St Helena Records 1779-1780

Introduction: This is the 60th volume in the series of *St Helena Records*, which summarises the proceedings of official meetings held by the island's Governor and Council, during which matters of government, defence, supplies, justice and discipline were discussed and recorded.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-1-60.

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

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

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

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

Pagination: The pages are not numbered. Therefore, for reference purposes, the first page of the records on Film No. 5 is designated as page 1 (location 5/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 19 July 1779, with the final meeting occurring on 1 May 1780. All the sessions were convened during the administration of John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The papers run from the storekeeper's and paymaster's accounts for 1 April to 30 June 1779, which the Council at the Castle passed on Monday 19 July 1779 after approving the minutes of 12 July, to the Council meeting of 1 May 1780. They comprise quarterly pay lists, paymaster's, storekeeper's and treasury accounts, warehouse inventories, livestock accounts, Council minutes, letters and ships' muster rolls, all written by or

for the Council for the Court of Directors. Governor John Skottowe presided throughout, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed most letters and notices. Britain had been at war with France since 1778, and in 1779 the island also suffered drought. [Film No. 5, 26, 55–104, 105, 155–204, 255–304, 355–404]

Governance and Administration

The Council met at the Castle 12 times between 26 July and 18 September 1779, then on 20, 27 and 30 September and 4, 6, 11 and 18 October, and almost weekly from 19 October 1779 to 1 May 1780. Each meeting opened by approving the previous minutes. Corneille presided on 31 January 1780 while Skottowe was ill, and Matthew Bazett missed the meeting of 6 December 1779 because he was lame. Nathaniel Kennedy signed the notice of 10 April 1780 as factor in place of Wright. Corneille was present on 24 April 1780 but did not sign the minute, though he signed again on 1 May 1780. [Film No. 61, 67, 69–72, 75, 78, 83, 85, 88, 92, 97, 99, 105, 107, 111, 115, 117, 124, 125, 135, 205, 223, 226, 231, 235, 240, 243, 247, 250, 251, 254, 265, 267, 275, 282, 355, 360, 363, 380, 394, 461, 462]

In the quarter ending 30 June 1779 the Governor drew £150 0s 0d with £31 14s 9d for servants. Corneille drew £87 10s 0d as Lieutenant Governor in salary and diet money and £59 6s 2d as major of the First Company, £146 16s 2d in all. A Council seat paid £10 0s 0d, all that Henry Bazett received, while Matthew Bazett drew £65 0s 0d with his post as accountant and Wrangham £62 10s 0d as councillor, assistant to the Governor and paymaster. Diet money and house rent were cash paid in place of the table and lodging the Company had once provided. [Film No. 5, 26, 28]

Thomas Bazett was writer, superintendent and captain lieutenant, drawing £81 14s 4½d combined in the quarter ending 30 September 1779. Solomon St Maurice was master at arms and a company captain, and Thomas Yates marshal, gaoler and parish clerk. James Adney drew £17 10s 0d as schoolmaster and £12 10s 0d as judge advocate, and William Pierce £50 0s 0d as engineer while commanding the Artillery Company. Sergeant Duncan McNaughton's pay as gardener rose from £2 9s 0d in the June quarter to £10 0s 0d in the September quarter of 1779. Officers' pay was reckoned by the day over 91 days, as in £27 7s 6d for a lieutenant, and civil salaries were fixed stipends. The exceptions were John Doveton's fee as clerk of the peace, £36 15s 4½d in June 1779 and £36 14s 4½d in September 1779 and March 1780, and Robert Leech's £6 16s 10½d as clerk of the works. William Webber Doveton's fee as secretary to the Secret Committee rose from £9 19s 5d in the June quarter of 1779 to £17 10s 0d in the quarters ending 30 September 1779 and 31 March 1780. [Film No. 26–29, 39, 42, 136–138, 417, 418]

HMS *Warwick* brought a packet from the Secret Committee on 26 July 1779 and the *Earl Talbot* one from the Court of Directors on 30 July. On 12 August 1779 the Council wrote to Warren Hastings, Governor General at Fort William, asking him to forward its letters to Fort St George, Bombay and Canton. It also sent Thomas Fitzhugh, President of the newly created Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton, an indent for more Chinese goods than usual. The *Princess Royal* brought the Court's packet on 5 October 1779, and next day the Council told each person named in the general letter what the Company had ordered for him. Her letter from the Secret Committee, like that brought by the snow *Betsy* on 11 February 1780, was for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor alone. [Film No. 67, 69, 75–77, 124, 125, 135, 363]

No inhabitant could leave without its consent, and on 2 August 1779 it allowed William Jacke and Benjamin Seale junior, an overseer paid £8 5s 0d a quarter, to sail for Bengal in the *Earl Talbot*. A notice of 16 August 1779 required owners to report cattle lost since 1 January 1779. Another, of 23 August, required each household to return a signed account of its members, land and cattle by 20 September and to pay its rents at the Castle on 23 September 1779. The stores closed from 6 September to 4 October 1779 for the yearly stocktaking, which Corneille conducted, missing the meeting of 6 September. [Film No. 71, 85, 89, 92]

Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, asked on 4 October 1779 for leave to sail for England with his brother because of a nervous complaint of the head. Thomas Stroud and David Kay certified the same day that the attacks had lasted over two years and at times affected his memory. The Council granted leave, promised to commend him to the Court, gave the stores to John Goodwin, the next senior factor, and made James Dafountain, the next senior civil servant, Collector of Customs, each on the new post's salary until the

Company decided. Doveton's pay stopped on 22 October 1779, and he sailed in the *Glatton* with the convoy. Goodwin drew the storekeeper's pay from 23 October and signed his first quarterly account on 31 December 1779. Dafountain collected the customs from 24 October while remaining assistant storekeeper. Both drew full salaries, allowances and house rent in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. [Film No. 117–119, 245, 313–315, 417]

Samuel Mason entered the civil service as a writer on 5 October 1779. On 1 November 1779 the accountant reported the general books balanced to 30 September and corrected an error of 19s 7½d. George Lamb, steward and supervisor of the bakehouse, died on 24 November 1779, and George Jacks succeeded him from 25 November on the usual salary. [Film No. 236, 251, 252, 315, 418]

A notice of 20 March 1780 called the inhabitants to a vestry at the chapel in James Valley, which met on 27 March 1780. From three nominees for sheriff the Council chose Robert Leech, and from two names for most other offices it issued warrants to Walter Greentree and Nathaniel Kennedy as churchwardens and to Thomas Burnham, James Greentree and Benjamin Seale as overseers of the eastern, western and southern divisions. Charles Ross Stewart, the garrison adjutant, was also nominated. The churchwardens were sworn on 10 April 1780. Britannicus Wright had been paid £10 10s 0d for his year as sheriff in April 1779, and a sheriff whose name is lost £9 0s 0d for 1779 in March 1780. [Film No. 47, 383–385, 393, 455]

In the quarter ending 30 June 1779 the Castle took soap, glass and clasp knives, and the repairs account spent £3 17s 8d on its locks, paint and boards. In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 the Castle was repainted with Prussian blue, verdigris and vermilion and reglazed with the Plantation House, while the hospital received deals, nails, a lock and hinges, repairs costing £18 13s 9d. Between January and March 1780 the Castle, the engineer's house and the Lieutenant Governor's house were repaired. [Film No. 16, 17, 49, 298, 447]

James Wellington, a matross, replaced Sergeant Duncan McNaughton as gardener in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and was paid to 14 February 1780, when Sergeant John Ash took the post. Isaac Clark was groom and matross in 1779 and Robert Ives groom in the quarter ending 31 March 1780, when Jeffery Bond was patroon. Wrangham, the paymaster, was paid £14 16s 6d for 649 nails he supplied in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. Labourers carried goods up from the crane for 185 days in the quarter ending 30 September 1779, 309 days in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and 29 days in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. In that quarter lead pipe and ball cocks went to Chubb's Spring and the officers' barracks, Joseph Seager received £1 10s 0d for keeping the waterworks in order, stone was gathered to pave the barracks and lime burning cost £16 11s 6d. [Film No. 165, 315, 316, 331, 337, 345, 349, 405, 410, 419, 423, 436, 441, 445, 451]

In the quarter ending 30 June 1779 the allowance account, £39 15s 1d, issued only 75 lb of candles, all to the Castle, against over 5 cwt worth £66 6s 9d between January and March shared with the Council, the chaplain and the doctor's shop, and the Council received 24 gallons of train oil instead. In the quarter ending 30 September 1779 the Lieutenant Governor drew 140 gallons of arrack, the councillors 22 gallons of lamp oil and 340 lb of candles and the Castle 444 lb of candles with china, blankets and linen dyes. Allowances cost £115 8s 11d in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and £90 15s 7d in the quarter ending 31 March 1780, when the Castle drew 191 lb of candles, the councillors 270 lb, the chaplain 30 lb and the doctor's shop 25 lb. The Governor's groom and gardener received tea and sugar, and the two senior officers' fishermen hooks, lines, shot and silk. [Film No. 18, 19, 179, 180, 300–302, 408, 409]

Grain for the Governor's and Lieutenant Governor's horses and poultry fell from over 70 cwt of rice and paddy between January and March 1779 to about 57 cwt between April and June, and to over 13 cwt between July and September 1779. It rose to nearly 48 cwt of paddy for the Governor's animals and 13 cwt for the Lieutenant Governor's in the quarter ending 31 December 1779, and to over 40 cwt and 10 cwt between January and March 1780. [Film No. 18, 180, 302, 409]

The Governor's table cost £102 10s 8d in diet expenses in the quarter ending 30 June 1779, including over 12 cwt of flour worth £12 4s 10d against £13 17s 8d between January and March. In June 1779 the paymaster bought 554 lb of beef, 75 fowls, 12 goats, 1,650 lemons and 8 gallons of brandy for it, and the

steward spent £72 18s 4d, including £23 5s 0d for 23½ gallons of shrub. A pipe of 110 gallons of Madeira was charged to the table at £49 5s 5d, although on 27 March 1779 the Council had complained that Bengal Madeira cost £63 3s 7d a pipe with charges and duty and lay unsold. The table cost £99 10s 9d in the quarter ending 30 September 1779, with cheese, hams, butter, dried fruit, coffee, gin and rum bought from ships' officers. [Film No. 17, 18, 53, 55, 167]

Entertaining the convoy raised the diet account to £353 16s 6d in the quarter ending 31 December 1779, from £31 13s 9d, chiefly for wine including 24 dozen bottles of claret and 26 gallons of old hock. The Governor's table cost £190 13s 9d, with Christmas hams, butter, preserved fruit and mincemeat bought largely from the ships, and the Castle replaced over 120 glasses. Between January and March 1780 the diet account took 112 gallons of arrack and no wine, £76 9s 11d in all, while the Governor's table cost £80 3s 0d and £4 17s 0d more for hams. That included £22 5s 0d for sheep bought from planters and 23 lb of turtle, probably from Ascension. [Film No. 299–301, 339, 349, 407, 443, 453, 455]

The Company's own table used goods worth £20 13s 5d in July, £24 7s 5d in August and £35 9s 3d in September 1779, when it took 183 bottles of Madeira. In October 1779 it used £41 6s 2d of stores, including 345 lb of mutton against 113 lb of beef, and bought £10 18s 11d of food. It cost £28 10s 0d in November and £25 5s 1d in December 1779. In 1780 it cost £30 17s 7d in January with 113 lb of beef and 248 lb of mutton, £20 17s 2d in February with no beef and 126 lb of mutton and £23 6s 11d in March with no beef and 30 lb of mutton, relying on pork and poultry. Wine, beer and arrack ran at 150 to 200 bottles and 17 or 18 gallons a month. [Film No. 73, 74, 98, 154, 243, 244, 256, 364, 380, 393]

Military Affairs and Defence

The garrison comprised four companies of foot and an Artillery Company. In the 91-day quarter ending 30 June 1779 a private earned 10d a day, £3 15s 10d, a corporal or drummer £5 6s 2d, sergeants and cadets £7 11s 8d and the Third Company's sergeant major £12 2s 8d. Artillery sergeants drew £9 2s 0d, corporals and bombardiers £6 16s 6d, gunners £6 1s 4d and matrosses £4 11s 0d, about 2d a day more than a private. In the 92-day quarter ending 30 September 1779 a private earned £3 16s 8d, a sergeant £7 13s 4d and a matross £4 12s 0d. Clothing landed by the *Princess Royal* in October 1779 and issued by 31 December, £1,029 11s 9d for coats and breeches alone, comprised 362 soldiers' coats, 104 matrosses' coats, 330 shirts, 370 pairs of shoes and 338 hats, which puts the garrison at about 360 infantry privates and over 100 matrosses. [Film No. 29, 36, 42, 43, 139, 303, 304]

The pay list changed each man's rate on the day of his move. Corporal Henry Pewsbury was entered as dead on 18 May 1779 but paid as a private from 19 May, so he was reduced, and Richard Lackland took his stripes. Sergeant Richard Page left on 14 June 1779, Corporal James Smith replaced him on 15 June and William Wright took Smith's place. On 6 July 1779 Sergeant John Kelley and Corporal Thomas Griffiths returned to the ranks, Robert Green became sergeant and Daniel Ashton and Thomas Ford corporals, and John White and Jonathan Bartlett exchanged places. Corporals Thomas Mann and Richard Greenfield were reduced from 7 and 21 September 1779 and replaced by James York and Joshua Palmer, without reasons recorded. In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 Thomas Ailsworth became bombardier, John Stockdale gunner and Maynard Hayes corporal of artillery, and the drummer James Goodwin a matross from 2 November. Charles Holloway rose from fifer to drummer on 6 February 1780. Greenfield, Andrew Jocalombe and David Hankly moved from the infantry to the artillery between January and March 1780. [Film No. 32, 35, 139, 141, 148, 151, 152, 330, 331, 333, 423, 424, 435]

In the quarter ending 30 June 1779 the planter family of Greentree held three places: Lieutenant James Greentree of the Second Company, Lieutenant Walter Greentree of the Fourth and the cadet Thomas Greentree. Lieutenant Arthur Usher resigned on 24 June 1779, leaving the Second Company with one lieutenant. Captain John Howard learned on 11 October 1779 that the Court allowed him to retire on half pay, in a letter dated 7 May 1779 in one minute and 27 May 1779 in another, and he asked to keep his company until 1 January 1780 to close its accounts. William Seale and Ulysses Browne became artillery lieutenants from 5 October 1779, and Robert Hodson moved from the artillery to the Second Company. On 1 November 1779, citing the critical state of public affairs, the Council made the cadets Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale, each with three years' service, acting second lieutenants until the Company's wishes were known, Greentree in the Third Company and Beale in the Second. The same day

William Roberts, town adjutant for over 11 years, asked to be recommended for the next infantry vacancy, and the Council agreed. [Film No. 29, 32, 39, 128, 142, 152, 235, 238, 239, 271, 317, 320, 323]

Howard resigned on 31 December 1779. On 3 January 1780 the Council gave his company to Thomas Bazett, made Samuel Dafountain, senior first lieutenant, captain lieutenant of the First Company on a lieutenant's pay, and appointed William Seale and William Mason cadets. The companies were then renumbered. Solomon St Maurice's company became the Third and Bazett's the Fourth, and Thomas Statham moved to the Fourth with Robert Gurling and Thomas Greentree. Greentree and Beale drew full lieutenants' pay in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. A William Seale was entered as cadet, artillery lieutenant and First Company private in that quarter. [Film No. 257, 271, 419, 420, 422, 426, 429, 432, 433]

The garrison was building Pierce's batteries and roads at Holdfast Tom, Munden's and Powell's Valley in 1779. Labour on the defences in June 1779 included 812 labourers' days and 250 of stonebreakers against 48 of masons at Banks's battery, costing £69 2s 0d, and £40 10s 6d at Powell's Valley. Smaller sums went on gun carriages, carts, lime burning, the Munden's Point road, the drawbridge and the watercourse to the crane. Labourers earned 1s a day and most craftsmen 1s 6d. The fortification account for the quarter ending 30 June 1779, £81 10s 5d, sent deals, balks, rafters, iron and plastering tools to Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley, oak, elm and ash to gun carriages, a drawbridge and a crane, a load of Riga timber and crowbars, mauls, pickaxes, steel and rubbish riddles to Banks's battery. [Film No. 8, 24, 25, 55, 57, 59]

Buttermilk Point became the main work from September 1779. That month the paymaster spent £199 9s 7d there on over 2,300 labourers' days and over 750 days of stone blowing, and the stores sent nearly 4 cwt of iron, steel, 60 bushels of coal and five wheelbarrows. Lesser sums went to Powell's Valley, Rupert's lines, carts and 86¼ days moving cannon, and fortification timber cost £10 12s 5d against nearly £43 0s 0d between April and June. In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 Buttermilk Point took £163 14s 6d for about 2,600 days, including 719 of stone blowing, with mauls, masons' tools and cooking pots for parties eating on site. Lime came from Sandy Bay in bags cut from 229 yards of canvas. Elm and ash gun carriages were painted, blacked and tarred, and timber went to Banks's guard house, mortar-bed covers, the crane and Powell's Valley. The longboat bought from Captain Foxall for £50 0s 0d on 25 October 1779 was for the fortifications. [Film No. 161–165, 185, 186, 233, 311–313, 335, 341, 343]

Daily rates in September 1779 were 1s for labourers, 1s 6d for carpenters, smiths, masons, sawyers and most stone blowers and 2s for painters and second overseers. Warehouse workers received 21 gallons of arrack as a customary dram in the quarter ending 30 September 1779 and 42 gallons in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. [Film No. 157, 161–165, 176, 297]

The artillery fired four alarms in July 1779, two as the *Warwick* and the *Earl Talbot* approached, and 13-gun salutes for the *Warwick* and her captain on 26 July and nine guns for the *Earl Talbot* on 30 July. In August 1779 it fired 21 guns for the Prince of Wales's birthday on 12 August and sounded an alarm on 31 August when the Company's cutter *Hind* returned from the Cape. Powder used fell from 156 lb 1 oz in July, including blasting and clearing spikes from swivel guns, to 65 lb 6 oz in August. The *Royal Admiral* on 21 August and the *Gatton* on 3 September 1779 each sent a boat to Banks's battery to be identified before standing in. Nineteen express messengers carried alarms in the quarter ending 30 September 1779 for £3 0s 0d, with four alarms in July, two in August and four in September. [Film No. 73, 85, 92, 97, 165]

September 1779 brought alarms on 3 and 22 September, one for a passing Danish ship and a triple alarm on 24 September for the *Glatton*, *Royal George* and *Hillsborough*. An ordinary alarm used six guns and 11 lb of powder and a triple alarm doubled both. With salutes for the *Queen* and the China ships and 21 guns for George III's coronation on 22 September, the month used 73 guns and 113 lb 5 oz of powder. On 4 October 1779 the Council bought £44 5s 0d of red, white and blue bunting for signal flags from George Jacques, fourth mate of the *Queen*, from his private stock. [Film No. 107, 123, 132, 204]

In October 1779 the guns fired 99 rounds and used 450 lb 2 oz of powder: alarms on 4 October and a triple alarm on 8 October, 27 guns for the *Mount Stuart*, *Godfrey* and *Hillsborough*, 31 for the convoy's departure on 24 October and 21 for the anniversary of the King's accession. Of the total, 300 lb went to the stone blowers at Buttermilk Point. Bunting worth £16 7s 2d was issued for new signal flags in the quarter ending 31

December 1779, made and mended by Corporal James Benton of the artillery, and swivel guns were brought down from High Hill. No guns were fired in December 1779, but the magazine issued 558 lb 9 oz of powder, 476 lb of it for blasting at Banks's battery, and 2,040 blank cartridges on 29 December. The smiths' shop took 492 files and 122 bushels of coal in that quarter. A field day of the whole garrison on the parade was held on 1 November 1779 and another was minuted on 3 January 1780. [Film No. 239, 243, 274, 277, 295, 335, 341, 347]

HMS *Warwick*, under Captain Richard Collins, lay at the island for about 90 days from 26 July 1779 to escort the homeward ships. On 30 August 1779 the Council told Collins that over 700 cattle had died and 65 remained for all the ships expected that year, and it supplied his ship for two more days, 41 head in all since 26 July. In September 1779 it bought him claret, poultry, pigs, sheep and pumpkins worth £70 6s 11d. On 27 September 1779 Collins reported his bread spoiled by weevils and asked for 17,600 lb of rice or bread for 56 days, and the Council ordered the whole quantity in flour, delivered as 175 cwt. His officers, their tea and sugar exhausted, received 300 lb of sugar candy and 40 lb of tea as a gift in the Company's name. Gifts charged to general expenses included a set of china, a tea kettle and over 26 cwt of rice and paddy, and the livestock account recorded 12 wethers and two goats sent aboard. The *Warwick* bought £232 7s 9d of stores, including 140 yards of bunting. The Company paid £22 10s 0d for 90 days' lodging ashore for Collins and Captain Fielding of the Marines and £13 11s 2d for hogs, ewes, kids, fowls and produce, while Henry Bazett sold Collins a live bullock for £10 14s 1d. [Film No. 90, 109, 131, 161, 217, 228, 293, 297, 337, 341, 347]

French prisoners from India passed through the road from August 1779. On 21 August 1779 Monsieur Du Plessis and others in the *Royal Admiral* asked to land, and under the Court's orders the Council told Captain Joseph Huddart to let none ashore except the ladies or row along the coast. On 23 August 1779, after sickness was confirmed, it allowed those whom Huddart and his surgeon judged ill to land at their own expense within the town's sentry line, and it applied the same terms to the *Gatton*'s prisoners on 6 September 1779. The *Gatton* carried over 30 French officers and non-commissioned officers of the Pondicherry garrison, which had capitulated in October 1778 on terms of passage to France at the expense of Madras. On 27 September 1779 their spokesman, named De Verger and De Rouger on successive pages, complained for 15 officers that Captain Chisholme had fed them poorly. On 30 September 1779 the Council ordered Job Strong, then in command, to treat them as officers and gentlemen, as Fort St George required. [Film No. 86–88, 95, 96, 102–104, 113–115]

The *Shrewsbury*'s roll of about mid-October 1779 listed Monsieur Duché, chief engineer, eight lieutenants and 19 soldiers, with a Monsieur Buchet and his black servant. The *Mount Stuart* carried Count De Caen, a major, his secretary Pittiau and 31 soldiers, though Captain John Stewart reported 40 prisoners put aboard by the Madras government. The *Godfrey* carried General des Arenques with staff, a sergeant, two corporals, 20 grenadiers and four servants, well over 100 prisoners in all. On 14 October 1779 Stewart asked for bullocks for the extra mouths, warning of scurvy, and the Council's reply did not answer. [Film No. 203–207, 214, 215]

Anquetil de Briancourt, French consul at Surat, was taken there on 3 November 1778, moved to Tannah on Salsette on 2 February 1779 and kept on an allowance by the Bombay government. Embarked in the *Royal Admiral* on 6 May 1779 with his family, Le Moncrif, chancellor of the consulate, Cubliers and Le Roy, he lost his wine and servants on 21 August and his table on 22 August 1779. Ill health drove the party ashore on 24 August. His claim for subsistence, citing the satisfaction granted to the *Gatton*'s officers, is entered under 11 October 1779, signed 16 October and called the letter "of the day before" in the reply of 16 October. The Council refused, since he had accepted the terms before landing, and stated that Job Strong had fed the *Gatton*'s officers by his own choice, contrary to its minute of 30 September 1779. It left Huddart free to pay if he chose. [Film No. 207–209]

On 11 October 1779 Captain John Coggan of the *Shrewsbury* reported grounding at Joanna in the Comoros and throwing four quarter-deck guns overboard. Madras had no four-pounders and his charter required him to sail armed, but the Council refused to take guns from the garrison, since the ship would sail under convoy. [Film No. 130]

The French alarm began on 28 February 1780, when the Governor laid before the Board intelligence from Captain Connellan, an English passenger in the Danish ship *Castellet Danesborg*, which had passed on 26 February. A French squadron under Tronjoly had reached the Cape from Mauritius on 12 January 1780: *Le Brillant* of 64 guns, *L'Orient* of 74, *La Sévère* of 64, *La Flamande* of 50, *La Consolante* of 38 and *La Subtile* of 20. Three cruised for British homeward ships from 21 January to 3 February 1780, and on the night of 2 February the Company's *Nassau* and *Southampton* escaped them in a mist into False Bay, where the Dutch built a small battery to protect them. When Connellan left the Cape on 10 February 1780, the six ships and the *Hercule* of 20 guns were to sail within 15 days with about 3,000 men, thought bound for St Helena. [Film No. 368, 369]

On 28 February 1780 the Council ordered every obtainable black labourer hired so that the soldiers were not worn out, and owners to send slaves and labourers to the parade in James Valley next morning and report their names to Captain William Pierce, to be paid on the usual terms. On every double alarm white inhabitants were to go to their posts and send their slaves to theirs. Matthew Bazett took command of Rupert's Battery and Wrangham of the Flying Parties. Fishermen were to return to James Valley on any alarm, sighting or flag on Castle Rock and High Hill, no boat was to round South West Point or Barn Point by day or Sugar Loaf Point or Lemon Valley Point by night, and fires on the hills, rocks or boats at night were forbidden, on pain of a fine for a white man and severe punishment for a black person. On 10 April 1780 the boat restrictions were lifted but the order to return on any alarm kept. [Film No. 369–371, 394]

On 3 March 1780 Lieutenants Ingledew and Cobach of the Royal Navy proposed a chain of fire ships against enemy ships anchored with a spring on the cable, and the Council approved it and placed the attack under their direction. Their plan of the road, dated 3 March 1780, is signed by Richard Ingledew and Samuel Colnett. A notice of 6 March 1780 sought boats for special service, promising a new boat or its value with half as much again if one was lost. In the quarter ending 31 March 1780 the fire boats received anchors, a grapnel, 90 yards of English canvas, iron, nails, white copperas and pitch, tar and turpentine, the turpentine alone costing £10 5s 0d. The Company bought a boat from James Dafountain for £20 0s 0d, a yawl from Thomas Hand for £12 0s 0d and a pinnace from Wrangham and Henry Bazett for £18 0s 0d, and paid James Smithson £17 10s 0d for keeping six boats ready and £6 0s 0d for labour. None was used. [Film No. 372, 375–377, 405, 406, 439, 443, 449]

On 6 March the Council engaged James Plunkett, lately surgeon's mate of the *Princess Royal*, at 5s a day to assist Stroud and Kay. On 8 March it gave each soldier at the fully manned outlying forts a daily dram at the Company's expense, since they were far from the public houses of James Valley. On 20 March it ordered Pierce to mount the mortar on Ladder Hill and a howitzer above Chubb's Rock, to lay platforms and mount guns at Buttermilk Point as a temporary battery and to mount swivel guns at Friar's Valley and Powell's Valley. [Film No. 375, 376, 378, 383]

Pierce reported on 3 April 1780 that light artillery guarded the inland passes, that the heavy guns at the James and Rupert's Lines were being rearranged and that a field gun near the bridge would sweep the beach. The 13-inch mortar had moved from the Lines to Ladder Hill, where a store, a magazine for 30 barrels of powder, a platform and a guard lodgement were well advanced. The Council let him keep some hired slaves to finish the work. [Film No. 386–389]

The works of the quarter ending 31 March 1780 cost £202 3s 8d in fortification stores: 238 double deals and six loads of Riga timber for the West Angle, 68 single deals for sheds over the mortar beds, a shed on Ladder Hill, 177 yards of canvas for covers for field guns and artillery stores, red bunting worth £9 0s 9d for flags and 242 gallons of arrack for the workmen at £60 10s 0d. Buttermilk Point drew £39 12s 10d of stores, including 100 double deals, four loads of Riga timber and two threefold 18-inch blocks for hoisting guns, signed for by John Goodwin on 31 March 1780. The paymaster spent £151 3s 10½d there on over 2,200 days, including 699 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d and 767 labourers' days at 1s. [Film No. 413–416, 445]

Paymaster's labour charges for that quarter included £49 19s 3d for a battery for a howitzer and two guns at Chubb's Point, £24 12s 10½d for a guard house, magazine and light artillery shed on Ladder Hill and £6 9s 0d for Rupert's Battery. Widening three embrasures and relaying the mortar platforms at Munden's Point

cost £25 18s 7½d, and repairing the West Angle with gun platforms £60 7s 7½d. Masonry at Prosperous Bay cost £27 9s 0d and painting cannon, repairing carriages and building mortar sheds £18 2s 0d. Over 1,360 days moving cannon, mortars and stores cost £79 6s 3d, and carrying provisions into the country £15 9s 0d. Turners spent 58 days on shot bottoms, the crane was rebuilt with Riga timber, elm and iron at £11 13s 9d in labour, and a field gun was carried to the heights above Thompson's Valley for £2 12s 0d. Timber was bought for a guard house on High Hill and a flagstaff raised at Powell's Valley, and 19 express messengers were paid £4 12s 6d. [Film No. 405, 439, 441, 447, 449, 451, 455]

No guns were fired in January 1780, but on 10 January the East and West Flying Parties drew 430 blank cartridges and recruits at drill 920, and the stone blowers 304 lb of powder. February brought seven alarms, 51 guns and 767 lb of powder, including about 316 lb on ranging practice at James Valley and Munden's Point with 44 rounds of 32-pound shot, 10 of 24-pound shot and two 13-inch shells. March brought two general alarms of 18 guns each, two lesser alarms, 300 ball cartridges for the West Flying Party and over 250 lb of powder for blasting at Banks's and Chubb's Rock. [Film No. 363, 366, 379, 381, 384, 392]

The *Hind* cruised to watch the approaches in February and March 1780, returning on 1 and 31 March and sailing again on 11 April. Her stores account came to £159 19s 3d, including salt meat, flour, rice, 100 gallons of arrack and 240 yards of osnaburg. The paymaster advanced £221 18s 6d for her crew's wages to 6 March 1780 and £140 13s 4d for expenses, with £18 0s 0d for a boat from James Adney, boat hire and six oars. Alarms were raised for her on 18 and 29 February, 12, 17, 21 and 25 March and 14, 23 and 25 April 1780. [Film No. 371, 386, 395, 402, 403, 439, 443, 461, 462]

On Friday 14 April 1780 the Governor ordered a general field day for all the artillery and mortars on the eastern coast and was satisfied with the firing. On 17 April 1780 the Council dismissed Plunkett, who had been paid for 25 days to 31 March, promising to call on him again if needed, and on 24 April he replied that he would leave for England at the first opportunity. [Film No. 441, 458, 459, 461]

The Flying Parties were the planters' militia. On 8 November 1779 James Dafountain, commanding the East Flying Party, complained that several men missed double alarms and exercise days, and William Hopps, telling the Board to do as it pleased, was fined 10s 0d and all were reprimanded. On 10 April 1780, on Wrangham's complaint, the Council fined John Dafountain, John Hayes junior and William Young 10s 0d each for the same failing. Bayonet scabbards were repaired and ammunition carried for the Flying Party in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. [Film No. 245, 246, 266, 390, 439, 443]

Recruitment, Desertion and Discipline

New men enlisting for five years under the Articles of War received £15 0s 0d in the quarter ending 30 June 1779: Richard Napier from 19 April, a man entered as Timothy Brown and on the pay list as Timothy Brennan from 24 May and Thomas Cole from 28 June. William Higginson, enlisted on 15 June, received £3 0s 0d. Between 1 April and 27 June 1779, 41 serving men re-enlisted at £15 0s 0d each, £615 0s 0d, more than a seventh of the quarter's pay list. Thomas Windale, since dead, and William Robinson, since discharged, each received £3 0s 0d for agreeing to re-engage. One recruit was kitted out in full with coat, breeches, shirts, stockings, shoes and blankets, identified as Richard Harper, an island man said to have enlisted in April 1779, though no Harper appears among the bounties. [Film No. 20, 32, 35, 38, 51, 53]

On 9 August it let William Lawrence, a matross whose brother was bound for Bengal, change places with Robert Catchpole, a recruit in the *Earl Talbot*, and the pay list records Lawrence leaving on 10 August and Catchpole joining on 11 August. On 16 August 1779 it enlisted three seamen left by the *Earl Talbot* at £10 0s 0d each, and on 6 September 1779 Fenley McKennan, discharged from the Bombay army, at £15 0s 0d. On 13 September 1779 it let John Lemon and Richard Ackers, deserters from the *Warwick*, replace the matross George Dadd and the gunner George Thomas, and they joined on 14 September, when Francis Jones became gunner. The quarter's bounties included £15 0s 0d each to three men re-enlisting and £2 0s 0d to £15 0s 0d to six recruits, among them £2 0s 0d to Richard Smith, a fifer, whose service is dated 7 August in one entry and 5 August in another. [Film No. 74–76, 85, 96, 101, 102, 155, 157, 159]

The *Princess Royal* landed recruits from England in October 1779. Captain Robert Ker was paid £9 9s 0d for their clothing and £22 16s 0d for 12 dozen bottles of port wine at 38s a dozen, given by the surgeon

when fever struck them on the passage. On 1 November 1779 her surgeon, Thomas Spalding, received the customary 5s a head, £11 5s 0d, for 45 recruits landed. The pay list entered 16 in the First Company from 8 October and others in the other companies from 5 October, and three died in hospital after a week before enrolment. [Film No. 237–239, 319, 323, 326, 330, 331, 333, 335, 337]

On 20 October 1779, 19 time-expired men were discharged so that they could sail home: three from the Second Company, six from the Third, two from the Fourth (James Anderson and Robert Bond) and eight from the artillery. The drummer Joseph Brannon was entered as dead that day but paid £8 7s 0d for unissued clothing on discharge as an invalid. Robert Coleman, a matross, was discharged at the end of his term on 8 November 1779, and Isaac Clark, groom and matross, on 17 January 1780. [Film No. 245, 319, 323, 326, 330, 331, 333, 337, 339, 352]

Seamen left by the convoy filled the ranks at £10 0s 0d bounties. William Bushell of the *Mount Stuart* enlisted on 24 October 1779. On 25 October the Council enlisted John Hurley, Cornelius Potts, William Carey, Hendrick Finch, John Myers, William Cotton, Murdock McKinnon and William McLaughlin from the *Glatton*, *Royal George* and *Mount Stuart*, although the paymaster's list names Henry Finch and the pay list William Hurley and puts Bushell among that day's seven artillery recruits. John Walker and John Toom of the *Princess Royal* enlisted on 15 November, Robert Ives and Pieter Wedg[...] from the *Hind* on 29 November, James Berry of the *Princess Royal* on 6 December and John Phillips of the *Princess Royal* on 13 December 1779. Richard Wiggins also enlisted at £10 0s 0d, and James Bond received £15 0s 0d for five years from 27 November 1779. Most of the seamen served as matrosses in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. The pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 came to £4,412 14s 1d. [Film No. 234, 248, 252, 254, 257, 323, 326, 333, 334, 339, 341, 434–436]

Robert McCormick enlisted on 11 February 1780. A seaman left by the *Hillsborough*, entered in the minutes as John Heppax enlisting on 18 February, was paid a £10 0s 0d bounty as William Heppax from 21 February. John Dunn's enlistment is dated 17 March in the minutes, 19 March in the bounty list and 21 March in the pay list. Between 20 and 30 March 1780, 19 time-expired men re-enlisted at £15 0s 0d each, £285 0s 0d, among them John Turner, an artillery sergeant, and Charles Abraham, a bombardier. Yet on 20 March 1780 the Council discharged Thomas Ferris and Gregory Sutherwood, and on 3 April four more men, at the end of their terms. Five men who had taken £3 0s 0d to re-engage had since been discharged or died: Joseph Bowman and John Walters, discharged on 20 October 1779, Reeves O'Berne, Thomas Rogers and John Shore. [Film No. 366, 381, 386, 422, 429, 436, 453]

Six men deserted in the two days before the homeward fleet sailed on 24 June 1779: William Bateman, William Davis, James Bowell and James Neale on 22 June and William Blake and Richard Pearce on 23 June. Neale had taken £15 0s 0d to re-enlist from 15 April. Thomas Stephens of the artillery had deserted on 5 April 1779, with no fleet in the road. In July 1779 the paymaster spent £6 0s 0d catching seamen who had deserted from the *Warwick*, and on 30 August 1779 the Council offered a reward for four seamen and a marine from her, the Crown paying 20s 0d a man and the Company doubling it. [Film No. 31, 32, 38, 42, 46, 51, 91, 157]

Edward Welch and James Campbell, *Earl Talbot* seamen enlisted on 16 August 1779 at £10 0s 0d, deserted on 26 August and 16 September. Patrick McLaughlin, re-enlisted for £15 0s 0d on 15 April 1779, was marked absent from 30 August and James Smith of the Third Company from 27 August. On 18 September 1779 Major Henry Bazett mustered the *Royal Admiral* and the *Gatton* and found no island deserters aboard. A notice of 30 September 1779 offered 40s 0d from the treasury for each of the four, and in about early October Bazett reported no deserters in the *Royal George*, *Glatton*, *Hillsborough*, *Shrewsbury*, *Queen*, *Mount Stuart* or *Godfrey*. [Film No. 98, 103, 115, 141, 145, 148, 159, 200]

On 16 October 1779 the adjutants reported Joseph Hunt, Edward Welch, James Campbell, Patrick McLaughlin, James Smith and Gerrard Ammanus missing despite searches of the ships. On 18 October the Council ordered each commander to search his ship and warned that he would answer to the Court for any deserter found aboard. Guard boats patrolled on several nights, and the adjutants searched the ships repeatedly, with a lieutenant and a warrant officer of the *Warwick*. Collins ordered every commander to search and threatened to take two of a ship's crew for each soldier found at sea. Labourers were paid for

28 days searching the ships. By 22 October 1779 nine men were listed as missing. [Film No. 209, 210, 232, 341]

The matross William Holmes deserted on 10 October 1779, Hunt and Ammanus during October and John Higgins on 23 October. At about nine o'clock that night a gun was fired from the guard post at Lemon Valley. Corporal Daniel Ashton, commanding the guard, had gone with Private John Widgeon in Gabriel Jacks's fishing boat, cutting adrift Lieutenant James Greentree's boat, and William Smith took Ashton's stripes next day. On the morning of 24 October 1779 a boat seen from Munden's Point about two leagues off Lemon Valley was chased by the *Gatton* and two island boats and found to hold two male slaves trying to escape. Henry Pewsbury, who had taken £3 0s 0d to re-engage, deserted on 24 October 1779. [Film No. 231, 232, 317, 319, 323, 326, 327, 333, 339]

Winter Benniah was tried by general court martial on 22 March 1779 for writing to the Court of Directors with false claims that the garrison was discontented and mutinous. He was sentenced to corporal punishment and to be drummed out with a halter round his neck, discharged on 13 September 1779 and sent aboard the *Warwick* that day at Collins's request. Simon Whaley, carpenter's mate, was paid to 6 March 1780, when the Council dismissed him for drunkenness, and Gabriel Jacks junior, described as very sober and diligent, succeeded him on 7 March. [Film No. 152, 232, 233, 372, 373, 419]

Seven soldiers died between April and May 1779: Richard Craig on 3 April, John Deane on 19 April, William Crawley on 23 April, Richard Turner on 24 April, Joseph Wallis and Hugh Keeler on 27 April and Joseph Stacey on 14 May. The joiner was paid 17s 6d for seven coffins. No private died in June 1779. John Davis died on 14 August and Charles Edgils on 16 September 1779, the coroner receiving £1 5s 0d for an inquest on Edgils. [Film No. 31, 32, 38, 39, 42, 51, 83, 141, 157]

The pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 recorded eight soldiers dying between 20 October and December, 11 with the unenrolled recruits, while the sexton Thomas Yates was paid for 13 graves. Private William Nichols died on 26 October, Private Thomas Smith on 12 November and the matross John Cope on 13 November 1779. Cope and Nichols had each taken £3 0s 0d to re-engage. Reeves O'Berne of the Second Company hanged himself on 8 December 1779 in the minutes and 9 December in the accounts, and the inquest found self-murder. In 1780 John Howe died on 8 January, John Stowe on 9 January, John Shore on 11 January, Thomas Rogers drowned on 19 January, with an inquest finding accidental death, Miles Hooper died on 26 January and Owen Howard on 22 March. Yates dug five soldiers' graves at 2s 6d each in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. John Ryley, discharged on 3 April 1780 while awaiting a passage, died on 14 April and Private Richard Page on 16 April 1780. [Film No. 235, 247, 255, 275, 282, 323, 326, 333, 339, 343, 354, 360, 384, 386, 395, 422, 429, 432, 436, 443, 455]

Supply and Provisioning

Bread sold from the bakehouse fell from over 476 cwt between January and March 1779 to under 235 cwt between April and June. Drought killed a third of the Company's cattle, planters' yams went to the garrison and the ships, and the garrison's bread was cut by a third. On 21 May 1779 the stores held four and a half weeks' bread, and the Council sent to the Cape for 30,000 lb. Salt beef sales fell from 253 to 98 pieces and salt pork rose from 5,107 to 5,905. Flour moved from the 10 per cent to the 40 per cent list, with £13 1s 11d sold at the higher rate. Over 2,000 fish hooks and 500 lines were sold to the public. [Film No. 6, 8, 12, 13, 18, 47]

In June 1779 Robert Budd baked 145 batches of bread for the garrison, and Thomas Yates received £3 17s 6d for collecting yams from the planters for it. The Company's plantations supplied 16,024 lb of yams to the garrison between April and June 1779, charged at £95 17s 8d. On 2 July 1779 the Council sent the *Hind* to the Cape for flour. [Film No. 55, 61, 64, 92, 218]

The store ship *Earl Talbot* arrived on 30 July 1779, and Jonathan Doveton certified on 2 August that eight casks of flour were missing and only 128 of 150 casks of salt provisions had landed. Her 10 working days for unloading expired on 12 August, and the Council sent her on to Calcutta under Captain Thomas Henderson rather than pay demurrage. She sailed on 14 August 1779. [Film No. 69, 72, 75, 78]

The Council's letter to Hastings of 12 August 1779 blamed a serious lack of rice and paddy on the Company's new practice of chartering ships by builder's measurement, which had ended the officers' private cargo space in which grain had been brought for sale, and asked Bengal to enlarge its orders. The *Royal Admiral* came from Bombay on 21 August 1779 with rice, paddy and 300 blue chelloes invoiced at 2,253 rupees on 28 April 1779. The *Gatton* came from Madras on 3 September with fine rice, paddy, wax candles, Batavia arrack and three pipes of Madeira worth 3,044 rupees 15 annas 9 pice, about 16 per cent of it charges. [Film No. 76, 85, 86, 92–94]

The *Hind* returned on 31 August 1779 with goods bought from Abraham Chiron on 5 August: 49,000 lb of fine flour, 1,000 wax candles, 50 sheep, garden seeds, peas and beans for 3,420 rixdollars 4 schellings. On 18 September 1779 the Council sent her back under Captain Richard Bendy for as much flour and as many sheep as she could carry, and she sailed on 21 September. [Film No. 92, 93, 100, 101, 107]

On 2 August 1779 Thomas Stroud reported the hospital without many essential medicines, and the Council bought a chest from Mr Laird, surgeon of the *Earl Talbot*, for £43 14s 6½d, entered among the July payments as £43 14s 7d, including a 75 per cent markup. On 30 August 1779, with the oil from whalers exhausted, it bought 1,008 gallons of train oil from Wrangham at 5s a gallon, £252 0s 0d, noting a price 6¾d a gallon below the English invoice of 1778. Six tons had been bought from the whalers *London* and *Dragon* on 3 May 1779 at £30 0s 0d a ton, though the paymaster's April entries record only £32 0s 0d to Captain Huffield of the snow *Dragon* for one ton and £33 7s 0d to Captain Hazard of the *London* for 258 gallons, casks included. The warehouse had sold 36 gallons to settlers at nearly 5s 10d a gallon, and 978 gallons worth £144 10s 0d remained on 30 September 1779. [Film No. 10, 47, 70, 91, 157, 194]

The hospital drew a little over 2 cwt of flour between April and June 1779 against 5 cwt between January and March, and 7 cwt of rice instead, costing £16 9s 8d. Between July and September it drew barely half a hundredweight of rice. In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 its stores cost £54 19s 11d, including 20 gallons of port at £14 16s 0d, and Stroud received £21 10s 0d for extra hospital necessaries supplied during 1779 and £8 0s 0d for his trouble. Between January and March 1780 its stores cost £24 15s 6d and it received 928½ lb of mutton worth £19 6s 10½d, over twice the 431 lb of the previous quarter. William Rawson in June 1779 and the matross William Warner, paid £9 10s 0d in July 1779 and £2 10s 0d in March 1780, assisted in the hospital. [Film No. 23, 49, 157, 184, 309, 337, 347, 349, 412, 441, 460]

Short weight in salt meat casks was made good with 612 pieces of salt pork in the last quarter of 1778, 512 between January and March 1779 and 504, worth £82 8s 6d, between April and June 1779. In 1782 the Court began trials of meat salted by a new method. The figure was 742 pieces, £131 7s 11d, in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and 164 pieces in the quarter ending 31 March 1780, by then from Irish meat landed from the *Betsy*. [Film No. 20, 304, 410]

The garrison account came to £142 14s 6d in the quarter ending 30 June 1779, with 128 gallons of train oil, and £194 3s 10d in the quarter ending 30 September 1779, chiefly 203 blankets at £52 3s 6d, 139 gallons of lamp oil and salt meat with pork outnumbering beef by 346 pieces to 40. Garrison stores came to £1,799 8s 0d in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and the garrison account to £97 19s 9d between January and March 1780, with 161 gallons of train oil against 149, and 28½ gallons of arrack for the guards' dram. Five soldiers received new coats in the quarter ending 30 September 1779, when the warehouse held 48 soldiers' and two sergeants' suits and 1,430 shirts. [Film No. 20, 174, 181, 195, 196, 305, 409, 410]

The paymaster paid for 160 batches of garrison bread in the quarter ending 30 September 1779 and for yams carried from Sandy Bay and collected from inhabitants. By 30 September 1779 the warehouse held 627 cwt of flour worth £1,011 9s 4d, and 210 cwt had been baked and sold as bread in the quarter. It also held over 300 cwt of rice and nearly 80 cwt of paddy, while the Council told the commanders of the *Glatton* and *Royal George* it had too little rice to supply them. It held 273 casks and 60 tierces of salt pork worth over £4,300 0s 0d but only three casks and 40 pieces of beef. In the quarter the store sold 4,110 pieces of pork and 1,048 of beef at 2s a piece, mostly to ships, and over 900 fish hooks and 540 lines, holding 9,750 number 7 hooks and over 180 dozen lines. Three iron corn mills were in store. [Film No. 159, 165, 170, 172, 181–184, 188–190, 192, 198]

Between 4 and 11 October 1779 the homeward ships pressed on the stores. Captain Pell Collet of the *Hillsborough* reported a 28-week passage from China under sealed routing that left him without flour, Captain Richard Doveton of the *Glatton* sought rice and 36 bushels of peas, and Captain Thomas Foxall of the *Royal George* beef, pork, rice and flour. The Council refused rice and beef and gave the *Glatton* four casks of flour and her peas, the *Hillsborough* three casks of flour and four of pork and the *Royal George* four casks of flour and 380 pieces of pork, 110 more than asked. Captain Joseph Huddart of the *Royal Admiral*, detained since 21 August, received pork, flour and coals, and Coggan salt provisions and flour but no cordage or peas. Doveton's and Foxall's letters are dated 5 October yet were answered on 4 October, and a letter from a Captain O'Neil is announced but not copied. [Film No. 119–121, 128–130]

On 14 October 1779 Stewart of the *Mount Stuart* asked for 3,000 lb of flour, 500 lb of soft sugar and 200 lb of sugar candy and received the flour but was sent to private sellers for the sugar, which the Council said it could not spare. On 18 October Captain Francis Reed of the *Godfrey* received seven tierces of pork and three casks of flour but was sent to the inhabitants for the 20 sheep he wanted for General des Arenques, the Company's flock then standing at 238. Captain Peter Douglas of the *Queen*, from Bencoolen, asked for 10 tierces of beef, four casks of pork and six casks of flour and received 10 tierces of pork, four of beef and the flour. On 22 October 1779 Stewart, asking for four casks each of beef and pork, received two of beef and six of pork. [Film No. 210–212, 214, 215, 226, 227]

Stores supplied to the homeward ships in October 1779 included flour, salt pork and 20 hogsheads of salt beef, nine of them for the *Shrewsbury*, with more than three times as much pork. In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 the store sold ships goods worth £1,851 6s 3d, £1,258 19s 9d in salt meat and £121 15s 5d in pitch, tar and turpentine, with 43 pieces of canvas, cordage and a spar, and salt pork sales rose to 7,421 pieces. [Film No. 228, 283, 292–294]

The *Hind* returned from the Cape on 22 November 1779 with goods bought from Philip Ernst Spaarenberg on 9 November: 50,000 lb of fine flour at 5 rixdollars a hundredweight and 50 sheep at 2 rixdollars each, 3,049 rixdollars 2 schellings with bags, duty, porterage, hay and barley. Bendy also brought 9 cwt of flour to make good his August cargo, which the storekeeper had certified on 27 September 1779 as 10 cwt 1 qr 2 lb short. [Film No. 251–253]

The snow *Betsy* arrived from Kinsale on 11 February 1780 with 62 tierces of mess pork, 38 of mess beef and 200 cwt of flour, invoiced at Cork by the commission agent Paul Benson on 25 October 1779 at £835 15s 4d, including 2½ per cent commission and £27 10s 0d for rebinding each tierce with six iron hoops and fresh saltpetre. She took back 10 tierces of beef, two of pork, flour and arrack worth £107 4s 3d and sailed on 26 February 1780. Work aboard her cost £6 4s 6d. In the quarter ending 31 March 1780 Budd baked 200 batches of garrison bread at 1s 9d, with 40 loads of wood. [Film No. 363–365, 379, 403, 404, 441, 447]

Trade and Shipping

Eight Company ships lay in the road from March 1779 awaiting a convoy that never came and sailed without one on 24 June 1779. In the quarter ending 30 June 1779 they bought £992 16s 3d of stores, including 65 tierces of salt pork worth £627 10s 5d, cordage and canvas worth over £125 0s 0d, 14 chaldrons of coal, £40 7s 1d of pitch and tar, 286 skeins of twine with sail and bolt-rope needles, over 12 cwt of flour and four coffins. In May 1779 Captain Durand of the *Northington* had asked for 35 tierces of pork and been allowed a few. [Film No. 13–15]

A Danish ship passed on 4 September 1779 and sent a boat ashore for letters. The *Queen* arrived from Bencoolen on 21 September 1779, the *Glatton*, *Royal George* and *Hillsborough* from China on 24 September, the *Princess Royal* from England on 5 October and the *Godfrey*, *Shrewsbury* and *Mount Stuart* from Madras by way of Madagascar on 8 October. On 16 September 1779 Captain Charles Chisholme of the *Gatton*, confined to bed, asked the Council to give command to his chief mate, whom he named as Mr Tracy, and on 18 September it appointed Job Strong, chief mate on the muster roll, to command her to England. [Film No. 84, 92, 99, 100, 103, 107, 124, 125]

The *Queen* landed 42 baskets of sugar, over 7 tons, invoiced at Croee in Sumatra on 6 July 1779 at 869 dollars, and on 27 September 1779 the Council took 8 cwt of pepper, half white and half black, from her homeward cargo. Each China ship brought tea, sugar, sugar candy and china ware invoiced at Canton on 9 March 1779 at 479 to 502 taels. The *Godfrey* and *Shrewsbury* each carried 110 bags of rice, 40 of paddy, wax candles and a leaguer of Batavia arrack, the *Shrewsbury* adding three pipes of Madeira, and the *Mount Stuart* brought longcloth, rice, paddy and arrack. Storekeeper's accounts of 27 and 30 September 1779 recorded the *Royal Admiral* failing to land 12 bags of rice and eight of paddy and the *Gatton* 44 bags of paddy, and the China ships arriving with sugar chests missing and china broken. [Film No. 107, 108, 110, 116, 125–127]

Muster rolls of about mid-October 1779 show mixed crews. The *Royal George* under Thomas Foxall carried Dutch, German and Scandinavian names, with Ensign Francis Weldon from China as passenger, and the *Hillsborough* carried John Orrock and his servant Mungo. The *Shrewsbury* under John Coggan listed Portuguese names from Goa and the Malabar coast and lascars such as Jumma, Hassan and Cassim. The *Mount Stuart* under John Stewart listed Surang, probably the serang or lascar headman, and the *Godfrey* under Francis Reed seven black seamen, invalids and lascars with the prefixes Burra and Chutta, senior and junior in Hindustani. [Film No. 200–203, 205–207]

The *Mount Stuart* left Madras late and took 28 weeks to reach the island. From the middle of June to 10 July 1779 she failed to round the Cape in gales and put back to St Augustine's Bay in Madagascar, then met eight days of gales off Cape Agulhas. In September 1779 a leak damaged 15 of the Company's bales, for which Stewart lodged a formal protest on 14 October that the ship's straining was the cause. The Council told him to dry them ashore if needed. [Film No. 213–215]

On 15 October 1779 Huddart registered four pipes and a hogshead of Madeira taken aboard the *Royal Admiral* under his private allowance, and the Council entered it for the Court's attention. Governor Skottowe registered two chests of coin, £1,656 6s 3d in the *Queen* and £1,392 15s 0d in the *Glatton*, consigned to Captain Nicholas Skottowe of Berners Street, London. [Film No. 216]

The *Princess Royal*'s 10 working days for unloading expired on 18 October 1779 with less than half her stores landed, because her crew were sick and every boat used one landing place. The Council refused an extension, since it could not vary the charter-party, but entered Ker's reasons for the Court and his owners. On 19 October 1779 it ordered him to sail for Fort Marlborough with eight chests of treasure, and on 20 October Ker replied that he would follow the spirit rather than the letter of the Company's orders and kept landing the stores. She sailed on 11 November 1779. Her stores arrived with glass broken, sole leather, cordage and soap short, salt, port, Lisbon, mountain wine, sherry, hock and beer short of measure, 60 gallons of tar leaked and a chaldron of coal and a hogshead of beer undelivered, as Goodwin certified on 8 November 1779. [Film No. 212, 213, 223, 225, 233, 244, 245, 247]

The *Shrewsbury* and the *Godfrey* failed to deliver 90 bags of rice, over 125 cwt, and the *Shrewsbury* a pipe of Madeira, as James Dafountain certified on 21 October 1779. HMS *Warwick* sailed for England on Sunday 24 October 1779 with the *Glatton*, *Royal George*, *Hillsborough*, *Gatton*, *Queen*, *Royal Admiral*, *Shrewsbury*, *Godfrey* and *Mount Stuart*. [Film No. 227, 228, 231]

The boats account came to £5 0s 3d in the quarter ending 30 June 1779, £48 19s 1d in the quarter ending 31 December 1779, mostly 16 cwt of cordage, and £10 13s 8d between January and March 1780. In June 1779 the paymaster bought a cutter with masts, oars and sails from Captain Fraser for £34 0s 0d, which was fitted with green serge cushions as a barge for the Governor. Julio Fabreance was paid £11 4s 6d in June 1779 and 2s 6d a day for 92 days in each of the quarters ending September and December 1779 and 91 days in the quarter ending March 1780 for repairing the boats. The *Hind*'s refit cost £150 18s 5d in September 1779 and her sundry expenses £79 10s 7d in the quarter ending 31 December 1779, both advanced through the Governor. In the same quarter two black men received 4s 6d for saving a Company boat from wreck. [Film No. 23, 49, 157, 163, 169, 310, 335, 337, 349, 413, 441]

Neutral ships passed in 1780: a Dutch ship on 9 February, six taken for Dutch on 6 March, three Dutch ships on 30 March and five on 27 April. Britain declared war on the Dutch Republic in December 1780. On 31 March 1780 the Swedish East India Company's *Gustavus III*, 1,250 tons and 26 guns, and *Louisa*

Ulrica, 950 tons and 24 guns, each with 150 men, arrived from China for Gothenburg with tea and china, sailing on 5 and 6 April 1780. [Film No. 363, 374, 386, 390, 462]

Economy and the Company Warehouse

The Company's warehouse sold necessities at 10 per cent above cost and finer goods at 40 per cent. Sales at 10 per cent came to £1,327 4s 2d between April and June 1779, led by salt pork at £590 10s 0d and bread at £219 6s 0d, then £1,376 9s 3d between July and September, £3,579 2s 7d between October and December 1779 and £1,918 15s 5d between January and March 1780. Sales at 40 per cent came to £54 18s 1d, £15 6s 7d and £92 18s 6d in the first three of those quarters, the last including flour and rice sold to passengers and ships' officers. A piece of number 1 longcloth cost £6 17s 10d at 40 per cent against under £5 0s 0d at 10 per cent. Jonathan Doveton signed the account on 30 June 1779 subject to correction of errors. [Film No. 6, 12, 13, 25, 170–176, 282–292, 395–401]

In the quarter ending 30 June 1779 cossaes, a Bengal muslin, sold at £13 10s 0d for six and a half half pieces, and Madras stockings from Fort St George appeared in two grades. Sales of men's ordinary thread stockings rose from 25 pairs in the last quarter of 1778 to 127 and 238 in the first two quarters of 1779, and 107 soldiers' shirts were sold between April and June. Shoe sales fell from 494 pairs between January and March 1779 to 20 between April and June, recovered to about 64 between July and September and exceeded 700 between October and December 1779, when longcloth rose from under 14 pieces to over 180 and fish hooks from about 900 to over 8,000. Between July and September 1779 the store sold 735 pieces of nankeen, over 1,000 pieces of porcelain and 103 soldiers' shirts, and the *Earl Talbot* bought coals and iron for £2 19s 0d. [Film No. 6–8, 11, 170–176, 282–290]

Between October and December 1779 the store sold over twice the previous quarter's sugar, three times its baked flour and 14 times its rice. Buyers took ivory and buckle combs, creamware and red stoneware teapots, over 200 wine glasses, 22 fine hats, two epaulettes and over 400 lb of white lead with linseed oil and turpentine. The Council sold 11½ pipes of Madeira, 1,342 gallons, by public auction for £488 12s 0d, as its notice of 1 November 1779 had announced. Between January and March 1780 the store sold 5,966 pieces of salt pork, 785 of beef, 483 cwt of flour as bread, 258 pairs of men's shoes, 166 soldiers' shirts, 78½ yards of ticking and six pairs of wool cards. [Film No. 236, 282–292, 395–401]

The inventory of 30 September 1779 valued anchors at £290 10s 10d, including bower anchors of over 35 cwt, and held nine 17-inch cables, 106 bolts of canvas, 31 barrels of pitch and tar, 1,243 gallons of Madeira worth £277 6s 9d, over 38 cwt of tea, nearly 400 cwt of sugar and over 100 cwt of sugar candy. It held fittings for a gentleman's house made in England, worth £65 16s 2d, and over 300 yards of lead pipe with cocks, valves and 4 cwt of solder worth £107 19s 6d, as well as 236½ yards of broad gold lace. A cooperage remade casks, and its gauging rod certified a ship's Madeira as short of gauge in September 1779. [Film No. 177, 178, 187, 188, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196–198]

The storekeeper's waste account for the year ending 30 September 1779, signed on 18 October, charged £85 18s 5d to profit and loss for leakage, short weight and measure. It included nearly 16 cwt of sugar and candy, about 30 cwt of rice and 19 cwt of paddy. [Film No. 219, 220]

Finance, Currency and Accounting

The treasury opened June 1779 with £22,391 15s 11½d. On 21 June 1779 it received £3,440 0s 0d from residents buying bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, among them Lieutenant Arthur Usher for £100 0s 0d three days before resigning, Captain William Fraser for £200 0s 0d and the pensioned officer Philip Mahony for £80 0s 0d. It also received £1,382 2s 3d from Doveton for stores sold, payments from eight Company ships and £3 8s 6d duty on 274 gallons of arrack at 3d a gallon. The balance on 30 June 1779 was £22,854 12s 11½d, of which £539 15s 0d was in the island's cash notes, a sum that stood unchanged through March 1780. No money moved in July or August 1779, and the Council's count of 20 September found the balance unchanged. [Film No. 62, 63, 84, 105, 106, 456]

The paymaster drew a single sum from the chest at each quarter's end. On 30 June 1779 Wrangham drew £5,543 1s 3½d, which his payments of £1,205 5s 3d and the pay list of £4,337 16s 0½d absorbed. On 30 September 1779 he drew £5,433 14s 3d against payments of £1,159 19s 6d and a pay list of £4,273 14s 9d,

though his carried totals appear as £5,435 14s 5d, £5,435 11s 3d and £5,463 14s 3d on successive pages. For the quarter ending 31 December 1779 his account balanced £5,384 7s 4d against payments of £971 13s 3d and the pay list, while the cash account records £5,390 12s 4d advanced to him. On 31 March 1780 he drew £6,256 18s 4½d against payments of £1,874 0s 3d and a pay list of £4,382 18s 1½d, whereas the pay list itself closes at £4,362 18s 5½d after several page totals were misread. Pay list carry-forward figures also disagree between pages in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. [Film No. 47–61, 155–169, 174, 175, 186–188, 191, 192, 316–318, 334, 335, 349, 351, 437, 438, 455]

The treasury opened September 1779 with £22,861 9s 5d. On 30 September 1779 it received £1,391 15s 10d for stores, £636 16s 6d in rents, £52 17s 0d from the plantations, £10 0s 0d for licences, £2 14s 9d duty on 219 gallons of arrack and small sums for lime and 38 feet of Purbeck stone. One bill of £150 0s 0d payable to Robert Wigram at 90 days' sight was sold, to James Laird, dated 11 September in the cash account and entered at the meeting of 18 September 1779. After the paymaster's advance the chest held £19,150 0s 2d in coin. [Film No. 105, 106, 199]

On 19 October 1779 the Council wrote to William Broff, President of Fort Marlborough, acknowledging letters of 30 August 1778 and 1 June 1779 by the *Bridgewater* and the *Queen*. The Court had ordered £20,000 sent to Sumatra, but the island lacked the silver and gold would not serve, so the Council sent £16,000 in eight chests by the *Princess Royal* with every dollar in the treasury and promised £4,000 at another opportunity. It judged the Sumatran sugar and arrack good but below other settlements' and ordered 50 baskets of sugar and six leaguers of arrack for the Company's use. Deals, nails, canvas and cord for the chests were charged to the general account. [Film No. 223–225, 296, 343]

The cash account for October 1779 opened with £19,689 15s 2d and received £78 15s 0d from John Terrall, half the value of the shortfall in the Company's flock, paid on 16 October under the Court's orders. Bills of exchange at 90 days' sight brought £9,206 1s 2d, including £2,000 0s 0d from Captain Peter Douglas, £1,400 0s 0d from Jonathan Doveton, £1,200 0s 0d from Captain Ker, £822 19s 3d in three bills from Wrangham, £700 0s 0d from the administrators of Lieutenant John Bazett for the heirs of John Pritchard, £500 0s 0d each from George Simpson and Captain John Howard, £265 0s 0d from Skottowe and £259 7s 6d from the chaplain Robert Carr. John Goodwin's £100 0s 0d bill was payable to Robert Dagley, purser of the *Queen*. One bill appears as £127 1s 7d in the minute and £127 1s 11d in the cash account. The ships paid £1,937 7s 9d for stores, the *Shrewsbury* £584 6s 0d. After £16,000 went to Sumatra the chest held £14,253 0s 1d in coin besides the cash notes, though the receipts as entered exceed the stated total of £30,792 15s 1d by £119 4s 0d. [Film No. 209, 229–231, 249]

On 2 November 1779 the treasury received £600 0s 0d for three bills: £300 0s 0d from Andrew Goodwin and £150 0s 0d each from Archibald Anderson and Thomas Spalding. It also received Hopps's 10s 0d fine and £4 5s 0d from Henry Bazett for renewing a life in his lease, and held £15,400 7s 7d on 30 November 1779. In December it received £4,958 13s 6d, including £3,904 8s 10d from Goodwin for stores, £492 6s 3d from an auction of damaged goods and wine and £520 7s 4½d in duty at 3d a gallon on 41,629½ gallons of arrack and other spirits, nearly all from the homeward ships' private trade. After the paymaster's draw on 31 December 1779 it held £14,428 13s 9d in coin. [Film No. 241, 242, 266, 290, 296, 343, 350, 351]

The chest stood untouched at £14,968 8s 9d in January and February 1780. In March it received £23 3s 4d from the plantation, £10 0s 0d for licences and £1,918 15s 5d from Goodwin for stores, and after the paymaster's draw held £10,143 12s 1½d in coin. The two sides of the March account as entered differ by about £20 0s 0d. [Film No. 367, 382, 456]

Invoices were kept in local moneys: rupees, quarters and reas from Bombay, rupees, annas and pice and gold pagodas of 36 fanams from Madras, rixdollars of 8 schellings from the Cape, dollars from Sumatra and taels of 10 mace from Canton. Chiron was paid by a bill on the Company in London. The rupee invoices of the *Godfrey* and *Shrewsbury*, signed by William Larkins as Accountant General, charged 324 and 270 rupees for ship hire, nearly a quarter of the value of the *Godfrey*'s goods, while the *Mount Stuart*'s pagoda invoice, signed by George Moubray, carried no freight. [Film No. 86, 93, 94, 107, 108, 125–127]

The store sold 3,200 copper halfpence at face value, £6 13s 4d, in the quarter ending 30 September 1779 and held 25,536 more worth £53 4s 0d, and it sold 3,112 for £6 9s 8d in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. [Film No. 171, 189, 283]

Land and Agriculture
Plantation stores fell from £36 3s 10d between January and March 1779, which included lead pipe, solder and copper for Wrangham's tank at Longwood finished in March, to £8 0s 3d between April and June. The paymaster also paid for work at Maldivia plantation and glass for the Plantation House. In April 1779 he paid £1 0s 0d to a man who shot a dog that had been killing lambs, and the Company paid for the keep of its own dogs. [Film No. 22, 47, 49]

The Company's plantations, managed by Corneille, earned £114 11s 3½d between 1 April and 30 June 1779, over four fifths of it from yams for the garrison, paid into the treasury on 19 July 1779. They sold beef only from a bullock killed by accident, and Corneille charged himself for the beef, mutton, lamb and two kids he took for his own table. On 2 August 1779 Benjamin Mason senior asked to lease Company waste land near High Hill in the western division, and the Council ordered it inspected. The Company's table bought only 242 lb of beef in August 1779. [Film No. 64, 71, 98]

In the quarter ending 30 September 1779 the Company bought 12 apple trees for Longwood for £3 0s 0d and paid for gates there. The plantation account sent over 2 cwt of sheet lead, lead pipe with drippers, eight watering pots, timber and glazing brads to the Company's gardens, and the warehouse held 16 ox bows and eight yokes. Gabriel Harper's executors received £10 1s 0d for counting the inhabitants' sheep and goats, and Stroud £33 14s 1d as the difference between the per-head price of 56 sheep and 12 goats and their value by weight at 3d a pound. [Film No. 157, 159, 165, 183, 184, 197]

On 30 September 1779 the planters paid £636 16s 6d in rents and dues at the Castle at rates from 6d to 4s an acre. Matthew Bazett held 219 acres of freehold, Jonathan Doveton 170½ acres and Wrangham 165⅞ acres. The Leeches and Robert Hodson paid ground rents for house plots in James Town and St Maurice 70s, while the Greentrees, Knipes and Harpers held country estates and Margaret Harper, Elizabeth Lambe and Ann Sampell held land in their own names. The estate of the late Richard Bagley, with Robert Leech as executor, paid, William Jackson paid nothing on 19½ acres and "The Society" paid 4s. That day the Council renewed two leases of 23 acres in the western division for the executors of Thomas Harper, and on 4 October 1779 Mary Price's lease in James Valley. [Film No. 111–113, 116, 118, 121]

The Lieutenant Governor's livestock account for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 showed cattle rising from 150 to 153, with 14 deaths, 12 of them calves, and seven killed. The 48 wethers landed from the *Hind* lifted the wethers from nine to 72 before slaughter. On 11 October 1779, 39 landholders, including John Goodwin, the Dovetons, John Bazett and Charles Ross Stewart, petitioned that drought had stripped their land and killed great numbers of cattle, some losing whole herds. They asked the Council to recommend reduced rents or a beef price of 6d a pound to the Court, the steward having bought beef in September at 6d and 3½d. The Council declared the petition true and promised its strongest recommendation. [Film No. 131, 133, 134]

The plantation account for July to September 1779, paid in on 18 October 1779, came to £52 17s 0d. It included 14,588 lb of yams for the garrison at 4s 2d a hundredweight, £30 7s 10d, mutton, eight sheep and a goat for the hospital, seven Cape sheep and a Company cow from the estate of Gabriel Harper sold to Captain Parker. [Film No. 218]

On 2 November 1779 the Council ordered Pierce to survey the whole of Long Wood, marking the ground the Court meant to enclose and any encroachments, and then to plan and cost a new gaol. A notice the same day invited inhabitants and soldiers to contract by the yard for a stone wall 4 feet high with a stone coping, to enclose part of Long Wood for growing fuel trees, with gunpowder and tools at the Company's expense and proposals due by 15 November. No one had offered by 22 November 1779, and the Council resolved to do the work itself. Between January and March 1780 the paymaster bought laths, binders and rafters for slaves' huts at Long Wood. [Film No. 240, 241, 250, 441]

On 8 November 1779 it let Henry Bazett replace Richard Beale, a named life in his lease of 34 acres in the eastern division, with Thomas Bazett junior for half a year's rent, £4 5s 0d, and Bazett signed the minute as a member. On 15 November it let William Jenkin transfer 19½ acres in the southern division to Mrs Mary Price, and on 29 November it renewed three leases for the executors of William Young. On 17 January 1780 it granted Henry Bazett one lease of about 19 acres merging an expired lease of four acres, four adjoining leases of 12½ acres and a further 2½ acres. On 13 March 1780 it let James Youd, a sergeant, register a conveyance of a house and land, and on 1 May 1780 it let Wrangham pass 12 acres of leasehold in the western division to Richard Goodwin. [Film No. 246, 247, 251, 352, 380, 462]

In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 the plantation drew £27 6s 2d of stores, including 10 scythes, 48 scythe stones, four pairs of sheep shears, 12 rat traps, seven watering pots and 5 cwt of paddy for the sheep. Its sales of £27 14s 4½d, paid in on 17 January 1780, included 431 lb of mutton for the hospital and beef for ships and at Christmas. Corneille charged himself for 184½ lb of mutton, three lambs and a kid. Twenty Cape sheep were bought from Bendy for £11 5s 0d. A notice of 13 December 1779 required planters to return by 20 December the cattle they would have ready for slaughter in 1780 and those they meant to sell to ships, with no loss to excuse a shortfall, and their horses, sheep and goats. [Film No. 257, 308, 349, 353]

The Company's cattle fell from 153 to 124 between October and December 1779, with 22 deaths, and its sheep from 238 to 202 despite 67 Cape wethers from Bendy, after 52 died, 44 of them ewes. Between January and March 1780, 31 cattle died, including 11 cows and 11 calves, and the herd fell to 94, while all 37 wethers were killed or sent to ships and the pigs fell from 18 to nine. The plantation issued train oil and tar for rubbing the cattle. Livestock ate 5,400 lb of yams in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and 12,445 lb in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. [Film No. 256, 276, 278, 297, 391, 412]

The Lieutenant Governor's plantation account for January to March 1780, paid in on 17 April 1780, came to £23 3s 4d, including 123½ lb of Company mutton taken for Corneille's own use and 60 lb of beef from an animal killed by accident. On 17 April 1780 Corneille and Wrangham reported that the flock still declined in number and quality although no breeding stock had been killed for 20 months, blaming the drought and the failure of that year's rains. They proposed buying breeding stock from inhabitants and asking the Court to send 20 ewes and two rams in each store ship, with government leave, since English law banned the export of live sheep. The Council approved and agreed to lay the proposal before the Company. [Film No. 457, 458, 460]

Company labourers worked in Corneille's garden at Longwood for 78 days at £3 18s 0d in June 1779, 78 days in the quarter ending 30 September 1779, 79 days in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and 78 days at £3 18s 0d in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. He was paid £3 0s 0d for mutton in June 1779 and again in March 1780. [Film No. 49, 61, 159, 165, 347, 443, 451]

Judiciary, Crime and Punishment

The Company rented a room for the quarterly courts at £3 0s 0d a quarter through 1779 and 1780 and paid fees to the clerk of arraignments and the crier of the Court of Justice. In the quarter ending 30 June 1779 it clothed the crier in a fine hat and blue serge coat, paying £1 0s 0d for making the suit. John Doveton, clerk of the peace, drew 15s 0d for three warrants in June 1779, 19s 8d for the trials of Chatham and Dick and 15s 0d for three warrants in the quarter ending 30 September 1779, three warrants again in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and £1 11s 2d for the trial of John Hill with 15s 0d for three warrants in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. Nails were issued for a court house between January and March 1780. [Film No. 16, 47, 49, 157, 159, 339, 405, 439, 443]

Thomas Yates, marshal and gaoler, was paid in June 1779 £1 16s 3d for punishing the Company's slaves, £1 1s 3d for the inhabitants' slaves and 2s 6d for two free men, William Clough and Thomas Harper. In the quarter ending 30 September 1779 he received 1s 3d for each of 20 punishments of Company and inhabitants' slaves, and in the quarter ending 31 March 1780 £1 7s 6d for 22 Company slaves and £1 0s 0d for 16 inhabitants' slaves. In July 1779 the Company paid £1 10s 0d for recapturing Tom Ponge, April and Tom, three black men who had broken out of prison. [Film No. 28, 49, 157, 165, 410, 443]

The Council acted as probate court. On 30 August 1779 it registered the inventory of the late Gabriel Alexander Harper, sworn by three valuers and his widow. On 6 September 1779 it proved the will of James Bryce, a seaman of the *Latham*, made in the hospital on 29 June 1779, leaving his chest, clothes, bedding and unpaid wages to Thomas White of the *Lord North*, with William Warner a witness. On 4 October 1779 it proved the will of John Mitchell, captain's steward of the *Royal George*, made on 12 July 1779 and witnessed by Rowley Kent and George Norry, the ship's surgeon and purser. Mitchell had borrowed on respondentia jointly with his brother-in-law Thomas Goore, a London trunk maker, and left his wages and goods to Goore and Robert Wright, the gunner, in trust to clear that bond first. [Film No. 91, 94, 95, 122, 157, 200]

On 18 October 1779 Richard Goodwin, executor of Captain Onesiphorus Beale, petitioned for possession of the estate of Captain Richard Beale, his brother, who had died insane, intestate and childless, for Anthony Beale at Madras as heir at law. Matthew Bazett replied that Anthony, being of age, should claim for himself and that land paying the Company 1s an acre a year was not freehold, so the estate passed equally to the surviving sisters of the whole blood with the other nephews as joint heirs. He thought the Court need not be troubled, but the Council referred the petition and reply to the Court for counsel's opinion. [Film No. 221, 222]

On 13 December 1779 the Council recorded that the inquest on Reeves O'Berne had found self-murder. The coroner was paid £2 10s 0d for inquests on O'Berne and on a slave boy whose name is lost, and the bailiff Thomas Burnham for attending O'Berne's burial. On 10 January 1780 the Council proved the will of Samuel Alexander, a planter who died on 18 December 1779. He left his widow Mary the use of his estate for life, his house and 10 acres of freehold to his nephew John at Fort Marlborough and £200 0s 0d to his nephew Britannicus Alexander Wright, the secretary, with Henry Bazett as temporary executor. [Film No. 255, 265, 279–281, 337]

