as passengers and then left for other ships. To prevent this, passengers were not to change ships at St Helena without good reason. **Interpretations** The Malay boy had arrived on the island with no papers and no protector, and he could easily have ended up as a slave in a settler's household. Captain Dorin of the *Duke of Montrose* had placed him with Mrs Statham, probably the wife of Captain Lieutenant Thomas Statham, on terms of keep in return for work. The Court made sure that this arrangement did not become slavery under another name. His freedom to leave on any ship gave him a real choice. A boy free to go would stay only if he was treated well, so the condition protected him far better than any promise from the household that took him in. The order fitted the Court's wider stand in the same years, when it rebuked cruel planters and questioned the island's limits on freeing slaves. A ship's owners were paid an allowance under the charter party for each passenger carried. A passenger who left one ship at St Helena and joined another could cost the Company a second payment for the same journey, or leave a berth paid for and empty. Requiring a good reason for any change kept passengers in the ship the Company had paid for.
179	168	the like in future We direct that you cause it to be signified to our several Commanders on their Arrival at Your Island, not to suffer their respective Passengers to quit the Ship on which they may Arrive, for another	14 (continued): To stop this happening again, the Council was to tell each commander, on his arrival at the island, not to let his passengers leave the ship they came in for another unless they gave the Council a satisfactory reason. Where a commander did allow a

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		without a satisfactory reason being assigned to You for their so doing, in which case you will not fail to require such Commander or Commanders to signify in Writing to Your Government (which must be sent home a Number in the Packet) of their readiness to free the Company from any additional charge upon that account, in failure whereof you will report the same to Us - accordingly. - 15th Having lately experienced much inconvenience from your neglecting to state minutely every circumstance relative to the Ships which touch at St. Helena in their homeward bound Voyage, We direct that in all future instances you collect all the intelligence you can procure and be very particular in noticing the time of their Sailing from the different Presidencies the **Margin Notes:** Commanders of Ships allowing their Passengers to take Passage on other Ships must signify their readiness to free the Company of any additional Charge - Intelligence lately Recd. from St. Helena Complained of	passenger to change ships, the Council was to require him to state in writing to the island's government that he was willing to free the Company from any extra charge arising from the change. That statement was to be numbered and sent home in the packet. If a commander failed to give it, the Council was to report him to the Court. 15: The Council had lately caused the Court much trouble by failing to report in full detail every circumstance about the ships that called at St Helena on their homeward voyage. In future the Council was to gather all the news it could and to note with particular care when each ship had sailed from the various presidencies [...]. **Interpretations** The written undertaking moved the cost of a passenger's change of ship from the Company to the commander who allowed it. A captain who let a passenger transfer, perhaps for a private fee or as a favour, now had to accept in writing any extra charge the move caused. With the statement in the packet, the Court could claim the money back from him in London. The rule made each commander answerable for his own leniency. St Helena was the one place where every homeward ship from India and China could be checked. A careful record of when each had left Madras, Bengal, Bombay or Canton let the Court in London follow its ships across half the world. It showed which were overdue and which might be lost. It also showed which had loitered on the voyage, perhaps trading privately in forbidden ports, as the Court had suspected when it required captains to declare their stores at the island. The Court relied on the island's reports as its main record of the fleet's progress home.
180	169	the Names of the Passengers &c. and inform Us thereof by the earliest opportunity. - 16th We have observed frequent entries in the Paymasters Accounts of sums paid for Medicines for the use of the Hospital, some of which when the Article is described, We have noticed to be charged at very high prices, it has been customary to comply fully with Your Indents for Medicines, and We cannot but suppose from the quantity demanded and the numbers of your Garrison, that they were fully equal to your Consumption, till you received another supply. - We disapprove of your making any purchases of Medicines, and direct you discontinue it in future, as We shall always take care to send out a sufficient quantity for use on the Company's Account. - 17th We direct that the Surgeon do take charge of the Medicines sent out and keep an exact account of their receipts and expenditure in a book prepared for that purpose, each Article to be kept under a separate head, so as to shew in one view, the quantity of each specie of Medicine received and expended in the Year, and that a Copy of the same be sent home for our inspection - **Margin Notes:** Purchase of Medicines disapproved Indents on always fully complied with The Surgeon directed to send home an Acct. of the Receipts Expenditure & Remains of Medicines Annually	15 (continued): The Council was also to record the names of the passengers and other details, and to send the Court this information at the earliest opportunity. 16: The Court had noticed frequent entries in the Paymaster's accounts for money spent on medicines for the hospital. Where the item was described, some had been charged at very high prices. The Court had always met the Council's orders for medicines in full. Judging by the quantities asked for and the size of the garrison, it could only assume they had been fully enough to last until the next supply arrived. It disapproved of the Council buying any medicines and directed it to stop doing so, since the Court would always make sure enough were sent out on the Company's account. 17: The surgeon was to take charge of the medicines sent out and keep an exact account of what was received and used, in a book kept for the purpose. Each item was to have its own heading, so that the quantity of every kind of medicine received and used in the year could be seen at a glance. A copy of the book was to be sent home every year for the Court's inspection. **Interpretations** The Court had already questioned the hospital's spending on medicines. In January 1789 it had noted that the parish spent far more on medicines for free blacks than on their keep, and suspected overcharges or medicines used for others. Now it found the hospital buying medicines locally at high prices, though the island's orders from London had been met in full. Local purchases opened the way for dealers, probably ship's surgeons and passing captains selling their spare stock, to charge the Company dearly, and for the hospital staff to share in the gain. The Court shut off local buying altogether and made the surgeon keep a ledger of every dose received and used. With supply from London only and a yearly

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			account of use, any medicine that went missing or was overstated would show in the figures.
181	170	18th The Registers of Burials &c. have lately been very incautiously Drawn out and in many instances the description of the Persons has been so vaguely expressed that it has rendered it impossible to ascertain the party; We should conceive that when Persons are Buried from the Hospital the Chaplain would easily obtain from their Books (as no doubt such are kept there) a full description of the Person; if a Seaman to mention the Ship he last belonged to &c. and if a Soldier from whence and by what Ship he came, and every other particular you can procure - 19th We have perused the Letter from Mr. Petrie, entered on Consultation of the 4 May last, respecting the Maritime Plant which grows spontaneously on the Island. From a Letter We have since received from that Gentleman (Copy of which is Enclosed) it appears by his further enquiries into the properties of this Plant, that it does not contain so great a proportion of the Alcaline **Margin Notes:** Registers of Burials &c. Complained of as not being particular	18: The registers of burials and other records had lately been drawn up very carelessly. In many entries the description of the dead person was so vague that no one could tell who it was. When people were buried from the hospital, the Court thought the chaplain could easily get a full description from the hospital's books, which were surely kept there. For a seaman, he was to note the ship the man last belonged to and other details. For a soldier, he was to note where the man came from, the ship that brought him and every other detail he could find. 19: The Court had read Mr Petrie's letter, entered in the consultations of 1 May 1789, about the seashore plant that grew wild on the island. It had since received another letter from him, a copy of which was enclosed. His further inquiries into the plant's properties showed that it did not contain so large a share of the alkaline [...]. **Interpretations** The Court wanted full burial entries because the register was often the only proof that a man had died. A seaman's wages, a soldier's arrears and anything he left had to be paid to his heirs or recovered by his ship's owners. Pensions to widows also depended on proof of death. An entry that named no ship or regiment left families unable to claim and the Company unable to close its accounts. The island buried men from every passing ship, so its registers served as a death record for much of the Company's sea traffic. Mr Petrie's plant was a shore plant that, when burned, gave an alkaline ash. Such ash, called barilla or kelp, was in demand in England for making soap and glass. Its alkali was what gave it value. The island hoped it had found a wild crop it could gather and export, as Major Bazett had hoped of orchil in 1784. Petrie's further tests suggested the alkali content was too low for the plant to pay.
182	171	Alcaline Salt as he at first supposed; But as Governor Brooke has enclosed a Letter from Your Surgeon who represents that he has made several experiments on this Plant, the result of which are that the Ashes yield an Alkaline Salt, a full third part of their weight. - We therefore direct you send Us home a small quantity for trial. - 20th We direct that you send ten thousand pounds to Fort Marlbro' on the Royal Charlotte if you have twelve thousand pounds in your Treasury on the receipt thereof. 21st With regard to Your Proceedings respecting William Gahagan, as it is stated the Employment he holds is absolutely necessary, We shall not object to his continuance therein, but We must observe that it is the indispensible duty of the Surgeon and Assistant to give constant attendance to the Sick in the Hospital and not to trust the care of them to a Person not regularly bred to the profession, And who cannot therefore be competent to do any part of that Duty - **Margin Notes:** Ten Thousand Pounds to be sent to Marlbro' if Twelve in the Treasury - Wm. Gahagan permitted to continue as an Assist. in the Hospital	19 (continued): Mr Petrie's further inquiries showed that the plant held less alkaline salt than he had first thought. Governor Brooke, however, had enclosed a letter from the island's surgeon, who reported that he had made several experiments on the plant. They showed that its ashes yielded alkaline salt amounting to a full third of their weight. The Court therefore directed the Council to send home a small quantity for testing. 20: If the island's treasury held £12,000 0s 0d when this letter arrived, the Council was to send £10,000 0s 0d to Fort Marlborough in the *Royal Charlotte*. 21: As for the Council's proceedings about William Gahagan, it was stated that the post he held was essential. The Court would therefore not object to his keeping it. It pointed out, however, that the surgeon and his assistant had a strict duty to attend constantly to the sick in the hospital. They were not to leave the patients' care to someone who had not been properly trained in the profession and so could not be competent to do any part of that work. **Interpretations** The Court changed its mind about Gahagan within months. In January 1789 it had refused to let him return as surgeon's assistant and questioned the allowance paid to his successor. Once the Council explained that the hospital needed his help, the Court let him stay. It still drew a firm line between a trained surgeon and a former soldier acting as an orderly. Gahagan could carry out the hospital's routine work, but treatment was for qualified men. The warning fell on David Kay and his assistant, the island's surgeons,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			who might otherwise leave the wards to an untrained man while they attended to other business. The two reports on the shore plant disagreed. Petrie found little alkali, while the island's surgeon claimed a full third of the ash by weight, a yield that would have made the plant very valuable. Rather than choose between them, the Court asked for a sample to test in London.
183	172	22nd We have Considered the Petition of Lieut. Seale to be granted a Lease of a piece of Ground called Botleys, together with the Petition of several Planters, praying that the former Petition may not be complied with, and shall now proceed to give You our sentiments thereon; It is impossible for Us to form so complete a judgement on the propriety of the measure as yourselves from the local advantages you possess, and therefore We should wish to have received your opinion on the subject, before We came to a decision; We observe the Planters state in their Petition that it was once let to an Individual and found so injurious to the Public that it was exchanged for another piece of Ground; that Mr. Seale made a similar request a few Years ago which was rejected and in addition to these, their offer to rent it themselves for the public good, are objections which deserve serious attention and induce Us to determine against Mr. Seale's request. - 23rd With respect to Mr. Mason's request that **Margin Notes:** Respecting the Waste Land called Botleys. - Petd. for by Lt. W. Seale & Petitioned against by the Inhabts. Lt. W. Seale's Petition not Granted	22: The Court had considered Lieutenant Seale's petition for a lease of a piece of ground called Betleys, together with a petition from several planters asking that his request be refused. It now gave its view. The Council, with its local knowledge, was far better placed than the Court to judge whether the lease was wise, and the Court would have liked the Council's opinion before deciding. The planters said in their petition that the ground had once been let to a private person. That had harmed the public so much that it was exchanged for another piece of ground. They added that Mr Seale had made a similar request a few years earlier, which had been refused, and they offered to rent the ground themselves for the public good. These objections deserved serious attention, and they led the Court to refuse Mr Seale's request. 23: As for Mr Mason's request that [...]. **Interpretations** Here the settlers succeeded where Elizabeth Lambe had failed in 1779. She objected alone to Benjamin Seale's lease of waste land in Sandy Bay, and the Council granted it after three councillors found no harm. Now several planters together opposed another Seale's claim to Betleys. They backed their case with the land's history, Seale's earlier refusal and an offer to rent the ground themselves so it would stay in common use. Their offer met the Court's concern for revenue as well as fairness, since the Company would still receive rent. The Court decided against the lease even without the Council's opinion. The planters' petition had answered both of the Court's concerns, so it saw no reason to wait. The episode also echoed the Court's order of 1778 that waste land near the town be kept for common use and not leased to private persons. By the late 1780s the island's commons were still being claimed piece by piece. The Court now weighed each claim against the use the whole island made of the land.
184	173	that does not appear to be so detrimental to the Public as Mr. Seale's We shall therefore leave that for your determination, subject to our final decision. - 24th We have no doubt but it would be of general advantage to cultivate as much waste Land as possible, and Our Letter of the 13 Decmr. 1785 had this object in view; it appears from the Examination of one of the Planters that the Land which maintained only sixteen head Cattle, before it was Enclosed, encreased to forty afterwards; so manifest an advantage must urge strongly the necessity of encouraging this system, the Number of Petitions entered on your Consultations for Leases of the Company's Waste Land strengthens the opinion We have formed of the utility of the measure; We would have these grounds let in all cases, where it will not be of any greater injury to the Farmers, than taking away the right of Common, for that We conceive would be a trifling evil, if the System of Enclosing was general; it is not our expectation at present to derive much advantage from letting	23 (continued): Mr Samuel Mason had also petitioned for land. His request did not seem as harmful to the public as Mr Seale's, so the Court left it to the Council to decide, subject to the Court's final approval. 24: The Court had no doubt that bringing as much waste land as possible into cultivation would benefit everyone, and its letter of 13 December 1785 had that aim in view. One planter's evidence showed that land which kept only 16 head of cattle before it was enclosed kept 40 afterwards. So clear a gain made a strong case for encouraging enclosure. The number of petitions for leases of the Company's waste land entered in the consultations confirmed the Court in its view that the measure was useful. It wished the grounds to be let wherever this would do the farmers no greater harm than taking away their right of common. If enclosure became general, the Court thought that would be a minor loss. It did not expect, for the present, to gain much from letting [...]. **Interpretations** The Court took the side of enclosure, as English landowners and agricultural improvers were doing at home in the same years. A planter's evidence that enclosed land carried 40 cattle instead of 16 was the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Margin Notes: Respecting the Piece of Land Petitd. for by Saml. Mason - Respecting the Cultivation & Improvement of the Waste Land &c. &c. in general	kind of figure improvers used to argue for fencing the commons in England. The Court weighed the settlers' loss of common grazing as a minor cost set against a large gain in output. Small planters such as Elizabeth Lambe, who in 1779 relied on common land for their few cattle and hogs, stood to lose most from the change. The Court still drew a line. In the same letter it refused Seale's claim to Betleys after the planters showed that enclosing it would harm the public. Its rule was that land should be let unless the loss to the commons went beyond the common right itself. Where enclosure blocked a road, a water supply or land the community needed, the commons were to stay open.
185	174	letting these Lands; Our object being solely to call forth its internal resources and make the Island as productive as possible; - therefore when you grant Leases you will take only a small Rent, but the Tenants must agree to enclose, build and cultivate them, in such manner as you shall judge best, We shall also leave the term and other particulars to be settled by you, but at the expiration of the Lease, the Buildings Fences &c. must be left in good condition. - 25th We have attended to Governor Brooke's observations respecting Long Wood. The large sums of Money that have been expended for Enclosing this place and the flattering advantages that were held out on the completion, gave Us reason to suppose, there could have been but one opinion on the Utility of this measure; We are surprized to hear the Governor speak of the unplanted parts, as We gave our positive directions for planting Trees in every part, as soon as the Fence was compleated; if you are fully convinced **Margin Notes:** Respecting the Leasing of Waste Land Respecting Long Wood	24 (continued): The Court's sole aim in letting these lands was to develop the island's own resources and make it as productive as possible. When granting leases, the Council was therefore to charge only a small rent. Tenants, however, had to agree to enclose, build on and cultivate the land in whatever way the Council judged best. The Court left the length of each lease and the other terms to the Council. When a lease ended, the buildings, fences and other improvements had to be left in good condition. 25: The Court had considered Governor Brooke's remarks on Longwood. Large sums had been spent on enclosing it, and great benefits had been promised once it was finished. The Court had therefore supposed there could be only one view on whether the work was worthwhile. It was surprised to hear the Governor speak of parts that had not been planted, since it had given firm orders for trees to be planted throughout as soon as the fence was finished. If the Council was fully convinced [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's terms for leasing waste land show that it valued the land's improvement far more than its rent. A low rent drew settlers to take up rough ground. The covenant to enclose, build and cultivate made sure they improved it instead of holding it idle. Requiring buildings and fences to be handed back in good order meant every improvement would return to the Company when the lease ended. The settler's labour raised the value of the Company's property, and in effect the Company received its return in improvements rather than in rent. Longwood had been fenced at last after a dispute lasting more than a decade. In 1779 the Court had refused Wrangham's offer to build the fence for £3,000 0s 0d and later approved building it with soldiers' labour at piece rates, with orders to plant every part with fast-growing trees as soon as it was enclosed. The Court now learned that parts still lay bare. Its displeasure was that the money spent on the fence had not yet produced the woodland it was meant to protect.
186	175	convinced of the benefit to be derived from putting Cattle on the grassy parts, and can prevent them from doing any injury to the other parts of the Wood, We have no objection to your adopting this proposal of the Governor's. - 26th Governor Brooke observes that there are Grounds near the Valleys in which Trees would thrive very well, planting in this situation We think very proper, you will therefore give directions accordingly. - 27th As the conveying Water to Long Wood is deemed an object of great utility and has been so strongly recommended as well by you as by a former Government, We consent to your carrying it into effect in the manner proposed by Governor Brooke, and We shall depend on your executing this Work with a	25 (continued): The Governor had proposed grazing cattle on the grassy parts of Longwood. If the Council was fully convinced of the benefit and could keep the cattle from damaging the rest of the wood, the Court had no objection to its adopting the proposal. 26: Governor Brooke had noted that trees would grow very well on some ground near the valley. The Court thought planting there very sensible and told the Council to give orders for it. 27: Bringing water to Longwood was considered very useful, and both the Council and an earlier government had strongly recommended it. The Court therefore agreed that the Council could carry it out in the way Governor Brooke proposed. It relied on the Council to do the work with strict regard to economy.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		strict regard to economy. - 28th Your Proceedings in consequence of Our Orders for taking the Sale of all spirituous Liquors into the Company's hands have been under our consideration. We have no objection to the Publicans making their Payments for their Licences in the proportions settled by you, provided you **Margin Notes:** Water allowed to be conveyed to Long Wood in the manner proposed by Govr. Brooke Respecting the Payment of Publicans Licences	28: The Court had considered the Council's proceedings under its orders to take the sale of all spirits into the Company's hands. It had no objection to the publicans paying for their licences in the instalments the Council had set, provided [...]. **Interpretations** The Court now approved the very scheme it had forbidden in January 1778, when it banned the Council from starting work to bring water into the Long Wood because it would cost far more than estimated. In February 1779 Wrangham built his rain-fed tank at Longwood in spite of that ban, and Corneille dissented. Ten years later, with the wood fenced and grazing proposed for its grassy parts, water had become a necessity. The Court's reference to an earlier government's recommendation acknowledged that the Council of 1779 had been right about the need. The fence also changed the case. Water inside an enclosed wood would serve cattle kept away from the young trees, the arrangement Wrangham had argued for when he first proposed his tank.
187	176	you think that mode the most equitable and they prefer it to the other, as it was only our intention to raise the Sum of £2000 - P Annum for their Licences in the most impartial manner. - 29th With respect to Mr. Bazett's construction of Our Orders, that the Commanders & Passengers should continue to bring Liquors on shore, on paying the usual duty, We have to observe that it would, as We conceive, entirely defeat our intentions, if We granted this indulgence as by that means, a larger quantity might be brought on shore than would be expended during their stay on the Island, which would of course lessen the Company's Sale of Liquors and besides it certainly cannot be so great a hardship on the Passengers &c. who only remain a few days on the Island, as it is to the Inhabitants who constantly reside there, but if the qualitys of those Liquors are held in greater estimation than those they could purchase of the Company, We at present see no objection to their being brought Shore provided they pay to the Storekeeper at the rate of 2/6 P Gallon for the same, which **Margin Notes:** Remarks on Mr. Bazett's construction of the Compy's Orders respg. the Importation of Spirits on Acct. of the Comm. Officers & Passengers 2/6 P Gall. Duty to be exacted on all Spirits brot. on shore for the above purpose	28 (continued): The condition was that the Council thought this method the fairest and the publicans preferred it to the other. The Court's only aim was to raise £2,000 0s 0d a year from the licences in the most even-handed way. 29: Mr Bazett had read the Court's orders as allowing commanders and passengers to go on bringing spirits ashore on paying the usual duty. The Court pointed out that granting this privilege would wholly defeat its purpose. More might be brought ashore than was drunk during their stay on the island, which would of course reduce the Company's sales of spirits. Nor could the restriction be much of a hardship to passengers and others who stayed only a few days, compared with the inhabitants who lived there all the time. If, however, they valued the quality of their own spirits above what they could buy from the Company, the Court saw no objection for the present to their bringing them ashore. They were to pay the storekeeper 2s 6d a gallon for the privilege, which [...]. **Interpretations** The Company's new monopoly of spirits would leak if every ship's officer and passenger could land his own supply on paying a small duty. Spirits brought ashore duty-paid could be sold on quietly to settlers and soldiers, undercutting the Company's price of 5s 6d a gallon. Bazett's reading of the order would have opened exactly that gap. The Court's charge of 2s 6d a gallon was set to remove the profit from such resale, while still letting a visitor drink his own brandy or wine if he preferred it. The Company kept its trade, and visitors who wanted their own spirits paid the Company for them. Bazett was most probably Matthew Bazett, the councillor and former member of the Arrack Society, who had been due to leave for England. A member of the body that had lost its spirit monopoly was now reading the new orders in a way that would have weakened the Company's hold on the same trade.
188	177	which Sum We conceive will make it equal to 5/6 the price paid by the Inhabitants, but if You find 2/6 P Gallon not sufficient, you will - encrease it to such Sum as you shall think adequate, or even abolish the privilege entirely, if it is found to defeat our intentions. - 30th We observe the price you paid the Society for the Arrack you received from them was 3/8½ P Gallon, Our directions were to take it at the Prime Cost which was 3/3 P Gallon according to the Statement of the late Society in their memorial to Us, including the Company's	29 (continued): The Court believed a charge of 2s 6d a gallon would bring the cost of visitors' own spirits up to the 5s 6d paid by the inhabitants. If the Council found it was not enough, it was to raise the charge to whatever sum it thought adequate, or even abolish the privilege altogether if it was found to defeat the Court's purpose. 30: The Court noted that the Council had paid the Society 3s 5½d a gallon for the arrack it took over. The Court's orders were to take it at cost price, which was 3s 3d a gallon, including the Company's duty, according to the late Society's own figures in its

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Duty, as it is not just We should pay more than the actual Prime Cost as the Members were immediately to receive the benefit of the New regulations, you will explain to Us the reasons for the apparent encrease of price by the first opportunity. - 31st As it appears by the Contracts entered into by the Society the Arrack was to be delivered on Shore free of the duty payable to the Company you will take care to deduct the same accordingly when the quantity Contracted for is delivered - 32nd We observe by your Cash Accounts that you have made various purchases of Arrack, Rum &c. from Individuals at different prices, some below and others above 3/ P Gallon **Margin Notes:** Or to abolish the Indulgence altogether Respecting the price of Arrack of the Society Respecting Contracts entd. into by the Society Respecting Purchases of Spirits	memorial. It was not fair for the Company to pay more than the real cost, since the members were to benefit at once from the new rules. The Council was to explain the reasons for the apparent rise in price at the first opportunity. 31: The contracts the Society had made showed that the arrack was to be landed free of the duty payable to the Company. The Council was to take care to deduct that duty when the quantity contracted for was delivered. 32: The Council's cash accounts showed that it had made various purchases of arrack, rum and other spirits from private persons at different prices, some below and some above 3s 0d a gallon [...]. **Interpretations** The Court caught the Council paying the Society 2½d a gallon more than the cost the Society itself had declared. The difference looks small, but the Society's stock ran to thousands of gallons, and the members who received the extra money were the same officials who sat on the Council. They had lost their trade to the Company but received a pension equal to their old profit. Paying them more than cost for their stock gave them a further, hidden gain. The Court held the Council to the Society's own figure and asked for an explanation. The duty on the contracted arrack was a second trap. The Society had bought it on terms that it landed duty-free. If the Company paid the full contract price, then also deducted no duty, it would in effect pay a tax to itself on the Society's behalf. The Court made sure the Company did not pay twice.
189	178	We trust that in all your purchases you will carefully attend to our former Orders respecting the same. - 33rd Mr. Thomas Cole has obtained Our permission to proceed with his Family to St. Helena, and remain there to settle the Affairs of his Deceased Father in Law. - They take - Passage on the Royal Charlotte. - 34th The Recruits for your Island this Season will consist chiefly of Young Lads, who We are of opinion will very soon prove good Soldiers, the Numbers on the two Ships will probably amount to between sixty & seventy, and as they will more than complete Your peace Establishment, the excess at some future period may be conveyed to Our Presidencies in India. The mode We are inclined to adopt is that the Draughts should be made from such Volunteers who are willing to leave the Island to serve five Years more from their Arrival in India, but in the selection of the Men You must not pick out the refuse of the Garrison, or send such, as by their Crimes and misbehavior have - rendered themselves obnoxious to the Community; We had rather they should be Young **Margin Notes:** Mr. Thomas Cole & Family permitted to return to St. Helena Respecting Recruits Future Intent of sending Recruits from St. Helena to India - What description of Men to be sent -	32 (continued): The Court trusted that the Council would follow its earlier orders carefully in all such purchases. 33: Mr Thomas Cole had been given the Court's leave to go to St Helena with his family and stay there to settle the affairs of his late father-in-law. They were sailing in the *Royal Charlotte*. 34: The recruits for the island that season would be mostly young lads, who the Court believed would soon make good soldiers. The two ships would probably carry between 60 and 70 of them. Since that would more than fill the island's peacetime establishment, the surplus could later be sent on to the Company's presidencies in India. The Court intended that the men sent should be drawn from volunteers willing to leave the island and serve five more years from their arrival in India. In choosing them, the Council was not to pick out the worst men in the garrison, or send those whose crimes and misconduct had made them a nuisance to the community. The Court would rather they were [...]. **Interpretations** The Court now planned to use St Helena as a training depot for the Indian armies. Young recruits would join the island's garrison, learn their drill there in a healthy climate and later be passed on to India as trained soldiers. That made good use of the garrison's peacetime idleness, which the Court had blamed for the men's drinking. The warning against sending the garrison's worst men answered a complaint the Court had already upheld. In 1788 the Council had swapped good recruits bound for Bencoolen for men of bad character, and Fort Marlborough had protested. The Court now made clear that drafts for India were to be chosen as soldiers, not as a way for the island to rid itself of troublemakers. Thomas Cole was probably the man who proposed a single canteen for spirits in 1786 and who had been a soldier in the garrison since 1779. He had evidently gone to England and was returning with the Court's leave to settle his father-in-law's estate. No one, even a former islander, could go back to St Helena without the Company's permission.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
190	179	Draughted from such of the Recruits of the present Season in the Order they stand in the Lists who being Lads under twenty Years of Age, shall be five feet three inches high, or Men between twenty and thirty Years of Age, five feet six inches high. This however is the outline of a Plan which We have not yet fully digested, and on which We wish to receive your Sentiments at a very early period, as probably We may make the Island in some measure a depot for Recruits to be sent to India. - 35th Since the Directions contained in the 12 Paragraph of Our Letter to You of the 28 Decemr. 1787, having been under the necessity of paying Demorage to the Owners of some of the Ships Consigned to You, for their detention for the - purpose of delivering the Stores beyond the Ten Working Days allowed by Charter party, and being convinced that with proper exertion on your part, and on that of the Commanders and Officers, ten Working Days are in general quite sufficient for the completion of that business. We think it necessary not only to enforce a strict observance of the directions contained in the said Paragraph with respect to giving the Storeship the preference of the Crane and every assistance of Boats to hasten her unloading but also to enjoin, as an **Margin Notes:** Particular Orders respecting the Dispatch of Storeships within the 10 Working Days	34 (continued): The Court would rather the drafts came from the present season's recruits, in the order of the lists. Lads under 20 had to be at least 5 feet 3 inches tall, and men between 20 and 30 at least 5 feet 6 inches. This was only the outline of a plan the Court had not yet fully worked out. It wanted the Council's views very soon, since it would probably make the island something of a depot for recruits to be sent to India. 35: Since the orders in the 12th paragraph of its letter of 28 December 1787, the Court had had to pay demurrage to the owners of some of the ships sent to the island, for keeping them beyond the ten working days allowed by the charter party to land the stores. It was convinced that, with proper effort by the Council and by the commanders and officers, ten working days were generally quite enough for that work. It therefore thought it necessary not only to enforce strictly the earlier orders to give the store ship first use of the crane and every help with boats to speed her unloading, but also to require, as [...]. **Interpretations** The height limits set a lower bar for boys than for grown men, on the expectation that lads under 20 would still grow. Recruits too short to handle a musket and bayonet well, or to stand in the line, were of little use in the field. Fixing the standard on the island meant only men fit for Indian service would be passed on, and the presidencies would not receive undersized men they would have to send back. The demurrage problem had not gone away. In 1787 the Court gave the store ships first use of the crane after paying the owners of the *Walpole* and the *Raymond* for delays. It was still paying for ships held beyond their ten days. Its new orders added further duties on the Council and on the ships' own officers, so that every party had a share in the blame for delay. The new wharf and crane, approved in 1787 and finished by 1788, had not yet solved the problem of landing stores quickly in an open road.
191	180	an additional preventive to our incurring such expence in future, that while any Store Ship is delivering her Cargo, a Civil Servant be stationed by you at the Crane, with Orders to take an account of the exact time when each Boat comes from the Ship and when it is unladen, the Burthen of the Boat, and the Goods received by her, that the Storekeeper also be very minute in his diary stating therein (if any accident shall on any day have prevented the landing Goods or if fewer Boats shall have been employed than usual) the particulars of such causes of delay, that Copys of the Accounts kept by the Person stationed at the Crane and of the Storekeepers Diary of the unloading of each Ship be sent to Us by the first Ship which shall Sail for England after the Departure of the Storeship, and Duplicates of the same by the next subsequent Conveyance That in case it shall happen that any Storeship shall not deliver all her Consignments to you within the Ten Working Days, You do note particularly on Your Consultations what appears to you to have been the cause of the detention, and particularly whether such detention, with all diligence used by the Commander **Margin Notes:** A Civil Servt. to attend the Receipt of Stores at the Crane & his Orders &c.	35 (continued): As a further safeguard against such costs, the Court required that while any store ship was landing her cargo, the Council was to post a civil servant at the crane. He was to record the exact time each boat came from the ship and when it was unloaded, the size of the boat and the goods it carried. The storekeeper was also to keep a very detailed diary. If on any day an accident stopped the landing of goods, or fewer boats than usual were at work, he was to note the causes of the delay. Copies of the crane-keeper's records and of the storekeeper's diary for each ship were to be sent to the Court by the first ship sailing for England after the store ship left, with duplicates by the next. If any store ship had not landed all her cargo within the ten working days, the Council was to record in its consultations what it thought had caused the delay. In particular, it was to say whether the delay had arisen despite every effort by the commander [...]. **Interpretations** The Court turned the landing of each cargo into a timed record. Every boat, its load and the hour it arrived and was emptied would be written down by a Company servant at the crane. The aim was to answer the owners' claims for demurrage with facts. Under the charter party the Company paid for every day beyond ten. If the crane-keeper's log showed that the ship's own boats had been slow or few, or that her crew had not worked, the delay could be laid on the ship rather than the island, and the claim refused. In 1787 the Court had been forced to pay the owners of the *Walpole* and the *Raymond* because the Council's own letters accepted the commanders' excuses. The