On 29 November 1779 Major Henry Bazett, justice of the peace for the quarter, received a complaint from Woodbury, a slave of the planter John Terrall, that his master had driven a fish hook through his ear and burned him with lighted, greased wicks between his fingers. Bazett asked the Board how to proceed, since black evidence had never been admitted against white men. David Kay reported burns to the bone that had destroyed the ligaments of several fingers. [Film No. 257–259]

The councillors gave separate opinions on 13 December 1779. Skottowe would have the case heard and referred to the Court, following the Council's letters of 1762, 1763 and 1764 refusing black evidence against white people for fear of "dangerous consequences". Matthew Bazett cited the English exclusion of infidels as witnesses, the black majority and a plot of 1760 to kill the white inhabitants, would admit black evidence for atrocious crimes only with London's approval and proposed the customary fine. Wrangham urged keeping a custom that had kept the peace under Governor Charles Hutchinson but would not object if a single justice acted under the laws of Great Britain. Henry Bazett judged the act a capital felony under the Coventry Act of 22 and 23 Charles II, passed in 1671 after the slitting of Sir John Coventry's nose, yet voted for referral, noting that slaves were sworn on the Old Testament against one another and that masters were usually fined on a slave's unsworn statement. Corneille dissented, holding that Bazett should take sworn depositions and bring Terrall before a court of oyer and terminer, since the rule was an illegal custom the Company had never ratified. [Film No. 258–264, 355]

On 3 January 1780 the four members admitted that the court books showed black witnesses sworn against white men: Ibrahim at John Cook's trial on 6 April 1763, Abigail, a midwife, at Henry Brown's on 15 January 1766 and Charles at the trial of three soldiers on 12 July 1769, with a slave's evidence taken against his master by a single justice on 7 November 1769. Skottowe called that testimony merely corroborative, and all four kept their opinions. Corneille replied that English law excluded only witnesses made infamous by conviction, that Charles had sworn against men accused of stealing his master's bull and that the Company had answered the Council's doubts in letters of 17 December 1762 and 16 November 1763. He warned that a delay of 14 or 15 months would let a master ship his slave away, and gave the population in 1760 as over 360 white inhabitants and a garrison of 418 against no more than 780 black people. [Film No. 267–271]

At the inquiry of 3 January 1780 Woodbury stated that after running away for about a week he was tied by Terrall at Richard Mason's house, beaten with a rattan, flogged by other slaves, burned and hooked through the ears, until Mrs Terrall stopped Terrall hooking his tongue. Terrall's slaves Nanny, Frank and Francis confirmed the flogging and burning, and Yon, a slave of Orlando Bagley who had helped recapture Woodbury at Stone Step Gut, said Terrall stood by until the wicks burned out. Terrall admitted the burning, saying it was to stop Woodbury running away and robbing neighbours, for which he had been tried at two quarter courts, and blamed drink and fatigue. His slaves then said, in his presence, that he had always treated them well. The page names him John Worrall and the slave Woodberry. Corneille signed with a formal exception. [Film No. 272–274]

On 10 January 1780 Corneille laid a third minute, stating that he had sat as a justice in the trials of 1769, that the case of 7 November 1769 concerned him personally and that Charles had been the only real witness in July 1769, while his master, Mr Darling, swore only to ownership. He submitted the matter to the Court. Kay reported that day that Woodbury's injuries might prove less serious than feared. [Film No. 278, 279, 358]

On 24 January 1780 Skottowe entered a minute against Corneille's statement that no gentleman should report another's opinion on a point never discussed, calling it very ungentlemanly and recalling a conversation with Darling about black evidence, which breaks off mid-sentence. The other four answered that they did not want the crime unpunished but questioned enforcing the Coventry Act where its conditions did not exist, since the charter allowed by-laws suited to the island, and they referred the case to the Court after ensuring Terrall had no control over Woodbury. They refused slaves' oaths for the slaves' ignorance of God and because a slave testifying against his master would think himself nearer his equal. They gave the population as 761 slaves, 80 or 90 free black people and 930 white people including the garrison, with no more than 40 white men in the country districts, and accused Corneille of using the figures of 1760. They cited the resolution of 1 May 1763 to refer doubtful matters to the Court, took his remark on Charles's trial as a slur on Darling and charged him with usurping the Court's authority. [Film No. 354–359]

Corneille wrote his reply on 31 January 1780, when he presided, and laid it on 7 February 1780 with the Governor present, denying any disrespect and leaving the substance to the Court. On 6 March 1780 Kay reported that Woodbury, in his care since 29 November 1779, had lost the use of three fingers on each hand, that five fingers had grown together through bad treatment of the sores in Terrall's house and that he could still lift and carry loads. The Board resolved only that Woodbury should not return to Terrall until the Company's orders arrived. [Film No. 361, 362, 374, 375]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Stores for the Company's slaves cost £417 6s 10d in the quarter ending 30 June 1779, when their rice fell from nearly 161 cwt to just over 70 cwt and salt meat rose from 2,062 to 2,258 pieces. They cost £314 13s 10d in the quarter ending 30 September 1779, £256 6s 7d of it salt meat, with 12½ cwt of rice and 38,342 lb of yams out of 62,106 lb, against 16,138 lb for the garrison. In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 they cost £822 0s 8d, with nearly 184 cwt of rice, 747 pieces of beef, 1,783 of pork and 5,240 lb of yams. In the quarter ending 31 March 1780 they cost £456 14s 9d, with over 149 cwt of rice, 376 pieces of beef, 1,434 of pork and 5,730 lb of yams. Fish hooks and lines were issued in each quarter. [Film No. 21, 131, 157, 182, 198, 276, 305, 391, 411]

The slaves received 76 pieces of blue Surat chelloes from the *Royal Admiral*'s invoice as yearly clothing in the quarter ending 30 September 1779, with 224 in store. In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 they received 131 jackets and pairs of breeches, 262 checked shirts, 148 hats, 16 boys' sets, 124 pairs of men's shoes and 26 pairs of women's shoes with chelloes and longcloth, and in the quarter ending 31 March 1780 21 pairs of men's and 15 of women's shoes. Castle servants received nankeen in the quarter ending 30 June 1779 and 24 soldiers' shirts in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. [Film No. 21, 157, 198, 305–307, 411]

A separate account supplied the Malays: £4 6s 2d in the quarter ending 30 June 1779, £3 18s 0d in the quarter ending 30 September 1779 and £6 4s 6d in the quarter ending 31 March 1780, chiefly meat, rice, arrack, sugar, tea and a pair of fine shoes. In the quarter ending 31 December 1779 it cost £12 7s 3d and

included buff breeches, scarlet serge with mohair buttons, congou tea and china. [Film No. 21, 182, 183, 306, 307, 411]

A midwife received £1 10s 0d for delivering three Company slaves in April 1779 and again in July 1779, and 10s 0d for one in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. The livestock account for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 entered the births of George Frank, Betty Bastiana and Tom Clarke beneath the poultry. Plymouth, a Company slave, died on 19 December 1779. In 1780 Peg Plato died on 16 January, Phill Plato on 22 January, Bilford on 26 January, Sarah Mercury on 27 January and Adam on 28 January, the coroner holding an inquest on Adam, and Mary and Judah died on 14 March. [Film No. 47, 131, 157, 335, 391, 455]

Samuel Alexander's will of 26 September 1779 left Betty to his widow, a boy George and a girl Sophia to his godson Alexander Harper and a boy Jonas to Sarah Harper. It freed his slave boy James George at his death and set aside £50 0s 0d for him at 20. [Film No. 279–281]

In the defence works of March 1780 most labourers paid 1s a day were slaves hired from the planters, the shilling going to their owners, while soldiers and skilled free men received 1s 6d. On 15 November 1779 the Council had ordered every inhabitant to return by 1 December the names of all able-bodied male slaves aged 16 to 60, and on 22 November it asked owners to offer slaves for hire on the most moderate terms to work on the Long Wood fence continuously from 1 January 1780 under quarterly contracts. [Film No. 248, 250, 445]

The Council detained black women with venereal disease in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. The general charges account fed 11 women in custody with flour, rice, sugar and tea, and Stroud was paid £29 11s 6d for treating 12. [Film No. 406, 443]

Religion and Education

Robert Carr, the chaplain, drew £55 0s 0d a quarter in 1779 and 1780, more than a councillor's basic salary, and James Adney, the schoolmaster, £17 10s 0d with house rent. In the quarter ending 30 September 1779 the Company paid £4 10s 0d for church curtains and 12 days of carpenters' work, issued Riga timber, deals and hinges and allowed the chaplain 60 lb of candles, against 30 lb in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. The warehouse held 12 large Bibles, 30 Books of Common Prayer and 13 New Testaments and sold two small Bibles and a New Testament in that quarter, a small Bible and four prayer books in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 and a spelling book in the quarter ending 30 June 1779. The church received new surplices of fine longcloth, pickaxes, shovels and deals in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. [Film No. 7, 26, 27, 157, 165, 171, 178, 180, 188, 283, 296, 297]

Social Order

On 13 July 1779 the garrison's lieutenants, with James Adney and David Kay, 13 signatories in all, protested against the store's new rules limiting each buyer's tea and sugar and giving civil servants larger shares. They noted that flour had been divided equally in its shortage and that the rules conflicted with the Council's weekly schedule of issues. On 26 July 1779 the Council called the complaint groundless, objected to the phrase "public distress", said the officers should have approached the Governor privately and blamed their use of a sergeant as clerk. It cited free sale in the previous year using 12 months' supply in seven, allowed each junior officer 3½ lb of souchong tea and divided flour and market meat equally but tea and sugar by rank. [Film No. 65–68]

The officers replied on 9 August 1779 that tea and sugar were necessities on an island with a poor diet. They cited the Royal Navy's equal ration, extra rations in royal garrisons for officers' servants and the Company's equal issue of clothing, and noted that a captain or factor received 520 lb of sugar a year and a junior officer 312 lb. Military officers were barred from trade and could not buy in bulk from ships, and lieutenants waited 10 or 15 years for promotion while civil servants gained privileges after five. On 16 August 1779 the Council replied that the letter would go to the Court and the rule would stand. On 1 November 1779, citing an unexpected supply of sugar from Bencoolen, it gave each junior servant 2 lb a week more and inhabitants more in proportion to family size. [Film No. 69, 77–83, 236]

In June 1779 it paid for 45 days' keep of seamen at 6d a day, 40 days' keep of discharged soldiers at 1s a day and a grave for Daniel Patrick, a discharged soldier. On 16 August 1779 Matthew Newman, a seaman left by the *Earl Talbot* without the use of his limbs, was admitted to the hospital at her owners' expense. George Smith, a discharged soldier, was kept at 6d a day in the quarter ending 30 September 1779. Seamen left ashore were kept for 381 days at 6d in the quarter ending 31 December 1779, and discharged soldiers for 235 days and seamen for 373 days at 6d in the quarter ending 31 March 1780. Henry Miller, left sick by the *Betsy*, was kept from 25 February to 27 June 1780 and attended by Stroud, and John Davis, left by the *Princess Royal*, was treated for 9s 0d. [Film No. 55, 78, 83, 155, 349, 439, 441, 443]

Pensions and annuities were individual grants by the Council. In the quarter ending 30 June 1779 Philip Mahony drew £36 14s 4½d, a lieutenant's full emoluments, and Mary Wales, Elizabeth Kennedy and Elizabeth Powell £6 5s 0d to £7 10s 0d, while the widows Caldwell, Shelley and Bassett received £5 6s 2d at 1s 2d a day. From the quarter ending 30 September 1779 the pensioners were Mary Beale, Elizabeth Kennedy and Elizabeth Powell, Mahony having gone, and the annuitants the widows Shirley, Bazett and Caldwell, at £5 7s 4d in the quarter ending 31 December 1779. Mrs Savage received £2 10s 0d a quarter. [Film No. 46, 49, 155, 157, 167, 349, 437, 441]

John Whaley, an inhabitant, died on 13 November and John, son of the planter John Bagley, drowned on 25 November 1779. Elizabeth Terbitt, an inhabitant's wife, died on 6 February 1780, Martha Hatton, a soldier's daughter, on 10 February and Mary Hodges, a widow, on 16 April 1780. On 1 November 1779 Tiffin Shepherd, a cadet bound for Bencoolen, was allowed to stay on the island for his health at his own expense, and on 3 March 1780 he volunteered and was told to report to the Lines whenever a fleet was signalled. [Film No. 237, 247, 251, 363, 375, 395]

Personalities
Nathaniel Dance, chief mate of the *Mount Stuart* in October 1779, drove off a French squadron at Pulo Aura in 1804 as commodore of a China fleet. Corneille, who had lived in England until adulthood and cited English legal writers, became Governor in 1782. Captain Richard Doveton of the *Glatton* was probably the brother with whom Jonathan Doveton sailed. [Film No. 117, 205, 259, 260, 356, 361, 362]

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 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	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
5	1	Island St. Helena - At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th Day of July 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed the 12 of July 1779 - The Storekeeper this day Brought in his Collection and the Paymaster his Accounts for the	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 19 July 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The minutes of the meeting of 12 July 1779 were read, approved and signed. The storekeeper brought in his collection, and the paymaster his accounts, for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1779. The Council examined and approved them, and they followed in the record.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Quarter commencing the 1 of April and ending the 30th of June last, which were examined approved and are as follows Viz. - Collection	
6	2	19 July Collection of Goods Sold and Delivered out of the Honble. Company's Ware Houses from the 1 of April to the 30 of June 1779 - Sold at 10 P Cent Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 18. 2. 19 Sugar 27 15 6 11. 1. 3 Candy 26 14 5 54 9 11 Flour Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 49. 1. 23 Flour 46 3 2 234. 3. 24 Bread 219 6 . 265 9 2 Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 121. 3. 16 Rice 49 5 3 49. 3. 4 Paddy 12 19 4 62 4 7 Tea Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 1. -. 23 Single 9 1 3 -. 3. 14 Congo 5 15 9 1. -. 9 Bohea 4 . . 12 Cannisters Hyson 7 13 . 5 Do. Souchong 2 2 6 27 12 6 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 3. 2. 19 7 5 11 Candles 11 1 7 6 Arrack 6 Gallons 1 10 . Beef and Pork Viz. 98 lb. Beef 9 16 . 5995 lb. Pork 599 10 . 609 6 . Corks 4 Gross . 10 . Sago 26 . 7 7 Leather 29 Sole 1 16 8 Blankets 11 Ordinary 4 5 3 Broad Cloth Viz. 4½ Yards of Maz. Blue 4 4 4 6½ Do. Light Blue 6 1 6 4 Do. Dark Brown 3 19 4 Broad Cloth Carried Over 14 5 2	The storekeeper's collection listed the goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouses between 1 April and 30 June 1779, at the 10 per cent mark-up. Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 18 cwt 2 qr 19 lb, £27 15s 6d Sugar candy, 11 cwt 1 qr 3 lb, £26 14s 5d Sugar and sugar candy total, £54 9s 11d Flour Flour, 49 cwt 1 qr 23 lb, £46 3s 2d Flour baked into bread, 234 cwt 3 qr 24 lb, £219 6s 0d Flour total, £265 9s 2d Rice and paddy Rice, 121 cwt 3 qr 16 lb, £49 5s 3d Paddy, 49 cwt 3 qr 4 lb, £12 19s 4d Rice and paddy total, £62 4s 7d Tea Singlo tea, 1 cwt 0 qr 25 lb, £8 1s 3d Congou tea, 0 cwt 3 qr 14 lb, £5 15s 9d Bohea tea, 1 cwt 0 qr 9 lb, £4 0s 0d Hyson tea, 18 canisters, £7 13s 0d Souchong tea, 5 canisters, £2 2s 6d Tea total, £27 12s 6d Cordage, 3 cwt 2 qr 19 lb, £7 5s 11d Candles, 11 lb, £1 7s 6d Arrack, 6 gallons, £1 10s 0d Beef and pork Salt beef, 98 pieces, £9 16s 0d Salt pork, 5,905 pieces, £590 10s 0d Beef and pork total, £600 6s 0d Corks, 4 gross, £0 10s 0d Sago, 26 lb, £0 7s 7d Sole leather, 29 lb, £1 16s 8d 11 ordinary blankets, £4 5s 3d Broadcloth Mazarine blue broadcloth, 4½ yards, £4 4s 4d Light blue broadcloth, 6½ yards, £6 1s 6d Dark brown broadcloth, 4 yards, £3 19s 4d Broadcloth carried forward, £14 5s 2d Carried forward, £1,035 5s 1d **Interpretations** The figures trace the food crisis of the southern autumn of 1779. Bread sold from the bakehouse fell from over 476 cwt in the first quarter to under 235 cwt, roughly half. Demand had not fallen. The Company's flour was running out, and by 21 May 1779 the garrison had only four and a half weeks' bread left. Salt beef dropped from 253 pieces to 98, reflecting the loss of a third of the Company's herd to drought that quarter, while salt pork rose from 5,107 pieces to 5,905. With yams stripped from the planters' gardens and bread rationed, pork was the one food the stores still held in quantity, and the islanders turned to it.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried Over 1035 5 1	
7	3	1779 Brought Over£ 1035 5 1 Broad Cloth Brought Over £ 14 5 2 5¼ Yards Crimson 4 12 5 2½ Do. White 2 12 11 2½ Do. Black 2 6 1 3½ Do. Buff Cassimere 1 11 9 ½ Do. Blue Do. . 4 6 25 12 9 Braziers Ware 3 Three Quart Tea Kettles 1 17 3 Books 1 Spelling . 1 3 Canvas Viz. Bolts Yards 2. 15 English 5 11 9 -. 36 Osnaburg 1 19 9 7 11 6 Copper Money 6192 Half Pence 13 10 . Cuttlery Ware Viz. 2 Butchers Knives . . 10 1 Case Knives . 2 6 . 3 4 Deals Viz. 21 Double 4 4 10 16 Single 2 . 4 2 Balks 1 5 3 2 Coffins . 9 . 1 Wainscot Board . 2 5 3 Elm Boards . 15 9 36 Bundles Fir Laths 2 12 . 2 Do. Oak Do. . 6 5 11 16 . Earthen Ware Viz. 3 Milk Pots . 1 . 2 Close Stool Pans . 2 9 1 Milk Pan . 1 6 . 5 3 Glass Ware Viz. 2 Pint Decanters . 4 10 2 Water Bottles 2 3 6 1 Water Glass . . 10 3 Ale Glass's . 2 9 20 Squares 8 by 10 . 14 2 3 11 1	The storekeeper's collection for April to June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,035 5s 1d Broadcloth brought forward, £14 5s 2d Crimson broadcloth, 4¾ yards, £4 12s 5d White broadcloth, 2¼ yards, £2 12s 11d Black broadcloth, 2½ yards, £2 6s 1d Buff cassimere, 3½ yards, £1 11s 9d Blue cassimere, ½ yard, £0 4s 6d Broadcloth total, £25 12s 9d 3 three-quart brass tea kettles, £1 17s 3d 1 spelling book, £0 1s 3d Canvas English canvas, 2 bolts 15 yards, £5 9s 9d Osnaburg canvas, 36 yards, £1 19s 9d Canvas total, £7 11s 6d Cossaes, 6½ half pieces, £13 10s 0d Cutlery 7 butchers' knives, £0 0s 10d 1 case of knives, £0 2s 6d Cutlery total, £0 3s 4d Deals 21 double deals, £4 4s 10d 10 single deals, £2 0s 4d 2 balks, £1 5s 3d 2 coffins, £0 9s 0d 1 wainscot board, £0 2s 5d 3 elm boards, £0 15s 9d 34 bundles of fir laths, £2 12s 0d 2 bundles of oak laths, £0 6s 5d Deals total, £11 16s 0d Earthenware 3 milk pots, £0 1s 0d 2 close-stool pans, £0 2s 9d 1 milk pan, £0 1s 6d Earthenware total, £0 5s 3d Glassware 2 pint decanters, £0 4s 10d 2 sets of cruets, £2 8s 6d 1 water glass, £0 0s 10d 3 ale glasses, £0 2s 9d 20 window panes, 8 by 10 inches, £0 14s 2d Glassware total, £3 11s 1d Carried forward, £1,099 1s 6d **Interpretations** Cossaes were a fine plain muslin woven in Bengal and sold in standard pieces, used for shirts, cravats and women's dresses. Half pieces were the shorter lengths in which the cloth was also traded. The island bought it from the Bengal ships, and at £13 10s 0d for six and a half half pieces it was among the dearer textiles in the warehouse. Two coffins appear among the timber, sold ready-made from the Company's stores. The garrison and the town were losing people steadily through the dry autumn of 1779, and the stores supplied the coffins along with the boards and nails for building.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried Over 1099 1 6	
8	4	19 July Brought Over £ 1099 1 6 Hats 1 Mans Fine . 19 2 Hosiery Viz. 238 Prs. Mens Ordin. Thread Stockings 110 3 3 8 Prs. Do. Cotton Do. 3 3 4 4 Prs. Do. Madrass Do. No. 1 1 17 4 24 Prs. Do. Do. Do. No. 2 9 8 . 1 Pr. Do. Black Silk Do. . 18 9 1 Pr. Do. Do. Worsted Do. . 7 3 1 Pr. Boys Cotton . 3 . 7 Prs. Buff Silk Breeches 2 17 . 1 Pr. Black Do. 1 11 5 60 10 9 Hooks and Lines Viz. 973 No. 6 4 6 6 25 7 . 1 6 25 10 . . 6 125 12 . 2 1 325 16 . 2 7 550 17 . 4 3 100 18 . . 10 25 Large . 6 3 Hooks 245 No. 2 3 15 8 260 3 4 13 10 6 4 . 2 6 3 Mumber . 4 6 Lines 10 Leg . 10 10 31 lb. Twine . 17 7 7¼ Cotton Wick 1 . 6 18 9 11 Haberdashery Viz. 33 lb. Silk . 13 9 12 Do. Mohair . 6 . 5 Doz. Do. Coat Buttons . 4 7 7 Do. Do. Breast Do. . 3 1 6¼ Do. Gold Basket Coat Do. 1 14 4 6 Do. Do. Breast Do. . 16 6 2½ Do. Spangled Coat Do.	The storekeeper's collection for April to June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,099 1s 6d 1 man's fine hat, £0 19s 2d Hosiery 238 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £40 3s 3d 8 pairs of men's cotton stockings, £3 3s 4d 4 pairs of men's Madras stockings, number 1, £1 17s 4d 24 pairs of men's Madras stockings, number 2, £9 8s 0d 1 pair of men's black silk stockings, £0 18s 9d 1 pair of men's worsted stockings, £0 7s 3d 1 pair of boys' cotton stockings, £0 3s 0d 2 pairs of buff silk breeches, £2 17s 0d 1 pair of black silk breeches, £1 11s 5d Hosiery total, £60 10s 9d Hooks and lines 975 fish hooks, number 6, £4 6s 6d 25 fish hooks, number 7, £0 1s 6d 25 fish hooks, number 10, £0 0s 6d 125 fish hooks, number 12, £0 2s 1d 325 fish hooks, number 16, £0 2s 7d 550 fish hooks, number 17, £0 4s 3d 100 fish hooks, number 18, £0 0s 10d 25 large fish hooks, £0 6s 3d 245 fishing lines, number 2, £3 15s 8d 260 fishing lines, number 3, £4 13s 10d 6 fishing lines, number 4, £0 2s 6d 3 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 6d 10 log lines, £0 10s 10d 31 skeins of twine, £0 17s 7d 7¼ lb of cotton candle wick, £1 0s 6d Hooks and lines total, £16 9s 11d Haberdashery 33 skeins of silk, £0 13s 9d 12 skeins of mohair, £0 6s 0d 5 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 4s 7d 7 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 3s 1d 6½ dozen gold basket coat buttons, £1 14s 4d 6 dozen gold basket breast buttons, £0 16s 6d 2½ dozen spangled coat buttons, £1 5s 8d Haberdashery carried forward, £5 3s 11d Carried forward, £1,177 1s 4d **Interpretations** Sales of men's ordinary thread stockings kept climbing: 25 pairs in the last quarter of 1778, 127 in the first quarter of 1779 and 238 in the second. The rise ran alongside the soldiers' purchases of shoes and shirts noted earlier in the year. The garrison was working hard on Pierce's batteries and roads at Holdfast Tom, Munden's and Powell's Valley, which wore out clothing fast. Stockings were also the cheapest item of dress the store sold, and men could buy them out of their pay when they could afford little else. Madras stockings were knitted cotton stockings from the Coromandel coast, brought in the ships from Fort St George. They first appear in the warehouse lists this quarter, sold in two grades, and were lighter and cheaper than English thread stockings, which suited the island's mild climate. Fishing tackle went on selling strongly, with over 2,000 hooks and more than 500 lines in the quarter. In a season when bread was rationed and beef had almost vanished from the stores, fish caught from the rocks and boats had become an important food for the island's households.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 5 8 Haberdashery Carried Over £ 5 3 11 Carried Over £ 1177 1 4	
9	5	1779 Brought Over £ 1177 1 4 Haberdashery Brought Over £ 5 3 11 2½ Gross of White Waist. Buttons . 6 6 1½ Do. Steel Do. . 4 8 1 Pr. Silk Garters . 1 2 ½ Whalebone . 9 10 1½ Yds. Buckram 1 1 9 2 Coloured Thread . 7 3 1 Od. No. 16 Do. . 2 5 1 Do. 17 Do. . 1 9 1 Do. 11 Do. . 1 3 7 19 8 Iron Ware Viz. 3 Wood Axes . 9 9 1 Pr. H Hinges . 3 11 2 Iron Rim'd Locks with Brass Knobs . 13 6 1 Do. Lock with a Latch . 4 8 1 Blank Key . . 8 1 Coffee Mill . 7 11 2 Large Box Irons . 19 6 3 Small Do. . 16 5 1 Pr. Large Steelyards . 12 1 1 Plaistr. Trowel . 1 10 1 Bricklayr. Do. . 1 6 3 Scythe Stones . . 8 1 Spring Rat Trap . 1 8 7. 11 Iron . 7 4 5 1 5 Lead Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 2. 10 Sheet 3 2 8 -. 1. 23 Shot . 10 7 3 13 3 Nails Viz. M 73 3 2 13 9 15 6 . 9 1 2 Dog . 1 1 1 Scupper	The storekeeper's collection for April to June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,177 1s 4d Haberdashery brought forward, £5 3s 11d 2½ gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 6s 8d 1½ gross of shirt buttons, £0 4s 8d 1 pair of silk garters, £0 1s 2d Whalebone, ½ lb, £0 2s 10d Buckram, 12½ yards, £1 1s 9d Coloured thread, 2 lb, £0 7s 3d Number 16 thread, 1 oz, £0 2s 5d Number 17 thread, 1 oz, £0 1s 9d Number 18 thread, 1 oz, £0 1s 3d Haberdashery total, £7 19s 8d Ironmongery 3 wood axes, £0 9s 9d 1 pair of HL hinges, £0 3s 11d 2 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £0 13s 6d 1 iron-rimmed lock with pullback, £0 4s 8d 1 blank key, £0 0s 8d 1 coffee mill, £0 7s 11d 2 large box irons, £0 19s 6d 3 small box irons, £0 16s 5d 1 pair of large steelyards, £0 12s 1d 1 plasterer's trowel, £0 1s 10d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 6d 3 scythe stones, £0 0s 8d 1 spring rat trap, £0 1s 8d Iron, 7 lb, £0 7s 4d Ironmongery total, £5 1s 5d Lead Sheet lead, 2 cwt 2 qr 10 lb, £3 2s 8d Lead shot, 0 cwt 1 qr 23 lb, £0 10s 7d Lead total, £3 13s 3d Nails 3d nails, 73, £2 13s 9d 6d nails, 15, £0 9s 1d Dog nails, 2, £0 1s 1d Scupper nails, 1, £0 0s 8d Glazing brads, 2½, £0 3s 11d Nails total, £3 9s 6d 7 small oars, £1 8s 11d Carried forward, £1,198 14s 1d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		. . 8 2½ Glaz. Brads . 3 11 3 9 6 Oars 7 Small 1 8 11 1198 14 1	
10	6	19th July Brought Over £ 1198 14 1 Oil 66 Gall. Paint 10 10 . 42 Bottles Florence 6 8 4 16 18 4 Pewter 1 Chamber Pot . 3 4 Paint 36 Indico 3 7 1 16 Blue Smalts . 9 2 46 White Lead dry . 15 . ½ Whiting . . 1 2 Log Wood . . 7 5 1 11 Pitch and Tar Viz. 7 Pitch . . 2 6½ Gall. Tar . 10 10 4 Rozin . 1 6 . 12 6 Serge &c. 7½ Yds. Blue 1 17 6 1 Do. Green . 4 10 9¼ Do. Brown Fustian 1 1 2 14 Do. White Do. 1 1 8 7¼ Do. Colrd. Shalloon . 16 9 12¼ Do. White Silk Serge 3 14 6 3 Do. Scarlet Long Ells . 8 9 9 4 2 Sailors Cloathing 2 Prs. Mens Breeches . 8 8 1 Mans Check'd Shirt . 3 9 5 Boys Jackets 1 13 4 2½ Pair Do. Breeches . 7 4 2 Hats . 3 8 2 16 9 Saddlery 3 Cruppers . 5 9 2 Headstalls & Reins . 7 6 . 13 3 Carried Over £ 1234 4 4	The storekeeper's collection for April to June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,198 14s 1d Oil Train oil, 36 gallons, £10 10s 0d Florence oil, 42 bottles, £6 8s 4d Oil total, £16 18s 4d 1 pewter chamber pot, £0 3s 4d Paint Indigo, 36 lb, £3 7s 1d Blue smalt, 10 lb, £0 19s 2d Dry white lead, 46 lb, £0 15s 0d Whiting, ½, £0 0s 1d Logwood, 2 lb, £0 0s 7d Paint total, £5 1s 11d Pitch and tar Pitch, 7 lb, £0 0s 2d Tar, 6½ gallons, £0 10s 10d Rosin, 4 lb, £0 1s 6d Pitch and tar total, £0 12s 6d Serge and other cloth Blue serge, 7½ yards, £1 17s 6d Green serge, 1 yard, £0 4s 10d Brown fustian, 9¾ yards, £1 1s 2d White fustian, 14 yards, £1 1s 8d Coloured shalloon, 7¼ yards, £0 15s 9d White silk serge, 12¼ yards, £3 14s 6d Scarlet long ells, 3 yards, £0 8s 9d Serge and other cloth total, £9 4s 2d Sailors' clothing 2 pairs of men's breeches, £0 8s 8d 1 man's checked shirt, £0 3s 9d 5 boys' jackets, £1 13s 4d 2 pairs of boys' breeches, £0 7s 4d 2 hats, £0 3s 8d Sailors' clothing total, £2 16s 9d Saddlery 3 cruppers, £0 5s 9d 2 headstalls and reins, £0 6s 6d Saddlery total, £0 13s 3d Carried forward, £1,234 4s 4d **Interpretations** The train oil sold this quarter was probably part of the six tons the Council bought from the whalers *London* and *Dragon* on 3 May 1779 at £30 0s 0d a ton, under 2s 5d a gallon. The warehouse sold 36 gallons to the islanders for £10 10s 0d, nearly 5s 10d a gallon. The price to settlers stayed at the store's usual level, so the cheap purchase from the whalers turned into a large margin for the Company. The oil had been bought to stock the garrison's lamps, but the surplus went on sale to the public at more than twice its cost.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
11	7	1779 Brought Over £ 1234 4 4 Shirts &c. 107 Soldiers Shirts 26 15 . 35¾ Yards Brown Holland 3 1 8 3 Do. fine Irish Linen . 16 3 26½ Do. Ticking 2 14 1 16½ Do. Check'd Linen . 18 7 34 4 7 Shoes &c. 20 Pair Mens Ordinary 5 10 . 5 Do. Do. fine Shoes 1 13 9 2 Do. Do. Pumps . 12 2 2 Do. Womens Calim. . 8 10 15 Do. Do. Calf Leathr. 2 13 9 1 Do. Girls Calim. . 3 5 3 Do. Do. Calf Leathr. . 7 3 3 Do. Boys . 11 . 12 . 2 Tin Ware &c. 6 Solder . 5 . 4 Wat. Pots . 16 8 1 1 8 Turners Ware Viz. 1 Hair Broom . 3 2 4 Shoe Brushes . 3 9 2 Plaisterers Do. . 3 5 4 Punch Ladles . 2 8 1 Do. Strainer . . 11 1 Platter . 1 2 7 Salomons Baskets . 8 4 1 2 11 Long Cloths Viz. 14 Ps. No. 1 24 7 10 13 Ps. 3 1 13 2 15 Yards 4 1 2 5 27 3 5 China Ware Viz. 7 Meat Dishes . 14 8 20 Do. Plates . 6 8 162 Do. Soup 2 18 6 China Ware Carried Over £ 3 19 10 Carried Over £ 1309 17 1	The storekeeper's collection for April to June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,234 4s 4d Shirting 107 soldiers' shirts, £26 15s 0d Brown holland, 35¼ yards, £3 1s 8d Fine Irish linen, 8 yards, £0 16s 3d Ticking, 26½ yards, £2 14s 1d Checked linen, 16½ yards, £0 18s 7d Shirting total, £34 5s 7d Shoes 20 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £5 10s 0d 5 pairs of men's fine shoes, £1 13s 9d 2 pairs of men's pumps, £0 12s 2d 2 pairs of women's calimanco shoes, £0 8s 10d 15 pairs of women's calf leather shoes, £2 13s 9d 1 pair of girls' calimanco shoes, £0 3s 5d 3 pairs of girls' calf leather shoes, £0 7s 3d 3 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 11s 0d Shoes total, £12 0s 2d Tinware Solder, 6 lb, £0 5s 0d 4 half-gallon pots, £0 16s 8d Tinware total, £1 1s 8d Turned wooden goods 1 hair broom, £0 3s 2d 4 shoe brushes, £0 3s 2d 2 plasterer's brushes, £0 3s 5d 4 punch ladles, £0 2s 8d 1 punch strainer, £0 0s 11d 1 platter, £0 1s 2d 7 labourers' baskets, £0 8s 4d Turned wooden goods total, £1 2s 11d Long cloth Long cloth, number 1, 4½ pieces, £24 7s 10d Long cloth, number 3, ½ piece, £1 13s 2d Long cloth, number 4, 15 yards, £1 2s 5d Long cloth total, £27 3s 5d China 4 meat dishes, £0 4s 8d 20 china plates, £0 6s 8d 162 soup plates, £2 18s 6d China carried forward, £3 9s 10d Carried forward, £1,309 17s 1d **Interpretations** Sales of men's ordinary shoes collapsed from 494 pairs in the first quarter of 1779 to only 20, while soldiers' shirts held up at 107. The garrison had bought its yearly supply of shoes at the start of the year, so few men needed new pairs three months later. Shirts wore out faster under the heavy labour on the batteries and roads, and the men went on replacing them.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
12	8	19 July Brought Over £ 1309 17 1 China Ware Brought Over £ 3 19 10 2 Bowls . 2 2 9 Sneakers . 3 4 22 Guglets and Basons 2 4 . 5 Chamber Pots 1 14 . 4 Sallad Dishes . 3 . 18 Quart. Pint Cups and Saucers . 5 5 2 Breakfast Sets . 17 . 9 8 9 Spice Viz. lb. 195 Pepper 5 9 9 ½ Cinnamon . 9 7 1½ Mace 1 18 6 2 Allspice . . 2 ¼ Ginger . . 4 7 18 4 £ 1327 4 2 Sold at 40 P Cent Broad Cloth Viz. 2½ Yards Crimson 3 9 4 2 Do. Mazarine Blue 2 10 8 7 Do. Light Blue 8 17 4 14 17 4 Canvas Viz. Bolts Yards 3. 9 English 9 12 . -. 18 Osnaburg 1 5 6 10 17 6 Paint Viz. 57 White Lead Dry 1 3 9 1 Yellow Ocker Do. . . 4 1 4 1 Flour 13 1 11 Iron Ware . 2 11 Carried Over £ 40 3 9	The storekeeper's collection for April to June 1779 closed the goods sold at 10 per cent and opened the list sold at 40 per cent. Brought forward, £1,309 17s 1d China brought forward, £3 9s 10d 2 china bowls, £0 2s 2d 9 sneakers, £0 3s 4d 22 guglets and basins, £2 4s 0d 7 china chamber pots, £1 14s 0d 4 salad dishes, £0 3s 0d 18 quart and pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 5d 2 breakfast sets, £0 17s 0d China total, £9 8s 9d Spices Pepper, 19½ lb, £5 9s 9d Cinnamon, ½ lb, £0 9s 7d Mace, 1½ lb, £1 18s 6d Allspice, 2 oz, £0 0s 2d Ginger, ½ lb, £0 0s 4d Spices total, £7 18s 4d Total sold at 10 per cent, £1,327 4s 2d Sold at 40 per cent Broadcloth Crimson broadcloth, 2½ yards, £3 9s 4d Mazarine blue broadcloth, 2 yards, £2 10s 8d Light blue broadcloth, 7 yards, £8 17s 4d Broadcloth total, £14 17s 4d Canvas English canvas, 3 bolts 9 yards, £9 12s 0d Osnaburg canvas, 18 yards, £1 5s 6d Canvas total, £10 17s 6d Paint Dry white lead, 57 lb, £1 3s 9d Dry yellow ochre, 1 lb, £0 0s 4d Paint total, £1 4s 1d Flour, £13 1s 11d Ironmongery, £0 2s 11d Carried forward, £40 3s 9d **Interpretations** Flour now appeared among the goods sold at 40 per cent, alongside fine broadcloth and canvas. In earlier quarters flour went out at the 10 per cent rate meant for necessities. By the southern winter of 1779 the stores held barely enough bread for the garrison, and the Council had sent to the Cape for 30,000 lb. Flour sold to private buyers in that shortage was priced as a scarce good. The higher rate held back demand from households and kept more for the soldiers, while those who could afford bread paid for it.
13	9	1779 Brought Over £ 40 3 9 Hooks & Lines Viz. 25 No. 16 Hooks . . 3 42 2 . 16 8 18 3 . 7 1 1 Leg . 1 4 3 Deep Sea	The goods sold at 40 per cent between 1 April and 30 June 1779 closed as follows. Brought forward, £40 3s 9d Hooks and lines 25 fish hooks, number 16, £0 0s 3d 42 fishing lines, number 2, £0 16s 8d 18 fishing lines, number 3, £0 7s 1d 1 log line, £0 1s 4d 3 deep-sea lines, £1 1s 0d 2 skeins of twine, £0 1s 6d Cotton candle wick, 1½ lb, £0 5s 4d Hooks and lines total, £2 14s 2d Pewter

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		1 1 . Lines 2 lb. Twine . 1 6 1½ Cotton Wick . 5 4 2 14 2 Pewter Viz. 1 Close Stool pan . 7 2 2 Basons . 8 2 . 15 4 Pitch & Tar Viz. 2 Barl. Tar 5 1 . 100 Rozin 2 5 10 115 Turpentine 3 18 . 11 4 10 £ 54 18 1 Sold to the Honble. Company's Ships from the 1st April to the 30th June 1779 - Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 23. 2. 4 55 18 10 Coals 14 Chaldron 42 7 . Sugar & Candy Cwt. qr. lb. 15. -. 11 Sugar 28 14 7 Tea 4. 2. 15 Bohea 22 14 8 Flour 12. 1. 26 17 9 . Canvas Viz. Bolts Yards 18. 13¼ English 54 9 3 1. 90 Osnaburg 15 8 10 69 18 1 Deals Viz. 2 Double . 10 4 4 Coffins 1 3 . 3 Pr. Ash Plank 9 2 . 35 Elm Boards 11 14 3 22 11 7 Carried Over £ 257 13 9	1 close-stool pan, £0 7s 2d 2 basins, £0 8s 2d Pewter total, £0 15s 4d Pitch and tar 2 barrels of tar, £5 1s 0d Rosin, 100 lb, £2 5s 10d Turpentine, 115, £3 18s 0d Pitch and tar total, £11 4s 10d Total sold at 40 per cent, £54 18s 1d The storekeeper also sold the following to the Company's ships between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Cordage, 23 cwt 2 qr 4 lb, £55 18s 10d Coal, 14 chaldrons, £42 7s 0d Sugar, 15 cwt 0 qr 11 lb, £28 14s 7d Bohea tea, 4 cwt 2 qr 15 lb, £22 14s 8d Flour, 12 cwt 1 qr 26 lb, £17 9s 0d Canvas English canvas, 18 bolts 13¼ yards, £54 9s 3d Osnaburg canvas, 1 bolt 90 yards, £15 8s 10d Canvas total, £69 18s 1d Deals 2 double deals, £0 10s 4d 4 coffins, £1 3s 0d 3 pieces of ash plank, £9 2s 0d 35 elm boards, £11 14s 3d Deals total, £22 11s 7d Carried forward, £257 13s 9d **Interpretations** The Company's own ships drew heavily on the island's stores that quarter: cordage, canvas, coal, sugar, tea and flour. These were the eight ships that lay in the road from March to June 1779, waiting for a convoy that never came, until they sailed on 24 June. Months at anchor wore out their sails and rigging, so the island supplied cordage and canvas worth more than £125 0s 0d. It also gave them over 12 cwt of flour at a time when the garrison itself had barely four weeks' bread. The record bears out what the captains' letters of May 1779 showed: the fleet's long wait drained the island's reserves. The four coffins sold to the ships point to deaths among their crews during the long stay.
14	10	19th July Brought Over £ 257 13 9 Oil 37 Gallons Train 14 9 10 Hooks and Lines Viz. 50 No. 6 150 7 25 12 25 16 400 17 18 Large Hooks 1 10 6 236 lb. Twine 10 15 8 ½ Cotton Wick . 7 . 205 Doz. No. 2 1 Do. 3 52 Leg	The sales of stores to the Company's ships between 1 April and 30 June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £257 13s 9d Train oil, 37 gallons, £14 9s 10d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, 50 of number 6, 150 of number 7, 25 of number 12, 25 of number 16, 400 of number 17 and 18 large, together £1 10s 6d Twine, 286 skeins, £10 15s 8d Cotton candle wick, ½, £0 7s 0d Fishing lines, 205 of number 2 and 1 of number 3, with 52 log lines and 2 deep-sea lines, together £8 14s 8d Hooks and lines total, £21 7s 10d Salt pork, 65 tierces, £627 10s 5d Ironmongery 112 sail needles, £0 7s 10d 70 bolt-rope needles, £0 8s 3d 2 grindstones, £0 14s 0d 2 axletrees and winches, £0 12s 6d

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		2 Deep Sea Lines 8 14 8 21 7 10 Beef and Pork 65 Tierces Pork 627 10 5 Iron Ware Viz. 112 Sail Needles . 7 10 70 Bolt Rope Do. . 8 3 2 Grindstones . 16 . 2 Ayletrees and Wheels . 12 6 2 2 7 Nails Viz. M 2 3 12 6 17 Scupper 1 Dog 2 Glaz. Brads 2 14 10 Paint Viz. 110 Red Lead 1 16 8 140 White Lead Dry 2 18 4 30 Venn. Red Dry . 6 9 9½ Blacking 1 18 . 32 Yellow Oaker dry . 9 4 1 White Copperas . 1 5 4 Vermillion 1 11 4 2 Verdigrease . 13 2 93 Brimstone . 11 3 10 15 3 Carried Over £ 938 14 6	Ironmongery total, £2 2s 7d Nails, 2 of 3d, 12 of 6d, 47 scupper, 1 dog and 2 of glazing brads, together £2 14s 10d Paint Red lead, 110 lb, £1 16s 8d Dry white lead, 140 lb, £2 18s 4d Dry Venetian red, 30 lb, £0 6s 9d Blacking, 9½ lb, £1 18s 0d Dry yellow ochre, 32 lb, £0 9s 4d White copperas, 1 lb, £0 1s 5d Vermilion, 4 lb, £1 11s 4d Verdigris, 2 lb, £0 13s 2d Brimstone, 83 lb, £0 11s 3d Paint total, £10 15s 3d Carried forward, £936 14s 6d **Interpretations** The Company's ships took 65 tierces of salt pork from the island's stores in the quarter, worth more than £627 0s 0d. In May 1779 Captain Durand of the *Northington* had asked for 35 tierces and been allowed only a few. When the Council finally sent the fleet home on 24 June, salt pork was the one provision the island held in quantity. It had refused the ships bread and flour to protect the garrison, so it supplied them with pork instead. The 286 skeins of twine, with sail needles and needles for sewing bolt rope, show the ships' crews repairing their sails before the long passage home. After months at anchor through the southern autumn, canvas and rigging needed patching, and the island's stores supplied what the ships lacked.
15	11	1779 Brought Over £ 938 14 6 Glass Ware 6 Half Hour Glasses . 7 2 Oars 12 Small 3 3 . Turners Ware 14 Paint Brushes . 8 2 Pitch & Tar Viz. 2½ Barrls. Pitch 9 . . 9 Do. Tar 22 14 6 Cwt. qr. 1. 3. 5 Rozin 2 12 7 10 7 1 Bunting 24 Yards Red 4 4 . Lead Pipes Viz. 5 Yds. of 2 Inch Pipe 2 13 4 1 Do. ¾ Do. Do. . 4 9 16 Solder 1 . . 3 18 1 Spice 1 Pepper	The sales of stores to the Company's ships between 1 April and 30 June 1779 closed as follows. Brought forward, £936 14s 6d 6 half-hour glasses, £0 7s 2d 12 small oars, £3 3s 0d 14 paint brushes, £0 7s 7d Pitch and tar Pitch, 2½ barrels, £9 0s 0d Tar, 9 barrels, £22 14s 6d Rosin, 1 cwt 3 qr 5 lb, £8 12s 7d Pitch and tar total, £40 7s 1d Red bunting, 24 yards, £4 4s 0d Lead pipes Two-inch lead pipe, 5 yards, £2 13s 4d Three-quarter-inch lead pipe, 1 yard, £0 4s 9d Solder, 16 lb, £1 0s 0d Lead pipes total, £3 18s 1d Pepper, 1, £0 0s 9d 24 lantern leaves, £0 6s 6d Coloured thread, ½ lb, £0 2s 4d Lead shot, 0 cwt 2 qr 15 lb, £1 4s 8d Total sold to the Company's ships, £992 16s 3d Henry Cutler's account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Iron, 0 cwt 2 qr 12 lb, £1 18s 0d Deals 12 double deals, £2 4s 0d 1 piece of oak plank, £2 5s 7d

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		. . 9 Tin Ware 24 Lanthorn Leaves . 6 6 Haberdashery ½ Coloured Thread . 2 4 Lead Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 15 Shot 1 4 8 £ 992 16 3 Hind Cutter Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1779 - Iron Ware Cwt. qr. lb. 2. -. 12 Iron 1 18 . Deals Viz. 12 Double 2 4 . 1 Pr. Oak Plank 2 5 7 4 9 7 Nails 6 Spikes . 1 11 £ 6 9 6 Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1779 - Coals 100 Bushels Smiths Shop 6 . 10 Arrack 6 Gallons Men Employed on Store House 1 1 . Lead 8 Smiths Shop . 1 8 Carried Over £ 7 3 6	Deals total, £4 9s 7d 6 spike nails, £0 1s 11d Total for Henry Cutler, £6 9s 6d The general charges account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Coal, 100 bushels, for the smith's shop, £6 0s 10d Arrack, 6 gallons, for the men working in the stores, £1 1s 0d Lead, for the smith's shop, £0 1s 8d Carried forward, £7 3s 6d **Interpretations** The island sold the Company's eight waiting ships nearly £1,000 worth of stores in the quarter. That came close to the total the settlers bought from the warehouse at the 10 per cent rate in the same three months. The fleet's long stay in the road through the southern autumn turned the island's warehouse into a ship's chandlery. It supplied pitch, tar, cordage, canvas and salt pork in quantities meant to last the island far longer. The Council's earlier fears in May 1779 that the ships would strip the island's stores were borne out in these figures.
16	12	19 July Brought Over £ 7 3 6 Iron Ware Viz. 6 Axe Helves . 3 6 2 Mason Hammers . 13 8 1 Bores . 3 5 Smiths Shop 1 Blank Key . . 8 1 1 3 Oil 1 Bottle of Florence Smiths Shop . 2 8 Deals 1 Single Packet . 1 11 Nails 1 Glaz. Brads Do. . 1 5 Canvas 1½ Yd. Osnaburg Do. . 1 6 Hats 1 Mans fine. Crier of the Court of Justice . 5 7 1 Serge Viz. 7½ Yd. Blue Serge 1 14 1 4 Do. Colour'd Shalloon . 7 8 Do. 2 1 9 Haberdashery Viz. 4 lbs. Silk . 1 4 4 Do. Mohair . 1 8 3 Doz. Do. Coat Buttons . 2 6 2½ Do. Do. Breast Do. . 1 1 Do. 1 Yard Buckram	The general charges account for April to June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £7 3s 6d Ironmongery for the smith's shop 6 axe handles, £0 3s 6d 2 mason's hammers, £0 13s 8d Borax, 1, £0 3s 5d 1 blank key, £0 0s 8d Ironmongery total, £1 1s 3d Florence oil, 1 bottle, for the smith's shop, £0 2s 8d 1 single deal, £0 1s 11d Glazing brads, 1, £0 1s 5d Osnaburg canvas, 1½ yards, £0 1s 6d 1 man's fine hat for the Crier of the Court of Justice, £0 19s 2d Cloth for the Crier Blue serge, 7½ yards, £1 14s 1d Coloured shalloon, 4 yards, £0 7s 8d Cloth total, £2 1s 9d Haberdashery for the Crier 4 skeins of silk, £0 1s 4d 4 skeins of mohair, £0 1s 8d 3 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 2s 6d 2½ dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 1s 1d 1 yard of buckram, £0 1s 4d Haberdashery total, £0 7s 11d Total of general charges, £12 4s 7d The repairs account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Nails for the Castle 6d nails, 2, £0 1s 1d Glazing brads, 1, £0 1s 5d Nails total, £0 2s 6d Paint for the Castle Prussian blue, 6 lb, £0 9s 6d Dry Venetian red, 2 lb, £0 0s 5d Vermilion, ¼ lb, £0 1s 5d Dry white lead, 36 lb, £0 10s 6d Verdigris, 2 lb, £0 8s 11d Paint total, £1 10s 9d

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		. 1 4 . 7 11 £ 19 4 7 Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1779 - Nails Viz. 2 6 . 1 1 1 Glaz. Brads . 1 5 Castle . 2 6 Paint Viz. 6 Prussian Blue . 9 6 2 Venn. Red Dry . . 5 ½ Vermillion . 1 5 36 White Lead Dry . 10 6 2 Verdigrease . 8 11 Do. 1 10 9 Carried Over £ 1 13 3	Carried forward, £1 13s 3d **Interpretations** The Company clothed the Crier of the Court of Justice at its own expense, with a fine hat, blue serge, shalloon lining, buttons and buckram for a coat. The Crier called the court to order and summoned parties and witnesses. A proper coat and hat marked him as an officer of the court and lent the island's justice some outward dignity, as gowns and robes did in English courts. The Company met the cost as part of maintaining its government, since the court sat under its charter. Borax was a mineral salt used by smiths as a flux. Sprinkled on hot metal, it kept the surfaces clean so that iron or brass could be welded or brazed together.
17	13	1779 Brought Over £ 1 13 3 Oil 1 Gallon Linseed Castle . 5 4 Deals Viz. 3 Double . 11 . 1 Single . 1 11 2 Wainscot Boards . 4 5 Do. . 17 4 Iron Ware Viz. 2 Iron rim'd Locks with Brass Knobs . 12 3 2 Chest Locks . 6 1 2 Blank Keys . 1 3 Do. . 19 7 Turners Ware Viz. 4 Paint Brushes . 1 7 1 Plaistr. Brush . 1 7 Do. . 3 2 £ 3 17 8 Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 of April to the 30th June 1779 - Arrack 22 Gallons 14 7 . Beef and Pork Viz. 30 lb. Beef 5 18 1 37 lb. Pork 6 1 . 11 19 1 Rice Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 3. 14 1 1 1 Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 2. 1 Sugar 3 7 11	The repairs account for April to June 1779 closed as follows. Brought forward, £1 13s 3d Linseed oil, 1 gallon, for the Castle, £0 4s 4d Deals for the Castle 3 double deals, £0 11s 0d 1 single deal, £0 1s 11d 2 wainscot boards, £0 4s 5d Deals total, £0 17s 4d Ironmongery for the Castle 2 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £0 12s 3d 2 chest locks, £0 6s 1d 2 blank keys, £0 1s 3d Ironmongery total, £0 19s 7d Turned wooden goods for the Castle 4 paint brushes, £0 1s 7d 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 7d Turned wooden goods total, £0 3s 2d Total of repairs, £3 17s 8d The diet expenses account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Arrack, 82 gallons, £14 7s 0d Beef and pork Salt beef, 30 pieces, £5 18s 1d Salt pork, 37 pieces, £6 1s 0d Beef and pork total, £11 19s 1d Rice, 2 cwt 3 qr 14 lb, £1 1s 1d Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 2 cwt 2 qr 1 lb, £3 7s 11d Sugar candy, 2 cwt 1 qr 14 lb, £5 3s 11d Sugar and sugar candy total, £8 11s 10d Florence oil, 6 bottles, £0 15s 9d Tea Singlo tea, 5 lb, £0 5s 5d Bohea tea, 1 lb, £0 0s 7d Hyson tea, 5 canisters, £1 18s 4d Souchong tea, 5 canisters, £1 18s 4d Tea total, £4 2s 8d Sago, 12 lb, £0 3s 0d Madeira, 110 gallons, £49 5s 5d Carried forward, £90 5s 10d **Interpretations** The 110 gallons of Madeira charged to the Governor's table made up a full pipe, the cask in which the wine was shipped. This was almost certainly part of the Bengal Madeira the Council had complained of on

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		2. 1. 11 Candy 5 3 11 8 11 10 Oil 6 Bottles Florence . 15 9 Tea Viz. 5 Single . 5 5 1 Bohea . . 7 5 Cannistrs. Hyson 1 18 4 5 Do. Souchon 1 18 4 4 2 8 Sago 12 . 3 . Wine 110 Gallons Madeira 49 5 5 Carried Over £ 90 5 10	27 March 1779. It said then that the wine was costing £63 3s 7d a pipe with charges and duty, and lay unsold in store because no one would buy it at that price. The table account took the pipe at £49 5s 5d, well below that figure. Wine that could not be sold to the public was being drunk at the Governor's table instead, and charged to the Company's own account.
18	14	19 July Brought Over £ 90 5 10 Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 12. 2. 10 12 4 10 £ 102 10 8 Allowance Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1779 - Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 1. -. 12 Rice . 8 7 43. 2. 18 Paddy 10 5 4 Governors Black. Servts. -. 3. 26 Rice . 7 3 11. 1. 10 Paddy 2 13 6 Lt. Governor Do. & Do. 13 14 8 Oil Viz. 12 Galls. Train Castle 2 8 10 24 Do. Do. Council 4 17 8 7 6 6 Canvas Viz. 4 Yds. English . 4 5 9 Do. Osnaburg . 9 . Castle . 13 5 Iron Ware Viz. 2 Large Box Irons . 17 8 1 Small Do. Do. . 7 6 Do. 6 Scythe Stones Govrs. Stable . 1 2 1 6 4 Paint Viz. 5 Blue Smalts . 2 8 1 Red Lead . . 3 Castle . 2 11 Pitch and Tar Viz. 4 Pitch . . 8	The diet expenses account for April to June 1779 closed as follows. Brought forward, £90 5s 10d Flour, 12 cwt 2 qr 10 lb, £12 4s 10d Total of diet expenses, £102 10s 8d The allowance account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Rice and paddy Rice, 1 cwt 0 qr 12 lb, for the Governor's horses and poultry, £0 8s 7d Paddy, 43 cwt 2 qr 18 lb, for the Governor's horses and poultry, £10 5s 4d Rice, 0 cwt 3 qr 26 lb, for the Lieutenant Governor's horses and poultry, £0 7s 3d Paddy, 11 cwt 1 qr 10 lb, for the Lieutenant Governor's horses and poultry, £2 13s 6d Rice and paddy total, £13 14s 8d Oil Train oil, 12 gallons, for the Castle, £2 8s 10d Train oil, 24 gallons, for the Council, £4 17s 8d Oil total, £7 6s 6d Canvas for the Castle English canvas, 4 yards, £0 4s 5d Osnaburg canvas, 9 yards, £0 9s 0d Canvas total, £0 13s 5d Ironmongery 2 large box irons for the Castle, £0 17s 8d 1 small box iron for the Castle, £0 7s 6d 6 scythe stones for the Governor's stable, £0 1s 2d Ironmongery total, £1 6s 4d Paint for the Castle Blue smalt, 5 lb, £0 2s 8d Red lead, 1 lb, £0 0s 3d Paint total, £0 2s 11d Pitch and tar for the Castle Pitch, 4 lb, £0 0s 8d Rosin, 12 lb, £0 4s 0d Pitch and tar total, £0 4s 8d Lead shot Lead shot, 9 lb, for the Governor's fishermen, £0 1s 10d Lead shot, 8 lb, for the Lieutenant Governor's fishermen, £0 1s 8d Lead shot, 12 lb, for the Castle, £0 2s 3d Lead shot total, £0 5s 9d Cordage, 6 lb, for the Governor's stables, £0 2s 0d Carried forward, £24 2s 3d **Interpretations** The Governor's table drew more than 12 cwt of flour in the quarter, worth £12 4s 10d, little less than the £13 17s 8d it took between January and March. In the same months the garrison's bread was cut by a third, the bakehouse's sales to the public halved and

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		12 Rozin . 4 . Do. . 4 8 Lead Viz. lb. 9 Sheet Governors Fisherman . 1 10 8 Do. Lt. Governors Do. . 1 8 12 Shot Castle . 2 3 . 5 9 Cordage 6 Governors Stables . 2 . Carried Over £ 24 2 3	the stores fell to four and a half weeks' bread. The Company's table felt the shortage far less than the soldiers and settlers did. The grain allowed for the two senior officers' horses and poultry did fall, from over 70 cwt of rice and paddy in the first quarter to about 57 cwt in the second. It was a modest cut in a season when the planters were giving up their own yams to feed the garrison and the ships, and the officers' animals still ate grain shipped from India.
19	15	1779 Brought Over £ 24 2 3 Hooks & Lines Viz. 100 No. 6 . 8 . 100 17 . . 8 Hooks 12 2 . 3 5 12 3 . 3 11 Lines 1 Leg . 1 . 4 lbs. Twine . 2 1 Governors Fishermen 25 No. 6 . 2 . 25 17 . . 2 Hooks 6 2 . 1 8 6 3 . 2 . Lines Lt. Governors Do. ½ Cotton Wick Castle . 1 4 1 6 3 Haberdashery Viz. 4 lbs. Silk Governors Fishermen . 1 4 2 Do. Do. Lt. Governrs. Do. . . 8 . 2 . Saddlery Viz. 4 Prs. Stirrup Leathers . 10 1 4 Cruppers . 6 9 4 Surcingles . 13 4 4 Girths . 6 1 Govrs. Stables 1 16 3 Tin Ware Viz. 2 Hand Glass Lanthorns . 11 6 12 Solder . 9 4 Castle 1 . 10 China Ware Viz.	The allowance account for April to June 1779 closed as follows. Brought forward, £24 2s 3d Hooks and lines for the Governor's fishermen 100 fish hooks, number 6, £0 8s 0d 100 fish hooks, number 17, £0 0s 8d 12 fishing lines, number 2, £0 3s 5d 12 fishing lines, number 3, £0 3s 11d 1 log line, £0 1s 0d Twine, 4 skeins, £0 2s 1d Hooks and lines for the Lieutenant Governor's fishermen 25 fish hooks, number 6, £0 2s 0d 25 fish hooks, number 17, £0 0s 2d 6 fishing lines, number 2, £0 1s 8d 6 fishing lines, number 3, £0 2s 0d Cotton candle wick, ½ lb, for the Castle, £0 1s 4d Hooks and lines total, £1 6s 3d Haberdashery 4 skeins of silk for the Governor's fishermen, £0 1s 4d 2 skeins of silk for the Lieutenant Governor's fishermen, £0 0s 8d Haberdashery total, £0 2s 0d Saddlery for the Governor's stables 4 pairs of stirrup leathers, £0 10s 1d 4 cruppers, £0 6s 9d 4 surcingles, £0 13s 4d 4 girths, £0 6s 1d Saddlery total, £1 16s 3d Tinware for the Castle 2 hand glass lanterns, £0 11s 6d Solder, 12 lb, £0 9s 4d Tinware total, £1 0s 10d China for the Castle 12 meat plates, £0 3s 7d 24 soup plates, £0 7s 10d 3 guglets and basins, £0 7s 2d 6 china chamber pots, £0 10s 9d 24 quart and pint cups and saucers, £0 6s 6d China total, £1 15s 10d Candles, 0 cwt 2 qr 19 lb, for the Castle, £8 9s 3d Sugar candy, 22 lb, for the Governor's groom and gardener, £0 18s 11d Bohea tea, 6 lb, for the Governor's groom and gardener, £0 3s 6d Total of allowances, £39 15s 1d **Interpretations** Only 75 lb of candles went out under the allowance account this quarter, all to the Castle, worth £8 9s 3d. In the first quarter of 1779 the same account issued over 5 cwt, worth £66 6s 9d, shared among the Castle, the Council, the chaplain and the doctor's shop. The Council and the chaplain received nothing this time. The warehouse sold only 11 lb of candles to the public in the same months. The stores were running out of candles as well as flour, and what remained was kept for the Governor's household. Councillors and

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		12 Meat Plates . 3 4 24 Soup Do. . 7 10 3 Guglets and Basons . 7 2 6 Chamber Pots . 10 9 24 Quart. Pint Cups and Saucers . 6 6 Do. 1 15 10 Candles Cwt. qr. lb. 2. -. 19 Do. 8 9 3 Sugar and Candy 1. 22 Candy Govern. & Gardener . 19 11 Tea 6 Bohea Do. Do. . 3 6 £ 39 15 1	the chaplain had to rely on the train oil now issued in their place, 24 gallons to the Council alone.
20	16	19th July Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June 1779 - Tea Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 4 Bohea Barracks & Guards . 19 . Candles 2 Officer on Guard &c. 6 6 5 Rice and Paddy 2. 2. 5 Rice . 18 8 Arrack 23 Gallons Musterings 4 . 6 Oil 128 Galls. Train Barracks and Guards 26 . . Canvas 166 Yds. English Do. 9 3 4 Deals Viz. 15 Double 2 15 . 10 Single . 19 2 Cots and Coffins 3 14 2 Beef and Pork 504 lbs. Pork Deficiency in Weight 82 8 6 Nails Viz. M 33 3 1 15 9 11 6 . 6 . Cots and Coffins 2 1 9 Iron Ware Viz. 1 Iron Rimed Lock with a Pullback . 4 3 1 Axe Helve . . 7 . 4 10 Soldiers Cloaths 2 Soldiers Cloth'd Recruits 4 9 3 Hosiery 2 Prs. Ord. Thread Stockings Recruit . 6 2 Shirts 2 Soldiers Do. . 9 . Shoes 2 Prs. Mens Ord. Do. . 10 . Blankets 2 Ordinary Do. . 14 1 Hooks and Lines Viz. 1 Whip Cord . 3 5 3 lbs. Twine Cots . 1 7 1½ Cotton Wick Guards . 3 10	The garrison account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Bohea tea, 0 cwt 1 qr 4 lb, for the barracks and guards, £0 19s 0d Candles, 0 cwt 2 qr, for the officers on guard and others, £6 6s 5d Rice, 2 cwt 2 qr 5 lb, £0 18s 8d Arrack, 23 gallons, for the musters, £4 0s 6d Train oil, 128 gallons, for the barracks and guards, £20 0s 0d English canvas for cots, 166 yards, £9 3s 4d Deals for cots and coffins 15 double deals, £2 15s 0d 10 single deals, £0 19s 2d Deals total, £3 14s 2d Salt pork, 504 pieces, issued to make good short weight, £82 8s 6d Nails for cots and coffins 3d nails, 33, £1 15s 9d 6d nails, 11, £0 6s 0d Nails total, £2 1s 9d Ironmongery 1 iron-rimmed lock with pullback, £0 4s 3d 1 axe handle, £0 0s 7d Ironmongery total, £0 4s 10d 1 soldier's coat and breeches for a recruit, £1 9s 5d 2 pairs of ordinary thread stockings for the recruit, £0 6s 2d 2 soldiers' shirts for the recruit, £0 9s 0d 2 pairs of men's ordinary shoes for the recruit, £0 10s 0d 2 ordinary blankets for the recruit, £0 14s 1d Hooks and lines Whipcord, 1, £0 3s 5d Twine for cots, 3 skeins, £0 1s 7d Cotton candle wick for the guards, 1½ lb, £0 3s 10d Hooks and lines total, £0 8s 10d 1 hourglass, £0 0s 10d Total of garrison stores, £142 14s 6d The account for the Company's slaves was then debited with the stores issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. **Interpretations** The salt pork issued to make up short weight held at a steady level: 612 pieces in the last quarter of 1778, 512 in the first quarter of 1779 and 504 in the second. The shortfall in the casks had become a fixed cost of feeding the garrison, running at more than £80 0s 0d every quarter. It was not caused by any one bad shipment. The steady figures support the Court's later suspicion that the loss arose in the way the meat was packed, landed and stored, and in 1782 it began trials of meat salted by a new method to find out.

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		. 8 10 Glass Ware 1 Hour Glass . . 10 £ 142 14 6 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June 1779 -	The one recruit kitted out in full was probably Richard Harper, the island man enlisted at the full bounty in April 1779. Unlike a seaman from the ships, he came to the ranks with no clothing of his own fit for service, and the Company supplied coat, breeches, shirts, stockings, shoes and blankets.
21	17	1779 Beef and Pork Viz. 368 lbs. Beef 70 17 6 1878 lbs. Pork 305 16 6 376 14 . Arrack 19½ Gallons 3 7 5 Sugar and Candy Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 1. 27 Sugar 3 4 11 Tea 1. -. 20 Bohea 4 6 . Sago 9 . 2 3 Rice and Paddy 70. -. 12 Rice 25 14 3 Haberdashery Viz. 4 lbs. Silk . 1 4 1 Colour'd Thread . 3 4 . 4 8 Hooks and Lines Viz. 75 No. 6 . 6 . 25 12 . . 6 100 17 . . 8 Hooks 12 2 . 3 5 12 3 . 3 11 Lines 1 Whip Cord . 3 5 . 17 10 Oil 6 Galls. Train 1 4 5 Nankeen 10 Pieces Castle Servants 1 2 11 Chelloe 12 Yards . 3 9 Lead 9 . 1 11 Deals 1 Single . 1 11 Nails 1 6 . . 7 £ 417 6 10 Malay Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June 1779 - Beef and Pork 12 lbs. Beef 2 7 3 Rice and Paddy 1. -. 20 Rice . 8 10 Sugar and Candy 87 Sugar . 4 1 Arrack 4½ Gallons . 15 9 Flour 15 . 2 9 Spice 2 Pepper . 1 . Shoes 1 Pr. Mans fine . 6 1	The account for the Company's slaves was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Beef and pork Salt beef, 360 pieces, £70 17s 6d Salt pork, 1,898 pieces, £305 16s 6d Beef and pork total, £376 14s 0d Arrack, 18½ gallons, £3 7s 5d Sugar, 0 cwt 2 qr 27 lb, £3 4s 11d Bohea tea, 1 cwt 0 qr 20 lb, £4 6s 0d Sago, 9 lb, £0 2s 3d Rice, 70 cwt 0 qr 12 lb, £25 14s 3d Haberdashery 4 skeins of silk, £0 1s 4d Coloured thread, 1 lb, £0 3s 4d Haberdashery total, £0 4s 8d Hooks and lines 75 fish hooks, number 6, £0 6s 0d 25 fish hooks, number 12, £0 0s 6d 100 fish hooks, number 17, £0 0s 8d 12 fishing lines, number 2, £0 3s 5d 12 fishing lines, number 3, £0 3s 11d 1 whipcord, £0 3s 5d Hooks and lines total, £0 17s 11d Train oil, 6 gallons, £1 14s 5d Nankeen cloth, 10 pieces, for the Castle servants, £1 2s 11d Chelloes, 1½ yards, £0 3s 9d Lead, 9 lb, £0 1s 11d 1 single deal, £0 1s 11d 6d nails, 1, £0 0s 7d Total for the slaves, £417 6s 10d The Mallay account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Salt beef, 12 pieces, £2 7s 3d Rice, 1 cwt 0 qr 20 lb, £0 7s 10d Sugar, 0 cwt 0 qr 17 lb, £0 4s 1d Arrack, 4½ gallons, £0 15s 9d Flour, 15 lb, £0 2s 9d Pepper, ½ lb, £0 1s 0d 1 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 6s 1d 50 fish hooks, number 17, £0 0s 5d Total for Mallay, £4 6s 2d **Interpretations** The slaves' rice fell from nearly 161 cwt in the first quarter of 1779 to just over 70 cwt in the second, less than half. Their salt meat rose a little at the same time, from 2,062 pieces to 2,258. Rice was the slaves' staple, and the stores were running out of it as fast as of flour. The Company replaced part of the lost grain with salt pork, the one food it still held in quantity. With the planters' yams gone to the garrison and the ships, the slaves' diet shifted heavily towards salt meat, a poorer ration for men doing hard labour on the Company's roads and works in the cool southern winter.