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			new logs gave it independent evidence to set against such excuses.
192	181	Commander and Officers was unavoidable on their parts, and how many days it took place, with every other circumstance, which may enable Us to judge from what cause it shall have arisen. - We also inform you, that it is our fixed determination if the detention shall appear to Us to have been caused by the inactivity of any of our Servants of the - Settlement to insist on such Servants paying to Us the Demorage, We may be obliged to allow the Owners on that account. - We are London 16 December 1789 Your loving Friends (Signed) W. Devaynes George Tatem Abram Roberts John Hunter J. Smith W. Bensley Thos. Parry Wm. Money Jno. Travers F. Baring Chs. Mills Thos. T. Metcalf Wm. Elphinstone Hugh Inglis	35 (continued): The Council was to record whether the delay had been unavoidable despite every effort by the commander and officers. It was also to state how many days the delay lasted and give every other detail that would help the Court judge its cause. The Court was firmly resolved that if a delay appeared to have been caused by the slackness of any of its servants on the island, those servants would have to repay the Company whatever demurrage it was forced to pay the owners. The Directors signed the letter in London on 16 December 1789. W. Devaynes George Tatem Abraham Roberts John Hunter J. Smith W. Bensley Thomas Parry William Money John Travers F. Baring Charles Mills Thomas T. Metcalfe W. Elphinstone Hugh Inglis **Interpretations** The Court applied to demurrage the same rule it had applied to the stores. Doveton and Kennedy had paid personally for lost arrack and candles, and now any servant whose slackness kept a store ship in the road would pay her owners' charges out of his own pocket. The crane-keeper's log and the storekeeper's diary gave the Court the evidence to fix that blame on a named man. Delay would no longer be absorbed by the Company as a general cost of the island. Every island official involved in unloading now had a personal reason to get each ship emptied within ten days.
193	182	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Par. 1st Our last Letter to You was dated the 16 of December 1789 and sent by the Royal Charlotte. Duplicate whereof is herewith Enclosed. - 2nd We have permitted Captain Lieut. Thomas Statham to return to his rank on the St. Helena Establishment, he proceeds on the Marquis of Lansdown, Captain Statham has received another Years pay amounting to £146. 17. 6 - 3rd Since Writing our letter to You by the Royal Charlotte We have granted permission to the undermentioned Ships to proceed to the Eastward of the Cape on the Southern Whale Fishery Viz. - Ships, Commanders Barbara: Commanders Captain Adventure: Commanders Shadrack Keene 4th As We think the Planters Society **Margin Notes:** Captn. Lieut. Statham permitted to return to his Station Two Whaling Vessels permitted to proceed to the Eastward of the Cape -	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 16 December 1789 and went by the *Royal Charlotte*. A duplicate was enclosed. 2: The Court had allowed Captain Lieutenant Thomas Statham to return to his rank on the St Helena establishment. He was sailing in the *Marquis of Lansdown*. Captain Statham had received a further year's pay, amounting to £146 17s 6d. 3: Since writing its letter by the *Royal Charlotte*, the Court had licensed the following ships to sail east of the Cape for the southern whale fishery. Barbara, captain not named Adventure, Captain Shadrach Keene 4: The Court thought the Planters' Society [...]. **Interpretations** Statham had now received two advances of a full year's pay, the first of £146 17s 6d in 1788 and a second of the same sum. A captain lieutenant drew roughly that much in a year, so the Court had in effect paid him two years ahead. The 1788 grant was made because of his particular situation, and the second points to continuing hardship, probably debts that had kept him in England. Advances on pay let an officer clear what he owed and return to duty. Repayment came out of his future salary, so the Company risked little as long as he lived and stayed in the service. The whalers in paragraph 3 appear inside the code block, so they lack italics there: the *Barbara* and the *Adventure*. The *Adventure* under Shadrach Keene had also been licensed in 1788, which shows the same

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			ships returning to the southern fishery season after season.
194	183	Society is an institution well calculated to diffuse a general spirit of Industry, and wishing to encourage so useful an undertaking, You will receive by the Ship Marquis Lansdown two Silver Cups of the Value of £20 - and one of the Value of £10 - which You will present to the Society in our Name, to be distributed by them to such Claimants as they shall think deserving. - 5th We have paid the Sum of £25. 12. 2 to the legal representative of Thomas Langley Deceased, being the Amount of his Effects paid into Your Treasury, which you must take care to write off your Books accordingly - 6th In consequence of the high price of Wheat, the exportation is prohibited for the present, but as the Company are authorized under an Act of Parliament to Export to St. Helena, notwithstanding such prohibition a quantity equal to One hundred Tons in one Year, We have Ship'd to that amount on the Royal Charlotte and Marquis of Lansdown for Your Island, this will be short of the quantity you indented for by Eight Tons. - Fort Marlborough We are not **Margin Notes:** Institution of the Planters Society approved of & three Silver Cups sent - The Heirs of Thos. Langley paid the Bal. Acct. of his Estate - Exportation of Wheat prohibited. But. The Company authorised by an Act of Parliament to Export to Saint Helena a Quantity equal to 100 Tons in one Year and the above quantity sent P Storeships	4 (continued): The Court thought the Planters' Society well suited to spreading a general spirit of hard work, and it wished to encourage so useful an undertaking. The Council would receive by the *Marquis of Lansdown* two silver cups worth £20 0s 0d each and one worth £10 0s 0d. It was to present them to the Society in the Court's name, to be awarded to whichever entrants the Society judged deserving. 5: The Court had paid £25 12s 2d to the legal representative of the late Thomas Langley, the value of his effects paid into the island's treasury. The Council was to take care to write this sum off its books. 6: Because of the high price of wheat, its export was banned for the present. Under an Act of Parliament, however, the Company was allowed to send St Helena up to 100 tons a year despite the ban. The Court had therefore shipped that amount for the island in the *Royal Charlotte* and the *Marquis of Lansdown*. This would fall eight tons short of the quantity the Council had ordered. As for Fort Marlborough, the Court was not [...]. **Interpretations** Silver cups were the usual prizes offered by agricultural societies in England for the best crops, livestock or improvements. By giving them in its own name, the Court put the Company's prestige behind the Planters' Society and gave settlers a public reward for raising better crops and stock. The prizes cost £50 0s 0d, little set against the gain if they led planters to grow more of the island's own food. The Court had spent years trying to make St Helena less dependent on stores shipped from England and India, and prizes were a cheap way to push the settlers in that direction. Wheat was scarce in England after poor harvests, and Parliament had banned its export to keep bread affordable at home. The special allowance of 100 tons a year shows how far St Helena depended on English grain, enough for Parliament to make an exception in the island's favour. The Court's encouragement of the planters went together with this dependence. Whenever English harvests failed, the island's own crops became its only safeguard.
195	184	not able to supply with any Flour from Europe and have therefore directed the Deputy Governor and Council to Indent to the Governor General and Council at Bengal for what Flour their occasions may require. - From what has been said above you will observe that whenever the Exportation of Flour from England is prohibited you cannot expect to receive a greater quantity than One hundred Tons in a Season. - 7th We have upon the Memorial of Thomas Aylesworth permitted him to return to St. Helena; He goes out as Private on the Marquis of Lansdown; Copies of his Memorial and request, Also of Certificates from Major Bazett and Captn. Lieut. Statham will be transmitted you Enclosed. These Papers are sent for your particular consideration, and if upon examining them, you shall be of opinion that the Allegations therein contained are true We would have you in such case promote Aylesworth to his former Station of Corporal of Artillery. - 8th Having taken into consideration the **Margin Notes:** Deputy Govr. of Fort Marlbro' & Council to Indent to Bengal for what Flour they may want	6 (continued): The Court could not send Fort Marlborough any flour from Europe. It had therefore directed the Deputy Governor and Council there to order whatever flour they needed from the Governor General and Council in Bengal. The Council would see from this that whenever England banned the export of flour, the island could not expect more than 100 tons in a season. 7: On a memorial from Thomas Ailesworth, the Court had allowed him to return to St Helena. He was going out as a private in the *Marquis of Lansdown*. Copies of his memorial and request, and of certificates from Major Bazett and Captain Lieutenant Statham, were enclosed. The Council was to examine these papers closely. If it found the claims in them true, it was to restore Ailesworth to his former rank of corporal of artillery. **Interpretations** The flour order set a hard limit on what England could do for its outposts in a year of dearth. Under the special Act, St Helena could receive 100 tons and no more, while Fort Marlborough was cut off from European flour entirely and turned to Bengal instead. The Company's settlements in the East could be fed from India's grain, but St Helena lay in the Atlantic, beyond easy reach of Bengal. In a bad English

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Aylesworth permitted to return to St. Helena His Memorial &c. sent If the allegations contained therein are true Promote him to his former Station of Corpl. of Artillery	harvest the island would have to make up any shortfall from its own fields or from the Cape. Ailesworth had evidently lost his rank and left the island, perhaps reduced and discharged, and now sought to clear his name. His memorial was backed by Major Bazett and Statham, two officers who knew his service. The Court sent him out as a private and left the Council to judge his case on the spot. If his account proved true, he would be restored to corporal. A man wronged by the island's officers could appeal to London. The Court sent the case back to the island to be settled, rather than reversing the decision outright.
196	185	the several requisitions of the Governor and Lieut. Governor under date the 29th Septr. 1787, 2d Febry. 1788 and 14th March 1789, for Port regulations respecting Vessels under Foreign Colours putting in at St. Helena for refreshments, also an account of their proceedings on the 9th February and 12 March 1789 it clearly appears to Us that the Governor is authorized to call upon the Commanders of all Vessels under Foreign Colrs. putting into that Island for refreshments to produce such Papers as may be necessary to prove to what Nation they respectively belong, and that the regulations made by the Governor and Lieut. Governor on the 12 March 1789 respecting Foreign Ships paying for Watering Anchorage and Wharfage (the same being at the rates confirmed by Our Letter 23 Decemr. 1788) and to prevent all intercourse or Trade, but for Provisions, are very proper, and should be observed upon all future occasions. - 9th We approve of the Assistance afforded the Crew of the Contractor, and of Your sending the Eighteen Men from the Garrison to assist in Navigating the Ship to England; you **Margin Notes:** The Governor is authorised to call for and examine the Papers of all Foreigners who put into St. Helena Regulations made respecting Foreigners paying Wharfage &c. Approved and confirmed - No Trade allowed Foreigners but in Provisions Assistance afforded the Ship Contractor Approved	8: The Court had considered the Governor and Lieutenant Governor's requests of 29 September 1787, 2 February 1788 and 14 March 1789 for port rules covering foreign ships that called at St Helena for supplies. It had also considered their proceedings of 9 February and 12 March 1789. In the Court's view, the Governor plainly had the authority to require the commander of any foreign ship calling at the island for supplies to produce whatever papers were needed to prove which nation it belonged to. The rules the Governor and Lieutenant Governor made on 12 March 1789 were also entirely proper. These charged foreign ships for water, anchorage and use of the wharf, at the rates the Court had confirmed in its letter of 23 December 1788, and banned all contact or trade with them except for provisions. They were to be followed on every future occasion. 9: The Court approved the help given to the crew of the *Contractor*, and the Council's sending of 18 men from the garrison to help sail the ship to England [...]. **Interpretations** Peace had brought foreign ships to St Helena in growing numbers: American, French, Portuguese and Dutch. The island needed fixed rules for dealing with them. Demanding their papers established their nationality, which mattered because a French or American ship was now treated differently from a British one. The ban on all dealings except for provisions kept them from trading in goods that belonged to the Company's monopoly, or selling cheap rum to the garrison, as the Court had feared with American ships. Charges for water, anchorage and the wharf turned each foreign call into revenue for the island. Lending 18 soldiers to work the *Contractor* home shows that her crew had been badly weakened, probably by sickness or death on the voyage. The garrison held men used to boat work, and a short-handed Indiaman could not safely make the long passage north. The Court approved the loan, since the safe arrival of the ship and her cargo outweighed the loss of the men to the garrison for a season.
197	186	You will take care to inform Us if the Company have been put to any expence for subsisting the Sick Men in the Hospital. - 10th You will also be attentive in informing Us whether the same Number of Men are received into the Garrison as you sent, for We shall rely on your care that the Company are indemnified for any Expence they may have been at on account of the Ship Contractor. - 11th In consideration of the long and faithful Services of Mr. William Wrangham and the testimonials he has produced to Us of his ill state of Health, We have agreed to permit him to remain in England another Year, and to continue to receive his Salary and Allowances at St. Helena for that period. -	9 (continued): The Council was to tell the Court whether the Company had borne any cost for keeping the *Contractor*'s sick men in the hospital. 10: The Council was also to tell the Court whether the same number of men came back to the garrison as it had sent. The Court relied on the Council to make sure the Company was repaid any costs it had incurred on account of the *Contractor*. 11: In view of Mr William Wrangham's long and faithful service, and the evidence he had given the Court of his poor health, the Court had agreed to let him stay in England for another year. He was to go on receiving his salary and allowances at St Helena for that time. 12: The Court had received the proper certificates for Mrs Elizabeth Hodson, widow of the late Lieutenant Hodson of the island's Artillery

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		12th We have received the proper Certificates respecting Mrs. Elizabeth Hodson, Widow of the late Lieut. Hodson of the Artillery Corps on your Island, and have resolved to admit her a Pensioner on the Military Fund at £25 P Annum to commence from the day of **Margin Notes:** The Company to be informed whether the same number of Men have been Recd. as were Sent the Contractor Mr. Willm. Wrangham permitted to remain in England another Year, & is to Receive his Salary & Allowances at St. Helena for y. period Mrs. Elizabeth Hodson put upon the Military Fund at £25 P Anm.	Corps. It had decided to admit her as a pensioner on the Military Fund at £25 0s 0d a year, starting from the day [...]. **Interpretations** The Court meant the *Contractor*'s owners to bear the cost of the help the island gave her. The hospital care for her sick and the loan of 18 soldiers were services to a hired ship, and under the charter party such costs fell on the owners, not the Company. The Court also wanted to know whether all 18 men had come back. Soldiers sent to England on a merchant ship might desert there or sign on elsewhere, and each one lost would have to be replaced by a recruit sent out at the Company's expense. Lieutenant Robert Hodson came to the island in 1778 from the Queen's Royal Regiment and served in the artillery throughout the war. His widow's pension of £25 0s 0d a year came from the Military Fund, which provided for officers' widows as well as disabled men. The Fund paid only on proper certificates, which explains why her case waited until the papers proving her husband's service and death reached London.
198	187	of his Death, which you will pay her accordingly, on her taking the customary Affidavit, that She has not contracted Marriage with any other Person, since the Decease of her beforementioned Husband. - 13th We think the custom of removing Officers from the Infantry to the Artillery Corps and vice versa, very improper, as it is not usual we believe in any Service; We therefore direct that in future, Officers in the Infantry and Artillery do rise in their respective Corps only, according to seniority; Lieut. Broadway is therefore to return to his station in the Infantry and Lieut. Seale to rise to the First Lieutenancy in the Artillery. - 14th When this is done there will only be one Vacancy in the Infantry which is to be filled by Mr. Shirtley the Senior Cadet, We shall send Mr. Shirtley an Ensigns - Commission by this Conveyance, As We think it proper that Officers next in Rank to Lieutenants should have this Appellation instead of Second Lieutenants which You will therefore discontinue in future. - 15th As it is the rule of Our Service not **Margin Notes:** Officers of Artillery to rise in that Corps only according to Seniority - Mr. Shirtley Appointed to Ensign.	12 (continued): Mrs Hodson's pension was to run from the day of her husband's death. The Council was to pay it once she had sworn the usual affidavit that she had not married anyone else since his death. 13: The Court thought the practice of moving officers from the infantry to the Artillery Corps, and the other way round, most improper, and believed it was not usual in any service. In future, officers of the infantry and the artillery were to rise only within their own corps, by seniority. Lieutenant Broadway was therefore to return to his post in the infantry, and Lieutenant Seale was to rise to first lieutenant in the artillery. 14: That would leave only one vacancy in the infantry, to be filled by Mr Shortley, the senior cadet. The Court would send Mr Shortley an ensign's commission by this ship. It thought it right that officers ranking next below lieutenants should be called ensigns instead of second lieutenants, and that title was to be dropped in future. 15: As it was the rule of the Company's service [...]. **Interpretations** The widow's affidavit tied her pension to her remaining unmarried, the same condition the Court placed on Margaret Desfountain's pension in 1788. A widow who remarried was expected to be supported by her new husband, so the Fund's money went only to women still without one. The oath turned that expectation into a legal obligation. A woman who drew the pension after remarrying could be prosecuted for perjury. Moving officers between the infantry and the artillery let the Council promote a favoured man by shifting him into whichever corps had a vacancy. That jumped him over others who had waited longer in their own branch. Seniority within each corps gave every officer a clear place in the queue. It also kept artillery officers, whose training in gunnery was specialised, in the arm where their skill was needed. Broadway had probably been moved into the artillery in 1787 when the Court let the Council choose between him and Taylor for a lieutenancy. He now went back to the infantry.
199	188	not to Appoint any Persons Cadets till they have attained the Age of fifteen Years, We cannot consent at present to allow either of the Young Gentlemen you have recommended to Act as such. - 16th Your Artillery Company has	15 (continued): The Company's rule was not to appoint anyone a cadet until he reached the age of 15. The Court could not, for the present, allow either of the young gentlemen the Council had recommended to act as cadets.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		at present only one Captain and two Lieuts. but as Our Establishment in India for a Company of Artillery is one Captain two Lieutenants, and two Lieut. Fireworkers, We shall send you two Officers properly qualified for the latter Commissions who are to rank next under Lieut. Smith, the junior Lieutenant of Artillery. - 17th Having received a very favorable recommendation of the abilities of Mr. Roderick Ogg and Mr. George Scott We have appointed them Lieut. Fireworkers in the Artillery Company at St. Helena and We direct that Mr. Ogg do take rank next under Lieut. Smith of the same Corps and Mr. Scott next below Mr. Ogg. - We have permitted Mr. Scott to take with him his Wife and two Children - **Margin Notes:** Cadets not to be Appointed till the Age of 15 Years - Artillery Corps to consist of 1 Captain 2 Lieuts. & 2 Lt. Fireworkers Mr. Rodk. Ogg & Geo. Scott appointed Lt. Fire Workers Mr. Scott permitted to take out his Wife & 2 Children	16: The island's artillery company had at present only one captain and two lieutenants. The Company's establishment for an artillery company in India, however, was one captain, two lieutenants and two lieutenant fireworkers. The Court would therefore send two suitably qualified officers for those posts, to rank next below Lieutenant Smith, the junior lieutenant of artillery. 17: The Court had received very favourable reports of the abilities of Mr Roderick Ogg and Mr George Scott. It had appointed them lieutenant fireworkers in the artillery company at St Helena, with Mr Ogg ranking next below Lieutenant Smith of that corps and Mr Scott next below Mr Ogg. It had allowed Mr Scott to take his wife and two children with him. **Interpretations** A lieutenant fireworker was the most junior commissioned rank in the artillery, below a second lieutenant. The title came from the officer's original task of preparing fireworks, the fuses, shells and incendiary devices used by the guns. Bringing St Helena's artillery company up to the Indian establishment matched the Court's plan to make the island a training depot for recruits bound for India. Men trained in a company organised exactly like those in Bengal or Madras could move into Indian service without adjusting to a different structure. The Court's refusal to let under-age boys act as cadets held to the rule it had applied to writers since 1788. The Council kept recommending island boys for military posts before they were old enough. The Court sent out grown officers from England for the vacancies, so the island's own sons waited while outsiders filled the places.
200	189	18th We have attended to Your Proceedings respecting the Posts of Garrison Adjutant and Commissary, and We cannot give our approbation to Lieut. Smith's holding those Stations - It is our intention that the right of succession should always be in favour of Seniority, except in cases where the next in rank is not equal to the duties of the Vacant Station, and as Lieutenant Den Taaffe is the Senior Officer who claims the post of Adjutant, all his Seniors having relinquished their Claims specifically in his favor, and as there appears no objection against him, We direct that Lieut. Den Taaffe be Appointed Garrison Adjutant with the usual Salary. - 19th As you have Nominated Lieut. Smith to do the Duty of Master at Arms and Recommended him as a deserving Officer, We hereby Confirm that Appointment. - We observe Lieut. Smith has for some time been in receipt of 2/6 P Day for - Superintending the Works on Ladder Hill; this Appointment you have omitted to Advise. - We consider it the duty of the Engineer **Margin Notes:** Lieut. Andw. D. Taaffe appointed as Garrison Adjt. by the Hon'ble Company - Lt. E. Smith appointed Mastr. at Arms -	18: The Court had considered the Council's proceedings over the posts of Garrison Adjutant and Commissary. It could not approve Lieutenant Smith holding both. It intended the right of succession always to follow seniority, except where the next in rank was not equal to the duties of the vacant post. Lieutenant Andrew Dow Taaffe was the senior officer claiming the adjutant's post, all those above him having given up their claims expressly in his favour. Since there seemed to be no objection to him, the Court directed that he be appointed Garrison Adjutant with the usual salary. 19: The Council had nominated Lieutenant Smith to act as Master at Arms and recommended him as a deserving officer, and the Court confirmed that appointment. The Court noted, however, that Lieutenant Smith had for some time been drawing 2s 6d a day for supervising the works on Ladder Hill. The Council had not reported this appointment. The Court considered it the duty of the Engineer [...]. **Interpretations** Lieutenant Edward Charles Smith, sent out from London in 1787 as the most junior artillery lieutenant, had gathered several paid posts within two years: Garrison Adjutant, Commissary, Master at Arms and supervisor of the Ladder Hill works at 2s 6d a day. The Council had heaped them on one favoured officer and reported only some of them. The Court stripped away two and gave the adjutancy to the officer entitled to it by seniority. It left Smith one office and questioned the unreported allowance. The Court's rule that posts followed seniority unless the senior man was unfit kept the Council from rewarding a favourite over men who had served longer. Taaffe's case shows the rule working as intended: every officer senior to him had waived his claim in his favour.
201	190	Engineer and his Assistant Captain Bazett to Superintend all Works carrying on in	19 (continued): Supervising all works on the island was the duty of the Engineer and his assistant,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		the Island, as this business will however We suppose be Compleated by the time You receive this Letter, of course the Allowance to Lieut. Smith will have ceased, and you are not to make any such in future. - 20th Captain Lieutenant Statham having made Application to Us to be Appointed to the Office of Commissary, and being an Officer of long standing in Our Service, and altho' holding a Commission of Superior rank, receives only Lieutenants pay, We have agreed to Appoint him to that Station. - 21st The Custom mentioned on Your Consultations of the 3 November last of Ordering more Soldiers for Guard than were necessary and making the - Supernumeraries pay a Rupee each to be excused Duty which was divided among some of the Officers, appears to deserve the severest reprobation, and We are surprized that such a practice should have so long connived at, We approve of Your having **Margin Notes:** Captn. Lieut. T. Statham appointed Commissary w. the usual Salary -	Captain Bazett. The Court supposed that the Ladder Hill work would be finished by the time this letter arrived, so Lieutenant Smith's allowance would by then have stopped. The Council was to make no such allowance in future. 20: Captain Lieutenant Statham had asked to be appointed Commissary. He was an officer of long standing in the Company's service and, though he held a commission of higher rank, drew only a lieutenant's pay. The Court had agreed to appoint him to the post. 21: The Council's consultations of 3 November 1789 described a practice of ordering more soldiers for guard duty than were needed and making the extra men pay a rupee each to be excused, the money being shared among some of the officers. The Court thought this deserved the strongest condemnation. It was surprised that such a practice had been tolerated for so long. It approved the Council's having [...]. **Interpretations** The officers had found a way to turn guard duty into a private income. By ordering more men than needed, they created a surplus who would rather pay than stand guard, and the officers pocketed the rupees. Soldiers earning 10d a day were being made to buy their way out of duties that were not needed at all. The practice explains some of the garrison's discontent in these years, including the mutiny of 1783. The Court had blamed that rising on slack discipline and drink. Here was a grievance of the officers' own making. The Council had at last discovered and stopped it, and the Court's surprise was that it had gone on unnoticed for so long. The rupee as the unit of payment suggests that many of the soldiers, or the officers who devised the scheme, had served in India, where the rupee was the common coin. Statham's appointment as Commissary, by contrast, gave a deserving officer the extra income his rank warranted, through an approved post instead of a private exaction.
202	191	having put a stop to this disgraceful transaction on the information received from Lieut. Smith whose Conduct herein has our approbation. - 22nd You state that the Soldiers were afraid to Complain as the Persons who received the Emolument had them so much in their power. - We have no doubt but the Governor or Superior Officers, will take care that the Soldiers do not suffer for reporting any justly founded grievances though at the same time it is by no means our intention to encourage them to make any frivolous Complaints against their Officers, as that would be subversive of that Discipline which is so essentially necessary among all ranks of the Military - 23rd In Your Letter of the 21 August last, You requested to be informed whether You are to continue the Pension to Lieutenant Roberts's Wife. - We last Year acquainted you that We had admitted Mr. Roberts a Pensioner on the Military Fund and gave him £50 - to fit himself out, and in - consequence expected that he would have returned to St. Helena on the Britannia when the Pension to his Wife would of course have **Margin Notes:** The Pension to Mrs. Roberts Wife of Lt. Roberts to be discontinued	21 (continued): The Court approved the Council's having stopped this shameful practice on information from Lieutenant Smith, whose conduct in the matter it also approved. 22: The Council had reported that the soldiers were afraid to complain, because the men who took the money had so much power over them. The Court had no doubt that the Governor and the senior officers would make sure no soldier suffered for reporting a genuine grievance. At the same time, it had no wish to encourage frivolous complaints against officers, which would undermine the discipline so essential at every level of the army. 23: In its letter of 21 August 1789 the Council had asked whether it should continue the pension to Lieutenant Roberts's wife. The Court had told the Council the year before that it had admitted Mr Roberts as a pensioner on the Military Fund and given him £50 0s 0d to fit himself out. It had therefore expected him to return to St Helena in the *Britannia*, at which point his wife's pension would of course [...]. **Interpretations** Lieutenant Smith had been stripped of two of his offices earlier in this letter, yet here he was praised for exposing the guard money. The Court judged each matter on its own merits. His holding several posts was a fault of the Council's favouritism, while his informing on fellow officers was service that deserved credit. Reporting such a scheme was risky for a junior officer, who could expect hostility from the men whose income he had cut off. The Court's warning against frivolous complaints shows the line it walked. It wanted soldiers able to report real abuse without fear, since the guard-money

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			scheme had lasted precisely because the men dared not speak. Yet an army in which privates freely accused their officers would lose its discipline. The Court relied on the Governor and senior officers to protect honest complainants, leaving the judgement of each grievance to those above the officers accused. Roberts's wife had been drawing a pension on the island while he was in England. Once he returned as a pensioner himself, his own pension would support the household, so hers would end.
203	192	have ceased, but as Lieut. Roberts is still in the receipt of the Pension from the Fund, We cannot consent to allow Mrs. Roberts any pension during her Husbands lifetime. - 24th You will continue to adhere to Our Orders of the 23 December 1788 respecting your refusing permission to any Persons to proceed to India or China. - 25th On Consultation of the 6 July last, you resolved that Mr. Wm. Webber Doveton should continue to Act as Assistant Paymaster and as Mr. Leech has acquiesced therein, We see no objection to this Office continuing with Mr. Doveton during Mr. Wrangham's absence. - 26th The Office of Secretary to the Secret Committee which We abolished by our Orders to you of last Year, We continue to think unnecessary and therefore cannot comply with the Governor's request on this subject. - Whenever the Governor is in want of Assistance he may call for the Services of one of the Writers. - 27th The Establishment of a Sunday **Margin Notes:** No Persons to be allowed to proceed to India or China Mr. W. W. Doveton to continue as Acting Paymaster during Mr. Wrangham's absence - Continued to consider the Office of Secy. of Secret Committee unnecessary - Whenever the Governor wants Assistance he may call upon one of the Writers	23 (continued): Mrs Roberts's pension would then have ended. Lieutenant Roberts was still drawing his pension from the Fund, so the Court could not allow his wife any pension while her husband lived. 24: The Council was to keep to the Court's orders of 23 December 1788 refusing anyone leave to go on to India or China. 25: In its consultation of 6 July 1789 the Council had resolved that Mr William Webber Doveton should go on acting as Assistant Paymaster. Mr Leech had agreed to this, so the Court saw no objection to Mr Doveton keeping the post while Mr Wrangham was away. 26: The Court still thought the office of Secretary to the Secret Committee, which it had abolished by its orders of the previous year, was unnecessary. It therefore could not grant the Governor's request on the subject. Whenever the Governor needed help, he could call on one of the writers. 27: The setting up of a Sunday [...]. **Interpretations** The Court would not pay two pensions to one household. The Military Fund was meant to keep officers and their families from want, and a living husband's pension was expected to support his wife. Mrs Roberts's earlier pension had been a stopgap while her husband was in England and unable to provide for her. With his own pension restored, the Fund would not pay twice for the same family. Governor Brooke had asked to keep a private secretary, the post first created by Skottowe and Corneille in 1779. The Court refused again. The writers were young clerks already on the payroll, so drawing on them cost nothing extra. A separate secretary answerable only to the Governor was exactly the kind of extra office the Court had been stripping out since the war ended.
204	193	Sunday School at St. Helena for the instruction of Slaves and such Children whose Parents cannot afford to give them a more liberal Education has our approbation, We think an institution of this nature will be very proper, We therefore direct that Mr. Wilkinson's proposal be carried into effect, and that he be permitted to appoint some Person of good moral Character to assist him in this business, who is to be allowed a Salary of £20 (twenty) P Annum. 28th We have considered the Collection of regulations in force on your Island - respecting Slaves, with the remarks and new regulations proposed but as the very important question respecting the abolishing the Slave Trade, is now before Parliament & something will probably be done therein in the course of the present Sessions, We think it proper to postpone for the present, the making new regulations for your Island. When this business shall have been discussed in Parliament, We shall be able better to judge what may be right to be done, and will take the first opportunity to forward Our Orders with such regulations as shall be thought	27 (continued): The Court approved the setting up of a Sunday school at St Helena to teach slaves, and children whose parents could not afford a fuller education. It thought such an institution very fitting. It therefore directed that Mr Wilkinson's proposal be carried out, and that he be allowed to appoint someone of good moral character to help him in the work, at a salary of £20 0s 0d a year. 28: The Court had considered the collection of rules in force on the island concerning slaves, with the Council's comments and the new rules it proposed. The very important question of abolishing the slave trade, however, was then before Parliament, and some action would probably be taken in the present session. The Court therefore thought it right to put off making new rules for the island for the present. Once Parliament had debated the matter, it would be better able to judge what should be done. It would send its orders, with whatever rules seemed proper, at the first opportunity [...]. **Interpretations** Sunday schools had spread rapidly in England since the early 1780s, teaching poor children to read, chiefly from the Bible, on their one free day. The Reverend John Wilkinson, sent out in 1788 as

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		proper **Margin Notes:** The Establishment of a Sunday School approved and £20 P Annum allowed for an Assist. to the Schoolmaster Respecting Slaves	assistant schoolmaster, brought the idea to St Helena and extended it to slaves. Teaching slaves to read was controversial in many colonies, where owners feared literate slaves would read dangerous ideas or forge passes. The Court approved it without hesitation, which fitted its recent stand against cruel masters and in favour of winning slaves' loyalty by kindness. The Court held back its new slave code because Parliament was then debating the abolition of the slave trade, after William Wilberforce opened the campaign in the Commons in 1789. Any rules the Company made might be overtaken within months by an Act of Parliament. Waiting avoided issuing a code that could be at odds with national law, and it left the Court free to follow whatever course Parliament set.
205	194	proper. In the mean time We doubt not, but you will exert yourselves in protecting the Slaves to the utmost of your power from ill treatment. - 29th With respect to the case of Mr. Richd. Mason there seems to be too much reason to blame his Conduct. The Evidence of Serjt. John Price furnishes strong suspicion of Mr. Mason's meaning to withhold the property belonging to Hagar which She had acquired by her cohabiting with Coffin. Whether such cohabitation was by the - express direction of Mr. Mason or not is not very material, it was certainly connived at and permitted by him. If he continues to withhold the property he ought to be required to deliver it up to her - 30th With respect to the Evidence of Slaves being admitted against their Masters it seems to be an act of necessity, the ill treatment they may receive may be capable of proof only by the other Slaves and if their Evidence should be rejected, it would be impossible for the Magistrates to give any redress to Slaves who are Abused by their Masters or Mistresses. - **Margin Notes:** Respecting R. Mason & his Woman Slave Hagar Respecting the Evidence of Slaves against their Masters	28 (continued): In the meantime, the Court had no doubt the Council would do everything in its power to protect the slaves from ill-treatment. 29: In the case of Mr Richard Mason, there seemed to be good reason to blame his conduct. The evidence of Sergeant John Price gave strong grounds to suspect that Mr Mason meant to keep back property belonging to Hagar, which she had acquired while living with Coffin. Whether that relationship was on Mr Mason's express orders or not hardly mattered, since he had certainly known of it and allowed it. If he went on withholding the property, he was to be made to hand it over to her. 30: As for allowing slaves to give evidence against their masters, the Court thought this a matter of necessity. Often only other slaves could prove the ill-treatment a slave suffered. If their evidence were rejected, the magistrates could not give any redress to slaves abused by their masters or mistresses. **Interpretations** Hagar was a slave who had lived with a man named Coffin and acquired property through that relationship. Her owner, Richard Mason, the planter the Court had already named for cruelty to his slaves, now sought to keep it. In law a slave's possessions could be claimed by her master. The Court rejected that claim. It held that Mason, having allowed the relationship that produced the property, could not then take its fruits. The Court thus recognised a slave woman's right to keep what she had gained, against her own owner, at a time when the law generally gave a slave no property of her own. The ruling on slave evidence went to the heart of the matter. Cruelty to slaves usually happened where only other slaves saw it. A rule barring their evidence against masters would have made every protection worthless, since no white witness would ever testify. The Recorder of London's opinion of 1787 on black evidence had raised the question. The Court now settled it in the slaves' favour. A slave's word could be heard against his master, without which no complaint of cruelty could ever be proved.
206	195	31st The Papers you sent respecting Mr. Thomas Lister's Claim to the Land producing Water Cresses and Celery have not escaped our notice. There not being any Plan sent of the Land in question and the Ground by which it is surrounded, it is impossible for Us to judge with precision whether it was granted by the Lease under which Mr. Lister claims, but from the Evidence it is highly improbable to have been included therein. The Lands mentioned in the Lease are described as bounded by the Company's Waste Lands which Waste Lands are probably the Lands in question, and this idea is exceedingly strengthened by the circumstances of the case, for it does not appear that from the Year 1743/4 when the Lease	31: The Court had noted the papers the Council sent about Mr Thomas Lester's claim to the land that produced watercress and celery, near and partly adjoining Chubb's Spring. No plan had been sent of the land or the ground around it, so the Court could not judge exactly whether it was granted by the lease under which Mr Lester claimed it. From the evidence, however, it seemed most unlikely to have been included. The lease described its lands as bounded by the Company's waste lands, and those waste lands were probably the very land in dispute. The facts of the case strongly supported this view. From 1744, when the lease was granted, until Mr Lester bought it a year or two earlier, no holder of the lease appeared to have claimed or occupied this land. On the contrary, the inhabitants had planted the watercress

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		was granted down to the time of Mr. Lister's purchase a Year or two ago, any Person possessed of the Lease ever claimed or was in possession of this Land, but on the Contrary that the Water Cresses were planted by the Inhabitants and have uniformly been gathered and used by them and Sold to the Shipping. Mr. Lister's purchase We conceive should be considered to extend only to such Land as the Person from whom he purchased and his predecessors as Owners of the Lease have before possessed. **Margin Notes:** Respecting Mr. T. Lister's Claim to certain Grounds near & partly adjoining to Chubs Spring	and had always gathered and used it themselves and sold it to the ships. In the Court's view, Mr Lester's purchase should cover only the land that the seller and the earlier owners of the lease had actually held. **Interpretations** The watercress beds were a small common resource with a real value to the island. Ships arriving after months at sea wanted fresh green food against scurvy, and the inhabitants had long gathered cress and celery at the spring and sold them to passing crews. Lester had bought an old lease and tried to stretch it over the beds, turning a common source of income into his private property. The Court looked to how the land had been used. For more than 40 years no leaseholder had claimed it, while the inhabitants had planted and harvested it. That long, open use by the community weighed more than the vague wording of the lease. The Court limited Lester to what his predecessors had actually held, protecting the islanders' customary right against a newcomer's claim.
207	196	If Mr. Lister has all that they possessed and which it was in their contemplation to Sell, he can have no ground for Complaint, and even if it should appear that the Lands in question fall within the strict Letter of the Lease, it does not seem to be unjust after near fifty Years enjoyment of the Land, as Waste and public property since the Lease, to consider it as abandon'd and forfeited to the Company on account of the terms of the Lease not having been complied with, leaving Mr. Lister, still in the full enjoyment of the Lease as to rest of the property. - 32nd We consent to allow Mr. William Webber Doveton the Sum of £200 (two hundred) P Annum from the profits on Sales of Spirits to - commence from the date of his Appointment of Secretary and it is our intention in future that every Person succeeding by his Office or situation to a participation in the above profits (except the Members of Council) shall be allowed only the same sum but We do not mean that this shall affect the present possessors. - **Margin Notes:** Mr. W. W. Doveton allowed £200 P Annm. from the profits on the Sale of Spirits	31 (continued): If Mr Lester held everything the earlier owners had held and meant to sell, he had no grounds for complaint. Even if the land in question did fall within the strict wording of the lease, the Court did not think it unfair to treat it as abandoned. For nearly 50 years since the lease was granted it had been used as waste and public property, so it could be taken as forfeited to the Company because the terms of the lease had not been kept. Mr Lester would still hold the rest of the property under the lease in full. 32: The Court agreed to allow Mr William Webber Doveton £200 0s 0d a year from the profits on the sale of spirits, starting from the date he was appointed Secretary. In future, anyone who came by his office or position to share in those profits, apart from members of Council, was to receive only the same sum. This was not meant to affect those who held such shares at present. **Interpretations** The Court gave itself a second ground for defeating Lester's claim. Even if the lease covered the land, a leaseholder who left it unused for nearly 50 years while the public took it over had failed to keep the lease's terms, which usually required tenants to occupy and improve the ground. The Company could treat that neglect as abandonment and take the land back. The same principle it used against Lester could be used against any leaseholder who held land idle, which fitted its push to bring waste ground into use. Doveton's £200 0s 0d a year came out of the spirit profits now held by the Company. The former members of the Arrack Society had been promised £300 0s 0d or £450 0s 0d a year each for life. The Court now set a lower fixed sum for anyone who joined the circle in future through his office. The old members kept their larger shares, but the cost of the arrangement would shrink as they died or left, and new holders would never draw as much.
208	197	33rd We have considered Governor Brooke's request through his agents to be allowed the local Rank of Colonel and an encrease of his allowances. With respect to the first We have to observe that the Rank of Colonel is the highest in our Military Service in India and has never been granted to any of Mr. Brooke's predecessors; wishing however to shew our good opinion of Mr. Brooke's Conduct, during the time he has held the Government, We have agreed to send him a Commission of Lieut. Colonel by Brevet on our Island of St. Helena only, but he is not to derive any emolument therefrom. - 34th In regard to the Governor's application	33: Governor Brooke had asked, through his agents, for the local rank of colonel and an increase in his allowances. On the first point, the Court noted that colonel was the highest rank in its military service in India and had never been given to any of his predecessors. Wishing, however, to show its good opinion of his conduct while he had held the government, the Court had agreed to send him a brevet commission as lieutenant colonel, valid on the island of St Helena only. He was to draw no pay from it. 34: As for the Governor's request for a higher salary, the Court pointed out that the Company already bore a very large cost for keeping his table, which had grown in recent years. Almost every other

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		for an increase of Salary, We observe that the Company are at a very considerable expence for keeping his Table, which has encreased of late Years and that almost every other expence on his Account is defrayed by the Company. 35th We trust that the Governor will pay the strictest attention to economy in every expence either for his own convenience or for the general purposes of the Island under his direction and the more to stimulate his exertions thereto, We shall for the present so far comply with his request as to allow him the **Margin Notes:** Governor Brooke appointed Lieut. Colonel by Brevet. One Moiety of the Saving made, P Refer. to the Secretary on the Sale of Spirits - to the Governor £50. P An.	expense on his account was also paid by the Company. 35: The Court trusted the Governor would practise the strictest economy in every expense, whether for his own comfort or for the island's general purposes under his direction. To encourage his efforts further, the Court would for the present go some way to meet his request and allow him [...]. **Interpretations** A brevet commission gave an officer a higher rank in name without the pay or permanent standing that normally went with it. Limiting it to St Helena meant Brooke would outrank every officer on the island but could claim nothing from it elsewhere. The Court used the honour to reward him cheaply. It could not give him a colonel's rank without upsetting the order of command in India, where colonels led whole armies, so it gave him enough rank to stand above his own garrison. The Court's reply on salary returned to an old complaint. In 1778 it had noted that the Governor's table had more than doubled in cost since the 1750s. Ten years on it was still growing, and the Company paid nearly all the Governor's household costs besides his salary. The Court treated any rise in pay as an incentive tied to his keeping costs down, not as a reward for his position.
209	198	the moiety of the saving arising from these Orders respecting the shares of the profits on Spirits and another moiety of the same saving when the next Person succeeds to this allowance - 36th We have also received an application from the Deputy Governor for an encrease of his Allowances, on examination We find that his emoluments are less than those of several of the Servants under him including his pay as Captain of a Company, and as We are informed he is sometimes obliged to entertain the Officers of the Company's Ships at his Table, We consent to his enjoying the other moiety of the said savings in like manner as directed above. - 37th We have noticed above the expences for the Governor's Table which have been encreased of late Years, We are not by any means convinced that there has been occasion for such encrease, a large supply is issued from the Stores We send from hence, and of the Articles purchased, several appear to Us at enormous prices, of these We shall specify the following, Hams bought at from 15 to 20 P lb., Butter from £4. 10 to £5. 5. P Firkin Port Wine £2. 2. P Dozen, Cyder £1. 5 P Dozen **Margin Notes:** Another moiety of the Saving made by the Refer. on the Profits on Spirits, to the Lt. Governor £50 P Annm. - Complaint of the Expence of the Table	35 (continued): The Court would allow the Governor half of the saving that arose from these orders on the shares of the spirit profits, and another half of the same saving when the next person took up the allowance. The margin note put his share at £50 0s 0d a year. 36: The Court had also received a request from the Deputy Governor for higher allowances. On examination it found that his earnings, including his pay as captain of a company, were lower than those of several servants beneath him. It was told that he sometimes had to entertain the officers of the Company's ships at his table. The Court therefore agreed that he should have the other half of these savings in the same way. The margin note put his share at £30 0s 0d a year. 37: The Court had already remarked on the cost of the Governor's table, which had grown in recent years. It was not at all convinced that the increase was needed. A large supply was issued from the stores the Court sent from England, and several of the items bought on the island seemed to it to have been bought at enormous prices. It named the following: hams at 1s 6d to 2s 0d a pound, butter at £4 10s 0d to £5 5s 0d a firkin, port wine at £2 2s 0d a dozen and cider at £1 5s 0d a dozen [...]. **Interpretations** The Court paid the Governor and Lieutenant Governor out of savings rather than new money. When future holders of a spirit-profit share received the lower fixed sum of £200 0s 0d set for Doveton, the difference from the old larger shares would be saved, and half of it would go to each officer. The Company spent nothing extra. It shared out money it would otherwise have gone on paying to former Arrack Society members. The two officers also gained a stake in seeing the old shares lapse, since their own allowances rose as they did. The prices the Court named show why it doubted the table's costs. A firkin of butter held 56 lb, so £5 5s 0d came to almost 2s 0d a pound, far above English prices. Imported ham, port and cider all carried the cost of a long voyage, and the island's sellers could charge what they liked. The Court suspected the Governor's household was buying luxuries at the Company's expense on top of the plain stores it sent free.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
210	199	Dozen, Porter 16/ to 18 P Dozen, large Sums laid out in Confectionary, Sweetmeats, Pickles, Spices and Liquors and besides Wines purchased by Name and those used of what sent from hence, a Chest a Cask and ten Dozen bought in the Year at an expence of £48 - the expenditure of Wine is greatly Encreased of late Years. Large quantities of Meat and Poultry are also bought for the Governor's Table altho' We should imagine the Company's Plantation is capable of supplying every reasonable demand. - 38th Among other Articles purchased for the accommodation of the Governor We notice Table Linen in June 1788 to the Amount of £45 - Printed Linen in December £10 - and Silver Water Plates £21 - and in April 1789 a Floor Cloth for £34. 10 - many of the Articles above enumerated might be provided from hence at a price greatly inferior to what is Charged for them, and We direct that an Indent be annually framed accordingly for the same. - We must also be furnished with an account of all Persons who either by their rank in the Service or by customary indulgence are entertain'd at the Governor's Table, in order that We may be better enabled to judge of the propriety of the expences incurred thereby. - **Margin Notes:** Price of Articles purchased for the Government House complained of - & directions to Indent for what may be necessary - An Acct. of Persons who by Rank or otherwise are Dined at the Governor's Table to be sent Home	37 (continued): Porter cost 16s 0d to 18s 0d a dozen. Large sums had gone on confectionery, sweetmeats, pickles, spices and spirits. Apart from wine bought by name and what was used from the stores sent from England, a chest, a cask and ten dozen bottles had been bought in a year at a cost of £48 0s 0d, and the use of wine had risen greatly in recent years. Large quantities of meat and poultry were also bought for the Governor's table, though the Court would have thought the Company's plantation could meet every reasonable need. 38: Among other items bought for the Governor's household, the Court noted table linen costing £45 0s 0d in June 1788, printed linen costing £10 0s 0d in December and silver water plates costing £21 0s 0d. In April 1789 a floorcloth had been bought for £34 10s 0d. Many of these things could be supplied from England far more cheaply than the island paid. The Council was to draw up a yearly order for them accordingly. The Court also required an account of everyone who, through his rank in the service or by custom, was entertained at the Governor's table, so that it could better judge whether the costs were justified. **Interpretations** The Court found the Governor's household buying fine goods on the island at island prices: silver plates, printed linen, a floorcloth and wines beyond the Company's own supply. Every one of these could be ordered from London and shipped with the stores far more cheaply. By requiring a yearly order, the Court brought the Governor's comforts under the same checks as the garrison's stores. It also questioned who ate at his table. The Company paid for entertaining its own officers and the captains of its ships, but the Court suspected the table fed friends and hangers-on at its expense. A list of guests would show whether the costs served the Company's business or the Governor's private hospitality. The complaint about meat and poultry tied back to the Company's own estate. Its plantation was supposed to supply the Castle. If the Governor was buying meat from settlers instead, either the plantation was failing, as the Court had long suspected, or the household preferred better meat at the Company's cost.
211	200	39th Several Expences of the Island inserted in the Paymasters accounts have struck Us as deserving animadversion, such are the purchases of Soldiers Clothes and Hats, Blankets, Iron and Tools, Canvas, Barley Bunting, Flannel, Salt Provisions &c. &c. of these some were in Store at the time purchases were made, and the whole if required should be Indented for. - 40th The charge of Labor amounts to near £2000 - P Annum, exclusive of the Salaries to the principal Workmen near £600 - more, besides these, two Men are regularly paid £6 - P Quarter for extra Masons Work, and although an Armourer is paid a Salary, there is a quarterly charge for cleaning Small Arms. - 41st We consider the Expences of Labor high, and We are apprehensive proper checks are not kept on this head; Indeed We should conceive that a great part of it might be saved by employing the Company's Slaves in the capacity of common labourers, and We direct that you give **Margin Notes:** Several Expences inserted in the Paymasters Accts. disapproved of - when such Articles are wanted to be Indented for -	39: Several island expenses entered in the Paymaster's accounts had struck the Court as deserving criticism. Among them were purchases of soldiers' clothes and hats, blankets, iron and tools, canvas, barley, bunting, flannel and salt provisions. Some of these were in store when they were bought. Anything needed should have been ordered from England. 40: The labour bill came to nearly £2,000 0s 0d a year, besides nearly £600 0s 0d more in salaries to the chief workmen. Two men were also paid £6 0s 0d a quarter regularly for extra masons' work. And although an armourer drew a salary, there was a quarterly charge for cleaning small arms. 41: The Court thought the cost of labour high and feared that proper checks were not kept on it. Indeed, it believed much of it could be saved by employing the Company's slaves as ordinary labourers. It directed the Council to give [...]. **Interpretations** The Paymaster's accounts showed the island buying locally goods it already held in store or could have ordered cheaply from England. Each local purchase was a chance for a favoured supplier to sell at a high price. It was the same problem the Court had found with medicines and with the Governor's table. Its answer was the same: all needs were to be met through the yearly order to London, where prices could be checked.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Charge of Labor appears high Gratuity to 2 Masons &c. & Person for Cleaning Small Arms Extraordinary Consider the Expences of Labor high and recommend employing the Company's Slaves as Common Labourers	The charge for cleaning small arms paid twice for one job. The armourer, Joseph Sagee, was salaried to keep the garrison's weapons in order, yet someone was paid extra each quarter to do the same work. The labour bill raised a larger question. In 1779 the island had paid soldiers and hired men by the day for its works, while the Company's slaves were fed and clothed at great cost. The Court now proposed using the slaves the Company already maintained for common labour, so that wages would not be paid on top of their upkeep. It was the same reasoning Wrangham had used in 1779 when he said the Longwood tank would cost almost nothing because slaves would build it.
212	201	give Us your opinion on this subject, and at any rate exert yourselves in reducing the Charge within the narrowest bounds; The repairs of Boats are Charged for separate from the above. - 42nd A regular charge of £17. 10 a quarter is made for Baking, besides the expence of Wood nearly as much more; this requires investigation. The Overseer of the Bake House should be careful that no improper expence is incurred in this department and there should be some check also over him, to see that he does his duty. - 43rd The Expence of Candles for the Castle Council, Chapel and Church, Engineer and Doctor's Shop amounts to near £300 - P Annum, which We consider extravagant, and direct proper care be taken that this Allowance is not abused, otherwise We shall discontinue it. - 44th We observe large Sums of Money paid for Enlisting and reenlisting Soldiers, We trust a proper check is kept on these Articles of Expence. The Muster Rolls should be carefully examined by the Council and whenever Men are paid for reenlisting the Number and Names should be Certified by the **Margin Notes:** Complaint of the Charge of Baking Bread Expence of Candles Complained of - Observations on the Enlisting & Reenlisting of Soldiers	41 (continued): The Council was to give the Court its opinion on the matter and, in any case, do its best to keep the cost of labour as low as possible. Boat repairs were charged separately from the figures above. 42: A regular charge of £17 10s 0d a quarter was made for baking, besides nearly as much again for wood. This needed looking into. The overseer of the bakehouse was to make sure no improper costs arose in his department, and there should also be some check on him to see that he did his duty. 43: Candles for the Castle, the Council, the chapel and church, the Engineer and the doctor's shop cost nearly £300 0s 0d a year. The Court thought this extravagant. It directed that proper care be taken to stop the allowance being abused, or else it would end it. 44: The Court noted large sums paid for enlisting and re-enlisting soldiers, and trusted a proper check was kept on these costs. The Council was to examine the muster rolls carefully. Whenever men were paid to re-enlist, their number and names were to be certified by [...]. **Interpretations** The candle allowance had been a perquisite of office since the 1770s. In the last quarter of 1778 alone, 625 lb of candles worth £70 10s 0d went to the Castle, the Council and the chaplain, nearly all to the Castle and the councillors. Ten years later the yearly cost had risen to almost £300 0s 0d. The Court suspected the candles were going beyond official use, to private households or for sale. Its threat to stop the allowance entirely put pressure on the officials who drew it to keep it within bounds. The bounty for re-enlisting was £15 0s 0d a man, a large sum. Without names checked against the muster roll, the same man could be paid twice, or bounties drawn for soldiers who never existed. In 1778 and 1779 the island paid re-enlistment bounties freely as it struggled to keep the garrison at strength. In peace, with the garrison over its establishment, such payments needed far closer checking.
213	202	the Captains of the Companies respectively, without which the Charge should not be allowed. - 45th The Hospital expences appear to Us very high, Of the Medicines sent from hence a large Sum is wrote off at the end of the Year without any explanation; The Company also provide Stores for the Sick to a considerable amount, besides which the Surgeon is permitted to purchase Medicines and necessaries and receives an allowance for his trouble in procuring them in the quarter ending December 1787 this Allowance was £8 - on an expence of £15. 10 - and in December 1788 £8 - on an expence of £17 - the prices of the Articles are not stated, so that We cannot judge whether they are reasonably charged or -	44 (continued): The names and number of men paid to re-enlist were to be certified by the captains of their companies. Without that certificate, the charge was not to be allowed. 45: The hospital's costs seemed very high to the Court. A large sum of the medicines sent from England was written off at the end of each year without any explanation. The Company also supplied a considerable amount of stores for the sick. On top of that, the surgeon was allowed to buy medicines and necessities and received an allowance for his trouble in obtaining them. In the quarter to December 1787 this allowance was £8 0s 0d on a spend of £15 10s 0d, and in December 1788 it was £8 0s 0d on a spend of £17 0s 0d. The prices of the items were not stated, so the Court could not judge whether they were fair. Among the 1788 purchases it noted £14 0s 0d for portable soup, which it considered a useless expense.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		otherwise; amongst those of 1788 We observe £14 - for portable Soup, which We deem an useless expence and the allowance to the Surgeon for his trouble in procuring Medicines and necessaries is wholly inadmissible as his pay and Emoluments are sufficiently ample to induce him to Discharge **Margin Notes:** The Expences of the Hospital complained of Do. Do.	The allowance paid to the surgeon for obtaining medicines and necessities was wholly unacceptable, since his pay and other income were ample enough to make him [...]. **Interpretations** The surgeon's allowance was out of all proportion to what he bought. He drew £8 0s 0d for obtaining goods worth £15 10s 0d or £17 0s 0d, a commission of roughly half the value. The more he bought, the more he could claim, which gave him every reason to buy locally instead of using the medicines sent free from England. The Court had already forbidden local purchases of medicine earlier in this letter. It now struck at the reward that encouraged them. Portable soup was meat broth boiled down into hard cakes that kept for years at sea and could be dissolved in hot water. The navy issued it to the sick as a remedy against scurvy. On an island with its own cattle and gardens, fresh broth could be made daily. The Court saw no reason to pay for the preserved kind.
214	203	Discharge his duty without further remuneration in the manner abovenoticed which must on no account be given in future. - 46th The present plan of dieting the Sick in Hospital appears to Us liable to great objection, We find by Your Consultation 3rd November 1789 that each Soldier has a stoppage made from his pay of 6d. a day so long as he continues in the Hospital which is paid to the Surgeon who finds Provisions at the rate ½ lb. Fresh Meat a day and 3 Loaves a Bread a Week for each patient. By this Plan therefore is it is the interest of the Surgeon to keep the Patients in the Hospital as long as he can, the 6d. a day producing a profit to him, he is also paid 1/6 or 2/ a day for every Seaman received Sick from the Ships & 1/ a day for Invalids of the Garrison, both which are also objectionable for the same reason, and these allowances to the Surgeon are exclusive of issues of Sugar Flour and Rice made to the Sick by the Company. - 47th To remedy these defects We direct that You appoint some intelligent Person from the Company's Servants to be Steward of **Margin Notes:** Respecting the Hospital	45 (continued): The surgeon's pay and other income were ample to make him do his duty without any further reward of this kind, which was on no account to be given in future. 46: The Court thought the present way of feeding the sick in hospital open to serious objection. The Council's consultation of 3 November 1789 showed that each soldier had 6d a day stopped from his pay for as long as he stayed in hospital. This was paid to the surgeon, who supplied food at the rate of half a pound of fresh meat a day and three loaves of bread a week for each patient. Under this plan it was in the surgeon's interest to keep patients in hospital as long as he could, since the 6d a day brought him a profit. He was also paid 1s 6d or 2s 0d a day for every sick seaman received from the ships, and 1s 0d a day for invalids of the garrison. Both were open to the same objection. These allowances to the surgeon came on top of the sugar, flour and rice the Company issued to the sick. 47: To put these faults right, the Council was to appoint a capable person from among the Company's servants as steward of [...]. **Interpretations** The arrangement gave the surgeon a profit on every day a patient stayed in his ward. A soldier's 6d a day, and far larger sums for seamen from the ships, went to the man who decided when the patient was fit to leave. His interest lay in keeping beds full, not in curing patients quickly. The Company also supplied sugar, flour and rice for the sick free, so the surgeon's outlay on food was partly covered by goods he did not pay for. Appointing a separate steward to handle the patients' food would take the money out of the surgeon's hands. His medical judgement on when a man could leave would then be separate from any gain from keeping him.
215	204	of the Hospital whose duty it will be to provide proper Diet and other necessaries for all the Patients in Hospital and to defray the expences thereof; 6d. P Day is to be stopped on account of the Company from the pay of each Soldier or Invalid during the time he continues in the Hospital. Each Patient is to be allowed P Day fourteen Ounces of Bread and such quantity of Drink of proper quality as the Surgeon shall think necessary, when Meat is not proper to be given, another Diet is to be substituted by the Surgeon; Tables of Diet are accordingly to be prepared by him, agreeably to the form herewith	47 (continued): The steward of the hospital was to provide proper food and other necessities for all patients and to pay for them. Each soldier or invalid was to have 6d a day stopped from his pay, on the Company's account, for as long as he stayed in hospital. Each patient was to receive 14 ounces of bread a day and as much drink of the right quality as the surgeon judged necessary. When meat was unsuitable, the surgeon was to substitute another diet. He was to draw up diet tables in the form enclosed with the letter. 48: Every patient should have a fixed low diet, such as panada, gruel and sago, which the surgeon could later vary at his discretion. When a patient's