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		Hooks and Lines 50 No. 17 Hooks . . 5 £ 4 6 2	
22	18	19th July Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1779 - Rice and Paddy Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 1. 13 Rice Overseer and Steward . 9 7 Beef and Pork 12 lbs. Beef Steward 2 7 3 Cordage 2. 17 Gardens 1 3 9 Oil 4½ Galls. Train . 17 4 Pitch and Tar 2 Galls. Tar . 3 . Iron Ware Viz. 1 Pad Lock . 1 6 2 Bricklayers Trowels . 2 8 1 Blank Key . . 8 . 4 10 Hooks and Lines Viz. 6 No. 3 . 2 . 3 4 . 1 2 Lines 3 lbs. Twine . 1 7 Gardens . 4 9 Turners Ware Viz. 6 Salomons Baskets . 6 6 1 Birch Broom . . 5 Do. . 6 11 Nails Viz. M 6 6 . 3 3 2 Dog . 1 . Pasture Gates . 4 3 Tin Ware 6 Watering Pots Gardens 1 2 8 Cutlery Ware 19 Shoe Knives . 7 11 £ 8 . 3 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1779 - Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 1. Sugar 3 . 10 -. -. 6 Candy . 2 5 3 3 3 Carried Over £ 3 3 3	The plantation account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Rice, 2 cwt 1 qr 10 lb, for the overseers and steward, £0 17s 7d Salt beef, 12 pieces, for the steward, £2 7s 3d Cordage, 0 cwt 0 qr 17 lb, for the gardens, £1 3s 9d Train oil, 4½ gallons, £0 17s 5d Tar, 2 gallons, £0 3s 0d Ironmongery 1 padlock, £0 1s 6d 2 bricklayer's trowels, £0 2s 8d 1 blank key, £0 0s 8d Ironmongery total, £0 4s 10d Hooks and lines for the gardens 6 lines, number 3, £0 2s 0d 3 lines, number 4, £0 1s 2d Twine, 3 skeins, £0 1s 7d Hooks and lines total, £0 4s 9d Turned wooden goods for the gardens 6 labourers' baskets, £0 6s 6d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 5d Turned wooden goods total, £0 6s 11d Nails for the pasture gates 6d nails, 6, £0 3s 3d Dog nails, 2, £0 1s 0d Nails total, £0 4s 3d 6 tin watering pots for the gardens, £1 2s 8d 19 shoe knives, £0 7s 11d Total for the plantation, £8 0s 3d The hospital account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 2 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £3 0s 10d Sugar candy, 6 lb, £0 2s 5d Sugar and sugar candy total, £3 3s 3d Carried forward, £3 3s 3d **Interpretations** The plantation's stores fell from £36 3s 10d in the first quarter of 1779 to £8 0s 3d in the second. The earlier figure had been swollen by the lead pipe, solder and copper for Wrangham's tank at Longwood, finished in March. With that work done and the southern winter setting in, the plantation drew only what its gardens and pastures needed for routine upkeep.
23	19	1779 Brought Over £ 3 3 3 Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 1. 7 2 5 . Rice 7. 1. 8 2 13 9 Tea 1 lb. Bohea	The hospital account for April to June 1779 closed as follows. Brought forward, £3 3s 3d Flour, 2 cwt 1 qr 7 lb, £2 5s 0d Rice, 7 cwt 1 qr 8 lb, £2 13s 9d Bohea tea, 12 lb, £0 7s 2d Sago, 6 lb, £0 1s 6d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 0s 11d

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		. 7 2 Sago 6 . 1 6 Salt ½ Bushel . . 11 Arrack 10 Gallons 1 15 . Coals 21 Bushels 1 17 5 Canvas 6 Yd. English . 6 8 Oil Viz. 15½ Galls. Train 3 3 1 2 Bottles Florence . 5 3 3 8 4 Iron Ware Viz. Cwt. qr. 2. 2 Iron . 10 4 4 Bolt rope Needles . . 4 . 10 8 £ 16 9 8 Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 April to the 30 June 1779 - Leather 3 Sole . 3 5 Cordage Cwt. qr. 3. 16 1 4 1 Oars 3 Small . 11 3 Lead 9 Sheet . 1 11 Anchors 1 Grapnail Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 2. 17 2 16 . Paint 3 Venn. Red Dry . . 8 Hooks and Lines Viz. 1 Number Line . 1 4 3 lbs. Twine . 1 7 . 2 11 £ 5 . 3 Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 to the 30 June 1779 - Cart Wheels 2 Pair 9 14 5 Carried Over £ 9 14 5	Arrack, 10 gallons, £1 15s 0d Coal, 31 bushels, £1 17s 5d English canvas, 6 yards, £0 6s 8d Oil Train oil, 15½ gallons, £3 3s 1d Florence oil, 2 bottles, £0 5s 3d Oil total, £3 8s 4d Ironmongery Iron, 0 cwt 0 qr 21 lb, £0 10s 4d 4 bolt-rope needles, £0 0s 4d Ironmongery total, £0 10s 8d Total for the hospital, £16 9s 8d The boats account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. Sole leather, 3 lb, £0 3s 5d Cordage, 0 cwt 1 qr 16 lb, £1 4s 1d 3 small oars, £0 11s 3d Sheet lead, 9 lb, £0 1s 11d 1 grapnel anchor weighing 1 cwt 2 qr 17 lb, £2 16s 0d Dry Venetian red, 3 lb, £0 0s 8d Hooks and lines 1 Hamburg line, £0 1s 4d Twine, 3 skeins, £0 1s 7d Hooks and lines total, £0 2s 11d Total for the boats, £5 0s 3d The fortification account was debited with the following stores, issued between 1 April and 30 June 1779. 2 pairs of cart wheels, £9 14s 5d Carried forward, £9 14s 5d **Interpretations** The hospital drew less than half as much flour as in the first quarter of 1779, a little over 2 cwt against 5 cwt, and more rice instead. Even the sick felt the flour shortage. Rice, which the Company still held in some quantity at the start of the quarter, replaced bread in the patients' diet, served as gruel and boiled rice.
24	20	19 July Brought Over £ 9 14 5 Nails Viz. M 29 3 . 19 11 21 6 . 15 2 2 Dog . 1 . 26 Flooring Brads . 13 7 2 Glaz. Do. . 2 10 2 12 6 Deals Viz. 59 Double 10 16 4 62 Single 5 11 10	The fortification account for April to June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £9 14s 5d Nails Threepenny nails, 29 lb, £0 19s 11d Sixpenny nails, 21 lb, £0 15s 2d Dog nails, 2 lb, £0 1s 0d Flooring brads, 26 lb, £0 13s 7d Flag brads, 2 lb, £0 2s 10d Nails total, £2 12s 6d Deals and timber 59 double deals for Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley, £10 16s 4d 62 single deals for Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley, £5 14s 10d 13 balks for Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley, £7 9s 0d 10 rafters for Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley, £2 0s 10d 1 elm board for Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley, £0 4s 9d

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		13 Balks 7 9 . 10 Coffins 2 . 10 1 Elm Board . 4 9 1 Pr. Riga Timber 7 16 6 Hold fast Horn and Powells Valley 1 Pr. Elm Plank Gun Carriages 2 8 4 2 Prs. Oak Do. Draw Bridge & Crane 4 11 1 3 Prs. Ash Do. Helves and Do. 6 14 . 42 15 6 Hooks and Lines Viz. 2 No. 2 Artillery . . 7 6 3 Powells Valley . 2 . 6 4 Banks's . 2 3 Lines 6 Leg . 5 9 20 lbs. Twine . 13 3 Do. Artillery 1 3 10 Canvas Viz. 20 Yd. English 1 2 1 60 Do. Osnaburg 3 . . Do. 4 2 1 Pitch and Tar Viz. 3½ Pitch . 5 4 6 Galls. Tar . 9 . Gun Carriages . 14 4 Paint Viz. 12 Ven. Red dry . 2 6 ½ Blacking . 1 5 3 Black Lead . 3 5 22 White Do. Dry . 6 5 Do. . 13 9 Carried Over £ 61 16 7	1 load of Riga timber, £2 16s 6d 1 load of elm plank for gun carriages, £2 8s 4d 2 loads of oak for gun carriages, the drawbridge and a crane, £4 11s 1d 3 loads of ash for gun carriages, felloes and similar work, £6 19s 0d Deals and timber total, £42 15s 6d Hooks and lines 2 lines, number 2, for the artillery, £0 0s 7d 6 lines, number 3, for Powell's Valley, £0 2s 0d 6 lines, number 4, for Banks's battery, £0 2s 3d 6 log lines for the artillery, £0 5s 9d Twine for the artillery, 20 skeins, £0 13s 3d Hooks and lines total, £1 3s 10d Canvas English canvas for the artillery, 20 yards, £1 2s 1d Osnaburg for the artillery, 60 yards, £3 0s 0d Canvas total, £4 2s 1d Pitch and tar Pitch for gun carriages, 32 lb, £0 5s 4d Tar for gun carriages, 6 gallons, £0 9s 0d Pitch and tar total, £0 14s 4d Paint Dry Venetian red for the artillery, 12 lb, £0 2s 6d Blacking for the artillery, ½ lb, £0 1s 5d Black lead for the artillery, 3 lb, £0 3s 5d Dry white lead for the artillery, 22 lb, £0 6s 5d Paint total, £0 13s 9d Carried forward, £61 16s 7d **Interpretations** Nearly all the timber went to Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley, two of the batteries guarding the landing places on the island's coast, together with oak and elm for new gun carriages. The quarter's spending on defence was therefore concentrated on rebuilding works and gun mountings rather than routine upkeep. A drawbridge and a crane also took oak, which points to work on a fortified gateway or a landing stage where stores came ashore. Riga timber was Baltic softwood, chiefly pine and fir, shipped from the port of Riga. It was the standard building timber in English dockyards and was sold by the load, a measure of about 50 cubic feet. Balks were large squared beams, and felloes were the curved wooden sections that formed the rim of a cart or gun-carriage wheel. Osnaburg was a coarse, unbleached linen or hemp cloth, first made around Osnabrück in Germany, and was used for tarpaulins, sacking and the cheapest clothing. Black lead was graphite, rubbed onto ironwork such as gun barrels and shot to keep off rust.
25	21	1779 Brought Over £ 61 16 7 Iron Ware Viz. 4 Iron Crows Banks's 2 14 4 2 Cross Garnet Hinges . 11 6 1 Iron Rim'd Lock wh. a Pullback . 4 3 Powells Valley 6 Mauls 2 13 8 10 Pickaxes 1 18 2 Banks's 5. 2. 26 Iron Do. Hold fast Tom and Do. 4 18 8	The fortification account for April to June 1779 closed with these items. Brought forward, £61 16s 7d Ironware 4 iron crowbars for Banks's battery, £2 14s 4d 2 cross garnet hinges, £0 11s 6d 1 iron-rimmed lock with a padlock for Powell's Valley, £0 4s 3d 6 mauls for Banks's battery, £2 13s 3d 10 pickaxes for Banks's battery, £1 18s 2d Iron for Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley, 5 cwt 2 qr 26 lb, £4 18s 8d Steel for Banks's battery, 0 cwt 1 qr 25 lb, £0 18s 9d Bolt iron for gun carriages, 0 cwt 1 qr 12 lb, £0 10s 10d 6 sail needles for gun bags, £0 0s 3d

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		-. 1. 25 Steel Banks's . 18 9 -. 1. 12 Roll'd Iron Gun Carriages . 10 10 6 Sail Needles Gunn Bags . . 3 2 Iron Rubbish Riddles Banks's . 13 2 2 Plaistr. Trowels Powells Valley . 3 4 15 6 6 Oil Viz. 10½ Galls. Train Men Employ'd 2 2 8 1 Bottle Florence Artillery . 2 8 2 5 4 Haberdashery ½ Colour'd Thread Artillery . 6 7 Candles 15 Artillery . 9 1 Lead 6 Sheet Do. . 1 3 Flour 7 Do. . 1 3 Arrack 5 Galls. Do. . 17 6 Turners Ware Viz. 3 Salomons Baskets . 3 3 2 Plaistr. Brushes . 3 1 Powells Valley . 6 4 £ 81 10 5 Errors Excepted St. Helena (Signed) 30 June 1779. Jonathan Doveton Storekeeper	2 iron rubbish riddles for Banks's battery, £0 13s 2d 2 plasterers' trowels for Powell's Valley, £0 3s 4d Ironware total, £15 6s 6d Oil Train oil for the working parties, 10½ gallons, £2 2s 8d Florence oil for the artillery, 1 bottle, £0 2s 8d Oil total, £2 5s 4d Coloured thread for the artillery, ½ lb, £0 6s 7d Candles for the artillery, £0 9s 1d Sheet lead for the artillery, 6 lb, £0 1s 3d Flour for the artillery, 7 lb, £0 1s 3d Arrack for the artillery, 5 gallons, £0 17s 6d Turnery 3 labourers' buckets for Powell's Valley, £0 3s 3d 2 plasterers' buckets for Powell's Valley, £0 3s 1d Turnery total, £0 6s 4d Total for the fortifications, £81 10s 5d Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 30 June 1779 and noted that it was subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** Crowbars, mauls, pickaxes, steel and rubbish riddles all went to Banks's battery. Taken together, they show that the work there was digging and rock-breaking rather than carpentry. A riddle was a large coarse sieve, used here to separate rubble from usable stone and earth. The garrison was probably cutting back the hillside or deepening the battery's foundations, while Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley received timber, iron and plastering tools for building work. The train oil was issued to the working parties rather than to a battery. It probably fuelled lamps for work that ran into the dark or was carried out in enclosed spaces. Cross garnet hinges were T-shaped strap hinges for heavy doors and gates, which fits the drawbridge and gateway work recorded earlier in the same account.
26	22	19 July List of the Honorable Company's Servants Civil and Military upon the Island of St. Helena with their Several Salaries, Diet Money &c. for the Quarter ending the 30th June 1779 - John Skottowe Esqr. Governor 150 . . Do. Allowance for Servants 31 14 9 181 14 9 Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieut. Governor 62 10 . Do. Diet Money 25 . . 87 10 . Matthew Bazett Esqr. of Council 22 10 . Do. Accountant 27 10 . Do. Diet Money 15 . . 65 . . William Wrangham Esqr. of Council 10 . . Do. Diet Money 15 . . Do. Assistant to the Governor 10 . . Do. Paymaster 27 10 . 62 10 . Henry Bazett Esqr. of Council 10 . . Robert Carr Chaplain	The quarterly pay list for the Company's civil and military servants on St Helena, covering the quarter ending 30 June 1779, began as follows. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £150 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe total, £181 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Daniel Corneille total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, member of Council, salary, £22 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, as accountant, £27 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett total, £65 0s 0d William Wrangham, member of Council, salary, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, as paymaster, £27 10s 0d William Wrangham total, £62 10s 0d Henry Bazett, member of Council, salary, £10 0s 0d Robert Carr, chaplain, salary, £55 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, storekeeper, salary, £27 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, diet money, £15 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton total, £45 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, secretary, salary, £27 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £15 0s 0d Britannicus Wright total, £42 10s 0d William Pierce, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d John Goodwin, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d

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		55 . . Jonn. Doveton Storekeeper 27 10 . Do. Diet Money 15 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . 45 . . Britannicus Wright Secretary 27 10 . Do. Diet Money 15 . . 42 10 . William Pierce Engineer 50 . . John Goodwin Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Collector of the Customs 12 10 . 37 10 . James Desfountain Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Assistant Storekeeper 5 . . 30 . . Carried Over £ 666 14 9	John Goodwin, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Goodwin, as collector of customs, £12 10s 0d John Goodwin total, £37 10s 0d James Dafountain, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d James Dafountain, diet money, £10 0s 0d James Dafountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Dafountain, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d James Dafountain total, £30 0s 0d Carried forward, £666 14s 9d **Interpretations** A seat on the Council paid very little in itself. Henry Bazett, who held no other post, drew only £10 0s 0d for the quarter. The real income of each councillor came from the offices he held alongside his seat, such as accountant, paymaster or assistant to the Governor. Governor Skottowe's government thus rested on a small group of men who each combined several posts. That arrangement kept the island's administration in a few trusted hands and the Company's salary bill low. It also meant that the men who audited the accounts were the same men who kept them. Diet money and house rent were cash allowances paid in place of the free table and lodging that the Company had once provided for its servants at its settlements. The chaplain's £55 0s 0d was larger than any councillor's basic salary and second only to the Governor's pay. The Company paid that high rate to persuade an ordained clergyman to serve on so remote an island.
27	23	1779 Brought Over £ 666 14 9 William Webber Doveton Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Secretary the Secret Committee 9 19 5 34 19 5 Robert Leech Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Clerk of the Works 6 16 10½ 31 16 10½ John Doveton Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Clerk of the Peace 36 15 4½ 61 15 4½ Nathaniel Kennedy Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . 25 . . Thos. Bazett Writer 7 10 . Do. Diet Money	The pay list for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with these officers. Brought forward, £666 14s 9d William Webber Doveton, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Webber Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, as secretary to the Secret Committee, £9 19s 5d William Webber Doveton total, £34 19s 5d Robert Leech, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d Robert Leech, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Leech, as clerk of the works, £6 16s 10½d Robert Leech total, £31 16s 10½d John Doveton, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d John Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Doveton, as clerk of the peace, £36 15s 4½d John Doveton total, £61 15s 4½d Nathaniel Kennedy, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, diet money, £10 0s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy total, £25 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, writer, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett total, £20 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, surgeon, salary, £25 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Stroud total, £35 0s 0d David Kay, surgeon's mate, salary, £14 5s 0d David Kay, diet money, £10 0s 0d David Kay total, £24 5s 0d James Adney, schoolmaster, salary, £17 10s 0d James Adney, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Adney, as judge advocate, £12 10s 0d James Adney total, £32 10s 0d George Lamb, steward, salary, £7 10s 0d

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		10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . 20 . . Thos. Stroud Surgeon 26 . . Do. Diet Money 10 . . 36 . . David Kay Surgeons Mate 14 5 . Do. Diet Money 10 24 5 . James Adney Schoolmaster 17 10 . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Judge Advocate 12 10 . 32 10 . George Lamb Steward 7 10 . Do. overseeing the Bake house 3 . . 10 10 . Thos. Bazett Superintendant 25 . . Solomon St. Maurice Maitr. at Arms 6 5 . Gabl. Fowler Overseer to 11 April 1 7 9 Carried Over £ 977 3 2	George Lamb, for supervising the bakehouse, £3 0s 0d George Lamb total, £10 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, as superintendent, £25 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d Gilbert Fowler, overseer, pay to 11 April, £1 7s 9d Carried forward, £977 3s 2d **Interpretations** Most of the salaries were round quarterly sums. John Doveton's fee as clerk of the peace and Robert Leech's pay as clerk of the works ran to odd shillings and halfpence, however. Those two sums were probably calculated by the day or by the piece, rather than paid as a fixed stipend. The clerk of the peace kept the records of the island's courts and prepared their business. His £36 15s 4½d was nearly three times his salary as a factor, so this quarter had brought an unusually heavy load of court work. The Secret Committee was the small inner group of the Council that handled confidential orders from the Court of Directors in wartime. Its business included the routing of homeward ships, convoy arrangements and intelligence about enemy fleets. Paying William Webber Doveton separately as its secretary kept those papers out of the hands of the ordinary Council clerks.
28	24	19 June Brought Over £ 977 3 2 Benjn. Mason Overseer from the 12 April 9 17 3 Benjn. Seale Do. 8 5 . George Bird Do. 5 . . John Robinson Carpenter 25 . . Simon Whaley Do. Mate 12 10 . Henry Winfield Mason Mate 20 . . John Daniels Do. Apprentice 12 10 . Joseph Seager Armourer 15 . . Daniel Joyce Cooper 15 . . Duncan McNaughton Gardener 2 9 . Thos. Yates Marshal and Goaler 7 10 . Do. Clerk of the Parish 6 10 . 14 . . John Grimaldi Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 . Isaac Clark Groom 2 . . Jeffery Bird Pestman 7 10 . The Drum Major Instructg. the Drums 1 . . John Scott Register Master 10 . . The Sub Goaler 1 10 . The Fife Major	The pay list for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with the artificers, minor officers and the officers of the First Company. Brought forward, £977 3s 2d Benjamin Mason, overseer from 12 April, £9 17s 3d Benjamin Seale, overseer, £8 5s 0d George Bird, overseer, £5 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Simon Whaley, carpenter's mate, £12 10s 0d Henry Winfield, mason's mate, £20 0s 0d John Daniels, mason's apprentice, £12 10s 0d Joseph Seager, armourer, £15 0s 0d Edward Joyce, cooper, £15 0s 0d Duncan McNaughton, gardener, £2 9s 0d Thomas Yates, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d Thomas Yates, as parish clerk, £6 10s 0d Thomas Yates total, £14 0s 0d John Grimaldi, cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Isaac Clark, groom, £2 0s 0d Jeffery Ward, pitman, £7 10s 0d The drum major, for training the drummers, £1 0s 0d John Scott, register master, £10 0s 0d The under-gaoler, £1 10s 0d The fife major, £2 5s 1d First Company Daniel Corneille, major, £59 6s 2d Thomas Bazett, captain lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett total, £36 14s 4½d Richard Knipe, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Richard Knipe, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Richard Knipe total, £34 4s 4½d Francis Seale, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Francis Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Francis Seale total, £34 4s 4½d Charles Ross Stewart, garrison adjutant, £18 5s 0d William Hebrook, town adjutant, pay, £27 7s 6d

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		2 5 6 First Company Viz. Danl. Corneille Esqr. Major 59 6 3 Thos. Bazett Captn. Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Richard Knipe Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Francis Seale Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Chas. Wm. Mieret Garrison Adjutant 13 5 . Willm. Roberts Town Adjutant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Carried Over £ 1359 13 8	William Hebrook, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Hebrook, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Hebrook total, £36 14s 4½d Carried forward, £1,359 13s 8d **Interpretations** Daniel Corneille drew £59 6s 2d as major of the First Company on top of his £87 10s 0d as Lieutenant Governor, entered earlier in the same list. Thomas Bazett appeared three times, as a writer, as superintendent and as captain lieutenant. The island's civil and military establishments were therefore not separate bodies. They were staffed by the same few families, who stacked civil posts on military commissions. Officers' pay ran in odd sums such as £27 7s 6d because it was worked out at a daily rate over the 91 days of the quarter. Civil salaries, by contrast, were fixed quarterly stipends. A captain lieutenant commanded the colonel's or major's own company in practice, while its nominal captain, here Corneille, drew the captain's pay. The register master probably kept the muster and registration records of the garrison and the island's inhabitants. A pitman was the sawyer who worked in the pit beneath the log when timber was sawn by hand. That post fits the large quantity of deals, balks and plank issued for the fortifications in the same quarter.
29	25	1779 Brought Over £ 1359 13 8 Serjeants Viz. Abra. Jones Andrew Alexander 7 11 8 John Gazell 7 11 8 Edward Banks 7 11 8 Dunc. McNaughton 7 11 8 Robert Bright 7 11 8 45 10 . Corporals Viz. John Brocklebank 5 6 2 Geo. Thomas 5 6 2 Jas. McShane 5 6 2 John White 5 6 2 Thos. Glee 5 6 2 Richd. Greenfield 5 6 7 31 17 . Drummers Viz. John Twaits 5 6 2 Richd. Plaffet 5 6 2 10 12 4 Cadets Viz. Thos. Greentree 7 11 8 Benjn. Beale 7 11 8 15 3 4 Private Viz.	The pay list for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with the non-commissioned officers, drummers, cadets and privates of the First Company. Brought forward, £1,359 13s 8d Sergeants Alexander Jones, £7 11s 8d Andrew Alexander, £7 11s 8d John Gazell, £7 11s 8d Edward Banks, £7 11s 8d Duncan McNaughton, £7 11s 8d Robert Wright, £7 11s 8d Sergeants total, £45 10s 0d Corporals John Brocklebank, £5 6s 2d George Thomas, £5 6s 2d James McShane, £5 6s 2d John White, £5 6s 2d Thomas Glize, £5 6s 2d Richard Greenfield, £5 6s 2d Corporals total, £31 17s 0d Drummers John Twaits, £5 6s 2d Richard Platfoot, £5 6s 2d Drummers total, £10 12s 4d Cadets Thomas Greentree, £7 11s 8d Broughton Beale, £7 11s 8d Cadets total, £15 3s 4d Privates Gerrard Ammanus, £3 15s 10d Richard Brown, £3 15s 10d Thomas Barwick, £3 15s 10d John Bull, £3 15s 10d Jonathan Bartlett, £3 15s 10d William Bailey, £3 15s 10d John Basset, £3 15s 10d James Bain, £3 15s 10d Robert Budd, £3 15s 10d John Bevan, £3 15s 10d William Browne, £3 15s 10d Patrick Connor, £3 15s 10d John Charlton, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £49 5s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Gerard Ammanus 3 15 10 Richd. Brown 3 15 10 Thos. Burwick 3 15 10 John Bull 3 15 10 Jonn. Bartlett 3 15 10 Wm. Bailey 3 15 10 John Basset 3 15 10 Jas. Bain 3 15 10 Robt. Budd 3 15 10 John Bevan 3 15 10 Willm. Brown 3 15 10 Patt. Connor 3 15 10 John Charlton Private Carried Over £ 49 5 10 Carried Over £ 1462 18 4	Carried forward, £1,462 16s 4d **Interpretations** Duncan McNaughton drew pay as a sergeant here and £2 9s 0d as gardener earlier in the same list. Even below officer rank, men held a civil post alongside their place in the garrison. The gardener's small sum was an addition to his military pay for tending the Company's gardens, not a living wage. The two cadets were paid at exactly the sergeants' rate. On St Helena a cadet was a young man, usually from an island family, serving in the ranks while he waited for a commission. Thomas Greentree carried a surname already prominent among the island's planters. The cadetship gave such families a route into the garrison's officer corps without sending their sons to India or England.
30	26	19 July Brought Over £ 1462 18 4 Private Brought Over £ 49 5 10 Wm. Clifton 3 15 10 Richd. Cook 3 15 10 Geo. Cash 3 15 10 Wm. Clarke 3 15 10 Geo. Cheveuelle 3 15 10 John Davis 3 15 10 John Dove 3 15 10 Jas. Drake 3 15 10 Saml. Duffel 3 15 10 John Ellis 3 15 10 Wm. Fisher 3 15 10 Joseph Fearn 3 15 10 Richd. Fearn 3 15 10 Wm. Ford 3 15 10 Richd. Foster 3 15 10 Wm. Greenwood 3 15 10 John Griffiths 3 15 10 Wm. Garfield 3 15 10 Wm. Goalby 3 15 10 John Houston 3 15 10 Philip Hogg	The roll of privates in the First Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £1,462 16s 4d Privates brought forward, £49 5s 10d William Clifton, £3 15s 10d Richard Cook, £3 15s 10d George Cash, £3 15s 10d William Clarke, £3 15s 10d George Cheverelle, £3 15s 10d John Davis, £3 15s 10d John Dove, £3 15s 10d James Drake, £3 15s 10d Samuel Duffet, £3 15s 10d John Ellis, £3 15s 10d William Fisher, £3 15s 10d Joseph Fores, £3 15s 10d Richard Fears, £3 15s 10d William Ford, £3 15s 10d Richard Foster, £3 15s 10d William Greenwood, £3 15s 10d John Griffiths, £3 15s 10d William Gurford, £3 15s 10d William Goalby, £3 15s 10d John Houlton, £3 15s 10d Philip Hogg, £3 15s 10d Edward Hughes, £3 15s 10d John Hodges, £3 15s 10d Joseph Hurt, £3 15s 10d Edward Hayes, fifer, £3 15s 10d John Johnson, £3 15s 10d Francis Joy, £3 15s 10d James Judge, £3 15s 10d Philip Jarvis, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lane, £3 15s 10d Michael Leonard, £3 15s 10d William Mumford, £3 15s 10d William Mudge, £3 15s 10d William Mansley, £3 15s 10d James Marraton, £3 15s 10d William Newcombe, £3 15s 10d Thomas Pagan, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £189 11s 8d Carried forward, £1,462 16s 4d

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		3 15 10 Edward Hughes 3 15 10 John Hodges 3 15 10 Joseph Hurt 3 15 10 Edward Hayes Fife 3 15 10 John Johnson 3 15 10 Francis Ivory 3 15 10 James Judge 3 15 10 Philip Ivories 3 15 10 Thos. Lane 3 15 10 Michl. Leonard 3 15 10 Wm. Mumford 3 15 10 Wm. Mudge 3 15 10 Wm. Marsley 3 15 10 Jas. Mannators 3 15 10 Wm. Newcombe 3 15 10 Thos. Pegan 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 189 11 8 Carried Over £ 1462 18 4	
31	27	1779 Brought Over £ 1462 16 4 Private Brought Over £ 189 11 8 Wm. Page Chas. Palliser 3 15 10 Alexr. Paxton 3 15 10 Sidney Pollar 3 15 10 Wm. Porter 3 15 10 Joshua Plumer 3 15 10 Wm. Robinson 3 15 10 Thos. Rogers 3 15 10 Anty. Reynolds 3 15 10 Geo. Rice 3 15 10 Thos. Rowe 3 15 10 Thos. Reaves 3 15 10 Wm. Snell 3 15 10 Gregory Sutherland 3 15 10 John Smale 3 15 10 Wm. Seale 3 15 10 Thos. Stork 3 15 10	The roll of privates in the First Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 concluded with these names. Brought forward, £1,462 16s 4d Privates brought forward, £189 11s 8d William Page, £3 15s 10d Charles Pallister, £3 15s 10d Alexander Paxton, £3 15s 10d Sidney Pollar, £3 15s 10d William Porter, £3 15s 10d Joshua Plumer, £3 15s 10d William Robinson, £3 15s 10d Thomas Rogers, £3 15s 10d Anthony Reynolds, £3 15s 10d George Rice, £3 15s 10d Thomas Rowe, £3 15s 10d Thomas Reaves, £3 15s 10d William Snell, £3 15s 10d Gregory Sutherland, £3 15s 10d John Smale, £3 15s 10d William Seale, £3 15s 10d Thomas Stock, £3 15s 10d William Simpson, £3 15s 10d Jonathan Stockle, £3 15s 10d George Sheppard, £3 15s 10d John Tandon, £3 15s 10d Thomas Townsend, £3 15s 10d John Taylor, £3 15s 10d William Taylor, £3 15s 10d Jacob Tallowgreen, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Vose, £3 15s 10d Bartholomew Welch, £3 15s 10d Henry Wood, £3 15s 10d John Walters, £3 15s 10d Henry Wickenden, £3 15s 10d William Westbury, £3 15s 10d Charles Walton, £3 15s 10d William Walker, £3 15s 10d

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		Wm. Simpson 3 15 10 Jonn. Stockle 3 15 10 Geo. Sheppard 3 15 10 John Tandon 3 15 10 Thos. Townsend 3 15 10 John Taylor 3 15 10 Wm. Taylor 3 15 10 Jacob Tallingrom 3 15 10 Benjn. Vose 3 15 10 Bartho. Welch 3 15 10 Henry Wood 3 15 10 John Walters 3 15 10 Henry Wickenden 3 15 10 Wm. Westbury 3 15 10 Chas. Walton 3 15 10 Wm. Walker 3 9 2 Wm. Bateman Deserted 22 June . 2 6 Richd. Craig DD 3rd April . 19 2 Wm. Crawley DD 23rd Do. 3 9 2 Wm. Davis Deserted 22nd June Private Carried Over £ 322 16 2 Carried Over £ 1462 16 4	William Bateman, deserted 22 June, £3 9s 2d Richard Craig, died 3 April, £0 2s 6d William Crawley, died 23 April, £0 19s 2d William Davis, deserted 22 June, £3 9s 2d Privates subtotal carried forward, £322 14s 2d Carried forward, £1,462 16s 4d **Interpretations** William Bateman and William Davis both deserted on 22 June 1779, two days before the homeward fleet sailed on 24 June 1779 without a convoy. A soldier could not vanish on an island of St Helena's size. The only real escape was to stow away or sign on aboard a departing ship. Their shared date points to a planned attempt to get away with the fleet, perhaps with help from seamen in the road. The pay list stopped their wages on the day they went, so the Company bore no cost beyond the days actually served. A private's pay worked out at 10d a day over the quarter. Richard Craig's 2s 6d and William Crawley's 19s 2d were exactly 3 and 23 days' pay, stopped on the day each man died. Two deaths in April fell during the drought and the cut in the garrison's bread ration earlier that year.
32	28	19 July Brought Over £ 1462 16 4 Private Brought Over £ 322 16 2 Bernard Parker Disch. 26 April 1 1 8 Richd. Nesfer Ent. 9 April 3 . . Richd. Nichols Disch. Do. Do. . 15 10 John Revell Do. Do. Do. . 15 10 Joseph Stacey DD 14 May 1 16 8 Geo. Watts Discharged 24 Do. 2 5 . Timothy Bowers Ent. 24 Do. 1 11 8 334 . 10 Second Company Viz. Henry Bazett Major 59 6 3 James Greentree Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Arthur Upton Lieutenant Resigned 24 June 32 5 .	The privates of the First Company whose service began or ended during the quarter ending 30 June 1779 were paid as follows, followed by the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Second Company. Brought forward, £1,462 16s 4d Privates brought forward, £322 14s 2d Bernard Fisher, discharged 26 April, £1 1s 8d Richard Napier, enlisted 19 April, £3 0s 0d Richard Nichols, discharged 19 April, £0 15s 10d John Howell, discharged 19 April, £0 15s 10d Joseph Stacey, died 14 May, £1 16s 8d George Walls, discharged 24 May, £2 5s 0d Timothy Brennan, enlisted 24 May, £1 11s 8d First Company privates total, £334 0s 10d Second Company Henry Bazett, major, £59 6s 3d James Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d James Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d James Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Greentree total, £36 14s 4½d Arthur Usher, lieutenant, resigned 24 June, £32 5s 0d Sergeants William Hill, £7 11s 8d William Corke, £7 11s 8d George Cleney, £7 11s 8d John Fowle, £7 11s 8d John Ade, £7 11s 8d Richard Page, discharged 14 June, £6 5s 0d James Smith, appointed 15 June, £1 6s 8d Sergeants total, £45 10s 0d Corporals

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		Serjeants Viz. Wm. Hill 7 11 8 Wm. Cooke 7 11 8 Geo. Clancy 7 11 8 John Teall 7 11 8 John Ash 7 11 8 Richd. Page Discharged 14 June 6 5 . Jas. Smith Appointed 15 Do. 1 6 9 45 10 . Corporals Viz. James Smith Prof. 15 June 4 7 6 Henry Pinbury Ret. 18 May 2 16 . Joseph Dowler 5 6 2 Robt. Withers 5 6 2 Thos. Lambley 5 6 2 Robt. Flood 5 6 2 Richd. Auckland from 19 May 2 10 2 Wm. Wright from 15 June . 19 8 31 7 . Carried Over £ 2062 9 9½	James Smith, promoted 14 June, £4 7s 6d Henry Pewsbury, died 18 May, £2 16s 0d Joseph Dowler, £5 6s 2d Robert Withers, £5 6s 2d Thomas Lambley, £5 6s 2d Robert Flood, £5 6s 2d Richard Lackland, from 19 May, £2 10s 2d William Wright, from 15 June, £0 18s 8d Corporals total, £31 17s 0d Carried forward, £2,002 9s 9½d **Interpretations** The ranks show a chain of promotion at work within a single day. Sergeant Richard Page left on 14 June, and Corporal James Smith took his place on 15 June. William Wright stepped up into the corporal's place that Smith vacated on the same day. Richard Lackland had filled the gap left by Henry Pewsbury's death a day after it occurred. Vacancies among the non-commissioned officers were filled from below at once, so the garrison never ran short of men in charge. Each man's pay changed rate on the exact day of his move. Lieutenant Arthur Usher resigned on 24 June 1779, the day the homeward fleet sailed. An officer's resignation on that date probably meant he went home with the ships, since no other passage would be available for months. Lieutenant James Greentree, of the planter family already seen among the cadets, held a commission in the Second Company under Major Henry Bazett.
33	29	1779 Brought Over £ 2002 9 9½ Drummers Viz. John Wyvell 5 6 2 Benjn. Seale 5 6 2 10 12 4 Private Viz. Chas. Holloway 3 15 10 Wm. Charnell 3 15 10 Danl. Pye 3 15 10 Andw. Reynolds 3 15 10 John Bates 3 15 10 John Rowe 3 15 10 John Ward 3 15 10 Philip Bailey 3 15 10 Geo. Bright 3 15 10 John Buckle 3 15 10 Geo. Chapman 3 15 10 Geo. Cumberbeech 3 15 10 Henry Cox 3 15 10 John Couser 3 15 10 Wm. Duncan	The pay list for the Second Company in the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with its drummers and the first part of its privates. Brought forward, £2,002 9s 9½d Drummers John Wyrell, £5 6s 2d Benjamin Seale, £5 6s 2d Drummers total, £10 12s 4d Privates Charles Holloway, £3 15s 10d William Charrett, £3 15s 10d Daniel Bye, £3 15s 10d Andrew Boswell, £3 15s 10d John Bates, £3 15s 10d John Bone, £3 15s 10d John Bond, £3 15s 10d Philip Bailey, £3 15s 10d George Bright, £3 15s 10d John Buckle, £3 15s 10d George Chapman, £3 15s 10d George Cumberbeech, £3 15s 10d Henry Cox, £3 15s 10d John Couser, £3 15s 10d William Duncan, £3 15s 10d William Davis, £3 15s 10d Robert Ellam, £3 15s 10d John Eames, £3 15s 10d Richard Fox, £3 15s 10d John Ferguson senior, £3 15s 10d John Ferguson junior, £3 15s 10d William Foulgrave, £3 15s 10d Michael Farrell, £3 15s 10d John Goodsell, £3 15s 10d Robert Green, £3 15s 10d Josiah Gentleman, £3 15s 10d John Grainger, £3 15s 10d Henry German, £3 15s 10d Samuel Hiles, £3 15s 10d James Hudson, £3 15s 10d

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		3 15 10 Wm. Davis 3 15 10 Robt. Ellams 3 15 10 John Eames 3 15 10 Richd. Fry 3 15 10 John Ferguson Senr. 3 15 10 John Ferguson Junr. 3 15 10 Wm. Foulgers 3 15 10 Michl. Farrell 3 15 10 John Goodsale 3 15 10 Robt. Green 3 15 10 Josiah Gentleman 3 15 10 John Grainger 3 15 10 Henry German 3 15 10 Saml. Hiles 3 15 10 James Hudson 3 15 10 John Holbrooke 3 15 10 John Ham 3 15 10 Robt. Hardie 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 125 2 6 Carried Over £ 2013 2 1½	John Holbrooke, £3 15s 10d John Ham, £3 15s 10d Robert Hardie, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £125 2s 6d Carried forward, £2,013 2s 1½d
34	30	19 July Brought Over £ 2013 2 1½ Private Brought Over £ 125 2 6 John Hayne 3 15 10 Thos. Harrison 3 15 10 John Hengate 3 15 10 Jacob Hewson 3 15 10 John Hughes 3 15 10 Thos. Hart 3 15 10 Antw. Hankins 3 15 10 John Holliday 3 15 10 David Hankley 3 15 10 Thos. Hurd 3 15 10 Saml. Inklone 3 15 10 Wm. Johnson 3 15 10 John James 3 15 10 Andrew Jollrand 3 15 10 Arthur Jennings	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,013 2s 1½d Privates brought forward, £125 2s 6d John Hayne, £3 15s 10d Thomas Harrison, £3 15s 10d John Hargate, £3 15s 10d Jacob Heron, £3 15s 10d John Hughes, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hart, £3 15s 10d Anthony Hawkins, £3 15s 10d John Holliday, £3 15s 10d David Hinckley, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hurd, £3 15s 10d Samuel Ingstone, £3 15s 10d William Johnson, £3 15s 10d John James, £3 15s 10d Andrew Jolcard, £3 15s 10d Arthur Jennings, £3 15s 10d John Jones, £3 15s 10d Henry Kirkham, £3 15s 10d Richard Kirby, £3 15s 10d William Knowles, £3 15s 10d Thomas Little, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lee, £3 15s 10d James Laidie, £3 15s 10d Charles Lockstone, £3 15s 10d James Morris, £3 15s 10d John McCullen, £3 15s 10d Peter Mahan, £3 15s 10d Patrick McLaughlin, £3 15s 10d Simon Nuckles, £3 15s 10d Patrick Mahony, £3 15s 10d

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		3 15 10 John Jones 3 15 10 Henry Kirkham 3 15 10 Richd. Kirby 3 15 10 Wm. Knowles 3 15 10 Thos. Little 3 15 10 Thos. Lee 3 15 10 Jas. Ladie 3 15 10 Chas. Lakstone 3 15 10 James Morris 3 15 10 John McCullen 3 15 10 Peter Mahan 3 15 10 Patk. McLaughlin 3 15 10 Owen Murphy 3 15 10 Patk. Mahoney 3 15 10 Jonan. Newman 3 15 10 Richd. Pattison 3 15 10 Owen Obrien 3 15 10 Wm. Oats 3 15 10 Jacob Peters 3 15 10 Wm. Parsons 3 15 10 Saml. Palmer 3 15 10 Saml. Phillips 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 265 8 4 Carried Over £ 2013 2 1½	Jeremiah Newsom, £3 15s 10d Richard Pattison, £3 15s 10d Pierce O'Brien, £3 15s 10d William Oats, £3 15s 10d Jacob Peters, £3 15s 10d William Parsons, £3 15s 10d Samuel Palmer, £3 15s 10d Samuel Phillips, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £265 8s 4d Carried forward, £2,013 2s 1½d
35	31	1779 Brought Over £ 2013 2 1½ Private Brought Over £ 265 8 4 John Roberts 3 15 10 Robt. Rattle 3 15 10 John Shiff 3 15 10 Fredk. Shuffer 3 15 10 John Saldbury 3 15 10 James Shaw 3 15 10 Thos. Smith 3 15 10 James Smith 3 15 10 John Stevens 3 15 10 Benjn. Thomas 3 15 10 John Vaughan	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 concluded with these names, followed by the officers of the Third Company. Brought forward, £2,013 2s 1½d Privates brought forward, £265 8s 4d John Roberts, £3 15s 10d Robert Rattle, £3 15s 10d John Shipe, £3 15s 10d Frederick Shuffer, £3 15s 10d John Salisbury, £3 15s 10d James Shaw, £3 15s 10d Thomas Smith, £3 15s 10d James Smith, £3 15s 10d John Stevens, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Thomas, £3 15s 10d John Vaughan, £3 15s 10d Richard White, £3 15s 10d Thomas Wells, £3 15s 10d James Watson, £3 15s 10d John Watson, £3 15s 10d James Willson, £3 15s 10d John Wales, £3 15s 10d William West, £3 15s 10d Henry Yale, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hodgkins, £3 15s 10d Dennis Edwards, £3 15s 10d

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		3 15 10 Richd. White 3 15 10 Thos. Wells 3 15 10 James Watson 3 15 10 John Watson 3 15 10 James Willson 3 15 10 John Wales 3 15 10 Wm. West 3 15 10 Henry Yates 3 15 10 Thos. Hedghers 3 15 10 Henry Edwards 3 15 10 Wm. Hendon Disch. 10 May 1 13 4 Richd. Auckland to 18 Do. 2 . . Wm. White to the 14 June 3 2 6 Henry Pinbury from the 19 May 1 15 10 Thos. Cole Ent. 28 June . 2 6 353 15 . Third Company Viz. John Howard Captain 59 6 3 Samuel Desfountain Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Robt. Gurling Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Carried Over £ 2499 12 1½	William Hendon, discharged 10 May, £1 13s 4d Richard Lackland, to 18 May, £2 0s 0d William Wright, to 14 June, £3 2s 6d Henry Pewsbury, from 19 May, £1 15s 10d Thomas Cole, enlisted 28 June, £0 2s 6d Second Company privates total, £353 15s 0d Third Company John Howard, captain, £59 6s 3d Samuel Dafountain, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Samuel Dafountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Dafountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Dafountain total, £36 14s 4½d Robert Gurling, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Robert Gurling, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gurling, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Gurling total, £36 14s 4½d Carried forward, £2,499 12s 1½d **Interpretations** Henry Pewsbury's private's pay began on 19 May. He therefore did not die on 18 May 1779: on that date he was reduced from corporal to the ranks. Richard Lackland, paid as a private up to 18 May, took his stripes the next day. The pay list served as the regiment's disciplinary record as well as its wage book. A corporal broken for misconduct lost about 4d a day from the morning after his reduction, and that loss was the penalty itself.
36	32	19th July Brought Over £ 2499 12 1½ Serjeants Viz. James Good Serjt. Major 12 2 8 Thos. Kilock 7 11 8 Geo. Jarman 7 11 8 Richd. Pearce 7 11 8 John Johnson 7 11 8 Thos. Williams 7 11 8 50 1 . Corporals Viz. Joseph Middleton 5 6 2 Caleb Broadway 5 6 2 Thos. Lansley 5 6 2	The pay list for the Third Company in the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with its non-commissioned officers, drummers and the first of its privates. Brought forward, £2,499 12s 1½d Sergeants James Good, sergeant major, £12 2s 8d Thomas Kilock, £7 11s 8d George Jarman, £7 11s 8d Richard Pearce, £7 11s 8d John Johnson, £7 11s 8d Thomas Williams, £7 11s 8d Sergeants total, £50 1s 0d Corporals Joseph Middleton, £5 6s 2d Caleb Broadway, £5 6s 2d Thomas Langley, £5 6s 2d Richard Marshall, £5 6s 2d Peter Harbine, £5 6s 2d John Almond, £5 6s 2d Corporals total, £31 17s 0d Drummers James Joyce, £5 6s 2d Robert Toule, £5 6s 2d

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		Richd. Marshall 5 6 2 Peter Hawbine 5 6 2 John Ulmond 5 6 2 31 17 . Drummers Viz. James Hoyce 5 6 2 Robt. Toule 5 6 2 10 12 4 Private Viz. John Allen 3 15 10 Wm. Ashfold 3 15 10 Wm. Blackman 3 15 10 Thos. Bailey 3 15 10 Wm. Baldwin 3 15 10 Jeremh. Butcher 3 15 10 John Brown 3 15 10 Wm. Brown 3 15 10 Saml. Brainwood 3 15 10 John Burkett 3 15 10 Wm. Bruce 3 15 10 Wm. Cooksey 3 15 10 Richd. Close 3 15 10 Josiah Cummings 3 15 10 John Coffee 3 15 10 Thos. Carnaken 3 15 10 Jeremh. Carey 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 64 9 2 Carried Over £ 2592 2 5½	Drummers total, £10 12s 4d Privates John Allen, £3 15s 10d William Ashfold, £3 15s 10d William Blackman, £3 15s 10d Thomas Bailey, £3 15s 10d William Baldwin, £3 15s 10d Jeremiah Butcher, £3 15s 10d John Brown, £3 15s 10d William Brown, £3 15s 10d Samuel Branwood, £3 15s 10d John Burkett, £3 15s 10d William Bruce, £3 15s 10d William Cokey, £3 15s 10d Richard Close, £3 15s 10d Josiah Cummings, £3 15s 10d John Esser, £3 15s 10d Thomas Carnahan, £3 15s 10d Jeremiah Carley, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £64 9s 2d Carried forward, £2,592 2s 5½d **Interpretations** The Third Company's sergeant major drew £12 2s 8d, roughly 4d a day more than an ordinary sergeant. He was the senior non-commissioned officer of the company and probably of the garrison as a whole. He was responsible for drill, discipline and the daily duty roster, and his higher rate reflected that he acted as the link between the officers and the men.
37	33	1779 Brought Over £ 2592 2 5½ Private Brought Over £ 64 9 2 Edwd. Cook 3 15 10 Isaac Cain 3 15 10 David Cotham 3 15 10 Thos. Dawson 3 15 10 James Dennis 3 15 10 James Daighton 3 15 10 Richd. Dyester 3 15 10 Richd. Dudge 3 15 10 Francis Flynn 3 15 10	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,592 2s 5½d Privates brought forward, £64 9s 2d Edward Cook, £3 15s 10d Isaac Corr, £3 15s 10d David Cotham, £3 15s 10d Thomas Dawson, £3 15s 10d James Dennis, £3 15s 10d James Daughton, £3 15s 10d Richard Dyster, £3 15s 10d Richard Dudge, £3 15s 10d Francis Flynn, £3 15s 10d Cornelius Flower, £3 15s 10d George Green, £3 15s 10d John Gilmore, £3 15s 10d John Germain, £3 15s 10d William Gilkes, £3 15s 10d Henry Greeningburg, £3 15s 10d Richard Hayden, £3 15s 10d James Hawkins, £3 15s 10d William Hawkins, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Cornelius Flower 3 15 10 Geo. Green 3 15 10 John Gilmore 3 15 10 John German 3 15 10 Wm. Gilkes 3 15 10 Henry Kroningburg 3 15 10 Richd. Hayden 3 15 10 James Hawkins 3 15 10 Wm. Hawkins 3 15 10 John Hadden 3 15 10 Joseph Havett 3 15 10 John Hodges 3 15 10 Geo. Husler 3 15 10 Thos. Johnson 3 15 10 John Joyce 3 15 10 James Jordan 3 15 10 John Jones 3 15 10 Thos. Lynn 3 15 10 John Lavalade 3 15 10 Robt. May 3 15 10 John Noyce 3 15 10 Israel Moon 3 15 10 Wm. Moggett 3 15 10 John Moore 3 15 10 Wm. Nicholls 3 15 10 Thos. Nail 3 15 10 Wm. Packer 3 15 10 Thos. Pritchard Private Carried Over £ 204 15 . Carried Over £ 2592 2 5½	John Hadden, £3 15s 10d Joseph Hewett, £3 15s 10d John Hodges, £3 15s 10d George Hender, £3 15s 10d Thomas Johnson, £3 15s 10d John Joyce, £3 15s 10d James Jordan, £3 15s 10d John Jones, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lynn, £3 15s 10d John Lavalade, £3 15s 10d Robert May, £3 15s 10d John Noyes, £3 15s 10d Israel Moon, £3 15s 10d William Moggett, £3 15s 10d John Moore, £3 15s 10d William Nicholls, £3 15s 10d Thomas Nail, £3 15s 10d William Parker, £3 15s 10d Thomas Pritchard, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £204 15s 0d Carried forward, £2,592 2s 5½d
38	34	19 July Brought Over £ 2592 2 5½ Private Brought Over £ 204 15 . John Penk 3 15 10 John Plure 3 15 10 Wm. Pengle 3 15 10 Christr. Patticker 3 15 10 Wm. Penney 3 15 10 John Ponder	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 concluded with these names. Brought forward, £2,592 2s 5½d Privates brought forward, £204 15s 0d John Peak, £3 15s 10d John Pluce, £3 15s 10d William Pringle, £3 15s 10d Charles Patticker, £3 15s 10d William Penney, £3 15s 10d John Pender, £3 15s 10d James Richardson, £3 15s 10d John Recheres, £3 15s 10d William Robinson senior, £3 15s 10d James Sex, £3 15s 10d Charles Smith, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 James Richardson 3 15 10 John Recheries 3 15 10 Wm. Robinson Senr. 3 15 10 James Sex 3 15 10 Chas. Smith 3 15 10 Thos. Smith 3 15 10 John Smith Senr. 3 15 10 John Smith Junr. 3 15 10 Richd. Smith 3 15 10 James Smith 3 15 10 Thos. Stephens 3 15 10 Richd. Swash 3 15 10 Thos. Thomas 3 15 10 Michl. Thomas 3 15 10 James Thompson 3 15 10 Stephen Trueman 3 15 10 Wm. Willson 3 15 10 Geo. Wood 3 15 10 Wm. Webb 3 15 10 Wm. Wickens 3 15 10 Chas. Williams 3 15 10 Joseph Wright 3 15 10 John Widgen 3 15 10 Peter White 3 15 10 Peter Young 3 15 10 Wm. Blake Deserted 23 June 3 10 . Joseph Wallis DD 27 April 1 2 6 John Deane DD 19 Do. . 15 10 Peter Handlen Discharged 19 Do. . 15 10 Wm. Higginson Ent. 15 June . 13 4 Danl. Patrick Discharged 21 May 2 5 . Private Carried Over £ 331 8 4 Carried Over £ 2592 2 5½	Thomas Smith, £3 15s 10d John Smith senior, £3 15s 10d John Smith junior, £3 15s 10d Richard Smith, £3 15s 10d James Smith, £3 15s 10d Thomas Stephens, £3 15s 10d Richard Swash, £3 15s 10d Thomas Thomas, £3 15s 10d Michael Thomas, £3 15s 10d James Thompson, £3 15s 10d Stephen Trueman, £3 15s 10d William Willson, £3 15s 10d George Wood, £3 15s 10d William Webb, £3 15s 10d William Wickens, £3 15s 10d Charles Williams, £3 15s 10d Joseph Wright, £3 15s 10d John Widgeon, £3 15s 10d Peter White, £3 15s 10d Peter Young, £3 15s 10d William Blake, deserted 23 June, £3 10s 0d Joseph Wallis, died 27 April, £1 2s 6d John Deane, died 19 April, £0 15s 10d Peter Handlin, discharged 19 April, £0 15s 10d William Higginson, enlisted 15 June, £0 13s 4d Daniel Patrick, discharged 24 May, £2 5s 0d Third Company privates total, £331 8s 4d Carried forward, £2,592 2s 5½d **Interpretations** William Blake deserted on 23 June 1779, a day after William Bateman and William Davis of the First Company, and on the eve of the fleet's departure. Three desertions from two companies in two days point to a common plan to get away aboard the homeward ships. Joseph Wallis and John Deane died in April, as did Richard Craig and William Crawley of the First Company. Four soldiers therefore died in that one month, at the height of the shortage that had already forced a cut in the garrison's bread. No deaths at all were recorded among the privates in June.
39	35	1779 Brought Over £ 2592 2 5½ Private Brought Over £ 331 8 4 Wm. Robinson Junr. Discharged 24 May 2 5 . Richd. Turner DD 24 April	The Third Company's privates closed with two men who left during the quarter ending 30 June 1779, and the pay list then moved to the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £2,592 2s 5½d Privates brought forward, £331 8s 4d William Robinson junior, discharged 24 May, £2 5s 0d Richard Turner, died 24 April, £1 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 . . 334 13 4 Fourth Company Viz. Solomon St. Maurice Captain 59 6 3 Chas. Wm. Steward Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Thos. Statham Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Walter Greentree Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Serjeants Viz. Wm. Clifton 7 11 8 Walter Walker 7 11 8 Saml. Johnson 7 11 8 Michl. Haley 7 11 8 John Kelley 7 11 8 John Payne 7 11 8 45 10 . Corporals Viz. Robt. Green 5 6 2 Wm. Johnson 5 6 2 Thos. Griffiths 5 6 2 John Power 5 6 2 John Deane 5 6 2 Thos. Morom 5 6 2 31 17 . Drummers Viz. Wm. Venn 5 6 2 James Hodge 5 6 2 James Johnson 5 6 2 15 18 6 Carried Over £ 3189 11 8	Third Company privates total, £334 13s 4d Fourth Company Solomon St Maurice, captain, £59 6s 3d Charles Ross Stewart, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Charles Ross Stewart, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Charles Ross Stewart, house rent, £2 10s 0d Charles Ross Stewart total, £36 14s 4½d Thomas Statham, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Thomas Statham, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Statham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Statham total, £36 14s 4½d Walter Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Walter Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Walter Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Walter Greentree total, £36 14s 4½d Sergeants William Clifton, £7 11s 8d Hatton Walker, £7 11s 8d Samuel Johnson, £7 11s 8d Richard Foley, £7 11s 8d John Kelley, £7 11s 8d John Payne, £7 11s 8d Sergeants total, £45 10s 0d Corporals Robert Green, £5 6s 2d William Johnson, £5 6s 2d Thomas Griffiths, £5 6s 2d John Power, £5 6s 2d John Deane, £5 6s 2d Thomas Mann, £5 6s 2d Corporals total, £31 17s 0d Drummers William Venn, £5 6s 2d James Hodge, £5 6s 2d James Johnson, £5 6s 2d Drummers total, £15 18s 6d Carried forward, £3,189 10s 8d **Interpretations** Walter Greentree's commission made him the third of his surname on this quarter's list, alongside Lieutenant James Greentree of the Second Company and the cadet Thomas Greentree. One planter family thus held two commissions and a cadetship in a garrison of four companies. On an island with no other professional outlet, a commission in the Company's troops was among the few salaried positions open to the sons of settler families. It also tied those families' interests closely to the Governor and Council who granted promotion. Richard Turner died on 24 April 1779, which made him the fifth soldier to die in that month across three companies. Solomon St Maurice commanded the Fourth Company as captain while also drawing pay as master at arms earlier in the list.
40	36	19th July Brought Over £ 3189 10 8 Private Viz. Thos. Hayes Fife 3 15 10 James Anderson 3 15 10 John Arden 3 15 10 Jeremh. Abbott	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 began with these names. Brought forward, £3,189 10s 8d Privates Thomas Hayes, fifer, £3 15s 10d James Anderson, £3 15s 10d John Arden, £3 15s 10d Jeremiah Abbot, £3 15s 10d John Allen, £3 15s 10d Daniel Ashton, £3 15s 10d Jacob Bull, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 John Allen 3 15 10 Danl. Ashton 3 15 10 Jacob Bull 3 15 10 John Blenkinson 3 15 10 Wm. Board 3 15 10 Jeffery Bird 3 15 10 Robt. Bond 3 15 10 Thos. Brown 3 15 10 Wm. Bradford 3 15 10 Wm. Bailey 3 15 10 Walter Burness 3 15 10 John Cole 3 15 10 Benjn. Courtney 3 15 10 Robt. Bracey 3 15 10 Jas. Collins 3 15 10 Peter McCordale 3 15 10 Thos. Cash 3 15 10 Maurice Downey 3 15 10 Robt. Downs 3 15 10 Fredk. Dilley 3 15 10 Wm. Edwards 3 15 10 Chas. Edsale 3 15 10 Joseph Eales 3 15 10 Thos. Ford 3 15 10 Thos. Frowis 3 15 10 John Grey 3 15 10 Owen Griffiths 3 15 10 John Grimaldi 3 15 10 Edward Giles 3 15 10 Felix Hyder 3 15 10 Joseph Holloway 3 15 10 Peter Higgins 3 15 10 Edward Hazell 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 140 5 10 Carried Over £ 3189 10 8	John Blenkiron, £3 15s 10d William Board, £3 15s 10d Jeffery Bond, £3 15s 10d Robert Bond, £3 15s 10d Thomas Brown, £3 15s 10d William Bridgford, £3 15s 10d William Bailey, £3 15s 10d Walter Burness, £3 15s 10d John Cook, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Courtney, £3 15s 10d Robert Bracey, £3 15s 10d James Collins, £3 15s 10d Peter McCardell, £3 15s 10d Thomas Earle, £3 15s 10d Maurice Downey, £3 15s 10d Robert Downs, £3 15s 10d Frederick Diby, £3 15s 10d William Edwards, £3 15s 10d Charles Edsall, £3 15s 10d Joseph Eales, £3 15s 10d Thomas Ford, £3 15s 10d Thomas Frome, £3 15s 10d John Gray, £3 15s 10d Owen Griffiths, £3 15s 10d John Grimaldi, £3 15s 10d Edward Giles, £3 15s 10d Felix Hyder, £3 15s 10d Joseph Holloway, £3 15s 10d Peter Higgins, £3 15s 10d Edward Hazell, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £140 5s 10d Carried forward, £3,189 10s 8d
41	37	1779 Brought Over £ 3189 10 8 Private Brought Over £	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,189 10s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		140 5 10	Privates brought forward, £140 5s 10d
		Saml. Hammond	Samuel Harmont, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	John Howe, £3 15s 10d
		John Howe	William Hamilton, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	William Hardison, £3 15s 10d
		Wm. Hamilton	Luther Holt, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Joseph Hand, £3 15s 10d
		Wm. Hardeson	Lewis Hendrick, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Peter Hubbert, £3 15s 10d
		Luther Holt	John Jacks, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	William Jameson, £3 15s 10d
		Joseph Hand	Richard Jamson, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	John Jones, £3 15s 10d
		Lewis Hendrick	James Kipp, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	David Lambern, £3 15s 10d
		Peter Hubbert	Richard Low, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	John Lamb, £3 15s 10d
		John Jacks	Richard Moyse, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Thomas Morris, £3 15s 10d
		Wm. Jameson	Charles Norris, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Charles Mansfield, £3 15s 10d
		Richd. Lamson	John Moody, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	James Martin, £3 15s 10d
		John Jones	Andrew Nutting, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Thomas Owens, £3 15s 10d
		James Kipp	Thomas Perry, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	William Peckiss, £3 15s 10d
		David Lambeson	William Powell, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Walter Pritchard, £3 15s 10d
		Richd. Lowe	William Pratt, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	James Parker, £3 15s 10d
		John Lamb	Richard Peck, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	John Parsons, £3 15s 10d
		Richd. Moyse	Oliver Perry, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Edward Riley, £3 15s 10d
		Thos. Morris	William Rowlands, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Joshua Roberts, £3 15s 10d
		Chas. Harris	Adam Scott, £3 15s 10d
		3 15 10	Privates subtotal carried forward, £280 11s 8d
		Chas. Manifree	Carried forward, £3,189 10s 8d
		3 15 10	
		John Moody	
		3 15 10	
		Jas. Marlee	
		3 15 10	
		Andrew Nelling	
		3 15 10	
		Thos. Owens	
		3 15 10	
		Thos. Perry	
		3 15 10	
		Wm. Pitchis	
		3 15 10	
		Wm. Powell	
		3 15 10	
		Walter Pritchard	
		3 15 10	
		Wm. Pratt	
		3 15 10	
		Jas. Porter	
		3 15 10	
		Richd. Peck	
		3 15 10	
		John Parsons	
		3 15 10	
		Oliver Perry	
		3 15 10	
		Edward Riley	
		3 15 10	
		Wm. Rowlands	
		3 15 10	
		Joshua Roberts	
		3 15 10	
		Adam Scott	
		Private Carried Over £	
		280 11 8	

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried Over £ 3189 10 8	
42	38	19 July Brought Over £ 3189 10 8 Private Brought Over £ 280 11 8 Arthur Shell 3 15 10 Stephen Seamore 3 15 10 David Shaw 3 15 10 Andrew Sharnan 3 15 10 Thos. Stowe 3 15 10 Francis Chambers 3 15 10 Thos. Tyler 3 15 10 Jas. Tidbell 3 15 10 Thos. Ward 3 15 10 Wm. Waller 3 15 10 James Wood 3 15 10 John Williams 3 15 10 Robt. Watson 3 15 10 James York 3 15 10 James Bowitt Deserted 22 June 3 9 2 John Hooper Disch. 20 April . 16 8 Hugh Keeler DD 27 Do. 1 2 6 James Oliphant Disch. Do. . 16 8 John Somers Do. Do. Do. . 16 8 Rudolph Sopher Do. Do. Do. 1 1 8 Wm. Smith Ent. 21 April 2 19 2 344 15 10 Artillery Company Viz. William Pierce Captain 59 6 3 John Leech Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Robt. Hodson Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Serjeants Viz. John Turner 9 2 . John Smith 9 2 . John Love 9 2 . John Blackwell 9 2 . James Beard 9 2 . Thos. Kelley	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 concluded with these names, and the pay list then moved to the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £3,189 10s 8d Privates brought forward, £280 11s 8d Arthur Snell, £3 15s 10d Stephen Seamore, £3 15s 10d David Stow, £3 15s 10d Andrew Sharman, £3 15s 10d Thomas Stowe, £3 15s 10d Francis Shamber, £3 15s 10d Thomas Tyler, £3 15s 10d Joseph Tibbell, £3 15s 10d Thomas Ward, £3 15s 10d William Waller, £3 15s 10d James Wood, £3 15s 10d John Williams, £3 15s 10d Robert Watson, £3 15s 10d James York, £3 15s 10d James Bowell, deserted 22 June, £3 9s 2d John Hooper, discharged 20 April, £0 16s 8d Hugh Keeler, died 27 April, £1 2s 6d James Oliphant, discharged 20 April, £0 16s 8d John Towers, discharged 20 April, £0 16s 8d Rudolph Tipping, discharged 20 April, £1 5s 8d William Smith, enlisted 21 April, £2 19s 2d Fourth Company privates total, £344 15s 10d Artillery Company William Pierce, captain, £59 6s 3d John Leech, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d John Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Leech total, £34 4s 4½d Robert Hodson, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Robert Hodson, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Hodson total, £34 4s 4½d Sergeants John Turner, £9 2s 0d John Smith, £9 2s 0d John Love, £9 2s 0d John Blackwell, £9 2s 0d James Baird, £9 2s 0d Thomas Tilley, £9 2s 0d Sergeants total, £54 12s 0d Carried forward, £3,716 13s 6d **Interpretations** An artillery sergeant drew £9 2s 0d for the quarter, against £7 11s 8d for a sergeant of foot, a premium of about 4d a day. The Company paid more because gunnery called for skills the infantry lacked. Those skills included laying guns, judging charges and keeping powder and shot in serviceable order, and on an island whose defence rested on its coastal batteries they could not be found by drafting an ordinary soldier. The artillery was commanded by William Pierce, who also drew £50 0s 0d as the island's engineer earlier in the list. The same man therefore designed the batteries and commanded the gunners who served them. James Bowell deserted on 22 June 1779, the same day as William Bateman and William Davis of the First Company and a day before William Blake of the Third. Four men from three companies went within two days of the fleet's departure on 24 June 1779. That pattern points to a combined attempt to get away aboard the homeward ships rather than four separate decisions.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		9 2 . £ 54 12 . Carried Over £ 3716 13 6	
43	39	1779 Brought Over £ 3716 13 6 Corporals Viz. Geo. Dickon 6 16 6 John Peagle 6 16 6 Wm. Stapleford 6 16 6 John McNabb 6 16 6 James Benton 6 16 6 Thos. Wage 6 16 6 40 19 . Bombardiers Viz. Maynard Hayes 6 16 6 John Chalmers 6 16 6 Chas. Abraham 6 16 6 Thos. Richardson 6 16 6 27 6 . Gunners Viz. Thos. Ailsworth 6 1 4 Saml. Pengrow 6 1 4 James Jennings 6 1 4 Thos. Vason 6 1 4 Geo. Thomas 6 1 4 Richd. Waterhouse 6 1 4 Thos. Jones 6 1 4 John Wilkinson 6 1 4 48 10 8 Drummers Viz. Joseph Brannon 5 6 2 Jas. Goodwin 5 6 2 Danl. Pinto 5 6 2 15 18 6 Matrosses Viz. Wm. Gifsing Fife 4 11 . Wm. Allen 4 11 . Jas. Anderson 4 11 . Benjn. Becken 4 11 . Joseph Bowman 4 11 . John Burchard 4 11 . Stephen Burnett 4 11 . Thos. Bowen 4 11 . Matrosses Carried Over £	The pay list for the Artillery Company in the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with its corporals, bombardiers, gunners, drummers and the first of its matrosses. Brought forward, £3,716 13s 6d Corporals George Dixon, £6 16s 6d John Peagle, £6 16s 6d William Ashford, £6 16s 6d John McNabb, £6 16s 6d James Benton, £6 16s 6d Thomas Wase, £6 16s 6d Corporals total, £40 19s 0d Bombardiers Maynard Hayes, £6 16s 6d John Chabney, £6 16s 6d Charles Abraham, £6 16s 6d Thomas Richardson, £6 16s 6d Bombardiers total, £27 6s 0d Gunners Thomas Ailsworth, £6 1s 4d Samuel Pengrow, £6 1s 4d James Jennings, £6 1s 4d Thomas Vaner, £6 1s 4d George Thomas, £6 1s 4d Richard Waterhouse, £6 1s 4d Thomas Jones, £6 1s 4d John Wilkinson, £6 1s 4d Gunners total, £48 10s 8d Drummers Joseph Brannon, £5 6s 2d James Goodwin, £5 6s 2d Daniel Porter, £5 6s 2d Drummers total, £15 18s 6d Matrosses William Gissing, fifer, £4 11s 0d William Allen, £4 11s 0d James Anderson, £4 11s 0d Benjamin Beeken, £4 11s 0d Joseph Bowman, £4 11s 0d John Burchard, £4 11s 0d Stephen Burnett, £4 11s 0d Thomas Bowen, no sum entered Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £36 8s 0d Carried forward, £3,849 7s 8d **Interpretations** The artillery had its own ladder of ranks, each step carrying a distinct rate of pay. A matross was the lowest grade of artilleryman, who hauled, loaded and sponged the guns under the direction of a trained gunner. He earned £4 11s 0d for the quarter, about 2d a day more than an infantry private. A gunner, qualified to lay and fire a piece, drew £6 1s 4d. The bombardier, originally the specialist in mortars and shells, ranked with the corporal and was paid at the same rate. Every grade of the artillery, down to the matross, earned more than the man of equal standing in the foot companies. That premium allowed the Company to recruit and keep the trained gunners on whom the batteries depended.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		36 8 . Carried Over £ 3849 7 8	
44	40	19 July Brought Over £ 3849 7 8 Matrosses Brought Over £ 36 8 . Thos. Blake 4 11 . Jas. Bytham 4 11 . James Bumfield 4 11 . John Cope 4 11 . John Coleman 4 11 . Jas. Crookshanks 4 11 . Isaac Clarke 4 11 . Mattw. Craven 4 11 . John Corbett 4 11 . Thos. Connole 4 11 . Andw. Clark 4 11 . Thos. Coleman 4 11 . Robt. Cunningham 4 11 . Thos. Downan 4 11 . Joseph Dailey 4 11 . Michl. Davies 4 11 . Geo. Dadd 4 11 . Joseph Fellows 4 11 . Wm. Fairclough 4 11 . John Feake 4 11 . Thos. Fox 4 11 . Henry French 4 11 . Christr. Greenawald 4 11 . Richd. Gibbs 4 11 . John Green 4 11 . Owen Howard 4 11 . Miller Hooper 4 11 . John Hyde 4 11 . John Haywood 4 11 . Wm. Hamilton 4 11 . John Holt 4 11 . John Hawkins 4 11 . Wm. Holloway 4 11 . Michl. Holmes	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,849 7s 8d Matrosses brought forward, £36 8s 0d Thomas Blake, £4 11s 0d James Bytham, £4 11s 0d James Bumpfield, £4 11s 0d John Cope, £4 11s 0d John Coleman, £4 11s 0d James Crookshanks, £4 11s 0d Isaac Clarke, £4 11s 0d Matthew Craven, £4 11s 0d John Cobett, £4 11s 0d Thomas Connell, £4 11s 0d Andrew Clark, £4 11s 0d Thomas Coleman, £4 11s 0d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 0d Thomas Dowman, £4 11s 0d Joseph Dailey, £4 11s 0d Michael Davies, £4 11s 0d George Dadd, £4 11s 0d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 0d William Fircliff, £4 11s 0d John Feake, £4 11s 0d Thomas Fox, £4 11s 0d Henry French, £4 11s 0d Christopher Greenawald, £4 11s 0d Michael Gibbs, £4 11s 0d John Green, £4 11s 0d Owen Howard, £4 11s 0d Miles Hooper, £4 11s 0d John Hyde, £4 11s 0d John Haywood, £4 11s 0d William Hamilton, £4 11s 0d John Holt, £4 11s 0d John Hawkins, £4 11s 0d William Holloway, £4 11s 0d Michael Holmes, £4 11s 0d Francis Jones, £4 11s 0d John Johnson, £4 11s 0d Sutton Isaacke, £4 11s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £204 15s 0d Carried forward, £3,849 7s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 11 . Francis Jones 4 11 . John Johnson 4 11 . Sutton Isaacke 4 11 . Matrosses Carried Over £ 204 15 . Carried Over £ 3849 7 8	
45	41	1779 Brought Over £ 3849 7 8 Matrosses Brought Over £ 204 15 . Wm. Kirby 4 11 . Wm. Long 4 11 . Israel Limbla 4 11 . John Lane 4 11 . Wm. Lawrence 4 11 . Eaves Martin 4 11 . Patk. McDonnald 4 11 . Patk. Murphy 4 11 . Mattw. Monk 4 11 . Richd. Mason 4 11 . Peter McKenzie 4 11 . Danl. McLane 4 11 . Danl. Morgan 4 11 . Thos. Nimble 4 11 . John Packer 4 11 . James Price 4 11 . Joseph Poole 4 11 . John Peters 4 11 . Saml. Packer 4 11 . Thos. Pierce 4 11 . Robt. Ripley 4 11 . Richd. Rowlands 4 11 . Hugh Ross 4 11 . John Reed 4 11 . Wm. Smith 4 11 . Richd. Smith 4 11 . Wm. Shore 4 11 . Andw. Stark 4 11 . Thos. Snarden 4 11 . John Stockdale	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,849 7s 8d Matrosses brought forward, £204 15s 0d William Kirby, £4 11s 0d William Long, £4 11s 0d Israel Lumbla, £4 11s 0d John Lane, £4 11s 0d William Lawrence, £4 11s 0d Isaac Martin, £4 11s 0d Patrick McDonnell, £4 11s 0d Patrick Murphy, £4 11s 0d Matthew Monk, £4 11s 0d Richard Mann, £4 11s 0d Peter McKenzie, £4 11s 0d Daniel McLane, £4 11s 0d Daniel Morgan, £4 11s 0d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 0d John Parker, £4 11s 0d James Price, £4 11s 0d Joseph Poole, £4 11s 0d John Peton, £4 11s 0d Samuel Parker, £4 11s 0d Thomas Pierce, £4 11s 0d Robert Ryley, £4 11s 0d Richard Rowlands, £4 11s 0d Hugh Ross, £4 11s 0d John Reed, £4 11s 0d William Smith, £4 11s 0d Richard Smith, £4 11s 0d William Shore, £4 11s 0d Andrew Steele, £4 11s 0d Thomas Snaredon, £4 11s 0d John Stockdale, £4 11s 0d George Steed, £4 11s 0d John Simpson senior, £4 11s 0d John Simpson junior, £4 11s 0d Ralph Tudman, £4 11s 0d Richard Tucker, £4 11s 0d Robert Wood, £4 11s 0d William Weedon, £4 11s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £373 2s 0d Carried forward, £3,849 7s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 11 . Geo. Stead 4 11 . John Simpson Senr. 4 11 . John Simpson Junr. 4 11 . Ralph Tadman 4 11 . Richd. Tucker 4 11 . Robt. Wood 4 11 . Wm. Weedon Matrosses Carried Over £ 373 2 . Carried Over £ 3849 7 8	
46	42	19 July Brought Over £ 3849 7 8 Matrosses Brought Over £ 373 2 . Edward Ware 4 11 . Wm. Weaver 4 11 . James Walker 4 11 . John White 4 11 . Jas. Wellington 4 11 . Francis Walker 4 11 . Wm. Weaver 4 11 . Robt. Walton 4 11 . John Willson 4 11 . Joseph Willson 4 11 . John Moffatt Disch. 26 April 1 6 . Simon Carrown Do. 20 May 2 . . James Neale Deserted 22 June 4 2 . Richd. Pearce Do. 23 Do. 4 4 . Thos. Peppins Do. 5 April . 5 . 438 9 . Pensioners Viz. Philip Mahony 26 18 4½ Mary Beale 7 10 . Elizabeth Kennedy 7 10 . Elizabeth Powell 6 5 . 57 19 4½ £ 4337 16 .½	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 30 June 1779 concluded with these names, and the pay list closed with the pensioners. Brought forward, £3,849 7s 8d Matrosses brought forward, £373 2s 0d Edward Ware, £4 11s 0d William Weaver, £4 11s 0d James Walker, £4 11s 0d John White, £4 11s 0d James Wellington, £4 11s 0d Francis Walker, £4 11s 0d William Warner, £4 11s 0d Robert Walton, £4 11s 0d John Willson, £4 11s 0d Joseph Willson, £4 11s 0d John Moffat, discharged 26 April, £1 6s 0d Simon Curwen, discharged 20 May, £2 0s 0d James Neale, deserted 22 June, £4 2s 0d Richard Pearce, deserted 23 June, £4 4s 0d Thomas Stephens, deserted 5 April, £0 5s 0d Artillery Company matrosses total, £430 9s 0d Pensioners Philip Mahony, £36 14s 4½d Mary Wales, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Powell, £6 5s 0d Pensioners total, £57 19s 4½d Total for the quarter, £4,337 16s 0½d **Interpretations** Philip Mahony's pension of £36 14s 4½d matched to the halfpenny a lieutenant's full quarterly pay, diet money and house rent. He was therefore a retired officer kept on his whole emoluments rather than on a reduced allowance. The three women drew between £6 5s 0d and £7 10s 0d, probably as widows of soldiers or Company servants. The Company had no general pension scheme, and each payment rested on a separate grant by the Governor and Council. The pension list thus served as a form of patronage, and the island's charity depended on the favour of the men who sat at the Council table. James Neale and Richard Pearce of the artillery deserted on 22 and 23 June 1779. Six men from four companies thus went in the two days before the homeward fleet sailed on 24 June 1779. Thomas Stephens had deserted much earlier, on 5 April 1779, when no fleet lay in the road. He probably took to the island's interior valleys rather than to a ship. The full civil and military establishment, with its pensioners, cost the Company £4,337 16s 0½d for the quarter. That sum was nearly four times the value of all the stores sold to the Company's ships over the same months.
47	43	Dr. William Wrangham Paymaster Cr. 1779 June 30 To Cash received from the Chest£ 5543 1 3½	William Wrangham, the paymaster, kept a cash account for the quarter ending 30 June 1779. On the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried Over £ 5543 1 3½ April By Cash paid for repairing Saddlery . 10 . By Do. paid for the Company's Dogs 1 12 6 By Do. paid the Midwife for Delivering three of the Honble. Company's Slaves 1 10 . By Do. paid the Drum Major for dressing & Cleaning 7 Goat Skins for Drum Heads @ 2/6 . 17 6 By Do. paid a reward for shooting a Dog that Destroyed Lambs 1 . . By Do. paid Britannicus Wright his Expences as Sheriff for the Year 10 10 . By Do. paid for making a Suit of Cloaths for the Crier of the Court of Justice 1 . . By Do. paid for the following Oil Viz. Captain Sheffield of the Snow Dragon for 2 Ton Casks included £ s. d. 32 . . Captain Hazard of the London for 258 Gallons Casks included 33 7 . 65 7 . Carried Over £ 82 7 .	receipts side, he recorded a single sum drawn from the treasury chest on 30 June 1779. Cash received from the treasury chest, 30 June 1779, £5,543 1s 3½d Receipts carried forward, £5,543 1s 3½d On the payments side, he recorded the following sums paid out in April. Repairs to saddlery, £0 10s 0d Keep of the Company's dogs, £1 12s 6d Midwife, for delivering three of the Company's slaves, £1 10s 0d Drum major, for dressing and cleaning 7 goat skins for drum heads at 2s 6d each, £0 17s 6d Reward for shooting a dog that had been killing lambs, £1 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, his expenses as sheriff for the year, £10 10s 0d Making a suit of clothes for the crier of the Court of Justice, £1 0s 0d Oil Captain Huffield of the snow *Dragon*, for 1 ton of oil, casks included, £32 0s 0d Captain Hazard of the *London*, for 258 gallons of oil, casks included, £33 7s 0d Oil total, £65 7s 0d Payments carried forward, £82 7s 0d **Interpretations** The Company paid the midwife to deliver three of its own slaves, at 10s 0d a birth. The fee was not charity. A child born to a Company slave became Company property at birth, so a safe delivery protected an asset as much as a mother. Meeting the cost from the paymaster's cash made childbirth among the Company's slaves an item of public account, entered alongside saddlery and drum heads. The reward of £1 0s 0d for shooting a dog that had been killing lambs shows the Council using a bounty to defend the island's flocks. On an island where the drought earlier in 1779 had already destroyed a third of the cattle, every lamb counted towards the meat supply. The Company meanwhile paid to keep its own dogs, which were probably used for herding and for guarding the Company's plantations. The oil was bought from the commanders of passing ships at about 2s 6d a gallon, casks included. St Helena had no means of producing oil for lamps or for the batteries, so it relied on whatever the shipping in the road could spare.
48	44	19 July Dr. William Wrangham 1779 June To Cash Brought Over £ 5543 1 3½ Carried Over £ 5543 1 3½	On the receipts side of his account, William Wrangham, the paymaster, carried his cash forward unchanged through June 1779, with no new receipts entered. Cash brought forward, June 1779, £5,543 1s 3½d Receipts carried forward, £5,543 1s 3½d
49	45	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 June Brought Over 82 7 . By Cash paid Captain Fraser for a Cutter with Mast, Oars and Sails 34 . . By Do. paid the Bailiff for Summoning the Inhabitants to Council at Different Times 2 . . By Do. paid for Building a Room and Repairing another for the East Hyperg Party 58 8 6 By Do. paid the following Quarterly Annuity 91 Days Each @ 1/2 P Day Viz. The Widow Cauldwell £ 5 6 2 The Widow Shirtley	The paymaster's payments for June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £82 7s 0d Captain Fraser, for a cutter with masts, oars and sails, £34 0s 0d The bailiff, for summoning the inhabitants to the Council on several occasions, £2 0s 0d For building one hut and thatching another for the East [...] party, £58 8s 6d Quarterly annuities, 91 days each at 1s 2d a day The widow Caldwell, £5 6s 2d The widow Shelley, £5 6s 2d The widow Bassett, £5 6s 2d Annuities total, £15 18s 6d William Rawson, for assisting in the hospital, £2 10s 0d Julio Fabreance, for repairing the boats [...], £11 4s 6d The clerk of the peace, for drawing three warrants, £0 15s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 6 2 The Widow Bazett 5 6 2 15 18 6 By Do. paid Wm. Ravier for Assisting in the Hospital 2 10 . By Do. paid Julio Fabeasco for repairing the Boats of Leopold &c. 11 7 6 By Do. paid the Clerk of the Peace for drawing three Receipts . 15 . By Do. paid the Clerk of Arraignments . 7 6 By Do. paid the Crier of the Court of Justice . 5 . By Do. paid Mass Serge his usual Salary 2 10 . By Do. paid the Lieutenant Governor for Mutton 3 . . By Do. paid for the following for the Use of the Castle Viz. 66 lbs. Soap £ 4 2 6 6 Clasp Knives . 6 . 19 Squares of Glass 1 19 . 6 7 6 By Do. paid for work done in the Maldivia Plantation . 13 6 By Do. paid for 4 Double Bolt Pad locks for several of the Company's Houses @ 3/ . 12 . By Do. paid for 3 Do. for Garden Gates @ 3/ . 9 . By Do. paid for 2 Do. for H. Hall Guard Room @ 3/ . 6 . By Do. paid for three Hour Lanthorns for the Engineer . 15 . By Do. paid for 6 Squares of Glass for the Plantation House . 14 3 By Do. paid for the Rent of a Room to hold the Quarterly Sessions 3 . . By Do. paid the Marshal and Goaler for Punishments The Honble. Company's Slaves 1 16 3 The Inhabitants Do. 1 1 3 Wm. Clough and Thos. Harper . 2 6 3 . . Carried Over £ 229 6 8	The clerk of arraignments, £0 7s 6d The crier of the Court of Justice, £0 5s 0d Mrs Savage, her regular salary, £2 10s 0d The Lieutenant Governor, for mutton, £3 0s 0d For the use of the Castle Soap, 66 lb, £4 2s 6d 6 clasp knives, £0 6s 0d 13 panes of glass, £1 19s 0d Castle total, £6 7s 6d For work done at Maldivia plantation, £0 13s 6d 4 double-stock padlocks for several of the Company's houses at 3s each, £0 12s 0d 3 double-stock padlocks for the garden gates at 3s each, £0 9s 0d 2 double-stock padlocks for the guard house on [...] Hill at 3s each, £0 6s 0d 3 hourglasses for the engineer, £0 15s 0d 6 panes of glass for the Plantation House, £0 14s 3d Rent of a room to hold the quarterly courts, £3 0s 0d The marshal and gaoler, for carrying out punishments Punishing the Company's slaves, £1 16s 3d Punishing the inhabitants' slaves, £1 1s 3d Punishing William Clough and Thomas Harper, £0 2s 6d Punishments total, £3 0s 0d Payments carried forward, £229 6s 8d **Interpretations** The marshal and gaoler was paid from the Company's cash for punishing the planters' slaves as well as the Company's own. A slave owner who wanted a slave flogged did not do it privately. The owner brought the case to the island's authorities, and a public officer carried out the sentence for a set fee. This placed the discipline of privately held slaves under the Governor and Council and made it a matter of record. It also meant that the Company bore part of the cost of controlling a labour force it did not own. Two free men, William Clough and Thomas Harper, were punished by the same officer for a mere 2s 6d between them. Their entry stood in the same account as the slaves. The widows' annuities were worked out at 1s 2d a day, exactly the rate of a drummer's or corporal's pay. They were probably the widows of non-commissioned men, kept on their husbands' daily rate. The Lieutenant Governor was paid for mutton, which shows that Daniel Corneille sold the produce of his own flocks to the Company. During the shortage of 1779 that made a senior councillor a supplier to the government he served.
50	46	19 July Dr. William Wrangham 1779 June To Cash Brought Over £ 5543 1 3½ Carried Over £ 5543 1 3½	William Wrangham's receipts again showed no new entries for June 1779, and he carried the cash balance forward unchanged to the next page of his account. Cash brought forward, June 1779, £5,543 1s 3½d Receipts carried forward, £5,543 1s 3½d
51	47	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 June Brought Over £ 229 6 8 By Cash paid the Sexton for making 7 Graves for Deceast. Blacks . 17 6 By Do. paid the following men for Enlisting to serve the Honble. Company five Years as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War their Respective times to commence as follows Viz.	The paymaster's payments for June 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £229 6s 8d The joiner, for making 7 coffins for soldiers who had died, £0 17s 6d Bounties to men enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five years under the Articles of War Richard Napier, service from 19 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Timothy Brown, service from 24 May 1779, £15 0s 0d

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		Richd. Nesfer 19 April 1779 15 . . Timy. Bowers 24 May 15 . . Wm. Higginson 15 June 3 . . Thos. Cole 28 Do. 15 . . 48 . . By Do. paid the following men for Engaging to Enlist Viz. Thos. Windale Deceased 3 . . Wm. Robinson Discharg'd Serv'd 1 Year 3 . . 6 . . By Do. paid the following men for Enlisting to serve the Honble. Company five Years longer as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War their respective times to Commence as follows Viz. Christr. Greenawald 15 . . Edward Hazell 15 . . John Coleman 15 . . Andw. Clarke 15 . . Thos. Connell 15 . . Chas. Holloway 15 . . Bartho. Welch 15 . . Andrew Alexander 15 . . 1st April 1779 Thos. Hart 15 . . Abraham Jervis 15 . . 8 Do. Do. Andrew Stark 15 . . John Hyde 15 . . Wm. Long 15 . . James Henton 15 . . James Neale 15 . . Wm. Garford 15 . . Wm. Ashfield 15 . . John Blackwell 15 . . James Price 15 . . 15 Do. Do. Carried Over £ 285 . . Carried Over £ 284 4 2	William Higginson, service from 15 June 1779, £3 0s 0d Thomas Cole, service from 28 June 1779, £15 0s 0d Enlistment bounties total, £48 0s 0d Payments to men who agreed to enlist again Thomas Windale, since died, £3 0s 0d William Robinson, since discharged and paid, £3 0s 0d Re-engagement payments total, £6 0s 0d Payments carried forward, £284 4s 2d Bounties to men re-enlisting for a further five years as soldiers under the Articles of War Christopher Greenawald, service from 1 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Edward Hazell, service from 1 April 1779, £15 0s 0d John Coleman, service from 1 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Anthony Clarke, service from 1 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Thomas Connell, service from 1 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Charles Holloway, service from 1 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Bartholomew Welch, service from 1 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Andrew Alexander, service from 1 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Thomas Hart, service from 8 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Abraham Jarvis, service from 8 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Andrew Steele, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d John Hyde, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d William Long, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d James Hinton, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d James Neale, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d William Gurford, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d William Ashfold, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d John Blackwell, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d James Price, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Re-enlistment bounties subtotal carried forward, £285 0s 0d **Interpretations** James Neale took a bounty of £15 0s 0d to re-enlist for five years from 15 April 1779. The artillery's pay list showed that he deserted on 22 June 1779, barely nine weeks later. The bounty was more than three quarters of a matross's pay for a full year. It was paid in a lump sum at the moment of signing, with nothing held back against future service. A man who meant to escape with the fleet could therefore pocket the money and be gone before it had bought the Company more than a few weeks of duty. The Council had no means of recovering it once he was at sea. The bounty system itself shows how hard it was to keep a garrison on a remote island. Nineteen serving men were paid £15 0s 0d each to stay on, which was more than the Company spent on new recruits that quarter. William Higginson received only £3 0s 0d, probably because he was engaged locally for a shorter term or a lower grade. The seven coffins matched the seven soldiers whose deaths in April and May were entered on the pay list. Those men were Richard Craig, William Crawley, Joseph Stacey, Joseph Wallis, John Deane, Hugh Keeler and Richard Turner.

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52	48	19 July Dr. William Wrangham 1779 June To Cash Brought Over £ 5543 1 3½ Carried Over £ 5543 1 3½	For June 1779, the receipts page of William Wrangham's account again recorded no new cash. He carried the balance forward unchanged. Cash brought forward, June 1779, £5,543 1s 3½d Receipts carried forward, £5,543 1s 3½d
53	49	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 June Brought Over Brought Over £ 284 4 2 285 . . James Crookshanks 15 . . John German 15 . . Robt. Toule 15 . . John Kelley 15 . . John Payne 15 . . Thos. Griffiths 15 . . Ralph Tadman 15 . . Patrick McLaughlin 15 . . Wm. Hadden 15 . . Wm. Cooksey 15 . . Wm. Hamilton 15 . . Thos. Kelley 15 . . 15 April Christian Patticker 25 Do. 15 . . Thos. Love 2 May 15 . . Geo. Wood 6 Do. 15 . . Wm. Stapleford 15 . . Wm. Duncan 15 . . Andw. Drake 15 . . Robt. Green 15 . . 29 Do. Thos. Lynn 11 June 15 . . Jas. Moyse 22 Do. 15 . . John Moyse 27 Do. 15 . . 615 . . By Cash paid for the following for the Governors Table Viz. 554 lbs. Beef 12 2 6 53 Do. Turtle . 13 9 3 Lambs 1 10 . 6 Turkeys 1 10 . 75 Fowls 5 12 6 24 Cabbages 1 3 2 1650 Lemons 2 1 3 53½ Doz. Eggs	The paymaster's payments for June 1779 continued with the rest of the re-enlistment bounties and the purchases for the Governor's table. Brought forward, £284 4s 2d Re-enlistment bounties brought forward, £285 0s 0d James Crookshanks, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d John Germain, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Robert Toule, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d John Kelley, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d John Payne, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Thomas Griffiths, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Ralph Tudman, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Patrick McLaughlin, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d William Hadden, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d William Cokey, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d William Hamilton, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Thomas Tilley, service from 15 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Charles Patticker, service from 25 April 1779, £15 0s 0d Thomas Love, service from 2 May 1779, £15 0s 0d George Reeve, service from 6 May 1779, £15 0s 0d William Stapleford, service from 22 May 1779, £15 0s 0d William Duncan, service from 22 May 1779, £15 0s 0d James Drake, service from 22 May 1779, £15 0s 0d Robert Green, service from 22 May 1779, £15 0s 0d Thomas Lynn, service from 1 June 1779, £15 0s 0d James Moyse, service from 22 June 1779, £15 0s 0d John Moyse, service from 27 June 1779, £15 0s 0d Re-enlistment bounties total, £615 0s 0d Provisions for the Governor's table Beef, 554 lb, £12 2s 5d Suet, 53 lb, £0 13s 9d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 6 turkeys, £1 10s 0d 75 fowls, £5 12s 6d 24 cabbages, £1 3s 2d 1,650 lemons, £2 1s 3d Eggs, 53½ dozen, £4 0s 3d Brandy, 8 gallons, £7 0s 0d 12 goats, £6 0s 0d Governor's table subtotal carried forward, £42 13s 4d Carried forward, £899 4s 2d **Interpretations** The Company paid for more than 554 lb of beef, 75 fowls and 12 goats for the Governor's table in a quarter when the drought had killed a third of the island's cattle and the garrison's bread had been cut by a third. Governor Skottowe's table was not a private indulgence, however. With the fleet in the road from April to June, the Governor was expected to entertain the commanders, officers and passengers of every

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		4 . 3 8 lbs. Candy 8 . . 12 Goats 6 . . £ 42 13 4 Carried Over Carried Over £ 899 4 2	Company ship at the Castle, and the cost fell on the Company as a charge of office. The shortage weighed on the soldiers' rations, while the island's official hospitality to its visitors carried on. Forty-one men took the £15 0s 0d bounty to re-enlist between 1 April and 27 June 1779, at a total cost of £615 0s 0d. That outlay alone was more than a seventh of the whole quarter's pay list. A rush of time-expired men falling due in April forced the Council either to pay heavily to keep them or to see the garrison shrink while no recruits could be sent from England in wartime. The Council chose to pay, even though at least one of the men it bought back deserted within weeks.
54	50	19 July Dr. William Wrangham 1779 June To Cash Brought Over £ 5543 1 3½ Carried Over £ 5543 1 3½	William Wrangham's receipts showed no further cash in June 1779, and he carried the same balance on to the following page. Cash brought forward, June 1779, £5,543 1s 3½d Receipts carried forward, £5,543 1s 3½d
55	51	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 June Brought Over £ 899 4 2 Brought Over £ 42 13 4 1 Heifer 1 10 . 1 Steer 1 10 . 6 Bottles of Soy . 18 . 23½ Mutton 23 5 . 2 Pigs . 10 . 12 Bottles Vinegar . 12 . 2 Doz. Cases Pickles 2 . . 72 18 4 By Cash paid 32 Episcopo Shore Leaves 8 . . By Do. paid for 128 days work on the Honble. Company's Plantations & carry. yams for the Garrison @ 2/ P Day 14 2 . By Do. paid 45 Days Subsistence of Seamen left on Shore @ 6d. 1 2 6 By Do. paid 90 Days Subsistence of Discharged Soldiers @ 6d. 2 . . By Do. paid the Sexton for making a Grave for Danl. Patrick a Discharged Soldier Deceased . 2 6 By Do. paid Robt. Budd for Baking 45 Batches of Bread for the Garrison @ 5/9 P 12 13 9 By Do. paid for 24 Loads of Wood for Do. @ 1/3 P Load 1 8 9 By Do. paid for the following Work done at Banks's Viz. 41 Days Masons @ 3/6 3 12 . 210 Do. Stonebowers 1/6 15 12 . 35 Do. Smiths 1/3 2 12 6 39 Do. Overseers 1/6 3 13 6 812 Do. Labourers 1/	The paymaster's payments for June 1779 continued with the rest of the Governor's table and the costs of labour on the Company's works. Brought forward, £899 4s 2d Governor's table brought forward, £42 13s 4d 1 ram, £1 10s 0d 1 cheese, £1 10s 0d 6 bottles of soy sauce, £0 18s 0d Shrub, 23½ gallons, £23 5s 0d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d 12 bottles of vinegar, £0 12s 0d 2 cases of pickles, £2 0s 0d Governor's table total, £72 18s 4d 32 [...], £8 0s 0d 130 days' work on the Company's plantations and carrying yams for the garrison at 2s a day, £14 2s 0d 45 days' keep of seamen left ashore at 6d a day, £1 2s 6d 40 days' keep of discharged soldiers at 1s a day, £2 0s 0d The sexton, for digging a grave for Daniel Patrick, a discharged soldier who had died, £0 2s 6d Robert Budd, for baking 145 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 9d a batch, £12 13s 9d 23 loads of wood for the baking at 1s 3d a load, £1 8s 9d Work at Banks's battery Masons, 48 days at 1s 6d, £3 12s 0d Stonebreakers, 250 days at 1s 6d, £18 12s 0d Smiths, 35 days at 1s 6d, £2 12s 6d Miners, 49 days at 1s 6d, £3 13s 6d Labourers, 812 days at 1s, £40 12s 0d Banks's battery total, £69 2s 0d Work at Powell's Valley Masons, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Carpenters, 50 days at 1s 6d, £3 15s 0d Smiths, 16 days at 1s 6d, £1 4s 0d Sawyers, 12 days at 1s 6d, £0 18s 0d Miners, 55 days at 2s, £5 10s 0d Labourers, 573 days at 1s, £28 13s 0d Powell's Valley total, £40 10s 6d 11½ days' sailmaker's work repairing tents and other canvas for the artillery at 1s 6d, £0 17s 3d Carried forward, £1,122 1s 9d **Interpretations** The labour bills confirm what the storekeeper's issues of crowbars, mauls and pickaxes had suggested. Work at Banks's battery was overwhelmingly rock-breaking and earth-moving, with 812 days of labourers and 250 days of stonebreakers against only 48 days of masons. These workmen were paid by the day on top of whatever else they earned. They were probably off-duty soldiers working for extra pay, a common means by which garrison commanders got fortifications built

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		40 12 . 69 2 . By Do. paid for the following Work done at Powells Valley Viz. 7 Days Masons 1/6 . 10 6 50 Do. Carpenters 1/6 3 15 . 16 Do. Smiths 1/6 1 4 . 12 Do. Sawyers 1/6 . 18 . 55 Do. Overseers 2/ 5 10 . 573 Do. Labourers 1/ 28 13 . 40 10 6 By Do. paid for 11½ Days Sadlers Work repairing Tents &c. for the Artillery @ 1/6 . 17 3 Carried Over £ 1122 1 9	without hiring civilian labour. At 1s a day, a labourer's daily rate was higher than a private's 10d. That premium made fatigue work attractive to the men and spared the Company the cost of importing workmen. Daniel Patrick had been discharged from the Third Company on 24 May 1779. He died soon afterwards, and the Company paid for his grave. Discharged soldiers and seamen left behind by their ships were kept at the Company's expense because they could not leave the island until a passage was found, and they could not be allowed to starve. Shrub was a cordial of rum or brandy mixed with fruit juice and sugar, served at table as a punch. Its purchase alongside 1,650 lemons shows the scale of the entertaining at the Castle while the fleet lay in the road.
56	52	19 July Dr. William Wrangham 1779 June To Cash Brought Over £ 5543 1 3½ Carried Over £ 5543 1 3½	No new receipts reached William Wrangham's account in June 1779, so he carried the cash balance forward as it stood. Cash brought forward, June 1779, £5,543 1s 3½d Receipts carried forward, £5,543 1s 3½d
57	53	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 June Brought Over £ 1122 1 9 By Cash paid for the following Work done with Gun Carriages Viz. 62 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 £ 4 13 . 14 Do. Smiths 1/6 1 1 . 2 Do. Painters 2/ . 4 . 30 Do. Labourers 1/ 1 10 . 7 8 . By Do. paid for 18 Days Labourers work done Cleaning the Line Ditch . 18 . By Do. paid for the followg. work done burning & carryg. Lime Viz. 58 Days Lime burners @ 1/6 £ 4 7 . 39 Do. Sadmakers 1/6 3 13 6 270 Do. Labourers 1/ 13 10 . 21 10 6 By Do. paid for the followg. Work done Building a Boat House Viz. 4 Days Masons @ 1/6 £ . 6 . 15 Do. Carpenters 1/6 1 2 6 19 Do. Overseers 1/6 1 8 6 95 Do. Labourers 1/ 4 15 . 7 12 . By Do. paid for the followg. work done buildg. a House for the East Malchin Party 26 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 £ 1 19 . 6 Do. Smiths 1/6 . 9 . 15 Do. Sawyers 1/6 1 2 6	The paymaster's payments for June 1779 continued with more daily labour on the Company's works. Brought forward, £1,122 1s 9d Work on gun carriages Carpenters, 62 days at 1s 6d, £4 13s 0d Smiths, 14 days at 1s 6d, £1 1s 0d Painters, 2 days at 2s, £0 4s 0d Labourers, 30 days at 1s, £1 10s 0d Gun carriages total, £7 8s 0d Labourers, 18 days clearing the lines, £0 18s 0d Work burning and carting lime Lime burners, 58 days at 1s 6d, £4 7s 0d Carters, 49 days at 1s 6d, £3 13s 6d Labourers, 270 days at 1s, £13 10s 0d Lime total, £21 10s 6d Work building a boathouse Masons, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Carpenters, 15 days at 1s 6d, £1 2s 6d Sawyers, 19 days at 1s 6d, £1 8s 6d Labourers, 95 days at 1s, £4 15s 0d Boathouse total, £7 12s 0d Work building a house for the East [...] Carpenters, 26 days at 1s 6d, £1 19s 0d Smiths, 6 days at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d Sawyers, 15 days at 1s 6d, £1 2s 6d House total, £3 10s 6d Work at the Castle Carpenters, 22 days at 1s 6d, £1 13s 0d Smiths, 10 days at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Painters, 16 days at 2s, £1 12s 0d Sawyers, 9 days at 2s, £0 18s 0d Labourers, 9 days at 1s, £0 9s 0d Castle total, £5 7s 0d Work making cots and coffins Carpenters, 18 days at 1s 6d, £1 7s 0d Sawyers, 6 days at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d Cots and coffins total, £1 16s 0d Carried forward, £1,170 3s 9d

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		3 10 6 By Do. paid for the followg. work done at the Castle Viz. 22 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 £ 1 13 . 10 Do. Smiths 1/6 . 15 . 16 Do. Painters 2/ 1 12 . 9 Do. Overseers 2/ . 18 . 9 Do. Labourers 1/ . 9 . 5 7 . By Do. paid for the following work done making Cotts and Coffins Viz. 18 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 £ 1 7 . 6 Do. Sawyers 1/6 . 9 . 1 16 . Carried Over £ 1170 3 9	
58	54	19 July Dr. William Wrangham 1779 June To Cash Brought Over £ 5543 1 3½ Carried Over £ 5543 1 3½	William Wrangham entered nothing new on the receipts side for June 1779, and the cash balance passed unchanged to the next page. Cash brought forward, June 1779, £5,543 1s 3½d Receipts carried forward, £5,543 1s 3½d
59	55	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 June Brought Over £ 1170 3 9 By Cash paid for the following work done making Cots for the Fortifications Viz. 38 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 £ 2 17 . 15 Do. Sawyers 1/6 1 2 6 14 Do. Smiths 1/6 1 1 . 11 Do. Overseers 2/ 1 2 . 6 7 . By Do. paid for the followg. work done repairg. the Road to Mundens Point Viz. 5 Days Masons @ 1/6 £ . 7 6 14 Do. Overseers 1/6 1 1 . 56 Do. Labourers 1/6 4 4 . 5 12 6 By Do. paid for the followg. work done repairg. the Barracks Viz. 5 Days Masons @ 1/6 £ . 7 6 2 Do. Overseers 1/6 . 3 . 11 Do. Labourers 1/ . 11 . 1 1 6 By Do. paid for the followg. work done repairg. the Draw Bridge Viz. 3 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 £ . 4 6 14 Do. Smiths 1/6 1 1 . 5 Do. Overseers 1/6 . 7 6 19 Do. Labourers 1/ . 19 . 2 12 .	The paymaster's payments for June 1779 continued with labour on carts and repairs about the fortifications and the town. Brought forward, £1,170 3s 9d Work making carts for the fortifications Carpenters, 41 days at 1s 6d, £3 1s 6d Sawyers, 15 days at 1s 6d, £1 2s 6d Smiths, 14 days at 1s 6d, £1 1s 0d Overseers, 11 days at 2s, £1 2s 0d Carts total, £6 7s 0d Work repairing the road to Munden's Point Masons, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Overseers, 14 days at 1s 6d, £1 1s 0d Labourers, 84 days at 1s, £4 4s 0d Munden's Point road total, £5 12s 6d Work repairing the parade Masons, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Overseers, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Labourers, 11 days at 1s, £0 11s 0d Parade total, £1 1s 6d Work repairing the drawbridge Carpenters, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Smiths, 14 days at 1s 6d, £1 1s 0d Overseers, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Labourers, 19 days at 1s, £0 19s 0d Drawbridge total, £2 12s 0d Work repairing the watercourse leading to the crane Masons, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Overseers, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Labourers, 14 days at 1s, £0 14s 0d Watercourse total, £1 1s 6d Work repairing the barracks and hospital Masons, 6 days at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d Smiths, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Overseers, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Labourers, 16 days at 1s, £0 16s 0d Barracks and hospital total, £1 18s 6d Labourers, 59½ days carrying goods from the town, £2 19s 6d Carried forward, £1,191 16s 3d **Interpretations** The watercourse led to the crane at the landing place, where ships' boats were loaded and unloaded. It supplied fresh water to the wharf so that casks could

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		By Do. paid for the following work done repairing the Water Course leading to the Crane Viz. 2 Days Masons @ 1/6 £ . 3 . 7 Do. Overseers 1/6 . 4 6 14 Do. Labourers 1/ . 14 . 1 1 6 By Do. paid for the followg. work done repairg. the Barracks & Hospital Viz. 6 Days Masons @ 1/6 £ . 9 . 4 Do. Smiths 1/6 . 6 . 5 Do. Overseers 1/6 . 7 . 16 Do. Labourers 1/ . 16 . 1 18 6 By Do. Paid for 59½ Days Labourers work done carryg. Goods from the Crane 2 19 6 Carried Over £ 1191 16 3	be filled close to the boats rather than carried down through the town. Its repair while the fleet lay in the road shows how closely the island's routine maintenance followed the needs of the shipping. Munden's Point was the battery guarding the eastern side of James Bay, reached by a narrow cliff road from the town. Keeping that road open was essential if guns, powder and men were to reach the battery quickly in an attack.
60	56	19 July Dr. William Wrangham 1779 June To Cash Brought Over £ 5543 1 3½ £ 5543 1 3½	William Wrangham closed the receipts side of his paymaster's account for the quarter ending June 1779 with no further entries. The single sum drawn from the treasury chest stood as his full receipts. Cash brought forward, June 1779, £5,543 1s 3½d Total receipts for the quarter, £5,543 1s 3½d
61	57	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 June Brought Over 1191 15 3 By Cash paid for the followg. work done on board the Hind Cutter Viz. 20 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 £ 1 10 . 13 Do. Smiths 1/6 . 19 . 4 Do. Sawyers 1/6 . 6 . 4 Do. Sailmakers 1/6 . 6 . 2 Do. Overseers 1/6 . 3 . 34 Do. Labourers 1/6 1 14 . 4 18 6 By Do. paid for the followg. work done repairg. the Smiths Shop Viz. 2 Days Overseers @ 1/6 £ . 3 . 12 Do. Labourers 1/ . 12 . . 15 . By Do. paid for 78 Days Labourers work done at the Lieut. Govr.'s Garden in the Long Wood @ 1/ 3 18 . By Do. paid Thos. Yates for his trouble in receiving Yams from the Inhabitants and serving them to the Garrison 3 17 6 1205 5 3 Amount of Pay Account 4337 16 .½ £ 5543 1 3½ Errors Excepted 30 June 1779 Signed Wm. Wrangham Paymaster	The paymaster's payments for June 1779 closed with the following items. Brought forward, £1,191 16s 3d Work on board the new cutter Carpenters, 20 days at 1s 6d, £1 10s 0d Smiths, 13 days at 1s 6d, £0 19s 6d Sawyers, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Sailmakers, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Overseers, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Labourers, 34 days at 1s, £1 14s 0d New cutter total, £4 18s 6d Work repairing the smiths' shop Overseers, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Labourers, 12 days at 1s, £0 12s 0d Smiths' shop total, £0 15s 0d Labourers, 78 days at the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood, £3 18s 0d Thomas Yates, for collecting yams from the inhabitants and issuing them to the garrison, £3 17s 6d Total payments, £1,205 5s 3d Pay list for the quarter, £4,337 16s 0½d Total, £5,543 1s 3½d William Wrangham, the paymaster, signed the account on 30 June 1779 and noted that it was subject to the correction of any errors. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for June. **Interpretations** The paymaster's payments and the quarter's pay list together came to £5,543 1s 3½d, exactly the sum he had drawn from the treasury chest. He therefore held no balance at the end of the quarter. The paymaster drew only what the Council had approved and spent it all, which left nothing in his private keeping. That kept the Company's money inside the chest, where the Council itself could count it, rather than in the hands of a single officer. Seventy-eight days of labour at the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood were charged to the Company. Earlier in the same account, Daniel Corneille was also paid for mutton supplied from his own flocks. The line between his official establishment and his private farming was thin, and public labour

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		Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of June last, which is as follows	improved land whose produce he then sold to the Company. Thomas Yates was paid £3 17s 6d for gathering the planters' yams and issuing them to the soldiers. That fee recorded in cash terms the emergency of 1779, when the inhabitants' crops were taken to feed the garrison in place of bread.
62	58	19 July Cash Dr. 1779 June 1 To Balance remaining £ 22431 15 11½ 21 To Exchange for the following Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable as follows Viz. One Set to Captain Nicholas Skottowe £ 700 . . Do. to John Calland Esqr. 300 . . Do. to Matt. Pickering and Gabriel Harper Esqrs. 1060 . . Do. to Do. 1000 . . Do. to Lieutenant Arthur Upton 100 . . Do. to Captain Willm. Fraser 200 . . Do. to Mr. Philip Mahony 80 . . 3440 . . 23 To Ship Valentine 350 2 11 To Do. Rockford 46 3 5 To Do. Grosvenor 32 10 2 To Do. Worthington 418 2 3 To Do. Latham 25 15 5 To Do. Lord North 21 1 11 To Do. Earl of Mansfield 17 14 5 To Do. Lord Holland 104 5 9 To Jonathan Doveton received of him for Stores sold in the Quarter 1382 2 3 To Plantation for Provisions Sold 114 11 3½ To Licences 10 . . To Customs received on 274 Galls. Arrack 3 8 6 £ 28397 14 3	The Company's cash account for June 1779 recorded the following receipts. 1 June 1779, balance in hand, £22,391 15s 11½d 21 June 1779, cash received in exchange for sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors Captain Nicholas Mathews, 1 set, £700 0s 0d John Caulfeild, 1 set, £300 0s 0d Matthew Rickey and Gabriel Harford, 1 set, £1,060 0s 0d Matthew Rickey and Gabriel Harford, 1 set, £1,000 0s 0d Lieutenant Arthur Usher, 1 set, £100 0s 0d Captain William Fraser, 1 set, £200 0s 0d Philip Mahony, 1 set, £80 0s 0d Bills of exchange total, £3,440 0s 0d 23 June 1779, cash received from the Company's ships The ship *Valentine*, £350 2s 11d The ship *Rochford*, £46 3s 5d The ship *Grosvenor*, £32 10s 2d The ship *Northington*, £418 2s 3d The ship *Latham*, £25 15s 5d The ship *Lord North*, £21 1s 11d The ship *Earl of Mansfield*, £57 14s 5d The ship *Lord Holland*, £104 5s 9d Jonathan Doveton, for stores sold during the quarter, £1,382 2s 3d The Company's plantation, for provisions sold, £114 11s 3½d Licences, £10 0s 0d Customs duty on 274 gallons of arrack, £3 8s 6d Total receipts, £28,397 14s 3d **Interpretations** The bills of exchange were the island's means of sending money to England. A private person paid cash into the Company's treasury at St Helena and received a bill payable by the Court of Directors in London. The Company gained hard cash on the spot to meet its pay lists and bills. The buyer gained a safe remittance that could not be lost to an enemy cruiser, since only the paper travelled. Lieutenant Arthur Usher bought a £100 bill on 21 June 1779 and resigned three days later, as the fleet sailed. He was turning his savings into a London draft to take home with him. Captain William Fraser, who had sold the Company a cutter for £34 0s 0d earlier that month, sent home £200 0s 0d by the same route. Philip Mahony, the pensioned officer, remitted £80 0s 0d. The duty on arrack worked out at 3d a gallon. The Company still collected only a small customs charge on imported spirits at this date. That was well before the Court ordered it to take over the island's arrack trade as a monopoly.
63	59	1779 Per Contra Cr. 1779 June 30 By Sundry Accounts advanced the Paymaster to pay Salary's &c. in the Quarter ending this Day 5543 1 3½ By Balance remaining Viz. In Specie £ 22314 17 11½ In Cash Notes 539 15 . 22854 12 11½ £ 28397 14 3 The following is the Lieutenant Governors Account	The other side of the Company's cash account for June 1779 showed how the money was applied and what remained. 30 June 1779, advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other payments in the quarter ending that day, £5,543 1s 3½d Balance in hand, in coin, £22,314 17s 11½d Balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £22,854 12s 11½d Total, £28,397 14s 3d The record then turned to the Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold from the Company's plantations between 1 April and 30 June 1779. **Interpretations**

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		of Provisions Sold from the Honble. Company's Plantations from the 1 April to the 30 June 1779 -	The cash notes were paper money issued by the Company's government on the island. They circulated among the inhabitants and the garrison in place of scarce coin and could be paid back into the treasury at face value. Only £539 15s 0d of the balance was held in that form, against more than £22,000 in coin. Notes came back to the treasury in small amounts because most people used them for everyday dealings, while the Company itself kept its reserve in silver. A coin reserve of that size was about four quarters' pay for the whole establishment. It gave the Council the means to meet its wages and buy supplies from passing ships, even when no money arrived from England for a year or more in wartime.
64	60	Plantation Dr. To 180 Beef Sold, a Beast met with an Accident £ 3 15 . 72 Do. over Charter Party to Ships 1 10 . 40 Do. Do. Do. to my use . 17 6 63¼ Mutton Do. 1 6 4 1 Lamb 2 Kids Do. 1 . . 46,024 lb. of Yams to y. Garrison 4/2 P Cwt. 95 17 8 491½ Mutton to the Hospital 10 4 9½ £ 114 11 3½ Per Contra Cr. 1779 July 19 By Balance paid into the Company's Cash 114 11 3½ £ 114 11 3½ Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille - **Margin Notes:** 19 July	The Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold from the Company's plantations between 1 April and 30 June 1779 ran as follows. Beef, 180 lb, sold after a bullock was killed in an accident, £3 15s 0d Beef from the same animal, 72 lb, sold through Charles Darby to the ships, £1 10s 0d Beef from the same animal, 40 lb, taken for the Lieutenant Governor's own use, £0 17s 6d Mutton, 63½ lb, taken for the Lieutenant Governor's own use, £1 6s 4d 1 lamb and 2 kids, taken for the Lieutenant Governor's own use, £1 0s 0d Yams for the garrison, 16,024 lb, £95 17s 8d Mutton for the hospital, 491½ lb, £10 4s 9½d Total sales, £114 11s 3½d 19 July 1779, balance paid into the Company's treasury, £114 11s 3½d Daniel Corneille signed the account and noted that it was subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** Yams made up more than four fifths of the plantation's sales, with over 16,000 lb sent to the garrison in a single quarter. The Company's own farms were turned over to feeding the soldiers in place of the bread that the stores could no longer supply. The plantation's yams fed the garrison alongside the crops collected from the inhabitants by Thomas Yates. The beef came only from an animal killed by accident. In a year when the drought had already destroyed a third of the herd, the Company could not afford to slaughter healthy cattle for sale. A beast that broke its neck or leg was butchered at once and sold to the ships and the Lieutenant Governor rather than wasted. Daniel Corneille managed the plantations, sold their produce and charged himself at the same rate as any other buyer for the beef, mutton, lamb and kids he took for his own table. Entering his own purchases in the Company's account kept a record that the Council could check. It also guarded a senior officer against the charge of helping himself to public stores during a shortage.
65	61	The following Remonstrance was this day laid before the Board Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. in Council Sirs Although we are exceedingly averse to give any degree of trouble, we find ourselves constrained to lay before you the peculiar hardship of our present Situation. - We are fully sensible of the general want of Necessaries that now prevails on the Island and of what many People suffer in consequence of this deficiency; and would most cheerfully submit to all the Inconveniences attending it, provided some of our Neighbours bore an equal Share with us	The Council received a formal protest on that day, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. The lieutenants of the garrison wrote that they were most reluctant to cause any trouble. They nevertheless felt bound to set out the particular hardship of their position. They knew well that the island as a whole lacked necessities and that many people were suffering from the shortage. They would gladly have borne every inconvenience, provided some of their neighbours shared the public distress equally with them. They believed, however, that the hardship fell more heavily on them than on many other inhabitants, and so they asked the Governor and Council to intervene on their behalf. Their complaint arose from a recent visit to the Company's store to buy tea and sugar. They found that the quantity each of them could buy had been limited. They also found that the store distinguished between

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		in the public Distress, but as we are conscious that the Calamity is more - severely felt by Us than by many others of the Inhabitants we cannot refrain from soliciting your Interposition in our Behalf. - We were a good deal surprised when upon applying lately at the Honble. Company's Store for a Supply of Tea and Sugar we found that we were not only restricted as to the Quantity we might purchase, but that there was a Distinction made in the manner of Issuing these Articles and that several Gentlemen in the Honble. Company's Service were allowed a much larger Proportion of them than we the Lieutenants of the Garrison. - We very readily acknowledge that every Man should enjoy the Emoluments attached to his Rank or Office, but we do not conceive how the Difference of Rank can with Propriety interfere with the - Distribution of the Necessaries of Life, nor do we esteem it reasonable that this Rank should tend to abridge our domestic Comforts and Conveniences. Was this Distinction only to take place with respect to the Division of Wine or any other Article that may be deemed Superfluous we could not properly object to it, because our Incomes are by no means adapted to furnish us with Luxurious Gratifications. But as Tea and Sugar have now become indispensably requisite in a Family we consider the present Limitation as affording us a very natural Subject of Complaint. - We beg leave to add that many of us are much older Servants and have larger Families than some of the Gentlemen who are favour'd	buyers. Several gentlemen in the Company's civil service had been allowed a far larger share than the lieutenants of the garrison. The lieutenants readily accepted that every man should enjoy the advantages that came with his rank or office. They could not see, however, how a difference in rank should govern the sharing out of the necessities of life. Nor did they think it fair that rank should cut into the comfort and convenience of a household. Had the distinction applied only to wine or other goods that might be thought luxuries, they would have had no proper grounds to object, since their incomes did not allow them such indulgences. Tea and sugar, however, had become indispensable in any family, and they therefore regarded the restriction as a natural cause for complaint. They added that many of them had served the Company far longer than some of the favoured gentlemen, and that many also had larger families to support. **Interpretations** The Company's store was the island's only reliable source of imported goods, so a ration fixed by rank decided who could keep a normal household during the shortage of 1779. The storekeeper had placed the junior civil servants, the factors and writers, above the garrison's lieutenants. That ordering followed the Company's own view that its commercial staff outranked its soldiers. Many of the factors also sat close to the Council, and some held commissions alongside their civil posts. The lieutenants did not challenge the principle of rank. They challenged its extension from privileges to necessities, which turned an ordering of dignity into an ordering of comfort and family welfare. The lieutenants' claim that tea and sugar had become indispensable reflected a change that had already happened in England. By the 1770s both had passed from luxuries of the wealthy into the daily diet of middling and even labouring households there. The island had followed the same path. Families of modest income on St Helena now regarded tea and sugar as staples, not indulgences. The storekeeper's list, in which flour had joined the luxury goods marked up by 40 per cent earlier that year, sat uneasily with what the inhabitants themselves thought essential.
66	62	19 July favoured with this Superior Indulgence, several of whom say, that even this greater Allowance will be barely sufficient for their Consumption; in which case it is evident that we must suffer considerably more than they do. - We have likewise to remark that in the late scarcity of Flour this Article was issued in equal Shares amongst the Gentlemen in the Honble. Company's Service, and that this new Method of distributing the Necessaries of Life is inconsistent with those Regulations that are observed at the Weekly Market in pursuance of your own Orders and Appointment. - For these Reasons we are induced to hope that upon a further consideration of this matter you will be led to abolish a distinction so unequal and invidious so particularly attended with Hardship and so naturally productive of Uneasiness and Discontent. - We are Sirs St. Helena With great Respect 19 July 1779. Your most obedient humble Servants (Signed) Walter Greentree James Adney Judge Advocate & Schoolmaster	The lieutenants went on to say that several of the gentlemen favoured with the larger allowance had themselves remarked that even this would barely meet their needs. If so, the lieutenants plainly had to suffer far more than they did. They also pointed out that during the recent shortage of flour, the store had shared it in equal portions among all the gentlemen in the Company's service. The new way of distributing necessities therefore conflicted with the rules set down in the weekly schedule of issues, which the Council itself had ordered and approved. For those reasons, they hoped that the Council would think again and abolish a distinction they described as unequal and resented. In their view, it caused real hardship and was bound to breed unease and discontent. The protest was dated at St Helena on 13 July 1779 and signed by the following. Walter Greentree James Adney, judge advocate and schoolmaster David Kay, surgeon's assistant Charles Ross Stewart William Hebrook Francis Seale John Leech Richard Knipe Samuel Dafountain Robert Hodson J. Greentree Robert Gurling Thomas Statham

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		David Kay Surgeons Assistant Chas. Wm. Steward Wm. Roberts Frans. Seale John Leech Richd. Knipe Saml. Desfountain Robt. Hodson J. Greentree Robt. Gurling Thos. Statham Upon Reading the above Remonstrance We directed the Secretary to Summon the Gentlemen who signed it to attend Council on Monday next. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	After reading the protest, the Council told the secretary to summon all the signatories to attend the Council on the following Monday. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The Council neither answered the protest in writing nor quietly adjusted the store's allowances. Instead, it ordered every signatory to appear before it in person. A written reply or a change in the ration would have treated the matter as an administrative grievance. Calling 13 officers and officials before the Board as a body treated it as a question of conduct. The protest had accused the Council of breaking its own published rules, and a combined complaint by the garrison's officers came close, in a military settlement, to collective defiance. The summons allowed the Governor and Council to examine the men face to face and to establish who had organised the paper. It also reasserted the Council's authority before conceding anything on the substance. The signatures went beyond the lieutenants who had framed the complaint. James Adney, the schoolmaster and judge advocate, and David Kay, the surgeon's mate, also signed. Both were civil servants on modest salaries, and both had been placed below the factors and writers in the store's allowance. Their names show that the grievance followed income and standing rather than the line between soldiers and civilians. The middle rank of the island's establishment, military and civil alike, joined against the favoured upper tier of the Company's commercial staff.
67	63	26 July At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th Day of July 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 19th July 1779. This day Arrived His Majesty's Ship Warwick from England, by which Conveyance the Governor & Lieut. Governor received a Packet from the Secret Committee. The Subaltern Officers and Messrs. David Kay and James Adney who were Summoned to attend this day, appearing the Secretary was ordered to read the following Answer to their Remonstrance. - The Board having taken your Remonstrance into mature consideration have to inform you that they are much surprized at the unexpected purport of your ill grounded Plea of peculiar Hardship put upon you in consequence of the restrictive regulations settled by the Governor and Council for the future delivery of Tea and Sugar from the Honble. Company's Stores, and more particularly so in this time of Public distress, considering the same as highly improper in respect to the mode of application for redress, as it was your Duty as a Corps of Subaltern Officers, in case you thought the regulation too hard upon you to have represented the same to the Governor before you had preferred a Public Application to the Board, and further employing a -	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 26 July 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous meeting, held on 19 July 1779. His Majesty's ship *Warwick* arrived from England that day. She brought a packet from the Secret Committee for the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor. The junior officers, together with David Kay and James Adney, attended as ordered. The Council told the secretary to read them its reply to their protest. The Council stated that it had weighed the protest carefully. It was much surprised by the unexpected nature of what it called a groundless claim of special hardship. The officers had complained about the rules the Governor and Council had fixed for future sales of tea and sugar from the Company's store. The Council took particular exception to their use of the words "public distress". It also considered the manner of their complaint highly improper. As a body of junior officers, they should have taken any grievance to the Governor privately before making a formal approach to the Board. Worse, they had employed a sergeant to write out their paper. That step had spread their complaint through the whole garrison and exposed their misplaced discontent to the men under their command. The Council turned the officers' own remarks about the general shortage against them. The shortage, both then and earlier, was the very reason the Council had found it necessary to share out the supplies sent for the island. Rationing let every household buy a reasonable quantity of each article throughout the year. In the previous season, by contrast, everyone had been allowed to buy freely, and supplies meant to last twelve months had run out in seven. The Council held that the officers' surprise at the rules arose only from the distinction drawn between ranks, not from any real shortfall in their allowance. It

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		Serjeant as your Amanuensis, thereby making known to the whole Garrison and Settlement your ill placed discontent and remonstrance. Your own observation of the General want of Necessaries, both now and heretofore is the obvious reason why the Board thought it absolutely incumbent on them to Portion out the Supplies sent for the use of this Island, that every one might partake of a reasonable proportion of such Articles the whole Year throughout and not as was the case last season by an Indiscriminate latitude to All, thereby expending the Supplies that were to last the Year in seven Months. Your surprise at these restrictive Regulations, they cannot but consider as arising solely from the distinction made of Classes, and not the insufficiency of the Articles, but as distributions of all denominations	went on to treat the shares fixed for each class of buyer. **Interpretations** The Council chose to answer the protest chiefly as a breach of military order rather than as a dispute about rations. The obvious course was to defend or revise the scale of allowances on its merits. Instead, the reply opened with the officers' procedure. They had bypassed the Governor, addressed the Board publicly and, above all, used a sergeant as their clerk. That last detail explains the Council's emphasis. Once a sergeant had copied the paper, the ranks knew that their officers disputed the Governor's arrangements. In a garrison already on reduced bread, and from which six men had deserted a month earlier, open division between officers and Council was a danger to discipline. Rebuking the method allowed the Council to restore authority before any concession on substance could be read as weakness. The reply also gave the reasoning behind the rationing itself. In the previous season the store had sold freely to all comers, and a year's tea and sugar had gone in seven months. The new limits were meant to stretch the annual supply across all twelve. Wartime made that essential, because the next shipment could not be counted on. The arrival of the *Warwick* with a packet for the Secret Committee was a reminder that the island's supplies and instructions now came under naval escort and secret orders.
68	64	19 July denominations and in all places, where the necessity requires it are proportioned according to the Rank Gentlemen hold in that line, must therefore make you acquainted that those who are allowed a larger proportion, is on account of their Rank being superior to that, which you hold in the Honorable Company's Service. - You condescend readily to acknowledge that every Man should enjoy the Emoluments attached to his Rank, but deny the distinction holding good with respect to the necessary's of Life. That Tea and Sugar should be considered as absolute - necessary's of Life they deny, therefore thought it highly requisite to Abridge you, as well as all other Gentlemen in the Service, they even themselves for the reasons already assigned in second Paragraph, nor can they conceive that an Allowance of 312 of Groceries P Annum to every Subaltern can in any Shape be construed as depriving you of your Domestic Comforts and Conveniences. Which expression they deem as an illiberal and undeserved - Charge against the Board, as the Honble. Company's Stores are at all times very inadequate to the unlimited Consumption of the Company's Servants and Inhabitants. - The Board further acquaint you that they acknowledge your Remark respecting their having ordered the small remains of Flour to be equally distributed, as also that they had voluntarily resigned their long accustomed Priority to	The Council explained that allowances of every kind, wherever shortage required them, were fixed according to each gentleman's rank in the service. Those who received a larger share received it because their rank in the Company's service stood above that of the junior officers. The officers had readily accepted that every man should enjoy the advantages of his rank, but they had denied that the distinction should extend to necessities. The Council rejected their view that tea and sugar counted as absolute necessities. For the reasons already given, it had judged it essential to cut the allowances of the officers and of every other gentleman in the service, its own members included. It could not see how an allowance of 3½ lb of souchong tea to each junior officer could deprive any household of its comfort. The Council called the officers' charge ungenerous and undeserved, since the Company's stores were never enough to meet the unlimited demands of its servants and the inhabitants. The Council accepted the officers' point that the small remaining stock of flour had been divided equally. It added that its own members had given up of their own accord the first claim on the market that they had held since the market was founded. Both steps, however, had been taken because flour and market provisions were judged true necessities. Taken as a whole, the Council considered the protest ill-founded. In its view, the complaint arose from the distinction of rank alone, not from any real shortfall in the quantities allotted. It therefore declined to abolish a rule designed for the public good. It held that the rule should cause no unease or discontent to the officers or to anyone else on the island. The Council resolved to send its reply, together with the officers' protest, to the Court of Directors. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Henry Bazett, Matthew Bazett and William Wrangham signed the minute. **Interpretations** The Council drew a line that the officers had tried to erase. It sorted provisions into two classes. Flour and fresh meat from the market counted as true necessities and were shared equally, with the Council even giving up its customary right to buy first. Tea and sugar counted as conveniences and were shared by rank. That distinction let the Council defend the

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		the Market even from the first foundation thereof, but these they did in consideration of those Articles being Judged - absolute necessarys of Life. - Upon the whole they cannot but consider your Remonstrance as injudiciously founded, arising solely on account of the distinction and not the insufficiency of the Articles allotted therefore cannot abolish a Regulation so calculated for the Public Good, as they conceive the same one to be, and which they are well convinced ought not to be productive of Uneasiness and discontent in you or any other Individual of the Settlement, and shall transmit the same together with your Remonstrance to the Honble. the Court of Directors. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille Hen. Bazett M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham&c.	hierarchy without appearing to starve anyone. It also showed that equality in a crisis on St Helena reached only as far as bread and meat. The Council's surrender of its "first claim on the market" reveals a privilege rarely recorded. The island's senior officers had a standing right to the first pick of meat and produce brought for sale, ahead of other inhabitants. Giving it up during the shortage was the Council's answer to any suggestion that its members had shielded themselves. Referring the whole dispute to the Court of Directors closed the matter on the island while appearing to leave it open. A reply from London could not arrive for many months, and by then the shortage would be over. The Council thus avoided both conceding and seeming to suppress the complaint. It also placed the officers' conduct on record before the authority that decided their careers. Souchong was a superior black tea from the Fujian hills of China, dearer than the common bohea issued at the hospital. An allowance of souchong was itself a mark of the officers' standing, which made it harder for them to claim real deprivation.
69	65	30th July At a Consultation held on Friday the 30th day of July 1779 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 26 of July 1779. - This day Arrived the Earl Talbot from England by which Ship We received a Packet from the Honble. Court of Directors which we opened and read their Instructions. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council met at the Castle on Friday 30 July 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 26 July 1779. The *Earl Talbot* arrived from England that day. She carried a packet from the Court of Directors, and the Council opened it and read the Court's instructions. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The *Earl Talbot* was the store ship whose late arrival had left the island so short of flour and other supplies through the first half of 1779. The Council had cut the garrison's bread and taken the planters' yams while it waited for her. Her arrival on 30 July 1779 came just four days after the Council had defended its rationing of tea and sugar against the lieutenants' protest. The cargo she carried probably eased the immediate pressure behind that dispute.
70	66	2 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 2nd Day of August 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed dated the 26 July 1779 - We this day received the following Letter from Mr. Thos. Stroud Surgeon - To John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council - Gentlemen Being in absolute want of many of the most useful Medicines, and having but a very small quantity of any remaining and as it is uncertain when those sent by the Honble. Company may Arrive, request your permission to Purchase	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 2 August 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 30 July 1779. Thomas Stroud, the surgeon, wrote to the Governor and Council that day. He reported that the hospital was entirely without many of the most useful medicines and held only very small quantities of the rest. No one knew when the medicines ordered from the Company would arrive. He therefore asked permission to buy a chest offered for sale by the surgeon of the *Earl Talbot*. It held the most useful and most needed items. With the 75 per cent markup that was the lowest price the seller would accept, it came to £43 14s 6½d. Stroud promised that if the purchase left more medicines in hand than the hospital needed the following year, he would reduce his next order to the Company accordingly. He signed the letter at St Helena on 2 August 1779. The Council knew that the medicines were urgently needed and agreed to buy them for the Company's use.

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		from the Surgeon of the Earl Talbot a Chest which he has for Sale, consisting of the most useful and most wanted Articles amounting with 75 P Cent the lowest Price he will take for them to the Sum of £43. 14. 6½ in case next Year by the additional purchase there should be more Medicines than necessary remaining, I shall lessen the Quantity in the Indent to be sent to the Honble. Company. - I am Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedt. and most 2 August 1779 Hble. Servant (Signed) Thos. Stroud Surgeon Knowing that the Medicines mentioned in above Letter are absolutely wanted, We have agreed to Purchase them to the use of the Honble. Company. -	**Interpretations** The Council paid 75 per cent above the invoice price rather than wait for the Company's own consignment. Ships' surgeons on East Indiamen were allowed to carry a private chest of medicines, which they sold at whatever price a remote station would bear. The *Earl Talbot*'s surgeon knew that St Helena had no alternative source and set his price accordingly. Stroud's offer to cut his next order was meant to reassure the Council, and through it the Court, that the Company would not end up paying twice for the same drugs. The Council accepted the markup because of the hospital's condition after a quarter that had seen seven soldiers buried and the garrison on reduced rations.
71	67	1779 Messieurs Benjamin Mason Senr. Wm. Isacke and Benjamin Seale Junr. presented the following Petitions Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council St. Helena - The humble Petition of Benjamin Mason Senr. Sheweth That there is a piece of the Honble. Company's waste Land lying on the West Division of this Island near High Hill, which he is very desirous of having, humbly request your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same - 2 August 1779 And your Petitioner will ever Pray Ordered the said Land to be Viewed - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council The humble Petition of Wm. Isacke - Sheweth That he is desirous of quitting the Island and proceeding to Bengal upon the Ship Earl of Talbot, requests - your Worship and Council will grant his Petition so to do, - And your Petitioner will ever Pray - Granted To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of Benjamin Seale Junr. Sheweth That your Petitioner being desirous of - quitting the Island and proceeding to Bengal upon the Ship	Benjamin Mason senior, William Jacke and Benjamin Seale junior then presented petitions to the Governor and Council. Benjamin Mason senior asked for a lease of a piece of the Company's waste land in the island's western division, near High Hill. He was keen to take it on, and his petition was dated 2 August 1779. The Council ordered the land to be inspected. William Jacke asked for permission to leave the island and go to Bengal on the *Earl Talbot*. The Council granted his request. Benjamin Seale junior opened his petition by stating that he, too, wished to leave the island and travel to Bengal by ship. **Interpretations** No inhabitant could leave St Helena without the Council's written consent. Every departure therefore came before the Board as a petition. The rule let the Council stop debtors absconding, hold back skilled men the island could not spare and keep track of who came and went on the Company's ships. Benjamin Seale had appeared on the quarter's pay list as an overseer at £8 5s 0d. His wish to go to Bengal shows the pull that the Company's larger settlements in India exerted on ambitious young men from the island, where opportunities were few.
72	68	9th August Earl of Talbot, humbly request your Worship and Council will be pleased to give him leave so to do - 2 August 1779 And your Petitioner will ever pray Granted John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th Day of August 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham	Benjamin Seale junior asked the Council to let him leave the island and go to Bengal on the *Earl Talbot*. His petition was dated 2 August 1779, and the Council granted it. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 9 August 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 2 August 1779. Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, reported that the provisions landed from the *Earl Talbot* fell short of her invoice. He dated his report 2 August 1779. Flour, 8 casks short of the invoice Salt provisions invoiced, 150 casks

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		Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 2 August 1779 - The following Provisions short received from Ship Earl of Talbot Viz. 8 Casks Flour short received Invoiced 150 Do. Salt Provision Received 40 Do. Beef Do. 88 Do. Pork 128 22 Casks Salt Provision Short Recd. 2 August 1779 Jonn. Doveton Storekeeper	Beef received, 40 casks Pork received, 88 casks Salt provisions received in total, 128 casks Salt provisions short of the invoice, 22 casks **Interpretations** The storekeeper's certificate set out in writing what the island had paid for and not received. The commander and owners of a ship carrying Company stores answered for every cask on the invoice. A shortfall certified on landing could be charged against the ship's freight or the commander's account when she reached England or India. Without the storekeeper's signed count, the Company would have had no grounds to recover the loss. The *Earl Talbot* was the store ship on which the island's relief had depended through the first half of 1779. She arrived nearly 15 per cent short in salt provisions and 8 casks short in flour. Some of the missing stores had probably been eaten by her own crew during a voyage made longer by wartime delays. The rest may have been pilfered in the hold. Either way, the relief the island had waited for fell short of what had been promised, and the rationing of the past months could not be lifted in full.
73	69	9 August The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stewards Accounts for the Month of July last were this day laid before Us, which were examined, approved and are as follows Viz. Artillery Stores expended in July 1779 Guns fired, 18 lb., 9 lb., 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz. 2 For the Stone Blowers at Purlings Battery: Guns fired 0, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 21, Powder oz. 0 9 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 26 An Alarm at Purlings Battery: Guns fired 2, 18 lb. 2, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 9, Powder oz. 0 An Alarm at Prosperous Bay: Guns fired 6, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 Arrived His Majesty's Ship Warwick: Guns fired 13, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 16, Powder oz. 0 Saluted the Captain: Guns fired 13, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 1, 6 lb. 12, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 16, Powder oz. 8 30 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 Arrived the Earl of Talbot: Guns fired 9, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 9, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 9 Signal Cartridges for the West Flying Party 220: Guns fired 0, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 7, Powder oz. 13 Sold to Mr. John Goodwin: Guns fired 0, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 5, Powder oz. 0 Blowing Spikes out of the Swivels: Guns fired 0, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 8, Powder oz. 0 Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 18 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 10, Powder oz. 3 Total: Guns fired 55, 18 lb. 2, 9 lb. 1, 6 lb. 34, 4 lb. 12, 3 lb. 6, Powder lb. 136, Powder oz. 1 Hand Spikes for Purlings Battery No. 5 6 Wormes for the Artillery Battery 1 Hand Spikes for Ramparts 2 Cartridge Paper Quire 12 (Signed) Wm. Pierce Captn. of Artillery Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in July 1779 - To 72 Bottles Madeira£	The Council examined and approved the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for July 1779. The artillery account recorded the following stores used during July 1779. Each line gives the guns fired by calibre and the powder used. 2 July, for the stone blowers at [...] Battery: 0 guns fired, powder 27 lb 0 oz 9 July, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 26 July, an alarm at [...] Battery: 2 guns fired (2 eighteen-pounders), powder 9 lb 0 oz 26 July, an alarm at Prosperous Bay: 6 guns fired (4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 26 July, salute on the arrival of HMS Warwick: 13 guns fired (13 nine-pounders), powder 16 lb 0 oz 26 July, salute to the captain: 13 guns fired (1 twelve-pounder, 12 nine-pounders), powder 16 lb 8 oz 30 July, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 30 July, salute on the arrival of the Earl Talbot: 9 guns fired (9 nine-pounders), powder 11 lb 9 oz 220 signal cartridges for the West [...] party: 0 guns fired, powder 7 lb 13 oz Sold to John Goodwin: 0 guns fired, powder 5 lb 0 oz Blowing spikes out of the swivel guns: 0 guns fired, powder 20 lb 0 oz Sundry services: 0 guns fired, powder 10 lb 3 oz Total: 55 guns fired (2 eighteen-pounders, 1 twelve-pounder, 34 nine-pounders, 12 six-pounders, 6 three-pounders), powder 156 lb 1 oz Other stores used Handspikes for [...] Battery, 3 Wormer for the saluting battery, 1 Rammer staves for Rupert's, 2 Cartridge paper, 12 quires William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. The ship names in the account are the *Warwick* and the *Earl Talbot*. The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during July 1779. Madeira, 72 bottles, £4 10s 0d Port, 12 bottles, £1 7s 6d Lisbon wine, 35 bottles, £2 15s 5d Mountain wine, 8 bottles, £0 12s 8d Beer, 20 bottles, £0 6s 8d Arrack, 16 gallons, £2 8s 0d 6 fowls, £0 9s 0d 12 ducks, £0 11s 0d Mutton, 116 lb, £2 8s 4d

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		4 10 . 18 Do. Port 1 7 6 35 Do. Lisbon 2 15 5 8 Do. Mountain . 12 8 20 Do. Beer . 6 8 16 Galls. Arrack 2 8 . 6 Fowls . 9 . 12 Ducks . 11 . 116 Mutton 2 8 4 Carried Over £ 15 16 7	Carried forward, £15 16s 7d **Interpretations** The garrison sounded four alarms in July 1779, at a rate of roughly one a week. Each one fired the same small pattern of light guns to call the men to their posts. Two of the alarms fell on the days that HMS *Warwick* and the *Earl Talbot* came into sight. In wartime, any sail on the horizon might be an enemy cruiser until she showed her colours. The island's signal posts therefore raised the alarm first and left the salute until the ship was identified. The 13-gun salutes to the *Warwick* and to her captain marked a King's ship. The Company's own *Earl Talbot* received only nine, so the scale of a salute recorded the visitor's standing. The "stone blowers" were men splitting rock with gunpowder. That fits the rock-breaking work recorded at the batteries in the previous quarter. Blowing spikes out of swivel guns cleared iron spikes driven into the touch-holes, whether by accident or to put the guns out of action, by firing a powder charge behind them. Mountain was a sweet white wine from the hills around Málaga in Spain. Lisbon was a white wine shipped from Portugal, and both were common at English tables of the period.
74	70	9 August Brought Over £ 15 16 7 1 Lamb . 10 . 116 Candy 2 11 . 175 Flour 1 8 10 £ 20 13 5 Bought for the Table 167 Beef @ 5 4 3 6 62 Do. @ 3½ . 18 1 5 Turkeys 1 5 . 8 Fowles . 12 . 8 Pigs 2 . . 8 18 7 William Lawrence Matross, presented the following Petition To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council St. Helena - The humble Petition of William Lawrence Matross - Sheweth That your Petitioner is belonging to the Artillery Company Commanded by Captn. Wm. Pierce on the abovesaid Island - That your Petitioner has now an opportunity of Changing with a Lad for Bengal, and is willing to serve the Honble. Company five Years there, notwithstanding he has already served here, the term of three Years and five Months of his - Contracted time, And the Lad who is willing to stay in the room of your Petitioner is also desirous of staying his full time of five Years, Another motive which your Petitioner has, is that he has an own Brother going out to Bengal as a Soldier, and therefore should be happy to go and meet him there - Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays	The steward's account for the Company's table in July 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £15 16s 7d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d Candles, 116 lb, £2 11s 0d Flour, 175 lb, £1 8s 10d Total used at the table, £20 13s 5d Bought for the table Beef, 167 lb at 6d, £4 3s 6d Beef, 62 lb at 3½d, £0 18s 1d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 8 fowls, £0 12s 0d 2 pigs, £2 0s 0d Total bought, £8 18s 7d William Lawrence, a matross, then presented a petition to the Governor and Council. Lawrence stated that he served in the Artillery Company under Captain William Pierce. He had found a chance to change places with a young man bound for Bengal, and he was willing to serve the Company for five years there. He had already served three years and five months of his contracted term on St Helena. The young man who would stay in his place was also willing to serve a full five years on the island. Lawrence gave a further reason. His own brother was on his way to Bengal as a soldier, and he would be glad to go there and join him. He asked the Governor and Council to consider his request, and he dated his petition 9 August 1779. **Interpretations** Lawrence's proposal offered the Company a clear gain on St Helena. He had less than two years of his engagement left to serve. His replacement would give the island a fresh five years, and Lawrence himself would serve five more in Bengal. An exchange of that kind cost the Company nothing in bounty money, which mattered after the £615 0s 0d paid out to keep time-expired men in the garrison that quarter. The petition also shows recruits bound for India passing through St Helena on the Company's ships. That traffic gave island soldiers a way out, provided someone on board was prepared to take their place.

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		your Worships to consider the premises - And your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever Pray - 9th August 1779	
75	71	1779 In consequence of the above Petition We have agreed to the exchange, and accordingly Inlisted Richd. Catchpole a Recruit for Bengal to serve as a Soldier in this Garrison five Years in William Lawrence's Stead. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Thursday the 12 Day of August 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 9 August 1779 - The ten Working days allowed by Charter-party for unloading the Ship Earl Talbot being expired, We gave Captain Thomas Henderson Sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Calcutta in Bengal according to the Instructions he has received from the Honble. the Court of Directors, We likewise gave him the following Letters to the Presidency of Fort William and Select Committee of Supra-Cargoes at Canton -	The Council agreed to the exchange that William Lawrence had proposed. It enlisted Richard Catchpole, a recruit bound for Bengal, to serve as a soldier in the island's garrison for five years in Lawrence's place. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 12 August 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 9 August 1779. The ten working days allowed under the charter for unloading the *Earl Talbot* had now run out. The Council gave Captain Thomas Henderson written sailing orders to proceed to Calcutta in Bengal as quickly as he could, in line with the instructions the Council had received from the Court of Directors. It also handed him letters addressed to the Presidency of Fort William and to the Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton. **Interpretations** The charter-party between the Company and the *Earl Talbot*'s owners fixed ten working days for discharging her St Helena cargo. Any delay beyond that period would have obliged the Company to pay the owners demurrage, a daily charge for holding the ship idle. The Council therefore dispatched her as soon as the allowance ran out, even though her cargo had arrived short. A dispute over the missing casks could be pursued in writing, but every extra day in the road cost money. The letters for Fort William and Canton show the island acting as a relay in the Company's wartime communications. Orders and intelligence that reached St Helena from London went on by the next outward ship to the Company's settlements in Bengal and its supercargoes in China.
76	72	12 August To the Honble. Warren Hastings Esqr. Governor General &ca. and Supreme Council of the Company's Settlements in the East Indies - Honble. Sir & Sirs We had the pleasure of addressing you under date of the 27 March 1779 by the Mercury Packet Duplicate of which goes herewith, and we take the opportunity by the Earl Talbot of enclosing that Ships Charter-party Victualling Bill and Manifest of Goods together with our Letter to the Presidency's of Fort St. George and Bombay and Select Committee of Supra-Cargoes at Canton, which we request you will be pleased to forward by the earliest opportunity that offers - William Lawrence a Matross in this Garrison having a Brother going to your Presidency applied to Us for leave to Change with Richard Catchpole a Recruit on Board the Earl Talbot, he being a good Man we have granted him liberty so to do, and have taken his obligation to serve five Years, which we herewith transmit you - The present Mode of the Honble. Company's taking up the Charter-party Ships by builders measurement	The Council wrote to Warren Hastings, Governor General, and the Supreme Council of the Company's settlements in the East Indies. The Council reminded Hastings that it had last written on 27 March 1779 by the *Mercury* packet, and it enclosed a copy of that letter. It now sent, by the *Earl Talbot*, that ship's charter-party, victualling bill and cargo manifest. It also enclosed its letters to the Presidencies of Fort St George and Bombay and to the Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton, and asked Hastings to forward them by the first available ship. The Council explained that William Lawrence, a matross in the garrison, had a brother on his way to Bengal. Lawrence had asked to change places with Richard Catchpole, a recruit on board the *Earl Talbot*. Lawrence was a good soldier, so the Council had agreed. It had taken his written undertaking to serve five years and enclosed it with the letter. The Council then raised a more pressing matter. The Company now chartered its ships by the builder's measurement of their tonnage. That method stopped commanders and officers from bringing grain to the island on their own account. As a result, St Helena was in serious distress for want of rice and paddy, since the quantity delivered to the public stores fell far short of the island's needs. The Council asked Hastings to increase its orders of both as far as he could, and it said it would inform the Court of Directors of the request. The Council also enclosed a list of ships that had arrived at and left the island since its last report, sent by

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		preventing the Captains and Officers bringing Grain on their private Account, has reduced this Island to great distress for want of Rice and Paddy, as the Quantity brought into the public Stores is by no means sufficient for the General Consumption. We therefore request you will be pleased to increase our Indents of those Articles as much as you conveniently can, and shall inform the Honble. Court of Directors of this request - You will likewise receive enclosed a List of Ships Arrival and Departure to and from this Island since our Advices P Earl of Mansfield - We are Honble. Sir & Sirs St. Helena Your most obedient 12 August 1779 humble Servants (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett	the *Earl of Mansfield*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 12 August 1779 and signed by Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. **Interpretations** Chartering by builder's measurement meant the Company paid for every ton of a ship's calculated capacity and claimed the whole hold for its own cargo. Under the older practice, the commander and officers kept a share of the space as a private allowance. They traded on their own account and regularly brought rice and paddy from India to sell at St Helena. The island's food supply had quietly depended on that private trade. The Company's change in charter terms, made in London for reasons of freight economy, removed it without any thought for the island. The Council's request shows the hidden cost of the reform. A supply once carried for nothing by officers seeking profit now had to be ordered officially and paid for by the Company. Paddy was rice still in its husk. It kept far better than cleaned rice on a long voyage and could be husked on the island as needed. The slaves' rice ration had already fallen from 161 cwt to 70 cwt earlier in 1779. The appeal to Bengal was therefore a direct response to a shortage that touched the whole slave population.
77	73	1779 To Thomas Fitzhugh Esqr. President and Select Committee of Supra Cargoes at Canton - Gentlemen The Honble. Court of Directors having informed Us in their Letter P Earl Talbot that they have thought proper to appoint a President and Select Committee with full Powers to transact their affairs in China. We therefore do ourselves the pleasure of Addressing you by way of Bengal. Our last P Earl of Mansfield went under date of the 24 March 1778 Duplicate of which was forwarded by the Queen - You will please to observe by our Indent transmitted to the Honble. the Court of Directors that we have made a larger Demand of some of the Articles from China than usual Copy of which you herewith for your information request your - Compliance with the same - We have also enclosed for your Perusal a List of Ships Arrival and Departure to and from this Place - since our Advices P Earl of Mansfield - We are Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedient 12 August 1779 humble Servants (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council also wrote to Thomas Fitzhugh, President, and the Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton. The Court of Directors had told the Council, in its letter brought by the *Earl Talbot*, that it had appointed a President and Select Committee with full powers to manage its business in China. The Council was therefore glad to address them, sending its letter by way of Bengal. It noted that its last letter to Canton had gone by the *Earl of Mansfield* on 24 March 1779, and that a copy had followed by the *Queen*. The Council told the Committee that it had sent the Court of Directors an order for supplies that asked for more of certain Chinese goods than usual. It enclosed a copy for the Committee's information and asked it to meet the order. It also enclosed a list of ships that had arrived and left since its last report by the *Earl of Mansfield*. The letter was dated at St Helena on 12 August 1779 and signed by Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. **Interpretations** The larger order for Chinese goods probably centred on tea and sugar, the very articles whose rationing had provoked the lieutenants' protest only weeks earlier. The Council had defended its limits on the grounds that supplies were finite. At the same time, it moved quietly to enlarge them at the source. Writing to Canton by way of Bengal, rather than waiting for the Court to pass the order on, gained months. China ships called at St Helena only on the homeward voyage, so supplies from Canton could reach the island only if the supercargoes had loaded them before the ships sailed.
78	74	16 August At a Consultation held on Monday 16th Day of August 1779 at the Castle	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 16 August 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew

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		Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 12 August 1779. Saturday the 14 Sailed the Honble. Company's Ship Earl Talbot for Bengal - Do. Do. Died John Davis Private On Monday last, We received the following Letter Viz. To the Worshipfull Jno. Skottowe Esqr. Governor and the Gentlemen of Council St. Helena - Sirs We were favored (by your Secretary) with a Copy of your Answer to our Letter of the 19 July last - As this reply, not only contains an express refusal of our request, but throws at the same time a severe degree of Censure, both on the Nature and the manner of our Address, We must use the freedom more fully to explain to you, the Reasons of our late Application to the Board and must beg your unprejudiced Attention, to what we may allege in Vindication of our Conduct - We are satisfied from the Nature and Situation of this Island, that the Inhabitants must in a great measure depend for their Subsistence, on Supplies from abroad, that those sent to the Honble. Company's Stores are not fully - adequate to the General Consumption, and that therefore a certain restrictive distribution of them, must be highly requisite and commendable. On this Account we could not possibly mean to reflect on the Motives of your late economical Regulation, on the contrary we thought it Salutary and prudent, and could not be so mistaken as to imagine, that in its Original Design there was any other end proposed than the public Welfare -	Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 12 August 1779. The Company's ship *Earl Talbot* sailed for Bengal on Saturday 14 August 1779. John Davis, a private, died on the same day. On the previous Monday the Council had received a further letter from the officers who had signed the protest about tea and sugar. They acknowledged receiving, through the secretary, a copy of the Council's reply to their letter of 13 July 1779. That reply had not only refused their request outright but had also sharply criticised both the substance and the manner of their approach. They therefore felt free to explain more fully why they had applied to the Board, and they asked the Council to give a fair hearing to their defence of their conduct. The officers accepted that the island's nature and position left the inhabitants heavily dependent on supplies from overseas. They also accepted that the stock sent to the Company's store did not fully meet the island's needs. Some restriction on its distribution was therefore necessary and deserved credit. For that reason, they had never meant to question the purpose behind the Council's recent economy measure. On the contrary, they regarded it as sound and prudent. They could not be so mistaken as to suppose that it had been designed for anything other than the public good. **Interpretations** The officers chose to answer the Council's censure rather than let the matter drop after the Council's refusal and its decision to refer the dispute to London. Their new letter opened by conceding every point of principle the Council had made. They accepted the shortage, the need for rationing and the good faith of the regulation. That concession narrowed the argument to the single question of rank, and it also served as a defence against the charge of disrespect. Because the Council had promised to send the protest to the Court of Directors, the officers had a strong reason to place a more conciliatory statement on record as well. The Court would then read their version alongside the Council's account of their conduct.
79	75	1779 We complained however when we found, that an unequal Division of the Necessaries of Life was about to take place and when we learned, that this Inequality was grounded on a Distinction of Rank, in a matter, to which we presumed its Influence, could not properly extend. - You have indeed asserted that the Articles in question are not absolute Necessaries of Life, but with all Deference to your Opinion, we cannot help being persuaded, that the sense of this Term must be Vague and Relative, and that its Import must vary from Habit, from Modes of Living, and from certain peculiarities of Climate and Situation. As we have all from our Infancy been accustomed to the use of Tea and Sugar, we must look upon them as highly -	The officers explained that they had complained only when they found that necessities were about to be shared unequally. They objected further when they learned that the inequality rested on rank, in a matter where they had supposed rank should carry no weight. The Council had stated that the goods in question were not absolute necessities. The officers replied, with due respect, that the word was vague and relative. Its meaning, in their view, varied with habit, way of life and the particular climate and position of a place. They had used tea and sugar since childhood and regarded both as highly useful and necessary. That was especially so on St Helena, where food was neither varied nor plentiful and nothing else could serve the same purpose. Any gentleman on the island left wholly without them would feel that his family lacked something important. If that was accepted, it followed that cutting the supply reduced a necessity, and the hardship would be felt in proportion to the size of the cut. The officers had heard it argued that the rations used in some royal garrisons fixed the quantity of

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		serviceable and necessary, more especially as in this place, where the Articles of our Sustenance are neither various nor abundant, it is impossible to find a Substitute, that will answer the purposes they are applied to serve. We may therefore affirm that if any Gentleman here was totally without them, he would think his Family wanted something very material for its use and Support, and if this is - allowed to be the case, it consequently follows that an Abridgement of these Articles must be a restriction on a Necessary of Life which must be felt in proportion to it's extent and severity. - It has been said that the Ration observed in some of the Kings Garrisons ascertains the quantity of Necessaries to which every Man's Rank entitles him, but besides that these are given not paid for. We believe that the different proportional Allowances to Officers in the Kings Service, arise from their being supposed to have a certain number of Servants in Livery, for whose Maintenance this Bounty provides. If we are not misinformed, the daily - Allowance of Provision in his Majesty's Navy is exactly the same for an Officer and a Seaman; And this in some measure - seems to be the sense of the Honble. Company themselves, because in the Annual present they make of Cloathing to the Military the Superior Rank of Officers is distinguished by any larger or additional quantity. But if it should even be still contended that the word necessary is precise and determinate, and that it comprehends only Bread, Meat and Cloathing; we should - nevertheless esteem it but a humane Concession, if the Term - might be taken in a fuller and more extended sense, and its meaning was allowed to reach to something farther than what is barely essential to preserve Existence. - We acquiesce in the Justice of your Remark that	necessities to which each rank was entitled. They pointed out that those rations were free of charge. They also believed that the larger allowances given to officers in the King's service existed because officers were expected to keep a certain number of servants in livery, and the extra share was meant to feed them. They understood that the daily ration in the Royal Navy was exactly the same for an officer and a seaman. The Company itself appeared to take the same view, since its yearly issue of clothing to the garrison gave officers no larger share for their higher rank. Even if the word "necessities" were held to mean only bread, meat and clothing, they argued that it would be a humane concession to read it more broadly. They asked that it should cover something beyond the bare minimum needed to stay alive. The officers then accepted the fairness of one of the Council's remarks. **Interpretations** The officers answered the Council's claim about rank by turning to the practice of the Crown and of the Company itself. In the Royal Navy, every man aboard drew the same daily ration of bread, beef, pork, peas and beer, from the captain to the youngest seaman. Officers fed themselves better at their own expense, not out of a larger public allowance. Army officers received extra rations in the King's garrisons, but those were reckoned as provision for their servants. By pointing also to the Company's equal issue of clothing, the officers argued that the Council's scale of allowances by rank had no basis in any established practice. They presented it instead as a local invention, which the Court of Directors would read as such when the papers reached London.
80	76	16 August that our present uneasiness arose from the Distinction, not the Insufficiency of the Articles we speak of. Some Gentlemen indeed whose families are not large and who have made the Experiment since the late regulation find that their Allowance is not equivalent to answer the most parsimonious Consumption. But we wish not to rest our Argument on this foundation. We again repeat that - although the Quantity allotted Us was much Inferior to what it is, we could have no plausible ground of Discontent, provided the Deficiency was felt equally by some others of the Honble. Company's Servants. - By this Instruction it is settled, that the Annual	The officers accepted the Council's point that their present unease came from the distinction of rank, not from any real shortfall in quantity. They added that some gentlemen with small families had tried living on the new allowance since the rule came in. Those men had found it too small to cover even the most careful use. The officers did not wish to rest their case on that, however. They repeated that even if their allowance had been far smaller, they would have had no reasonable grounds for complaint, provided the shortage fell equally on the other servants of the Company. Under the Council's instruction, a captain or a factor received 520 lb of sugar a year, while a junior officer received 312 lb. The officers explained that their surprise was easy to understand once the likely consequences were considered. They feared that the same method of division would be applied to everything issued from the Company's stores in every future shortage. It might reach goods far more essential than tea or sugar.