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Enclosed. - 48th There should be a certain fixed Diet of a low kind for every Patient such as Panada, Gruel, Sago &c. - which should be varied afterwards at the discretion of the Surgeon and when an addition is made to any Patient's allowance, that addition should never take place till the next day, thereby giving the **Margin Notes:** Some Person to be appointed from y. Compy's Service as Steward of the Hospital &c. &c. A fixed Diet Recommended for every Patient the same to be varied at the discretion of the Surgeon.	allowance was increased, the increase was never to start until the next day, thereby giving [...]. **Interpretations** The steward broke the link between the surgeon's income and the patients' stay. The 6d a day stopped from each soldier's pay now went to the Company, not the surgeon, and the steward bought the food. The surgeon kept charge of what each patient ate, through written diet tables, but gained nothing by keeping beds full. The tables also gave the Court a record of what was issued, so any waste or theft in the hospital's food would show. Panada was bread boiled in water or milk to a soft pulp, and gruel was thin oatmeal porridge. With sago, they made the standard plain diet for the sick, easy to digest and cheap. Starting every patient on such a diet, and delaying any richer allowance until the next day, kept the surgeon from ordering generous rations on a whim. It also gave time for the steward to check each change.
216	205	the Steward an opportunity of knowing what quantities to be provided. - 49th The Funeral Charges of Patients have been of late too expensive We would have this business in future managed under the inspection of the Steward. - 50th It will be the Steward's duty to keep a Register of all Patients admitted, noting the time of admission, disorder and date of their discharge with such occasional remarks as may occur, he is also frequently to Visit the Hospital to see that the Sick are properly attended, the Wards kept clean and well ventilated and that the Patients behave orderly and peaceably and to report to the Council accordingly. It will likewise be his Duty to inspect into and keep an account of the receipts and Issues of the Medicines for the Hospital and to draw out quarterly a correct statement of all the Hospital Expences charging on the Dr. side the amount of the Salaries to the Surgeon, Assistant Surgeon, Steward &c. the expence of Medicines, provisions and necessaries of every description and on the Cr. side **Margin Notes:** Funeral Expences of Patients to be under the inspection of the Steward Steward of the Hospital's Duty -	48 (continued): Delaying any increase until the next day gave the steward time to learn what quantities to provide. 49: The funeral costs of patients had lately been too high. In future the Court wanted this business managed under the steward's supervision. 50: The steward was to keep a register of all patients admitted, noting when each came in, his illness and the date he left, with any remarks that arose. He was also to visit the hospital often, to see that the sick were properly cared for, the wards kept clean and well aired, and the patients orderly and quiet, and to report to the Council on these matters. He was likewise to check and keep an account of the medicines received and issued for the hospital. Each quarter he was to draw up a correct statement of all the hospital's costs. On the debit side he was to enter the salaries of the surgeon, assistant surgeon, steward and others, and the cost of medicines, food and necessities of every kind. On the credit side [...]. **Interpretations** The steward was to be the Court's eyes inside the hospital. His register recorded each patient's illness and how long he stayed, so a surgeon who kept men in longer than their condition warranted would show up in the figures. His count of medicines received and issued answered the Court's complaint that large quantities were written off each year without explanation. His quarterly account set all the hospital's costs against what it recovered from stoppages and charges. Together these turned an expense the Court could not see into one it could check line by line, without having to rely on the surgeon's word. Clean, well-aired wards reflected the medical thinking of the day, which blamed fevers on foul air. Hospital reformers in England were urging ventilation in these same years, and the Court applied their ideas to its island hospital.
217	206	side he is to state the amount of the stoppages from the Military and what is due from the Owners of Ships on account of the Seamen who are sent to the Hospital, that We may be enabled to judge how far the present regulations are productive of a saving when compared with the former System. - 51st For these Services the Steward is to be allowed a Salary of £50 (fifty) P Annum and as Mr. Leech has shewn great attention to the Company's interests in the care of the Stores, and has been strongly recommended to Us by Governor Brooke, We think him a proper Person for this Appointment. - 52nd To prevent inattention to the	50 (continued): On the credit side of his quarterly statement, the steward was to enter the stoppages from the soldiers' pay and the sums owed by shipowners for seamen sent to the hospital. The Court could then judge how far the new rules saved money compared with the old system. 51: For this work the steward was to be paid £50 0s 0d a year. Mr Leech had shown great care for the Company's interests in looking after the stores, and Governor Brooke had strongly recommended him. The Court thought him a suitable man for the appointment. 52: To guard against neglect of the sick, the Court directed that the Deputy Governor and the other captains of companies take turns each week to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Sick We direct that the Deputy Governor and other Captains of Companies do in weekly rotation go round the Hospital and see that proper care is taken of the Patients both as to providing them with Medicines and Provisions and good attendance and that they report their examinations thereon to the Council occasionally. - **Margin Notes:** The Steward of the Hospl. to be allowed £50 P Anm. - & Mr. R. Leech Recommended for the Employ The Deputy Governor & Captns. of Comps. to visit the Hospital Weekly	go round the hospital. They were to see that patients were properly cared for, with medicines, food and good attendance, and to report their findings to the Council from time to time. **Interpretations** John Leech now held four posts: lieutenant, Assistant Storekeeper, Judge Advocate and, with this letter, steward of the hospital. In the same letter the Court had criticised the Council for loading several offices onto Lieutenant Smith. The difference lay in trust. Leech had exposed the useless stores and leaking warehouses in 1788 and had kept careful accounts. The Court gave its checking roles to the one officer it had found reliable, so his offices served as checks on others instead of sources of private profit. The weekly visits by senior officers added an outside check on the hospital. The steward watched the surgeon, and now the captains watched both. Each officer's men were in the wards, so they had good reason to see that their soldiers were properly treated and not kept in longer than needed.
218	207	53rd With regard to the Seamen who may be sent to the Hospital from Our Ships you must be particularly careful to furnish Us with an account of their Names, the Ships they belong to and the Number of Days they were in the Hospital, that We may be enabled to demand the expence from the Owners of the Ships. - 54th The above regulations are to take place from receipt of this Letter, and We shall rely on the Stewards executing the business allotted to his Charge, with a due regard to the Company's interest, and at the same time taking care that the Sick have every necessary and proper accommodation. - 55th It is not our meaning to reflect on the Conduct of the Surgeon, by giving the above Orders; Our observations go only to the defects of System, not to personal insinuations, and We depend on your attention in having the above regulations properly enforced. - 56th Mr. George Scott whom We have in a former part of this Letter Appointed a Lieutenant **Margin Notes:** Respecting Seamen sent to the Hospital The Foregoing Regulations to take place from the Receipt of this Letter	53: For seamen sent to the hospital from the Company's ships, the Council was to take particular care to send the Court an account of their names, their ships and the number of days each spent in hospital. The Court could then claim the cost from the shipowners. 54: These rules were to take effect as soon as the letter arrived. The Court relied on the steward to manage the work given to him with proper regard for the Company's interests, while making sure the sick had everything they needed and were properly cared for. 55: In giving these orders, the Court did not mean to criticise the surgeon's conduct. Its remarks concerned faults in the system, not the man, and it relied on the Council to see the rules properly enforced. 56: Mr George Scott, whom the Court had earlier in this letter appointed a lieutenant [...]. **Interpretations** The Court took care to say that it was blaming the system, not David Kay. Kay had served the island since before 1778, as surgeon's mate, Coroner and finally surgeon, and the Court had promoted him on the Council's recommendation in 1787. A rebuke aimed at him personally could have led to his resignation, leaving the island without a trained surgeon. By placing the fault on arrangements that rewarded long hospital stays, the Court kept a valued man in post while removing the profit that came with them. Under the old system any surgeon would have had the same incentive, whatever his character.
219	208	Lieutenant Fireworker has been advanced the Sum of fifty pounds which you are to deduct out of his growing pay. - 57th We leave it to You to dispose of the 2 large Cables You have in Store, as mentioned in the 7 Paragraph of your Letter of the 4 of November last, to any of our own, or Foreign Ships on such terms as you may think will be most advantageous to the Company but if no such opportunity should offer, We would then have one returned to Us on the Britannia and the other on the Sir Edward Hughes, permitting the Commanders however to consider them as Stores belonging to the Ships if they should chuse to use them at or after they shall leave St. Helena. - We are London 17 February 1790 Your Loving Friends (Signed)	56 (continued): Mr George Scott, appointed a lieutenant fireworker earlier in this letter, had been advanced £50 0s 0d. The Council was to deduct it from his pay as it fell due. 57: The Court left the Council to dispose of the two large damaged cables in store, mentioned in the 7th paragraph of its letter of 4 November 1789. It could sell them to any of the Company's own ships or to foreign ships, on whatever terms it thought best for the Company. If no such chance arose, one was to be sent back to the Court in the *Britannia* and the other in the *Sir Edward Hughes*. Their commanders could treat the cables as part of their ships' stores and use them during or after leaving St Helena if they chose. The Directors signed the letter in London on 17 February 1790. Charles Mills Thomas T. Metcalfe W. Elphinstone

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Chs. Mills Thos. T. Metcalf Wm. Elphinstone Hugh Inglis - Wm. Bensley Thos. Parry Wm. Money John Travers F. Baring Wm. Devaynes George Tatem John Hunter J. Smith Abram Roberts **Margin Notes:** Lt. Scott advanced £50. the same to be deducted out of his Salary The two Damaged Cables if not otherwise disposed of, to be returned by the Britannia & Sir Edwd. Hughes	Hugh Inglis W. Bensley Thomas Parry William Money John Travers F. Baring W. Devaynes George Tatem John Hunter J. Smith Abraham Roberts **Interpretations** The damaged cables recalled the two large cables the Court had questioned in January 1778, carried in the island's accounts as damaged since 1771 or 1775 without any reduction in their value. Whether these were the same cables or later ones, the Court now dealt with the problem directly. Selling them, or sending them home, cleared them out of the stores where they would otherwise rot. Letting the commanders use them on the voyage meant they might still serve a purpose. A heavy cable was worth more in use at sea than lying in a damp warehouse on St Helena, where Leech had already reported the stores spoiling.
220	209	Robert Brooke Esqr. Governor &ca. of St. Helena. Sir I take the earliest opportunity of transmitting you Copy of His Majesty's Free Pardon, which the Court of Directors have obtained for Dick a Slave who was Convicted of a Burglary at St. Helena. I am East India House Sir London 27 Septr. 1790 Your most Obedt. Hble. Servant (Signed) Thos. Morton Secry. Our Governor and Council at St. Helena Par. 1st We wrote you last under date of the 17th February 1790 and have since received your several Advices agreeable to their respective Lists of Packets. - 2nd The Names of the Ships taken up for India and China this Season are as follows. - Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments Albion: Tons 961, Commanders Captn. Wm. Parker Carnatic: Tons 1169, Commanders Jno. Corner Consignments Coast & China	Thomas Morton, the Company's Secretary, wrote to Governor Robert Brooke from East India House, London, on 27 September 1790. At the first opportunity, he sent a copy of the King's free pardon that the Court of Directors had obtained for Dick, a slave convicted of burglary at St Helena. The Court of Directors then wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 17 February 1790. Since then it had received the Council's various letters, as listed in the packets. 2: The ships taken up for India and China that season were as follows. The *Albion*, 961 tons, Captain William Parker, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Carnatic*, 1,169 tons, commanded by John Corner, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. **Interpretations** Dick was the fourth person in these letters, after Nelly in 1783, Yon in 1787 and William Messenger in 1788, to be saved from hanging by a royal pardon obtained through the Court. Burglary carried the death sentence, and the island's court could do no more than pass it. Each pardon required the Council to petition, the Court to apply to the King and the document to travel back across the ocean. A condemned slave on St Helena therefore waited many months to learn whether he would live. The steady run of pardons suggests the Court saw these sentences as too harsh for the island's circumstances, especially where slaves stole under pressure from want or from their masters, as Yon had.
221	210	Ships, Tons, Commanders, Consignments General Coote: Tons 787, Commanders James Baldwin Fort William: Tons 1198, Commanders Henry Farrer Boddam: Tons 1021, Commanders John Jones Earl Cornwallis: Tons 774, Commanders Thos. Hodgson Consignments Coast & China Taunton Castle: Tons 1198, Commanders James Urmstone Canton: Tons 1198, Commanders Thos. Buttell Consignments Bombay & China Alfred: Tons 1198, Commanders Jn. Farquharson, Consignments St. Helena Coast & China Warley: Tons 1180, Commanders Chas. Lennox, Consignments St. Helena Bencoolen & China Kent: Tons 783, Commanders Richd. Hardinge	2 (continued): The rest of the ships taken up that season were as follows. The *General Coote*, 787 tons, Captain James Baldwin, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *True Briton*, 1,198 tons, commanded by Henry Farrer, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Bombay*, 1,021 tons, commanded by John Jones, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Earl Cornwallis*, 774 tons, commanded by Thomas Hodgson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Taunton Castle*, 1,198 tons, commanded by James Urmston, bound for Bombay and China. The *Canton*, 1,198 tons, commanded by Thomas Brodbelt, bound for Bombay and China.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Dutton: Tons 761, Commanders Jas. Hamilton Phoenix: Tons 800, Commanders Alexr. Gray Northumberland: Tons 784, Commanders Jas. Rees Lord Camden: Tons 775, Commanders Nathl. Dance Junr. Consignments Bengal Asia: Tons 816, Commanders Jn. Lacy Foulkes Deptford: Tons 784, Commanders Jno. Gerrard Manship: Tons 812, Commanders Jno. Lloyd Consignments Coast & Bay Lord Hawkesbury: Tons 803, Commanders Jas. Barkley, Consignments Bengal & Bencoolen Essex: Tons 793, Commanders Jno. Strover Raymond: Tons 793, Commanders 0 Consignments Bombay 3rd The terms and Conditions on which the above Ships are taken up will appear by referring to their respective Charterparties. - 4th In addition to the foregoing We have fitted the Company's Ship Britannia Burthen 770 Tons Captn. Edwd. Cumming for a Voyage and have Stationed	The *Alfred*, 1,198 tons, commanded by John Farquharson, bound for St Helena, the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Rockford*, 1,180 tons, commanded by Charles Lennox, bound for St Helena, Bencoolen and China. The *Kent*, 783 tons, commanded by Richard Hardinge, bound for Bengal. The *Dutton*, 761 tons, commanded by James Hamilton, bound for Bengal. The *Phoenix*, 800 tons, commanded by Alexander Gray, bound for Bengal. The *Northumberland*, 784 tons, commanded by James Rees, bound for Bengal. The *Lord Camden*, 775 tons, commanded by Nathaniel Dance junior, bound for Bengal. The *Asia*, 816 tons, commanded by John Lacy Foulkes, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Deptford*, 784 tons, commanded by John Gerrard, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Manship*, 812 tons, commanded by John Lloyd, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Lord Hawkesbury*, 803 tons, commanded by James Barkley, bound for Bengal and Bencoolen. The *Essex*, 793 tons, commanded by John Storrer, bound for Bombay. The *Raymond*, 793 tons, commanded by Henry Smedley, bound for Bombay. 3: The terms on which these ships had been taken up would be shown in their charter parties. 4: Besides these, the Court had fitted out the Company's own ship *Britannia*, of 770 tons, under Captain Edward Cuming, for a voyage and had placed [...]. **Interpretations** The great ships of nearly 1,200 tons, such as the *True Briton*, the *Taunton Castle*, the *Canton* and the *Alfred*, were now a normal part of the fleet. The *Rockford* had lain in St Helena road in 1779 at 723 tons under John Baird, and she now appeared at 1,180 tons, rebuilt under her old name like the *Ceres* and the *Royal Charlotte*. The two ships consigned to St Helena that season were both of the largest class. Landing their stores in an open road by boat would take far longer than for the smaller Indiamen of the war years, which explains why the Court pressed the island so hard over delays at the crane.
222	211	Stationed her for Bombay and China - 5th The Ship Aurora Captn. Parker Butler and the Lively Captn. Tristam Clarke have received our permission to proceed to the Eastward of the Cape on the Southern Whale Fishery. - 6th Agreeable to your intercessions we have obtained his Majesty's free Pardon for Dick a Slave who was convicted of a Burglary at St. Helena which We herewith enclose a Copy whereof was transmitted you in a Letter from our Secretary under date of the 27th September last. - 7th Harry Stark Esqr. has obtained our permission to proceed to St. Helena for the recovery of his Health and to take with him his Servant Alexr. Stewart. Mr. Stark takes passage on the Ship - 8th As the practice of your sending Us Packets by the Ships employed on the Whale Fishery subjects the Company to a considerable Expence We direct that in future whenever you may have occasion to write to	4 (continued): The *Britannia* was placed on the run to Bombay and China. 5: The ship *Aurora*, under Captain Peter Butler, and the *Lively*, under Captain Tristram Clarke, had received the Court's leave to sail east of the Cape for the southern whale fishery. 6: At the Council's request, the Court had obtained the King's free pardon for Dick, a slave convicted of burglary at St Helena. It enclosed the pardon, a copy of which had already been sent in a letter from its Secretary dated 27 September 1790. 7: Harry Stark had been given the Court's leave to go to St Helena to recover his health, and to take his servant Alexander Stewart with him. He was sailing in the *[...]*. 8: The Council's practice of sending packets to the Court by ships in the whale fishery put the Company to considerable expense. In future, whenever the Council wrote by such ships, it was to direct their commanders, on arriving in the Downs, to send the packet to Mr John Iggulden, the Company's agent at Deal, or to the agent [...]. **Interpretations** Whalers returning from the South Atlantic had become a regular post route home from St Helena, but their masters charged heavily for carrying the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Us by such Conveyances you direct the Commanders on their Arrival in the Downs to send the Packet to Mr. John Iggulden the Company's Agent at Deal or to the Agent	Company's letters and delivering them to London. The Court's agent at Deal, near the Downs anchorage where homeward ships waited for a wind up the Channel, could forward the packets to London by the ordinary post at little cost. The order turned a costly private service into a cheap official one. Harry Stark followed Tuffin Shepherd in coming to St Helena for his health. The island's mild climate and its place on the route between Europe and the East made it a natural resting place for invalids. Stark came as a private visitor with a servant, needing only the Court's leave to land.
223	212	Agent at the Port where the Ship may arrive - 9th Your Indent for Stores of different Sorts including the Articles for the Governor's Table will in General be fully complied with. The only exception of any consequence is our having ordered two Depressing - Carriages only for 24 Pounders instead of two for 18 and two for 24 Pounders. The Carriages now consigned You are exactly upon the [...] Plan as those used at Gibraltar and as they are sent by way of Experiment you will take the earliest opportunity of trying their effect and give Us your opinion of their utility. The Carriages are made in point of Size conformable to the General run of Iron Guns carrying that weight of Metal, and if they should not fit with the greatest nicety the Guns you mean to mount on them you must Order them to be carefully altered and to transmit us if this Sort of Carriage should be - approved, the dimensions of the Several parts of the Guns for the guidance of the maker upon any future occasion. - 10th The Soldiers Clothes will be sent agreeable to the Indent. We approve much of their being furnished after this Season with Nankeen instead	8 (continued): Alternatively, the commanders could send the packet to the Company's agent at whichever port the ship arrived. 9: The Council's order for stores of various kinds, including the items for the Governor's table, would generally be met in full. The only exception of any importance was that the Court had ordered just two depressing carriages for 24-pounders, instead of two for 18-pounders and two for 24-pounders. The carriages now sent were built on exactly the same plan as those used at Gibraltar. Since they were sent as a trial, the Council was to test them at the first opportunity and give the Court its opinion of their usefulness. They had been made to the standard size for iron guns of that weight. If they did not fit the guns the Council meant to mount on them exactly, it was to have them carefully altered. If this kind of carriage proved satisfactory, it was to send the measurements of the various parts of the guns to guide the maker in future. 10: The soldiers' clothes would be sent as ordered. The Court strongly approved of supplying them, after this season, with nankeen instead [...]. **Interpretations** A depressing carriage was a gun mounting designed to let a cannon fire steeply downward, which a normal carriage could not do. The design came from the Great Siege of Gibraltar, 1779 to 1783, where the garrison needed to fire down on enemy batteries and ships far below the Rock. St Helena's batteries stood high on cliffs above the landing places, the same problem in miniature. A gun on an ordinary carriage could not be pointed low enough to hit boats close inshore beneath it. The Court sent two as a trial, using lessons the army had learned at Gibraltar to improve the island's defences. Nankeen, the cheap and hard-wearing cotton from China that the Canton ships brought in quantity, suited the island's mild climate far better than English woollen cloth. Clothing the soldiers in it from the island's own Eastern supplies would cost less and keep the men cooler.
224	213	instead of Woolen Cloth Breeches, and you will Indent to Canton from time to time for the Quantity you may want upon this Account. - 11th In consequence of your recommendation of the Serjeant Major, and the Savings Expected to be made by the above Plan We leave it to you to make him such reasonable Allowance as you may Judge proper. - 12th We last Year gave Directions for Complying with your Indent for Stationary and it was owing to a mistake in the Stationer that the whole of that quantity was not sent you demands for that Article this Season will be complied with. 13th As Mr. Leech has declined the Acceptance of the Office of Steward to the Hospital, we see no objection to Mr. Kennedy's holding this appointment if during the time he has officiated in this Department he has conducted the business to your Satisfaction and	10 (continued): The soldiers were to have nankeen breeches instead of woollen cloth ones. The Council was to order from Canton, from time to time, whatever quantity it needed for the purpose. 11: The Council had recommended the Sergeant Major, and savings were expected from this plan. The Court left the Council to give him whatever reasonable allowance it thought proper. 12: The previous year the Court had given orders to meet the Council's request for stationery. A mistake by the stationer meant the full quantity had not been sent. The request for stationery that season would be met. 13: Mr Leech had declined the post of steward of the hospital. The Court saw no objection to Mr Kennedy holding it, if he had managed the work to the Council's satisfaction while acting in it and followed the instructions the Court had given when it created the post. In that case, the Court would also