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		proportion of Sugar for the Rank of a Captain and Factor is 520 pounds. That for Subaltern 312. Our Surprise on this occasion we think may be easily understood from the Consequences, we were led to suppose might follow it. We conceived that this Method of Division might be observed in the Disposal of Necessaries from the Company's Stores, in every future Season of Distress, and that it might extend to other things, still more indispensably wanted, than either Tea or Sugar. - Had it for Instance happened, that a Supply of Grain or Flour had arrived, in similar proportion to the present Stock of Sugar, and if according to this Distinction a Captain or Factor had a Monthly Allowance of Flour adequate to the Exigencies of 30 Days, and our proportion was confined in twenty It must appear from this Arithmetical Calculation of Rank, that these Gentlemen have a Claim to eat more Bread than we do. If on the other hand it was admitted that our Shares were sufficient for the Demands of Moderation: As many of Us have more - Numerous families, than some of the Gentlemen who are classed above Us, it is evident that this Distinction must be vain and must tend in some degree to defeat the purpose for which Supplies are sent to the Island. Because if a Captain or Factor is allowed more of any Article than he actually stands in need of, he must be enabled from the Overplus to collect a Reserve of Necessaries in Store, while we are Struggling to husband our Pittance, to - preserve Us from absolute want upon the returning period of Supply. Nor is this Idea of want fancied or imaginary with Us it has a more probable Contingency than with many other Individuals in the Settlement. Because since the Honble. Company's Ships have been freighted on a larger Measurement the Articles alluded to have been seldom brought here for Sale, and when they	The officers gave an example. Suppose a supply of grain or flour arrived in the same proportion as the present stock of sugar. On the same scale, a captain or factor might receive enough flour for 30 days while a junior officer received enough for only 20. That piece of arithmetic would imply that rank entitled the senior men to eat more bread. Suppose, on the other hand, that the officers' shares were enough for moderate needs. Many of them had larger families than some of the gentlemen ranked above them, so the distinction would then serve no purpose. Worse, it would defeat the reason the supplies were sent at all. A captain or factor allowed more than he needed could build up a private reserve from the surplus. Meanwhile the junior officers would struggle to stretch their small share far enough to avoid real want before the next supply arrived. The officers insisted that the danger of want was neither invented nor imaginary in their case. It was more likely for them than for many others on the island. Since the Company had begun chartering its ships on a larger measurement, the goods in question had seldom been brought to the island for private sale. **Interpretations** The officers' strongest argument concerned hoarding. A scale of allowances by rank gave the senior men more than they could use. In a closed island economy, that surplus could be stored against the next shortage or sold at a profit to those who had too little. The ration would then pass wealth upwards instead of sharing scarcity. The officers also traced their exposure to the change in the Company's charter terms. The Council had made the same point to Warren Hastings on 12 August 1779, when it blamed chartering by builder's measurement for the island's lack of rice and paddy. Officers and Council therefore agreed on the cause of the shortage, even while they disputed how its burden should be shared. Ships' officers had once brought tea and sugar for private sale. With that trade gone, junior men with modest pay had no market to turn to, while their seniors could draw on the Company's store at a higher rate.
81	77	1779 they are offered to Market they are generally disposed of in greater - Quantity's than we can afford to purchase. Or if it was in our power to purchase them, we are restrained from making Bargains, because our Military Character excludes Us from the Benefit of Trade. We must therefore Depend chiefly for our Support on what is issued from the Company's Stores, and if these are deficient, we must be either totally destitute of necessaries or reduced to the Chance of procuring them with Difficulty elsewhere, at a very extravagant Price. - We think we might likewise on this occasion	The officers explained that when such goods did reach the market, they were usually sold in larger lots than the officers could afford. Even when they had the means, their position as military men barred them from trade and stopped them striking bargains. They therefore relied chiefly on what the Company's store issued. If that fell short, they had either to go without necessities altogether or to take their chance of finding them elsewhere, with difficulty and at an exorbitant price. They also raised the question of promotion in their service. Some of them had served 10 or 15 years as lieutenants without any new privilege. A young gentleman in the civil branch, by contrast, became entitled to certain privileges as soon as he completed five years. His higher rank then excluded the officers

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		with propriety advert, to that Slowness of Promotion which accompanys our Line of Duty, And observe that some of Us after serving, perhaps for ten or fifteen Years as Lieutenants, are not favored with any new Indulgences, while a Young Gentleman in the Civil Branch, immediately on the expiry of five Years, becomes it seems entitled to certain privileges, from which we are debarred by the Inferiority of our Rank, without any regard to the Length of our Service. - We did admit that every Man should enjoy the Advantages attached to his Rank or Office, But we thought that these Advantages consisted in the pecuniary Emoluments annexed to his Station, in the Authority that was vested in him, and as a - Military Power, in the Respect and Obedience due to his Commands. Not they interfered with the Division of Sugar, or gave a Superior pretension to the Necessary's of Life. From this opinion we have said in our Letter "that we deemed it unreasonable that any Mans Rank should tend to abridge our Domestic Comforts and Conveniences" This Expression you have termed an illiberal and unmerited Charge against the Board. We confess we do not understand how a general Position of this Nature can be called a Charge, or how the simple assertion of an incontrovertible Fact, can be considered as relating to the Design, not the Consequences of your Regulation, nor from the most strained construction can we yet discover, that it conveys the least Implication of particular Censure. We are the more Confident in insisting on this Explanation of our Sentiments, - because nothing was more foreign from our Intention than to throw an Imputation of Partiality on your Determinations. We thought we had a privilege to State our Complaint. We thought we might reason upon the Hardship put upon Us. And if our Language was strong, we wished not to transgress the Bounds of Respect and Politeness. On this account you must excuse us for saying that we are sensibly hurt, at finding so harsh an Epithet applied to a Sentiment, that sprung from the Plain suggestion	from those privileges, whatever the length of their own service. The officers repeated that every man should enjoy the advantages of his rank or office. In their view, however, those advantages lay in the pay attached to his post and the authority it gave him. For a military man, they also included the respect and obedience owed to his orders. They did not extend to the division of sugar or confer any greater claim on the necessities of life. That belief had led them to write that it was unreasonable for any man's rank to reduce the domestic comfort of others. The Council had called this an ungenerous and undeserved charge against the Board. The officers said they could not see how a general statement of that kind amounted to a charge. A plain statement of an undeniable fact referred only to the effects of the regulation, not to its intention. Even on the most strained reading, they could not find in it the slightest hint of personal criticism. They pressed this explanation all the more firmly because nothing had been further from their minds than to accuse the Council of favouritism. They had believed they had the right to state their grievance and to reason about the hardship it caused. If their language had been forceful, they had not meant to fail in the respect and courtesy due to the Board. For that reason, they asked the Council to forgive them for saying that they felt deeply wounded to see so harsh a description applied to a view that had arisen from plain observation. **Interpretations** The officers' complaint exposed two structural differences between the Company's civil and military servants on St Helena. The first concerned trade. Civil servants, from writer upwards, were permitted to trade on their own account. They could buy goods from ships' officers in bulk, store them and resell them, which gave them supplies independent of the Company's store. Military officers were forbidden to trade, so they could only buy at retail and had to depend on the store's allowance. The second concerned promotion. A civil servant rose by length of service, from writer to factor after a fixed term of five years, and each step brought higher rank and larger allowances. Military officers rose only when a vacancy opened, so a lieutenant could wait a decade or more without advancement. A scale of rations tied to rank therefore compounded an existing inequality, rewarding the branch that already had other means of supply.
82	78	16 August suggestions of Truth, and that is so closely allied to the Principles of Humanity. - We are sorry to be informed, that the Chief Source of your disapprobation proceeds from our having made an Address to Council without previously representing our Case to the Governor. You may be assured, Sir, that had we	The officers described their view as resting on plain truth and closely bound up with the principles of humanity. They regretted to learn that the Council's main objection was that they had addressed the Board without first putting their case to the Governor. Had they known that this was the usual and required procedure, they would certainly have followed it and avoided the objection. They had not, however, seen the matter as touching their military duty. Since the rule they disputed had come from the Board as a whole,

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		been apprized that this Mode of Application was customary and requisite we should certainly have avoided this objection to our Conduct. But as we did not consider this Matter as bearing a Relation to our Military Duty, and as the Regulation complained of issued from the Board, we thought we could only look for Redress, in your joint Concurrence and Authority. - We are the more uneasy that we have mistook the proper Channel of Solicitation, since you publicly told Us, that had we applied in this manner our Request would in all probability have been granted. Because from this, we are induced to conjecture, that the ill success of our Remonstrance is rather to be imputed to our Ignorance of Form, than to the Weakness of our Reasoning, or the Lameness of our cause. - With respect to our employing a Serjeant to write for Us, we have only to say that the same Man has on many occasions Copyed Papers that were presented to the Board, And that we hope the Contents of our Letter could not be much exposed nor - produce any tendency to Discontent in the Garrison, because the Original was little more than half an hour in his possession. But whatever you may have apprehended from the probable Danger of such a Proceeding, we must beg you will do us the justice to esteem it an Error of Inadvertence, and that you will candidly Distinguish a casual Indiscretion from deliberate Impropriety. - We have only to add, that we are not without an Expectation, that this Second Appeal to your - Authority may influence you, to remove the Distinction which has produced it. If however you determine that the Regulation shall still continue in force, we must request that this Letter may be transmitted with the other Papers on the Subject, to the Honble. the Court of Directors. - We are Sirs St. Helena With great Respect August 9 1779 Your most Obedt. humble Servants (Signed) James Adney Judge Advocate & Schoolmaster John Leech Jas. Greentree Walter Greentree Richd. Knipe Francis Seale Thos. Statham Willm. Roberts Robt. Gurling Saml. Desfountain Robt. Hodson David Kay Assist. Surgeon Chas. Wm. Steward	they had believed that only the joint agreement and authority of the Board could put it right. Their unease at having chosen the wrong channel was all the greater because the Council had told them openly that a request made the proper way would probably have been granted. That led them to suspect that their protest had failed through their ignorance of procedure, not through any weakness in their reasoning or in the justice of their case. On their use of a sergeant as their clerk, they said only that the same man had often copied papers submitted to the Board. They hoped the contents of their letter had not been spread about and would not encourage discontent in the garrison. The original had been in his hands for little more than half an hour. Whatever danger the Council had feared from that step, they asked it to treat the matter fairly as a careless mistake and to distinguish a moment's oversight from deliberate impropriety. They ended by expressing the hope that this second appeal would persuade the Council to remove the distinction that had caused the dispute. If the Council decided to keep the rule in force, they asked that this letter be sent to the Court of Directors with the other papers on the subject. The letter was dated at St Helena on 9 August 1779 and signed by the following. James Adney, judge advocate and schoolmaster John Leech J. Greentree Walter Greentree Richard Knipe Francis Seale Thomas Statham William Hebrook Robert Gurling Samuel Dafountain Robert Hodson David Kay, assistant surgeon Charles Ross Stewart **Interpretations** The officers turned the Council's rebuke on procedure to their own advantage. The Council had said publicly that a private request to the Governor would probably have been granted. The officers seized on that admission as proof that the refusal rested on form rather than merit. Read by the Court of Directors, the exchange would suggest that the Council had turned down a reasonable request because of wounded dignity. The officers' insistence that their letter join the papers sent home was therefore their strongest move. It ensured that the Court would judge the dispute on both sides' full arguments, not on the Council's summary of the officers' conduct.
83	79	1779 Upon considering the above Letter We directed the Secretary this day, to return the Subsequent Answer Viz. -	After considering the officers' letter, the Council told the secretary to send them a reply that day. It was addressed to the junior officers, David Kay and James Adney.

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		To the Subaltern Officers and Messrs. David Kay and James Adney of the Island St. Helena - Gentlemen I am directed by the Board to inform you, that your Letter of Monday last will be entered upon Consultation for the observance of the Honble. Court of Directors And as they mentioned in their former - Answer to you, that they saw no sufficient Cause to alter the Regulation complained of, they still continue in the same Sentiments and shall submit the propriety thereof to their Honble. Employers - I am 16 August 1779 Gentlemen Your Obedient Servant (Signed) B Wright Secry. Matthew Newman a Seaman left here out of the Ship Earl Talbot presented the following Petition - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and the Council - The humble Petition of Matthew Newman late of the Ship Talbot being left behind, destitute of any Subsistence, having lost the Use of my Limbs, your aforesaid Petitioner humbly prays that your Benevolence of such a distressed Cripple will take it into consideration and help him with the Assistance of the Hospital - Your Petitioner shall be in Duty bound ever for to Pray - (Signed) Matthew Newman 16 August 1779 - Agreed to admit the Petitioner into the Hospital and shall charge his Expence to the Owners of the Ship Earl Talbot Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of July last which is as follows Viz.	The secretary informed them, on the Board's instructions, that their letter of the previous Monday would be entered in the minutes so that the Court of Directors could read it. The Council had already said in its earlier reply that it saw no good reason to change the rule they had complained about. It still held the same view and would leave the Company's directors to judge whether the rule was proper. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the reply on 16 August 1779. Matthew Newman, a seaman left behind on the island by the *Earl Talbot*, presented a petition to the Governor and Council. He explained that he had lost the use of his limbs and had been left ashore without any means of support. He asked the Governor and Council, in their charity, to consider his helpless condition and give him the care of the hospital. He signed the petition on 16 August 1779. The Council agreed to admit Newman to the hospital and to charge the cost to the owners of the *Earl Talbot*. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for July. **Interpretations** The Council charged the cost of Newman's care to the ship's owners rather than to the Company. A seaman who fell sick in service remained the responsibility of the vessel that had signed him on. A commander who left a disabled man ashore to save his own crew the burden passed that burden to the island. The Council's charge restored it to the owners and protected the hospital's budget, after a quarter in which seamen left ashore had already been kept at the Company's expense. The record would also follow the *Earl Talbot*'s accounts to London, where the owners could be made to pay.
84	80	Cash Dr. 1779 July 1st To Balance remaining £ 22854 12 11½ £ 22854 12 11½ Per Contra Cr. 1779 July 31st By Balance remaining Viz. In Specie 22314 17 11½ In Cash Notes 539 15 . 22854 12 11½ £ 22854 12 11½ **Margin Notes:** 16 August	The Company's cash account for July 1779 recorded no money coming in or going out. 1 July 1779, balance in hand, £22,854 12s 11½d Total receipts, £22,854 12s 11½d 31 July 1779, balance in hand, in coin, £22,314 17s 11½d 31 July 1779, balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £22,854 12s 11½d Total, £22,854 12s 11½d **Interpretations** The treasury chest stood exactly as it had at the end of June, without a single receipt or payment in the month. The paymaster drew cash only at the close of each quarter, when the pay list fell due, so the routine costs of government did not touch the chest in the months between. With the homeward fleet gone on 24 June 1779, no ships were buying stores or exchanging cash for bills on London. The *Warwick* was a King's ship and the *Earl Talbot*'s business was settled in August. The idle July balance shows how completely the island's cash flow depended on the seasonal passage of the Company's fleets.
85	81	1779 We this day Inlisted Thomas Robinson, James Campbell and Edward Welch three Seamen left here out of the Ship Earl Talbot to serve the Honorable Company five Years as Soldiers in this Garrison, and gave them ten pounds each, Bounty	The Council enlisted Thomas Robinson, James Campbell and Edward Welsh, three seamen left on the island by the *Earl Talbot*. Each agreed to serve the Company as a soldier in the garrison for five years and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. The Council also ordered a public notice, dated 16 August 1779. Every inhabitant who had lost cattle through death, accident or any other cause since 1

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		Money. - Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Viz. - Island St. Helena 16 August 1779 This is to give Notice to all Persons - upon the said Island, who have lost any Cattle by Deaths, Accidents &c. since the 1 January last, that they are required to send a Return of them into the Secretary's Office on or before Monday next. - By Order of Council Signed B Wright Secry. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Saturday the 21 Day of August 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 16 August 1779 This Morning Arrived the Royal Admirals Boat at Banks's at five o'Clock in the Morning - Do. Do. the Honorable Company's Ship Royal Admiral from Bombay, and brought Us the following dispatches	January 1779 was to send a written account of those losses to the Secretary's office by the following Monday. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the notice on the Council's orders. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Saturday 21 August 1779. The Governor presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 16 August 1779. At five o'clock that morning, a boat from the *Royal Admiral* landed at Banks's battery. The Company's ship *Royal Admiral* arrived from Bombay later the same morning, bringing copies of the following papers. **Interpretations** The notice calling for returns of dead cattle was the first step towards measuring the drought's full damage to the island's herds. The Council had earlier estimated the loss at a third of the stock. A written return from every owner gave it figures it could lay before the Court of Directors. Those figures could support a case for relief, a change in the Company's demands for beef or new imports of cattle. The returns would also show which planters could still supply meat to the garrison and the ships. The *Royal Admiral* sent a boat ashore at Banks's battery before dawn, hours ahead of the ship herself. In wartime an unknown sail approaching the island could expect to be fired on until she was identified. A boat landing at the nearest battery let her commander make himself known to the garrison before the ship came within range of the guns. The seamen enlisted that day received £10 0s 0d, less than the £15 0s 0d paid to soldiers who re-enlisted. They were untrained men, so the Company paid less to engage them than to keep experienced soldiers.
86	82	21 August Invoice of the Royal Admiral - Surat Piece Goods 3 Bales Viz. 3. 15 Corge of Chelloes blue 16 Yds. long 1 broad 9 Ocs. Surat @ 88 Rupees P Corge 1320 . . Surat Charges Customs 2 P Cent 26 1 60 Packing @ Rs. 7. 2 P Bale 22 2 . 48 3 60 1368 3 60 Rice Boaten 87 Bags contg. Mds. Srs. 583. 20 @ 1 Rupee P Surat Maund 583 2 . Batty 52 Bags each contg. 3 Parahs are 6 Morahs 6 Pharahs @ Rs. 22. 2 P Morah 140 1 60 Charges on Merchandize Batty Bags & Gunny Pieces 108 2 . Twine and Making 41 2 . Hamallage 5 1 70 Company's Boats 6 . . 160 1 70 Rupees 2253 . 90 Bombay Castle the 25 April 1779 Errors Excepted Signed John Carnac	The *Royal Admiral* brought an invoice from Bombay for the goods she carried to the island. Surat piece goods, 3 bales 15 corge of blue chelloes, 11 covids long by 1 covid broad, Surat make, at 88 rupees a corge, 1,320 rupees Surat charges Customs at 2 per cent, 26 rupees, 1 quarter, 60 reas Packing at 7 rupees, 2 quarters a bale, 22 rupees, 2 quarters, 0 reas Surat charges total, 48 rupees, 3 quarters, 60 reas Piece goods total, 1,368 rupees, 3 quarters, 60 reas Rice, boaton 97 bags containing 583 Surat maunds 20 seers at 1 rupee a Surat maund, 583 rupees, 2 quarters, 0 reas Batty, 32 bags of 3 parahs each, making 6 morahs 6 parahs at 22 rupees, 2 quarters a morah, 140 rupees, 1 quarter, 60 reas Charges on the merchandise Batty bags and gunny cloth, 108 rupees, 2 quarters, 0 reas Twine and sewing, 41 rupees, 2 quarters, 0 reas Porterage, 5 rupees, 1 quarter, 70 reas Company's boats, 6 rupees, 0 quarters, 0 reas Charges total, 160 rupees, 1 quarter, 70 reas Invoice total, 2,253 rupees, 0 quarters, 90 reas John Carnac signed the invoice at Bombay Castle on 28 April 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. The Governor had received letters from Monsieur Du Plessis and other French gentlemen held as prisoners of war on board the *Royal Admiral*. They asked to be allowed ashore, and the Governor laid their request before the Council. The Council told the secretary to write the following letter to Captain

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		The Governor having received Letters from Monsieur Du Plessis and some other French Gentlemen Prisoners of War on board the Royal Admiral requesting liberty to come on Shore, communicated the same to the Board, in consequence of which the Secretary was ordered to write Capt. Huddart the following Letter, at same time the Governor wrote to Monsieur Du Plessis. -	Huddart. The Governor wrote to Monsieur Du Plessis at the same time. **Interpretations** Chelloes were cotton cloths woven in western India, usually blue or checked, and cheap enough to serve as everyday clothing for the poor. At St Helena they were the standard cloth issued to clothe the Company's slaves. A corge was a trade score of 20 pieces, so the three bales held 300 cloths, each about 16½ feet long and a foot and a half wide by the covid of roughly 18 inches. Batty was the Indian trade name for paddy, rice still in its husk. The parah and morah were western Indian grain measures, the morah being the larger. The Surat maund was a weight of a little under 40 lb, divided into 40 seers. Boaton was probably a grade of cleaned rice named after its place or variety. Gunny was coarse jute sacking from Bengal, used for bagging grain. Bombay accounts were kept in rupees divided into quarters and reas, with 100 reas to the quarter. The *Royal Admiral*'s rice and paddy came from Bombay, nine days after the Council had asked Warren Hastings to increase the island's supply from Bengal. Her cargo had been invoiced in April and so had nothing to do with that request. It shows that the Company's western presidency was already sending the grain on which the island's slaves depended. The French prisoners on board were a product of the war with France that had begun in 1778, during which British forces seized French posts in India. Their request to land placed a decision before the Council about the security of a garrison island that relied on secrecy and its batteries.
87	83	1779 To Captain Joseph Huddart Commander of the Ship Royal Admiral - Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you, that you are not to suffer any of the French Prisoners of any denomination, on board your Ship (Ladys excepted) to come on Shore or permit them to go in Boats upon any part of the Coast of this Island, agreeable to the positive orders they have received from the Honorable Court of Directors on that Head. - I am St. Helena Sir 21 August 1779 Your Obedient Servant (Signed) B Wright Secry. To Monsieur Du Plessis Sir I had the honor of your Letter requesting leave to come a Shore, I am sorry to be under the disagreeable necessity of informing you, that my Orders from the Honble. English East India Company are positively not to allow any Gentlemen Prisoners of War to come a Shore at this Island unless their health particularly require such Indulgence. I should have been happy to have had it in my Power to shew you, Sir, all the attentions due to your Rank, but my wishes in that respect must be superseded by my Positive Orders. I have the honor to be Sir St. Helena Your most Obedient humble Servant 21 August 1779 (Signed) John Skottowe	The secretary wrote to Captain Joseph Huddart, commander of the *Royal Admiral*, on the instructions of the Governor and Council. Huddart was not to let any French prisoner on board his ship land on the island, whatever his standing, with the sole exception of the ladies. Nor was he to let any of them go out in boats along any part of the island's coast. Those were the Court of Directors' firm orders on the matter. Britannicus Wright signed the letter at St Helena on 21 August 1779. Governor Skottowe replied to Monsieur Du Plessis on the same day. He thanked him for his letter asking leave to come ashore, but regretted that he had to refuse. The Company's orders strictly forbade him to allow any gentleman held as a prisoner of war to land on the island unless his health particularly required it. The Governor wrote that he would gladly have shown Du Plessis every courtesy due to his rank. His personal wishes, however, had to give way to his orders. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The ban on French prisoners landing, or even rowing along the coast, was a measure of military security. St Helena's defence rested on a small number of landing places covered by batteries, and on the enemy's ignorance of how they were placed and manned. A French officer allowed ashore, or merely carried around the cliffs in a boat, could note the guns, the paths and the weak points. Once exchanged, he could pass that knowledge to French commanders at the Île de France or in Europe. The exceptions show where the Court drew the line between security and courtesy. Women posed no military threat and were allowed ashore. A sick man could land for treatment, since his health outweighed the risk. Du Plessis, an able-bodied officer, could expect civility only by letter.

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		John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	
88	84	23 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 23rd Day of August 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. William Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 21 August 1779 - In consequence of the Order we gave Captain Joseph Huddart on Saturday last respecting the French Prisoners on board his Ship, Monsieur Du Plessis and some others of them being made acquainted with the same, wrote the Governor very pressingly for liberty to come on Shore on account of their bad State of Health, and Captn. Huddart assuring Us that several of them had been extremely ill during the Passage. We therefore in compliance with the Honble. Company's Orders on that Head, Granted them permission so to do, and directed the Secretary to write - Captain Huddart the following Letter Viz. - To Captain Joseph Huddart Commander of the Ship Royal Admiral - Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that the French Gentlemen on board your Ship having pleaded an ill state of health, requesting liberty to come on Shore on that account, which you likewise have assured the Board is the case, they do therefore permit such as you and your Surgeon may think necessary to come on Shore, on that account, and you will please to inform them that they must defray their own Expences here, also recommend that you endeavor to provide them Lodgings as these Gentlemen can have no other liberty than to walk within the bounds of the Town sentrys. I am Sir St. Helena Your most Obedient Servant 23 August 1779 (Signed) B Wright Secry.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 23 August 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 21 August 1779. The French prisoners on the *Royal Admiral* had learned of the order given to Captain Huddart on the previous Saturday. Monsieur Du Plessis and some of the others then wrote to the Governor, pressing hard to be allowed ashore because of their poor health. Captain Huddart confirmed that several of them had been seriously ill on the voyage. The Company's orders allowed an exception on grounds of health, so the Council granted permission. It told the secretary to write to Captain Huddart accordingly. The secretary informed Huddart, on the instructions of the Governor and Council, that the French gentlemen had pleaded ill health and that he had confirmed their account. The Council would therefore allow those whom Huddart and his surgeon judged in need to come ashore for that reason. Huddart was to tell them that they would have to pay their own expenses on the island. The Council also asked him to try to find them lodgings. Once ashore, the prisoners would be free to walk only within the line of sentries surrounding the town. Britannicus Wright signed the letter on the Council's orders at St Helena on 23 August 1779. **Interpretations** The Council reversed its refusal of 21 August 1779 within two days, but it did so through the narrow door that the Court's orders left open. It did not simply grant the request. The ship's commander and surgeon, not the prisoners, were to decide who was ill enough to land, which removed the choice from the French and placed it with British officers answerable to the Company. Confining the prisoners within the town's sentry line kept them in James Valley, away from the batteries and landing places that the original ban was designed to hide. Requiring them to pay their own costs ensured that the Company bore no charge for their stay. The Council thus met the claims of humanity and of rank while keeping the security purpose of the Court's order intact.
89	85	1779 Ordered the following Advertisement to be published Viz. - Island St. Helena 23 August 1779 This is to give Notice to all Persons upon the said Island, that they are hereby to send into the Secretary's Office on or before the 20 of September next ensuing an exact signed Account of their Family's Land and Cattle and to attend at the Castle on Thursday the	The Council ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 23 August 1779. Every inhabitant was to send the Secretary's office an exact, signed account of the members of the household, the land held and the cattle owned, by 20 September 1779. All were then to attend at the Castle on Thursday 23 September 1779 to pay the rents and other dues owed to the Company for the past year. Planters were also asked to send the same office, by the following Monday, 30 August 1779, a return of the cattle they still had and the number they meant to slaughter during the year. They were to go on reporting

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		30 of the same Month to pay their Rents and Revenues due to the Honble. Company for the Year past. - Notice is hereby given to all the Planters that they are desired to send into the Office aforesaid on or before Monday next the 30 instant a Return of the number of Cattle they have remaining which they intend for Slaughter the present Year they are also required to continue sending into the said Office an - Account of any Cattle they may lose hereafter by Deaths Accidents &ca. - Notice is hereby further given that the Honorable Company's Stores will be shut from the 6 September to the 4 October next. - By Order of Council Signed B Wright Secry. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	any further cattle lost through death, accident or any other cause. The notice further announced that the Company's stores would close from 6 September to 4 October 1779. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The annual return of households, land and cattle served as the island's census and its tax roll in one document. It showed the Council how many people it governed, how much land was held on what terms and what each landholder owed. Fixing the rent day at the Castle three days after the returns closed tied the payment to the planter's own signed account, leaving little room to dispute the sum. The separate return of cattle intended for slaughter had a more urgent aim. After the drought, the Council needed to know how much beef the island could still supply to the garrison and the ships before the next fleet arrived. Closing the stores for four weeks allowed the storekeeper to take stock and balance his accounts for the year while no fleet was expected.
90	86	30 August At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th Day of August 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 30 August 1779 - The Planters being unable to furnish their respective Quotas of Cattle for this Season, from the great - Mortality amongst their Stock. The Board wrote the following Letter to Captain Collins Commander of his Majesty's Ship Warwick. To Richard Collins Esqr. Captain and Commander of His Majesty's Ship Warwick - Sir We beg leave to inform you that, from the great Mortality of upwards of seven hundred head of black Cattle, occasioned by the failure of the Rains, there remains only sixty five for the supply of the expected Ships of the Season. We therefore are under the disagreeable necessity of acquainting you, that we cannot possibly supply His Majesty's Ship Warwick under your Command with more than fresh Beef for Tuesday and Wednesday next, which will amount to forty one head, consumed since your Arrival. As the situation of the latter Ships renders it absolutely necessary for Us to make a reserve of a few Cattle, to afford them some little refreshment to enable them to proceed on their homeward bound Winters Voyage, these Reasons we flatter ourselves Sir, will have due weight, and convince you we have done all that lay in our power for the good of His Majesty's and the Honble. Company's Service.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 30 August 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 23 August 1779. Heavy losses among their herds had left the planters unable to supply their usual share of cattle for the season. The Council therefore wrote to Richard Collins, captain and commander of HMS *Warwick*. The Council told Captain Collins that more than 700 head of cattle had died because the rains had failed. Only 65 remained to supply the ships expected during the season. The Council regretted that it could provide the *Warwick* with fresh beef only for the following Tuesday and Wednesday. That would bring the total slaughtered for his ship since her arrival to 41 head. The ships still to come would need a few cattle held back to give their crews some fresh food for the winter passage home. The Council trusted that Collins would accept those reasons. It assured him that it had done everything in its power for the good of both the King's service and the Company's. The letter was dated at St Helena on 30 August 1779 and signed by Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. **Interpretations** The Council cut off fresh beef to a King's ship in order to save cattle for the Company's own homeward fleet. The obvious course was to keep supplying the *Warwick*, since a royal warship carried authority that a Company council could not easily refuse. The figures on the page show why it did not. One warship had consumed 41 head in about five weeks, while only 65 remained for every ship of the coming season. Homeward East Indiamen arrived after months at sea with crews weakened by scurvy. Fresh beef at St Helena was often the difference between a healthy passage and a deadly one. Those ships carried the Company's cargoes, so the Council placed its employer's ships ahead of the Navy. It wrapped the refusal in assurances of loyalty to both services. The letter also gave the drought's toll in exact numbers for the first time. More than 700 head of cattle had died, leaving fewer than a tenth of that number available for slaughter. The returns ordered on 16 and 23 August 1779 had evidently already reached the Secretary's office, and those figures now underpinned the Council's case to the Navy.

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		We are, Sir St. Helena Your most Obedt. and most humble Servants 30 August 1779 (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Mattw. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett	
91	87	1779 The Oil which was purchased from the Whaling Vessels being expended and the Garrison and Inhabitants in General, being entirely without that Article or any kind of Light, We have purchased one thousand & eight Gallons from Mr. William Wrangham at five Shillings P Gallon amounting to £252. - - which is cheaper six pence three farthings P Gallon than the Invoice Price from England last Year. - The Administrators to the Estate of Gabriel Alexander Harper deceased this day produced an Inventory of his Effects appraised by Messieurs Charles Ross Steward, Samuel Knipe Senior and John Young who being Sworn declared they valued the same to the best of their Judgments and the Widow that she produced every Article. We ordered it to be Registered. - Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Viz. - Island St. Helena 30 August 1779 Whereas John Simon, Richard Ockers, Matthew Collier and William Sullivan four Seamen and Henry Barlow a Marine belonging to his Majesty's Ship Warwick, having deserted the said Ship and are supposed to be secreted upon the Island. Notice is therefore hereby given that if any Person or Persons will apprehend the said five Men or any of them will receive twenty Shillings reward from his Majesty, and as a further encouragement for taking the said Men the same Reward of twenty Shillings more for each will be paid by the Honorable Company. - By Order of Council Signed B Wright Secry.	The oil bought earlier from the whaling ships had all been used. The garrison and the inhabitants generally were left with no oil and no other means of light. The Council therefore bought 1,008 gallons from William Wrangham at 5s a gallon, a total of £252 0s 0d. That price was 6¾d a gallon cheaper than the invoice price of oil sent from England the previous year. The administrators of the estate of the late Gabriel Alexander Harper presented an inventory of his belongings that day. Charles Ross Stewart, Samuel Knipe senior and John Young had valued them. All three swore that they had valued the goods to the best of their judgement, and the widow swore that she had produced every item. The Council ordered the inventory to be registered. The Council also ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 30 August 1779. Four seamen, John Lemon, Richard Ackers, Matthew Collier and William Sullivan, and a marine, Henry Barlow, had deserted from HMS *Warwick* and were thought to be hiding on the island. Anyone who caught any of the five would receive a reward of 20s 0d from the Crown. To encourage their capture further, the Company would pay an additional 20s 0d for each man taken. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders. **Interpretations** The Council bought more than 1,000 gallons of oil from one of its own members. William Wrangham sat at the Council table as paymaster and assistant to the Governor. The minute recorded that his price was 6¾d a gallon below the English invoice of the previous year. That comparison was there to answer in advance any charge that a councillor had profited from a public shortage. The Court of Directors, reading the entry in London, would see that the Company had paid less than its own supply cost, even though the money went to a member of the Board. Where Wrangham had found so large a stock is not stated. He had probably bought it from whalers or passing ships on his own account, a form of private trade the civil servants were allowed and the officers were not. Five men deserting from the *Warwick* in one go showed that the Navy had the same problem as the garrison. The Company doubled the Crown's reward for their capture, which matched its readiness to help the King's ship in every way except the beef it had just refused her. A deserter could survive on the island only with help from inhabitants or slaves. The reward was therefore aimed as much at those who might shelter the men as at catching them.
92	88	30 August Appointed Major Daniel Corneille to inspect, and take the Remains of the Honorable Company's Stores for the present Year, as usual. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 6 Day of September 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett	The Council appointed Major Daniel Corneille to inspect and take stock of the remaining contents of the Company's stores for the year, as was customary. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 6 September 1779. The Governor presided, with Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, was absent because he was taking the inventory of the stores. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 30 August 1779.

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		Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 30 August 1779 Tuesday the 31 August Arrived the Hind Cutter from the Cape of Good Hope - Friday the 3 September Arrived the Gattons Boat at Banks's at Do. Do. the Honble. Company's Ship Gatton from Madrass (last from the Cape) Saturday the 4 Passed by a Dane Ship, which sent on Shore for Letters - By the Hind Cutter we received the following Articles Viz. - **Margin Notes:** Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor absent taking an Inventory of Stores	The *Hind* cutter returned from the Cape of Good Hope on Tuesday 31 August 1779. On Friday 3 September 1779, a boat from the Company's ship *Gatton* landed at Banks's battery, and the *Gatton* herself arrived later the same day from Madras, having called last at the Cape. On Saturday 4 September 1779 a Danish ship passed the island and sent a boat ashore for letters. The *Hind* cutter brought the following goods. **Interpretations** The *Hind* had been sent to the Cape on 2 July 1779 to buy flour for the garrison, and her return after two months completed the Council's emergency measures of the winter. The Danish ship's call shows the value of neutral shipping to the island in wartime. Denmark was not at war with Britain or France. A Danish East Indiaman could carry letters to Europe free from the risk of capture faced by British ships, and her commander had evidently come in expecting mail to be waiting. The *Gatton* again sent her boat ahead to Banks's battery before standing in, following the same practice as the *Royal Admiral* a fortnight earlier.
93	89	1779 The Honble. East India Company at St. Helena To Abraham Chiron &c. lb. 49,000 Fine Flour @ Rds. 5 Rds. 2450 . . 1000 Wax Candles 4 Schs. 500 . . 50 Sheep Rds. 2 100 . . 30 Garden Seeds in 4 Baskets 22 4 . 1 Sack Pease 6 . . 1 Do. Beans 5 . . Rds. 3083 4 . Charges on Merchandize 120 Canvas Bags for the Flour @ 6 Schs. P Pc. 97 4 . 2 Do. the Pease and Beans 1 5 . 3 Boxes for the Candles 6 . . 5 Seeds for the Flour & Sheep 50 . . Duty on 45,000 Fine Flour @ 16 Pence P 100 150 . . For Coolies and Waggon Hire 32 . . 337 . . Rds. 3420 4 . Received the Contents by Bill of Exchange on the Honble. Company Cape of Good Hope 8 August 1779 Signed Wm. Chiron The Ship Gatton brought Us the following - Supply Viz. - Invoice of Ship Gatton - Fine Rice 170 Bags weigh. Bms. 210 @ 2 P Bm. 558 29 Paddy 10 Do. Do. 2 Bms. 126 139 33 Wax Candles 4 Chests Do. 8 Cwt. 70 P Cwt. 560 . . Batavia Arrack 1 Legar 120 P Legar 151 33 Madeira Wine 3 Pipes 375 P Pipe 1215 . . 2622 3 3 Carried Over Cs. 2622 3 3	The *Hind* cutter brought an invoice from the Cape for the goods bought there on the Company's account at St Helena from Abraham Chiron. Fine flour, 49,000 lb at 5 rixdollars a hundredweight, 2,450 rixdollars, 0 schellings 1,000 wax candles at 4 schellings each, 500 rixdollars, 0 schellings 50 sheep at 2 rixdollars each, 100 rixdollars, 0 schellings Garden seeds in 4 baskets, 22 rixdollars, 4 schellings 1 sack of peas, 6 rixdollars, 0 schellings 1 sack of beans, 5 rixdollars, 0 schellings Goods total, 3,083 rixdollars, 4 schellings Charges on the goods 130 canvas bags for the flour at 6 schellings each, 97 rixdollars, 4 schellings 2 canvas bags for the peas and beans, 1 rixdollar, 4 schellings 3 boxes for the candles, 6 rixdollars, 0 schellings 5 boatloads for the flour and sheep, 50 rixdollars, 0 schellings Duty on 49,000 lb of fine flour, 150 rixdollars, 0 schellings Porters and wagon hire, 32 rixdollars, 0 schellings Charges total, 337 rixdollars, 0 schellings Invoice total, 3,420 rixdollars, 4 schellings Abraham Chiron signed a receipt at the Cape of Good Hope on 5 August 1779, acknowledging payment by a bill of exchange drawn on the Company. The ship *Gatton* brought the following supplies from Madras. Fine rice, 110 bags weighing 280 maunds, 557 rupees, 12 annas, 9 pice Paddy, 40 bags, 133 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Wax candles, 4 chests, 560 rupees, 0 annas, 0 pice Batavia arrack, 1 leaguer, 151 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Madeira wine, 3 pipes at 405 rupees a pipe, 1,215 rupees, 0 annas, 0 pice Invoice total carried forward, 2,622 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice **Interpretations** The Cape was a Dutch colony, and its accounts were kept in rixdollars of 8 schellings each. The Council could not send coin there in wartime without risk. It therefore paid Abraham Chiron with a bill of exchange drawn on the Company in London, which he could sell to a Dutch merchant or present in Europe. Flour at 5 rixdollars a hundredweight, with nearly 11 per cent added for duty, bags, boats and carriage, gave the island about 21 tons of bread grain. That was enough to restore the garrison's ration for several

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			months. The 50 sheep and the garden seeds show that the Council was also rebuilding the island's stock and crops after the drought, since seed from a failed harvest could not be sown. Batavia arrack was a spirit distilled from rice and palm sugar in the Dutch East Indies. A leaguer was a large cask, the standard Dutch measure for arrack, holding about 150 gallons. The *Gatton*'s rice and paddy added to the *Royal Admiral*'s cargo from Bombay. Together they answered, from the Company's own presidencies, the shortage of grain that the Council had described to Warren Hastings on 12 August 1779.
94	90	6 September Brought Over Cs. 2622 3 3 Charges Merchandize 320 Gunny Bags @ 16 P C. 55 4 6 16 Gunnies 16 Do. 2 9 6 4 Mango Plank Chests 3 each 12 15 6 3 Pcs. Gunny Gurrah 1. 48 Pce. 4 9 . 50 Rice Matts 8 P C. 4 5 3 10 Sr. Jute Twine 5. 2 P Md. 1 6 . 10 Do. Do. Rope 3. 8 Do. . 14 . Diet 2 4 . Boat hire 4 5 3 Sloop hire 270 . . 1 Sr. Nails . 4 . Moolas 55 10 . Weighmans 1 15 6 Packmen 2 5 3 Peons 2 2 6 Cooleys 2 2 6 422 12 6 Current Rupees 3044 15 9 Errors Excepted Signed Wm. Larkins Accot. General The Executor to the last Will and Testament of James Bryce deceased (late a Seaman belonging to the Ship Latham) this day presented the said Will desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto, the Will is as follows -	The *Gatton*'s invoice continued with the charges on the goods. Brought forward, 2,622 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Charges on the goods 320 gunny bags, 55 rupees, 4 annas, 6 pice 16 gunny cloths, 2 rupees, 9 annas, 6 pice 4 mango-wood chests, 12 rupees, 15 annas, 6 pice 3 pieces of guzzy gurrah cloth, 4 rupees, 9 annas, 0 pice 50 rice mats, 4 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice Jute twine, 10 seers, 1 rupee, 6 annas, 0 pice Jute rope, 10 seers, 0 rupees, 14 annas, 0 pice Duty, 2 rupees, 4 annas, 0 pice Boat hire, 4 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice [...] hire, 270 rupees, 0 annas, 0 pice Nails, 1 seer, 0 rupees, 9 annas, 0 pice [...], 55 rupees, 10 annas, 0 pice Weighmen, 1 rupee, 15 annas, 6 pice Packers, 2 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice Peons, 2 rupees, 2 annas, 6 pice Coolies, 2 rupees, 2 annas, 6 pice Charges total, 422 rupees, 12 annas, 6 pice Invoice total, 3,044 rupees, 15 annas, 9 pice William Larkins, Accountant General, signed the invoice, subject to the correction of any errors. The executor of James Bryce, a seaman of the ship *Latham* who had died, presented his will that day and asked for it to be proved. The Council proved it on the sworn evidence of the witnesses. The will read as follows. **Interpretations** The charges added about 16 per cent to the cost of the goods. Most of it was a single item of hire, probably for carriage or storage before shipping. Gunny was coarse jute sacking from Bengal, used for bags and wrapping. Guzzy and gurrah were cheap, plain cotton cloths, here used to wrap or line the packages. Mango-wood chests were the standard cheap boxes for Indian exports, made from a soft, plentiful timber. Peons were messengers and watchmen employed at the warehouses, and coolies were the porters who carried the bales to the boats. The invoice was kept in current rupees, the money of account of Bengal, divided into 16 annas of 12 pice each. A sailor who died at the island in debt or with property aboard could have his will proved before the Governor and Council. The island had no separate probate court. That function belonged to the Council, which acted as the island's court for the estates of the dead, whether inhabitants or passing seamen.
95	91	1779 In the Name of God, Amen I James Bryce (late of the Latham East Indiaman Captn. Pierce Commander) Mariner, But now of the Island of St. Helena, Africa, Being of perfect mind and Memory but very sick in the Hospital and considering that it is appointed for all Men once to die do therefore make this my last Will and Testament. First my Body	James Bryce made his will in the name of God. He described himself as a seaman lately of the East Indiaman *Latham*, commanded by Captain Pierce, but now living on St Helena and lying very ill in the hospital. He was of sound mind and memory. Mindful that all men must die, he made his last will. He committed his body to the earth and his soul to God. Bryce left his whole estate to his close friend Thomas White, formerly of the East Indiaman *Lord North*, commanded by Captain Hambly, who was also lying sick in the hospital on St Helena. The estate comprised his chest, clothes and bedding, the wages

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		I commit to the Earth and my Soul into the Hands of God who gave it. As for my Temporal Estate such as my Chest, Cloaths, Bedding, Wages due to me on Board the said Latham, and all other Properties of what kind soever to me appertaining or belonging I give, Devise, and Bequeath to my esteemed Friend Thos. White, late of the Lord North East Indiaman Captn. Rumbley Commander, But now Sick in the Hospital of St. Helena abovesaid whom I also Constitute and appoint the whole and Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, and I do hereby utterly Revoke, disallow and disannull all former Bequests, Will and Legacy's, by me heretofore in anywise left or made declaring, Ratifying, and confirming this and no other, to be my last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this twenty ninth of June and in the Year of our Lord 1779 - (Signed) James Bryce (LS) Signed Sealed Published and declared by the within Named Testator Jas. Bryce to be his last Will and Testament, in presence of Us who have Subscribed our Names in presence of the said Testator and of each other (Signed) Sutton Isacke Willm. Warner Several of the French Gentlemen Prisoners on Board the Gatton having applied to the Governor for Liberty to come on Shore on account of their ill state of Health We directed the Secretary to write Captain Chisholme the following Letter -	owed to him on board the *Latham* and all his other belongings of every kind. He appointed White his sole executor. He revoked every earlier will and bequest and declared this alone to be his last will. He signed and sealed it on 29 June 1779. Sutton Isaacke and William Warner witnessed the will. Both signed in Bryce's presence and in each other's presence. Several of the French gentlemen held as prisoners on the *Gatton* had asked the Governor for leave to come ashore because of their poor health. The Council told the secretary to write the following letter to Captain Chisholme. **Interpretations** The real value of Bryce's estate lay in the wages owed to him for the voyage. A seaman on an East Indiaman was paid in full only at the end of the voyage, so a man who died abroad had months of pay still due from the ship's owners. A will proved before the Council gave his executor a legal title to collect it in London. Without one, the money might never be claimed or could pass to the Company or the owners by default. Bryce chose another sick seaman from a different ship as his heir and executor. The two men had evidently become friends on the hospital ward after both were put ashore. Sutton Isaacke and William Warner, who witnessed the will, were matrosses of the Artillery Company. They were probably patients on the same ward or soldiers assigned to nurse the sick there.
96	92	6 September To Captain Charles Chisholme Commander of Ship Gatton. Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform you, that since writing you concerning the French - Prisoners on board your Ship, they have addressed the Board for - Liberty to come on Shore a few days on account of their ill health, You are therefore, Sir, to permit such of them as you and your - Surgeon may think necessary to come on Shore to Re-establish the same. And you will please to inform them at same time, that they must defray their own Expences here, and that they will not be permitted to Walk farther than the Bounds of the Town Sentrys. I am Sir St. Helena Your Obedient Servant 6 September 1779 (Signed) B Wright Secry. We this day Enlisted Henley McKennan a Discharged Soldier from Bombay, out of the Ship Royal Admiral,	The secretary wrote to Captain Charles Chisholme, commander of the *Gatton*, on the instructions of the Governor and Council. Since the Council's earlier letter about the French prisoners on board his ship, they had asked the Board to let them come ashore for a few days because of their poor health. Chisholme was therefore to allow those whom he and his surgeon judged in need to land and recover. He was also to tell them that they would have to pay their own expenses on the island and would not be allowed to walk beyond the town's sentry line. Britannicus Wright signed the letter at St Helena on 6 September 1779. That day the Council enlisted Fenley McKennan, a soldier discharged from the Bombay establishment who had come from the *Royal Admiral*. He agreed to serve the Company as a soldier in the garrison for five years and received a bounty of £15 0s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** McKennan received the full £15 0s 0d paid to soldiers who re-enlisted, while the three seamen from the *Earl Talbot* had received only £10 0s 0d. The Council graded its bounties by experience. A man who had already served in the Company's army in India needed no training and could go straight onto the roster. A sailor had to be taught drill and the use of arms. The Council applied to the *Gatton*'s French prisoners exactly the terms it had set for the *Royal Admiral*'s on 23 August 1779. That consistency turned

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		to serve the Honble. Company five Years as a Soldier in this Garrison and gave him fifteen pounds Bounty Money. - John Skottowe M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	a single concession into a standing rule for every ship that followed.
97	93	13 September At a Consultation held on Monday the 13 Day of September 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed, dated the 6 September 1779 - The expence of Artillery Stores and Stewards Accounts for the Month of August last, were this day laid before Us, which were examined, approved and are as follow Viz. - Artillery Stores expended in August 1779 Guns fired, 9 lb., 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz. 2 Blank Cartridges for the East Flying Party 200: Guns fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 10 12 Being the Birth Day of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Guns fired 21, 9 lb. 5, 6 lb. 16, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 28, Powder oz. 7 20 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 21 Arrived the Royal Admiral: Guns fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 31 An Alarm - Arrived the Hind Cutter: Guns fired 6, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 For Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 7, Powder oz. 5 Total: Guns fired 33, 9 lb. 5, 6 lb. 16, 4 lb. 8, 3 lb. 4, Powder lb. 65, Powder oz. 6 Nitre for the Hospital 6 lb. Isinglass for the Castle ½ Tow for the Hospital ½ Cartridge Paper 13½ Quire Post Horn 1 (Signed) Wm. Pierce Captn. of Artillery	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 13 September 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 6 September 1779. The Council examined and approved the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for August 1779. The artillery account recorded the following stores used during August 1779. Each line gives the guns fired by calibre and the powder used. 2 August, 200 blank cartridges for the East [...] party: 0 guns fired, powder 6 lb 10 oz 12 August, salute for the birthday of the Prince of Wales: 21 guns fired (5 eighteen-pounders, 16 nine-pounders), powder 28 lb 7 oz 20 August, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 21 August, arrival of the Royal Admiral: 0 guns fired, powder 0 lb 0 oz 31 August, an alarm on the arrival of the Hind cutter: 6 guns fired (4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz Sundry services: 0 guns fired, powder 7 lb 5 oz Total: 33 guns fired (5 eighteen-pounders, 16 nine-pounders, 8 six-pounders, 4 three-pounders), powder 65 lb 6 oz Other stores used 6 tubs for the hospital Saltpetre for the Castle, ½ [...] Tar for the hospital, ½ [...] Cartridge paper, 15½ quires 1 portfire William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. The ship names in the account are the *Royal Admiral* and the *Hind*. **Interpretations** The 21-gun salute on 12 August marked the birthday of George, Prince of Wales, the King's eldest son, born on that day in 1762. A Company garrison firing a royal salute for the heir to the throne shows that the island's soldiers saw themselves as serving the Crown as well as the Company, especially in wartime. The arrival of the *Hind* on 31 August 1779 raised a full alarm, even though she was the Company's own cutter returning from the Cape. A small vessel approaching from the south could be a French privateer until she was identified, and the garrison treated every sail alike.
98	94	13 September Sundry's Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in August 1779 97 Bottles Madeira £ 6 1 3 6 Do. Port . 9 6 23 Do. Lisbon 1 16 5 13 Do. Mountain 1 . 7 17 Galls. Arrack 2 11 . 4 Goats 2 . . 3 Lambs 1 10 .	The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during August 1779. Madeira, 97 bottles, £6 1s 3d Port, 6 bottles, £0 9s 6d Lisbon wine, 23 bottles, £1 16s 5d Mountain wine, 13 bottles, £1 0s 7d Arrack, 17 gallons, £2 11s 0d 4 goats, £2 0s 0d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 6 turkeys, £1 10s 0d 10 ducks, £0 15s 0d Candles, 119 lb, £2 19s 6d Flour, 445 lb, £3 14s 2d Total used at the table, £24 7s 5d Bought for the table Beef, 184 lb at 6d, £4 12s 0d Beef, 58 lb at 3½d, £0 16s 11d

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		6 Turkeys 1 10 . 10 Ducks . 15 . 119 Candy 2 19 6 445 Flour 3 14 2 £ 24 7 5 Bought for the Table 184 Beef @ 6 £ 4 12 . 57 Do. @ 3½ . 16 11 1 Lamb . 10 . 4 Turkey's 1 . . 32 Fowls 2 8 . 9 Pigs 2 5 . £ 11 11 11 George Thomas and George Dadd Matrosses this day petitioned for their Discharge from the Garrison having procured John Simon and Richd. Ockers from his Majesty's Ship Warwick to serve the remainder of their Contracted times. - Granted John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 32 fowls, £2 8s 0d 9 pigs, £2 5s 0d Total bought, £11 11s 11d George Thomas and George Dadd, matrosses, asked to be discharged from the garrison. They had found two men from HMS *Warwick*, John Lemon and Richard Ackers, who were willing to serve out the rest of their contracted terms in their place. The Council granted the request. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** John Lemon and Richard Ackers were two of the five men whose desertion from the *Warwick* the Council had advertised on 30 August 1779, offering a reward for their capture. Two weeks later, the same Council accepted them as substitutes in its own artillery. The obvious course was to return them to their ship, as the reward notice implied. The Council took them into the garrison because the arrangement suited it. The Company gained two fit men for the rest of the matrosses' terms without paying any bounty, and two serving soldiers were freed to leave. The *Warwick*'s captain had already been refused beef. He now lost two of his crew to the very authorities who had promised to help recover them. Whether the Council had obtained Captain Collins's consent is not recorded. The steward's purchases of meat show the effect of the cattle losses on the Company's own table. Only 242 lb of beef was bought in August, against a much larger quantity before the drought. The table relied instead on pigs, fowls, goats and turkeys, which did not depend on grazing.
99	95	18 September At a Consultation held on Saturday the 18 Day of September 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed dated the 13 September 1779 - On the 16 Instant we received the following Letter from Captn. Chisholme - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council - It is with much concern I find myself under the necessity of acquainting you, my health will not permit me to proceed to England in the Ship Gatton, being now closely confined to my Bed, nor can I be moved from it with - safety, have therefore to request you will indulge me in appointing Mr. Twig my Chief Mate, to take immediate Charge of the Ship to England, and am with much respect Worshipful Sir & Sirs St. Helena Your most Obedt. Servant Sept. 16 1779 (Signed) Chas. Chisholme In consequence of which we returned Captain Chisholme the following Answer Viz. - To Captain Charles Chisholme Sir I am directed by the Governor and - Council to acquaint you they have received your Letter of the 16 instant and are concerned that the ill state of your	The Council met at the Castle on Saturday 18 September 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 13 September 1779. On 16 September 1779 the Council had received a letter from Captain Charles Chisholme of the *Gatton*. He wrote with great regret that his health would not allow him to sail to England in his ship. He was confined to his bed and could not safely be moved. He therefore asked the Council to appoint Mr Tracy, his chief mate, to take immediate command of the ship for the voyage to England. He signed the letter at St Helena on 16 September 1779. The Council replied to Captain Chisholme. The secretary wrote, on the instructions of the Governor and Council, that they had received his letter of 16 September 1779. They were sorry that his poor health would not allow him to continue his voyage in his ship.

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		health will not permit you to proceed on your Voyage in the	
100	96	18 September the Ship Gatton, they have therefore at your request appointed Mr. Job Strong your Chief Officer to take Charge and Command of the said Ship until her Arrival in England - I am St. Helena Sir 18 Septr. 1779 Your Obedient Servant (Signed) B Wright Secry. Also wrote the subsequent Letter to Mr. Job Strong Chief Officer of the said Ship - To Mr. Job Strong Commander of Ship Gatton - Sir Captain Chisholme Commander of the Ship Gatton having acquainted Us by Letter of the 16 instant - that his health will not permit him to proceed to England in the said Ship, You are therefore hereby appointed to take Charge and Command of the Ship Gatton aforesaid, until her Arrival in England, and you are to Obey all such Orders as you may hereafter receive from Us or the Secret Committee. - We are Sir St. Helena Your humble Servants 18 Septr. 1779 (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Mattw. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett The Governor and Lieut. Governor this day acquaint the Board that they intend Dispatching the Hind Cutter to the Cape of Good Hope on Monday next, and request they will settle what Supply's she shall bring on the Honble. Company's Account for the use of this Island. -	The Council's reply went on to say that, at Captain Chisholme's request, it had appointed Mr Job Strong, his chief officer, to take charge and command of the *Gatton* until she reached England. Britannicus Wright signed the letter at St Helena on 18 September 1779. The Council also wrote to Mr Job Strong as commander of the *Gatton*. It told him that Captain Chisholme had reported by letter of 16 September 1779 that his health would not allow him to sail to England in the ship. Strong was therefore appointed to take charge and command of the *Gatton* until she arrived in England. He was to obey any orders he might later receive from the Council or from the Secret Committee. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 18 September 1779. The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor told the Board that they meant to send the *Hind* cutter back to the Cape of Good Hope on the following Monday. They asked the Council to decide what supplies she should bring back on the Company's account for the island. **Interpretations** The Council's power to appoint a new commander shows its authority over the Company's ships while they lay at the island. A commander's appointment normally came from the Court of Directors in London. When a captain fell ill at St Helena, only the Governor and Council could give his successor legal command. Without it, the chief mate would have had no clear right to sail the ship or answer for her cargo. Strong's orders placed him under the Secret Committee as well as the Council. In wartime, the Secret Committee decided the route, timing and any convoy for homeward ships, and those decisions were kept from the ordinary Council records. The *Hind*'s second trip to the Cape within three months shows that the Council still did not trust the island's own harvest and herds to carry it through the coming season.
101	97	1779 The Board is therefore of Opinion that she should be Freighted with as much Flour and as many Sheep as she can possibly bring. And wrote Captn. Bendy the following Letter - To Captain Richard Bendy Commander of the - Hind Cutter - Sir You are hereby directed to purchase at the Cape of good Hope for the use of this Island on Account of the Honble. East India Company as much Flour and as many Sheep as you can possibly bring in the Hind Cutter. In the procuring of which we recommend to your attention purchasing the same upon the cheapest terms, for the amount thereof you are to give Bills upon the said Honble. Company, and deliver to Us an exact Invoice of the Articles on your return to this Place. We wish a good Voyage and are Sir St. Helena Your humble Servants	The Board decided that the *Hind* should carry as much flour and as many sheep as she could safely load. It wrote accordingly to Captain Richard Bendy, commander of the *Hind* cutter. The Council instructed Bendy to buy at the Cape of Good Hope, on the Company's account and for the use of the island, as much flour and as many sheep as the cutter could safely carry. It urged him to buy on the cheapest terms he could find. He was to pay with bills drawn on the Company and to hand the Council an exact invoice of the goods on his return. The Council wished him a good voyage. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 18 September 1779. Major Henry Bazett reported that he had been on board the *Royal Admiral* and the *Gatton* to muster their crews and search for deserters, and that he had found none. The muster rolls of both ships followed. **Interpretations** Major Bazett's search of the two ships was the Council's answer to the desertions of June 1779. Six soldiers had escaped in the two days before the homeward fleet sailed. A senior officer now boarded each departing ship, called every man on the roll by name and checked that no island soldier had slipped aboard. The muster roll did the checking, because any man present but not on the ship's books was a

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		18 Septr. 1779 (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Mattw. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett Major Henry Bazett Reports that he has been on Board the Ships Royal Admiral and Gatton to Muster their Company's and enquire for Deserters, but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follow Viz. -	stowaway. Entering both rolls in the minutes gave the Council a record against which any later claim of a missing soldier could be tested. It also put commanders on notice that they would answer for any deserter found in their ships.
102	98	18 Sept. Muster Roll of Ship Royal Admiral Joseph Huddart Commander Chas. Gregorie 1 Mate Christr. Simpson 2 Do. Chas. Moss 3 Do. Edwd. Hammond 4 Do. Thos. Hodgson 5 Do. Thos. Parker Purser Edwd. Watson Surgeon John Hodges Do. Mate Thos. Naughten Boatswain Thos. Bircham Gunner Thos. Gummet Carptr. Michael Thomas Mids. & Coxn. Wm. Huddart Do. Wm. Coton Do. Philip Pucabau Do. Wm. Scott Quarter Master Arthur Ferris Do. Wm. Taylor Do. Thos. Muldrew Do. Wm. Francis Caulker Stephen Fleming B. Mate Thos. Wilmot Gunr. Do. Chas. Edgell Do. John Warrington Carptr. Do. Geo. Moore Do. Geo. Patrick Caulkr. Do. Henry Blanks Cooper John Hayward Butcher John Gilliden Seaman Geo. Dawe Henry Hurford Geo. Pitman James Berry Seaman Thos. Carter Geo. Hellson Robt. Lackley Wm. Richards Edwd. Pearse Thos. Edger Mattw. Williams David Morris Saml. Taylor Richd. Andrews Peter Owen John Brown John Patrick Antw. Reynolds John Harper Wm. Brown Thos. Johnston Richd. Scarborough Thos. Bawler Thos. Olive Edwd. Young Wm. May Wm. Morgan James Hales Wm. Reeves Richd. Hall Bowen McCovat	The muster roll of the *Royal Admiral* listed her company and passengers as follows. Officers and petty officers Joseph Huddart, commander Charles Gregory, first mate Christopher Simpson, second mate Charles Mon, third mate Edward Hannan, fourth mate Thomas Hodgson, fifth mate Thomas Parker, purser Edward Watson, surgeon John Hodges, surgeon's mate Thomas Houghton, boatswain Thomas Bonham, gunner Thomas Gummert, carpenter Michael Thomas, midshipman William Huddart, midshipman William Oaten, midshipman Philip Ducalan, midshipman William Scott, quartermaster Arthur Fenn, quartermaster William Taylor, quartermaster Thomas Mulliver, quartermaster William Francis, caulker Stephen Fleming, boatswain's mate Thomas Willmot, gunner's mate Charles Edgell, gunner's mate John Warrington, carpenter's mate George Morris, carpenter's mate George Patrick, caulker's mate Henry Blanks, cooper John Hayward, butcher Seamen John Gillidon, seaman George Dane, seaman Henry Hanford, seaman George Pitman, seaman James Berry, seaman Thomas Carter, seaman George Welton, seaman Robert Lackley, seaman William Richards, seaman Edward Penner, seaman Thomas Edger, seaman Matthew Williams, seaman David Morris, seaman Samuel Taylor, seaman Richard Andrews, seaman Peter Owen, seaman John Brown, seaman John Patrick, seaman Abraham Reynolds, seaman John Harpe, seaman William Brown, seaman Thomas Johnston, seaman Richard Seacombe, seaman Thomas Barlow, seaman Thomas Olive, seaman Edward Young, seaman William May, seaman William Morgan, seaman James Hales, seaman William Reeves, seaman

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		Thos. Rose Gasper Parks Wm. Penman Bryan Dyer Joseph Peter Wm. OBryan Thos. Newby Seaman Henry Hassman Christr. Batty Christr. Miller Geo. Howell Wm. Ancin Wm. Gegnia Jas. Mateer Thos. Harwood Alexr. McQuerick Edwd. Perkis Jas. Jackson Patrick Glin Wm. Dark Robt. Carey Donald Graves Antonio Jouvang John Johnston Henry Bond Jas. Hutchins Joseph Nixon Thos. Miller Thos. Elloway Duncan Bruce John Highgate Wm. Low James Dowd Geo. Davis Wm. Marcert John Mash Geo. Williamson Thos. Matthews Wm. Hughes Passengers Viz. Madame Anquetile Miss Anquetile Miss S. Anquetile Miss Rosett Monsieur Anquetile Master Etyan 1 Servant White 5 India Servants Mr. Watts Master Watts Major Rotherham Mr. Love	Richard Hall, seaman Bowie McCord, seaman Thomas Cox, seaman Gaspar Parks, seaman William Penman, seaman Bryan Dyer, seaman Joseph Peter, seaman William O'Bryan, seaman Thomas Newby, seaman Henry Hassman, seaman Christopher Batty, seaman Christopher Miller, seaman George Maxwell, seaman William Irvin, seaman William Gozna, seaman James Matson, seaman Thomas Harwood, seaman Alexander McQuarrie, seaman Edward Peck, seaman James Jackson, seaman Patrick Glin, seaman William Dark, seaman Robert Carey, seaman Donald Fraser, seaman Antonio Romany, seaman John Johnston, seaman Henry Bond, seaman James Hutchins, seaman Joseph Nixon, seaman Thomas Miller, seaman Thomas Elloway, seaman Duncan Bruce, seaman John Highgate, seaman William Law, seaman James Dowd, seaman George Davis, seaman William Mercer, seaman John Maul, seaman George Williamson, seaman Thomas Matthews, seaman William Hughes, seaman Passengers Madame Anquetil Miss Anquetil Miss J. Anquetil Miss Rosett Monsieur Anquetil Master Egan 1 white servant 5 Indian servants Mr Watts Master Watts Major Rotherham Mr Love **Interpretations** The Anquetil family were among the French prisoners whose landing the Council had regulated in August. Madame Anquetil and her daughters fell within the exception for ladies in the Council's order of 21 August 1779. Monsieur Anquetil, as a gentleman prisoner, could land only on grounds of health. Listing the passengers alongside the crew let Major Bazett account for every person on board, so that no island soldier could hide among the servants or passengers.
103	99	1779 Mr. McKenney Mr. Walker Mr. Hindeman Mons. Du Plessis Mons. Barneuy Mons. Muncif Mons. Cuillier Mons. Le Roi Mons. Borgues	The *Royal Admiral*'s roll continued with the rest of her passengers, followed by invalids and discharged soldiers. Passengers, continued Mr McKenney Mr Walker Mr Hindson Monsieur Du Plessis Monsieur Barneux Monsieur Moncrif

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		Master Jackson	Monsieur Cubliers
		Master Day	Monsieur Le Roi
		Miss Cadger	Monsieur Bergues
		Three European and	Master Jackson
		seven India Servants	Master Day
		Invalids from his Majesty's Ships Viz.	Miss Cadger
		John Moore	3 European servants
		John Ash	7 Indian servants
		Alexr. McDonald	Invalids from His Majesty's ships
		Mattw. Puckett	John Moore
		John Pond	John Bale
		Discharged Soldiers -	Alexander McDonald
		Thos. Beller	Matthew Huckett
		Jas. Morrell	John Pond
		William Alger	Discharged soldiers
		Henry Bower	Thomas Bellis
		(Signed)	James Morrall
		Joseph Huddart	William Alps
		Muster Roll of Ship Gatton -	Henry Bower
		Chas. Chisholme Commander	Joseph Huddart signed the roll.
		Job Strong Chief Mate	The muster roll of the *Gatton* began as follows.
		Jas. Stevenson 2 Do.	Officers and petty officers
		Geo. Key 3 Do.	Charles Chisholme, commander
		Wm. Hyers 4 Do.	Job Strong, chief mate
		John Callow 5 Do.	James Stevenson, second mate
		Henry Gifford Surgeon	George Key, third mate
		Polydoreen Surgn. Mate	William Ayre, fourth mate
		Dick Watson	John Calton, fifth mate
		John Pierce	Henry Gifford, surgeon
		Alexr. Wilson Gunner	Polydore Grant, surgeon's mate
		John Allen Carpenter	Dick Watson
		John Steede Boatswain	John Conroe
		John Reynolds Mids. & Coxn.	Alexander Wharton, gunner
		Thos. Peggy Carptr. Do.	John Allen, carpenter
		John Jacobs 2 Master	John Steele, boatswain
		John Oldham	John Reynolds, steward
		Wm. Seeny	Thomas Peggy, captain's steward
		Godfrey Burgess	John Jacobs, quartermaster
		Philip Grindall Butcher	John Oliphant
		Wm. Rich Cooper	William Seeny
		Henry Yates Armourer	Godfrey Burger
		John Lane Ships Cook	Philip Goodale, boatswain's mate
		John Wilson Gunr. Mate	William Rich, cooper
		Richd. Kenrick Boatn. Do.	Henry Yates, armourer
		Robt. Mernet Carptr. Do.	John Lane, ship's cook
		John Wilkins Caulkr. Do.	John Wilson, gunner's mate
		Thos. Duncan Carpenter	Richard Ewick, boatswain's mate
		Jas. Spencer Butcher	Caleb Hennel, carpenter's mate
		Thos. Foreman Sailmaker	John Walker, caulker's mate
		Wm. Simpson Poulterer	Thomas Duncan, carpenter's mate
		Danl. Hunter Seaman	James Spencer, butcher
		Robt. Hildon	Thomas Freeman, sailmaker
		Wm. Corbett	William Simpson, poulterer
		John Victoler	Seamen
		Christr. Oldend	Davy Hunter, seaman
		Jacob Holbury	Robert Hildon, seaman
		John Linsay	William Copfield, seaman
		Peter Branch	John Nicholls, seaman
		Mary James	Joseph Ulbred, seaman
		George Field	Jacob Hillberg, seaman
		John Seeney	John Linsay, seaman
		John Copper	Peter Bunch, seaman
		John Kelly	Mungo James, seaman
		August Cuttle Seaman	George Field, seaman
		Richd. Dennis	John Severn, seaman
		Wm. Ward	John Cooper, seaman
		Edwd. Quinley	John Kelly, seaman
		John Cleary	August Little, seaman
		John Helmes	Richard Dennis, seaman
		Wm. Williamson	William Ward, seaman
		Robt. Pedmore	Edward Quinby, seaman
		John Kelly	John Cleary, seaman
		John Hatterly	John Holmes, seaman
		John Murray	William Williamson, seaman
		John Warren	Robert Paterson, seaman
		Wm. England	John Kelly, seaman

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		Raphile Reco Richd. Morgan John Scott Jas. Oliver John Roach Andrew Leeson David Thomas Jas. Milne John Hope Ordinary	John Hattely, seaman John Murray, seaman John Warren, seaman William England, seaman Phillip Rocco, seaman Richard Morgan, seaman John Scott, seaman James Oliver, seaman John Roach, seaman Andrew Lewis, seaman David Thomas, seaman James Milne, seaman John Hope, ordinary seaman **Interpretations** The *Royal Admiral* carried five invalids from the King's ships, probably men from the *Warwick* too sick to continue her cruise. She also carried four soldiers discharged from the island's garrison. Their names on the roll mattered as much as the absence of deserters. Each had the Council's written discharge, so Major Bazett could account for them as men legally leaving. Chisholme still headed the *Gatton*'s roll even though the Council had placed Job Strong in command. The roll had evidently been drawn up before the change, or it listed the commander of record, who remained Chisholme until the Court of Directors decided otherwise.
104	100	18 Sept. Thos. Buckwald Ordinary Joseph Saunders Geo. Rowan Valentine Pratt John Haynes Geo. Walker Hendrick Hoad Chas. Harris Wm. Miller Geo. Robinson Jas. Adams Thos. Burns Wm. Graves Jas. Sheward Ordinary John Murray David Pryce Alphonso Ayrolt Didier Gotta Jas. Fiske John Willson John Dunnigan John Peters Joseph Lock Francis Woodward Samuel Bufford Nicholas Hood Ordinary Samuel Brown Geo. Robinson Richd. Foster Wm. Fay Saml. Morett Wm. Moreen Wm. Easton Chas. Chisholme Junr. Do. Geo. Grierson Do. Joseph Adde Surgeons Do. John Fermory Gunners Do. Wm. Cotton Carpenters Do. (Signed) Jas. Stevenson Passengers from Bengal Mrs. Draper Sarah Draper George Draper From Madrass Mrs. Burghall Major Burghall	The *Gatton*'s roll continued with the rest of her crew, her passengers and the French prisoners on board. Seamen, continued Thomas Buchwald, ordinary seaman Joseph Saunders George Rowan Valentine Pratt John Haynes George Walter Hendrick Hoad Charles Harris William Miller George Robinson James Adams Thomas Burns William Graves James Stewart, ordinary seaman John Murray David Pyne Alphonso Rocchi Didier Gotta James Fiske John Willson John Dunnigan John Peter Joseph Lock Francis Woodward Samuel Buford Nicholas Hood, ordinary seaman Samuel Brown George Robinson Richard Foster William Fey Samuel Merrett William Morson William Carter Charles Chisholme junior George Gurrion Joseph Adde, surgeon's mate John Tenney, gunner's mate William Colton, carpenter's mate James Stevenson signed the roll. Passengers from Bengal Mrs Drope Sarah Drope George Drope Passengers from Madras

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		Sophia Burghall Nancy Burghall George Burghall Mr. Bullton Chas. Cooper Sarah Jack - Jack Grey French Officers on board the Gatton Mr. Tanney Mr. Delpeon Mr. De Caen From Madrass Mr. De Colombel Mr. Medor Mr. Duquender Mr. Fen Mr. Villaret Mr. Clermac Mr. Mont Chery Mr. Rivadec Mr. Marten Mr. Beauchaine Mr. Palmar Mr. Thorey Mr. De Hergee Mr. Bugrant Mr. Burgelt Dubles Villeneuve Coyon Non Commissioned Guichard Bayeum Baviez Datan St. Oliver Colet Neveux Butel Gautier Ballier Changer Sumorney Mayer Wm. Griffiths Christr. Unsford Wm. Fay Nicholas Hood Joseph Reid Joseph Lock Samuel Fone Samuel Shepherd Francis Woodward Seconds John Robinson Richd. Foster	Mrs Burghall Major Burghall Sophia Burghall Nancy Burghall George Burghall Mr Bulkley Charles Carter Sarah Jack-Jack French officers on board Mr Tanney Mr Delpon Mr De Caen From [...] Mr De Colombel Mr Meder Mr Duprende Mr Fer Mr Villaret Mr Clermac Mr Mont Chery Mr Paradis Mr Marten Mr Beauchaine Mr Palerne Mr Thomy Mr De Verger Mr Bugeant Mr Pugett Dubles Villeneuve Coyer French non-commissioned officers Guichart Bayeux Parisez Datai St Olivier Colet Nivers Butel Gautier Ballun Changé Tremaux Mayer Further names William Griffiths Christopher Unsford William Fey Nicholas Hood Joseph Reed Joseph Lock Samuel Love Samuel Shepherd Francis Woodward Edwards John Robinson Richard Foster **Interpretations** The *Gatton* carried more than 30 French officers and non-commissioned officers, far more than the *Royal Admiral*. They were probably men taken when British forces captured the French settlements in India in 1778 and 1779, now being sent to Europe for exchange. A body of trained enemy soldiers that size, held in one ship anchored under the island's batteries, explains why the Council confined those allowed ashore to the town's sentry line. The British names at the foot of the list repeat several of the seamen already entered, among them Nicholas Hood, Joseph Lock and Richard Foster. They probably formed a separate group, such as a watch or the men told off to guard the prisoners.