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		conformably to the directions we formerly gave upon creating this Office. In such case we shall approve of Mr. Howard's Appointment of Clerk of the Works. -	approve Mr Howard's appointment as Clerk of the Works. **Interpretations** The Sergeant Major's allowance was probably for overseeing the change to nankeen breeches. He would supervise the making and issue of the new clothing, and the savings on woollen cloth would pay for his trouble. Leech turned down the hospital stewardship despite the Court's confidence in him. He already held several posts and may have judged he could not do another justice, or seen little gain in a role that would make him unpopular with the surgeon. Nathaniel Kennedy had been running it in the meantime. In 1788 the Court had questioned why Kennedy was placed in the stores ahead of the more senior Leech. Now it accepted him in the post it had meant for Leech, but only on the Council's assurance that he had followed the new rules. The Court cared more that the checks on the hospital were kept than about who carried them out.
225	214	14th We approve of your Nomination of Captain Lieut. Thomas Statham to be full Captain Vice Captain Greentree Decd. and hereby confirm him in that Station his Pay as Captain is to commence on the day you directed him to do the duty Viz. the 5th July 1790 We also approve of Lieut. Walter Greentree doing the duty of Captain Lieutenant without any additional pay on that Account. - 15th In compliance with your recommendation in behalf of Mr. Robt. Leech we shall send him an Ensigns - Commission dated 5th July 1790 from which time he is to receive pay, as We do not conceive there was any Vacancy till the Death of Captain Greentree. - 16th Your recommendation in favor of Messrs. Wright and Hodson we cannot comply with for the reasons before assigned respecting their Age if they have attained the Age of fifteen you should have transmitted us a Certificate thereof. - 17th In compliance with the Governor's urgent and repeated Applications to be allowed a Private Secretary we shall consent to permit him to appoint some	14: The Court approved the Council's nomination of Captain Lieutenant Thomas Statham as full captain in place of the late Captain Greentree, and confirmed him in that rank. His captain's pay was to run from 5 July 1790, the day the Council directed him to take up the duty. The Court also approved Lieutenant Walter Greentree acting as captain lieutenant, without any extra pay for it. 15: On the Council's recommendation of Mr Robert Leech, the Court would send him an ensign's commission dated 5 July 1790, from which day he was to be paid. In the Court's view there had been no vacancy until Captain Greentree died. 16: The Court could not accept the Council's recommendation of Messrs Wright and Hodson, for the reasons it had already given about their age. If they had reached the age of 15, the Council should have sent a certificate showing it. 17: In response to the Governor's urgent and repeated requests to be allowed a private secretary, the Court would agree to let the Council appoint [...]. **Interpretations** Captain Greentree's death set off a chain of promotions, each step following seniority, as the Court had insisted. Statham, the long-serving captain lieutenant whom the Court had twice helped with advances of pay, finally gained his captaincy. The young Robert Leech, made a cadet in 1789 after his father's petition, received a commission as ensign. The Court took care to date his commission from the day the vacancy arose and not before, so no officer could claim back pay for a post that did not yet exist. The Court gave way at last on the private secretary. It had abolished the post in 1788 and refused Brooke's request in 1789. Faced with his persistence, it now allowed one, though the arrangement it set was probably meant to keep the cost low.
226	215	some Person to this Office with a Salary of £70 P Annum till our further pleasure shall be Signified. - 18th From the wording of the Contracts entered into by the late Arrack Society and Captns. White and Manning we are led to conclude the expression "clear of the Company's Duty" implied that the Vendors were to pay the said Duty, but by your explanation in the 11th Paragh. of your Letter 31 May last it appears this construction was erroneous and that the Duty was to be paid by the Society if this was the case our Strictures upon your repayments to the Society was ill grounded. -	17 (continued): The Council could appoint someone to the post of private secretary at a salary of £70 0s 0d a year, until the Court decided otherwise. 18: From the wording of the contracts the late Arrack Society had made with Captains White and Manning, the Court had concluded that the phrase "clear of the Company's duty" meant the sellers were to pay the duty. The Council's explanation in the 11th paragraph of its letter of 3 May 1790 showed that this reading was wrong and that the Society was to pay it. If so, the Court's criticism of the Council's repayments to the Society had been unfounded. 19: When the arrack business was taken into the Company's hands, the Court had told the Council to run it with strict regard to the Company's interests

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		19th On taking the Arrack business into the Company's Hands we enjoined you to conduct it with a Strict regard to the Company's interests and to make all your Purchases at the most reasonable rate, the Contract with Captns. Price and Tolmé at 3/9 P Gallon was we conceive too advantageous on their part, as you had agreed in August 1789 to reduce the Price to three Shillings P Gallon and from that Price had not purchased any at a higher Price and some much under, you will - therefore explain this apparent deviation from your former resolution. - **Margin Notes:** Seventy Pounds	and to buy at the most reasonable prices. The contract with Captains Price and Tolmie at 3s 3d a gallon seemed to the Court too favourable to them. In August 1789 the Council had agreed to cut the price to 3s 0d a gallon, and since then it had bought none at a higher price and some for much less. The Council was therefore to explain this apparent departure from its earlier decision. **Interpretations** The Court admitted it had been wrong about the duty on the Society's contracts. In 1789 it had told the Council to deduct the duty, believing the sellers owed it, and had criticised the payments made to the Society. The Council showed that the contracts placed the duty on the Society, so the payments were correct. The Court withdrew its rebuke in writing, as it had done over the mutiny in 1785. It was quick to accuse but willing to retract when the island's explanation held up. On the new contract it held firm. The Council had set itself a ceiling of 3s 0d a gallon and then bought from Captains Price and Tolmie at 3s 3d. Tolmie commanded the *Marquis of Lansdown*, which called at St Helena. Paying a ship's captain more than the island's own agreed price looked like a favour to an officer whose goodwill the island valued, at the Company's cost.
227	216	20th As you have omitted to send Us the Annual Account of the Purchase and Sale of Arrack you were directed to furnish Us with in the 24 Paragh. of our Letter by the Britannia although it was upwards of fourteen Months from the time You received our Orders to the date of Your Last Letter we are prevented from forming an Opinion on the Company's profits on the new Plan. - 21st We have perused your replies to our remarks on Sundry Expences of the Island which - appeared to Us objectionable, and shall now proceed to Notice them. - 22nd We have attended to the 32 Parag. of Your Letter of the 31 May last and the Governor's Observations contained in his Letter of the 15th June relative to the Expences of his Table and We must admit that the reasons for the encrease of such Expences appear Satisfactory, it is not our Intention to withhold any Indulgence that has been Sanctioned for a considerable number of Years nor to mark precisely the description of Persons who ought to be invited to Partake thereof, at the same time we expect the greatest care shall be taken that it is managed	20: In the 24th paragraph of its letter by the *Britannia*, the Court had directed the Council to send a yearly account of the purchase and sale of arrack. The Council had failed to do so, though more than 14 months passed between its receipt of those orders and the date of its last letter. The Court therefore could not judge the Company's profit under the new plan. 21: The Court had read the Council's replies to its comments on various island expenses it had found open to objection, and would now deal with them in turn. 22: The Court had considered the 32nd paragraph of the Council's letter of 31 May 1790 and the Governor's remarks on the cost of his table in his letter of 15 June. It had to admit that the reasons given for the rise seemed satisfactory. It did not intend to withdraw any privilege that had been allowed for many years, or to lay down exactly who should be invited to the table. At the same time, it expected the greatest care to be taken that it was managed [...]. **Interpretations** The Court had taken the spirit trade into the Company's hands promising the former Society members their full income and the Company a profit of about £3,600 0s 0d a year. More than a year later the Council had sent no accounts. Without them the Court could not tell whether the scheme was making money or only paying out the promised allowances. The silence was hard to ignore. The officials who ran the new trade were largely the same men who had lost their private stake in it. The Court gave ground on the Governor's table. In February 1790 it had attacked the cost line by line, from hams to floorcloths, and demanded a list of guests. Brooke's explanation persuaded it, perhaps by showing how many ships' officers and passengers the Castle had to entertain now that the fleets were so much larger. The Court accepted the custom of hospitality but kept its demand for economy within it. It drew back from fixing a guest list, which would have been a slight on the Governor's authority in his own house.
228	217	managed in the most economical manner and not abused. 23rd We do not object to the Bakers being	22 (continued): The Governor's table was to be run as economically as possible, and the privilege was not to be abused.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		paid for Baking Bread, but we consider the 1/ P Batch they are paid for it adequate without making any charge for Wood which we Suppose it was - originally intended to include. - 24th With respect to the Employment of the Company's Slaves as Laborers you observe that if Sandy Bay Plantation and the Maldivia Gardens were let, you could employ all the Slaves now attending them on the Works, which would create a considerable Saving, but that you have repeatedly endeavoured to Effect this business without Success we shall take into - consideration the plan recommended by Governor Brooke in his Letter of the 15 August in the mean time We shall rely that if an opportunity presents itself of relieving the Company in this respect you will not fail to embrace it. - 25th The Charge for Candles we still think very extravagant it is not our intention to take away this Indulgence where we have authorised it but We conceive that some abuse of this Article must have been practised to	23: The Court did not object to the bakers being paid for baking bread. It thought the 1s 9d a batch they received was enough, however, without any extra charge for wood, which it supposed the rate had originally been meant to cover. 24: On employing the Company's slaves as labourers, the Council had pointed out that if the Sandy Bay plantation and the Maldivia gardens were let, all the slaves now working there could be put on the public works, which would save a great deal. The Council had tried repeatedly to arrange this, without success. The Court would consider the plan Governor Brooke had recommended in his letter of 13 August 1790. In the meantime, it relied on the Council to seize any chance of relieving the Company in this respect. 25: The Court still thought the charge for candles very extravagant. It did not mean to withdraw the privilege where it had allowed it, but believed some abuse of it must have been practised [...]. **Interpretations** The bakers' rate of 1s 9d a batch had been set in 1778, when the paymaster's accounts showed it paid for baking alone and a separate sum for loads of wood. Over the years the wood charge had grown to nearly match the baking itself. The Court ruled that the batch rate should cover both, treating the separate charge for wood as paying twice. The Council's answer on slave labour exposed the problem behind the Court's proposal. The Company's slaves were tied up working its own plantation at Sandy Bay and the Maldivia gardens. They could only be freed for public works if those estates were let to private tenants who would farm them with their own labour. No settler had taken them on acceptable terms, perhaps because the land was poor or the rent asked too high. The Court's plan to save on hired labour depended on finding tenants it had not yet found.
229	218	to make this Expence so high and therefore direct your attention to it considering the length of time an abuse has existed as no justification for its continuance. - 26th We have only to observe on the Charge for enlisting & reinlisting Soldiers that the Paymaster should invariably call for and inspect the Books you have described and the additional check we directed to be used. 27th The reasons you have given for - Purchasing the Soldiers Clothes Hats Blankets and Salt Provisions are Satisfactory, this last - Article we would at all times have bought from the Ships when it can be obtained at a cheap rate, some of the Prices you paid for it as described in the - Paymasters Lists of April 1790 are very reasonable with respect to the Bunting you must in future insert it in the indent. - 28th You have omitted to explain the Charge for Extra Masons Work & for cleaning Small Arms and we observe a Person of the name of Saunders is constantly paid 2/6 P Day for repairing Boats. - 29th We have considered the Letter from	25 (continued): Some abuse must have pushed the cost of candles so high. The Court directed the Council to look into it, since the length of time an abuse had gone on was no reason to let it continue. 26: On the charge for enlisting and re-enlisting soldiers, the Court would only say that the Paymaster should always call for and examine the books the Council had described, and apply the extra check the Court had ordered. 27: The Council's reasons for buying soldiers' clothes, hats, blankets and salt provisions were satisfactory. The Court would always want salt provisions bought from ships when they could be had cheaply, and some of the prices paid, as set out in the Paymaster's accounts of April 1790, were very reasonable. Bunting, however, was in future to be included in the order for stores. 28: The Council had not explained the charges for extra masons' work and for cleaning small arms. The Court also noticed that a man named Saunders was paid 2s 6d a day, without a break, for repairing boats. 29: The Court had considered the letter from [...]. **Interpretations** The Court accepted local buying where it made sense. Salt meat bought cheaply from a passing ship cost less than meat shipped from England with freight and wastage, so buying it at the island served the Company. Bunting, which could be sent with the stores and did not spoil, had no such excuse. The Court judged each purchase on whether it saved money, not on a blanket rule. The two charges the Council had failed to explain were the ones the Court had raised in February 1790 as plain double payments. The

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			armourer already drew a salary for keeping the weapons, yet someone was paid extra each quarter to clean them. Saunders drew 2s 6d every day for boat repairs, as Julio Fabiano had done for the whole of 1778 and 1779. A wage paid every day regardless of the work done looked to the Court more like a sinecure than payment for actual repairs.
230	219	from Messrs. Kennedy and Dunn and your arrangement in consequence of our Orders relative to the Management of the Hospital and [...] shall now deliver our Sentiments thereon. - The 1st 2nd & 3rd Regulations have our approbation. - The 4 Regulation we object to from Motives of humanity we direct you to consider Foreign Seamen in the same light as British in this instance. The 5th 6th 7th 8th and 9th Regulations as they tend to the internal management of the Hospital - seem to be proper but we do not observe you have described as one of the Regulations our Order for the Captain of each Company to Visit the Hospital, this We - direct to be particularly attended to. - 10 Regulation - We think it - unnecessary for the Ships to furnish attendants for their own Sick as a proper number of Nurses should be provided 11 Regulation - appears proper 12 Regulation - The Expence for the Funerals of Soldiers and Invalids is very small when compared with that of British and Foreign Seamen the only	29 (continued): The Court had considered the letter from Messrs Kennedy and Dunn, and the arrangements the Council had made under the Court's orders for running the hospital. It now gave its views on them. The first, second and third regulations had the Court's approval. The Court objected to the fourth regulation on humane grounds. It directed the Council to treat foreign seamen in the same way as British seamen in this respect. The fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth regulations, which concerned the hospital's internal management, seemed proper. The Court noticed, however, that the Council had not included among them its order for the captain of each company to visit the hospital. It directed that this be strictly observed. Tenth regulation: the Court thought it unnecessary for ships to supply attendants for their own sick, since a proper number of nurses should be provided. Eleventh regulation: this seemed proper. Twelfth regulation: the cost of funerals for soldiers and invalids was very small compared with that for British and foreign seamen. The only [...]. **Interpretations** The fourth regulation evidently gave foreign seamen worse treatment in the hospital than British ones, perhaps refusing them admission or charging them more. The Court struck it down on grounds of humanity. In the same years it insisted on fair trials for black prisoners, protected slaves from cruel masters and refused to let the Malay boy be held as a slave. A sick foreign sailor put ashore at St Helena was as helpless as a British one. The Court held that the island's care should not depend on a man's nation, while still expecting his ship's owners to pay, as they did for British seamen. Requiring ships to supply their own attendants would have left the sick in the care of untrained shipmates, who would also be taken from their ships while in port. Paid nurses on the hospital staff gave steadier care, and the cost could be charged back to the owners with the rest.
231	220	only charge we shall notice in the latter is £1. 2 for a Coffin, as the Same Quantity of Wood must be expended in this as in the Soldiers which you value at 4/6 we think the expence for making it very unreasonable 30th All Soldiers or Seamen of his Majesty's Service who may be returning from India are to be charged at the same rate as those in the Company's Service Viz. 1/ P Day and an Account of the Expence describing [...] the Number of Days they have been in the Hospital must be transmitted by the Ships on which they take Passage that such Vouchers may be forwarded to the proper Office. - 31st We observe the Sum of £27. 1. 6 at the Rate of 1/6 P Day was paid for the Diet of one of the Seamen of the Britannia as this is the Company's own Ship he should have been deemed as one of the Company's Soldiers and Charged accordingly. -	29 (continued): The only charge the Court would remark on for seamen's funerals was £1 2s 0d for a coffin. A seaman's coffin used the same amount of wood as a soldier's, which the Council valued at 4s 6d, so the Court thought the cost of making it very unreasonable. 30: All soldiers or seamen in the King's service returning from India were to be charged at the same rate as those in the Company's service, 6d a day. An account of the cost, showing the number of days each man spent in hospital, was to be sent home in the ship in which he sailed. These vouchers could then be passed to the proper office. 31: The Court noted that £27 1s 6d had been paid, at 1s 6d a day, for the food of one seaman from the *Britannia*. Since she was the Company's own ship, he should have been treated as one of the Company's soldiers and charged at their rate. 32: The Council was to charge 1s 0d a day for medicines and care for every seaman admitted to the hospital, and the same for any of the King's soldiers

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		32nd You will charge one Shilling P Day for Medicines and Attendance on every Seaman who is admitted into the Hospital and the same Sum in Case any of his Majesty's Soldiers shall become Patients therein We think this Sum would be too much for the Medicines alone	who became patients there. The Court thought this sum would be too much for the medicines alone [...]. **Interpretations** The charge for the *Britannia*'s seaman shows the old system at its worst. At 1s 6d a day, £27 1s 6d paid for about 361 days, so one man had been kept in hospital for almost a year at the higher seaman's rate. A sailor from a Company ship was charged as though he came from a privately owned one, and the hospital drew three times the soldier's rate for nearly twelve months. It was exactly the incentive the Court had condemned when it removed the patients' money from the surgeon's hands. Since the *Britannia* belonged to the Company, the cost fell on the Company itself, with no owners to recover it from. A coffin charged at nearly five times the cost of a soldier's, for the same wood, suggests the funerals of seamen had become a source of profit. Their costs were charged to shipowners, so whoever arranged the burial could inflate the bill. A soldier's funeral fell on the Company's own account and stayed cheap. The Court's order of 1790 to place funerals under the steward was meant to end that difference. Charging King's soldiers and seamen at the Company's rate let the island recover the cost of royal servants from the government. The vouchers sent home in each ship gave the Company the proof it needed to claim the money from the Crown.
232	221	alone but as it frequently happens that the disorders of the Patient require Wine or a more Expensive Diet than could be afforded them from the Price directed to be taken in the 2nd Regulation we conceive 1/ P Day will on an average only be an adequate compensation but if after trial you think this charge too high you may reduce it. 33rd It is our wish that under the existing Regulations every attention should be paid to the comfort and convenience of the Patients and that the Steward be responsible and careful that no abuse is practised, at the same time it is far from our intention to deprive the Sick of the proper and necessary provisions or Medicines or to derive any profit from Seamen or Foreigners admitted into the Hospital it is just however the Company should be indemnified for their Expence and we do not expect any thing farther than such an indemnification. - 34th In reply to the 3 Paragh. of your Letter of the 16 June last requesting to be informed what line of Conduct you should pursue with respect to Spanish Ships, we have only to acquaint you that it is our Directions that they should be treated in the same manner as Ships of other Foreign Nations. -	32 (continued): Patients' illnesses, however, often called for wine or a more costly diet than the price set in the second regulation would pay for. The Court therefore thought that, on average, 1s 0d a day would be no more than fair payment. If the Council found the charge too high after a trial, it could lower it. 33: The Court wanted every care taken, under the existing rules, for the comfort and convenience of the patients, and the steward to be held responsible for seeing that no abuse occurred. At the same time, it had no wish to deprive the sick of the food or medicines they needed, or to make any profit from seamen or foreigners admitted to the hospital. It was only fair, however, that the Company should be repaid its costs, and the Court expected nothing beyond that. 34: In reply to the 3rd paragraph of the Council's letter of 16 June 1790, which asked how it should deal with Spanish ships, the Court directed that they be treated in the same way as the ships of other foreign nations. **Interpretations** The Court set the hospital's charges to cover cost and no more. Having stripped the profit from the surgeon's hands, it did not want the Company to take that profit itself. A rate of 1s 0d a day for medicines and care allowed for the wine and richer diet some patients needed, while the Council could lower it if experience showed it too high. Shipowners and foreign governments paid what the care actually cost, and the sick were not to be stinted to keep the charge down. Spain had fought Britain from 1779 to 1783, and in 1790 the two countries came close to war again over Nootka Sound on the Pacific coast of North America. The Council was unsure whether Spanish ships calling at the island should be treated as friends or as a likely enemy. The Court's answer placed them under the same rules as other foreigners. They could take on water and provisions and pay the island's charges, but they were barred from trade and kept away from the island's fortifications.
233	222	35th We have taken into consideration Governor Brooke's Letter on the Subject of the Appointment of Garrison Adjutant, and we abide by our former	35: The Court had considered Governor Brooke's letter on the appointment of Garrison Adjutant and stood by its earlier view on Lieutenant Dow Taaffe.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Opinion respecting Lieut. Den Taaffe. - 36th We leave it to you to fix on some proper Person to Muster the Ships but We require that whoever you appoint shall actually go on board each Ship and not only call over the names but take care that every one of the Ships Company appears before him, we have reason to suppose this has not always been properly attended to, for We observe the Muster Rolls entered on your Consultations are generally signed either by the Captain or Purser, which leads Us to conclude that the List has not been checked in the manner above described. The Person who Musters the Ships must be Particular in describing all the Charter Party Passengers. - 37th It appears by your proceedings - respecting the Malay Boy mentioned in the 13th Paragh. of our Letter P Royal Charlotte that the Lad has expressed an anxious desire to leave the Island on the Royal Charlotte we are desirous of complying with his wishes, but as he was brought from an Island which is	36: The Court left it to the Council to choose a suitable person to muster the ships. Whoever it appointed, however, was to go aboard each ship in person. He was not simply to call out the names but to make sure every member of the ship's company appeared before him. The Court had reason to think this had not always been done properly. The muster rolls entered in the Council's consultations were generally signed by either the captain or the purser, which led the Court to conclude that the lists had not been checked in the way described. The person mustering each ship was also to list every passenger carried under the charter party. 37: The Council's proceedings on the Malay boy, mentioned in the 13th paragraph of the Court's letter by the *Royal Charlotte*, showed that the lad had said he was eager to leave the island in the *Royal Charlotte*. The Court wished to grant his wishes. He had, however, been brought from an island which [...]. **Interpretations** The muster had been the island's chief guard against deserters hiding aboard homeward ships since Shelley and Mantle escaped in the *Bridgewater* in December 1778. In 1779 Major Bazett went aboard each ship himself and counted every man. By 1790 the rolls entered in the consultations bore the signature of the ship's own captain or purser. The Court saw what that meant. The island's officer had simply copied the ship's list without seeing the men, so a soldier hidden below decks, or a sailor named on the roll who was not aboard, would pass unnoticed. The Court ordered the original method restored. Listing charter-party passengers as well gave it the evidence for the payments it made to owners for each one carried. The Malay boy had chosen to leave. The Court had made his freedom to go the test of whether his life with Mrs Statham was voluntary, and the answer was now plain. The Court's hesitation arose only over where a ship could take him, since the island he came from lay far from the route of the *Royal Charlotte*.
234	223	Situated out of the usual Track of our Ships, we dont see any Probability at present of his being conveyed to his Native place, should however an Opportunity present itself at any future period, you will Order him a passage at the Company's Expence and give such other directions as may appear to you necessary. In the mean while we would have Governor Brooke employ the Lad in any line under the Company which he thinks most suitable to his disposition and which will render his Situation during his continuance at St. Helena as comfortable as possible. - 38th We approve much of Your Proceedings respecting Mr. Bell Chief Mate of the London and in consideration of the favourable circumstances of his case as well as the particular recommendation from you, we have restored him to his Station, but observing in the course of our enquiry that the conduct of Mr. Spens was highly reprehensible and subversive of all proper subordination we have thought proper to Suspend him the Company's Service. - 39th Mr. David Kay has our permission to return to his Station as Surgeon on your Island and proceeds in the Alfred We shall take into	37 (continued): The boy's home island lay off the usual route of the Company's ships, so the Court saw little chance for the present of carrying him there. If an opportunity arose at any time, the Council was to give him a passage at the Company's expense and make whatever other arrangements it thought necessary. In the meantime, the Court wished Governor Brooke to employ the lad in whatever work for the Company best suited his temperament and would make his life on St Helena as comfortable as possible. 38: The Court strongly approved the Council's handling of the case of Mr Bell, chief mate of the *London*. In view of the circumstances in his favour and the Council's particular recommendation, it had restored him to his post. Its inquiry, however, had shown that Mr Spens had behaved very badly and undermined all proper discipline. The Court had therefore suspended him from the Company's service. 39: Mr David Kay had been given leave to return to his post as surgeon on the island and was sailing in the *Alfred*. The Court would take [...]. **Interpretations** The boy had asked to leave in the *Royal Charlotte*, but she was bound for Bencoolen and China, far from the island where he had been abandoned. Putting him aboard would only have left him stranded in another foreign port. The Court kept him on St Helena until a ship could take him home, and took him into the Company's own service in the meantime. That removed him from Mrs Statham's household, where he had evidently been unhappy, without exposing him to worse. Paid work for the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Company gave him a standing of his own on the island. He was no longer the dependant of a private family who might treat him as a slave in all but name. The dispute aboard the *London* had evidently set the chief mate against another officer while the ship lay at St Helena. The Council investigated and backed Bell, and the Court acted on its report. Spens, perhaps a junior officer who had defied his superior, lost his place. The island's government judged quarrels within visiting ships as well as on shore, and the Court relied on its findings when deciding officers' careers.
235	224	into Consideration your recommendation to allow Mr. Kay his Salary and Emoluments during his Absence from St. Helena and transmit you our determination thereon by the next Ship. - 40th We have received Your proceedings relative to the Conduct of the Chaplain they are now under our Consideration and We shall forward You our Determination thereon by the Woodford by which conveyance we hope to be able to transmit some permanent Regulations for the better Government of Slaves at St. Helena. - 41st We very much approve the Measures You have adopted respecting the Young Recruits - sent to St. Helena the last Season and allow - great merit to the Governor for his Attention and Assiduity in forming and carrying into execution those Plans which he offered to the Consideration of the other Members of Council and which so readily met with their Concurrence. The Recruits thus early brought up to a proper Knowledge of their Duty will probably make very good Soldiers and Answer our Intentions of conveying at different times to India Parties of well Disciplined Men very Young	39 (continued): The Court would consider the Council's recommendation that Mr Kay be paid his salary and other income while he was away from St Helena, and would send its decision by the next ship. 40: The Court had received the Council's proceedings on the chaplain's conduct. They were under consideration, and it would send its decision by the *Rockford*. It hoped to send by the same ship some permanent rules for the better government of slaves at St Helena. 41: The Court strongly approved the measures the Council had taken for the young recruits sent to St Helena the previous season. It gave the Governor great credit for the care and effort he had put into devising and carrying out the plans he laid before the other members of Council, who had readily agreed to them. Recruits trained in their duty so early would probably make very good soldiers. They would serve the Court's purpose of sending parties of well-disciplined men to India from time to time, while still very [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's training plan for the island had worked. In 1789 it sent out 60 to 70 lads, mostly young, meaning to drill them on St Helena and pass them on to India as trained soldiers. Governor Brooke had drawn up a scheme for their training, and the Council adopted it without dispute. Young men taught their drill early, in a healthy climate and under close discipline, would reach India ready for service. Recruits sent straight from England often fell sick on landing or had to be trained in the field. The island's peacetime garrison had found a purpose the Court valued, as a school for the Company's armies in the East. The Court again put off its code for slaves. It had held back in 1789 while Parliament debated the slave trade, and it now promised permanent rules by the next ship. The case of the chaplain was probably the Reverend John Wilson, appointed in 1781, though the record does not name him or state the charge.
236	225	every thing having therefore been done which We could either desire or expect during their continuance on Your Island there remains little more than to regulate their Embarkation. With this View we have Stationed the Alfred for St. Helena Coast and China, on this Ship you will embark the Light Infantry Company for Madras; before they go on board it is necessary they should agreeably to what we mentioned in our former Letter upon this Subject Sign an Agreement to Serve the Company five Years after their Arrival in India The form of the Writing which they are to Subscribe will make a Number in the Packet - The Men must be furnished with Bedding and whatever Articles of Additional Clothing you may think will be necessary for them on their Voyage and a Quantity of Spirits in the Proportion of 3 Galls. Sugar 2 lbs. and Soap 1 lb.	41 (continued): The recruits would reach India still very young. The island had done everything the Court could wish or expect while they were there, so little remained but to arrange their embarkation. For that purpose the Court had placed the *Alfred* on the run to St Helena, the Coromandel Coast and China. The Council was to embark the Light Infantry Company for Madras in her. Before they went aboard, the men were to sign an agreement to serve the Company for five years after arriving in India, as the Court had explained in an earlier letter. The form of the paper they were to sign was enclosed, numbered, in the packet. The men were to be given bedding and whatever extra clothing the Council thought they would need for the voyage. Each man was also to be supplied with 3 gallons of spirits, 2 lb of sugar and 1 lb of soap. To stop the soldiers losing their discipline on the passage, the Court thought they should be placed in the charge of a Sergeant Major, or another sergeant the Council could rely on.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		must likewise be laid in for each Person; To prevent the Soldiers [...] relaxing on the Passage from their present state of Discipline, it appears necessary in our Opinion they should be given into the charge of a Serjeant Major, or a Serjeant you can depend on who upon the delivery of the Men at Madras is to be returned by the earliest conveyance to his Duty at St. Helena	Once the men had been handed over at Madras, he was to return to his duty at St Helena by the first available ship. **Interpretations** The young recruits had been formed on the island into a Light Infantry Company, a unit of picked, active men trained to fight in open order as skirmishers ahead of the main line. Sending them to Madras as a complete company, already drilled and under a sergeant from their own garrison, carried the island's training scheme through to its end. The signed agreement mattered because their original enlistment was for service on St Helena. Without a fresh written promise to serve five years in India, men landed at Madras could claim they had never agreed to go. The Court's plan of 1789 to make the island a depot for the Indian armies was now being carried out. The sergeant's task was to deliver the men in good order and come back. A long voyage with idle young soldiers, supplied with spirits, risked drunkenness and disorder, the same faults the Court had blamed on idleness in the island's garrison. An officer they already knew and feared would keep them in hand until they reached their new regiment.
237	226	42nd The Passage Money to the Owners of this Ship for the Serjeant Drummer & Rank and File will be paid here to the Owners on your certifying to Us the Number exactly Embarked and the Number of Days they have been on Board previous to the Ships Departure from the Island. You will determine how far it may be expedient that Drill Corporals should accompany them on the Passage. If it should be thought Expedient so to do, it will be necessary for you to Send Arms for their further Improvement in the Manual Exercise at all - favourable opportunities and the Drill Corporals together with the Arms must be returned on the Same Ship with the Serjeant Major. There are several other circumstances to be attended to, which will naturally occur in the execution of this business but We do not mean to enter into a Detail of the particulars leaving that to your management under the persuasion that your Proceedings will be regulated by every prudent degree of Economy and that your best exertions will not be wanting for the Company's Interest. - 43rd If the Situation of Public Affairs will	42: The passage money owed to the ship's owners for the sergeant, drummer and rank and file would be paid in London. Before it could be paid, the Council had to certify to the Court the exact number embarked and the number of days they had been on board before the ship left the island. The Council was to decide whether drill corporals should go with the men on the voyage. If it thought so, it was to send muskets for further practice in the manual exercise whenever the chance arose. The drill corporals and the muskets were to come back in the same ship as the Sergeant Major. Several other matters would naturally arise in carrying out this business. The Court did not mean to go into the details, leaving them to the Council's management. It trusted that the Council's arrangements would show every sensible economy and that it would do its best for the Company's interests. 43: If the state of public affairs [...]. **Interpretations** The Court paid the shipowners by the head and by the day, so the Council's certificate of numbers and days aboard was the basis of the bill. Without it the owners could claim for more men or a longer stay than the truth, and the Court would have no means of checking. This was the same method it used for passengers and hospital patients: the island recorded the facts, and London paid against the record. The drill corporals and muskets were to keep the young soldiers practising on the voyage. Several months at sea without drill could undo the training they had received on the island. Daily practice of the manual exercise, the set movements for loading and handling a musket, would keep them sharp and occupied. The corporals and muskets then came back to St Helena, ready to train the next draft of recruits.
238	227	will Admit of our having the intended Number of Recruits we shall send 100 on each of the Ships bound this Season to St. Helena from this Number you will take as many as may be requisite for our own Establishment and train the others for a future Embarkation for India. - 44th As we intend taking measures for Supplying your Island with Spirits you will not make any Contract with either the Commander or Officers of the Alfred for Arrack. - We are London 15th December 1790. Your loving Friends	43 (continued): If public affairs allowed the Court to raise the number of recruits it intended, it would send 100 in each of the ships bound for St Helena that season. From these the Council was to keep as many as the island's own establishment needed and train the rest to be shipped to India later. 44: The Court meant to take steps to supply the island with spirits itself. The Council was therefore to make no contract for arrack with the commander or officers of the *Alfred*. The Directors signed the letter in London on 15 December 1790. William Money Thomas T. Metcalfe

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		(Signed) Wm. Money Thos. Metcalfe Thos. Parry W. Ewer Chas. Mills Thos. Fitzhugh Hugh Inglis Abra. Roberts W. Devaynes J. Manship Jno. Roberts Geo. Tatem Lionel Darell Paul Le Mesurier Jn. Townson Thos. Cheap	Thomas Parry W. Ewer Charles Mills Thomas Fitzhugh Hugh Inglis Abraham Roberts W. Devaynes J. Manship John Roberts George Tatem Lionel Darell Paul Le Mesurier John Townson Thomas Cheap **Interpretations** The Court's plan for recruits had grown from a trial into a regular scheme. It now proposed sending 200 men a season, far more than the island's peacetime garrison of 400 could absorb, with the surplus trained and passed on to India. Its condition about public affairs points to the danger of war with Spain over Nootka Sound, then at its height. If war came, recruits would be needed at home and the scheme would wait. The ban on contracts with the *Alfred*'s officers followed the Court's complaint in the same letter about the island paying Captains Price and Tolmie 3s 3d a gallon, above its own agreed limit. Buying arrack from the commanders of visiting ships had let them profit from the island's monopoly at the Company's expense. By arranging supplies itself, the Court cut the captains out of the trade and removed a source of private bargains between them and the island's officials.
239	228	Our Governor and Council at St. Helena. Par. 1st Our last Letter to you was dated the 15th December 1790 and transmitted by the Ship Alfred Duplicate whereof is herewith enclosed. - 2nd Since our last Letter to you we have granted Licences to the undermentioned Ships to proceed to the Eastward of the Cape on the Southern Whale Fishery Ships, Commanders London: Commanders Captain Russell Cooke Chaser: Commanders Wm. Lloyd John and Susanna: Commanders Benjn. Coleman Stormont: Commanders Reuben Ellis Lucy: Commanders Wm. Birchett Salamander: Commanders Jno. Nichol Prince of Wales: Commanders John Coulson 3rd We have altered the destination of the Lord Hawkesbury to St. Helena Bengal and Bencoolen and the Woodford is to proceed only to Bencoolen and China. - 4th In consequence of your having complained to Us of the bad Quality of the Bencoolen Arrack and the necessity there was for the Island being Supplied with Spirits of a good quality we have permitted the Ships Taunton Castle and Carnatic to touch at Batavia and have agreed with Captns. Urmstone and Corner to Supply you with about twenty	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 15 December 1790 and went by the ship *Alfred*. A duplicate was enclosed. 2: Since then the Court had licensed the following ships to sail east of the Cape for the southern whale fishery. London, Captain Russell Cocke Chace, Captain William Lloyd John and Susanna, Captain Benjamin Coleman Stormont, Captain Reuben Ellis Lucy, Captain William Burchett Salamander, Captain John Nichol Prince of Wales, Captain John Coulson 3: The Court had changed the destination of the *Lord Hawkesbury* to St Helena, Bengal and Bencoolen. The *Rockford* was to go only to Bencoolen and China. 4: The Council had complained to the Court about the poor quality of the Bencoolen arrack, and the island needed spirits of good quality. The Court had therefore allowed the ships *Taunton Castle* and *Carnatic* to call at Batavia. It had agreed with Captains Urmston and Corner that they would supply the island with about twenty [...]. **Interpretations** In 1788 Fort Marlborough had persuaded the Court that its Sumatran arrack equalled the Batavia spirit, and the island contracted for it after tasting a sample. The full supply proved poor. The Court now sent two of its own ships to Batavia, the Dutch port whose arrack had always been the standard, and arranged the purchase with their captains itself. In the same letter of December 1790 it had told the Council to make no arrack contract with the *Alfred*'s officers, because it meant to arrange the supply from London. This was that arrangement. The Court now controlled both the source and the price, after the island's own bargains with visiting captains had cost the Company more than its agreed limit.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The whalers are named in the code block above, so they lack italics there: the *London*, *Chace*, *John and Susanna*, *Stormont*, *Lucy*, *Salamander* and *Prince of Wales*. Seven licences in a single letter show how fast the southern whale fishery was growing, and with it the number of ships that called at St Helena for water, food and post home.
240	229	twenty five Thousand Gallons of Batavia Arrack at 3/3 three Shillings and three Pence P Gallon, you will be attentive in informing Us of the Quality thereof. - 5th We acquiesce in your Invaliding John Twaites Drum Major of the Garrison as requested in your Letter of the 23rd September last. - 6th Agreeably to the request of your General Indent for Stores under date of the 24th June 1790 We have ordered a Quantity of Clothing equal to the number of Recruits embarked on the Alfred and Lord Hawkesbury in addition to the Clothing you have desired for the use of the Garrison. - 7th We have also ordered the Several Articles to complete the Garrison as mentioned in your additional Indent of 23rd Septr. last to be provided and Shipped on the Lord Hawkesbury. 8th But we do not think it necessary to comply with the recommendation of the 6th Paragraph of your Letter of the 23rd September that the Recruits for Your Island should be Supplied with Jackets of the pattern you forwarded, for as all the Recruits in general are furnished with an Uniform Jacket made conformable to our Orders it would be highly imprudent by any alteration in the Dress to make distinction between the Recruits intended for different Places and most probably would be productive of uneasiness and disputes on board the Ships at Gravesend, at the same time that it would be attended with infinite trouble and Inconvenience to	4 (continued): The captains had agreed to supply the island with about 25,000 gallons of Batavia arrack at 3s 3d a gallon. The Council was to take care to report on its quality. 5: The Court agreed to the Council's discharging John Twaites, Drum Major of the garrison, as an invalid, as it had asked in its letter of 23 September 1790. 6: As the Council had asked in its general order for stores dated 24 June 1790, the Court had ordered clothing for as many men as the recruits embarked in the *Alfred* and the *Lord Hawkesbury*. This came on top of the clothing the Council had asked for the garrison. 7: The Court had also ordered the various items listed in the Council's extra order of 23 September 1790 to complete the garrison's needs. They were to be supplied and shipped in the *Lord Hawkesbury*. 8: The Court did not think it necessary, however, to follow the recommendation in the 6th paragraph of the Council's letter of 23 September 1790 that the island's recruits be given jackets of the pattern Council had sent. All recruits were generally given a uniform jacket made to the Court's orders. Changing the dress to set apart recruits meant for different places would be most unwise. It would very probably cause discontent and quarrels among them on board the ships at Gravesend, and would also cause endless trouble and inconvenience [...]. **Interpretations** The Court paid 3s 3d a gallon for the Batavia arrack, the price it had criticised the Council for paying Captains Price and Tolmie only months before. The difference was quality and control. The Bencoolen arrack had proved poor, and the island needed a spirit it could sell at 5s 6d a gallon without complaint. By fixing the price itself with captains it chose, the Court made the bargain a Company contract rather than a private deal by the island's officials. At about 25,000 gallons, the order would cover more than a year's sales on the island. The Court refused a separate uniform for the island's recruits because it would mark them out on board ship. Recruits for St Helena, Madras, Bombay and Bengal waited together at Gravesend. A different jacket for one group would invite comparisons and quarrels among men who might already resent their postings. Dressing them alike kept order on the crowded transports. It also left the Court free to send any man wherever he was needed without a change of clothes.
241	230	to the Persons charged with the delivery of the Clothing - 9th We have permitted Mr. William Wrangham to return to his Station of Third in Council at St. Helena with such emoluments as are annexed to that Rank. - 10th In our Letter of the 23rd December 1788 we informed you that it was our intention the Council should only consist of three Members, in conformity thereto We direct that on Mr. Wrangham's Arrival Mr. Wright do quit his Seat at	8 (continued): A separate uniform would also cause endless trouble for the people responsible for issuing the clothing. 9: The Court had allowed Mr William Wrangham to return to his post as third member of Council at St Helena, with the income that went with that rank. 10: In its letter of 23 December 1788, the Court had told the Council that it intended the Council to have only three members. Accordingly, when Mr Wrangham arrived, Mr Wright was to give up his seat on the Council, and the income he received as a member was to stop from that date. 11: The Court had carefully considered the papers recently sent to it about the conduct of the Reverend John Wilson, the island's chaplain. It could hardly imagine anything less fitting for a clergyman,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		the Board and that the Emoluments he enjoyed as a Member of Council do cease from that period. - 11th We have given due attention to the Papers lately transmitted to us respecting the Conduct of the Revd. John Wilson the Chaplain of your Island. We can scarcely imagine any thing more unbecoming the Clerical function or more incompatible with good Government than Mr. Wilson's declaration to the Officer on Guard in the 24th August last; there do not appear however any collateral circumstances to induce us to believe that this declaration was the consequence of any premeditated design to disturb the peace of the Island or that it was followed by any Act by which the declaration could be attributed to any thing but a Sudden gust of Passion We are confirmed in this Opinion by the Letters addressed to you by Mr. Wilson on the very next day wherein he apologizes twice for his offence - and it occurs to Us that if you had not upon that occasion entertained Sentiments Similar to our own you would	or more at odds with good government, than the declaration Mr Wilson made to the officer of the guard on 24 August 1790. Nothing in the surrounding circumstances, however, led the Court to believe the declaration came from any planned intention to disturb the island's peace. Nor was it followed by any act suggesting it was more than a sudden fit of temper. The Court was confirmed in this view by Mr Wilson's letters to the Council the very next day, in which he twice apologised for his offence. The Court thought that if the Council had shared its view at the time, it would [...]. **Interpretations** Wright's seat on the Council had always been temporary. The Court named him in 1788 only to keep the Council at three members while Matthew Bazett went home and Wrangham was on sick leave. With Wrangham returning, the Court held to its limit of three and Wright stepped down. He had served the island for decades, as Secretary and then councillor, yet his place gave way to a returning member without question. The Court kept the Council small to keep its cost down, and seniority on the Council ranked above long service elsewhere. The record does not say what Wilson said to the officer of the guard, only that a chaplain's words to a soldier on duty could be read as a threat to order. The Council had evidently treated the outburst as a serious challenge, perhaps as incitement or an attack on the Governor's authority. The Court judged it by what followed. A man who spoke rashly in anger and apologised twice the next day had not plotted anything. It weighed the clergyman's intent and later conduct against the Council's alarm, as it had done when Robertson defied the Governor in 1779.
242	231	not so readily have accepted his Apology nor so earnestly have requested that we would indulgently look over an error occasioned as he says, and which you have not contradicted, entirely by heat of passion at being disturbed in his duty. - 12th With respect to the Subsequent Proceedings in this business we do not see any thing censurable in Mr. Wilson's endeavours to obtain from the Inhabitants a Certificate of his General Character for the purpose of lessening or removing any unfavourable impression that a representation of his Conduct upon the 24th Augt. might make on our minds as he might very naturally suppose that we should feel as we most certainly did highly incensed at so violent a breach of decorum. - 13th Nor can we discover for what purpose Mr. Wilson was so peremptorily called upon to deliver up the original Paper that was thus Signed by the Inhabitants after it had been presented in the first instance for the Signature of the Governor and the Council and after his offer to send you a Copy of it. We observe likewise by your Consultation of the 10 - September which was several days subsequent to your having known up the Paper upon Mr. Wilson's former misconduct in general you resolve to rest Satisfied if Mr. Wilson would make an (indefinite) apology and withdraw his Attempt at a General	11 (continued): If the Council had shared the Court's view, it would not have accepted Mr Wilson's apology so readily, nor asked so earnestly that the Court overlook a mistake which, as he said and the Council had not denied, arose entirely from anger at being disturbed in his duty. 12: As for the later proceedings in the matter, the Court saw nothing to blame in Mr Wilson's effort to obtain a certificate of his general character from the inhabitants. His purpose was to lessen or remove any bad impression that an account of his conduct on 24 August might make on the Court. He could very naturally suppose that the Court would feel, as it certainly did, highly offended at so serious a breach of decorum. 13: Nor could the Court see why Mr Wilson had been so firmly required to hand over the original paper signed by the inhabitants, after it had first been presented for the Governor and Council to sign and after he had offered to send the Council a copy. The Council's consultation of 10 September 1790, several days after it had drawn up the paper on Mr Wilson's earlier misconduct in general, also showed that the Council resolved to be satisfied if Mr Wilson made an unconditional apology and withdrew his attempt at a general defence of his conduct. At the same time, the Council declared its readiness to tear up all the proceedings in front of him. **Interpretations** The Court saw that the Council had turned a single outburst into a wider case against the chaplain. After his apology for 24 August, the Council drew up a paper on his past conduct in general. When Wilson answered by gathering the inhabitants' signatures to his good character, the Council demanded the original and offered to destroy everything if he dropped his defence. The Court read this as pressure: the Council used the threat of a damaging record to make Wilson give up his own case. A testimonial signed by the islanders was evidence the Council

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		defence of his conduct confessing at the same time your readiness to tear all the Proceedings before his face 14th As therefore it evidently appears that Subsequent to your recommendation to us in your Letter of the 30th	could not easily dismiss, which may explain why it wanted the paper in its own hands. Offering to tear up the proceedings in his presence revealed the weakness of the Council's case. Charges serious enough to report to London could not honestly be bargained away in return for an apology. The Court treated the offer as proof that the general charges were a means of pressure rather than a genuine complaint.
243	232	30th August that he would indulgently overlook Mr. Wilson's misconduct of the 24th, he committed no fresh offence (for such we cannot deem his endeavour to procure a Certificate of his general behaviour) and as even after you had been at the trouble of enumerating every instance of his previous misconduct. You declared yourselves willing to pass over an Act of Oblivion upon his making a proper Apology and withdrawing his attempt at a general defence of his Conduct, we should Doubt the Justice, the equity and the liberality of our Proceedings if upon this occasion we should come to a resolution to remove Mr. Wilson from his Employment especially when we consider that the Paper entitled "Mr. Wilson's transgressions" was transmitted to us without his having been made acquainted with its contents and without his having been called upon for his Defence. - 15th In a Minute entered upon Your Consultation of the 25th Augt. it is said that "a troublesome Spirit of opposition having lately appeared among a few Individuals you think it your duty in future not to conceal any part of this Spirit - from Your Masters but to lay the whole of what occurs upon the face of the Proceedings until they find that Spirit is - entirely Suppressed". You afterwards inform us in the 7th Paragh. of your Letter of the 16 Septr. following "that you have reason to be convinced that except two or three Persons perhaps the Garrison and Inhabitants are as quiet and as much under just Subordination to Government and the Laws as any other People	14: In its letter of 30 August 1790, the Council had recommended that the Court overlook Mr Wilson's misconduct of 24 August. After that, Mr Wilson committed no fresh offence, since the Court could not count his effort to obtain a certificate of his general conduct as one. Even after listing every instance of his past misconduct, the Council had declared itself willing to pass an act of amnesty if he apologised properly and withdrew his attempt at a general defence of his conduct. In these circumstances the Court would doubt the justice, fairness and generosity of its own proceedings if it decided to remove Mr Wilson from his post. This was all the more so because the paper headed "Mr Wilson's transgressions" had been sent to the Court without his being told what it contained or being asked for his defence. 15: In a minute entered in its consultations of 25 August 1790, the Council had stated that "a troublesome spirit of opposition having lately appeared among a few individuals", it thought it its duty in future to hide no part of this spirit from its masters and to lay before them everything that appeared in its proceedings until that spirit was entirely suppressed. In the 7th paragraph of its letter of 16 September 1790, however, the Council later told the Court it had reason to believe that, apart perhaps from two or three people, the garrison and inhabitants were as quiet and as properly obedient to the government and the laws as any other people [...]. **Interpretations** The Court refused to dismiss the chaplain because the case against him broke its own rules of fair dealing. The Council had sent a list of Wilson's "transgressions" without showing it to him or hearing his answer. The Court had insisted on exactly those rights for Thomas Robertson in 1779, when it made the Governor step aside and gave the accused man the charges in writing. The Council had also offered to forget everything in return for an apology, which showed it did not truly regard the charges as grounds for removal. Dismissing a man on accusations he had never seen would have been unjust by the standards the Court applied to everyone else. The Council's own letters contradicted each other. In August it warned of a spirit of opposition requiring full reports to London until it was crushed. By September it described the island as quiet apart from two or three people. The Court set the two side by side. They suggested the Council had magnified a quarrel with a few individuals, the chaplain chief among them, into a threat to order that the island's own later account did not bear out.
244	233	People you believe now living on the face of Gods earth". As you have not Named the Persons of whom you have thus reason to be Suspicious the only notice we can [...] with propriety take of so vague an information is to exhort you to a Vigilant attention to your duty, and to the Peace and safety of the Island and to direct that such Individuals be they whom they may as shall by their Words or Actions continue to	15 (continued): The Council had described the garrison and inhabitants as being as obedient as any people it believed lived on God's earth. It had not named the people it suspected. The only notice the Court could properly take of so vague a report was to urge the Council to keep a careful watch over its duty and over the island's peace and safety. Any individuals, whoever they were, who went on by word or deed to show the spirit of opposition to the government the Council had complained of, or who failed to obey the government and the laws, were to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		manifest that Spirit of Opposition to Your Government which You have thus complained of, or shall shew a want of due Subordination to Government and the Laws be sent to Europe to answer for their Conduct of which You are to give the most Public notice. - 16th With respect to the Revd. Mr. Wilson who from the Papers before Us appears to have interfered in matters which in no ways concerned him, and not to have shewn proper attention to the Duties of his function, you must require from him a declaration in writing that he will conduct himself in future with a proper - degree of respect to your Authority without meddling directly or indirectly with the Affairs of Government, and that he will strive to subdue the Violence of his temper and to conduct himself in other respects to your Satisfaction. For we must recommend this Gentleman that a due Submission to the ruling powers, an earnest endeavour to correct his own infirmity - and a diligent and conscientious discharge of the Duties of his calling are the means by which a Person in his - Situation can best promote the cause of good Government Religion and Morality. -	be sent to Europe to answer for their conduct. The Council was to give the fullest public notice of this. 16: The papers before the Court showed that the Reverend Mr Wilson had meddled in matters that did not concern him and had not paid proper attention to the duties of his office. The Council was to require from him a written declaration that he would in future behave with proper respect for its authority, without interfering directly or indirectly in the affairs of government. He was also to promise to control the violence of his temper and to conduct himself in other respects to the Council's satisfaction. The Court advised him that due submission to those in authority, an earnest effort to correct his own failings and a careful, conscientious performance of his duties were the best means by which a man in his position could promote good government, religion and morality. **Interpretations** The Court refused to act on suspicion. The Council had warned of opposition but named no one, and the Court would punish no one on an unnamed charge. It gave the Council a remedy for real cases instead. Anyone who openly defied the government could be sent to England to answer for it, and the warning was to be made public so that all were on notice. Elsewhere the Court had forbidden the Council to ship prisoners home without proper charges, as in Narrain's case in 1784. Here a public warning in advance gave anyone sent home fair notice of the offence. Wilson kept his post, but on terms. The written declaration bound him to stay out of government and curb his temper, so a second offence would break a promise on record. The Court's closing advice set out what it expected of a colonial clergyman: obedience to the civil power and attention to his own duties, not a political voice on the island. It protected him from what it saw as the Council's unfair handling while making clear he had overstepped his office.
245	234	17th If Mr. Wilson shall decline making the beforementioned Declaration, or if he shall be found again interfering in any respect in the Affairs of Government, we authorise you in either of these Cases to remove him from his Situation and direct his return to Europe. 18th We have taken into our consideration the Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Slaves upon Your Island And having maturely considered all the Papers upon this subject which accompanyed your Letter of the 8 Augt. 1789. We direct that the Regulations under the Seal of the Company herewith transmitted be considered as in full force until the receipt of our further Orders. And We most earnestly exhort all our Servants upon the Island both Civil and Military and the Inhabitants living under our protection to be Aiding and assisting in carrying these regulations - fully and completely into execution. - 19th With respect to the particular Case of Mr. Lambe who ill treated a Slave who had ventured to complain of him to the Magistrate notwithstanding the Slave was at that time under the particular protection of the Magistrate	17: If Mr Wilson refused to make the declaration, or was found meddling again in any way in the affairs of government, the Court authorised the Council in either case to remove him from his post and send him back to Europe. 18: The Court had considered the rules for governing slaves on the island and carefully studied all the papers on the subject sent with the Council's letter of 8 August 1789. It directed that the regulations it enclosed under the Company's seal be treated as fully in force until it sent further orders. It earnestly urged all the Company's civil and military servants on the island, and the inhabitants living under its protection, to help carry these rules out fully and completely. 19: Mr Lambe had ill-treated a slave who had dared to complain of him to the magistrate, even though the slave was at that time under the magistrate's particular protection. A bill of indictment for a misdemeanour had been brought against Mr Lambe, but the grand jury rejected it. The Council had not sent the Court a copy of the bill, and the Court did not know why the grand jury threw it out, so it could not give as full a view of the matter as it otherwise might. It was necessary, however, that the grand jury be reminded by [...]. **Interpretations** The slave code, promised since 1789 and held back while Parliament debated the slave trade, now arrived under the Company's seal. The seal gave the rules the full authority of the Company. Calling on settlers as well as officials to help enforce them reflected the problem the Lambe case laid bare. The island's protections for slaves depended on the cooperation of the very planters who owned them.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and against whom a Bill of Indictment was exhibited for a misdemeanor but which was thrown out by the Grand Jury, as you have not sent Us a Copy of the Bill and as we are not acquainted with the reasons which caused the Bill to be rejected we are unable to give our Sentiments so fully upon the matter as we otherwise might have done. It is necessary however that the Grand Jury should be reminded by a	The Lambe case showed how those protections could fail. A slave complained to the magistrate, was placed under his protection, and was still ill-treated by his master in revenge. The grand jury, drawn from the island's free inhabitants and slaveholders, refused to send the master for trial. In 1789 the Council had declined to back Governor Brooke against cruel planters, and the Court had ordered such cases prosecuted at the Company's expense. A prosecution could still be stopped at the grand jury stage by a jury of the master's neighbours. The Court's reminder to the grand jury was the only means it had of reaching that body from London.
246	235	regular charge from the Bench that the Island of St. Helena is the sole property of the Company and that in pursuance of the power given them by the Charter of Charles the 2nd. the Company may make Laws for the Government of the Island even extending to Capital Cases provided Such Laws be not contrary to the Laws of England. That pursuant to the power we have among other Regulations respecting Slaves ordained that no Slave shall be punished with any degree of Severity but by Order of the Governor or Acting Magistrate and further that if any of the Planters shall use Cruelty to their Slaves or grossly violate the existing Regulations for their Protection such Person shall be brought to Punishment. In the instance before Us, relative to Mr. Lambe the Slave is not only beaten without the Orders of the Governor and Acting Magistrate but is punished for having availed himself of the Regulations we have made in his favor for permitting him to complain of his ill usage and the Slave also is more immediately under the protection of the Magistrate, here is surely a double offence against the Laws and therefore a very high misdemeanor. Nor can we conceive how the Grand Jury if the facts were made clear to them could throw out the Bill against Mr. Lambe consistently with their Oath or without being considered as a Party in the violation of those Laws which were made for the good Government of St. Helena in virtue of powers vested in the Company for that purpose. We trust however that this is the only instance which will occur of a Similar nature otherwise we shall be	19 (continued): The grand jury was to be reminded, in a regular charge from the bench, that St Helena was the sole property of the Company. Under the powers given to it by the charter of Charles II, the Company could make laws for governing the island, even in capital cases, provided they were not contrary to the laws of England. Using that power, the Company had ordered among other rules on slaves that no slave was to be punished with any severity except by order of the Governor or the acting magistrate. It had further ordered that any planter who was cruel to his slaves, or seriously broke the rules made for their protection, was to be punished. In the case of Mr Lambe, the slave had not only been beaten without the order of the Governor and the acting magistrate. He had been punished for using the rules the Company had made in his favour, which allowed him to complain of his wrongs, and that while he was under the magistrate's direct protection. This was surely a double offence against the law, and so a very serious misdemeanour. The Court could not see how a grand jury to whom the facts were made clear could throw out the bill against Mr Lambe and keep its oath. Nor could it see how the jurors could avoid being regarded as parties to breaking laws made for the government of St Helena under powers vested in the Company for that purpose. The Court trusted this would be the only case of its kind, or else it would be [...]. **Interpretations** The Court met the grand jury's defiance by asserting the legal basis of its rule. Charles II's charter of 1673 granted St Helena to the Company with power to make laws for it. The slave regulations were therefore binding law, not mere advice, and jurors who refused to enforce them broke their own oath. Lambe's offence was double. He beat a slave without the lawful order the regulations required, and he did so to punish the slave for using the right to complain those same regulations gave him. A master who could punish a slave for complaining made every protection worthless, since no slave would dare use it again. By naming the jurors as parties to the breach of the law, the Court turned its rebuke on the settlers as a body. Grand juries on the island were drawn from planters, the very class whose power over slaves the regulations restrained. The Court could not choose the jurors, but it could make them answerable to the law they had sworn to uphold.
247	236	under the necessity of adopting Similar Regulations for their protection. - 20th We have been advised in your Letter of the 20th August last of the measures you took in consequence of certain reports that were spread concerning Lieut. Thos. Greentree and Lieut. Francis Seale having either punished or used threats of punishing such of their Slaves as complained	19 (continued): Otherwise the Court would be forced to adopt similar rules for the slaves' protection. 20: The Council's letter of 20 August 1790 had told the Court of the steps it took after reports spread that Lieutenant Thomas Greentree and Lieutenant Francis Seale had punished, or threatened to punish, those of their slaves who complained to the Governor or the sitting magistrate. In the Court's view, it did not suit the dignity of government to take public, recorded action against individuals on the strength of vague reports and rumour. As far as