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105	101	1779 Mr. James Laird this day applied to pay one hundred and fifty pounds into the Honble. Company's Cash, which Sum We have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. Court of Directors payable to Robt. Wigram Esqr. or Order at ninety days sight. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 20 Day of Sept. 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 18 of Sept. 1779 - Counted and examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of August last which is as follows Viz. -	James Laird asked to pay £150 0s 0d into the Company's treasury that day. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to Robert Wigram or his order 90 days after sight. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 September 1779. The Governor presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 18 September 1779. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for August.
106	102	Cash Dr. 1779 Augt. 1 To Balance remaining £ 22854 12 11½ £ 22854 12 11½ Per Contra Cr. 1779 Augt. 31 By Balance remaining Viz. In Specie£ 22314 17 11½ In Cash Notes 539 15 . 22854 12 11½ £ 22854 12 11½ John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** 20 Sept.	The Company's cash account for August 1779 again recorded no money coming in or going out. 1 August 1779, balance in hand, £22,854 12s 11½d Total receipts, £22,854 12s 11½d 31 August 1779, balance in hand, in coin, £22,314 17s 11½d 31 August 1779, balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £22,854 12s 11½d Total, £22,854 12s 11½d Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The chest stayed untouched through a month in which the *Hind* brought nearly 3,500 rixdollars' worth of flour, sheep and candles from the Cape. The Council paid for those goods with bills drawn on the Company in London, not with coin from the island's treasury. That practice kept the island's silver reserve intact for the pay lists and local purchases. The cost of supplies bought abroad fell on the Company's London accounts, where the bills would be honoured months later. The Council could therefore buy relief in a crisis without ever seeming to spend.
107	103	27 Sept. At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th Day of September 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated 20th of September 1779 - Tuesday the 21 Sailed the Hind Cutter for the Cape of Good Hope Do. Do. Arrived the Queens Boat at Banks's at four o'Clock in the Afternoon -	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 27 September 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 20 September 1779. The *Hind* cutter sailed for the Cape of Good Hope on Tuesday 21 September 1779. At four o'clock that afternoon, a boat from the Company's ship *Queen* landed at Banks's battery, and the *Queen* herself arrived the same day from Bencoolen. At ten o'clock on the morning of Friday 24 September 1779, a boat from the *Glatton* landed at Banks's. The Company's ships *Glatton*, *Royal George* and *Hillsborough* arrived from China later that day. The *Queen*, *Glatton*, *Royal George* and *Hillsborough* brought the island the following supplies. The *Queen*'s invoice ran as follows.

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		Do. Do. the Honble. Company's Ship Queen from Bencoolen Friday the 24 Arrived the Glattons Boat at Banks's at ten o'Clock in the Morning - Do. Do. the Honble. Company's Ships Glatton, Royal George and Hillsborough from China - The Ships Queen, Glatton, Royal George, and Hillsborough brought Us the following Supply Viz. - Invoice of Ship Queen Sugar 42 Baskets weighing 131. 13 @ 6. 2 P Pecul £ 852 1 38 Charges Merchandize Boat and Cooley hire, and Cajans for the above 17 . . £ 869 1 38 Croce 6 July 1779 Errors Excepted	Sugar, 42 baskets weighing 131 piculs 13 catties at 6½ dollars a picul, 852 dollars, 1 quarter, 37 [...] Charges on the goods Boat hire, porterage and palm-leaf mats for the sugar, 17 dollars, 0 quarters, 0 [...] Invoice total, 869 dollars, 1 quarter, 37 [...] The invoice was dated at Croee on 6 July 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The *Queen*'s sugar came from Croee, one of the Company's pepper stations on the west coast of Sumatra, administered from Bencoolen. A picul was a Malay and Chinese weight of about 133 lb, divided into 100 catties, so the 42 baskets held more than 7 tons of sugar. The mats, called kajangs in Malay, were woven from palm leaves and wrapped round the baskets to keep the sugar dry in the hold. Sugar was the very article whose rationing had set the junior officers against the Council in July. This cargo from Sumatra, together with whatever the China ships brought, probably went a long way towards relieving the shortage behind that dispute.
108	104	27 Sept. Invoice of Ship Glatton China Ware 2 Chests Tales MCC 29 4. 3. 1 Sugar Candy 9 Peculs 17. 4. 2 Tales 7. 6 24 3. 9. 2 Sugar 20 41. 92½ 4. 8 132 2. 4. 0 Bohea 4 4. 70 12 201 4. 0. 0 Congo 3 1. 32 22 56 0. 4. 0 Single 3 1. 52½ 21 32 4. 9. 0 Tales 479 9. 9. 2 Canton 9 March 1779 Errors Excepted (Signed) Chas. Edwd. Pigou Henry Lane David Lance Jno. Harrison Geo. Cuming Alexr. Bruce Geo. Rogers Abm. Roebuck Henry Browne Mattw. Raper Jas. Bradshaw Wm. Henry Pigou Invoice of Ship Royal George China Ware 2 Chests 28 4. 2. 1 Sugar Candy 9 Peculs 17. 42 Tales 7. 6 132 4. 5. 0 Sugar 20 41. 91½ 4. 8 201 5. 2. 0 Bohea 4 4. 70 12 56 4. 0. 0 Congo 2 1. 32 22 29 3. 4. 0 Single 3 1. 54½ 21 32 1. 9. 4 Tales 501 2. 3 Canton 9 March 1779 Errors Excepted (Signed) Chas. Henry Pigou Henry Lane David Lance Jno. Harrison Geo. Cuming Alexr. Bruce	The *Glatton*'s invoice from Canton ran as follows. China ware, 2 chests, 28 taels, 4 mace, 3 candareens, 1 cash Sugar candy, 9 tubs weighing 17.42 piculs at 7.6 taels a picul, 132 taels, 3 mace, 9 candareens, 2 cash Sugar, 20 tubs weighing 41.92½ piculs at 4.8 taels a picul, 201 taels, 2 mace, 4 candareens, 0 cash Bohea tea, 4 chests weighing 4.70 piculs at 12 taels a picul, 56 taels, 4 mace, 0 candareens, 0 cash Congou tea, 2 chests weighing 1.32 piculs at 22 taels a picul, 29 taels, 0 mace, 4 candareens, 0 cash Singlo tea, 3 chests weighing 1.54½ piculs at 21 taels a picul, 32 taels, 4 mace, 4 candareens, 5 cash Invoice total, 479 taels, 9 mace, 9 candareens, 2 cash The *Royal George*'s invoice ran as follows. China ware, 2 chests, 28 taels, 4 mace, 2 candareens, 1 cash Sugar candy, 9 tubs weighing 17.42 piculs at 7.6 taels a picul, 132 taels, 4 mace, 5 candareens, 8 cash Sugar, 20 tubs weighing 41.91½ piculs at 4.8 taels a picul, 201 taels, 5 mace, 2 candareens, 0 cash Bohea tea, 4 chests weighing 4.70 piculs at 12 taels a picul, 56 taels, 4 mace, 2 candareens, 1 cash Congou tea, 2 chests weighing 1.32 piculs at 22 taels a picul, 29 taels, 3 mace, 4 candareens, 0 cash Singlo tea, 3 chests weighing 1.54½ piculs at 21 taels a picul, 32 taels, 1 mace, 9 candareens, 4 cash Invoice total, 481 taels, 7 mace, 0 candareens, 3 cash The *Hillsborough*'s invoice ran as follows. China ware, 2 chests, 27 taels, 4 mace, 3 candareens, 1 cash Sugar candy, 10 tubs weighing 19.41 piculs at 7.6 taels a picul, 147 taels, 5 mace, 1 candareen, 6 cash Sugar, 20 tubs weighing 41.66⅔ piculs at 4.8 taels a picul, 200 taels, 1 mace, 2 candareens, 4 cash Bohea tea, 4 chests weighing 4.32½ piculs at 12 taels a picul, 51 taels, 9 mace, 0 candareens, 0 cash Congou tea, 3 chests weighing 1.95½ piculs at 22 taels a picul, 43 taels, 0 mace, 6 candareens, 5 cash Singlo tea, 3 chests weighing 1.51 piculs at 21 taels a picul, 31 taels, 7 mace, 1 candareen, 0 cash Invoice total, 502 taels, 5 mace, 0 candareens, 6 cash All three invoices were dated at Canton on 9 March 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. The first two were signed by the Company's supercargoes: Charles Edward Pigou, James Harrison, George Rogers, Matthew Raper, Henry Lane, George Cuming, Abraham Roebuck, James Bradshaw, David Lance, Alexander Bruce, Henry Browne and William Henry Pigou.

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		Geo. Rogers Abm. Roebuck Hen. Browne Mattw. Raper Jas. Bradshaw Wm. Hen. Pigou Invoice of Ship Hillsborough China Ware 2 Chests 27 4. 3. 1 Sugar Candy 10 Peculs 19. 41 @ Tales 7. 6 154 5. 0. 0 Sugar 20 41. 66½ 4. 8 200 1. 2. 4 Bohea 4 4. 32½ 12 51 9. 0. 0 Congo 3 1. 95½ 22 43 0. 6. 5 Single 3 1. 51 21 31 7. 1. 0 Tales 502 5. 0. 6 Canton 9 March 1779 Errors Excepted	**Interpretations** The three China ships delivered the tea and sugar whose scarcity had divided the garrison's officers from the Council in July. Together they carried more than 120 piculs of sugar and sugar candy, roughly 7 tons, along with three grades of tea. Bohea was the cheapest black tea, a coarse leaf from the Wuyi hills of Fujian, and it formed the bulk of the Company's tea trade. Congou was a better-made black tea at nearly twice the price. Singlo was a green tea from Anhui, priced close to congou. Sugar candy was refined sugar crystallised in large lumps, which kept far better at sea than loose sugar. The Council's order to Canton of 12 August 1779 could not have reached China in time for these ships, so the cargoes reflected the island's standing annual order. Chinese accounts were kept in taels of silver, each divided into 10 mace, 100 candareens and 1,000 cash. The picul, about 133 lb, was the standard Chinese commercial weight. The supercargoes who signed were the Company's senior merchants at Canton, the body to which the Council had written as the newly appointed President and Select Committee.
109	105	1779 We this day received the following Letter Viz. The Worshipful the Governor and Council St. Helena - Gentlemen His Majesty's Ship Warwick under my Command having been detained here so long waiting for the - homeward bound Ships and from the State of the last four that are Arrived, I fancy it will not be possible for me to Sail in less than three Weeks, from hence I am under the necessity therefore of applying to you for a Supply of the undermentioned Rice to serve my Ships Company in Lieu of bread which is become very low and bad in quality from the Weevils having got into it. I am with great respect Gentlemen Warwick Your most humble Servant St. Helena 27 Sept. 1779 (Signed) R. Collins Bread or Rice a proportion for 56 Days - 19600 Pounds To which Letter We returned the following Answer Viz. - To Richard Collins Esqr. Capt. & Comander of his Majesty's Ship Warwick - Sir We are sorry to find by your Letter of this Day that his Majesty's Ship Warwick under your Command requires so large a Supply of Bread here which in our present situation can be very ill spared, nevertheless as it is our Duty to do every thing for the good of Service We have ordered you the quantity of Flour you require, there not being near a sufficiency of Rice in the Honble. Company's Stores to Answer your Demand. - We are Sir St. Helena Your most Obedt. & humble Servants 27 Sept. 1779 (Signed) Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett John Skottowe	The Council received a letter that day from Richard Collins, captain of HMS *Warwick*. Collins explained that his ship had been held at the island for a long time waiting for the homeward-bound ships. Given the condition of the last four to arrive, he could not sail in less than three weeks. He therefore had to ask the Council for a supply of rice to feed his crew in place of bread. His ship's bread was running very low and had been badly spoiled by weevils. He asked for enough rice or bread to last 56 days, a total of 17,600 lb. He signed the letter on board the *Warwick* at St Helena on 27 September 1779. The Council replied to Captain Collins the same day. It regretted to learn that the *Warwick* needed so large a supply of bread, which the island could ill spare in its present situation. Nevertheless, it saw a duty to do all it could for the good of the service. There was nowhere near enough rice in the Company's stores to meet his request, so the Council had ordered him the full quantity in flour instead. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the reply. **Interpretations** The *Warwick* had stayed at St Helena since July to escort the homeward China and India ships through waters where French cruisers might be waiting. Her long wait explains both her exhausted bread and her earlier demands for beef. On 30 August 1779, the Council had refused her more beef to save cattle for the Company's ships. Now it gave her the whole of her request in flour, much of it probably from the *Hind*'s cargo bought at the Cape. The difference lay in what the *Warwick* was about to do. She would sail as convoy to the very East Indiamen the Council had been protecting. Feeding her crew therefore protected the Company's cargoes at sea. The flour was the less obvious choice, since Collins had asked for rice. The Council substituted flour because the stores had too little rice, and rice was needed for the slaves' ration.

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		Danl. Corneille Mattw. Bazett	
110	106	27 Sept. Being in want of Pepper for the use of the Honble. Company, We this Day wrote Capt. Peter Douglas the following Order Viz. - To Captain Peter Douglas Comander of Ship Queen. Sir You are hereby Ordered to send on Shore Eight hundred weight of the Honble. Company's Pepper for the use of this Island - 4 White and 4 Black - We are Sir St. Helena Your humble Servants 27 Septr. 1779 (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Mattw. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from Ships Royal Admiral, Gatton & Hind Cutter - Account of Stores Short received from the following Ships Viz. - Royal Admiral Cwt. qr. lb. 40. 3. 12 Rice in 12 Bags not delivered 12. 2. - Paddy in 8 Do. Do. Gatton 9. 1. 4 Rice Short weight occasioned by wastage 51. 1. 20 Paddy in 19 Bags not delivered 10 Galls. Arrack 19 Do. Madeira Wine Short of the Gauge 6 Candles Short weight occasioned by Wastage Hind Cutter Cwt. qr. lb. 10. 1. 2 Flour short weight 27 Sept. 1779 (Signed) Jonn. Doveton Storekeeper Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett	The Company needed pepper for its own use on the island. The Council therefore sent a written order to Captain Peter Douglas, commander of the *Queen*. He was to land 8 cwt of the Company's pepper for the island's use, half of it white and half black. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the order at St Helena on 27 September 1779. Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, submitted the following account of stores short received from the *Royal Admiral*, the *Gatton* and the *Hind* cutter. He dated it 27 September 1779. The *Royal Admiral*: Rice, 40 cwt 3 qr 12 lb in 12 bags, not delivered Paddy, 12 cwt 2 qr 0 lb in 8 bags, not delivered The *Gatton*: Rice, 9 cwt 1 qr 4 lb, short in weight through wastage Paddy, 51 cwt 1 qr 20 lb in 44 bags, not delivered Arrack, 10 gallons short Madeira wine, 14 gallons short of the measured contents Candles, 6 [...] short in weight through wastage The *Hind* cutter: Flour, 10 cwt 1 qr 2 lb, short in weight Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The storekeeper separated goods "not delivered" from goods "short through wastage", and the difference carried legal weight. Bags missing altogether were the ship's responsibility, and their value could be charged to the commander or owners. Loss of weight through drying, damp or rats on a long voyage was an accepted hazard of carriage, which the Company usually bore itself. The *Gatton* landed 44 fewer bags of paddy than her invoice showed. That loss came on top of the *Royal Admiral*'s missing rice, and at a time when the island's rice supply was already short. White pepper was the same berry as black, with the dark outer skin removed after soaking. It was milder and more costly. The Council took the pepper straight from the Company's homeward cargo on the *Queen* rather than buying it.
111	107	30 September At a Consultation held on Thursday the 30 Day of September 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 27 September 1779 Pursuant to an Order in Consultation of the 23 last Month, the Planters this day attended to pay their Rents and Revenues due to the Honble. Company for the Year past which amounts to £ 636. 16. 6. The Rent Roll is as follows Viz. Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s., d. Saml. Alexander 5 Acres @ 2/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 36¼, Lease Land 50½, £ 14, s. 1, d. 9 John Alexander 15½ Acres @ 4/ P Acre 30 Acres @ 2/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 71¼, Lease Land 103, £ 23, s. 12, d. 6	The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 30 September 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 27 September 1779. In line with the Council's order of 23 August 1779, the planters attended that day to pay the rents and other dues owed to the Company for the past year. These came to £636 16s 6d in all. The rent roll ran as follows, giving each holder's ground-rent, freehold and leasehold land in acres and the sum paid. Samuel Alexander (5 acres at 2s an acre): ground rent 0 acres, freehold 38½ acres, leasehold 50¼ acres, £14 1s 9d John Alexander (15½ acres at 9d an acre, 30 acres at 2s an acre): ground rent 0 acres, freehold 71¼ acres, leasehold 103 acres, £23 12s 6d George Alexander: ground rent 0 acres, freehold 20 acres, leasehold 51 acres, £13 18s 0d Andrew Beale: ground rent 5¾ acres, freehold 10 acres, leasehold 13⅝ acres, £4 2s 9d Richard Beale: ground rent 5¼ acres, freehold 61 acres, leasehold 24 acres, £8 6s 0d

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		Geo. Alexander: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 58, £ 13, s. 18, d. 0 Revd. Beales Orphs.: Ground Rent 5/3, Free Land 10, Lease Land 13½, £ 4, s. 2, d. 9 Richd. Beale: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 61, Lease Land 24, £ 8, s. 6, d. 0 John Bagley Senr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 15, £ 3, s. 15, d. 0 John Bagley Junr. 20 Acres @ 1/ P Acre 23½ @ 3/6 P Acre: Ground Rent 16½, Free Land 64, Lease Land 7½, £ 19, s. 13, d. 6½ Richd. Bagley Diamond 17½ Acres @ 1/ P Acre 3½ @ 2/ P Acre and 3½ Acres @ 4/ P Acre: Ground Rent 3, Free Land 44, Lease Land 25½, £ 31, s. 11, d. 0 Edwd. Bagley 12½ Acres @ 3/ P Acre 3½ Acres @ 4/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 64½, £ 15, s. 1, d. 6 Matt. Bazett 15 Acres @ 1/ P Acre 8½ @ 4/ P Acre: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 217, Lease Land 107½, £ 33, s. 2, d. 10½ Orlando Bagley Orphs. 21 Acres @ 2/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 41½, Lease Land 67, £ 16, s. 4, d. 0 Henry Bazett 7 Acres @ 3/ P Acre 3½ @ 2/ P Acre 3 @ 4/ P Acre & 3 Acres @ 1/ P Acre: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 75, Lease Land 21½, £ 23, s. 12, d. 3 John Bazett's Orphs.: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 12, d. 0 Orlando Bagley 19 Acres @ 1/ P Acre 21½ @ 2/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 45½, £ 17, s. 7, d. 6 Thos. Bircham: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 19, Lease Land 13½, £ 4, s. 6, d. 6 Wm. Beale Orphs.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 7½, Lease Land 13½, £ 4, s. 5, d. 6 Robt. Ballard: Ground Rent 13/, Free Land 13½, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s. 8, d. 6 Geo. Bird: Ground Rent 17/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 17, d. 0 Richd. Bickerstaff: Ground Rent 13/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 13, d. 0 Jas. Colgrave: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 13, Lease Land 100, £ 25, s. 13, d. 0 Carried Over: Ground Rent 102¾, Free Land [...], Lease Land 1025½, £ 265, s. 5, d. 2	John Bagley senior: ground rent 0 acres, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 15 acres, £3 15s 0d John Bagley junior (20 acres at 3s an acre, 23½ acres at 3s 6d an acre): ground rent 16½ acres, freehold 64 acres, leasehold 7⅞ acres, £19 13s 6½d Estate of the late Richard Bagley (17¾ acres at 3s an acre, 5¾ acres at 3s an acre, 3¾ acres at 4s an acre): ground rent 3 acres, freehold 44 acres, leasehold 25¾ acres, £31 11s 0d Edward Bagley (12½ acres at 3s an acre, 3½ acres at 4s an acre): ground rent 0 acres, freehold 25 acres, leasehold 64¾ acres, £15 1s 6d Matthew Bazett (15 acres at 1s an acre, 8½ acres at 4s an acre): ground rent 10 acres, freehold 219 acres, leasehold 105⅝ acres, £33 2s 10½d Orlando Bagley (21 acres at 2s an acre): ground rent 0 acres, freehold 41½ acres, leasehold 67 acres, £16 4s 0d Henry Bazett (1 acre at 3s an acre, 4¼ acres at 2s an acre, 3 acres at 4s an acre, 5 acres at 1s an acre): ground rent 3¾ acres, freehold 75 acres, leasehold 21½ acres, £23 12s 3d John Bazett: ground rent 12½ acres, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 12s 0d Orlando Bagley (1¾ acres at 6d an acre, 21½ acres at 2s an acre): ground rent 0 acres, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 45⅞ acres, £8 1s 6d Thomas Burnham: ground rent 0 acres, freehold 19 acres, leasehold 13½ acres, £4 6s 6d William Beale: ground rent 0 acres, freehold 7½ acres, leasehold 13½ acres, £4 5s 6d Robert Ballard: ground rent 13 acres, freehold 13½ acres, leasehold 0 acres, £1 8s 6d George Bird: ground rent 17 acres, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 17s 0d Richard Bickerstaff: ground rent 13 acres, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 13s 0d James Colgrave: ground rent 0 acres, freehold 13 acres, leasehold 100 acres, £25 13s 0d Carried forward: £265 5s 2d **Interpretations** Matthew Bazett, a member of the Council receiving the rents, held more than 219 acres of freehold, by far the largest holding on this page. Henry Bazett, another councillor, paid £23 12s 3d. The Council therefore set and collected the rents on land in which its own members were among the largest holders. The many different rates per acre, from 6d to 4s, reflect leases granted at different dates and on different terms. Each holder paid according to the conditions of his original grant, not by a single island rate. The estate of the late Richard Bagley still paid its full rent. That shows the obligation ran with the land and passed to the heirs, who could keep the holding only by continuing to pay.
112	108	30 Sept. Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s., d. Brought Over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1026½, Lease Land 1187¾, £ 265, s. 5, d. 2 Jas. Chamberlains Orphs.: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 15, d. 0 Jas. Desfountain: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 3, d. 0 Jas. Dovetons Orphs.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 28½, Lease Land 8, £ 6, s. 6, d. 6 Jonn. Doveton: Ground Rent 24½, Free Land 172½, Lease Land 4, £ 8, s. 12, d. 11 Isaac Doveton 9½ Acres @ 1/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 119½, Lease Land 37½, £ 14, s. 1, d. 0 Jno. Desfountain 12½ Acres @ 1/3 P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 20, Lease Land 83½, £ 19, s. 10, d. 11 Wm. Webber Doveton: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 2, £ 1, s. 0, d. 0	The rent roll for the year continued as follows. Each line gives the holder's ground rent, the acres of freehold and leasehold land held and the sum paid. Brought forward: £265 5s 2d James Chamberlain: ground rent 15s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 15s 0d James Dafountain: ground rent 3s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 3s 0d John Doveton: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 28½ acres, leasehold 8 acres, £6 6s 6d Jonathan Doveton: ground rent 24s 6d, freehold 170½ acres, leasehold 4 acres, £8 12s 11d Isaac Doveton (9½ acres at 2s an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 119½ acres, leasehold 37½ acres, £14 1s 0d John Dafountain (12¾ acres at 1s 3d an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 20 acres, leasehold 33¾ acres, £19 10s 11d William Webber Doveton: ground rent 10s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 2 acres, £1 0s 0d

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		Saml. Desfountain: Ground Rent 17/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 17, d. 0 Henry Easthope: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 14, Lease Land 23, £ 7, s. 14, d. 0 Jas. Easthope: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 11, Lease Land 7, £ 2, s. 11, d. 0 Julio Fatuaro: Ground Rent 15/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 15, d. 0 Richd. Goodwin: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 149, Lease Land 47, £ 9, s. 4, d. 0 John Goodwin: Ground Rent 14½, Free Land 67½, Lease Land 23, £ 11, s. 1, d. 10 Jas. Greentree 26 Acres @ 2/6 P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 14½, Lease Land 14, £ 9, s. 16, d. 6 Jas. Greentrees Orphs. 33¼ Acres @ 4/ P Acre: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 77½, Lease Land 55, £ 13, s. 14, d. 3 Walter Greentree: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 39½, Lease Land 38, £ 13, s. 7, d. 6 Jas. Harper: Ground Rent 29/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s. 2, d. 6 Geo. Hayes: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 6½, £ 3, s. 2, d. 6 Robt. Hodson: Ground Rent 12/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 12, d. 6 Mary Harper: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10, Lease Land 26, £ 7, s. 0, d. 0 Thos. Harpers Orphs.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 19½, Lease Land 46½, £ 12, s. 13, d. 6 Gabl. Harpers Orphs. 6 Acres @ 1/ P Acre 4½ Acres @ 3/ P Acre 3½ Acres @ 2/ P Acre & 16½ Acres @ 1/6 P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 40, Lease Land 21½, £ 4, s. 7, d. 4½ Wm. Hayes: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 12, d. 0 Elisha Isacke: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 5, £ 2, s. 10, d. 0 Wm. Isackson 19½ Acres @ 5/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 19½, £ 0, s. 0, d. 0 Benjn. Jones: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 3, d. 0 Martha Jacks: Ground Rent 16/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 16, d. 0 Gabl. Leach Senr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 8, £ 2, s. 0, d. 0 Saml. Knipe Senr.: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 51½, Lease Land 40½, £ 11, s. 4, d. 7½ Richd. Knipe: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 2½, £ 0, s. 12, d. 6 Saml. Knipe Junr. 30½ Acres @ 1/6 P Acre 23 Acres @ 2/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 38½, Lease Land 53½, £ 5, s. 0, d. 9½ Nathl. Kennedy: Ground Rent 5/3, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 5, d. 3 Robt. Leech: Ground Rent 4/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 4, d. 0 Thos. Leech: Ground Rent 12/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 12, d. 0 Elizh. Lambe: Ground Rent 1/6, Free Land 0, Lease Land 3, £ 3, s. 4, d. 6 Richd. Mason 7½ Acres @ 2/6 P Acre 3 Acres @ 4/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 48½, Lease Land 18, £ 19, s. 7, d. 4½ Benjn. Mason 31 Acres @ 1/6 P Acre: Ground Rent 13/3, Free Land 42, Lease Land 24½, £ 13, s. 10, d. 5 Elizh. Powell: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 3, d. 0 Carried Over: Ground Rent 18 . 6½, Free Land 1815½, Lease Land 375, £ 16, s. 5, d. 0	Samuel Dafountain: ground rent 17s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 17s 0d Henry Easthope: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 14 acres, leasehold 23 acres, £7 14s 0d James Easthope: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 11 acres, leasehold 7 acres, £2 11s 0d Julio Fabreance: ground rent 15s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 15s 0d Richard Goodwin: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 19 acres, leasehold 47 acres, £9 4s 0d John Goodwin: ground rent 14s 6d, freehold 67½ acres, leasehold 23 acres, £11 1s 10d James Greentree (26 acres at 2s 6d an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 18¾ acres, leasehold 14 acres, £9 16s 6d Captain James Greentree (33¼ acres at 4s an acre): ground rent 5s 0d, freehold 27¾ acres, leasehold 55 acres, £13 14s 3d Walter Greentree: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 37½ acres, leasehold 38 acres, £13 7s 6d James Harper: ground rent 22s 6d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £1 2s 6d George Hayes: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 30 acres, leasehold 6¾ acres, £3 2s 6d Robert Hodson: ground rent 12s 6d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 12s 6d Margaret Harper: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 10 acres, leasehold 26 acres, £7 0s 0d Captain Thomas Harper: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 19¾ acres, leasehold 46½ acres, £12 13s 6d Captain Gabriel Harper (6 acres at 1s an acre, 4½ acres at 3s an acre, 3½ acres at 2s an acre, 14½ acres at 1s 6d an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 40 acres, leasehold 21½ acres, £4 7s 4½d William Hayes: ground rent 12s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 12s 0d Elisha Jacks: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 35 acres, leasehold 5 acres, £2 10s 0d William Jackson (19½ acres at 2s an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 19½ acres, £0 0s 0d Joseph Jones: ground rent 3s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 3s 0d Martha Jacks: ground rent 16s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 16s 0d Gabriel Knipe senior: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 8 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £2 0s 0d Samuel Knipe senior: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 51½ acres, leasehold 40⅞ acres, £11 4s 7½d Richard Knipe: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 2½ acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 12s 6d Samuel Knipe junior (30½ acres at 1s 6d an acre, 23 acres at 1s an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 37¾ acres, leasehold 53½ acres, £5 0s 4½d Nathaniel Kennedy: ground rent 5s 3d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 5s 3d Robert Leech: ground rent 4s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 4s 0d Thomas Leech: ground rent 12s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 12s 0d Elizabeth Lambe: ground rent 14s 6d, freehold 3 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £3 4s 6d Richard Mason (7½ acres at 2s 6d an acre, 3 acres at 4s an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 48½ acres, leasehold 18 acres, £19 7s 4½d Benjamin Mason (31 acres at 1s 6d an acre): ground rent 13s 9d, freehold 42 acres, leasehold 24¼ acres, £13 10s 5d Elizabeth Powell: ground rent 3s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 3s 0d Carried forward: £475 16s 5d **Interpretations** The ground-rent column ran in shillings and marked a different kind of holding from the planters' acres. Most of those paying ground rent alone were Company officials and townspeople. They included

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			Samuel and James Dafountain, Nathaniel Kennedy, Robert and Thomas Leech and Robert Hodson. These were holders of house plots in James Town, who paid a small fixed charge for the site of a dwelling rather than rent on farmland. The roll therefore set out two distinct groups among the island's landholders. The officers and civil servants lived in town on modest plots. The planter families, the Greentrees, Knipes, Harpers and Dovetons, held the country estates in the interior. Several officials, such as the Dovetons, stood in both groups and drew income from farming as well as from their posts. William Jackson paid nothing against his 19½ acres, and the Council evidently recorded the debt as outstanding.
113	109	1779 Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £, s., d. Brought Over: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 1626½, Lease Land 1064¾, £ 475, s. 16, d. 5 Robt. Gurling 13½ Acres @ 1/6 P Acre 13½ @ 2/ P Acre 7½ @ 1/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 23, Lease Land 33¼, £ 4, s. 0, d. 0 John Pierce Orphs.: Ground Rent 22/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 4, £ 5, s. 2, d. 0 Jas. Pritchard: Ground Rent 22/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s. 2, d. 0 John Robinson 15½ Acres @ 3/6 P Acre: Ground Rent 3/, Free Land 137½, Lease Land 94½, £ 22, s. 18, d. 1½ John Seales Orphs. 5½ @ 1/ P Acre 5½ @ 3/6 P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 34½, Lease Land 68, £ 16, s. 13, d. 6 Solomon St. Maurice: Ground Rent 70/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 3, s. 10, d. 0 Benjn. Seale 10½ Acres @ 1/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 26, £ 5, s. 7, d. 0 Frans. Seale: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 10½, Lease Land 33½, £ 8, s. 19, d. 0 Geo. Seale: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 0, Lease Land 7½, £ 1, s. 17, d. 6 C. Ross Steward 6½ Acres @ 6/ P Acre 2½ @ 1/ P Acre 7½ @ 2/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 65½, £ 14, s. 11, d. 7½ Ann Sampell: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 25, Lease Land 11, £ 4, s. 0, d. 0 John Shirtley's: Ground Rent 10/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 10, d. 0 Society: Ground Rent 4/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 0, s. 4, d. 0 Thos. Statham: Ground Rent 20/3, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s. 0, d. 3 John Worrall: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 71, Lease Land 33, £ 11, s. 16, d. 0 Wm. Wrangham 1½ Acres @ 20/ P Acre 6½ @ 1/ P Acre Ground Rent @ 1/ P Acre for 10 Acres: Ground Rent 17/2, Free Land 165½, Lease Land 158½, £ 37, s. 1, d. 2½ Sarah Witchard: Ground Rent 24/, Free Land 0, Lease Land 0, £ 1, s. 9, d. 6 Wm. Youngs Orphs. 6½ @ 1/ P Acre: Ground Rent 5/, Free Land 77½, Lease Land 35½, £ 11, s. 19, d. 10½ Stephen Young 3 @ 1/ P Acre: Ground Rent 0, Free Land 30, Lease Land 33½, £ 10, s. 10, d. 6 £: Ground Rent [...], Free Land [...], Lease Land [...], £ 636, s. 16, d. 6 On the 27 instant Monsieur De Hergee a French Prisoner on Board the Gatton presented the following Letter to the Board - A Messieurs Du Conseil à St. Helene Messieurs Ayant été stipulé et convenu dans la Capitulation faite, écrite et signée devant Pondichery avant sa	The rent roll for the year concluded as follows. Brought forward: £475 16s 5d Robert Gurling (13½ acres at 1s an acre, 15½ acres at 2s an acre, 7¾ acres at 1s an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 23 acres, leasehold 33¼ acres, £4 0s 0d Captain John Power: ground rent 22s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 4 acres, £5 2s 0d James Pritchard: ground rent 22s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £1 2s 0d John Robinson (15½ acres at 2s 6d an acre): ground rent 2s 0d, freehold 13½ acres, leasehold 94½ acres, £22 18s 1½d Captain John Seale (5½ acres at 1s an acre, 5½ acres at 1s 6d an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 34¾ acres, leasehold 68 acres, £16 13s 6d Solomon St Maurice: ground rent 70s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £3 10s 0d Benjamin Seale (10½ acres at 1s an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 26 acres, £5 7s 0d Francis Seale: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 10¾ acres, leasehold 33¾ acres, £8 19s 0d George Seale: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 7½ acres, £1 17s 6d Charles Ross Stewart (6½ acres at 6d an acre, 2¾ acres at 1s an acre, 7½ acres at 2s an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 25 acres, leasehold 65 acres, £14 11s 7½d Ann Sampell: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 25 acres, leasehold 11 acres, £4 0s 0d John Smithys: ground rent 10s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 10s 0d The Society: ground rent 4s 0d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £0 4s 0d Thomas Statham: ground rent 20s 3d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £1 0s 3d John Terrall: ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 71 acres, leasehold 33 acres, £11 16s 0d William Wrangham (1½ acres at 20s a year, 6½ acres at 1s an acre, and ground rent at 1s a year for 10 years): ground rent 12s 8d, freehold 165⅞ acres, leasehold 18 acres, £37 1s 2½d Sarah Pritchard: ground rent 29s 6d, freehold 0 acres, leasehold 0 acres, £1 9s 6d Captain William Young (6½ acres at 1s 6d an acre): ground rent 5s 0d, freehold 77¼ acres, leasehold 35½ acres, £11 18s 10½d Stephen Yonge (3 acres at 1s an acre): ground rent 0s 0d, freehold 30 acres, leasehold 33¼ acres, £10 10s 6d Total rents and dues for the year: £636 16s 6d Monsieur De Verger, a French prisoner on board the *Gatton*, presented a letter to the Board on the second of the month. He wrote in French to the gentlemen of the Council at St Helena. De Verger stated that the capitulation drawn up, concluded and signed before Pondicherry surrendered had included an express term. Both the British general and the French general who governed the town had

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		reddition tant de la part du Général Anglois que de celle du Général François Gouverneur de cette place que la Garnison serait été reconnue entièrement libre et non Prisonnière de Guerre qu'elle aurait joui en conséquence de tous les honneurs de la guerre qu'elle avait mérités par sa belle et glorieuse defence et qu'elle	agreed it. Under that term, the garrison was to be recognised as entirely free and not as prisoners of war. It was also to receive all the honours of war that it had earned by its fine and glorious defence. **Interpretations** The rents came to £636 16s 6d for the year, about one seventh of a single quarter's pay list. Rent from land was a minor part of the island's income. Its value to the Company lay less in the money than in the record it created. Each year's roll showed who held which land and on what terms, and it confirmed the Company's ultimate ownership of the whole island. William Wrangham, a councillor, held over 165 acres of freehold, which placed him alongside Matthew Bazett among the largest landholders on the roll. "The Society" paid a small ground rent for a plot. It was probably the Arrack Society, the association of inhabitants that handled the island's spirit trade at this date.
114	110	30 Sept. qu'elle aurait été transférée en France aux frais du Gouvernement de Madras et traitée convenablement, il est connu, non obstant des conventions si honorables et avantageuses. Les Quinze officiers de cette Garnison embarqués à Madras sur le Vaisseau le Gatton seront forcés, Messieurs, de vous avouer et de reprocher au Capitaine Chisholm d'avoir essentiellement manqué à tous les procédés décents et honnêtes qu'il aurait dû avoir pour tous et chacun de ces mêmes officiers qui ont été mal nourris pendant le Voyage et depuis leur arrivée en celui ci ils se sont vus réduits à la ration seule de l'équipage même. Ils espèrent Messieurs que vous voudrez bien prendre en considération leurs justes plaintes et ordonnez qu'ils soient à l'avenir traités et nourris jusqu'au lieu de leur destination mieux qu'auparavant conformément aux ordres et intentions du Conseil De Madras. - Je suis Messieurs A St. Helene Votre très humble et le 27 Septembre 1779 Obeisst. Serviteur (Signed) De Hergee Upon considering the above Letter We directed the Secretary to write to Captain Strong and Monsieur De Hergee as follows Viz. To Mr. Job Strong Comander of the Ship Gatton - Sir In consequence of a Letter Addressed to the Governor and Council from Monsieur De Hergee in behalf of himself and French Officers late of the Garrison of Pondicherry now Passengers on board the Ship Gatton under your Command, complaining to them of their treatment since on board from Chisholm late Commander as well as being very ill fed, and since their Arrival in this Road, and under your Command have been nourished with no other Provisions than the Ships Allowance, I am therefore directed to acquaint you that they require you to obviate their Complaint	De Rouger went on to say that the capitulation had also provided for the garrison to be carried to France at the expense of the Madras government and to be treated in a manner suited to its rank. Those were honourable and favourable terms. The 15 officers of the garrison who had embarked at Madras on the *Gatton*, however, felt obliged to complain to the Council about Captain Chisholme. They charged that he had failed in every respect to show them the decent and proper treatment he owed to each of them. They had been poorly fed throughout the voyage. Since their arrival at the island, they had in effect been reduced to the ordinary ration of the ship's crew. They hoped the Council would weigh their just complaints. They asked it to order that, for the rest of the voyage, they be treated and fed better than before, as the Council at Madras had ordered and intended. De Rouger signed the letter at St Helena on 27 September 1779. After considering the letter, the Council told the secretary to write to Mr Job Strong and to Monsieur De Rouger. The secretary wrote to Job Strong, commander of the *Gatton*. He explained that Monsieur De Rouger had written to the Governor and Council on behalf of himself and the other French officers. They were formerly of the Pondicherry garrison and now passengers on the *Gatton*. They had complained that they were very badly fed under the late commander, Captain Chisholme. Since the ship's arrival at the island and under Strong's own command, they had received nothing but the ordinary ship's allowance. The Council required Strong to put right the cause of their complaint, since it brought discredit on the Company's service. From now on he was to treat and supply them as officers and gentlemen. That was what the orders Captain Chisholme had received from the government of Fort St George required, and Strong had laid those orders before the Council. **Interpretations** The Council sided with enemy prisoners against the commander of one of the Company's own ships. The obvious course was to treat the complaint as a private quarrel over table arrangements and leave it to the commander. Instead, the Council ordered Strong to feed the French officers as gentlemen, citing the disgrace to the Company. The reason lay in the capitulation of Pondicherry in 1778. Its terms bound the British authorities to carry the garrison to France with the honours of war at the expense of Madras. A commander who pocketed the table money for his passengers and fed them seamen's rations exposed the Company to a charge of breaking a formal agreement between generals. In wartime, that could invite retaliation against British prisoners held by France. Chisholme's illness gave the Council a

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		as reflecting disgrace on the Honble. Company's Service, and - henceforth treat and subsist them as Officers and Gentlemen - agreeable to the Orders Captn. Chisholme received from the Government of Fort St. George, which you have laid before them	convenient way to correct the matter without censuring him directly, by giving the order to his successor.
115	111	1779 them I am Sir St. Helena Your Obedient Servant 30 Sept. 1779 (Signed) B Wright Secry. To Monsieur De Hergee Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform you in Answer to your Letter of 27 instant, they are sorry to find you have reason to Complain of the ill treatment you have met with on board the Ship Gatton, and since in the Road, in being only supplied with the Ships Provisions. They have in consequence thereof wrote to Capt. Strong, who now Commands the said Ship, Copy of which is herewith enclosed for your perusal, which they hope will not only obviate any cause of Complaint here, but likewise render your Passage to England more satisfactory and agreeable, as Captn. Strong has assured them you and the other French Officers shall meet with every Civility and better treatment, than you have hitherto experienced. - I am St. Helena Sir 30 Sept. 1779 Your Obedient Servant (Signed) B Wright Secry. Ordered the following Advertisement to be published Island St. Helena 30 September 1779 Whereas Edward Welch, James Campbell, Patrick McLaughlin and James Smith four Soldiers belonging to the Garrison have been missing for some time and there being great reason to suppose they have secreted themselves upon the Island or on Board the Ships now in the Road. Notice is therefore hereby given that if any Person or Persons will apprehend and bring the said Men or either of them to the Main Guard shall receive a reward of forty Shillings each from the - Honble. Company's Cash. - By Order of Council Signed B Wright Secry.	Britannicus Wright signed the letter to Job Strong at St Helena on 30 September 1779. The secretary also wrote to Monsieur De Rouger, on the instructions of the Governor and Council, in reply to his letter of 27 September 1779. The Council regretted that he had cause to complain of ill treatment on board the *Gatton*, and of being given only the ship's provisions while she lay in the road. It had therefore written to Captain Strong, now in command of the ship, and enclosed a copy of that letter for De Rouger's records. The Council hoped the letter would remove every cause of complaint during the ship's stay. It also hoped it would make the passage to England more comfortable. Captain Strong had assured the Council that De Rouger and the other French officers would receive every courtesy and better treatment than before. Britannicus Wright signed the letter at St Helena on 30 September 1779. The Council also ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 30 September 1779. Four soldiers of the garrison, Edward Welch, James Campbell, Patrick McLaughlin and James Smith, had been missing for some time. There was strong reason to believe that they were hiding on the island or on board the ships in the road. Anyone who caught any of them and brought him to the main guard would receive 40s 0d for each man from the Company's treasury. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders. **Interpretations** Edward Welch and James Campbell had been enlisted only on 16 August 1779, as seamen left behind by the *Earl Talbot*, and each had received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. Patrick McLaughlin had taken £15 0s 0d to re-enlist on 15 April 1779. All three now vanished just as the China ships and the *Gatton* gathered in the road to sail home under the *Warwick*'s escort. The pattern of June repeated itself. The arrival of a homeward fleet gave every discontented soldier his best chance of escape, and men who had just taken a bounty had cash in hand to pay for passage or concealment. The Council doubled the reward it had offered for the *Warwick*'s deserters, to 40s 0d a man. It also named the ships as a likely hiding place, which placed every commander in the road on notice that harbouring a deserter would be discovered.
116	112	30 September The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from Ships Glatton, Hillsborough, Royal George, and Queen - Account of Stores Short received from the following Ships - Glatton Cwt. qr. lb. -. 1. 2 Candy short weight occasioned by Wastage 12 Sneakers 16 Half Pt. Cups & Saucers	Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, submitted an account that day of stores short received from the *Glatton*, the *Hillsborough*, the *Royal George* and the *Queen*. The *Glatton*: Sugar candy, 0 cwt 1 qr 2 lb, short in weight through wastage 12 sneakers, found broken when the packages were opened 16 half-pint cups and saucers, found broken when the packages were opened The *Hillsborough*:

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		Found broke upon opening the Packages Hillsborough 7. 3. 27 Sugar in three Chests not delivered 9 Meat Plates found broke upon opening the Package Royal George Cwt. qr. lb. -. 3. 16 Sugar short weight in 19 Chests 2. 2. - Do. in one Chest not delivered 1. 1. 5 Candy short weight occasioned by wastage 16 Half Pint Cups and Saucers 12 Quart Do. Do. & Do. Found broke upon opening the Packages Queen 1. 1. 12 Sugar short weight occasioned by wastage Signed Jonn. Doveton Storekeeper We this Day Executed the Renewal of two Leases to the Executrix and Executor of Thos. Harper Deceased for twenty three Acres of Land lying in the West Division of this Island - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Sugar, 7 cwt 3 qr 27 lb in 3 chests, not delivered 9 meat plates, found broken when the package was opened The *Royal George*: Sugar, 0 cwt 3 qr 16 lb, short in weight across 19 chests Sugar, 2 cwt 2 qr 0 lb in 1 chest, not delivered Sugar candy, 1 cwt 1 qr 5 lb, short in weight through wastage 15 half-pint cups and saucers, found broken when the packages were opened 12 quart cups and saucers, found broken when the packages were opened The *Queen*: Sugar, 1 cwt 1 qr 12 lb, short in weight through wastage The Council renewed two leases that day for the executrix and executor of the late Thomas Harper. The leases covered 23 acres of land in the island's western division. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** A sneaker was a small china bowl or large cup, the standard vessel for a single serving of punch in the eighteenth century. The china ware from Canton was mainly tableware of this kind, cups, saucers, plates and punch bowls, for the Company's table and the island's households. Breakage on a voyage of several months was expected, and the storekeeper's account allowed the losses to be written off against the invoice. Renewing the leases for Thomas Harper's executors kept the land in his family's hands. The heirs held the acres on the same terms, and the Company kept a paying tenant on land that the drought had made harder to work.
117	113	4 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 4 Day of October 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 30 of September 1779 We this Day received the following Letter from Mr. Jonathan Doveton Storekeeper Enclosing a Certificate from the Surgeons setting forth his bad state of health Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Council of St. Helena - Gentlemen Having laboured a long time under an ill state of health, with a nervous Complaint in my head which at times is very alarming, and by every advice change of Climate is the only chance of my getting the better of it, am therefore under the necessity of requesting your permission to avail myself of this favorable opportunity of my Brothers return to England, to make trial of the change of Air for a Season thereby flattering myself through the Blessing of God, a perfect re-establishment of my health. I assure you Gentlemen it is with reluctance I find myself constrained to make application to quit	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 4 October 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 30 September 1779. The Council received a letter that day from Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, together with a certificate from the surgeon describing his poor health. Doveton wrote that he had suffered for a long time from a nervous complaint of the head, which was at times very alarming. Every medical opinion held that a change of climate offered his only chance of recovery. He therefore asked the Council's permission to take the welcome opportunity of his brother's return to England and to try a change of air for a short time. He hoped, with God's blessing, that this would restore his health. He assured the Council that he applied to leave the island at such a time only with great reluctance, and that nothing but the hope of so precious a blessing would have led him to do so. He asked the Council to recommend him to the Court of Directors so that he could return to their service before long. He said that this would place him under the greatest obligation. He signed the letter at St Helena on 4 October 1779. **Interpretations** Doveton's request for a recommendation shows how leave worked for the Company's servants abroad. A servant who left his station gave up his post and his place in the order of seniority. There was no general right to sick leave. Only a recommendation from his Governor and Council gave the Court of Directors grounds to reappoint him on his return. That was why Doveton asked for the letter in the same breath as leave to go. As storekeeper, he controlled every issue and sale from

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		the Island at this Juncture which nothing but so invaluable a Blessing could have induced me to. I have therefore to request you will favor me with a recommendation to my Honble. Employers for my return again to their Service in a short time, which will be conferring the greatest obligation on Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedt. humble 4 October 1779 Servant Signed Jonathan Doveton	the Company's stores. His departure in the middle of the shortages of 1779 would leave the Council needing a reliable replacement for the most sensitive civil post on the island.
118	114	4 October Island St. Helena Octr. 4 1779 This is to certify, that Mr. Jonathan Doveton Storekeeper in the Service of the Honble. East India Company on this Island, has for upwards of two Years past been severely affected with a Nervous Headach, which has at different times attacked him in so violent a Degree as to - confine him Mornings and render him incapable of performing the Duty of his Employment. As he has tried a Variety of - means without any very lasting advantage or obtaining an entire cure of his Complaint, and as he always suffers most from his Disorder during the Hot Weather. We are of Opinion that a Voyage to Europe would have a very beneficial Effect on his health, and that his removal to a Cold Climate would afford him the most likely prospect of recovery. - Signed Thos. Stroud Surgeon Davd. Kay Asst. Do. To which the Secretary was directed to write the following Answer Viz. - To Mr. Jonathan Doveton Storekeeper Sir The Governor and Council direct me to acquaint you in Answer to your Address to them of this Day, that they are sorry your ill state of health at present and for a long time past obliges you to leave the Island and proceed to England, as they are well convinced from their own - knowledge as well as the Surgeons Certificate the absolute - necessity you are under to take this step for the recovery of your health. You have their leave so to do. I am further directed to inform you that they will most certainly recommend You as a faithful and diligent Servant, and make not the least doubt but that the Honble. the Court of Directors will permit you to return to your Station as soon as your Health will admit of it. - I am St. Helena Sir 4 October 1779 Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry.	The surgeons' certificate, dated at St Helena on 4 October 1779, stated that Jonathan Doveton, the Company's storekeeper on the island, had suffered for more than two years from a severe nervous headache. At times the attacks had been so violent that they affected his memory and left him unable to carry out his duties. He had tried many remedies, but none had brought lasting relief or a full cure. His condition was always at its worst in the warmer months. The surgeons believed that a voyage to Europe would do him great good and that a move to a cooler climate offered the best hope of recovery. Thomas Stroud, the surgeon, and David Kay, his assistant, signed the certificate. The Council told the secretary to send Doveton the following reply. The Governor and Council were sorry that his long illness now forced him to leave the island and go to England. Their own observation, together with the surgeons' certificate, had convinced them that the step was essential for his recovery, and they granted him leave to go. They would also recommend him to the Court of Directors as a faithful and diligent servant. They had no doubt that the Court would allow him to resume his post as soon as his health permitted. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 4 October 1779. **Interpretations** The surgeons' certificate was the document on which Doveton's future career depended. The Court of Directors could not judge his illness from London. A signed medical opinion entered in the minutes gave it proof that he had left for genuine reasons and not to escape his duties or the island's hardships. Together with the Council's recommendation, it entitled him to ask for his post back. The Council's statement that its own members had seen his condition added their personal testimony to the surgeons'. A storekeeper's memory failing at times also mattered for the Company. The officer who answered for every cask and bale in the stores could not afford lapses, and the Council had good reason to let him go.
119	115	1779 In consequence of Mr. Jonathan Doveton's	Because Jonathan Doveton had to leave the island on account of his health, the Council

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		being under the necessity of leaving the Island on Account of his bad state of health, We have directed Mr. John Goodwin the next Senior Factor to take Charge of the Stores and Mr. James Desfountain the next Senior Civil Servant to be Collector of the Customs, at the Salary's Annexed thereto, until the Honble. Company's pleasure is known. - We received the following Letters from Captains Doveton, Foxall and Ellis Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council Gentlemen I am under the necessity of informing You, that from my very long Passage from China, must request your assistance to supply me with 75 of Rice and 36 Bushels of Coals to enable me to proceed on my Voyage to Europe, having now only one Weeks Consumption of those Articles on Board. - I am St. Helena Gentlemen 4 October 1779 Your most Obedt. Servant (Signed) R. Doveton To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. President and - Governor &ca. Council St. Helena - Worshipful Sir & Sirs The undermentioned Provisions being indispensably necessary to complete the Victualling of the Ship Royal George under my Command for her Passage home. - I humbly request you will please to give the necessary Orders for supplying the same from the Honble. Company's Stores Viz. Salt Beef 140 Pieces Salt Pork 270 Do. Rice 16 Cwt. weight Flour 10 Do. St. Helena I have the Honor to be 4 Oct. 1779 Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most humble Servant Signed Thos. Foxall	appointed John Goodwin, the next senior factor, to take charge of the stores. It appointed James Dafountain, the next senior civil servant, as Collector of Customs. Each would draw the salary attached to his new post until the Company's wishes were known. The Council received letters from Captains Doveton, Foxall and O'Neil. Captain R. Doveton wrote that his very long passage from China forced him to ask the Council's help. He needed 75 [...] of rice and 36 bushels of peas to continue his voyage to Europe, since he had only one week's supply of either left on board. He signed the letter at St Helena on 5 October 1779. Captain Thomas Foxall wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council that the following provisions were essential to complete the victualling of the *Royal George* for her voyage home. He asked them to order the supplies from the Company's stores. Salt beef, 140 pieces Salt pork, 270 pieces Rice, 16 cwt Flour, 10 cwt He signed the letter at St Helena on 5 October 1779. **Interpretations** The Council filled the vacant posts strictly by seniority. The next senior factor took the stores and the next senior servant took the customs. That followed the Court of Directors' standing rules on precedence among its servants, which left the Council little room to choose the ablest man. John Goodwin had held the collectorship of customs alongside his factor's post, as the pay list of June showed. Moving him to the stores freed that office for Dafountain and spread the vacancies down the line. The two homeward China ships' demands came as the island's own stocks were barely recovering from the shortage. A long passage from Canton had exhausted their provisions. The Council, which had only recently refused beef to the *Warwick*, now faced requests for hundreds of pieces of salt meat and many hundredweights of rice for the Company's own ships.
120	116	4 October To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. President and Governor &ca. Council - Gentlemen As the Provisions which I now have on board the Ship Hillsborough, are not sufficient with the greatest economy for a Passage to England, particularly Flour of which I have now left Although I had supplied myself with Provisions of every kind for a long Passage. But being kept Ignorant of the Route they had intended us to pursue in our passage to this Place, and the unfavourable Season in which we were Dispatched to make this Passage, having been no less than twenty Eight Weeks from China to St. Helena. I am therefore under the necessity of Begging that you will spare me from your Stores, three Barrels of Flour and Four Casks of Salt Provisions I am Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedt. humble Servant	Captain Pell Collet of the *Hillsborough* also wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He reported that the provisions on board were not enough, even with the strictest economy, for the voyage to England. He had no flour left at all. He had stocked his ship with every kind of provision for a long voyage. He had not, however, been told what route he was to follow on the passage to St Helena. That uncertainty, together with the bad season in which the ships were sent off, had made the passage from China last no less than 28 weeks. He was therefore forced to ask the Council to spare him three barrels of flour and four casks of salt provisions from its stores. He signed the letter at St Helena on 4 October 1779. The Council told the secretary to reply to Captain Richard Doveton, commander of the *Glatton*. The secretary wrote, on the instructions of the Governor and Council, that the Company's stores held only a small quantity of rice. The Council therefore could not meet his request for that article. Instead, he would receive four casks of flour, along with the quantity of peas he had asked for. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 4 October 1779.

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		4 October 1779 Signed Pet. Ellis To the above Letter the Secretary was ordered to return the Subsequent Answer Viz. To Captain Richd. Doveton Comander of Ship Glatton - Sir In Answer to your Letter of this day I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that there being but a small Quantity of Rice in the Honble. Company's Stores they cannot comply with your Demands of that Article but in lieu - thereof you shall be furnished with four Casks of Flour. Also with the Quantity of Coals you have required. - I am St. Helena Sir 4 October 1779 Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry.	**Interpretations** Collet's complaint that he had been "kept ignorant of the route" shows the cost of wartime secrecy. To avoid French cruisers, China ships sailed under sealed orders, which were opened only at sea and might send them far to the east or south of the usual track. A commander provisioning at Canton could not know how long his voyage would be. The China ships' passage of 28 weeks was roughly double the normal time. Their crews arrived at St Helena with stores exhausted, and the island had to make good the shortfall from its own scarce supplies. The Council again gave flour in place of rice. As with the *Warwick*, it protected the rice needed for the slaves' ration and drew instead on the Cape flour bought in August.
121	117	1779 To Capt. Thomas Foxall Comander of Ship Royal George - Sir In answer to your Letter of this Day I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that you shall be supplyed from the Honble. Company's Stores with three hundred and eighty Pieces of Salt Pork and Four Casks of Flour, that having but a small Quantity of Salt Beef and Rice in Store cannot furnish you with those Articles. - I am St. Helena Sir 4 October 1779 Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry. To Captn. Pet. Ellis Comander of Ship Hillsborough Sir In answer to your Letter of this day I am - directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that you shall be supplied from the Honble. Company's Stores with the three Casks of Flour and four Casks of Salt Pork you require. - I am St. Helena Sir 4 October 1779 Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry. Mrs. Mary Price this Day presented the following Petition - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Mary Price Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease for a Piece of Ground lying in James Valley expired, humbly request your Worships Council will be pleased to grant her a renewal of the same - And your Petitioner will ever Pray 4 October 1779 Granted	The secretary replied to Captain Thomas Foxall of the *Royal George* on the instructions of the Governor and Council. Foxall would receive 380 pieces of salt pork and four casks of flour from the Company's stores. The stores held only small quantities of salt beef and rice, so the Council could not supply him with either. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 4 October 1779. The secretary also replied to Captain Pell Collet of the *Hillsborough*. The Council would supply him from the Company's stores with the three casks of flour and four casks of salt pork he had asked for. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 4 October 1779. Mrs Mary Price presented a petition that day. Her lease of a piece of ground in James Valley had expired, and she asked the Governor and Council to renew it. Her petition was dated 4 October 1779, and the Council granted it. **Interpretations** The Council gave Foxall 380 pieces of salt pork, 110 more than he had requested, in place of the beef it refused him. The obvious course was to share out the remaining salt beef among the ships that asked for it. The island's cattle had been so reduced that beef had become the scarcest form of meat. Pork came from pigs, which could be fed on scraps and roots and had suffered far less in the drought. Giving extra pork kept the *Royal George*'s crew fed for the passage home while sparing the beef the island would need for its own garrison and for later ships.
122	118	4 October The Executor to the last Will and Testament of John Mitchell late of the Ship Royal George, deceased this day	The executor of the late John Mitchell, formerly of the *Royal George*, presented his will that day and asked for it to be proved. The Council proved it on the sworn evidence of the witnesses. The will read as follows.

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		presented the said Will desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows Viz. - In the Name of God, Amen. I John Mitchell Captains Steward of the Royal George East Indiaman being of sound and disposing Mind and Memory, and considering the Perils and Dangers of the Seas, and other uncertainties of this transitory Life do for avoiding controversies after my decease make publish and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner following (That is to say) First I recommend my Soul to God that gave it and my Body I commit to the Earth or Sea as it shall please God to order, and as for and concerning all my worldly Estate I give bequeath and dispose thereof as followeth, That is to say whereas before my Departure from England I did borrow Sundry Sums of Money on Respondentia for the Payment of which Sums my Brother in Law Thos. Goore in St. Pauls Church Yard London Trunkmaker is jointly bound with myself, therefore in regard to all such Wages, Sum and Sums of Money Lands, Tenements Goods, Chattles and Estate whatsoever, as shall be any ways due owing or belonging unto me at the time of my Decease. I do give devise & bequeath the same unto my said Brother in Law Thos. Goore & Robt. Wright Gunner of the Ship Royal George aforesaid, in trust to be by them applyed to the discharge of my Respondentia Bond Debt, and the overplus if any remain afterwards to the discharge of my other Debts. - And I do hereby Nominate and appoint the said Thos. Goore and Robt. Wright Gunner aforesaid Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former and other Wills, Testaments and Deeds of Gift by me at any time heretofore made. And I do ordain and ratify this Present to stand and be for and as my only last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof to this my said Will I have set my Hand and Seal the Twelfth Day of July in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine and in the nineteenth Year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Third over Great Britain &c. Signed John Mitchell (LS) Signed Sealed, published & declared in the presence of Signed Rowley Kent Surgeon George Norry Purser	John Mitchell made his will in the name of God. He described himself as captain's steward of the East Indiaman *Royal George*, of sound mind and memory. Bearing in mind the perils and dangers of the sea and the uncertainty of life, and wishing to prevent any dispute after his death, he set out his last wishes. He commended his soul to God who gave it, and his body to the earth or the sea as God should decide. Before leaving England, Mitchell had borrowed several sums of money on respondentia. His brother-in-law, Thomas Goore, a trunk maker of St Paul's Churchyard in London, had bound himself jointly with Mitchell for repayment. Mitchell therefore left all wages, money, goods and other property due to him at his death to Thomas Goore and to Robert Wright, gunner of the *Royal George*. They were to hold it in trust and apply it first to paying off the respondentia bond, and then to settling his other debts with anything left over. He appointed Goore and Wright as his executors and revoked every earlier will. He signed and sealed the will on 12 July 1779, in the 19th year of the reign of King George III. Rowley Kent, surgeon, and George Norry, purser, witnessed it. **Interpretations** A respondentia loan was money lent on the security of goods carried in a ship. It was repayable, with a high rate of interest, only if the ship arrived safely, so the lender shared the risk of loss at sea. Seamen and petty officers used such loans to buy goods in England for private trade in the East, which they could sell at a profit within their allowance of cargo space. Mitchell's brother-in-law had stood as joint surety, so he would have to pay if Mitchell's estate could not. The will put Mitchell's wages and goods first towards that bond. That protected his family's guarantor before any other creditor. Proving the will at St Helena gave Goore and Wright legal authority to collect Mitchell's wages from the ship's owners on arrival in England.
123	119	1779 Being in want of Bunting for the use of the Honorable Company we purchased some out of the Ship Queen amounting to £ 44. 5 - as P the following	The Company needed bunting for its own use, so the Council bought some out of the *Queen* for £44 5s 0d. George Jacques supplied it under the following bill. Broad red bunting, 10 pieces, £20 2s 0d Narrow red bunting, 10 pieces, £10 16s 0d

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		Bill Viz. - The Honble. Company Dr. To George Jacques 10 Ps. Broad Red Bunting £ 20 2 . 10 Do. Narrow Do. Do. 10 16 . 2 Do. Broad White Do. 3 . . 3 Do. Narrow Do. 2 8 . 3 Do. Broad Blue Do. 5 2 . 3 Do. Narrow Do. Do. 2 17 . £ 44 5 . Contents Received Signed Geo. Jacques 4th October 1779 - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Broad white bunting, 2 pieces, £3 0s 0d Narrow white bunting, 3 pieces, £2 8s 0d Broad blue bunting, 2 pieces, £5 2s 0d Narrow blue bunting, 3 pieces, £2 17s 0d Total, £44 5s 0d George Jacques signed a receipt for the money. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute on 4 October 1779. **Interpretations** Bunting was a light, loosely woven woollen cloth that took dye well and dried quickly, the standard material for flags. The island depended on flags to pass signals from its lookout posts to the Castle and the batteries. Ships seen at sea were reported by coded hoists of coloured flags, and the same system raised the alarms recorded month by month in the artillery accounts. Red, white and blue in broad and narrow widths gave the signal officers the colours and sizes needed to make up the full set of signals. Frequent alarms in wartime wore the flags out quickly, so buying from a homeward ship was cheaper and faster than waiting for an order from England.
124	120	6 October At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 6 Day of October 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 4 of October 1779 - Yesterday Arrived the Honble. Company's Ship Princess Royal from England, by which Conveyance We received a - Packet from the Honble. Court of Directors, which we opened and read, and this day sent for the several Persons mentioned in the General Letter, and - acquainted them with the Company's Orders - respecting each of them. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor likewise received a Letter from the Secret Committee by the same - opportunity. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council met at the Castle on Wednesday 6 October 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 4 October 1779. The Company's ship *Princess Royal* had arrived from England the day before, 5 October 1779. She brought a packet from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened and read. That day the Council summoned the people named in the Court's general letter and told each of them what the Company had ordered concerning him. The same ship also brought a letter from the Secret Committee for the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute.
125	121	11 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 11 Day of October 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated 6 Oct. 1779 - Friday the 8 Arrived the Godfrey's Boat at Banks's at four o'Clock in the Afternoon - Do. Do. the Shrewsbury's and Mount Stuarts Boat at Banks's at half past four o'Clock in the Afternoon - Do. Do. the Honble. Company's Ships Godfrey, Shrewsbury	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 11 October 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 6 October 1779. On Friday 8 October 1779, a boat from the *Godfrey* landed at Banks's battery at four o'clock in the afternoon. Boats from the *Shrewsbury* and the *Mount Stuart* landed at Banks's at half past four. The Company's ships *Godfrey*, *Shrewsbury* and *Mount Stuart* arrived later that day from Madras, having called last at Madagascar. They brought the island the following supplies. The *Godfrey*'s invoice ran as follows. Fine rice, 110 bags weighing 280 maunds at 2 rupees a maund, 558 rupees, 12 annas, 9 pice Paddy, 40 bags weighing 120 maunds at 1 rupee a maund, 133 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice

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		and Mount Stuart from Madrass last from Madagascar, and brought Us the following - Supply's Viz. - Invoice of Ship Godfrey Fine Rice 170 Bags weighing Bms. 210 @ 2 P Bm. 558 32 9 Paddy 10 Bags weighing Bms. 120 @ 1 P Bm. 139 3 3 Wax Candles 4 Chests weighing Cwt. 8 @ 70 Cs. P Cwt. 560 . . Batavia Arrack 1 Leagr. 1 Leagr. @ 120 Cs. P Leagr. 151 3 3 1407 3 3 Charges Merchandize 320 Gunny Bags @ 16 Cs. P C. 55 4 6 16 Gunnies @ 15 Do. Do. 2 9 6 4 Mango Plank Chests @ 3 Do. 12 15 6 3 Pieces Gurrah @ 1. 4 P Piece 4 . 9 50 Rice Matts @ 8 Do. P C. 4 5 3 10 Seer Jute Twine @ 5. 2 P Md. 1 6 . 10 Do. Jute Rope @ 3. 2 P Md. . 14 . 1 Do. Nails . 4 . Carried Over 1407 3 3	Wax candles, 4 chests weighing 7 maunds at 80 rupees a maund, 560 rupees, 0 annas, 0 pice Batavia arrack, 1 leaguer at 150 rupees a leaguer, 151 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Goods subtotal, 1,407 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Charges on the goods 320 gunny bags at 16 per cent, 55 rupees, 4 annas, 6 pice 16 gunny cloths at 15 per cent, 2 rupees, 9 annas, 6 pice 4 mango-wood chests at 3 rupees each, 12 rupees, 15 annas, 6 pice 3 pieces of gurrah cloth at 1 rupee 4 annas a piece, 4 rupees, 0 annas, 9 pice 50 rice mats at 9 per cent, 4 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice Jute twine, 10 seers at 2 rupees a maund, 1 rupee, 6 annas, 0 pice Jute rope, 10 seers, 0 rupees, 14 annas, 0 pice Nails, 1 seer, 0 rupees, 7 annas, 0 pice Carried forward, 1,407 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice **Interpretations** The *Godfrey*'s cargo matched the *Gatton*'s almost line for line, from the 110 bags of rice to the single leaguer of arrack and the same four mango-wood chests. Madras evidently filled the island's standing annual order in fixed lots and divided it among the ships sailing for Europe. Each ship carried a share, so the loss of one vessel to the enemy or the sea would not cut off the whole supply. The three ships' last call at Madagascar suggests that they had stopped there for fresh provisions and water. It was a common stop for ships rounding the Cape from India, and it lessened the demands they would otherwise make on St Helena's scarce stores.
126	122	11 October Brought Over 1407 3 3 Charges Merchandize Brought Over Diet 2 4 . Boat hire 4 5 3 Sloop hire 324 . . Moolas 49 10 . Weighmen 1 15 6 Packmen 2 5 3 Peons 2 2 6 Coolies 2 2 6 468 12 6 Errors Excepted C. Rupees 1875 15 9 Signed Wm. Larkins Accot. General Invoice of Ship Shrewsbury Fine Rice 170 Bags wt. Bms. 210 @ 2 Sr. P Bm. 558 12 9 Paddy 10 Do. Do. 120 @ 1 Do. P Bm. 139 3 3 Wax Candles 4 Chests Do. 8 @ 70 Cs. P Cwt. 560 . . Batavia Arrack 1 Leagr. @ 120 P Leagr. 151 3 3 Madeira Wine 3 Pipes @ 375 P Pipe 1215 . . 2622 3 3 Charges Merchandize 320 Gunny Bags @ 16 P C.	The *Godfrey*'s invoice concluded with the remaining charges. Brought forward, 1,407 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Charges on the goods, continued Duty, 2 rupees, 4 annas, 0 pice Boat hire, 4 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice Ship hire, 324 rupees, 0 annas, 0 pice [...], 49 rupees, 10 annas, 0 pice Weighmen, 1 rupee, 15 annas, 6 pice Packers, 2 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice Peons, 2 rupees, 2 annas, 6 pice Coolies, 2 rupees, 2 annas, 6 pice Charges total, 468 rupees, 12 annas, 6 pice Invoice total, 1,875 rupees, 15 annas, 9 pice William Larkins, Accountant General, signed the invoice, subject to the correction of any errors. The *Shrewsbury*'s invoice ran as follows. Fine rice, 110 bags weighing 280 maunds at 2 rupees a maund, 558 rupees, 12 annas, 9 pice Paddy, 40 bags weighing 120 maunds at 1 rupee a maund, 133 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Wax candles, 4 chests weighing 7 maunds at 80 rupees a maund, 560 rupees, 0 annas, 0 pice Batavia arrack, 1 leaguer at 150 rupees a leaguer, 151 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Madeira wine, 3 pipes at 405 rupees a pipe, 1,215 rupees, 0 annas, 0 pice Goods subtotal, 2,622 rupees, 3 annas, 3 pice Charges on the goods 320 gunny bags at 16 per cent, 55 rupees, 4 annas, 6 pice 16 gunny cloths at 15 per cent, 2 rupees, 9 annas, 6 pice 4 mango-wood chests at 3 rupees each, 12 rupees, 15 annas, 6 pice 3 pieces of guzzy gurrah cloth at 1 rupee 4 annas a piece, 4 rupees, 0 annas, 9 pice 50 rice mats at 8 per cent, 4 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice

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		55 4 6 16 Gunnies @ 15 Do. 2 9 6 4 Mango Plank Chests @ 3 each 12 15 6 3 Pieces Gunny Gurrahs @ 1. 4 P Piece 4 . 9 50 Rice Matts @ 8 P C. 4 5 3 10 Seer Jute Twine @ 5. 2 P Md. 1 6 . 10 Do. Do. Rope @ 3. 2 P Md. . 14 . 1 Do. Nails . 4 . Diet 2 4 . Boat hire 4 5 3 Sloop hire 270 . . Moolas 55 10 . Weighmen 1 15 6 Packmen 2 5 3 Peons 2 2 6 Coolies 2 2 6 422 12 6 Errors Excepted C. Rupees 3044 15 9 Signed Wm. Larkins Accot. General	Jute twine, 10 seers at 5 rupees a maund, 1 rupee, 6 annas, 0 pice Jute rope, 10 seers at 3 rupees 8 annas a maund, 0 rupees, 14 annas, 0 pice Nails, 1 seer, 0 rupees, 9 annas, 0 pice Duty, 2 rupees, 4 annas, 0 pice Boat hire, 4 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice Ship hire, 270 rupees, 0 annas, 0 pice [...], 55 rupees, 10 annas, 0 pice Weighmen, 1 rupee, 15 annas, 6 pice Packers, 2 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pice Peons, 2 rupees, 2 annas, 6 pice Coolies, 2 rupees, 2 annas, 6 pice Charges total, 422 rupees, 12 annas, 6 pice Invoice total, 3,044 rupees, 15 annas, 9 pice William Larkins, Accountant General, signed the invoice, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** Ship hire was by far the largest charge on both invoices: 324 rupees on the *Godfrey*'s goods and 270 on the *Shrewsbury*'s. The Company was charging freight to the island's account for space in its own chartered ships. That reflected the system of builder's measurement that the Council had complained of to Warren Hastings in August. Every ton of a ship's hold was paid for by the Company at the charter rate, so each presidency recovered the cost from the station whose goods filled the space. On the *Godfrey*'s cheaper cargo of grain, candles and arrack, freight came to nearly a quarter of the value of the goods. The island's rice was therefore costing far more by the time it landed than its price at Madras suggested.
127	123	1779 Invoice of Ship Mount Stewart Long Cloth Super Fine 1 Bale 1. 10 @ 220 P Cor. 330 Stockings Fine 2. 10 @ 20 50 Cor. 4 340 . . Packing 2 9 . 342 9 0 Long Cloth Superfine 2 Bales 2 Cor. 2. 10 @ 191 22 40 P Cor. 479 2 20 Packing @ 2. 9 P B. 4 18 . 483 20 20 Long Cloth Superfine 3 Bales 3 Cor. 3. @ 136. 27 P Cor. 410 9 . Packing @ 2. 9 P Bale 4 18 . 414 27 . Long Cloth Midling No. 1 - 2 Cor. 5 @ 60 P Cor. 250 . . Packing @ P. 2. 9 P Bale 6 27 . 256 27 . Long Cloth Fine No. 1 3 Cor. 5 @ 70 P Cor. 350 . . Packing @ 2. 9 P Bale 6 27 . 356 27 . Rice 120 Bags Cwt. qr. lb. 155. -. 17 Tare @ 4 each 4. 1. 4 Nett 150. -. 13	The *Mount Stuart*'s invoice from Madras ran as follows. Superfine longcloth, 1 bale, 1½ corge at 220 pagodas a corge, 330 pagodas, 0 fanams, 0 cash Fine stockings, 2½ dozen at 20 pagodas a dozen, 50 pagodas, 0 fanams, 0 cash Bale subtotal, 380 pagodas, 0 fanams, 0 cash Packing, 2 pagodas, 9 fanams, 0 cash First bale total, 382 pagodas, 9 fanams, 0 cash Superfine longcloth, 2 bales, 2½ corge at 191 pagodas 22 fanams 40 cash a corge, 479 pagodas, 2 fanams, 20 cash Packing at 2 pagodas 9 fanams a bale, 4 pagodas, 18 fanams, 0 cash Second lot total, 483 pagodas, 20 fanams, 20 cash Superfine longcloth, 3 bales, 3 corge at 136 pagodas 27 fanams a corge, 410 pagodas, 9 fanams, 0 cash Packing at 2 pagodas 9 fanams a bale, 4 pagodas, 18 fanams, 0 cash Third lot total, 414 pagodas, 27 fanams, 0 cash Middling longcloth, 1 bale, 5 corge at 50 pagodas a corge, 250 pagodas, 0 fanams, 0 cash Packing, 6 pagodas, 27 fanams, 0 cash Middling longcloth total, 256 pagodas, 27 fanams, 0 cash Fine longcloth, 1 bale, 5 corge at 70 pagodas a corge, 350 pagodas, 0 fanams, 0 cash Packing, 6 pagodas, 27 fanams, 0 cash Fine longcloth total, 356 pagodas, 27 fanams, 0 cash Rice, 120 bags, net weight 11,897 lb or 330 maunds, 132 pagodas, 27 fanams, 32 cash Paddy, 40 bags, net weight 2,379 lb or 160 measures, 40 pagodas, 0 fanams, 0 cash Batavia arrack, 1 leaguer of 130 gallons, 56 pagodas, 0 fanams, 0 cash

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		16897 or 1. 330 @ 5½ Maunds P Pa. 132 27 32 Paddy 70 Bags 77. 2. 19 Tare @ 4 each 2. 3. 12 74. 3. 7 8379 or 1. 160 @ 14 Maunds P Pa. 40 . . Batavia Arrack 1 Leagur of 130 Gallons 56 . . Ps. 2122 29 52 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags for Rice & Paddy 160 @ 3½ P C. 14 . . Twine Do. . 12 . Tin Plates and Nails . 4 40 Weighing Cooley on 52 Candy 20 P Cy. . 13 . Ballast for Rice, Paddy & Arrack 7 10 . Boat & Cooley hire on 7 Pipes for Bales 2½ P Pipe 1 4 . Boat & Cooley hire for Rice, Paddy & Arrack on 7 Pipes @ 1 Pa. 20 P Pipe 2 27 40 Tarpaulin hire on 8 Pipes @ 4 Pa. . 32 . 27 1 20 Errors Excepted Pagodas 2149 30 72 Signed Geo. Moubray Accot.	Goods subtotal, 2,122 pagodas, 29 fanams, 52 cash Charges on the goods Gunny bags for the rice and paddy, 14 pagodas, 0 fanams, 0 cash Twine, 0 pagodas, 12 fanams, 0 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas, 11 fanams, 40 cash Weighing coolies, 0 pagodas, 13 fanams, 0 cash [...] for the rice, paddy and arrack, 0 pagodas, 7 fanams, 10 cash Boat and coolie hire for the bales, 0 pagodas, 1 fanam, 4 cash Boat and coolie hire for the rice, paddy and arrack, 2 pagodas, 27 fanams, 10 cash [...], 0 pagodas, 32 fanams, 0 cash Charges total, 27 pagodas, 1 fanam, 20 cash Invoice total, 2,149 pagodas, 30 fanams, 72 cash George Moubray, accountant, signed the invoice, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** Longcloth was plain white cotton calico woven on the Coromandel coast and sold in pieces about 36 yards long. It was named for its unusual length. The superfine grades, costing four times as much as the middling, were probably for shirts and linen for the Company's officers and the Castle. The middling and fine grades went to clothe the garrison and the island's households. Madras accounts were kept in gold pagodas of 36 fanams, each fanam of 80 cash. Unlike the Bengal ships, the *Mount Stuart* carried no freight charge on her invoice. The Madras presidency evidently did not add ship hire to the island's account as Bengal did. The same goods could therefore reach St Helena at very different landed costs depending on which presidency had sent them.
128	124	11 October The Honble. Company's Orders respecting Captain John Howard as P General Letter dated the 27 May 1779 being made known to him he this day presented the following Letter. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of the Island St. Helena - Gentlemen Being truly sensible of the Indulgence the Honble. the Court of Directors have been pleased to allow me of retiring upon half pay, I beg leave through the Channel of your Board to return them my sincere thanks, for this Mark of their favor, and if it meets with your approbation, wish to continue in the Command of my Company until the first day of January next, as the present Quarter is already advanced, at which time I shall settle the Arrears of my Company and will avail myself of the aforesaid Indulgence. And while I remain on the Island shall be always ready to do every thing in my power to serve the Honble. Company. - I am Octr. 10 1779 Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servant Signed Jno. Howard We this day received the following Letters from Captains Huddart & Oggan Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. President & Governor	The Company's orders about Captain John Howard, contained in the Court's general letter of 7 May 1779, were made known to him. He presented the following letter that day. Howard wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council that he deeply appreciated the Court of Directors' kindness in allowing him to retire on half pay. He asked the Board to pass on his sincere thanks for this mark of their favour. The present quarter was already well advanced. If the Council approved, he therefore wished to keep command of his company until 1 January 1780. He would then settle the company's outstanding accounts and take up his retirement. As long as he remained on the island, he would always be ready to do anything in his power for the Company. He signed the letter on 10 October 1779. The Council also received letters that day from Captains Huddart and Coggan. Captain Joseph Huddart of the *Royal Admiral* wrote that the long delay he had already suffered, and the further delay he expected, forced him to ask the Council's help again. He hoped it would order him the following provisions in addition to those he had already received. Pork, 9 pieces Flour, 30 cwt Coals, 5 chaldrons **Interpretations** Howard chose to stay in command until the end of the quarter rather than retire at once on the Court's permission. As captain, he answered personally for his company's accounts: the men's pay, their clothing, their stoppages and any arrears owed to or by them. Those accounts were made up quarterly, at the same time as the pay list. Leaving midway through a quarter would have handed his successor a tangle of half-settled sums and left Howard liable for any shortfall. Waiting until 1

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		& Council on St. Helena - Sirs The Long detention I have and am yet likely to meet with, has laid me under the Necessity of again soliciting your Assistance, and hope you will be pleased to Order me, in addition to what I have already had - 9 Tierces Pork 30 Bags Flour 5 Chaldron Coals - Royal Admiral I am 26 April 1779 Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Servant Signed J. Huddart	January 1780 let him close the books cleanly and hand over a company with its accounts settled. Huddart's "long detention" had lasted since the *Royal Admiral* arrived on 21 August 1779. The homeward ships were being held until enough had gathered to sail together under the *Warwick*'s escort. Every week of waiting consumed provisions meant for the voyage home. The cost of that delay fell on the island's stores, however safe the convoy made the ships at sea.
129	125	1779 To which, the Secretary was directed to return the following Answer - To Capt. Joseph Huddart Comander of Ship Royal Admiral Sir In Answer to your Letter to the Governor and Council requesting a supply of Salt Provisions, Flour and Coals for the use of the Ship Royal Admiral, I am directed by them to inform you that you can be furnished therewith from the Honble. Company's Stores. - I am St. Helena Sir 11 Oct. 1779 Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry. To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. President &ca. Council at St. Helena Honble. Sirs The Ship Shrewsbury being in great distress for the enclosed List of Stores, I have to request that you will be pleased to give the necessary Orders for supplying her with them. - I am St. Helena Honble. Sirs 11 Oct. 1779 Your most Obt. Hble. Servant Signed John Oggan Stores wanted to Compleat the Ship Shrewsbury 35 Casks Beef 5 Do. Pork 2400 Flour 609 Quarts Pease 1 Coil 4 Inch 2 Do. 3 Do. 1 Do. 2 Do. Pummas wood Signed John Oggan St. Helena 11 Oct. 1779 -	The Council told the secretary to reply to Captain Joseph Huddart of the *Royal Admiral*. In answer to his request for salt provisions, flour and coals for the ship's use, the secretary informed him that he would receive them from the Company's stores. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 11 October 1779. Captain John Coggan wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council that the *Shrewsbury* was in great need of the stores on the enclosed list. He asked them to order her supplied. He signed the letter and the list at St Helena on 11 October 1779. Stores needed for the Shrewsbury Beef, 35 casks Pork, 5 casks Flour, 2,400 lb Peas, 609 quarts Rope or hawser, 1 coil of 4-inch Rope or hawser, 2 coils of 3-inch Rope or hawser, 1 coil of 2-inch **Interpretations** The *Shrewsbury*'s request for 35 casks of beef was far beyond anything the island could supply from its own herds. Only 65 head of cattle had remained for the season at the end of August. The Council could meet such a demand only from the salt beef landed by the *Earl Talbot*, which had already arrived short. Each homeward ship that asked for salt meat drew down the reserve that was meant to feed the garrison until the next store ship. The Council had to weigh a ship's distress against the island's own needs.
130	126	11 October To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. President &ca. Council at St. Helena - Honble. Sirs In going into Joanna the Ship Shrewsbury unfortunately got on Shore from which accident I was under the necessity of throwing four of her Quarter deck Guns overboard in order to lighten her, on my Arrival at Madrass and Bengal I represented it to the Governor and Council requesting that they would be pleased to replace them with four Pounders, it could not be complyed with as	Captain John Coggan wrote a second letter to Governor Skottowe and the Council. While entering Joanna, the *Shrewsbury* had run aground. To lighten her, he had been forced to throw four of her quarter-deck guns overboard. On reaching Madras, he had asked the Governor and Council there to replace them with four-pounders. They could not, having no guns of that size at either of the places concerned. If the Governor at St Helena could spare them, Coggan asked for an order to supply him with four such guns. That would allow him to sail for England in compliance with the terms of the ship's charter. He signed the letter at St Helena on 11 October 1779. The secretary replied to both of Coggan's letters on the Council's instructions. Coggan would receive the salt provisions and flour he had asked for from

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		they had no guns of that size at either Place. - If the Garrison here can spare them I have to request your order for supplying me with them that I may be enabled to proceed to England agreeable to the Terms of her Charter Party. - I am St. Helena Honble. Sirs Oct. 11 1779 - Your most Obt. Hble. Servant Signed John Oggan In Answer to which two Letters the following was returned - To Captn. John Oggan Comander of Ship Shrewsbury - Sir In Answer to your Letters to the Governor and Council of this day I am directed to acquaint you, that you can be - supplied with the Quantity of Salt Provision and Flour you require for the use of the Ship Shrewsbury from the Honble. Company's Stores, as to the Cordage and Pease they have none to furnish you with. Neither can they spare you the four Pounder Guns from this Garrison, you request to replace those you were obliged to throw overboard going into Joanna. I am St. Helena Sir 11 October 1779 Your Obedt. Servant Signed B Wright Secry. The Plantation Account for the Quarter and the expence of Artillery Stores and Stewards Account for the Month of Sept. last were this day laid before Us which were examined, approved and are as follows -	the Company's stores. The Council had no cordage or peas to give him. Nor could it spare four four-pounders from the garrison to replace the guns he had thrown overboard on entering Joanna. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 11 October 1779. The plantation account for the quarter, and the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for September, were laid before the Council that day. The Council examined and approved them, and they ran as follows. **Interpretations** Coggan appealed to the terms of his charter. The charter-party bound the owners to send the ship out armed with a stated number of guns, and a ship sailing home short of them might break her contract and lose her owners part of their freight. The Council refused all the same. Every gun on the island stood in a battery that guarded a landing place, and four-pounders were the light pieces used for alarms and close defence. Weakening the garrison in wartime to protect a private owner's contract was not a course the Council would take. The ship would sail in convoy under the *Warwick*, which lessened the danger to her. Joanna, now Anjouan, was one of the Comoro Islands between Madagascar and Africa, a regular watering place for East Indiamen on the passage from the Cape to India.
131	127	Account of the Honble. Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. from the 1st July to the 30 of September 1779 - Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Boars, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Barrows, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 67, Neat Cattle Calves 37, Neat Cattle Yearlings 3, Neat Cattle Heifers 9, Neat Cattle Steers 15, Neat Cattle Oxen 14, Neat Cattle Total 150, Sheep Ewes 159, Sheep Weathers 9, Sheep Lambs 24, Sheep Rams 12, Sheep Total 204, Goats Ewes 58, Goats Weathers 7, Goats Kids 15, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 85, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 19, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 23, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 75, Poultry Ducks 16, Poultry Turkeys 30, Poultry Geese 12 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 24, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 24, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 31, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 31, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 16, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 16, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 12	The Lieutenant Governor's account of the Company's livestock for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1779 ran as follows. It covered cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, horses and poultry. In hand on 1 July 1779 Cattle: 5 bulls, 67 cows, 37 calves, 3 yearlings, 9 heifers, 15 steers, 14 oxen, total 150 Sheep: 159 ewes, 9 wethers, 24 lambs, 12 rams, total 204 Goats: 58 ewes, 7 wethers, 15 kids, 5 rams, total 85 Pigs: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 19 pigs, 0 boars, total 23 Horses: 5 horses, 7 mares, total 12 Poultry: 75 fowls, 16 ducks, 30 turkeys, 12 geese Increase by breeding Cattle: 24 calves, total 24 Sheep: 31 lambs, total 31 Goats: 16 kids, total 16 Poultry: 12 geese Bought Sheep: 15 wethers, total 15 Received from the Hind cutter Sheep: 48 wethers, total 48 Total Cattle: 5 bulls, 67 cows, 61 calves, 3 yearlings, 9 heifers, 15 steers, 14 oxen, total 174 Sheep: 159 ewes, 72 wethers, 55 lambs, 12 rams, total 298 Goats: 58 ewes, 7 wethers, 31 kids, 5 rams, total 101 Pigs: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 19 pigs, 0 boars, total 23 Horses: 5 horses, 7 mares, total 12 Poultry: 75 fowls, 16 ducks, 30 turkeys, 24 geese Killed Cattle: 4 heifers, 3 steers, total 7

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		Bought [...]: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 15, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 15, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Recd. from the Hind Cutter: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 48, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 48, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 67, Neat Cattle Calves 61, Neat Cattle Yearlings 3, Neat Cattle Heifers 9, Neat Cattle Steers 15, Neat Cattle Oxen 14, Neat Cattle Total 174, Sheep Ewes 159, Sheep Weathers 72, Sheep Lambs 55, Sheep Rams 12, Sheep Total 298, Goats Ewes 58, Goats Weathers 7, Goats Kids 31, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 101, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 19, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 23, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 75, Poultry Ducks 16, Poultry Turkeys 30, Poultry Geese 24 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 4, Neat Cattle Steers 3, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 7, Sheep Ewes 7, Sheep Weathers 25, Sheep Lambs 8, Sheep Rams 4, Sheep Total 44, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 4, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 3, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 3, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 30, Poultry Ducks 10, Poultry Turkeys 9, Poultry Geese 8 Sent on Board the Warwick: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 12, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 12, Goats Ewes 1, Goats Weathers 1, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 2, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Casualty and Sold: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 1, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 1, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 12, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 1, Neat Cattle Total 14, Sheep Ewes 2, Sheep Weathers 2, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 4, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0	Sheep: 7 ewes, 25 wethers, 8 lambs, 4 rams, total 44 Goats: 4 wethers, total 4 Pigs: 3 pigs, total 3 Poultry: 30 fowls, 10 ducks, 9 turkeys, 8 geese Sent on board the *Warwick*: 12 wethers; 1 ewe goat and 1 kid, a total of 2 goats. Lost by accident or sold Goats: 1 ewe, total 1 Died Cattle: 1 cow, 12 calves, 1 ox, total 14 Sheep: 2 ewes, 2 wethers, total 4 In hand on 30 September 1779 Cattle: 5 bulls, 66 cows, 49 calves, 3 yearlings, 5 heifers, 12 steers, 13 oxen, total 153 Sheep: 150 ewes, 33 wethers, 47 lambs, 8 rams, total 238 Goats: 56 ewes, 3 wethers, 30 kids, 5 rams, total 94 Pigs: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 16 pigs, 0 boars, total 20 Horses: 5 horses, 7 mares, total 12 Poultry: 45 fowls, 6 ducks, 21 turkeys, 16 geese Births among the Company's slaves 1 boy, named George Frank 1 girl, named Betty Bastiana 1 boy, named Tom Clarke Yams used For the garrison, 16,138 lb For the guard, 126 lb For the slaves, 38,342 lb For the livestock, 7,400 lb Total, 62,106 lb Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham signed the account on 11 October 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The births of three slave children were entered at the foot of the livestock account, beneath the poultry. The Lieutenant Governor managed the Company's plantations, and the slaves who worked them were counted among the Company's stock. A child born to a Company slave added to that stock as surely as a calf or a lamb. The account recorded each child by name, sex and quarter of birth. That gave the Company a running tally of its human property, set out in the same form as its herds. It also explains why the paymaster had paid a midwife for delivering three of the Company's slaves in April. The yam figures show where the island's food went during the shortage. The slaves ate more than twice as many yams as the garrison, and their rice ration had already been cut earlier in the year. Yams had become the main food of the Company's slaves. Twelve of the fourteen cattle that died were calves, born that season into pastures still recovering from the drought. The Cape sheep landed by the *Hind* restored the flock, and wethers rose from 9 to 72 in the quarter. The flock could therefore now supply mutton to the Company's table and to the *Warwick* while the cattle were left to recover.

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		Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 66, Neat Cattle Calves 49, Neat Cattle Yearlings 3, Neat Cattle Heifers 5, Neat Cattle Steers 12, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 153, Sheep Ewes 150, Sheep Weathers 33, Sheep Lambs 47, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 238, Goats Ewes 56, Goats Weathers 3, Goats Kids 30, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 94, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Pigs 16, Hogs Barrows 0, Hogs Total 20, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 45, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 21, Poultry Geese 16 1 Boy Born Named George Frank 1 Girl Do. Do. Betty Bostana 1 Boy Do. Do. Tom Cloyce Errors Excepted Octr. 11 1779 Signed Danl. Corneille Wm. Wrangham Yams Expended for the Garrison 16,138 Do. Do. for the Guard 126 Do. Do. for the Slaves 38,342 Do. Do. for the Stock 7,400 Total 62,106 **Margin Notes:** 11 Octr.	
132	128	11 Oct. Artillery Stores Expended in September 1779 Guns Fired, 9 lb., 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz. 3 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 Arrived the Gatton: Guns Fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 An Alarm for a Dane passed by: Guns Fired 6, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 22 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 Arrived the Queen and Saluted: Guns Fired 9, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 9, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 10, Powder oz. 11 Being the Anniversary of his Majesty's Coronation: Guns Fired 21, 9 lb. 4, 6 lb. 17, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 23, Powder oz. 11 24 A Treble Alarm: Guns Fired 12, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 8, 3 lb. 4, Powder lb. 22, Powder oz. 0 Arrived the Glatton, Hillsborough & Royal George and Saluted: Guns Fired 13, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 14, Powder oz. 10 For Sundry Services: Guns Fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 9, Powder oz. 5 Total: Guns Fired 73, 9 lb. 4, 6 lb. 39, 4 lb. 20, 3 lb. 10, Powder lb. 113, Powder oz. 5 Flannell for the use of the Hospital Yds. 9 Tallow for the Honble. Company's Boats 4 lbs. Slow Match for the Work at Banks's 6 Do. Do. for the Saluting Battery 6 Do. Junk for the Hind Cutter 100 Do. Nitre for the use of the Hospital 3 Do. Tow for Do. 2 Do. Cartridge Paper 9 Quire Signed Wm. Pierce Captn. of Artillery	The artillery account recorded the following stores used during September 1779. Each line gives the guns fired by calibre and the powder used. 3 September, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz On the arrival of the *Gatton*, no guns were fired and no powder was used. An alarm for a Danish ship passing: 6 guns fired (4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 22 September, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 six-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz On the arrival of the *Queen*, a salute was fired: 9 guns (9 nine-pounders), powder 10 lb 11 oz. 22 September, salute for the anniversary of the King's coronation: 21 guns fired (4 eighteen-pounders, 17 nine-pounders), powder 23 lb 11 oz 24 September, a triple alarm: 12 guns fired (8 six-pounders, 4 three-pounders), powder 22 lb 0 oz On the arrival of the *Glatton*, the *Hillsborough* and the *Royal George*, a salute was fired: 13 guns (13 nine-pounders), powder 14 lb 10 oz. Sundry services: 0 guns fired, powder 9 lb 5 oz Total: 73 guns fired (4 eighteen-pounders, 39 nine-pounders, 20 six-pounders, 10 three-pounders), powder 113 lb 5 oz Other stores used Flannel for the hospital, 9 yards Tallow for the Company's boats, 4 lb Slow match for the works at Banks's, 6 lb Slow match for the saluting battery, 6 lb Old rope for the Hind cutter, 100 lb Tubs for the hospital, 3 Tow for the hospital, 2 lb Cartridge paper, 9 quires William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during September 1779. Madeira, 183 bottles, £9 6s 3d Port, 16 bottles, £1 5s 4d Lisbon wine, 21 bottles, £1 13s 3d Mountain wine, 6 bottles, £0 9s 6d Arrack, 18 gallons, £2 14s 0d Beef, 152 lb, £1 17s 0d Pork, 100 lb, £2 10s 0d

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		Sundry's Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in Sept. 1779 To 123 Bottles Madeira 7 6 3 16 Do. Port 1 5 4 21 Do. Lisbon 1 13 3 6 Do. Mountain . 9 6 19 Galls. Arrack 2 14 . 152 Beef 1 17 . 106 Pork 2 10 . 247 Mutton 4 6 3 2 Lambs 1 . . 5 Turkies 1 5 . Carried Over £ 25 7 7	Mutton, 249 lb, £4 6s 3d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d Carried forward, £25 7s 7d **Interpretations** On 24 September 1779 the garrison sounded a triple alarm, twice the usual signal, when three ships appeared together off the island. A cluster of sail approaching at once could be an enemy squadron, the danger the island's defences were built to meet. The heavier signal called out the whole garrison rather than the posts nearest the landing places. It was stood down only when the ships proved to be the *Glatton*, the *Hillsborough* and the *Royal George* from China. A Danish ship merely passing the island still set off a full alarm, since no ship could be trusted until she was identified. The Madeira drunk at the Company's table nearly doubled from August to September. That rise tracked the arrival of the China and India ships, whose commanders and passengers were entertained at the Castle while the fleet gathered.
133	129	1779 Brought Over £ 25 7 7 12 Fowls . 18 . 2 Ducks . 3 . 3 Geese . 15 . 152 Candy 3 16 . 538 Flour 4 9 8 £ 35 9 3 Bought P Table To 61 Beef @ 6 1 10 6 29 Do. @ 3½ . 8 6 4 Turkies 1 . . 40 Fowls 3 . . 2 Pigs . 10 . £ 6 9 . The following Petition was this day presented To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. in Council - The Petition of the Land holders on this Island Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioners have suffered greatly from the late excessive Drought which has rendered a great part of their Lands destitute of Herbage or Pasture whereby numbers of their Cattle have died some having even lost their whole herd. - That your Petitioners humbly beg leave to observe, the Rents they Pay the Honble. Company (from the Calamity they now labour under) are incompatible with their present - circumstances to discharge, they therefore offer themselves to your Worship and the Gentlemen for relief in the Premises. - Your Petitioners therefore pray your Worship and the other Gentlemen of Council to take this matter into	The steward's account for the Company's table in September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £25 7s 7d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 3 geese, £0 15s 0d Candles, 152 lb, £3 16s 0d Flour, 538 lb, £4 9s 8d Total used at the table, £35 9s 3d Bought for the table Beef, 61 lb at 6d, £1 10s 6d Beef, 29 lb at 3½d, £0 8s 6d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 40 fowls, £3 0s 0d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d Total bought, £6 9s 0d The island's landholders presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council that day. The landholders stated that they had suffered greatly from the recent severe drought. It had left much of their land bare of grass and growth, and large numbers of their cattle had died. Some had lost their entire herds. They respectfully submitted that, in the disaster they now faced, they could not afford the rents they owed the Company. They therefore placed themselves in the hands of the Governor and Council for relief. They asked the Governor and the other members of the Council to take the matter into consideration. **Interpretations** The petition came eleven days after the planters had attended at the Castle to pay their rents for the year, which totalled £636 16s 6d. Their returns of dead cattle, ordered in August, had already given the Council the evidence of their losses. The landholders were evidently seeking remission of rent for the coming year, or the return of part of what they had just paid. Their complaint rested on the same figures the Council had used in refusing beef to the *Warwick*. Having cited more than 700 dead cattle to justify that refusal, the Council could hardly dispute the scale of the planters' distress.

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134	130	11 October into consideration and recommend to the Honble. Court of Directors to relieve them in their distressed situation by a Reduction of their Rents for a time that will in some measure compensate their great losses or by raising the price of their Beef to 6 P lb. which they by no means think high considering the Nature and disadvantages of this Island. - And your Petitioners will ever pray &ca. Signed Benjn. Mason Senr. John Goodwin Robt. Gurling John Worrall Richd. Goodwin Mary Doveton Jas. Alexander Jas. Colgrave Jno. Robinson Elisha Isacke Saml. Knipe Senr. Stephen Young Gabl. Leache Senr. John Desfountain John Seales Orphs. Jno. Bagley Junr. Orlo. Bagley Orphs. Elizabeth Lambe Thos. Harpers Orphs. Thos. Bircham Saml. Knipe Junr. Wm. Beales Orphs. Geo. Hayes Richd. Mason Wm. W. Doveton John Sampell Jas. Greentree Walter Greentree Chas. R. Steward Frans. Seale Richd. Knipe Geo. Alexander Henry Easthope Edwd. Bagley Orlando Bagley Jonn. Doveton Jonn. Doveton Exor. Wm. Youngs Orphans Robt. Leech Exor. Richd. Bagley Diamond To which Petition the following Answer was returned To the Land-holders of the Island St. Helena - Gentlemen I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you in Answer to your Petition of this day that they have - ordered the same to be entered upon Consultation, and shall recommend it in the strongest manner to the Honble. Court of Directors as they are well convinced what you have set forth is a true and real state of your present circumstances. - I am St. Helena Gentlemen 11 October 1779 Your Obedient Servant (Signed) B Wright Secry. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The landholders asked the Governor and Council to recommend them to the Court of Directors for relief in their distress. They proposed either a reduction of their rents for a period long enough to make up for their heavy losses, or a rise in the price paid for their beef to 6d a pound. They did not consider that price at all high, given the nature and disadvantages of the island. The petition was signed by the following. Benjamin Mason senior John Goodwin Robert Gurling John Bazett Richard Goodwin Mary Doveton John Alexander James Colgrave John Robinson Elisha Jacks Samuel Knipe senior Stephen Yonge Gabriel Knipe senior John Dafountain Captain John Seale John Bagley junior Captain Orlando Bagley Elizabeth Lambe Captain Thomas Harper Thomas Burnham Samuel Knipe junior Captain William Beale George Hayes Richard Mason William Webber Doveton John Sampell James Greentree Walter Greentree Charles Ross Stewart Francis Seale Richard Knipe George Alexander Henry Easthope Edward Bagley Orlando Bagley Jonathan Doveton John Doveton William Young Robert Leech, executor of the late Richard Bagley The secretary replied to the landholders on the instructions of the Governor and Council. Their petition had been entered in the minutes. The Council was satisfied that it gave a true and accurate account of their present circumstances. It would recommend their case to the Court of Directors in the strongest terms. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 11 October 1779. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The planters' second remedy reveals how the island's beef trade worked. The Company bought cattle from the landholders at a fixed price per pound to supply its garrison and its ships. Each planter owed a quota, which the drought had made impossible to meet. The steward's accounts show beef bought for the Company's table at two rates in the same month, 6d and 3½d a pound. The lower figure was probably the official rate paid for the planters' quota beef. The higher was what the market would bear outside it. The landholders were asking for the fixed rate to be raised to the market level, which would have shifted the cost of the drought from the planters to the Company.

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			The Council endorsed the petition but did not grant it. The rents and the beef price had both been fixed by the Court of Directors. The Council could recommend a change, but it could not make one on its own authority. Several of the petitioners held office under the Council, among them John Goodwin, the acting storekeeper, the Dovetons and Charles Ross Stewart. The Council's ready agreement with the planters' case may also reflect how far the island's officials shared the planters' interests as landholders themselves.
135	131	18 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th day of October 1779 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed the 11th of October 1779 The Paymaster this day brought in his Accounts and the Store-keeper his Collection for the Quarter commencing the 1st of July and ending the 30th September last which were examined, approved and are as follows. Viz.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 18 October 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 11 October 1779. The paymaster presented his accounts that day, and the storekeeper presented his collections, for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1779. The Council examined and approved them, and they ran as follows.
136	132	18 October List of the Honble. Company's Servants Civil and Military upon the Island of St. Helena with their several Salaries, Diet Money &ca. for the Quarter Ending the 30th day of September 1779 John Skottowe Esqr. Governor 150 . . Do. Allowance for Servants 31 14 9 181 14 9 Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lieutenant Govr. 62 10 . Do. Diet Money 25 . . 87 10 . Matthew Bazett Esqr. of Council 22 10 . Do. Accountant 27 10 . Do. Diet Money 15 . . 65 . . William Wrangham Esqr. of Council 10 . . Do. Diet Money 15 . . Do. Assist. to the Governor 10 . . Do. Paymaster 27 10 . 62 10 . Henry Bazett Esqr. of Council 10 . . Robert Carr Chaplain 55 Jonathan Doveton Storekeeper 27 10 . Do. Diet Money 15 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . 45 . . Britannicus Wright Secretary	The pay list for the Company's civil and military servants on St Helena, covering the quarter ending 30 September 1779, began as follows. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £150 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe total, £181 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Daniel Corneille total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, member of Council, salary, £22 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, as accountant, £27 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett total, £65 0s 0d William Wrangham, member of Council, salary, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, as paymaster, £27 10s 0d William Wrangham total, £62 10s 0d Henry Bazett, member of Council, salary, £10 0s 0d Robert Carr, chaplain, salary, £55 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, storekeeper, salary, £27 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, diet money, £15 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton total, £45 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, secretary, salary, £27 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £15 0s 0d Britannicus Wright total, £42 10s 0d William Pierce, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d John Goodwin, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Goodwin, as collector of customs, £12 10s 0d John Goodwin total, £37 10s 0d James Dafountain, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d James Dafountain, diet money, £10 0s 0d James Dafountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		27 10 . Do. Diet Money 15 . . 42 10 . William Pierce Engineer 50 . . John Goodwin Factor 12 . . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Collector of the Customs 12 10 . 37 10 . James Desfountain Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Assist. Storekeeper 5 . . 30 . . Carried over £ 666 14 9	James Dafountain, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d James Dafountain total, £30 0s 0d Carried forward, £666 14s 9d
137	133	1779 Brought over £ 666 14 9 William Webber Doveton Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Secretary to the Secret Committee 17 10 . 42 10 . Robert Leech Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Clerk of the Works 6 16 10½ 31 16 10½ John Doveton Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Clerk of the Peace 36 14 4½ 61 14 4½ Nathaniel Kennedy Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . 25 . . Thomas Bazett Writer 7 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . 20 . . Thomas Stroud Surgeon 25 . . Do. Diet Money 10 . . 35 . .	The pay list for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these officers. Brought forward, £666 14s 9d William Webber Doveton, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Webber Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, as secretary to the Secret Committee, £17 10s 0d William Webber Doveton total, £42 10s 0d Robert Leech, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d Robert Leech, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Leech, as clerk of the works, £6 16s 10½d Robert Leech total, £31 16s 10½d John Doveton, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d John Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Doveton, as clerk of the peace, £36 14s 4½d John Doveton total, £61 14s 4½d Nathaniel Kennedy, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, diet money, £10 0s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy total, £25 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, writer, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett total, £20 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, surgeon, salary, £25 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Stroud total, £35 0s 0d David Kay, surgeon's mate, salary, £16 5s 0d David Kay, diet money, £10 0s 0d David Kay total, £26 5s 0d James Adney, schoolmaster, salary, £17 10s 0d James Adney, as judge advocate, £12 10s 0d James Adney, diet money, £2 10s 0d James Adney total, £32 10s 0d George Lamb, steward, salary, £7 10s 0d George Lamb, for supervising the bakehouse, £3 0s 0d George Lamb total, £10 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, as superintendent, £25 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d Carried forward, £983 16s 0d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		David Kay Surgeons Mate 16 5 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . 26 5 . James Adney School Master 17 10 . Do. Judge Advocate 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 2 10 . 32 10 . George Lamb Steward 7 10 . Do. Overseeing the Baking House 3 . . 10 10 . Thomas Bazett Superintendant 25 . . Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6 5 . Carried over 983 6 .	William Webber Doveton's pay as secretary to the Secret Committee rose from £9 19s 5d in the June quarter to £17 10s 0d, almost doubling. The extra pay matched a sharp rise in confidential business. Between July and September, the *Warwick*, the *Earl Talbot*, the *Princess Royal* and the China fleet all brought packets from the Secret Committee, and the homeward ships needed orders on routes and convoy. The secretary's fee was evidently calculated on the volume of papers handled, so his pay tracked the tempo of the war at sea. David Kay's salary as surgeon's mate rose by £2 0s 0d for the quarter. That probably reflected his heavier duties on a hospital ward crowded with sick seamen and prisoners from the ships in the road.
138	134	18th October Brought over £ 983 6 . Benjamin Mason 11 5 . Benjamin Seale 6 5 . George Bird 5 . . Overseers John Robinson Carpenter 25 . . Simon Whaley Do. Mate 12 10 . Henry Winfield Masons Do. 20 . . John Daniels Do. Aprentice 12 10 . Joseph Seager Armourer 15 . . Edward Joyce Cooper 15 . . Duncan McNaughton Gardener 10 . . Thomas Yates Marshal and Goaler 7 10 . Do. Clerk of the Parish 6 10 . 14 . . John Joyce Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 . Isaac Clark Groom 2 . . Jeffery Bird Pestman 7 10 . Drum Major Instructing the Drums 1 . . John Scott Register Master 10 . . The Sub Goaler 1 10 . The Fife Major 2 6 . First Company Viz. Daniel Corneille Esqr. Major 59 6 3 Thomas Bazett Captain Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 .	The pay list for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with the artificers, minor officers and the officers of the four companies. Brought forward, £983 16s 0d Benjamin Mason, overseer, £11 5s 0d Benjamin Seale, overseer, £6 5s 0d George Bird, overseer, £5 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Simon Whaley, carpenter's mate, £12 10s 0d Henry Winfield, mason's mate, £20 0s 0d John Daniels, mason's apprentice, £12 10s 0d Joseph Seager, armourer, £15 0s 0d Edward Joyce, cooper, £15 0s 0d Duncan McNaughton, gardener, £10 0s 0d Thomas Yates, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d Thomas Yates, as parish clerk, £6 10s 0d Thomas Yates total, £14 0s 0d John Joyce, cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Isaac Clark, groom, £2 0s 0d Jeffery Bond, patroon, £7 10s 0d The drum major, for training the drummers, £1 0s 0d John Scott, register master, £10 0s 0d The under-gaoler, £1 10s 0d The fife major, £2 6s 0d The four companies Daniel Corneille, major, £59 6s 3d Thomas Bazett, captain lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett total, £36 14s 4½d Richard Knipe, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Richard Knipe, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Richard Knipe total, £34 4s 4½d Francis Seale, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Francis Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Francis Seale total, £34 4s 4½d William Roberts, town adjutant, pay, £27 7s 6d William Roberts, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Roberts, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Roberts total, £36 14s 4½d Charles Ross Stewart, garrison adjutant, £18 5s 0d Carried forward, £1,374 15s 9d **Interpretations** The patroon was the master of the Company's boats at the landing place. He ran the boats that carried stores, passengers and mail between the ships in the road and the shore, and his pay matched the steward's. With fleets lying off James Town through

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		36 14 4½ Richard Knipe Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Francis Seale Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ William Roberts Town Adjutant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Charles Ross Steward Garrison Adjutant 10 5 . Carried over £ 1374 15 9	September and October, his crew was busier than at any other time of year. Duncan McNaughton's pay as gardener rose from £2 9s 0d in the June quarter to £10 0s 0d. The Council had evidently expanded the Company's gardens to grow food during the shortage and paid its gardener accordingly. The seeds brought from the Cape by the *Hind* in August were probably intended for those gardens.
139	135	1779 Brought over £ 1374 15 9 Serjeants Viz. Abraham Jones Andrew Alexander 7 13 4 John Gazell 7 13 4 Edward Banks 7 13 4 Robert Bright 7 13 4 John Richard Brocklebanks 7 13 4 46 . . Corporals Viz. George Thomas 5 7 4 James McShane 5 7 4 Thomas Glee 5 7 4 George Cash 5 7 4 John White to 5th July . 3 10 Jonathan Bartlett from 6th Do. 5 1 6 Richard Greenfield to 20th September 4 13 0 Joshua Palmer from 21st Do. . 8 8 32 4 . Drummers Viz. John Twaits 5 7 4 Richard Plaffett 5 7 4 10 14 8 Cadets Viz. Thomas Greentree 7 13 4 Onesiphorus Beale 7 13 4 15 6 8 Private Viz. Gerard Ammanus 3 16 0 Richard Brown 3 16 0 Thos. Burwick 3 16 0	The pay list for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with the non-commissioned officers, drummers, cadets and the first of the privates of the First Company. Brought forward, £1,374 15s 9d Sergeants Abraham Jervis, £7 13s 4d Andrew Alexander, £7 13s 4d John Gazell, £7 13s 4d Edward Banks, £7 13s 4d Robert Wright, £7 13s 4d John Richard Brocklebank, £7 13s 4d Sergeants total, £46 0s 0d Corporals George Thomas, £5 7s 4d James McShane, £5 7s 4d Thomas Close, £5 7s 4d George Cash, £5 7s 4d John White, to 5 July, £0 5s 10d Jonathan Bartlett, from 6 July, £5 1s 6d Richard Greenfield, to 20 September, £4 13s 4d Joshua Palmer, from 21 September, £0 11s 8d Corporals total, £32 4s 0d Drummers John Twaits, £5 7s 4d Richard Platfoot, £5 7s 4d Drummers total, £10 14s 8d Cadets Thomas Greentree, £7 13s 4d Onesiphorus Beale, £7 13s 4d Cadets total, £15 6s 8d Privates Gerrard Ammanus, £3 16s 8d Richard Brown, £3 16s 8d Thomas Barwick, £3 16s 8d John Bull, £3 16s 8d William Bailey, £3 16s 8d John Basset, £3 16s 8d James Baird, £3 16s 8d Robert Budd, £3 16s 8d John Bevan, £3 16s 8d William Brown, £3 16s 8d Timothy Brown, £3 16s 8d Patrick Connor, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £46 0s 0d Carried forward, £1,479 1s 1d **Interpretations** A private's pay for this quarter was £3 16s 8d, against £3 15s 10d for the quarter ending in June. The difference was exactly 10d, one day's pay. The July to September quarter had 92 days and the April to June quarter 91. Every rank's pay was reckoned strictly by the day, so a longer quarter meant a slightly

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Bull 3 16 0 William Bailey 3 16 0 John Basset 3 16 0 James Bain 3 16 0 Robert Roberts Budd 3 16 0 John Bevan 3 16 0 William Brown 3 16 0 Timothy Bowers 3 16 0 Patrick Connor 3 16 0 Private Carried over£ 46 . . Carried over £ 1479 1 1	larger sum. The corporals' entries show the same chain of promotion that had operated in June. John White left the rank on 5 July and Jonathan Bartlett took his place the next day. Richard Greenfield's stripes passed to Joshua Palmer on 21 September 1779. The garrison never ran a day short of non-commissioned officers.
140	136	18 October Brought over £ 1479 1 1 Private Brought over £ 46 . . John Charlton 3 16 8 Wm. Clifton 3 16 8 George Chevuelle 3 16 8 Richard Cook 3 16 8 John Dove 3 16 8 James Drake 3 16 8 Samuel Duffett 3 16 8 James Ellis 3 16 8 William Fisher 3 16 8 Stephen Ferris 3 16 8 Richard Fear 3 16 8 William Frost 3 16 8 Richard Foster 3 16 8 William Clark 3 16 8 William Greenwood 3 16 8 John Griffiths 3 16 8 William Garford 3 16 8 William Goalby 3 16 8 John Houston 3 16 8 Phillip Hayes 3 16 8 Edward Hughes 3 16 8 John Hodges 3 16 8 Joseph Hunt 3 16 8 Richard Harper 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the First Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £1,479 1s 1d Privates brought forward, £46 0s 0d John Charlton, £3 16s 8d William Clifton, £3 16s 8d George Cheverelle, £3 16s 8d Richard Cook, £3 16s 8d John Dove, £3 16s 8d James Drake, £3 16s 8d Samuel Duffett, £3 16s 8d James Ellis, £3 16s 8d William Fisher, £3 16s 8d Stephen Fores, £3 16s 8d Richard Fear, £3 16s 8d William Frost, £3 16s 8d Richard Foster, £3 16s 8d William Clark, £3 16s 8d William Greenwood, £3 16s 8d John Griffiths, £3 16s 8d William Gosford, £3 16s 8d William Goatby, £3 16s 8d John Houston, £3 16s 8d Phillip Hayes, £3 16s 8d Edward Hughes, £3 16s 8d John Hodges, £3 16s 8d Joseph Hurt, £3 16s 8d Richard Harper, £3 16s 8d Henry Hayes, fifer, £3 16s 8d John Johnson, £3 16s 8d Francis Joy, £3 16s 8d James Judge, £3 16s 8d Phillip Jarvis, £3 16s 8d Thomas Love, £3 16s 8d Michael Leonard, £3 16s 8d William Mumford, £3 16s 8d William Mudge, £3 16s 8d William Mansley, £3 16s 8d James Marraton, £3 16s 8d William Newcombe, £3 16s 8d Thomas Organ, £3 16s 8d William Page, £3 16s 8d Charles Pallister, £3 16s 8d Alexander Paxton, £3 16s 8d Sidney Pollar, £3 16s 8d William Porter, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £207 4s 0d Carried forward, £1,479 1s 1d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Henry Hayes Fifer 3 16 8 John Johnson 3 16 8 Francis Ive 3 16 8 James Judge 3 16 8 Phillip Ivories 3 16 8 Thomas Love 3 16 8 Michael Leonard 3 16 8 William Mumford 3 16 8 William Mudge 3 16 8 William Marsley 3 16 8 James Mannators 3 16 8 William Newcombe 3 16 8 Thomas Organ 3 16 8 William Page 3 16 8 Charles Palliser 3 16 8 Alexander Paxton 3 16 8 Sidney Pollar 3 16 8 William Porter 3 16 8 Private Carried over£ 207 4 . Carried over£ 1479 1 1	
141	137	1779 Brought over £ 1479 1 1 Private Brought over £ 207 4 . William Robinson 3 16 8 Anthony Reynolds 3 16 8 George Rowe 3 16 8 Thomas Rice 3 16 8 Thomas Rogers 3 16 8 Thomas Reeves 3 16 8 William Snell 3 16 8 Gregory Sutherwood 3 16 8 John Smale 3 16 8 William Seale 3 16 8 Thomas Stork 3 16 8 Thomas Simpson 3 16 8 Jonathan Stockell 3 16 8 George Sheppard 3 16 8 John Tandon 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the First Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 concluded with these names, and the list then turned to the Second Company. Brought forward, £1,479 1s 1d Privates brought forward, £207 4s 0d William Robinson, £3 16s 8d Anthony Reynolds, £3 16s 8d George Rowe, £3 16s 8d Thomas Rice, £3 16s 8d Thomas Rogers, £3 16s 8d Thomas Reeves, £3 16s 8d William Snell, £3 16s 8d Gregory Sutherwood, £3 16s 8d John Smale, £3 16s 8d William Seale, £3 16s 8d Thomas Stock, £3 16s 8d Thomas Simpson, £3 16s 8d Jonathan Stockell, £3 16s 8d George Sheppard, £3 16s 8d John Tanton, £3 16s 8d Thomas Townsend, £3 16s 8d John Taylor, £3 16s 8d James Tallowgreen, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 8d Bartholomew Welch, £3 16s 8d Henry Wood, £3 16s 8d John Walters, £3 16s 8d Edward Wickenden, £3 16s 8d William Westbury, £3 16s 8d Charles Walton, £3 16s 8d William Walker, £3 16s 8d James McDonald, enlisted 5 July, £3 13s 4d Jonathan Bartlett, to 5 July, £0 4s 2d John White, from 6 July, £3 12s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Townsend 3 16 8 John Taylor 3 16 8 James Tallengrom 3 16 8 Benjamin Wise 3 16 8 Bartholomew Welch 3 16 8 Henry Wood 3 16 8 John Walters 3 16 8 Edward Wickenden 3 16 8 William Westbury 3 16 8 Charles Walton 3 16 8 William Walker 3 16 8 James McDonald Entertained 5th July 3 13 4 Jonathan Bartlett to the 5th Do. . 4 2 John White from the 6th Do. 3 12 6 John Davis DD 14 August 1 17 6 Thomas Robinson Entertained 16th Do. 1 18 4 Edward Welch Do. Deserted the 13th Septr. . 9 2 James Campbell Do. Do. and DD 16 Sept. 1 6 8 Joshua Palmer to 20th September 3 8 4 Richard Greenfield from the 21st Do. . 3 4 William Taylor 3 16 8 317 0 4 Second Company Viz. Henry Bazett Major 59 6 3 Carried over 1865 15 8	John Davis, died 14 August, £1 17s 6d Thomas Robinson, enlisted 16 August, £1 18s 4d Edward Welch, enlisted 16 August, deserted 26 August, £0 9s 2d James Campbell, enlisted 16 August, deserted 16 September, £1 6s 8d Joshua Palmer, to 20 September, £3 8s 4d Richard Greenfield, from 21 September, £0 8s 4d William Taylor, £3 16s 8d First Company privates total, £327 8s 4d Second Company Henry Bazett, major, £59 6s 3d Carried forward, £1,865 15s 8d **Interpretations** Edward Welch and James Campbell were two of the seamen from the *Earl Talbot* whom the Council had enlisted on 16 August 1779, each with a bounty of £10 0s 0d. Welch deserted after ten days, and Campbell lasted a month. The Council's notice of 30 September 1779 offering 40s 0d for their capture shows that neither had been found. The bounty system again failed at its weakest point. A man paid in a lump sum on enlistment had money to buy shelter and every reason to vanish before the next fleet sailed. Richard Greenfield's corporal's pay ended on 20 September 1779, and he drew a private's pay from the next day. Joshua Palmer moved the other way on the same dates. Greenfield had been reduced to the ranks and Palmer promoted into his place, the same exchange the pay list had recorded for Henry Pewsbury and Richard Lackland in May. John Davis's death on 14 August 1779 matches the entry in the Council's minutes for that day.
142	138	October 18th Brought over £ 1865 15 8 James Greentree Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Serjeants Viz. William Hill 7 13 4 William Cooke 7 13 4 George Clancy 7 13 4 John Teall 7 13 4 John Ash 7 13 4 James Smith 7 13 4 46 . . Corporals Viz. Joseph Dowler 5 7 4	The pay list for the Second Company in the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,865 15s 8d James Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d James Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d James Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Greentree total, £36 14s 4½d Sergeants William Hill, £7 13s 4d William Corker, £7 13s 4d George Cleary, £7 13s 4d John Ferrell, £7 13s 4d John Ash, £7 13s 4d James Smith, £7 13s 4d Sergeants total, £46 0s 0d Corporals Joseph Dowler, £5 7s 4d Robert Withers, £5 7s 4d Thomas Lambley, £5 7s 4d Robert Flood, £5 7s 4d Richard Lackland, £5 7s 4d William Wright, £5 7s 4d Corporals total, £32 4s 0d Drummers Benjamin Seale, £5 7s 4d John Wyrell, £5 7s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Robert Withers 5 7 4 Thomas Lambley 5 7 4 Robert Flood 5 7 4 Richard Auckland 5 7 4 William Wright 5 7 4 32 4 . Drummers Viz. Benjamin Seale 5 7 4 John Wyvell 5 7 4 10 14 8 Private Viz. Daniel Pye 3 16 8 Andrew Reynolds 3 16 8 John Bates 3 16 8 John Rowe 3 16 8 John Ward 3 16 8 Philip Bayley 3 16 8 George Bright 3 16 8 John Buckle 3 16 8 George Chapman 3 16 8 George Cumberbeech 3 16 8 John Cox 3 16 8 John Couser 3 16 8 Thomas Cole 3 16 8 William Charnell Fifer 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 53 13 4 Carried over £ 1991 0 8½	Drummers total, £10 14s 8d Privates Daniel Bye, £3 16s 8d Andrew Boswell, £3 16s 8d John Bates, £3 16s 8d John Bone, £3 16s 8d John Bond, £3 16s 8d Philip Bayley, £3 16s 8d George Bright, £3 16s 8d John Buckle, £3 16s 8d George Chapman, £3 16s 8d George Cumberbeech, £3 16s 8d John Cox, £3 16s 8d John Couser, £3 16s 8d Thomas Cole, £3 16s 8d William Charrett, fifer, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £53 13s 4d Carried forward, £1,991 8s 8½d **Interpretations** The Second Company now had only one lieutenant on its list. Arthur Usher had resigned on 24 June 1779 and gone home with the fleet, and no one had yet been commissioned in his place. Filling a commission was not something the Council could do quickly. Promotion among officers depended on seniority and on approval from the Court of Directors. A vacancy could stand open for a year while letters passed to London and back, and James Greentree alone now carried the company's subaltern duties.
143	139	1779 Brought over £ 1991 8 8½ Private Brought over £ 53 13 4 William Duncan 3 16 8 William Davis 3 16 8 Peter Ellam 3 16 8 John Eames 3 16 8 Henry Edwards 3 16 8 Richard Fry 3 16 8 Richard Ferguson Senr. 3 16 8 Richard Ferguson Junr. 3 16 8 William Hughes Foulgers 3 16 8 Michael Farrell 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £1,991 8s 8½d Privates brought forward, £53 13s 4d William Duncan, £3 16s 8d William Davis, £3 16s 8d Peter Ellam, £3 16s 8d John Eames, £3 16s 8d Henry Edwards, £3 16s 8d Richard Fox, £3 16s 8d Richard Ferguson senior, £3 16s 8d Richard Ferguson junior, £3 16s 8d William Hayles Foulgrave, £3 16s 8d Michael Farrell, £3 16s 8d John Goodsell, £3 16s 8d Robert Green, £3 16s 8d Josiah Gentleman, £3 16s 8d John Grainger, £3 16s 8d Henry German, £3 16s 8d Samuel Hiles, £3 16s 8d James Hudson, £3 16s 8d John Holbrook, £3 16s 8d Henry Ham, £3 16s 8d Robert Hardie, £3 16s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Goodsale 3 16 8 Robert Green 3 16 8 Josiah Gentleman 3 16 8 John Grainger 3 16 8 Henry German 3 16 8 Samuel Hiles 3 16 8 James Hudson 3 16 8 John Holbrooke 3 16 8 Henry Ham 3 16 8 Robert Hardie 3 16 8 John Hayne 3 16 8 Thomas Harrison 3 16 8 John Hengate 3 16 8 Jacob Hewson 3 16 8 John Hughes 3 16 8 Thomas Hart 3 16 8 Anthony Hawkins 3 16 8 Thomas Hodgkins 3 16 8 John Holliday 3 16 8 David Hankley 3 16 8 Thomas Hurst 3 16 8 Charles Holloway Fifer 3 16 8 Samuel Inklone 3 16 8 William Johnson 3 16 8 John James 3 16 8 Andrew Jollrand 3 16 8 Arthur Jennings 3 16 8 John Jones Private Carried over £ 194 6 8 Carried over £ 1991 8 8½	John Hayne, £3 16s 8d Thomas Harrison, £3 16s 8d John Hargate, £3 16s 8d Jacob Hyram, £3 16s 8d John Hughes, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hart, £3 16s 8d Anthony Hawkins, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hodgkins, £3 16s 8d John Holliday, £3 16s 8d David Hankly, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hurst, £3 16s 8d Charles Holloway, fifer, £3 16s 8d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 8d William Johnson, £3 16s 8d John James, £3 16s 8d Andrew Jocalombe, £3 16s 8d Arthur Jennings, £3 16s 8d John Jones, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £199 6s 8d Carried forward, £1,991 8s 8½d
144	140	October 18th Brought over £ 1991 8 8½ Private Brought over £ 194 6 8 Henry Kirkham 3 16 8 Richard Kirby 3 16 8 Andrew Knowles 3 16 8 Thomas Little 3 16 8 Thomas Lee 3 16 8 James Ladie	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £1,991 8s 8½d Privates brought forward, £199 6s 8d Henry Kirkham, £3 16s 8d Richard Kirby, £3 16s 8d Andrew Knowles, £3 16s 8d Thomas Little, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 8d James Ladie, £3 16s 8d Charles Lockstone, £3 16s 8d John Marris, £3 16s 8d John McCullen, £3 16s 8d Peter Maham, £3 16s 8d Owen Murphy, £3 16s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 8 Charles Lakstone 3 16 8 John Morris 3 16 8 John McCullen 3 16 8 Peter Mahan 3 16 8 Owen Murphy 3 16 8 Patrick Mahoney 3 16 8 Jeremiah Needham 3 16 8 Reeves OBrien 3 16 8 William Oates 3 16 8 Nicholas Patterson 3 16 8 Jacob Peters 3 16 8 William Parsons 3 16 8 Samuel Palmer 3 16 8 Samuel Phillips 3 16 8 John Roberts 3 16 8 Robert Rattle 3 16 8 John Christopher Shiffe 3 16 8 Frederick Shuffer 3 16 8 John Salsbury 3 16 8 James Shaw 3 16 8 Thomas Smith 3 16 8 James Smith 3 16 8 John Stevens 3 16 8 Benjamin Thomas 3 16 8 John Vaughan 3 16 8 Richard White 3 16 8 Thomas Watts 3 16 8 James Watson Senr. 3 16 8 James Watson Junr. 3 16 8 James Willson 3 16 8 John Wales 3 16 8 William West 3 16 8 Henry Yates 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 348 18 8 Carried over £ 1991 8 8½	Patrick Mahoney, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Nicham, £3 16s 8d Reeves O'Berne, £3 16s 8d William Oates, £3 16s 8d Nicholas Paterson, £3 16s 8d Jacob Peters, £3 16s 8d William Parsons, £3 16s 8d Samuel Palmer, £3 16s 8d Samuel Phillips, £3 16s 8d John Roberts, £3 16s 8d Robert Rattle, £3 16s 8d John Christopher Strafe, £3 16s 8d Frederick Shuffer, £3 16s 8d John Salisbury, £3 16s 8d James Stane, £3 16s 8d Thomas Smith, £3 16s 8d James Smith, £3 16s 8d John Stevens, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Thomas, £3 16s 8d John Vaughan, £3 16s 8d Richard White, £3 16s 8d Thomas Watts, £3 16s 8d James Watson senior, £3 16s 8d James Watson junior, £3 16s 8d James Willson, £3 16s 8d John Wales, £3 16s 8d William West, £3 16s 8d Henry Yates, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £348 18s 8d Carried forward, £1,991 8s 8½d
145	141	1779 Brought over £ 1991 8 8½ Private Brought over £	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 concluded with these names, and the pay list then moved to the Third Company.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		348 18 8 Henry Pinbury 3 16 8 Patrick McLaughlin Absent 30th August 2 10 10 355 5 . Third Company Viz. John Howard Captn. 59 6 3 Samuel Desfountain Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Robert Gurling Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Serjeants Viz. James Good Serjeant Major 11 5 4 Thomas Kilock 7 13 4 George German 7 13 4 Richard Pearce 7 13 4 John Johnson 7 13 4 Thomas Williams 7 13 4 50 12 . Corporals Viz. Joseph Middleton 5 7 4 Caleb Broadway 5 7 4 Thomas Langley 5 7 4 Richard Marshall 5 7 4 Peter Hawbine 5 7 4 John Ulmond 5 7 4 32 4 . Drummers Viz. James Hoyce 5 7 4 Robert Toule 5 7 4 10 14 8 Private Viz. John Allen 3 16 8 William Ashfield 3 16 8 William Blackman 3 16 8 William Caleb Baldwin 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 15 6 8 Carried over £ 2572 19 4½	Brought forward, £1,991 8s 8½d Privates brought forward, £348 18s 8d Henry Presbury, £3 16s 8d Patrick McLaughlin, absent from 30 August, £2 10s 10d Second Company privates total, £355 5s 0d Third Company John Howard, captain, £59 6s 3d Samuel Dafountain, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Samuel Dafountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Dafountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Dafountain total, £36 14s 4½d Robert Gurling, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Robert Gurling, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gurling, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Gurling total, £36 14s 4½d Sergeants James Offord, sergeant major, £12 5s 4d Thomas Kilock, £7 13s 4d George Jarman, £7 13s 4d Richard Pearce, £7 13s 4d John Johnson, £7 13s 4d Thomas Williams, £7 13s 4d Sergeants total, £50 12s 0d Corporals Joseph Middleton, £5 7s 4d Caleb Broadway, £5 7s 4d Thomas Langley, £5 7s 4d Richard Marshall, £5 7s 4d Peter Harbine, £5 7s 4d John Almond, £5 7s 4d Corporals total, £32 4s 0d Drummers James Joyce, £5 7s 4d Robert Towell, £5 7s 4d Drummers total, £10 14s 8d Privates John Allen, £3 16s 8d William Ashfield, £3 16s 8d William Blackman, £3 16s 8d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £15 6s 8d Carried forward, £2,572 19s 4½d **Interpretations** Patrick McLaughlin's pay stopped on 30 August 1779, when he was marked absent. He was one of the four soldiers named in the Council's reward notice of 30 September 1779, together with Edward Welch, James Campbell and James Smith. McLaughlin had taken a £15 0s 0d bounty to re-enlist on 15 April 1779. He served barely four and a half months of his new five-year term before he went missing. Marking a man "absent" rather than "deserted" kept the door open for his return. If he reappeared, he could be punished and restored to the roll. If he did not, the stopped pay already protected the Company from further loss.
146	142	October 18th Brought over £ 2572 19 4½ Private Brought over £ 15 6 8	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,572 19s 4½d Privates brought forward, £15 6s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Bailey 3 16 8 Jeremiah Butcher 3 16 8 John Brown 3 16 8 William Brown 3 16 8 Samuel Brainwood 3 16 8 John Burkett 3 16 8 William Bruce 3 16 8 William Cooksey 3 16 8 Richard Close 3 16 8 Josiah Cummings 3 16 8 John Coffee 3 16 8 Thomas Carnaken 3 16 8 Jeremiah Carey 3 16 8 Richard Cook 3 16 8 Isaac Cain 3 16 8 David Cotham 3 16 8 Thomas Dawson 3 16 8 James Dennis 3 16 8 James Daighton 3 16 8 Nicholas Dyester 3 16 8 Richard Dudge 3 16 8 Francis Flynn 3 16 8 Cornelius Flowers 3 16 8 George Green 3 16 8 John Gilmore 3 16 8 Edward German 3 16 8 William Gilkes 3 16 8 Henry Kroningburg 3 16 8 Roger Hayden 3 16 8 James Hawkins 3 16 8 John Hawkins 3 16 8 William Hadden 3 16 8 Joseph Havett 3 16 8 John Hodges 3 16 8 George Hunter 3 16 8 William Higginson 3 16 8 Thomas Johnson 3 16 8 John Joyce 3 16 8	Thomas Bailey, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Butcher, £3 16s 8d John Brown, £3 16s 8d William Brown, £3 16s 8d Samuel Branwood, £3 16s 8d John Burkett, £3 16s 8d William Bruce, £3 16s 8d William Cockery, £3 16s 8d Richard Close, £3 16s 8d Josiah Cummings, £3 16s 8d John Coffee, £3 16s 8d Thomas Carnahan, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Carley, £3 16s 8d Richard Cook, £3 16s 8d Isaac Corr, £3 16s 8d David Cotham, £3 16s 8d Thomas Dawson, £3 16s 8d James Dennis, £3 16s 8d James Daughton, £3 16s 8d Nicholas Dycher, £3 16s 8d Richard Dodge, £3 16s 8d Francis Flinn, £3 16s 8d Cornelius Flowers, £3 16s 8d George Green, £3 16s 8d John Gilmore, £3 16s 8d Edward Germain, £3 16s 8d William Gilkes, £3 16s 8d Henry Greeningbury, £3 16s 8d Roger Hayden, £3 16s 8d James Hawkins, £3 16s 8d John Hawkins, £3 16s 8d William Hadden, £3 16s 8d Joseph Hewett, £3 16s 8d John Hodges, £3 16s 8d George Hunter, £3 16s 8d William Higginson, £3 16s 8d Thomas Johnson, £3 16s 8d John Joyce, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £160 11s 8d Carried forward, £2,572 19s 4½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Private Carried over £ 160 11 8 Carried over £ 2572 19 4½	
147	143	1779 Brought over £ 2572 19 4½ Private Brought over £ 160 11 8 James Jordan 3 16 8 John Jones 3 16 8 Thomas Lynn 3 16 8 Joseph Lavalade 3 16 8 Robert May 3 16 8 John Moyse 3 16 8 Israell Moon 3 16 8 William Moggett 3 16 8 John Moore 3 16 8 Williams Nichols 3 16 8 Thomas Nail 3 16 8 William Packer 3 16 8 Thomas Pritchard 3 16 8 John Pink 3 16 8 John Plure 3 16 8 William Powell 3 16 8 Christopher Patticker 3 16 8 William Penny 3 16 8 John Ponder 3 16 8 James Richardson 3 16 8 John Recheries 3 16 8 William Robinson 3 16 8 James Sex 3 16 8 Charles Smith 3 16 8 Thomas Smith 3 16 8 John Smith 3 16 8 Richard Smith 3 16 8 John Smith Fifer 3 16 8 Thomas Stevens 3 16 8 Richard Swash 3 16 8 Thomas Thomas 3 16 8 Michael Thomas 3 16 8 James Thompson 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,572 19s 4½d Privates brought forward, £160 11s 8d James Jordan, £3 16s 8d John Jones, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lynn, £3 16s 8d Joseph Lavalade, £3 16s 8d Robert May, £3 16s 8d John Moyse, £3 16s 8d Israel Moon, £3 16s 8d William Moggett, £3 16s 8d John Moore, £3 16s 8d William Nicholls, £3 16s 8d Thomas Nail, £3 16s 8d William Parker, £3 16s 8d Thomas Pritchard, £3 16s 8d John Peak, £3 16s 8d John Pluce, £3 16s 8d William Powell, £3 16s 8d Christopher Patticker, £3 16s 8d William Penny, £3 16s 8d John Pender, £3 16s 8d James Richardson, £3 16s 8d John Richeres, £3 16s 8d William Robinson, £3 16s 8d James Sax, £3 16s 8d Charles Smith, £3 16s 8d Thomas Smith, £3 16s 8d John Smith, £3 16s 8d Richard Smith, £3 16s 8d John Smith, fifer, £3 16s 8d Thomas Stevens, £3 16s 8d Richard Swash, £3 16s 8d Thomas Thomas, £3 16s 8d Michael Thomas, £3 16s 8d James Thompson, £3 16s 8d Stephen Trueman, £3 16s 8d William Willson, £3 16s 8d George Wood, £3 16s 8d William Webb, £3 16s 8d William Wickens, £3 16s 8d Charles Williams, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £310 1s 4d Carried forward, £2,572 19s 4½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Stephen Trueman 3 16 8 William Willson 3 16 8 George Wood 3 16 8 William Webb 3 16 8 William Wickens 3 16 8 Charles Williams 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 310 1 4 Carried over 2572 19 4½	
148	144	18 October Brought over £ 328 5 . Private Brought over Joseph Wrights 3 16 8 John Widgen 3 16 8 Peter Wrights 3 16 8 Peter Young 3 16 8 James Smith Absent 27 August 2 8 4 332 1 8 Fourth Company Viz. Solomon St. Maurice Captain 59 6 3 Charles Ross Steward Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Thomas Statham Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Walter Greentree Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 . 36 14 4½ Serjeants Viz. Walter Walker 7 13 4 William Clifton 7 13 4 Samuel Johnson 7 13 4 William Tedey 7 13 4 John Payne 7 13 4 Robert Green from 6th July 7 5 . John Kelley to 5th Do. . 8 4 46 . . Corporals Viz. William Johnson 5 7 4 John Power	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 concluded with these names, and the pay list then moved to the Fourth Company. Privates brought forward, £328 5s 0d Joseph Wright, £3 16s 8d John Widgeon, £3 16s 8d Peter White, £3 16s 8d Peter Young, £3 16s 8d James Smith, absent from 27 August, £2 8s 4d Third Company privates total, £332 1s 8d Fourth Company Solomon St Maurice, captain, £59 6s 3d Charles Ross Stewart, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Charles Ross Stewart, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Charles Ross Stewart, house rent, £2 10s 0d Charles Ross Stewart total, £36 14s 4½d Thomas Statham, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Thomas Statham, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Statham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Statham total, £36 14s 4½d Walter Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Walter Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Walter Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Walter Greentree total, £36 14s 4½d Sergeants Hatton Walker, £7 13s 4d William Clifton, £7 13s 4d Samuel Johnson, £7 13s 4d William Foley, £7 13s 4d John Payne, £7 13s 4d Robert Green, from 6 July, £7 5s 0d John Kelley, to 5 July, £0 8s 4d Sergeants total, £46 0s 0d Corporals William Johnson, £5 7s 4d John Power, £5 7s 4d John Deane, £5 7s 4d Robert Green, to 5 July, £0 5s 10d Thomas Griffiths, to 5 July, £0 5s 10d Daniel Ashton, from 6 July, £5 1s 6d Thomas Ford, from 6 July, £5 1s 6d Thomas Mann, to 6 September, £3 19s 4d James York, from 7 September, £1 8s 0d Corporals total, £32 4s 0d Carried forward, £3,152 14s 5d **Interpretations** James Smith's pay stopped on 27 August 1779, when he went missing. He was the fourth man named in the Council's reward notice of 30 September 1779. With Patrick McLaughlin, Edward Welch and James Campbell, four soldiers vanished between late August and mid-September, as ships gathered in the road for the homeward passage. The Fourth Company's lists show how one vacancy at the top set off a chain of promotions. When Sergeant John Kelley left on 5 July 1779, Corporal Robert Green was promoted to sergeant the next day. Corporal Thomas Griffiths left the rank on the same

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 7 4 John Deane 5 7 4 Robert Green to 5th July . 5 10 Thomas Griffiths to 5th Do. . 5 10 Daniel Ashton from 6 Do. 5 1 6 Thomas Ford from 6th July 5 1 6 Thomas Morom to 6th Sept. 3 19 4 James York from 7th Do. 1 8 . 32 4 . Carried over £ 3152 14 5	date. Privates Daniel Ashton and Thomas Ford took the two vacant corporals' places, also from 6 July. Each step was paid from its exact day, so no extra cost fell on the Company beyond the higher rate earned by the men moving up.
149	145	1779 Brought over £ 3152 14 5 Drummers Viz. William Venn 5 15 4 James Johnson 5 15 4 James Hodge 5 15 4 16 2 . Private Viz. James Anderson 3 16 8 John Arden 3 16 8 Jeremiah Abbott 3 16 8 John Allen 3 16 8 Jacob Bull 3 16 8 John Blenkinson 3 16 8 Frederick John Board 3 16 8 Jeffery Bird 3 16 8 Robert Bond 3 16 8 Thomas Brown 3 16 8 William Bradford 3 16 8 William Bailey 3 16 8 John Cole 3 16 8 Benjamin Courtney 3 16 8 James Bracey 3 16 8 James Collins 3 16 8 Thomas Cash 3 16 8 Maurice Downey 3 16 8 Robert Downs 3 16 8 Frederick Dilley 3 16 8 Joseph Eales 3 16 8 Thomas Frowis 3 16 8 John Grey	The pay list for the Fourth Company in the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with its drummers and the first part of its privates. Brought forward, £3,152 14s 5d Drummers William Venn, £5 7s 4d James Johnson, £5 7s 4d James Budge, £5 7s 4d Drummers total, £16 2s 0d Privates James Anderson, £3 16s 8d John Arden, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Abbot, £3 16s 8d John Allen, £3 16s 8d Jacob Bull, £3 16s 8d John Blinkern, £3 16s 8d Frederick John Board, £3 16s 8d Jeffery Bond, £3 16s 8d Robert Bond, £3 16s 8d Thomas Broom, £3 16s 8d William Bridgford, £3 16s 8d William Bailey, £3 16s 8d John Cook, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Courtney, £3 16s 8d James Covey, £3 16s 8d James Collins, £3 16s 8d Thomas Cash, £3 16s 8d Maurice Downey, £3 16s 8d Robert Downs, £3 16s 8d Frederick Dyley, £3 16s 8d Joseph Eales, £3 16s 8d Thomas Ferris, £3 16s 8d John Gray, £3 16s 8d Owen Griffiths, £3 16s 8d John Grimaldi, £3 16s 8d Edward Giles, £3 16s 8d William Edwards, £3 16s 8d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 8d Joseph Holloway, £3 16s 8d Peter Higgins, £3 16s 8d Edward Hazell, £3 16s 8d Samuel Harmont, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £122 13s 4d Carried forward, £3,168 16s 5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 8 Owen Griffiths 3 16 8 John Grimaldi 3 16 8 Edward Giles 3 16 8 William Edwards 3 16 8 Felix Hyder 3 16 8 Joseph Holloway 3 16 8 Peter Higgins 3 16 8 Edward Hazell 3 16 8 Samuel Hammond Private Carried over £ 122 13 4 Carried over £ 3168 16 5	
150	146	18 October Brought over £ 3168 16 5 Private Brought over £ 122 13 4 John Howe 3 16 8 William Hamilton 3 16 8 William Hardeson 3 16 8 Luker Holt 3 16 8 Joseph Hand 3 16 8 Lewis Hendrick 3 16 8 Peter Hubart 3 16 8 Thomas Hayes 3 16 8 John Jacks 3 16 8 William Jameson 3 16 8 Richard Jonson 3 16 8 John Jones 3 16 8 James Kempt 3 16 8 Edward Lamburn 3 16 8 Richard Lowe 3 16 8 John Lamb 3 16 8 Richard Moyce 3 16 8 Thomas Morris 3 16 8 Charles Harris 3 16 8 Charles Manifree 3 16 8 John Moody 3 16 8 James Martin 3 16 8 Peter McCordell 3 16 8 Andrew Nelling 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,168 16s 5d Privates brought forward, £122 13s 4d John Howe, £3 16s 8d William Hamilton, £3 16s 8d William Hardison, £3 16s 8d Luther Holt, £3 16s 8d Joseph Hand, £3 16s 8d Lewis Hendrick, £3 16s 8d Peter Hubbart, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hayes, £3 16s 8d John Jacks, £3 16s 8d William Jameson, £3 16s 8d Richard Jamson, £3 16s 8d John Jones, £3 16s 8d James Kempt, £3 16s 8d Edward Lamburn, £3 16s 8d Richard Lowe, £3 16s 8d John Lamb, £3 16s 8d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 8d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 8d Charles Morris, £3 16s 8d Charles Mansfield, £3 16s 8d John Moody, £3 16s 8d James Martin, £3 16s 8d Peter McCardell, £3 16s 8d Andrew Nutting, £3 16s 8d Thomas Owens, £3 16s 8d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 8d William Perkiss, £3 16s 8d William Powell, £3 16s 8d Walter Pritchard, £3 16s 8d Richard Pratt, £3 16s 8d James Proctor, £3 16s 8d Richard Peck, £3 16s 8d John Parsons, £3 16s 8d Oliver Perry, £3 16s 8d Edward Riley, £3 16s 8d William Rowlands, £3 16s 8d Joshua Roberts, £3 16s 8d Adam Scott, £3 16s 8d Arthur Snell, £3 16s 8d Stephen Seymore, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £276 10s 0d Carried forward, £3,168 16s 5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Owens 3 16 8 Thomas Perry 3 16 8 William Pitchis 3 16 8 William Powell 3 16 8 Walter Pritchard 3 16 8 Richard Pratt 3 16 8 James Porter 3 16 8 Richard Peck 3 16 8 John Parsons 3 16 8 Oliver Perry 3 16 8 Edward Rayley 3 16 8 William Rowlands 3 16 8 Joshua Roberts 3 16 8 Adam Scott 3 16 8 Arthur Shell 3 16 8 Stephen Seymore 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 276 10 . Carried over £ 3168 16 5	
151	147	1779 Brought over £ 3168 16 5 Private Brought over £ 276 10 . David Stores 3 16 8 Andrew Sherman 3 16 8 Thomas Stowe 3 16 8 Francis Chambers 3 16 8 Thomas Tyler 3 16 8 Jeremiah Tidbell 3 16 8 Thomas Ward 3 16 8 William Waller 3 16 8 James Wood 3 16 8 John Williams 3 16 8 Robert Watson 3 16 8 William Smith 3 16 8 Daniel Ashton to 5th July . 4 2 Thomas Ford to Do. . 4 2 John Kelly from 6th Do. 3 12 6 Thomas Griffiths 3 12 6 Richard Smith Fifer Entertained 5th August 2 7 6	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 concluded with these names, and the pay list then moved to the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £3,168 16s 5d Privates brought forward, £276 10s 0d David Stow, £3 16s 8d Andrew Sherman, £3 16s 8d Thomas Stowe, £3 16s 8d Francis Shamber, £3 16s 8d Thomas Tyler, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Tittell, £3 16s 8d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 8d William Waller, £3 16s 8d James Wood, £3 16s 8d John Williams, £3 16s 8d Robert Watson, £3 16s 8d William Smith, £3 16s 8d Daniel Ashton, to 5 July, £0 4s 2d Thomas Ford, to 5 July, £0 4s 2d John Kelly, from 6 July, £3 12s 6d Thomas Griffiths, from 6 July, £3 12s 6d Richard Smith, fifer, enlisted 5 August, £2 7s 6d James York, to 6 September, £2 16s 8d Thomas Mann, from 7 September, £1 0s 0d Winter Benniah, discharged 13 September, £3 2s 6d Charles Edgils, died 16 September, £3 5s 0d Fourth Company privates total, £342 5s 0d Artillery Company William Pierce, captain, £59 6s 3d John Leech, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d John Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Leech total, £34 4s 4½d Robert Hodson, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Robert Hodson, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Hodson total, £34 4s 4½d Sergeants John Turner, £9 4s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James York to 6th Sept. 2 16 8 Thomas Morom from 7th Do. 1 . . Winter Bomiah Discharged 13 Do. 3 2 6 Charles Edgils DD 16th Do. 3 5 . 342 5 . Artillery Company Viz. William Pierce Captain 59 6 3 John Leech Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Robert Hodson Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Serjeants Viz. John Turner 9 4 . John Smith 9 4 . John Love 9 4 . John Blackwell 9 4 . James Beard 9 4 . Thomas Kelley 9 4 . 55 4 . Carried over £ 3694 . 5	John Smith, £9 4s 0d John Love, £9 4s 0d John Blackwell, £9 4s 0d James Beard, £9 4s 0d Thomas Tilley, £9 4s 0d Sergeants total, £55 4s 0d Carried forward, £3,694 0s 5d **Interpretations** The privates' list completed the movements recorded among the corporals. John Kelly, the sergeant who had left that rank on 5 July 1779, returned to the ranks as a private the next day, and Thomas Griffiths did the same. Both had been reduced two steps at once. Thomas Mann went back to private on 7 September 1779 after losing his corporal's stripes. James York made the opposite move on the same date. The paired entries let the Council see, line by line, that no man was paid twice for the same day and that every promotion had a matching reduction or departure.
152	148	18 October Brought over £ 3694 . 5 Corporals Viz. George Dickon 6 18 . John Pagle 6 18 . William Stapleford 6 18 . John McNabb 6 18 . James Benton 6 18 . Thomas Wade 6 18 . 41 8 . Bombardiers Viz. Maynard Hayes 6 18 . John Chalmers 6 18 . Charles Abraham 6 18 . Thomas Richardson 6 18 . 27 12 . Gunners Viz. Thomas Ailsworth 6 2 8 Samuel Pengrow 6 2 8 James Jennings 6 2 8 Thomas Venn 6 2 8 Richard Waterhouse	The pay list for the Artillery Company in the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with its corporals, bombardiers, gunners, drummers and the first of its matrosses. Brought forward, £3,694 0s 5d Corporals George Dixon, £6 18s 0d John Pagle, £6 18s 0d William Stapleford, £6 18s 0d John McNell, £6 18s 0d James Benton, £6 18s 0d Thomas Wade, £6 18s 0d Corporals total, £41 8s 0d Bombardiers Maynard Hayes, £6 18s 0d John Chalmers, £6 18s 0d Charles Abraham, £6 18s 0d Thomas Richardson, £6 18s 0d Bombardiers total, £27 12s 0d Gunners Thomas Ailsworth, £6 2s 8d Samuel Pengrove, £6 2s 8d James Jennings, £6 2s 8d Thomas Venn, £6 2s 8d Richard Waterhouse, £6 2s 8d Thomas Jones, £6 2s 8d John Wilkinson, £6 2s 8d George Thomas, discharged 13 September, £5 0s 0d Francis Jones, from 14 September, £1 2s 8d Gunners total, £49 1s 4d Drummers Joseph Brannon, £5 7s 4d James Goodwin, £5 7s 4d Daniel Porter, £5 7s 4d Drummers total, £16 2s 0d Matrosses