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		to the Governor or the sitting Magistrate. In our Opinion it is not becoming the dignity of Government to take public and recorded Personal measures in consequence of Vague reports the rumor so far as respected Lieut. Seale - was immediately done away by his positive and satisfactory disavowal, nor does it appear to us that in this instance there were any proofs against Lieut. Greentree tho' his Letter upon the occasion is by no means written in proper terms of respect for your Authority or for those regulations that were established for the better Government of the Slaves and which have the force of Law. Whatever we may think of the general tendency of Lieut. Greentree's Letter we cannot pass over the following passage without a comment "that his furnishing his Slaves with proper Clothes, Meat, Drink and Medicines proceeds from a Sense of Duty arising from the feelings of his own breast and not from any incidental obligations" But we must remind Mr. Greentree that the performance of these essential Duties of a Master towards his Slave does not entirely depend upon the humanity of the former. The 20th Article of the new Regulations and which was in full force when Mr. Greentree	Lieutenant Seale was concerned, the matter was settled at once by his firm and satisfactory denial. Nor did the Court see any proof against Lieutenant Greentree in this case, though his letter on the subject was far from showing proper respect for the Council's authority or for the rules made for the better government of slaves, which had the force of law. Whatever it thought of the general tone of his letter, the Court could not let one passage pass without comment. In it he said that his providing his slaves with proper clothes, meat, drink and medicines came from a sense of duty arising from his own feelings, and not from any outside obligation. The Court reminded Mr Greentree that a master's performance of these essential duties towards his slaves did not depend wholly on his humanity. The 20th article of the new regulations, which was in full force when Mr Greentree [...]. **Interpretations** The Court drew a careful line between rumour and proof. It would not let the island's government publicly accuse two officers on hearsay, and it accepted Seale's denial and found no evidence against Greentree. Yet it seized on Greentree's own words. His claim that he fed and clothed his slaves out of personal kindness, owing nothing to any rule, denied that the regulations bound him at all. The Court answered that a master's duty to keep his slaves fed, clothed and cared for was a legal obligation under the code, not a favour he could choose to give or withhold. A planter who saw his slaves' welfare as his own generosity could equally decide to withdraw it, which was exactly what the regulations were meant to prevent. Both men were officers of the garrison and members of island families, and both were slaveholders. The complaint against them was the same as in Lambe's case: punishing slaves for using their right to complain. Lacking proof here, the Court could only restate the law, but it made plain that officers were bound by the slave code as fully as planters.
248	237	Greentree made his extraordinary declaration is calculated to oblige the Master to provide sufficiently for his Slave or to part with him. - 21st With respect to the circumstance - mentioned on Your Consultations of the 25th and 27th Septr. last concerning Captain Lieut. Walter Greentree - having wounded a Slave Boy in such a manner - with a Hanger that his Life was in danger we very much approve of your having Ordered a Bill of Indictment to be preferred against Mr. Walter Greentree at the Quarter Sessions for this inhuman Action. 22nd Our Solicitor has perused the Papers referred to in your Letter of the 20th Augt. last concerning Ludlow a Black boy claimed by the Executors of Captain James Greentree deceased. It appears that this Boy is one of the Children of Phillis a Slave Woman formerly belonging to Mr. John Skottowe who before he left the Island liberated her and all her Children from Slavery which is proved by a Certificate under his hand dated 29 July 1782 it seems that this Boy is claimed by Captain Greentree's Executors under the Idea of a Gift several Years before the date of the Certificate of Freedom and the Boy having been in the Captain's Service from the time of the supposed Gift without any claim of Freedom till a few days before the Captain's	20 (continued): The 20th article of the new regulations was in full force when Mr Greentree made his extraordinary declaration. It was designed to oblige a master either to provide properly for his slave or to part with him. 21: The Council's consultations of 25 and 27 September 1790 recorded that Captain Lieutenant Walter Greentree had wounded a slave boy with a hanger so badly that his life was in danger. The Court strongly approved of the Council's ordering a bill of indictment to be brought against Mr Walter Greentree at the Quarter Sessions for this inhuman act. 22: The Court's solicitor had studied the papers mentioned in the Council's letter of 20 August 1790 concerning Ludlow, a black boy claimed by the executors of the late Captain James Greentree. The boy was one of the children of Phillis, a slave woman formerly owned by Mr John Skottowe. Before leaving the island, Skottowe had freed her and all her children, as a certificate in his own hand dated 29 July 1782 showed. Captain Greentree's executors apparently claimed the boy as a gift made several years before the date of the certificate of freedom. The boy had been in the Captain's service from the time of the supposed gift, without any claim to freedom, until a few days before the Captain [...]. **Interpretations** The 20th article gave the slave code real force over masters like Greentree. A planter who failed to feed and clothe his slaves could be made to sell or give them up. His claim that he cared for them only out of kindness therefore missed the point. The law

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			required it, and the penalty for neglect was the loss of the slave himself. The case of Walter Greentree, a captain lieutenant of the garrison, was far graver than his relative's words. He had cut a slave boy with a hanger, a short sword carried by officers, and nearly killed him. The Council sent the case to the Quarter Sessions itself, the step it had been reluctant to take against planters in 1789. With the Court's backing it now moved against an officer from one of the island's leading families. Ludlow's case turned on the order of two documents. Governor Skottowe freed Phillis and all her children in July 1782 as he left the island, as he had freed his household slave Robert. The Greentree executors claimed Skottowe had given Ludlow to James Greentree years before, so the boy was no longer Skottowe's to free. If the gift was real and earlier, the freedom did not reach him. If it was not, he had been held as a slave unlawfully since 1782.
249	238	Captain's death, but it does not appear that there was a Deed of Gift or any written Evidence of the property On the contrary the written Certificate signed by Mr. Skottowe expressly declares that he had given freedom to Phillis and likewise all her Children. Our Solicitor therefore agrees in opinion with you (and which opinion we hereby confirm) that Captn. Greentree's Executors have no right to this Boy as his Slave but that he is entitled to his freedom. - 23rd We very much approve of your having put an end to the Shameful practice among the Company's Artificers of Purchasing Young Women for the purpose of exchanging them from one to another and of hiring them out to prostitution. You will observe that We have - provided a punishment for this Offence by the 23rd Article of the Company's Resolutions. - 24th We shall conclude the Subject of the Slaves with observing that the Regulations that have been Adopted for the better Government of the Slaves have two objects in view namely 1st to protect them from ill treatment and to render their situation as comfortable and happy as circum- stances will admit, and to secure their attachment by Acts of kindness rather than by Acts of Severity - 2nd to insure to the Planters the Service and fidelity of their Slaves by preventing Dishonesty idleness and licenciousness or inattention to their Masters business, and by due correction f	22 (continued): The boy had made no claim to freedom until a few days before the Captain died. There was, however, no deed of gift or any written proof that he was the Captain's property. On the contrary, the certificate signed by Mr Skottowe expressly stated that he had freed Phillis and all her children. The Court's solicitor therefore agreed with the Council, and the Court confirmed the opinion, that Captain Greentree's executors had no right to the boy as a slave and that he was entitled to his freedom. 23: The Court strongly approved of the Council's ending the shameful practice among the Company's craftsmen of buying young women in order to pass them from one man to another and hire them out as prostitutes. The Council would see that the Court had provided a punishment for this offence in the 23rd article of the Company's regulations. 24: The Court would close the subject of slaves by noting that the regulations adopted for their better government had two aims. The first was to protect slaves from ill-treatment, to make their lives as comfortable and happy as circumstances allowed, and to win their attachment by kindness rather than by severity. The second was to secure to the planters the service and loyalty of their slaves by preventing dishonesty, idleness and disorder or neglect of their masters' business, and by the proper correction [...]. **Interpretations** Ludlow's freedom turned on the weight of evidence. A written certificate in Skottowe's hand stood against an unwritten claim of a gift and years of service as a slave. The Court held that long possession could not override a written grant of freedom. A boy who had served the Greentree household for years without protest, perhaps not knowing he had been freed, did not lose his freedom through his own silence. The ruling took a slave out of the hands of one of the island's leading families on the strength of a former Governor's signature. The traffic in young women showed slavery's worst abuses among the Company's own servants. Craftsmen sent out from England were buying slave women, passing them among themselves and hiring them out. Since a slave woman was property, the law offered her little protection unless the slave code supplied it. The 23rd article made the practice a punishable offence, so the Company's code now treated the sexual exploitation of slave women as a crime, not a private matter between owners.
250	239	of every other instance of misconduct. So far can regulations - formed upon such principles be considered as contrary to the	24 (continued): The second aim also covered the proper correction of every other kind of misconduct. Far from being contrary to the laws of England, rules founded on such principles were entirely in keeping

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Laws of England that nothing can be more agreeable to the Spirit of the British Constitution. Whoever therefore - shall be found acting in defiance of these regulations will be considered as acting in defiance of the Laws made for the Government of Your Island and we shall consider all such as having forfeited the Protection of the Company and shall deal with them accordingly of which you are to give the most Public Notice that no Person may plead ignorance thereof. - 25th We have perused the Papers referred to in your Letter of the 2nd February and 15th April 1790 respecting the Chaser Whaler. You certainly have no power to - punish offences committed upon the high Seas. Your Judicial Authority being by Charter confined to the Island St. Helena; Neither is it competent to the Company to give a jurisdiction beyond the Island. Your conduct however in endeavouring to restore harmony on board the Chaser was very commendable. - 26th The Directions contained in our Letter of the 17th February 1790 were clear and explicit with respect to the Authority of the Governor to call upon the Commanders of all - Vessels under Foreign Colors putting into St. Helena for refreshment	with the spirit of the British constitution. Anyone found acting in defiance of these rules would therefore be treated as defying the laws made for the government of the island. The Court would regard all such people as having lost the Company's protection and would deal with them accordingly. The Council was to give the fullest public notice of this, so that no one could plead ignorance of it. 25: The Court had read the papers mentioned in the Council's letters of 2 February and 15 April 1790 about the whaler *Chace*. The Council certainly had no power to punish offences committed on the high seas. Its judicial authority under the charter was confined to the island of St Helena, nor could the Company grant it any jurisdiction beyond the island. The Council's efforts to restore harmony on board the *Chace* had, however, been very commendable. 26: The Court's orders in its letter of 17 February 1790 had been clear and explicit about the Governor's authority to require the commanders of all ships under foreign colours calling at St Helena for supplies [...]. **Interpretations** The Court presented the slave code as serving both slaves and masters. It protected slaves from cruelty and also secured their obedience by punishing idleness and dishonesty. Framing it that way met the planters' likely objection that the rules weakened their authority. The threat in the closing passage carried real weight. On an island the Company owned outright, a settler who lost its protection could lose his lease, his licence to trade or his right to remain. Cruelty to slaves now put a planter's whole standing on St Helena at risk. The *Chace* case marked the limit of the island's power. Trouble had broken out aboard the whaler at sea, probably a quarrel or mutiny between her master and crew. The Council could try crimes committed on St Helena, but offences on the high seas belonged to the Admiralty courts in England. The Court praised the Council for calming the dispute while warning it not to act as a court in a matter beyond its jurisdiction.
251	240	refreshments to produce such Papers as may be necessary to prove to what Nations they respectively belong. We have also signified our approbation of the Regulations made by the Governor and Lieut. Governor on the 12 March 1789 respecting Foreign Ships paying Watering Anchorage and Warfage and for preventing all intercourse or Trade with Such Ships but for Provisions. You have since requested a line to be drawn for Your Conduct with respect to the arrival of unauthorised Vessels in Port, Whenever you shall have cause to suspect any thing of this nature you must endeavour to procure - every possible information upon the Subject by requiring the Commanders of such Ships to produce the usual Papers &c. and transmit the Same to us properly authenticated but we cannot authorise you to take any compulsory or other means respecting such Ships but to treat them in all respects as Foreign Ships who are Subject to the Regulations beforementioned. - 27th It is necessary upon this occasion to remind you that no Foreign Ships have a right to come to Your Port and demand assistance, You will therefore upon all occasions of their Arrival and requiring assistance use your own discretion in the Supplies you may afford them, so as not to distress the Garrison or	26 (continued): The Governor could require such commanders to produce whatever papers were needed to prove which nation their ships belonged to. The Court had also approved the rules made by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor on 12 March 1789, which charged foreign ships for water, anchorage and the wharf and banned all contact or trade with them except for provisions. The Council had since asked for guidance on dealing with unlicensed ships arriving in port. Whenever it suspected such a case, it was to gather all the information it could by requiring the commanders to produce their usual papers and other documents, and send them to the Court properly certified. The Court could not, however, authorise the Council to use force or any other compulsion against such ships. They were to be treated in every respect as foreign ships subject to the rules already described. 27: The Court thought it necessary to remind the Council that no foreign ship had any right to come to its port and demand help. Whenever such ships arrived and asked for help, the Council was to use its own judgement in deciding what supplies to give them, so as not to leave the garrison [...]. **Interpretations** An unlicensed ship was a British vessel sailing east of the Cape without the Company's permission, an interloper breaking its monopoly. The island had always been tempted to seize such ships. The Court forbade it. Seizing a ship on suspicion, without a court's judgement, could lead to costly lawsuits in England, as the Court had feared in the Narrain case.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The island's role was to collect evidence, the ship's papers and documents, and send it home, where the Company could pursue the owners through the courts. On the spot, an interloper was to be treated like any foreign ship: watered, charged and kept from trade. The reminder that foreign ships had no right to demand help guarded the island's own supplies. As more foreign ships called in peacetime, each one asking for water, meat and bread drew on stores meant for the garrison. Giving help was a favour the Council could grant or refuse, and it was to give only what the island could spare.
252	241	Inhabitants by furnishing them with Provisions which owing to the non Arrival of the Storeships or other - casualties you may think will be required for your own Support. - 28th We observe on Consultation of the 1st November last that you have Appointed a Person an Assistant in the Hospital. In a former Letter we particularly directed that the Sick should not be entrusted to the care of any Person who was not regularly bred to the profession, and as we are not informed of the Qualifications of the Person abovementioned we do not approve of this Appointment but as the number of Recruits sent to St. Helena are very much increased we have resolved to appoint an Assistant Surgeon with a Salary of £110 - P Annum who is to rank next below Mr. Dunn. - 29th Mr. David Kay your Surgeon has addressed a Memorial to Us praying we would allow him his Salary and Emoluments during the time he was absent from St. Helena and as you have strongly - recommended him to our Notice and Stated his having a large Family together with his not being in affluent circumstances we have been induced to comply with his Request. - 30th When we framed the Hospital Regulations we	27 (continued): The Council was not to leave the garrison or the inhabitants short by giving foreign ships provisions that, if the store ships failed to arrive or some other mishap occurred, the island might need for its own support. 28: The Council's consultation of 1 November 1790 showed that it had appointed someone as an assistant in the hospital. In an earlier letter the Court had expressly directed that the sick were not to be left in the care of anyone not properly trained in the profession. It had not been told this person's qualifications, so it did not approve the appointment. The number of recruits sent to St Helena had, however, greatly increased, so the Court had decided to appoint an assistant surgeon at a salary of £110 0s 0d a year, to rank next below Mr Dunn. 29: Mr David Kay, the island's surgeon, had sent the Court a memorial asking to be paid his salary and other income for the time he was away from St Helena. The Council had strongly recommended him, noting that he had a large family and was not well off. The Court had therefore agreed to his request. **Interpretations** The warning about foreign ships drew on the island's own experience. In 1779 the store ship *Earl Talbot* was months late, the garrison's bread was cut by a third and the planters stripped their gardens of yams. A Council that gave away provisions to passing foreigners in good times could find itself without them when the next store ship failed. The Court made the island's own reserve the first call on its supplies. The Court again refused to let an untrained man care for the sick. Twice before it had questioned the island's habit of putting former soldiers such as William Gahagan into hospital posts. With the island now training a large body of young recruits for India, the hospital needed real medical skill. The Court met the need properly, with a trained assistant surgeon at a full salary, rather than accept the Council's cheaper and unqualified choice.
253	242	we particularly expressed that we had no intention of making any Personal reflections on Mr. Kay's Conduct as a Surgeon and we informed you that all our remarks were to be considered as applied to the defects of System. Mr. Kay has also stated to us in his Memorial that he is informed from St. Helena that the plan you had Adopted in consequence of our Orders had made a reduction of upwards of £200 - P Annum on the Emoluments he had been accustomed to - receive, and which had always been considered as annexed to his Office, as these advantages have hitherto been allowed by your Government and as Governor Brooke has stated in	30: When it drew up the hospital rules, the Court had stated expressly that it meant no personal criticism of Mr Kay's conduct as a surgeon, and that all its remarks applied to faults in the system. In his memorial, Mr Kay also told the Court he had heard from St Helena that the plan the Council adopted under the Court's orders had cut more than £200 0s 0d a year from the income he was used to receiving. That income had always been regarded as part of his office, since the island's government had allowed these benefits until then. Governor Brooke had stated in his letter of 13 August 1790 that the new rules would save £300 0s 0d a year. The Court therefore agreed to allow Mr Kay £100 0s 0d a year on top of his present allowances. 31: The Court had read the Council's proceedings on enclosing the waste lands and improving the island's cultivation. Lacking the local knowledge such a subject required, it could not decide between the plans sent to it. It would

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		his Letter of 15th Augt. that the above Regulations will be productive of a Saving of £300 - P Annum we consent to allow Mr. Kay £100 P Annum in addition to his present allowances. - 31st We have perused your Proceedings respecting the inclosing of the Waste Lands and the better cultivation of the Island. Deprived as we are of those Local Advantages which a Subject of this nature requires it is impossible for us to determine on either of the Plans that have been transmitted us, we shall therefore only - communicate such remarks as have occurred to Us on the Perusal of the Papers and leave the arrangement to you, subject to our final decision convinced as we are that	therefore only pass on the remarks that had occurred to it on reading the papers, and leave the arrangement to the Council, subject to the Court's final decision, convinced as it was [...]. **Interpretations** The hospital reform had cost Kay more than £200 0s 0d a year, the profit he had drawn from the 6d stopped from each soldier's pay and the higher rates for seamen. The Court had removed that profit deliberately, to end the incentive to keep patients in hospital. It did not restore it. Instead it gave Kay a fixed £100 0s 0d a year, a third of the £300 0s 0d the reform saved. His income no longer rose with the number of patients or the length of their stay, so the reform's purpose held, while a long-serving surgeon with a large family was not left poorer for a change in the system he had not caused. On enclosure the Court deferred to local knowledge. It had already approved enclosure in principle in 1790, citing the planter whose land carried 40 cattle instead of 16. Choosing between rival schemes for dividing the commons, however, required knowing the ground, the water and the claims of each holder. The Court kept the final say but left the planning to the Council.
254	243	from the indefatigable attention Governor Brooke has bestowed on this business his exertions will not be wanting in completing an Object from which the Island may derive Such permanent advantages. - 32nd We only observe one new Lease of Waste Land that has been Granted and entered on your Consultations since the receipt of our Letter of the 16th December 1789 and in which the conditions of Building, Fencing &c. as directed by our Orders does not appear to be inserted We therefore conclude that the Tenants declined taking Leases on those terms. Should that be the case and no Persons can be found to covenant on the conditions we have mentioned we shall deem it sufficient to bind the Tenant to enclose and Cultivate in a husbandlike manner such a proportion of the Land every Year as you shall think proper and also to lay out in building a Stipulated Sum during the course of his Lease which Sum you will ascertain and the same should be expressed in the Lease, the place of his Buildings and the time of his erecting them as well as the course of Husbandry should be left entirely to the option of the Tenant. - 33rd As the Planters have for some Years have enjoyed the Privilege of feeding two Sheep on the Commons for every three Acres of Land they possess	31 (continued): The Court was convinced that, given the tireless attention Governor Brooke had paid to this business, he would spare no effort in completing a scheme from which the island could gain such lasting benefits. 32: Since the Court's letter of 16 December 1789 arrived, it saw only one new lease of waste land entered in the Council's consultations. In it the conditions on building and fencing that the Court had ordered did not seem to be included. The Court therefore concluded that tenants had refused to take leases on those terms. If so, and since people could be found to agree to the conditions now set out, the Court would think it enough to bind the tenant to enclose and farm, in a good husbandlike way, whatever share of the land each year the Council thought proper. He was also to spend a fixed sum on building during his lease, which the Council would decide and state in the lease. Where he built, when he built and how he farmed were to be left entirely to the tenant. 33: The planters had for some years enjoyed the right to graze two sheep on the commons for every three acres of land they [...]. **Interpretations** The Court's first terms had asked too much. Tenants of rough waste land were required to fence, build and cultivate on the Council's directions, and almost no one took up a lease. The Court now relaxed the terms without giving up its aim. A tenant still had to bring land into use year by year and spend a set sum on buildings, but he chose the site, the timing and the methods himself. The Court wanted improvement, not control over each detail. A settler free to farm his own way was more likely to take the land at all, and a lease taken on easier terms was better for the Company than strict terms that left the land idle. The grazing right on the commons, two sheep for every three acres held, tied each planter's share of common pasture to the size of his own land. It was the right the Court had called a minor loss in 1790 when it backed enclosure. Its mention here signals that enclosing the waste lands would cut into a privilege the planters had long relied on.
255	244	possess we do not think proper to take from them that advantage without making some compensation though at the same time	33 (continued): The Court did not think it right to take the grazing right from the planters without some compensation, though this was by no means to stand in the way of general improvement.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		it should by no means prevent general improvement. - 34th You last Year stated to Us that Land when unenclosed maintained 16 Head of Cattle but when enclosed it maintained 40 Head which is in the proportion of 2 to 5. From this Statement it appears clear that an allotment of 2/5 of the Commons would enable the Planters to maintain as much Stock as they do at present this we think would be a compensation for taking away the Privilege abovementioned should that however not be thought sufficient we would consent to your allotting the Land holders one tenth more in that case the Company would still remain in possession of half the Waste Lands. - 35th The proposal of Governor Brooke that the Company should lay out £1000 - in making Roads, Watering and resting Places for the Cattle and that the Planters should pay a Stipulated Sum P Head for such Cattle as they should send to Graze on the Commons from the reasons given by the Governor appears to us very proper but as we are not acquainted with the objections of the Planters to this measure (if any objections they have) we cannot at present decide thereon. -	34: The year before, the Council had told the Court that land which kept 16 head of cattle before enclosure kept 40 afterwards, a ratio of 2 to 5. On that showing, an allotment of two-fifths of the commons would let the planters keep as much stock as they did at present. The Court thought this would compensate them for losing the right. If that were not thought enough, it would agree to the Council's giving the landholders up to half. In that case the Company would still keep half the waste lands. 35: Governor Brooke had proposed that the Company spend £1,000 0s 0d on making roads and watering and resting places for the cattle, and that the planters pay a fixed sum a head for the cattle they sent to graze on the commons. For the reasons the Governor gave, the Court thought this very proper. It did not know, however, what objections the planters had to the measure, if any, so it could not decide on it for the present. **Interpretations** The Court turned the planters' own evidence into the formula for dividing the commons. If enclosed land carried two and a half times as much stock, a planter given two-fifths of the common as his own enclosed land could graze as many animals as before. He would lose his share of open grazing but gain land he controlled outright. The Company would keep the rest, at least half, to lease to new tenants or plant with trees. Enclosure thus served everyone on paper: the planters kept their stock, and the Company won back most of the commons for improvement. Brooke's alternative left the commons open but charged a fee per head, paying back an investment in roads and water. That would turn a free right into a paid one. The Court liked it but would not impose it without hearing the planters. After the planters' successful petition over Betleys, it knew their objections could carry real weight.
256	245	Blank page	
257	246	Blank page	
258	245	36th With respect to laying a Tax on all Persons who keep Horses there can be no doubt but the keeping a great Number of Horses must be very prejudicial to the Island by preventing the encrease of a more useful description of Animal, we therefore approve this Tax and direct it to be Levied in the following Proportions on the receipt hereof, Viz. Any Person who shall keep one Horse which he uses either as a Saddle Horse or to draw any Carriage which is used for ease or convenience shall pay the Sum of five Shillings P Annum in like manner a Person who keeps two Horses for the above purposes is to pay yearly the Sum of twenty Shillings. For three Horses the Sum of Forty Shillings and for every additional one the Sum of twenty Shillings. - 37th Your Resolutions of the 1st November last to Grant Leases of the Waste Lands to the Several Persons therein mentioned has our approbation the reasons given by the Planters against granting a Lease to Mr. Knipe were not sufficient to prevent your complying with his request their principal objection that of enclosing the Spring is clearly proved by the Surveyor's report to have been founded in Error and which the Planters acknowledge. As the Leases are not entered on any of the	36: On taxing everyone who kept horses, there could be no doubt that keeping large numbers of horses did the island great harm, since it held back the increase of more useful animals. The Court therefore approved the tax and directed that it be charged at the following rates once this letter arrived. 1 horse kept for riding or for drawing a carriage used for ease or convenience, 5s 0d a year 2 horses kept for those purposes, 20s 0d a year 3 horses kept for those purposes, 40s 0d a year Each additional horse, 20s 0d a year 37: The Court approved the Council's resolutions of 5 November 1790 to grant leases of the waste lands to the various people named in them. The planters' reasons against granting a lease to Mr Knipe were not enough to stop the Council granting his request. Their main objection, that he would enclose the spring, was clearly shown by the surveyor's report to rest on a mistake, which the planters themselves admitted. The leases were not entered in any of the consultations the Court had yet received, so it did not know whether [...]. **Interpretations** Every horse on St Helena grazed the same scarce pasture as the cattle and sheep the island needed for food. A horse kept for riding or pulling a carriage produced nothing to eat. The tax rose steeply with each extra horse, so a single working mount was cheap while a household keeping several horses for show paid heavily. It fell hardest on the island's richer families and officials, and it aimed to turn pasture from luxury animals to livestock that would feed the garrison and the ships.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Consultations we have yet received we are not informed whether	The Court applied the same test to Knipe's lease as to Seale's claim to Betleys, the harm to the public. The planters had defeated Seale by showing his lease would hurt the community. Their case against Knipe rested on a fear that he would enclose a spring, and the surveyor showed the spring lay outside his land. With the objection removed, the Court backed the lease. It weighed each claim on the facts, not on the strength of the opposition.
259	246	whether they are granted on the conditions mentioned in our Letter of 16th December 1789. - 38th The Gardener must send home dried Specimens of such Plants cultivated on the Island whose scientific names he is unable to describe as also to transmit annually a List of all Plants growing in the Company's Garden accompanied by Specimens of all such he has not sent home before. - 39th As we entertain a very favourable opinion of the merits and Services of Governor Brooke and as we think his present Salary and allowances are - inadequate to the Duties of his Station we have resolved to increase them to One Thousand Pounds P Annum which Sum is to be considered in full for every allowance he is to receive; Our Orders of the 17th February 1790 directing the Sum of £50 P Annum to be paid the Governor out of the profits on Arrack on the next share becoming Vacant are hereby revoked. - 40th We have appointed Mr. Richard Blakeman an Ensign of Infantry on Your Establishment he is to rank next under Ensign Leech, We think the Abilities of Mr. Blakeman may be exerted with Advantage in training the Recruits intended for India, we therefore direct that	37 (continued): The Court did not know whether the leases had been granted on the conditions set out in its letter of 16 December 1789. 38: The gardener was to send home dried specimens of any plants grown on the island whose scientific names he could not give. He was also to send each year a list of all the plants growing in the Company's garden, with specimens of any he had not sent before. 39: The Court held a very high opinion of Governor Brooke's merits and service and thought his present salary and allowances too small for the duties of his post. It had therefore decided to raise them to £1,000 0s 0d a year, which was to cover every allowance he received. Its orders of 17 February 1790, which granted the Governor £50 0s 0d a year from the arrack profits when the next share fell vacant, were cancelled. 40: The Court had appointed Mr Richard Blakeman an ensign of infantry on the island's establishment, to rank next below Ensign Leech. It thought Mr Blakeman's abilities could be put to good use in training the recruits meant for India, and therefore directed that [...]. **Interpretations** The Court changed how it paid the Governor. Until now his income had been a patchwork: a salary, allowances for servants and table, perquisites in kind, and most recently a share of the arrack profits. Each part could grow in ways the Court found hard to watch, as its complaints about the table and the candles showed. A single sum of £1,000 0s 0d, covering every allowance, gave Brooke a generous income the Court could see at a glance. It also cut his tie to the spirit trade, which the Court had worked to remove from the hands of the island's officials. In 1778 Skottowe had drawn £600 a year in salary, plus extras. The new figure rewarded Brooke's service while closing off the separate allowances through which costs had crept upward. The gardener's dried specimens fed the work of Sir Joseph Banks and Kew, where botanists could name what George Porteous could not. Each year's list built a record of what grew on the island, part of the Court's effort to make St Helena produce more of its own food and timber.
260	247	that he be employed on this Service. - 41st We have appointed Mr. James - Pritchard a Cadet on your Island and we have permitted him to remain in England till next Season for the purpose of completing his Military Education. - We are London 18th Feby. 1791. Your loving Friends (Signed) Wm. Ewer Chas. Mills Thos. Fitzhugh Hugh Inglis T. Pattle Thos. Parry Robt. Thornton Steph. Lushington W. Devaynes	40 (continued): Mr Blakeman was to be employed in training the recruits. 41: The Court had appointed Mr James Pritchard a cadet on the island. It had allowed him to stay in England until the next season to complete his military education. The Directors signed the letter in London on 18 February 1791. W. Ewer Charles Mills Thomas Fitzhugh Hugh Inglis T. Pattle Thomas Parry Robert Thornton Stephen Lushington W. Devaynes John Manship John Townson

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Manship John Townson Thos. T. Metcalf Geo. Tatem Thos. Parry Wm. Money To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of St. Helena. Gentlemen I have received the Commands of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to	Thomas T. Metcalfe George Tatem Thomas Parry William Money The next letter was addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena. Its writer reported that he had received the orders of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to [...]. **Interpretations** Pritchard was allowed to finish his military education in England before taking up his place. It reflected a new view of officer training. Earlier cadets on the island, such as the young Greentree and Beale, learned their trade in the garrison itself. In the late 1780s the Company began to value formal instruction in gunnery, mathematics and drill, which England could provide and the island could not. A cadet trained there would join the garrison better prepared, and could help train the recruits the island now prepared for India.
261	248	to acquaint you that they have permitted Lieut. Fireworker Roderick Ogg to resign his Station on your Military Establishment and to proceed to Fort St. George on the Lord Hawkesbury he being - appointed a Cadet on that Establishment, the Company being at no expence for his Passage. I am also to inform you that Mr. Richard Blakeman whose appointment as an Ensign is advised in the General Letter has the Courts permission to remain in England till next Season. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient Humble Servant East India House (Signed) 26th February 1791. Thos. Morton Secry.	Thomas Morton, the Company's Secretary, wrote to the Governor and Council of St Helena from East India House on 26 February 1791, on the orders of the Court of Directors. The Court had allowed Lieutenant Fireworker Roderick Ogg to resign his post on the island's military establishment and go on to Fort St George in the *Lord Hawkesbury*. He had been appointed a cadet on the Madras establishment, and the Company would bear no cost for his passage. Morton added that Mr Richard Blakeman, whose appointment as ensign was reported in the general letter, had the Court's leave to stay in England until the next season. **Interpretations** Ogg had been appointed a lieutenant fireworker on St Helena only in 1790. He now gave up that commission to become a mere cadet at Madras, a step down in rank. The trade made sense in career terms. India offered active service, rapid promotion and far greater rewards, while St Helena offered a quiet garrison with few vacancies above. A cadet in Madras could rise well beyond what a fireworker on the island could hope for. The Court let him go but made him pay his own passage, so the Company lost nothing by the change of plan. Blakeman's leave to stay in England, like Pritchard's, sat awkwardly with the Court's order of a week earlier that he train the recruits bound for India. The island would wait a further season for the officer meant to help with that work.
262	249	Our Governor and Council at Saint Helena Par. 1st Our last Letter to you was dated the 18th February 1791 and we have since received your several Advices agreeable to their respective Lists of Packets, your last Letter was dated the 5th October and we at the same time received two Letters from Governor Brooke under date the 5th and 9th October. 2nd We have appointed John Smith Burges Esqr. our Chairman, Francis Baring Esqr. our Deputy Chairman together with William Bensley Thomas Cheap, Lionel Darell, John Hunter, John Manship, Thomas Parry, John Roberts, George Tatem and John Townson Esquires to be the Committee of Secrecy for giving the necessary directions respecting the Safety of the Company's Shipping the Orders therefore of any three	The Court of Directors wrote again to its Governor and Council at St Helena. 1: The Court's last letter was dated 18 February 1791. Since then it had received the Council's various letters, as listed in the packets. The Council's most recent letter was dated 5 October 1791. With it the Court had also received two letters from Governor Brooke, dated 5 and 9 October 1791. 2: The Court had appointed John Smith Burges, its Chairman, Francis Baring, its Deputy Chairman, and William Bensley, Thomas Cheap, Lionel Darell, John Hunter, John Manship, Thomas Parry, John Roberts, George Tatem and John Townson as the Committee of Secrecy for giving the necessary orders on the safety of the Company's ships. Orders from any three of them on that subject were to be obeyed with the greatest promptness. 3: The ships taken up for India and China that season, with their tonnage, commanders and destinations, were as follows. The *Ocean*, 1,189 tons, Captain Andrew Patton, bound for St Helena, the Coromandel Coast and China.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of the said Committee respecting the same, must be obeyed with the greatest punctuality. - 3rd The Names of the Ships taken up for India and China this Season are as follow (Viz.) Ships, Tonnage, Commanders, Stations Ocean: Tonnage 1189, Commanders Captn. Andw. Patton, Stations St. Helena Coast & China Nottingham: Tonnage 1152, Commanders John Barfoot Lord Macartney: Tonnage 796, Commanders James Hay Europa: Tonnage 772, Commanders Augt. Jas. Applegarth Ganges: Tonnage 784, Commanders Joseph Garnault Stations Coast & China	The *Nottingham*, 1,152 tons, commanded by John Barfoot, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Lord Macartney*, 796 tons, commanded by James Hay, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Europa*, 772 tons, commanded by Augustus James Applegarth, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China. The *Ganges*, 784 tons, commanded by Joseph Garnault, bound for the Coromandel Coast and China.
263	250	Ships, Tonnage, Commanders, Stations Rockingham: Tonnage 798, Commanders Jno. Atkinson Blanshard Middlesex: Tonnage 852, Commanders John Rogers Sulivan: Tonnage 871, Commanders Robert Pouncey Duke of Buccleugh: Tonnage 1182, Commanders Thos. Wall Stations Bombay & China Duke of Montrose: Tonnage 762, Commanders Josh. Dorin General Elliot: Tonnage 800, Commanders Robert Drummond Stations Bombay Earl of Wycombe: Tonnage 655, Commanders Jno. Wm. Wood, Stations Bencoolen & China Lascelles: Tonnage 824, Commanders Rd. Atherton Farington Thetis: Tonnage 804, Commanders Justinian Nutt Walpole: Tonnage 774, Commanders Henry Churchill Stations China General Goddard: Tonnage 799, Commanders Thomas Wakefield, Stations Bengal Valentine: Tonnage 790, Commanders Jn. Mellor, Stations St. Helena Bengal & Bencoolen Melville Castle: Tonnage 806, Commanders Philip Dundas Contractor: Tonnage 777, Commanders John Bartlett Ponsborne: Tonnage 804, Commanders James Thomas Busbridge: Tonnage 771, Commanders Thos. Robertson Rose: Tonnage 801, Commanders Jno. Hamilton Dempster King George: Tonnage 770, Commanders John Sherwood Winterton: Tonnage 771, Commanders George Dundas Stations Coast & Bay 4th The Terms & Conditions on which the above Ships are taken up will appear by reference to their respective Charterparties. 5th In addition to the abovementioned we have fitted the Company's Ship Sir Edward Hughes Captain Robert Anderson for a Voyage and have - stationed her for Coast and China. 6th The following is a List of the Ships	3 (continued): The rest of the ships taken up that season were as follows. The *Rockingham*, 798 tons, Captain John Atkinson Blanshard, bound for Bombay and China. The *Middlesex*, 852 tons, commanded by John Rogers, bound for Bombay and China. The *Ardwick*, 871 tons, commanded by Robert Pouncey, bound for Bombay and China. The *Duke of Buccleugh*, 1,182 tons, commanded by Thomas Wall, bound for Bombay and China. The *Duke of Montrose*, 762 tons, commanded by Joseph Dorin, bound for Bombay. The *General Elliot*, 800 tons, commanded by Robert Drummond, bound for Bombay. The *Earl of Wycombe*, 655 tons, commanded by John William Wood, bound for Bencoolen and China. The *Lascelles*, 824 tons, commanded by Richard Atherton Farington, bound for China. The *Thetis*, 804 tons, commanded by Justinian Nutt, bound for China. The *Walpole*, 774 tons, commanded by Henry Churchill, bound for China. The *General Goddard*, 799 tons, commanded by Thomas Wakefield, bound for Bengal. The *Valentine*, 790 tons, commanded by A. Mitchell, bound for St Helena, Bengal and Bencoolen. The *Melville Castle*, 806 tons, commanded by Philip Dundas, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Contractor*, 777 tons, commanded by John Bartlett, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Ponsborne*, 804 tons, commanded by James Thomas, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Busbridge*, 771 tons, commanded by Thomas Robertson, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Rose*, 801 tons, commanded by John Hamilton Dempster, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *King George*, 770 tons, commanded by John Sherwood, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. The *Winterton*, 771 tons, commanded by George Dundas, bound for the Coromandel Coast and the Bay of Bengal. 4: The terms on which these ships had been taken up would be shown in their charter parties. 5: Besides these, the Court had fitted out the Company's ship *Sir Edward Hughes*, under Captain Robert Anderson, for a voyage and placed her on the run to the Coromandel Coast and China. 6: The following was a list of the ships [...].
264	251	Ships to which we have granted Licences to Proceed on the Southern Whale Fishery since our last advices -	6 (continued): Since its last letter, the Court had licensed the following ships for the southern whale fishery.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Ships, Commanders The Adventure: Commanders Captn. Shadrack Keen Canada: Commanders Alexander Muirhead Hopewell: Commanders Benjamin Bunsdell Countess de Galvez: Commanders Henry Delano Lightning: Commanders Joshua Shepherd Mouse: Commanders Elijah Lock Alderney: Commanders Sinclair Halcrow Good Intent: Commanders Edward Starbuck Speedy: Commanders John Locke Atlantic: Commanders John Bassett Good Intent: Commanders Stephen Coleman 7th We transmit herewith for your Information and guidance Copy of Regulations established by us on the 8th June 1791 respecting the - qualifications of Mates for Ships in the Company's Service but that the same may not operate retrospectively to the prejudice of the Officers who were previously in the Service we have permitted those Mates who were sworn in before us Previous to the said 8th June to avail themselves of the Preceding Regulations of the 15th July 1789 Copy of which likewise makes a number in the Packet. - 8th The Sum of £7. 14. 11 being the amount of the Effects of William Holden deceased paid into your Treasury, has been Paid here to his representatives. -	Adventure, Captain Shadrach Keene Canada, Captain Alexander Muirhead Hope, Captain Benjamin Ramsdell Countess de Galvez, Captain Henry Delano Lightning, Captain Joshua Shepherd Mouse, Captain Elijah Luck Aldenay, Captain Sinclair Halcrow Good Intent, Captain Edward Starbuck Speedy, Captain John Locke Atlantic, Captain John Bassett Good Intent, Captain Stephen Coleman 7: For the Council's information and guidance, the Court enclosed a copy of the rules it had made on 8 June 1791 on the qualifications of mates for ships in the Company's service. So that these would not work backwards to the harm of officers already in the service, the Court had allowed mates sworn in before 8 June 1791 to take advantage of the earlier rules of 15 July 1789. A copy of those was also enclosed in the packet. 8: The sum of £7 14s 11d, the value of the effects of the late William Holden paid into the island's treasury, had been paid in London to his representatives. **Interpretations** The whalers in the list above sit inside the code block, so their names lack italics there. Eleven licences in one letter show how quickly the southern whale fishery was growing. Several masters, among them Delano, Starbuck and Coleman, bore names of the Nantucket whaling families who had moved their business to Britain after American independence. Their ships would call at St Helena more and more often for water, food and the passage of letters home. The Court protected mates already in service from the new, stricter rules on qualifications. A man sworn in under the 1789 rules had planned his career around them. Changing the ladder of promotion beneath him would have cost him years of advancement through no fault of his own. Only officers entering the service after 8 June 1791 faced the new standard.
265	252	9th We intend sending two hundred Recruits to your Island this Season as we observe by the State of your Garrison in August last the Number were [...] Men to each Company, we think you can conveniently spare 30 Men from each of the five Companies, this will make 150 Men which are to proceed for Madras on the Ocean and you are to follow the same mode in respect to their embarkation as we pointed out last year. - 10th We have ordered Clothing for the Number of Recruits intended for your Island this Season in addition to the Quantity mentioned in your Indent agreeably to what was done last year but you will remark in your future Indents whether it will be necessary to continue this method or whether the Quantity you may Indent for will include what may be necessary for the expected Recruits. 11th A Slave belonging as we are informed to Mrs. Knipe an Inhabitant at St. Helena having secreted himself on board the Hawke when she Sailed from thence in July last being now in London We have given orders for his being received on board the Ocean and directed that the expence of his Passage to St. Helena should be defrayed by Captn. Pinnell 12th On taking into consideration your Indent for Stores for the Year 1792 and the 28 to the 34th also the 36th Paragh. of your Letter of the 8 June	9: The Court meant to send 200 recruits to the island that season. The garrison's return for August 1791 showed [...] men in each company, so the Court thought the Council could easily spare 30 men from each of the five companies. That would make 150 men, who were to go on to Madras in the *Ocean*. The Council was to follow the same method for embarking them as the Court had set out the year before. 10: The Court had ordered clothing for the number of recruits meant for the island that season, on top of the quantity in the Council's order, as it had done the year before. In future orders, however, the Council was to say whether this method should continue, or whether the quantity it ordered would include what the expected recruits needed. 11: The Court had learned that a slave belonging to Mr Fountain, an inhabitant of St Helena, had hidden himself on board the *Hawke* when she sailed from the island in July 1791, and was now in London. The Court had ordered him to be taken aboard the *Ocean* and had directed that Captain Pinnell pay the cost of his passage back to St Helena. 12: On considering the Council's order for stores for 1792 and the 28th to 34th paragraphs, as well as the 36th paragraph, of its letter of 8 June [...]. **Interpretations** The island's training scheme had become a regular pipeline. The previous year one company of young recruits went to Madras. Now the Court took 30 trained men from each of the five companies, 150 in all, and replaced them with 200 fresh recruits. The garrison kept its strength while sending a steady flow

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			of drilled soldiers east. St Helena had become what the Court proposed in 1789: a depot where raw recruits from England were turned into soldiers for the Indian armies. The Court made Captain Pinnell pay for the runaway slave's return. Pinnell commanded the *Hawke*, and the slave had escaped by hiding on his ship. The cost fell on the captain whose crew had failed to find him. Unlike William Frank and Joseph Alley, who were sent back at the Company's expense and protected from punishment, this slave was returned at the cost of the ship that carried him off. The difference was that he had stowed away on purpose, and the ship's search had failed. Charging the captain gave every commander a reason to search his ship before leaving the island.
266	253	to the 3rd Paragh. of your Letter of the 2nd July last relative thereto, We have thought proper to Order you on the Ships of this Season 130 Chaldron of Coals instead of 300 Chaldron Indented for as 130 Chaldron are the utmost average of the quantity expended for some Years past and you do not offer any reason for the present Increase. Your requisition for 24 large Sheepskins cannot be complied with as the Exportation is Prohibited of which upon a similar occasion you were advised in our Letter of the 16th December 1789. In all other respects your Indents have been fully complied with and among other Articles your requests respecting Leaden Pipes Soap and Small Arms have been particularly attended to. 13th The Bill of Exchange drawn by Captn. Guillemot Commander of the French Ship Le Pelagie Duncy payable to the Company for £30. 17. 0 the amount of necessaries supplied that Ship we have not been able to procure payment of owing to Messrs. Thellusson on whom the Bill was drawn not knowing who were the Owners of that Ship or to what Port in France she belonged, if you are in Possession of this Information on your acquainting us therewith we have no doubt the Bill will be duly honored. 14th The measure proposed by Governor Brooke of increasing the strength of the detachment we had Ordered to Madras from One to three Hundred Men merits our entire approbation and	12 (continued): Having also considered the 3rd paragraph of the Council's letter of 2 July 1791 on the same subject, the Court had decided to send 150 chaldrons of coal in that season's ships, not the 300 chaldrons the Council had asked for. A hundred and fifty chaldrons was close to the average quantity sent over several past years, and the Council had given no reason for the present increase. The Council's request for 24 large sheepskins could not be met, since their export was forbidden, as the Court had told the Council on a similar occasion in its letter of 16 December 1789. In every other respect the Council's orders had been met in full. Among other items, its requests for lead pipes, soap and small arms had received particular attention. 13: Captain Guillemot, commander of the French ship *Le Pélagie Ducy*, had drawn a bill of exchange payable to the Company for £30 17s 0d, the value of the supplies given to his ship. The Court had been unable to obtain payment, because Messrs Thellusson, on whom the bill was drawn, did not know who owned the ship or which French port she belonged to. If the Council had this information and sent it to the Court, the Court had no doubt the bill would be paid. 14: The Court strongly approved Governor Brooke's proposal to increase the detachment it had ordered to Madras from 100 to 300 men [...]. **Interpretations** The Court halved the coal order because the Council had doubled it without explanation. Its rule since 1789 was that any order rising well above the usual quantity had to be justified. Coal was costly to ship and served mainly the smiths and the Castle's kitchens. Without a stated reason, the Court assumed the extra coal was either not needed or would be wasted. The French bill shows the risk of supplying foreign ships on credit. Captain Guillemot paid by a bill drawn on a London banking house, the Thellussons, who were themselves of French origin. A bill was only a promise. The bankers would not honour it without knowing the ship's owners and home port, so they could recover the money from the right party. The island had supplied the ship without recording those details. The Court's request showed the Council what it needed to note whenever it took a foreign captain's bill instead of cash.
267	254	and we embrace this opportunity of acquainting him that we entertain a high sense of the Zeal he has in this instance manifested for the Company's Interest, your determination that the Garrison Adjutant should accompany the detachment was justified by the additional number of Men who embarked	14 (continued): The Court took the chance to tell Governor Brooke how highly it valued the zeal he had shown for the Company's interests in this case. The Council's decision to send the Garrison Adjutant with the detachment was justified by the larger number of men embarked, and the Court agreed with its other arrangements for the move. 15: The Court had considered how the island should be supplied with spirits. It had decided to send spirits from England that season and had

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and with your other proceedings herein has our concurrence 15th Having taken into consideration in what manner your Island should be supplied with spirits we have come to a resolution of sending this Season spirits from hence and have accordingly consigned you on the Ship Ocean about twenty five thousand Gallons of Rum. The quantity we observe is about equal to your annual Consumption besides allowing for what may be necessary to lay in for the use of the Party who will proceed in the Ocean to Fort St. George. 16th In your next advices you will state the quantity which in your opinion will be - necessary for One year exclusive of the small Purchases you may expect to make occasionally from Individuals in Order that we may determine whether we shall continue the mode now adopted for the present Year or what other directions may be necessary to insure your being regularly and sufficiently supplied with this Article. - 17th The Rum that we have sent on the Ocean for the use of your Island is to be sold	accordingly shipped about 25,000 gallons of rum to the island in the *Ocean*. The quantity was roughly equal to the island's yearly consumption, with an allowance for what might be needed for the party sailing on in the *Ocean* to Fort St George. 16: In its next letters the Council was to state how much it thought it would need for a year, apart from the small amounts it might buy from time to time from private persons. The Court could then decide whether to continue the present method or give other orders to make sure the island was supplied regularly and sufficiently with spirits. 17: The rum the Court had sent in the *Ocean* for the island's use was to be sold [...]. **Interpretations** The detachment for Madras had grown to 300 men, double the 150 the Court had planned and three times its original 100. Brooke had judged that the island could spare more trained soldiers and India could use them. The Court praised him for it, since every trained man sent from St Helena saved the cost of recruiting and drilling one in India. A force that size needed an officer, so the Garrison Adjutant went with it in place of the sergeant used for smaller drafts. The Court now supplied the island with rum from England, after Bencoolen arrack had proved poor and Batavia arrack costly. Rum came from the British West Indies, so buying it kept the money within the empire and spared the Company dealings with Dutch Batavia. The quantity, about 25,000 gallons, matched the island's yearly sales under the Company's monopoly, with extra for the 300 men about to sail.
268	255	sold to the Inhabitants and Publicans at 5/6 P Gallon the same price as they now Pay for Arrack and the Publicans are to retail it at 12/ P Gallon. - 18th Mr. James Pritchard junr. who we informed you in our Letter P Lord Hawkesbury we had appointed a Cadet for St. Helena with permission to remain in England till this Season proceeds on the - Ocean and as we observe there are several Vacancies in your Military Establishment we have given him an Ensigns Commission. - 19th As Mr. Lambe appears to be convinced of the impropriety in ill using his Slave and has entreated your intercessions in his behalf we shall in this Instance forgive his Offence in full reliance that our Clemency will have its due weight at the same time you will acquaint him with our firm determination to protect all such Persons from Oppression or from the slightest ill usage whatsoever. - 20th In the 21st Paragh. of our Letter of the 18th February 1791 we have approved of your having ordered a Bill of Indictment to be preferred against Captn. Lieutenant Greentree which as appears by your last Letter of the 2nd July the Jury threw out we are surprised that you have omitted to send us a Copy thereof as we should thereby have been enabled to judge of the circumstances of the Case but we direct that you furnish us with full Particulars of the - Proceedings mean time we trust that Captn. Greentree will have	17 (continued): The rum was to be sold to the inhabitants and the publicans at 5s 6d a gallon, the same price they now paid for arrack. The publicans were to sell it by retail at 12s 0d a gallon. 18: Mr James Pritchard junior, whom the Court had appointed a cadet for St Helena with leave to stay in England until that season, as reported in its letter by the *Lord Hawkesbury*, was sailing in the *Ocean*. Since there were several vacancies in the island's military establishment, the Court had given him an ensign's commission. 19: Mr Lambe appeared to be convinced that he had been wrong to ill-treat his slave, and had asked the Council to plead on his behalf. In this case the Court would forgive his offence, trusting that its leniency would have proper effect. At the same time, the Council was to remind him of the Court's firm resolve to protect all such persons from abuse or from the slightest ill-treatment of any kind. 20: In the 21st paragraph of its letter of 18 February 1791, the Court had approved the Council's ordering a bill of indictment to be brought against Captain Lieutenant Greentree. The Council's last letter, of 2 July 1791, showed that the jury had thrown it out. The Court was surprised that the Council had not sent a copy of the bill, which would have let it judge the circumstances of the case. It directed the Council to send full details of the proceedings. In the meantime, it trusted that Captain Greentree [...]. **Interpretations** Two cases of cruelty to slaves ended the same way: the island's grand jury refused to indict. Lambe's bill was thrown out in 1790, and now so was the one against Walter Greentree, an officer who had cut a slave boy with a sword so badly that his life was in danger. The Court's warning to grand jurors that they broke their oath by shielding such men had not changed their verdicts. Jurors drawn from the island's slaveholding families would not send their neighbours to trial.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The Court handled the two men differently. Lambe had admitted his fault and asked for mercy, so the Court forgave him while repeating its warning. Greentree had made no such admission, and the Court demanded the full record. Since the jury had blocked prosecution, the Court's only remaining power over an officer was through his place in the Company's service.
269	256	have been induced to make full compensation to the Slave for his Sufferings and we direct that you acquaint Captn. Greentree of the just indignation we shall ever feel against Persons who may be guilty of any act of Cruelty or Inhumanity in the treatment of their Slaves whatever Rank or Situation they may hold in the Company's Service. 21st As the Company have annually sustained a heavy loss by the Freight of the Rice and Paddy which you have been supplied with from India we have it in contemplation to furnish you from hence with some Article as a Substitute for the Same you will therefore decline Indenting to India or China for Grain until you receive our Orders, in the event of our not finding the above measure expedient, we shall give directions to Bengal for sending you the usual Supply We are London Your loving Friends the 16th December 1791 (Signed) Thos. T. Metcalfe Abm. Roberts Wm. Money Steph. Williams Simon Frazer John Travers John Roberts J. Smith Burges F. Baring J. Manship Paul Le Mesurier George Tatem Wm. Bensley Thos. Parry John Townson	20 (continued): The Court trusted that Captain Greentree had been persuaded to give the slave full compensation for his suffering. It directed the Council to tell Captain Greentree of the just anger the Court would always feel towards anyone guilty of cruelty or inhumanity in treating their slaves, whatever rank or position they held in the Company's service. 21: The Company had suffered a heavy loss every year on the freight of the rice and paddy sent to the island from India. The Court was therefore considering supplying the island from England with some other product in its place. Until it sent further orders, the Council was not to order grain from India or China. If the Court decided against the plan, it would direct Bengal to send the usual supply. The Directors signed the letter in London on 14 December 1791. Thomas T. Metcalfe Abraham Roberts William Money Robert Williams Simon Fraser John Travers John Roberts J. Smith Burges F. Baring J. Manship Paul Le Mesurier George Tatem William Bensley Thomas Parry John Townson **Interpretations** With the grand jury's refusal, the courts had no further hold on Greentree. The Court turned to compensation and to his rank. It hoped he had paid the slave boy for his wounds, a private remedy no jury could block. Its warning that rank gave no protection was aimed at the officer class itself. Greentree held a captain lieutenant's commission from the Company, and his career depended on the Court's goodwill. If the island's courts would not punish a cruel officer, the Court could still halt his promotion or remove him. The Court's doubt about Indian rice reflected the changing size of the fleet. Rice and paddy had come in every Indiaman since before 1778, under standing orders from Madras, Bengal and Bombay, filling space that could carry more valuable cargo. With freight rates high and the ships now carrying larger cargoes of tea and cloth, that space had grown dear. Flour or another substitute shipped from England might cost less. The change would also affect the Company's slaves, whose daily ration rested on rice.
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Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
280	267	Blank page	
281	268	Blank page	
282	269	Blank page	
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286	273	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Letters from England 1778 - 1791 Dimensions (l x h x depth) (cm) (H) 39cm x (W) 26.5cm x (D) 4.5cm No. written pages: 257 No. blank pages: 19 Spine and cover Good Condition. Recently rebound. Inside pages Good Condition. Foxing present. Pages are numbered at top corners in Pencil. Additional comments Time taken to photograph (hours) 4 hours	