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 2 8 Thomas Jones 6 2 8 John Wilkinson 6 2 8 George Thomas Discharg'd 13 Sept. 6 2 8 Francis Jones from 14th Do. 6 2 8 49 1 4 Drummers Viz. Joseph Brannon 5 7 4 James Goodwin 5 7 4 Daniel Porter 5 7 4 16 2 . Matrosses Viz. William Allen 4 12 . James Anderson 4 12 . Joseph Bowman 4 12 . John Burchard 4 12 . Stephen Burnett 4 12 . Thomas Bowen 4 12 . Thomas Blake 4 12 . Matrosses Carried over £ 32 4 . Carried over £ 3828 3 9	William Allen, £4 12s 0d James Anderson, £4 12s 0d Joseph Bowman, £4 12s 0d John Burchard, £4 12s 0d Stephen Burnett, £4 12s 0d Thomas Bowen, £4 12s 0d Thomas Blake, £4 12s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £32 4s 0d Carried forward, £3,828 3s 9d **Interpretations** George Thomas's pay ended on 13 September 1779, the day the Council granted his petition to leave and accepted John Lemon and Richard Ackers from the *Warwick* as substitutes for him and George Dadd. Francis Jones took up the vacant gunner's place the next day. Thomas had been rated a gunner here, a higher grade than the matross he called himself in his petition. His place among the trained gunners was filled from inside the company, while the naval deserters entered at the bottom as matrosses.
153	149	1779 Brought over £ 3828 3 9 Matrosses Brought over £ 32 4 . James Bytham 4 12 . James Bumfield 4 12 . Benjn. Burton 4 12 . John Cope 4 12 . John Coleman 4 12 . Mattw. Craven 4 12 . John Corbett 4 12 . Thomas Connell 4 12 . Andw. Clark 4 12 . Isaac Clark 4 12 . Robert Coleman 4 12 . Jas. Crookshanks 4 12 . Robt. Cunningham 4 12 . Thomas Dowman 4 12 . Joseph Dayley 4 12 . Michl. Davis 4 12 . Joseph Fellows	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,828 3s 9d Matrosses brought forward, £32 4s 0d James Bytham, £4 12s 0d James Bampfield, £4 12s 0d Benjamin Burton, £4 12s 0d John Cope, £4 12s 0d John Coleman, £4 12s 0d Matthew Craven, £4 12s 0d John Corbett, £4 12s 0d Thomas Connell, £4 12s 0d Anthony Clark, £4 12s 0d Isaac Clark, £4 12s 0d Robert Coleman, £4 12s 0d James Crookshanks, £4 12s 0d Robert Cunningham, £4 12s 0d Thomas Dowman, £4 12s 0d Joseph Dayley, £4 12s 0d Michael Davis, £4 12s 0d Joseph Fellows, £4 12s 0d William Faircliff, £4 12s 0d John Feake, £4 12s 0d Thomas Fox, £4 12s 0d Henry French, £4 12s 0d Christopher Greenawald, £4 12s 0d Richard Gibbs, £4 12s 0d John Gunn, £4 12s 0d Owen Howard, £4 12s 0d Miles Hooper, £4 12s 0d John Hyde, £4 12s 0d John Haywood, £4 12s 0d William Hamilton, £4 12s 0d John Holt, £4 12s 0d John Hawkes, £4 12s 0d William Holloway, £4 12s 0d Michael Holmes, £4 12s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 12 . William Fairclough 4 12 . John Feake 4 12 . Thos. Fox 4 12 . Henry French 4 12 . Chris. Greenawald 4 12 . Richd. Gibbs 4 12 . John Gunn 4 12 . Owen Howard 4 12 . Miller Hooper 4 12 . John Hyde 4 12 . John Haywood 4 12 . Willm. Hamilton 4 12 . John Holt 4 12 . John Hawks 4 12 . Willm. Holloway 4 12 . Michl. Holmes 4 12 . John Johnson 4 12 . Sutton Isacke 4 12 . Willm. Kirby 4 12 . Willm. Long 4 12 . Matrosses carried over £ 202 8 . Carried over £ 3828 3 9	John Johnson, £4 12s 0d Sutton Isaacke, £4 12s 0d William Kirby, £4 12s 0d William Long, £4 12s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £202 8s 0d Carried forward, £3,828 3s 9d
154	150	18th October Brought over £ 3828 3 9 Matrosses Brought over £ 202 8 . Israel Limbla 4 12 . John Lane 4 12 . Eaves Martin 4 12 . Patrick Murphy 4 12 . Patrick McDonald 4 12 . Mattw. Monk 4 12 . Richd. Mason 4 12 . Peter McKenzie 4 12 . Danl. McLane 4 12 . Danl. Morgan 4 12 . Thomas Nimble 4 12 . John Packer 4 12 . Jas. Price	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,828 3s 9d Matrosses brought forward, £202 8s 0d Israel Lumbla, £4 12s 0d John Lane, £4 12s 0d Isaac Martin, £4 12s 0d Patrick Murphy, £4 12s 0d Patrick McDonald, £4 12s 0d Matthew Monk, £4 12s 0d Richard Mason, £4 12s 0d Peter McKenzie, £4 12s 0d Daniel McLane, £4 12s 0d Daniel Morgan, £4 12s 0d Thomas Nimble, £4 12s 0d John Parker, £4 12s 0d James Price, £4 12s 0d Joseph Poole, £4 12s 0d John Peters, £4 12s 0d Samuel Parker, £4 12s 0d Thomas Price, £4 12s 0d Robert Riley, £4 12s 0d Richard Rowlands, £4 12s 0d Hugh Ross, £4 12s 0d John Reed, £4 12s 0d William Smith, £4 12s 0d Richard Smith, £4 12s 0d William Shore, £4 12s 0d Andrew Stark, £4 12s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 12 . Joseph Poole 4 12 . John Peters 4 12 . Samuel Packer 4 12 . Thomas Pierce 4 12 . Robt. Ripley 4 12 . Richard Rowlands 4 12 . Hugh Ross 4 12 . John Reed 4 12 . William Smith 4 12 . Richd. Smith 4 12 . Willm. Shore 4 12 . Andrew Stark 4 12 . Thos. Snarden 4 12 . John Stockdale 4 12 . George Stead 4 12 . John Simpson Senr. 4 12 . John Thompson Junr. 4 12 . Ralph Tadman 4 12 . Willm. Tucker 4 12 . Robt. Wood 4 12 . Willm. Weedon 4 12 . Edward Ware 4 12 . Willm. Weaver 4 12 . Francis Walker 4 12 . John White 4 12 . Matrosses Carried over £ 377 4 . Carried over £ 3828 3 9	Thomas Snarden, £4 12s 0d John Stockdale, £4 12s 0d George Street, £4 12s 0d John Simpson senior, £4 12s 0d John Thompson junior, £4 12s 0d Ralph Tudman, £4 12s 0d William Tucker, £4 12s 0d Robert Wood, £4 12s 0d William Weedon, £4 12s 0d Edward Ware, £4 12s 0d William Weaver, £4 12s 0d Francis Walker, £4 12s 0d John White, £4 12s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £377 4s 0d Carried forward, £3,828 3s 9d
155	151	1779 Brought over £ 3828 3 9 Matrosses Brought over £ 377 4 . James Wellington 4 12 . James Walker 4 12 . Willm. Warner 4 12 . Robert Walton 4 12 . John Wilson 4 12 . Joseph Wilson 4 12 . Willm. Gifsing fife 4 12 . Willm. Lawrence Disd. 10th August	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 concluded with these names, and the pay list closed with the pensioners. Brought forward, £3,828 3s 9d Matrosses brought forward, £377 4s 0d James Wellington, £4 12s 0d James Walker, £4 12s 0d William Warner, £4 12s 0d Robert Walton, £4 12s 0d John Wilson, £4 12s 0d Joseph Willson, £4 12s 0d William Gissing, fifer, £4 12s 0d William Lawrence, discharged 10 August, £2 1s 0d Robert Catchpole, enlisted 11 August, £2 11s 0d Finly McKinnon, enlisted 9 September, £1 2s 0d George Dadd, discharged 13 September, £3 15s 0d

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		2 1 . Robt. Catchpole Entd. 11th Do. 2 11 . Finly McKinnon Entd. 9th September 1 2 . George Dadd Disd. 13th Do. 3 15 . Richd. Ackers Entd. 14th Do. . 17 . Francis Jones to 13th Do. 3 15 . John Lemmon Entd. 14 Do. . 17 . 424 6 . Pensioners Viz. Mary Beale 7 10 . Elizth. Kennedy 7 10 . Elizth. Powell 6 5 . 21 5 . £ 4273 14 9 **Margin Notes:** 66	Richard Ackers, enlisted 14 September, £0 17s 0d Francis Jones, to 13 September, £3 15s 0d John Lemmon, enlisted 14 September, £0 17s 0d Artillery Company matrosses total, £424 6s 0d Pensioners Mary Beale, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Powell, £6 5s 0d Pensioners total, £21 5s 0d Total for the quarter, £4,273 14s 9d **Interpretations** The matrosses' list recorded the exchanges the Council had approved during the quarter, each on its exact day. William Lawrence left on 10 August 1779 and Robert Catchpole, the Bengal recruit who took his place, joined the next day. George Dadd left on 13 September 1779, and Richard Ackers and John Lemmon, the two seamen from the *Warwick*, joined on the 14th. Francis Jones moved up to gunner on the same date to replace George Thomas. Every substitution therefore cost the Company exactly the same number of days' pay as the man it replaced. Philip Mahony no longer appeared among the pensioners. He had bought a bill on London for £80 0s 0d in June 1779 and had probably sailed home with that month's fleet, which removed the largest pension from the list. The full establishment cost £4,273 14s 9d for the quarter, about £64 less than in the June quarter despite the extra day.
156	152	18 October Dr. Willm. Wrangham 1779 Septr. To Cash received from the Chest £ 5435 14 8 Carried over £ 5435 14 8	William Wrangham, the paymaster, opened his account for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 with a single sum drawn from the treasury chest in September. Cash received from the treasury chest, September 1779, £5,435 14s 5d Receipts carried forward, £5,435 14s 5d
157	153	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 July By Cash paid for taking Tom Rouge, April and Tom three Blacks who broke out of Prison 1 10 . By Do. paid the Midwife for Delivering three of the Honble. Company's Slave Women 1 10 . By Do. paid for work in the Honble. Company's Plantations and bringing Yams for the Garrison 20 6 6 By Do. paid the Executors of Gabl. Harper decd. for his Attendance and Labourers work done and taking an Account of the Inhabitants Stocks of Sheep and Goats 10 1 . By Do. paid for Curtains for the Church 4 10 . By Do. paid Wm. Wrangham for 1008 Gallons Train Oil @ 5/ P Gallon 252 . . By Do. paid Mass Serge his Usual Allowance 2 10 . By Do. paid for Apprehending Seamen who had absconded from his Majesty's Ship Warwick 6 . . By Do. paid Mr. Laird Surgeon of the Earl of Talbot for Medicines 43 14 7 By Do. paid the Coroner for an Inquest on the Body of Charles Edgills Soldier Decd. 1 5 . By Do. paid Willm. Warner for Assisting in the Hospital 2 10 .	The paymaster's payments for July 1779 ran as follows. For recapturing Tom Ponge, April and Tom, three black men who had broken out of prison, £1 10s 0d The midwife, for delivering three of the Company's slave women, £1 10s 0d For work on the Company's plantations and carrying yams for the garrison, £20 6s 6d The executors of the late Gabriel Harper, for his attendance and labourers' work in taking a count of the inhabitants' sheep and goats, £10 1s 0d Curtains for the church, £4 10s 0d William Wrangham, for 1,008 gallons of train oil at 5s a gallon, £252 0s 0d Mrs Sarge, her regular allowance, £2 10s 0d For catching seamen who had deserted from HMS Warwick, £6 0s 0d Mr Laird, surgeon of the Earl Talbot, for medicines, £43 14s 7d The coroner, for an inquest on the body of Charles Edgils, a soldier, £1 5s 0d William Warner, for assisting in the hospital, £9 10s 0d Julio Fabreance, for repairing the boats, 92 days at 2s 6d a day, £11 10s 0d Quarterly annuities, 92 days each at 1s 2d a day The widow Shirley, £5 7s 4d The widow Bazett, £5 7s 4d The widow Caldwell, £5 7s 4d Annuities total, £16 2s 0d 13 sheep for the Company's flock, £13 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, surgeon, for the difference between the value of 56 sheep at 20s and 12 goats at 10s and their value by weight at 3d a pound, £33 14s 1d For repairing the Governor's saddlery, £0 13s 6d

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		By Do. Paid Julio Fabrono for repairing the Boats 92 days @ 2/6 P Day 11 10 . By Do. Paid the following Annuity's 92 days Each at 1/2 P day Viz. The Widow Shirtley £ 5 7 4 The Widow Bazett 5 7 4 The Widow Caldwell 5 7 4 16 2 . By Do. Paid for 132 Sheep for the Stock 13 . . By Do. Paid Thomas Stroud Surgeon for the Difference of the Value of 56 Sheeps at 20/ and 12 Goats at 10/ and their Weight at 5 P lb. 33 14 1 By Do. Paid for repairing the Governors Sentry . 15 6 Carried over £ 422 6 8	Payments carried forward, £422 6s 5d **Interpretations** The Company paid the medicine bill of £43 14s 7d to Mr Laird, surgeon of the *Earl Talbot*. This was the chest Thomas Stroud had asked to buy in August at a 75 per cent markup. Laird then remitted £150 0s 0d to London by bill of exchange in September. His profit from the island's need was therefore turned at once into a draft on the Company's own treasury in London. William Warner, the matross who witnessed James Bryce's will in the hospital, appeared here as paid hospital help. That supports the view that soldiers from the garrison were assigned to nurse the sick. Gabriel Harper's executors were paid for his work in counting the inhabitants' sheep and goats. That count was part of the livestock returns the Council had ordered in August to measure the drought's damage. Harper died before he was paid, so the fee went to his estate. The payment to Thomas Stroud settled a livestock transaction priced in two ways. Sheep and goats were valued per head and again by weight, and the Company paid him the gap. Stroud was evidently a flock owner as well as surgeon, and the Company had taken his animals, probably for the ships or the table, on terms that protected him from the low weights of drought-starved stock.
158	154	18th October Dr. Willm. Wrangham 1779 Septr. To Cash received from the Chest Brought over £ 5435 14 3 Carried over £ 5435 14 3	William Wrangham's receipts showed no further cash in September 1779. He carried the sum drawn from the treasury chest forward to the next page of his account. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, September 1779, £5,435 11s 3d Receipts carried forward, £5,435 11s 3d
159	155	1779 Paymaster Cr. Brought over£ 422 6 8 By Cash paid for 12 Young Apple Trees for the Garden in the Long Wood 1 3 . By Do. Paid for baking 160 Batches Bread for the Garrison at 1/9 P 14 14 . By Do. Paid for 8 Load Wood for Do. . 10 . By Do. Paid Mr. John Doveton his Fees on the Tryals of Chatham and Dick . 19 8 By Do. paid Do. for drawing three Precepts . 15 . By Do. Paid the Clerk of Arraignments . 7 6 By Do. paid the Cryer of the Court of Justice . 5 . By Do. paid for 60 lbs. of Soap for the Use of the Castle 3 15 . By Do. paid Rent of a Room to hold the Quarterly Sessions 3 . . By Do. paid the Lieutenant Governor for Mutton 3 . . By Do. paid the Sexton for making Graves for 9 deceased Soldiers . 6 . By Do. paid the following men for enlisting to serve the Honble. Company 5 Years longer as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War their respective times to commence as follows Viz. Jacob Peters 2 July 1779 £ 15 . .	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £422 6s 5d 12 young apple trees for the garden at Longwood, £3 0s 0d For baking 160 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 9d a batch, £14 0s 0d 8 loads of wood for the baking, £0 10s 0d John Doveton, his fees for the trials of Chatham and Dick, £0 19s 8d John Doveton, for drawing three warrants, £0 15s 0d The clerk of arraignments, £0 7s 6d The crier of the Court of Justice, £0 5s 0d Soap for the Castle, 60 lb, £3 15s 0d Rent of a room to hold the quarterly courts, £3 0s 0d The Lieutenant Governor, for mutton, £3 0s 0d The sexton, for digging graves for 2 soldiers who had died, £0 6s 0d Bounties to men re-enlisting for a further five years as soldiers under the Articles of War Jacob Peters, service from 2 July 1779, £15 0s 0d John Gash, service from 12 September 1779, £15 0s 0d John Pagle, service from 12 September 1779, £15 0s 0d Re-enlistment bounties total, £45 0s 0d Bounties to men enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five years under the Articles of War James McDonald, service from 6 July 1779, £15 0s 0d Richard Smith, service from 7 August 1779, £2 0s 0d Edward Welch, service from 16 August 1779, £10 0s 0d Thomas Robinson, service from 16 August 1779, £10 0s 0d

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		John Gazell 12 Sept. 15 . . John Pagle Do. 15 . . 45 . . By Do. paid the following men for Enlisting to serve the Honble. Company five Years as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War their Respective times to commence as follows Viz. James McDonald 6 July 1779 £ 15 . . Richard Smith 7 Aug. 2 . . Edward Welch 16 Do. 10 . . Thos. Robinson 16 Do. 10 . . James Campbell 16 Do. 10 . . Finley McKinnon 9 Sept. 15 . . 62 . . Carried over £ 559 17 10	James Campbell, service from 16 August 1779, £10 0s 0d Finley McKinnon, service from 9 September 1779, £15 0s 0d Enlistment bounties total, £62 0s 0d Payments carried forward, £559 17s 11d **Interpretations** The Company paid the clerk of the peace for the trials of Chatham and Dick. Their single names mark them almost certainly as slaves. Criminal trials of slaves were conducted at public expense through the island's own court, with the Company meeting the clerk's fees. This matches the practice already seen in the marshal's account, where the Company paid for punishing planters' slaves as well as its own. The state, not the owner, judged and disciplined the slave population. The bounty list shows the full cost of the summer's two desertions. Edward Welch and James Campbell each received £10 0s 0d on enlisting on 16 August 1779. Welch served ten days and Campbell a month before both vanished, so the Company lost £20 0s 0d in bounties for about 41 days of service. Richard Smith received only £2 0s 0d, a fraction of the usual sum. He was the fifer enlisted on 5 August 1779, probably a boy taken on to play in the band, whose bounty was scaled to his age and rank. The twelve apple trees for Longwood show the Council beginning to plant for the island's longer-term food supply as the worst of the shortage passed.
160	156	18 October Dr. William Wrangham 1779 Sept. To Cash Received from the Chest Brot. over £ 5463 14 3 Carried over £ 5463 14 3	For September 1779, the receipts page of William Wrangham's account again recorded no new cash. He carried the balance forward unchanged. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, September 1779, £5,463 14s 3d Receipts carried forward, £5,463 14s 3d
161	157	1779 Paymaster Cr. 1779 Sept. Brought over £ 559 17 10 By Cash paid for the following for Capt. Collings of his Majesty's Ship Warwick Viz. 1 Chest of Clarett 56 6 17 3 Dozen and 5 Fowls 3 . 6 13 Ducks . 19 6 4 Geese 1 . 0 2 Turkeys 0 10 0 4 Hogs wt. 181 lb. 3 0 4 20 Pumpkins 1 10 0 2 Sheep 2 0 0 70 6 11 By Do. paid for the following work done at the Castle Viz. 22 days Carpenters at 1/6 £ 1 13 . 6 Do. Smiths at 1/6 . 9 . 5 Do. Painters at 1/6 . 10 . 2 12 . By Do. paid for the following for the Use of the Castle 4 panes of Glass 10 by 16 £ . 12 . 16 lb. Soap 1 . .	The paymaster's payments for September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £559 17s 10d For Captain Collins of HMS *Warwick*: 1 chest of claret, £56 6s 7d 3 dozen and 5 fowls, £3 0s 6d 13 ducks, £0 19s 6d 4 geese, £1 0s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 4 hogs weighing 181 lb, £3 0s 4d 20 pumpkins, £1 10s 0d 2 sheep, £2 0s 0d Total for Captain Collins, £70 6s 11d Work at the Castle Carpenters, 22 days at 1s 6d, £1 13s 0d Smiths, 6 days at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d Painters, 5 days at 2s, £0 10s 0d Castle work total, £2 12s 0d Supplies for the Castle 4 panes of glass, 10 by 16 inches, £0 12s 0d Soap, 16 lb, £1 0s 0d Bottles, 22 dozen, £2 2s 0d Castle supplies total, £3 14s 0d Work at Buttermilk Point Masons, 62 days at 1s 6d, £4 13s 0d Stone blowers, 673 days at 1s 6d, £50 12s 6d Smiths, 97 days at 1s 6d, £7 5s 6d Carpenters, 11 days at 1s 6d, £0 16s 6d First overseers, 73 days at 1s 6d, £5 10s 3d Second overseers, 39 days at 2s, £3 19s 0d Stone blowers, 86½ days at 1s 3d, £5 8s 1½d Labourers, 2,133 days at 1s, £106 13s 0d Labourers, 194½ days at 1s 6d, £14 11s 9d Buttermilk Point total, £199 9s 7d Work burning and carrying lime Lime burners, 49 days at 1s 6d, £3 13s 6d Labourers, 73 days at 1s, £3 13s 0d

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		22 Dozen Bottles 2 2 . 3 14 . By Do. paid for the following Work done at Butter Milk Point Viz. 62 days Masons @ 1/6 £ 4 13 . 693 Do. Stone blowers at 1/6 50 12 6 97 Do. Smiths at 1/6 7 5 6 11 Do. Carpenters @ 1/6 . 16 6 73 ½ Do. Overseers @ 1/6 5 10 3 39 ½ Do. Do. @ 2/ 3 19 . 96½ Do. Stoneblowers at 1/3 5 . 8½ 2733 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 106 13 . 194½ Do. Do. @ 1/6 14 11 9 199 9 7 By Do. paid for the following work done burning & bringing Lime Viz. 49 Days Lime burners @ 1/6 £ 3 13 6 73 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 3 13 . 7 6 6 Carried over 843 8 10	Lime total, £7 6s 6d Payments carried forward, £843 8s 10d **Interpretations** The Company bought Captain Collins a chest of claret, poultry, pigs, sheep and pumpkins worth more than £70 0s 0d. A few weeks earlier, the Council had refused his ship more beef. The obvious course was to leave a King's officer to provide his own table. The Council chose to supply it at public expense. The *Warwick* was about to escort the Company's homeward fleet. Goodwill from her captain mattered to the safety of the ships and their cargoes. Fine wine and fresh food for the captain's own table cost far less than the cattle the island could not spare. They also smoothed over the refusal of beef for his crew. Buttermilk Point was a battery on the coast near James Town. The work there in September dwarfed every other project of the year. More than 2,300 days of labour and over 750 days of stone blowing went into it in a single month. Stone blowers split rock with gunpowder, which explains the powder issued "for the stone blowers" in the artillery accounts. A work on that scale, begun as soon as the worst of the shortage eased, suggests a major new battery or defensive line. Its timing fits the wartime fear of a French attack, kept alive by the frequent alarms of the same months.
162	158	18th October Dr. William Wrangham 1779 Sept. To Cash recd. from the Chest Brought over £ 5463 14 3 Carried over £ 5463 14 3	William Wrangham's receipts for September 1779 recorded no further cash, and he carried the same balance on to the following page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, September 1779, £5,463 14s 3d Receipts carried forward, £5,463 14s 3d
163	159	1779 Paymaster Cr. Brought over 843 8 10 By Cash paid for the following work done at Powells Valley Viz. 4 days Carpenters at 1/6 . 6 . 9 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 . 13 6 13½ Do. Overseers @ 2/ 1 11 . 81½ Do. Labourers @ 1/6 4 1 6 86 Do. Do. @ 1/ 6 9 . 13 1 . By Do. paid for the following work done making Cotts and Coffins Viz. 43 days Carpenters at 1/6 3 7 6 8 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 . 12 . 13 Do. Sailmakers @ 1/6 . 19 6 15 Do. Overseers @ 2/ 1 10 . 6 9 . By Do. paid for the following work done on board the Hind Cutter Viz. 3 days Carpenters @ 1/6 . 4 6 5 Do. Smiths @ 1/6	The paymaster's payments for September 1779 continued with further daily labour on the Company's works. Brought forward, £843 8s 10d Work at Powell's Valley Carpenters, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Smiths, 9 days at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d Overseers, 15½ days at 2s, £1 11s 0d Labourers, 57 days at 1s 6d, £4 5s 6d Labourers, 129 days at 1s, £6 9s 0d Powell's Valley total, £13 5s 0d Work making cots and coffins Carpenters, 45 days at 1s 6d, £3 7s 6d Smiths, 8 days at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d Sailmakers, 13 days at 1s 6d, £0 19s 6d Overseers, 15 days at 2s, £1 10s 0d Cots and coffins total, £6 9s 0d Work on board the Hind cutter Carpenters, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Smiths, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Overseers, 4 days at 2s, £0 8s 0d Labourers, 30 days at 1s, £1 10s 0d Hind cutter total, £2 10s 0d Work making carts for the fortifications Carpenters, 23 days at 1s 6d, £1 14s 6d Smiths, 10 days at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Overseers, 2 days at 2s, £0 4s 0d Carts total, £2 13s 6d Labourers, 86¼ days moving cannon at 1s a day, £4 6s 3d Work repairing the boats Smiths, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Sailmakers, 8 days at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d

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		. 7 6 4 Do. Overseers @ 2/ . 8 . 30 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 1 10 . 2 10 . By Do. paid for the following work done making Carts for the Fortifications Viz. 23 days Carpenters @ 1/6 1 14 6 10 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 . 15 . 2 Do. Overseers @ 2/ . 4 . 2 13 6 By Do. paid 86½ days Labourers work at 1/ P day Transporting Cannon 4 6 3 By Do. paid for the following work done repairing the Boats Viz. 5 days Smiths at 1/6 . 7 6 8 Do. Sailmakers @ 1/6 . 12 . 2 Do. Overseers at 2/ . 4 . 10 Do. Labourers @ 1/ . 10 . 2 1 6 Carried over 874 10 1	Overseers, 2 days at 2s, £0 4s 0d Labourers, 18 days at 1s, £0 18s 0d Boat repairs total, £2 1s 6d Carried forward, £874 14s 1d **Interpretations** The 86 days of labour spent moving cannon, together with new carts built for the fortifications, fit the heavy works recorded at Buttermilk Point in the same month. Guns were being shifted to new or rebuilt positions. Every piece had to be hauled by hand up and along the island's steep roads, so carts and gangs of labourers were as essential to the defences as masons and stone blowers. The *Hind* was refitted between her two voyages to the Cape. The Council had come to depend on her as the island's only vessel able to fetch supplies on its own account.
164	160	18 October Dr. William Wrangham 1779 Sept. To Cash recd. from the Chest Bro. over £ 5463 14 3 Carried over 5463 14 3	No new receipts reached William Wrangham's account in September 1779, so he carried the cash balance forward as it stood. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, September 1779, £5,463 14s 3d Receipts carried forward, £5,463 14s 3d
165	161	1779 Paymaster Cr. Brought over 874 10 1 By Cash paid for the following work done making Gates for the Long Wood Viz. 11 days Carpenters @ 1/6 . 16 6 2 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 . 3 . 2 Do. Overseers @ 2/ . 4 . 1 3 6 By Do. paid for 5 days Smiths work Repairing Tools for the plantation at 1/6 . 7 6 By Do. Paid for the following work done bringing Yams from Sandy Bay Viz. 2 days Overseers @ 2/ . 4 . 57 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 2 17 . 3 1 . By Do. paid for the following work done in the Garden Viz. 11 days Carpenters @ 1/6 . 16 6 5 Do. Sawyers @ 1/6 . 7 6 4 Do. Labourers @ 1/ . 4 . 1 15 6 By Do. paid for 9 days Labourers work Clearing Prosperous Range at 1/ . 9 .	The paymaster's payments for September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £874 14s 1d Work making gates for Longwood Carpenters, 11 days at 1s 6d, £0 16s 6d Smiths, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Overseers, 2 days at 2s, £0 4s 0d Gates total, £1 3s 6d Smiths, 5 days repairing tools for the plantation at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Work carrying yams from Sandy Bay Overseers, 2 days at 2s, £0 4s 0d Labourers, 57 days at 1s, £2 17s 0d Yams total, £3 1s 0d Work in the garden Carpenters, 16 days at 1s 6d, £1 4s 0d Sawyers, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Labourers, 4 days at 1s, £0 4s 0d Garden total, £1 15s 6d Labourers, 9 days clearing Rupert's lines at 1s, £0 9s 0d Carpenters, 12 days' work at the church at 1s 6d, £0 18s 0d Work repairing the Castle Carpenters, 17 days at 1s 6d, £1 5s 6d Sawyers, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Smiths, 6 days at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d Castle total, £2 0s 6d Work carrying goods from the crane Overseers, 7½ days at 1s 6d, £0 11s 3d Labourers, 185 days at 1s, £9 5s 0d Crane total, £9 16s 3d Carpenters, 5 days repairing a machine in the Secretary's office at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Turners, 4 days turning [...] for the artillery at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d

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		By Do. paid for 12 days Carpenters work done at the Crane @ 1/6 . 18 . By Do. paid for the following done repairing the Crane Viz. 19 days Carpenters @ 1/6 1 8 6 4 Do. Sawyers @ 1/6 . 6 . 6 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 . 9 . 2 3 6 By Do. paid for the following work done in bringing goods from the Crane Viz. 7½ days Overseers @ 1/6 . 11 3 185 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 9 5 . 9 16 3 By Do. paid for 5 days Carpenters work repairing a Machine in the Secretary's Office @ 1/6 . 7 6 By Do. for 4 days Turners work turning Sheets for Matches for the Artillery at 1/6 . 6 . By Do. paid for 9 days Carpenters work repairing Banks's Cellars at 1/6 . 13 6 By Do. paid for 78 days Labourers work done at the Lieut. Governors Garden Longwood at 1/ 3 18 . By Do. paid the Marshall & Goaler for Punishments of Compy. and Inhabitants Slaves at 1/3 1 5 . By Do. paid Thos. Yates for his trouble in receiving Yams from the Inhabitants & serving them to the Garrison 2 5 . By Do. paid 12 Expresses upon Alarms 3 . . Carried over 909 4 4	Carpenters, 9 days repairing [...] at Banks's at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d Labourers, 78 days at the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood at 1s, £3 18s 0d The marshal and gaoler, for 20 punishments of the Company's and the inhabitants' slaves at 1s 3d each, £1 5s 0d For collecting yams from the inhabitants and issuing them to the garrison, £2 5s 0d 19 express messengers sent on alarms, £3 0s 0d Carried forward, £909 4s 4d **Interpretations** The marshal was paid 1s 3d for each of 20 punishments of slaves in the quarter, a fixed fee per flogging. The fee made the punishment of slaves a routine public service, charged by the piece like a day's labour. Its cost was so low that it placed no check on how often owners brought their slaves before the authorities. The 19 express messengers sent on alarms show how the island's warning system worked beyond the signal guns. Each alarm sent riders or runners across the island to call out the outlying posts and the planters' militia. With 4 alarms in July, 2 in August and 4 in September, several messengers went out each time.
166	162	18 October Dr. William Wrangham 1779 Sept. To Cash Recd. from the Chest Bro. over £ 5463 14 3 Carried over 5463 14 3	No new receipts were entered for September 1779 on this page of William Wrangham's account. The cash balance passed unchanged to the next page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, September 1779, £5,463 14s 3d Receipts carried forward, £5,463 14s 3d
167	163	1779 Paymaster Cr. Brought over 909 4 4 By Cash paid for the following for the Use of the Governor's table Viz. 561 lb. Beef 12 9 6 1 Kid . 5 . 79 Fowls 5 18 6 4 Turkeys 1 . . 2 Geese . 10 . 67 dozen of Eggs 3 3 6 7 Sheep & ½ 7 3 . 1 Lamb . 10 . 3 Hogs 3 7 4	The paymaster's payments for September 1779 continued with purchases for the Governor's table. Brought forward, £907 4s 4d Provisions for the Governor's table Beef, 561 lb, £12 9s 6d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 79 fowls, £5 18s 6d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d Eggs, 67 dozen, £3 3s 6d 7½ sheep, £7 5s 0d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 3 hogs, £3 7s 4d 19 pigs, £4 15s 0d Butter, 3 firkins, £9 4s 10d Butter, 30 lb, £1 17s 6d 1 Gloucester cheese, £0 16s 0d 3 hams, £2 11s 6d 6 mutton hams, £0 10s 0d 1 tongue, £0 3s 0d 1 case of pickles, £3 3s 0d 1 tub of oranges, £0 10s 0d 1 jar and 40 lb of raisins, £3 11s 8d 1 cask of biscuit, £1 0s 0d

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		19 Pigs 4 15 . 3 Firkins Butter 14 10 . 30 lb. of Butter 1 17 6 1 Gloucester Cheese . 16 . 3 Hams 2 11 6 6 Mutton Hams . 18 . 1 Tongue . 3 . 1 Case of Pickles 3 3 . 1 Tub of Oranges . 10 . 1 Jar and 40 lb. Raisins 3 11 8 1 Cask Biscuit 1 . . 1 Box of Candles 2 6 8 1 Box of Currants 1 17 4 20 lb. of Almonds 1 . . 6 lb. of Coffee . 6 . 1 lb. of Spice . 10 . 20 lb. of Dryed fruit 1 . . 8 Bunches of Plantins 1 . . 650 Lemons . 16 3 1 Cask Rum 20 Gall. @ 7/ 7 . . 1 Cask Gin 2 8 . 1 Do. Vinegar 1 . . 99 10 9 By Do. paid for 92 days Subsistence of George Hatt deceased Soldier @ 6d. P day 2 6 . Carried over £ 1009 1 1	1 box of candles, £2 6s 8d 1 box of currants, £1 17s 4d Almonds, 20 lb, £1 0s 0d Coffee, 6 lb, £0 6s 0d Spice, 1¼ lb, £0 10s 0d Dried fruit, 20 lb, £1 0s 0d 8 bunches of plantains, £1 0s 0d 650 lemons, £0 16s 3d 1 cask of rum, 20 gallons at 7s, £7 0s 0d 1 cask of gin, £2 8s 0d 1 cask of vinegar, £1 0s 0d Governor's table total, £99 10s 9d 92 days' keep of George Smith, a discharged soldier, at 6d a day, £2 6s 0d Carried forward, £1,009 1s 1d **Interpretations** The Governor's table cost nearly £100 0s 0d this quarter, against £72 18s 4d in the quarter ending June. Most of the extra came from goods that only passing ships could supply. Gloucester cheese, hams, firkins of butter, raisins, currants, almonds, coffee, gin and rum had all been bought from the commanders and pursers of the fleet gathered in the road. With the *Warwick*, the China ships and the India ships all waiting at the island through September, the Castle entertained their officers almost nightly. The Governor's table thus served as the Company's hospitality to every commander bound for England. Its cost rose and fell with the number of ships in the road, just as the Madeira at the Company's table did.
168	164	18 October Dr. William Wrangham 1779 Septr. To Cash recd. from the Chest Brought over £ 5433 14 3 £ 5433 14 3	William Wrangham closed the receipts side of his paymaster's account for the quarter ending September 1779 with no further entries. The sum drawn from the treasury chest stood as his total receipts. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, September 1779, £5,433 14s 3d Total receipts for the quarter, £5,433 14s 3d
169	165	1779 Paymaster Cr. Brought over £ 1009 1 1 By Do. advanced the Governor to pay the Hind Cutters Sundry Expences 150 18 5 1159 19 6 Amount of the Pay Account 4273 14 9 £ 5433 14 3 Helena September 1779 Errors Excepted Signed	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 closed as follows. Brought forward, £1,009 1s 1d Advanced to the Governor to pay the Hind cutter's sundry expenses, £150 18s 5d Total payments, £1,159 19s 6d Pay list for the quarter, £4,273 14s 9d Total, £5,433 14s 3d William Wrangham, the paymaster, signed the account at St Helena on 30 September 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The largest single item on this page was £150 18s 5d advanced to the Governor to meet the *Hind* cutter's expenses. That money did not pass through the paymaster's detailed accounts. It went to

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		Willm. Wrangham Paymaster	Governor Skottowe in a lump sum for the costs of the cutter's two voyages to the Cape, her crew's wages and port charges among them. The cutter acted under the Governor's direct orders, often in confidence, so her spending was kept under his personal control rather than itemised in the general ledger. As in June, the paymaster's payments and the pay list together matched exactly what he had drawn from the chest, and he again closed the quarter with nothing in hand.
170	166	18 October Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honble. Company's Ware House from the 1st July to the 30 Sept. 1779 Sold at 10 P Cent Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 30. -. 7 Sugar 75 9 5 22. 2. 13 Candy 52 13 2 127 2 7 Flour Viz. 61. 3. 5 Flour 57 8 10 210. 3. 15 Do. Baked 205 5 . 262 13 10 Rice and Paddy Viz. 8. 1. 17 Rice 3 8 1 4. -. 12 Paddy 1 1 5 4 9 6 Salt 9½ Bushels 1 9 10 Tea Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 3. 13 Single 20 19 9 1. 2. 14 Congo 10 14 10 4. 1. 1 Bohea 15 15 2 23 Cannisters Hyson 9 15 6 10 Do. Souchon 4 5 . 61 10 3 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 3. 3 5 10 3 Beef and Pork Viz. 1040 lb. Beef 104 16 . 4110 lb. Pork 411 . . 515 16 . Blankets 15 Ordinary 5 16 3 Carried over 984 8 6	The storekeeper's account of goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouse between 1 July and 30 September 1779 began as follows. Goods sold at 10 per cent above cost Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 30 cwt 0 qr 7 lb, £75 9s 5d Sugar candy, 22 cwt 2 qr 13 lb, £51 13s 2d Sugar and candy total, £127 2s 7d Flour Flour, 41 cwt 1 qr 5 lb, £57 8s 10d Flour baked into bread, 210 cwt 3 qr 18 lb, £205 5s 0d Flour total, £262 13s 10d Rice and paddy Rice, 8 cwt 1 qr 19 lb, £3 8s 1d Paddy, 4 cwt 0 qr 12 lb, £1 1s 5d Rice and paddy total, £4 9s 6d Salt, 9½ bushels, £1 9s 10d Tea Singlo tea, 0 cwt 3 qr 19 lb, £20 19s 9d Congou tea, 0 cwt 1 qr 14 lb, £10 14s 10d Bohea tea, [...], £15 15s 2d Hyson tea, 23 canisters, £9 15s 6d Souchong tea, 10 canisters, £4 3s 0d Tea total, £61 10s 3d Cordage, 2 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £5 10s 3d Beef and pork Salt beef, 1,048 pieces, £104 16s 0d Salt pork, 4,110 pieces, £411 0s 0d Beef and pork total, £515 16s 0d 15 ordinary blankets, £3 16s 3d Carried forward, £984 8s 6d **Interpretations** Salt pork outsold salt beef by almost four to one, 4,110 pieces against 1,048. The store sold both at the same 2s a piece, so the gap reflects supply, not price. Most of these sales went to the homeward ships. After the drought had cut the island's herds to a fraction, the Council steered the ships towards pork from the stores, as it had done with the *Royal George*, and held back the scarce beef. The 210 cwt of flour sold as baked bread came from the Cape flour landed by the *Hind* in August. It was baked on the island and sold to the ships and the garrison as soon as the bakehouse could turn it out. The tea now on sale included hyson and souchong in canisters, the grades the lieutenants had fought over in July. With the China ships' cargoes landed in late September, the store had tea and sugar to sell again. The rationing that had provoked the officers' protest had served its purpose, because the stock had lasted until the new supply arrived.
171	167	1779 Brought over £ 984 8 6 Leather 1½ Sole . 5 9 Sago 1. 5 1 14 1 Nankeen 735 Pieces 92 8 1 Broad Cloth Viz. 1½ Yds. Crimson 1 7 2	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £984 8s 6d Sole leather, 4½ lb, £0 5s 9d Sago, 1 qr 5 lb, £1 14s 1d Nankeen, 735 pieces, £93 8s 1d Broadcloth Crimson broadcloth, 1¼ yards, £1 7s 2d Black broadcloth, 2½ yards, £2 1s 5d Claret-coloured broadcloth, 1¼ yards, £1 8s 10d Blue cassimere, 3½ yards, £1 13s 11d Broadcloth total, £6 11s 4d

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		2½ Do. Black 2 1 5 1½ Do. Claret Colour 1 8 10 3½ Do. Blue Cassimere 1 13 11 6 11 4 Braziers Ware 4 three quart Tea Kettles 2 9 8 Bunting 6½ Yards Red . 3 1 Books Viz. 2 Small Bibles . 15 10 1 Testament . 2 1 . 17 11 Canvas 9 Yds. English . 11 5 Copper Money 3200 Halfpence 6 13 4 Earthen Ware 2 Milk Pots . . 8 Hats 2 Boys . 13 6 Deals Viz. 1 Double . 4 1 1 Single . 2 1 5 Coffins 1 2 6 5 Elm Boards 1 6 3 ½ Pr. Ashplank 1 3 10 3 18 9 Glass Ware Viz. 1 Square 8 by 10 . . 8 3 Water Glasses . 4 3 1 Salt Glass . 2 10 . 7 11 Hosiery Viz. 161 Prs. Ord. Thread Stockings 27 3 4 3 Prs. Madras Do. No. 1 1 9 6 17 Prs. Do. Do. No. 2 6 13 2 2 Prs. Black Silk Do. 1 16 4 2 Prs. White Do. Do. 2 14 6 7 Prs. Fine Cotton Do. 2 15 5 3 Prs. Womens worsted Do. . 3 1 42 15 4 Carried over £ 1145 1 2	Brass ware, 4 three-quart tea kettles, £2 9s 8d Red bunting, 6½ yards, £0 3s 1d Books 2 small Bibles, £0 15s 10d 1 New Testament, £0 2s 1d Books total, £0 17s 11d English canvas, 9 yards, £0 11s 5d Copper coin, 3,200 halfpence, £6 13s 4d Earthenware, 2 milk jugs, £0 0s 8d 2 boys' hats, £0 13s 6d Deals and timber 1 double deal, £0 4s 1d 1 single deal, £0 2s 1d 5 rafters, £1 2s 6d 5 elm boards, £1 6s 3d Ash plank, 50 feet, £1 5s 10d Deals and timber total, £3 18s 9d Glassware 1 pane of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 0s 8d 3 drinking glasses, £0 4s 3d 1 salt cellar, £0 2s 10d Glassware total, £0 7s 11d Hosiery Men's thread stockings, 161 pairs, £27 3s 4d Thread stockings, number 1, 3 pairs, £1 9s 6d Thread stockings, number 2, 17 pairs, £6 13s 2d Black silk stockings, 2 pairs, £1 16s 4d White silk stockings, 2 pairs, £2 14s 6d Fine cotton stockings, 7 pairs, £2 15s 5d Women's stockings, 5 pairs, £1 3s 1d Hosiery total, £42 15s 4d Carried forward, £1,145 1s 2d **Interpretations** The store sold 3,200 copper halfpence for exactly their face value of £6 13s 4d. It added no markup and treated the coins as money, not as goods. On an island where wages and prices ran in pennies and the Company's own cash notes were too large for daily use, small change was always short. Halfpence shipped from England were released through the store as the means of paying for bread, fowls and a day's labour. Nankeen was a yellowish cotton cloth from Nanking in China, woven from naturally coloured cotton. It was hard-wearing and popular for breeches, waistcoats and summer clothing. The 735 pieces sold in a single quarter show how far the island clothed itself in Chinese cloth brought by the Company's China ships.
172	168	18 October Brought over £ 1145 1 2 Hooks and Lines Viz. 300 No. 6 1 6 0 100 7 . 6 1 125 12 . 2 7 325 13 . 3 6	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,145 1s 2d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 6, 300, £1 6s 0d Fish hooks, number 7, 100, £0 6s 1d Fish hooks, number 12, 175, £0 2s 1d Fish hooks, number 13, 325, £0 3s 6d Fish hooks, number 18, 13, £0 0s 1d Large fish hooks, 22, £0 3s 6d Fishing lines, number 2, 206, £3 3s 0d Fishing lines, number 3, 334, £6 0s 9d

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		Hooks 13 18 . . 7 22 Large . 3 6 Do. 206 No. 2 3 5 0 334 3 6 . 9 10 4 . 7 5 2 Number . 3 . 1 Leg . 1 1 1 Deep Sea . 1 6 1 Deepsea . 3 6 10 lb. Twine . 8 7 3 lb. Cotton Wick . 14 11 Lines 13 11 4 Haberdashery Viz. 6 lb. Silk . 2 6 7 Do. Mohair . 3 6 3 Dozen Mohair Coat Buttons . 4 7 8 Do. Do. Breast Buttons . 3 0 2 Gross Steel . 5 4 2½ Do. white waistcoat Do. . 6 . 4 dozen Spangled Coat Do. . 2 9 2 Do. Do. Breast Do. . 11 . 2 Do. Oval Coat Do. . 7 . 1 oz. Thread No. 17 . 1 0 1 oz. Do. 10 . 1 3 2 9 4 Lead Viz. lb. 26 Sheet . 5 6 12 Shot . 3 0 . 9 1 Iron Ware Viz. 2 Iron rimd Locks with Brass Knobs . 15 6 1 Pr. H Hinges . 3 11 Ironware Carried over £ . 19 5 Carried over £ 1161 10 11	Fishing lines, number 4, 10, £0 7s 5d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 3s 0d 1 log line, £0 1s 1d 1 hand lead line, £0 1s 6d 1 deep-sea line, £0 13s 6d Twine, 10 skeins, £0 2s 7d Cotton wick, 3 lb, £0 14s 11d Hooks and lines total, £13 11s 4d Haberdashery Coloured silk, £0 2s 6d Mohair, £0 3s 6d Mohair coat buttons, 3 dozen, £0 4s 7d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 3s 0d Shirt buttons, 2 gross, £0 5s 4d White metal waistcoat buttons, 2½ gross, £0 6s 0d Plated coat buttons, 4 dozen, £0 2s 9d Plated waistcoat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 0s 11d Oval coat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 0s 7d Thread, number 17, 1 oz, £0 1s 0d Thread, number 18, 1 oz, £0 1s 3d Haberdashery total, £2 9s 4d Lead Sheet lead, 32 lb, £0 5s 5d Lead shot, 12 lb, £0 3s 8d Lead total, £0 9s 1d Ironmongery 2 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £0 15s 6d H-hinges, 1 pair, £0 3s 11d Ironmongery subtotal carried forward, £0 19s 5d Carried forward, £1,161 10s 11d **Interpretations** The store sold over 900 fish hooks and more than 540 fishing lines in a single quarter. That was far more than leisure fishing would need. Fishing had become a main source of food on the island during the meat shortage. Fish could be landed daily from the coast and the boats without drawing on the drought-stricken herds or the Company's scarce salt provisions. The steady demand for hooks and lines of every size shows planters, soldiers and slaves alike turning to the sea for protein.
173	169	1779 Brought over £ 1161 10 11 Ironware Brought over . 19 5 5 Scythe Stones . 1 1 71 lb. Iron . 11 10	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,161 10s 11d Ironmongery brought forward, £0 19s 5d 3 scythe stones, £0 1s 1d Iron, 71 lb, £0 11s 10d 1 grindstone, £0 5s 6d 6 whetstones and a winch, £0 4s 7d Brass chair nails, 1½ hundred, £0 1s 6d

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		1 Grindstone . 5 6 6 Axletrees and winch . 4 11 12 Brass Chair Nails . 1 6 1 Broad Axe . 2 5 1 Pickaxe . 4 5 2 Bolt Rope Needles . . 3 1 Bricklayers Trowel . 1 6 1 Plaisterers Do. . 1 10 1 Coffee Mill . 7 11 4 Axe Helves . 2 8 3 3 . Nails Viz. M 40 3 1 10 . 13 30 . 4 8 4 40 . 1 6 4 Spike . 1 3 3 Scupper . 3 2 1 Glaz. Brads . 1 1 2 2 6 Oil Viz. 45¾ Galls. Train 6 15 4 10 Do. Linseed 2 7 6 19 Bottles Florence 2 15 5 11 18 3 Oars 6 Small 1 4 9 Paint Viz. 5 Indico . 9 7 3 Blue Smalts . 5 4 1 Starch . . 6 2 Logwood . . 7 6 white Lead dry . 2 1 . 18 2 Pewter 1 Bason . 3 3 Carried over £ 1181 . 10	1 broad hoe, £0 2s 3d 1 pickaxe, £0 4s 5d 2 bolt-rope needles, £0 0s 3d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 6d 1 plasterer's trowel, £0 1s 10d 1 coffee mill, £0 7s 11d 4 jack knives, £0 2s 8d Ironmongery total, £3 3s 0d Nails Threepenny nails, 40 lb, £1 10s 0d Nails, size 30, 13 lb, £0 4s 7d Nails, size 40, 4 lb, £0 1s 6d Spikes, 4 lb, £0 1s 3d Scupper nails, 3 lb, £0 3s 3d Glazing brads, 1 lb, £0 1s 1d Nails total, £2 2s 6d Oil Train oil, 45¾ gallons, £6 15s 4d Linseed oil, 10 gallons, £2 7s 6d Florence oil, 19 bottles, £2 15s 5d Oil total, £11 18s 3d 6 small oars, £1 4s 9d Paint Indigo, 3 lb, £0 9s 7d Blue smalts, 3 lb, £0 3s 4d Starch, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Logwood, 2 lb, £0 0s 7d Dry white lead, 6 lb, £0 2s 1d Paint total, £0 18s 2d Pewter, 1 basin, £0 3s 3d Carried forward, £1,181 0s 10d **Interpretations** Indigo, smalts and logwood were dyes rather than paints in the modern sense. Indigo, from India or the Americas, gave a deep blue. Smalts was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, used both as a pigment and as a laundry blue to whiten linen. Logwood, from Central America, yielded black and purple dyes. Their sale alongside starch suggests that much of this went into laundering and dyeing cloth at home. Households on the island coloured and finished the plain longcloth and nankeen they bought from the store.
174	170	18 October Brought over £ 1181 . 10 Serge Viz. 8½ Yards white Silk Serge 2 11 9 12 Do. Do. Fustian 1 6 . 8 Do. Coloured Shaloon . 17 4 3 Do. Green Serge . 14 6 2 Do. Scarlet Do.	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,181 0s 10d Woollen cloth White silk serge, 8¼ yards, £2 11s 9d Prunella, 12 yards, £1 6s 0d Coloured shalloon, 8 yards, £0 17s 4d Green serge, 3 yards, £0 14s 6d Scarlet serge, 2 yards, £0 13s 4d Scarlet long ells, 5 yards, £0 14s 7d Lilac serge, 3¾ yards, £0 11s 11d Scarlet cloth, 10 yards, £2 0s 10d Blue sagathy, 12 yards, £1 14s 6d

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		. 13 4 5 Do. Do. Long Ells . 14 7 3½ Do. Blue Do. . 11 11 10 Do. Scarlet Cabbet 2 . 10 12 Do. Blue Sagathy 1 14 6 6 Do. Green Do. 1 . . 9 Do. Scarlet Shaloons . 19 3 13 3 . Saddlery 2 Headstalls and Reins . 7 6 Sailors Cloaths Viz. 3 Mens Jackets 1 4 . 6 Prs. Do. Breeches 1 6 . 6 Do. Shirts 1 2 6 3 Pair mens drawers . 9 2 1 Boys Jacket . 6 0 1 Hat . 1 10 4 10 0 Shirts Viz. 103 Soldiers 25 15 . 19 Yards brown Holland 1 13 0 2 Do. Checked Linnen . 2 3 1½ Do. Huckab. for Table Cloths . 9 3 5 Do. Do. for Napkins . 5 . 28 4 9 Shoes Viz. 51 Prs. Ordinary 14 . 6 1 Prs. Mens fine Shoes . 6 9 6 Prs. Mens fine Pumps 1 16 6 10 Prs. Womens Ordinary 2 4 2 3 Prs. Do. Spanish Leather 1 1 3 3 Prs. Do. Calf Leather . 10 7 1 Pr. Girls Ordinary . 3 3 2 Prs. Do. Calf Leather . 4 10 7 Prs. Boys 1 5 0 21 13 0 Carried over £ 1258 19 11	Green sagathy, 6 yards, £1 0s 0d Scarlet shalloon, 9 yards, £0 19s 3d Woollen cloth total, £13 3s 0d Saddlery, 2 headstalls and reins, £0 7s 6d Sailors' clothing 3 new jackets, £1 4s 0d New breeches, 6 pairs, £1 6s 0d 6 new shirts, £1 2s 6d Men's drawers, 3 pairs, £0 9s 2d 1 boy's jacket, £0 6s 8d 1 hat, £0 1s 10d Sailors' clothing total, £4 10s 2d Shirts and linen 103 soldiers' shirts, £25 15s 0d Brown holland, 19 yards, £1 13s 3d Checked linen, 2 yards, £0 2s 3d Huckaback for tablecloths, 1½ yards, £0 9s 3d Huckaback for napkins, 5 yards, £0 5s 1d Shirts and linen total, £28 4s 9d Shoes Ordinary shoes, 31 pairs, £12 0s 6d Men's fine shoes, 1 pair, £0 6s 9d Men's fine pumps, 6 pairs, £1 16s 6d Women's ordinary shoes, 10 pairs, £2 4s 2d Women's Spanish leather shoes, 3 pairs, £1 1s 3d Women's calf leather shoes, 3 pairs, £0 10s 7d Girl's ordinary shoes, 1 pair, £0 3s 3d Girls' calf leather shoes, 2 pairs, £0 4s 10d Boys' shoes, 7 pairs, £1 5s 8d Shoes total, £21 13s 0d Carried forward, £1,238 19s 11d **Interpretations** The store sold about 64 pairs of shoes this quarter. In the first quarter of 1779 it had sold 494 pairs, a figure that fell to just 20 in the spring. Sales had recovered only a little. The garrison's ordinary shoes had evidently been issued in bulk early in the year, and the store's stock was now too low to resupply the men in the same quantities. The 103 soldiers' shirts were sold to men of the garrison, who paid for their own linen through deductions from their pay. Shalloon, sagathy and long ells were light woollen cloths from the English West Country. They were used for linings, coats and women's gowns, and the scarlet lengths were probably for the officers' and the volunteers' uniforms. Prunella was a strong worsted used for clergymen's gowns and the uppers of women's shoes.
175	171	1779 Brought over £ 1268 19 11 Turners Ware Viz. 4 Labourers Baskets . 4 10 7 Platters . 9 1 3 Wood Bowls . 3 11 1 Plaisterers Brush	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost concluded as follows. Brought forward, £1,268 19s 11d Turnery 2 labourers' buckets, £0 4s 10d 7 platters, £0 9s 1d 3 wooden bowls, £0 3s 11d 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 8d 1 punch strainer, £0 0s 11d 4 hair brooms, £0 10s 6d 1 bottle brush, £0 1s 0d

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		. 1 8 1 Punch Strainer . . 11 4 Hair Brooms . 10 6 1 Bottle Brush . 1 . 1 13 11 Long Cloth Viz. 8 Ps. No. 1 43 9 4 4 Do. Do. 2 1 4 11 1½ Do. Do. 3 6 2 1 50 14 4 China Ware Viz. 159 Meat Dishes 13 3 . 396 Do. Plates 12 8 4 249 Soup Do. 6 2 2 31 Guglets and Basons 3 2 . 45 Chamber Pots 4 10 . 132 Quart Pint Cups and Saucers 1 19 5 1 Sneaker . . 5 3 Soup Dishes . 19 6 2 Bowls . 2 2 4 Stone Tea Pots 4 2 5 1 Breakfast Set . 8 6 47 . 2 Spice Viz. lb. 261 Pepper 7 6 9 3 Mace . 4 2 ½ Cinnamon . 10 . 8 . 11 £ 1376 9 3	Turnery total, £1 15s 11d Longcloth Longcloth, number 1, 8 pieces, £43 9s 4d Longcloth, number 2, 4 pieces, £1 4s 11d Longcloth, number 3, 1¾ pieces, £6 2s 1d Longcloth total, £50 14s 4d China ware 159 meat dishes, £13 5s 0d 396 plates, £12 8s 4d 249 soup plates, £6 2s 2d 31 water jugs and basins, £3 2s 0d 45 chamber pots, £4 10s 0d 132 half-pint cups and saucers, £1 19s 5d 1 punch bowl, £0 0s 5d 3 soup tureens, £0 19s 6d 2 bowls, £0 2s 2d 4 stoneware teapots, £4 2s 8d 1 breakfast set, £0 8s 6d China ware total, £47 0s 2d Spices Pepper, 261 lb, £7 6s 9d Mace, 3 lb, £1 4s 2d Cinnamon, 1 lb, £0 10s 1d Spices total, £8 0s 11d Total sold at 10 per cent, £1,376 9s 3d **Interpretations** The china sold this quarter came to more than 1,000 pieces, from meat dishes and plates to chamber pots. That was far more than a single season's breakage. Households across the island were buying Chinese porcelain as their everyday tableware. Imported cheaply in bulk on the Company's China ships, it cost less on St Helena than English earthenware did, so even modest households used it. The water jugs and basins, called goglets in the trade, were unglazed jars that kept water cool through evaporation. The pepper came straight from the eight hundredweight the Council had ordered landed from the *Queen*'s homeward cargo in September.
176	172	18 October Sold at 40 P Cent Broad Cloth 3¼ Yards White 4 . 3 Serge Viz. 4 Yards Blue 1 5 2 9 Do. Scarlet Camblet 2 6 10 3 12 . Long Cloth 1 Ps. No. 1 6 17 10 Pewter 2 Close stools Pans . 14 4 Iron Ware 1 Canteen . 2 . £ 15 6 7 Sold to the Honble. Company's Ships Earl Talbot from the first July to the 30th Sept. 1779 Coals 12 Bushels 1 1 . Iron Ware Cwt. qr. 1. 2 Iron 1 18 . £ 2 19 . Charges General Dr. for the	Goods sold at 40 per cent above cost during the quarter were as follows. White broadcloth, 3¼ yards, £4 0s 3d Serge Blue serge, 4 yards, £1 5s 2d Scarlet camlet, 9 yards, £2 6s 10d Serge total, £3 12s 0d Longcloth, number 1, 1 piece, £6 17s 10d Pewter, 2 close-stool pans, £0 14s 4d Ironmongery, 1 canteen, £0 2s 0d Total sold at 40 per cent, £15 6s 7d Goods sold to the Company's ship *Earl Talbot* between 1 July and 30 September 1779 were as follows. Coals, 12 bushels, £1 1s 0d Iron, 1 cwt 2 qr, £1 18s 0d Total, £2 19s 0d The general charges account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Coals for the smiths' shop, 40 bushels, £3 7s 11d Cordage, 0 cwt 2 qr 22 lb, £1 3s 2d Arrack for the men employed in the stores, 21 gallons, £3 13s 6d Ironmongery for the smiths' shop

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		following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Sept. 1779 Coals 90 Bushels Smiths Shop 5 7 11 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 22 Crane 1 5 2 Arrack 21 Gall. Men emp. on Stores 3 13 6 Iron Ware Viz. 1 Spitter . 2 . 1 Hand Hammer . 2 5 3 Axe Helves . 1 9 6 Hammer Do. . 2 3 7 Borers . 8 4 Smiths Shop Iron Ware Carrd. Over £ . 16 7 Carried over £ 10 6 7	1 splitter, £0 2s 0d 1 hand hammer, £0 2s 5d 3 ash helves, £0 1s 9d 6 hammer helves, £0 2s 3d 7 borers, £0 8s 4d Ironmongery total, £0 16s 7d Carried forward, £10 6s 7d **Interpretations** The two price bands show how the store divided its goods. Everyday stores, including tea, sugar, cloth, china and tools, went at 10 per cent above cost. Only a handful of finer articles were classed as luxuries and charged at 40 per cent. A single piece of number 1 longcloth sold at the higher rate cost £6 17s 10d. The same grade at the lower rate, sold in bulk, cost under £5 0s 0d a piece. The difference shows that the Council had tightened the luxury list during the shortage. Some of the goods priced at 40 per cent were evidently sold to buyers outside the Company's service, or above the allowance fixed for each rank.
177	173	1779 Brought over £ 10 6 7 Ironware Brought over £ . 16 7 4 Blank Keys . 2 6 1 Hand Hatchet . 1 6 2 Stock Locks . 6 5 4 Packing Needles . . 7 3 Spring Rat traps . 4 6 1 Hollowing Knife . 2 . 1 Coopers Punch . 1 3 1 Gaging Rod . 3 4 1 Croe Iron . 1 10 1 19 0 Nails Viz. M 6 3 Coopers Shop . 4 9 4 Flooring Brads Assemblr. House . 2 1 2 Glazing Do. Packets . 2 10 . 9 1 Canvas 1½ Yards Osnaburg Packet . 1 6 Turners Ware 1 Hair Broom Ware House . 2 10 Hooks and Lines Viz. 6 No. 2 Lines Carpenters Shops . 1 8 2 lb. Twine Ware House . 1 2 . 2 10 Oil ½ Gallon Train Smiths Work . 1 3 Pewter Viz. 1 Quart Pot . 3 . 1 Half Gallon Do. . 5 8 Crane House	The general charges account continued as follows. Brought forward, £10 6s 7d Ironmongery brought forward, £0 16s 7d 4 blank keys, £0 2s 6d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 6d 2 stock locks, £0 6s 5d 4 packing needles, £0 0s 7d 3 spring rat traps, £0 4s 6d 1 hollowing knife, £0 2s 0d 1 cooper's punch, £0 1s 3d 1 gauging rod, £0 3s 4d 1 crowbar, £0 1s 10d Ironmongery total, £1 19s 0d Nails Threepenny nails for the cooper's shop, 6 lb, £0 4s 2d Flooring brads for the warehouse, 4 lb, £0 2s 1d Glazing brads, 2 packets, £0 2s 10d Nails total, £0 9s 1d Osnaburg canvas for packing, 1½ yards, £0 1s 6d Turnery, 1 hair broom for the warehouse, £0 2s 10d Hooks and lines 6 lines, number 2, for the carpenters' shop, £0 1s 8d Twine for the warehouse, 2 skeins, £0 1s 2d Hooks and lines total, £0 2s 10d Train oil for the smiths' shop, ½ gallon, £0 1s 3d Pewter for the warehouse 1 quart pot, £0 3s 0d 1 half-gallon pot, £0 5s 8d Pewter total, £0 8s 8d Cutlery 2 chopping knives, £0 3s 1d 1 butcher's knife, £0 1s 3d Cutlery total, £0 4s 4d Timber 2 rafters for the crane, £0 8s 2d 1 beech plank for the Secretary's office, £0 11s 0d Timber total, £0 19s 2d General charges total, £14 13s 11d **Interpretations** The general charges show the running costs of the storekeeper's own department, separate from the stores sold or issued to other accounts. The gauging rod was the cooper's measuring stick for reckoning the contents of casks. It explains how the storekeeper had been able to certify the *Gatton*'s Madeira as "short

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		. 8 8 Cutlery Ware Viz. 1 Chopping Knives . 3 11 1 Butchers Knife . . 3 Do. . 4 4 Deals Viz. 2 Coffins Crane & Do. . 8 2 1 Pr. Beech Plank Secret. Office . 11 . . 19 2 £ 14 15 11	of the gauge" in September. The quart and half-gallon pewter pots for the warehouse were measures for issuing arrack, oil and other liquids. The 21 gallons of arrack issued to the men working in the stores was their customary daily dram, paid in kind for the heavy work of landing and stacking the season's cargoes.
178	174	18 October Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Sept. 1779 Deals Viz. 3 double Castle . 11 . 13 Single Do. & Church 1 . 9 ½ Pr. Riga Timber Church 1 17 0 3 17 3 Nails Viz. M ½ 3 . 4 10 2 Glazing Brads . 2 10 Castle . 7 8 Paint Viz. 1 Logwood . . 3 4 White Lead dry . 1 2 Do. . 1 5 Iron Ware Viz. 2 Blank Keys . 1 3 1 Brass Plate Lock . 14 3 Do. 3 Prs. H Hinges Do. & Church . 10 6 2 Brass pins Do. . 3 4 1 9 4 Hooks and Lines Viz. 6 No. 3 Lines . 2 . 1 Lead Line . 1 4 Castle . 3 4 Turners Ware 3 Hair Brooms Castle . 1 2 £ 6 . 4 Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Sept. Beef and Pork Viz. 29 Ps. Beef 5 14 10 24 Ps. Pork 3 18 6 9 13 4 Carried over £ 9 13 4	The repairs account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Timber 3 double deals for the Castle, £0 11s 0d 13 single deals for the Castle and the church, £1 6s 9d Riga timber for the church, ½ load, £1 19s 6d Timber total, £3 17s 3d Nails for the Castle Threepenny nails, 8 lb, £0 4s 10d Glazing brads, 2 lb, £0 2s 10d Nails total, £0 7s 8d Paint for the Castle Logwood, 1 lb, £0 0s 3d Dry white lead, 4 lb, £0 1s 2d Paint total, £0 1s 5d Ironmongery 2 blank keys for the Castle, £0 1s 3d 1 brass plate lock for the Castle, £0 14s 3d H-hinges for the Castle and the church, 3 pairs, £0 10s 6d 2 brass pins for the Castle, £0 3s 4d Ironmongery total, £1 9s 4d Hooks and lines for the Castle 6 lines, number 3, £0 2s 0d 1 hand lead, £0 1s 4d Hooks and lines total, £0 3s 4d Turnery, 3 hair brushes for the Castle, £0 1s 2d Repairs total, £6 0s 4d The diet expenses account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Salt beef, 79 pieces, £3 14s 10d Salt pork, 74 pieces, £3 18s 6d Beef and pork total, £7 13s 4d Carried forward, £7 13s 4d **Interpretations** The church shared the repairs account with the Castle and drew timber, deals and hinges from the Company's stores. On St Helena the Company owned and maintained the parish church as part of its establishment, and paid its chaplain from the same pay list as its soldiers and factors. The curtains bought for it in July came from the paymaster's cash for the same reason. The Company provided worship on the island as one of the duties of government, not through a separate parish rate.
179	175	1779 Brought over £	The diet expenses account continued as follows. Brought forward, £9 13s 4d

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		9 13 4 Arrack 46 Gallons 8 1 . Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 6. 3. 20 6 12 5 Rice 3. 6 . 3 11 Sugar and Candy Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 1. 23 Candy 5 4 9 Oil 9 Bottles Florence 1 3 8 Spice Viz. lb. 12 Pepper . 6 . ½ Cinnamon . 8 8 . 14 8 £ 31 13 9 Allowance Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Sept. 1779 Oil Viz. 12 Gallons Train Castle 1 10 9 22 Do. Do. Council 2 16 3 4 7 2 Arrack 140 Gallons Lieutenant Govr. 24 10 . Paint Viz. lb. 6 Indico . 11 5 4 Blue Smalt . 6 11 Linen 2 Red Lead Castle . . 3 17 9 Pitch and Tar 11 lb. Rozin Castle Lead Viz. lb. 9 Shot Govr. Fisherman . 1 11 8 Do. Lieut. Govr. Do. . 1 8 6 Shot Castle . 1 2 . 4 9 Blankets 3 Ordinary Castle 1 1 2 China ware Viz. 1 Chamber Pot . 1 10 60 Quart Pint Cups with Saucers . 16 3 134 Meat Plates 2 16 9 48 Soup Do. 1 1 . 10 Meat Dishes 1 7 . 12 Sneakers . 4 . Castle 6 6 10 Carried over £ 37 11 4	Arrack, 46 gallons, £8 1s 0d Flour, 6 cwt 1 qr 20 lb, £6 12s 5d Rice, 0 cwt 3 qr 6 lb, £0 3s 11d Sugar candy, 2 cwt 1 qr 25 lb, £5 4s 9d Florence oil, 9 bottles, £1 3s 8d Spices Pepper, 12 lb, £0 6s 0d Cinnamon, ½ lb, £0 8s 8d Spices total, £0 14s 8d Diet expenses total, £31 13s 9d The allowance account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Oil Train oil for the Castle, 12 gallons, £1 10s 9d Train oil for the members of Council, 22 gallons, £2 16s 3d Oil total, £4 7s 2d Arrack for the Lieutenant Governor, 140 gallons, £24 10s 0d Paint Indigo for linen, 6 lb, £0 11s 5d Blue smalts for linen, 4 lb, £0 6s 11d Red lead for the Castle, 2 lb, £0 0s 3d Paint total, £0 17s 9d Pitch, tar and rosin for the Castle, 11 lb, £0 3s 8d Lead shot Shot for the Governor's fisherman, 9 lb, £0 1s 11d Shot for the Lieutenant Governor's fisherman, 8 lb, £0 1s 8d Shot for the Castle, 6 lb, £0 1s 2d Lead shot total, £0 4s 9d 3 ordinary blankets for the Castle, £1 1s 2d China ware for the Castle 1 chamber pot, £0 1s 10d 60 half-pint cups with saucers, £0 16s 3d 134 meat plates, £2 16s 9d 48 soup plates, £1 1s 0d 10 meat dishes, £1 7s 0d 12 punch bowls, £0 4s 0d China ware total, £6 6s 10d Carried forward, £37 11s 4d **Interpretations** The allowance account recorded the perquisites in kind that went with high office on the island. The Lieutenant Governor drew 140 gallons of arrack in the quarter, about a gallon and a half a day. That was far more than one household could drink. The allowance was part of his pay, issued in spirits that he could use to entertain, give to his servants and workmen, or sell. Members of Council received lamp oil, and the Castle received linen dyes, china and blankets. The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor each employed a fisherman whose shot came from the Company's stores. Fish was a regular part of the senior officers' tables, and the fishermen probably also shot seabirds along the coast. Each of these allowances cost the Company little, but together they raised the real value of high office well above the cash salary on the pay list.
180	176	18 October Brought over£ 37 11 4 Iron Ware Viz. 1 Wood axe . 2 11 1 Single Pulley	The allowance account continued as follows. Brought forward, £37 11s 4d Ironmongery for the Castle 1 wood axe, £0 2s 11d 1 single pulley, £0 0s 6d Ironmongery total, £0 3s 5d Hooks and lines for the Governor's fisherman

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		. . 6 Castle . 3 5 Hooks and Lines Viz. 100 No. 6 . 8 1 30 7 . 2 0 30 12 . . 9 Hooks 24 No. 3 Lines . 7 11 2 lb. Twine . 1 2 Governors Fisherman 30 No. 6 Hooks . 4 . 6 3 . 2 . 6 4 . 2 3 Lines 1 Leg . 1 . 1 lb. Twine . . 7 Lieut. Gov. Fisherman 1 10 6 Wheat 6 Bushels Oats Gov. Horses &c. 1 2 6 Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. -. 1. 22 Rice . 3 5 11. 2. 7 Paddy 2 14 6 Gov. Poultry & Horses -. -. 25 Rice . 1 0 2. -. 1 Paddy . 9 0 Lieut. Gov. Do. & Do. 3 7 11 Tin Ware 6 lb. Solder Lt. Gov. . 4 8 Haberdashery Viz. 4 lb. Silk Gov. Fisherman . 1 6 2 Do. Do. Lt. Govr. Do. . . 9 . 2 3 Candles Viz. 424 Castle 340 Council 60 Chaplain 30 Doctors Shop Cwt. qr. lb. 9. 3. 2 12 3 1 6 Sugar and Candy Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 2 Sugar Groom & Gardener . 7 3 Tea 4 lb. Bohea Do. Do. . 2 3 Corks 6 Gross Castle . 13 6 Turners Ware 1 Labourers Basket Castle . 1 1 Canvas 5 Yds. English Do. . 5 6 Saddlery Viz. 1 Crupper . 1 6 1 Pr. Stirrup Leathers . 2 6 1 Headstall & Rein	Fish hooks, number 6, 100, £0 8s 1d Fish hooks, number 7, 30, £0 2s 0d Fish hooks, number 12, 30, £0 0s 9d Fishing lines, number 3, 24, £0 7s 11d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 2d Hooks and lines for the Lieutenant Governor's fisherman Fish hooks, number 6, 30, £0 4s 0d Fishing lines, number 3, 6, £0 2s 0d Fishing lines, number 4, 6, £0 2s 3d 1 log line, £0 1s 0d Twine, 1 skein, £0 0s 7d Hooks and lines total, £1 10s 6d Oats for the Governor's horses and other animals, 6 bushels, £1 2s 6d Rice and paddy Rice for the Governor's poultry and horses, 0 cwt 1 qr 22 lb, £0 3s 3d Paddy for the Governor's poultry and horses, 11 cwt 2 qr 7 lb, £2 14s 6d Rice for the Lieutenant Governor's poultry and horses, 0 cwt 0 qr 25 lb, £0 1s 8d Paddy for the Lieutenant Governor's poultry and horses, 2 cwt 0 qr 1 lb, £0 9s 6d Rice and paddy total, £3 8s 11d Tinware, 6 lb of solder for the Lieutenant Governor, £0 4s 8d Haberdashery Silk for the Governor's fisherman, 4 skeins, £0 1s 6d Silk for the Lieutenant Governor's fisherman, 2 skeins, £0 0s 9d Haberdashery total, £0 2s 3d Candles For the Castle, 444 lb For the members of Council, 340 lb For the chaplain, 60 lb For the doctor's shop, 50 lb Candles total, 894 lb, £22 7s 0d Sugar for the groom and gardener, 9 lb, £0 7s 3d Bohea tea for the groom and gardener, 4 lb, £0 2s 3d Corks for the Castle, 6 gross, £0 13s 6d Turnery, 1 labourer's bucket for the Castle, £0 1s 1d English canvas for the Castle, 5 yards, £0 5s 6d Saddlery for the Governor's stables 1 crupper, £0 1s 6d Stirrup leathers, 1 pair, £0 2s 6d 1 headstall and rein, £0 3s 0d Saddlery total, £0 7s 0d Carried forward, £68 7s 2d **Interpretations** The Governor's and the Lieutenant Governor's poultry and horses were fed from the Company's paddy, more than 13 cwt in the quarter. That was during a year in which the slaves' rice ration had been cut by more than half. The allowance account kept the senior officers' establishments supplied while the general population went short. The rice and paddy were recorded as part of the officers' perquisites, not as the Company's own animal feed. Each fisherman's silk was probably used to whip hooks to their lines.

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		Govr. Stables . 3 0 £ 68 1 3	
181	177	1779 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores from the 1st July to 30th Sept. 1779 Tea Cwt. qr. lb. 1. -. 23 Bohea Barracks & Guards 5 14 6 Oil 139 Gallons Train Do. Do. 20 17 . Canvas 161 Yards English Cots 8 19 . Nails M 3¼ - 3 Cots and Coffins 1 5 5 Deals Viz. 14 double 2 11 4 3 Single . 5 9 ½ Pr. Riga Timber 1 6 3 Cots and Coffins 4 3 4 Hooks and Lines Viz. 3 lb. Twine Cots . 1 9 3 lb. Cotton wick Barracks & Guards . 12 10 2 Whip Cord . 6 10 1 1 5 Blankets 203 Ordinary 72 3 6 Candles 6 lb. Officers on Guard . 13 8 Soldiers Cloaths 5 Soldiers Coats and Breeches 7 7 4 Shirts Viz. 12 Soldiers 2 13 9 6 Rolers . 2 5 2 16 2 Hosiery 12 Prs. Ordinary Thd. Stockings 1 16 9 Shoes 12 Ordinary 3 . . Arrack 3 Gallons Guard Boats . 17 6 Glass Ware 1 Hour Glass . . 10 Iron Ware 112 Iron . 18 . Beef and Pork Viz. 40 Ps. Beef 7 17 6 346 Ps. Pork 56 11 9 64 9 3 £ 194 3 10	The garrison account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Bohea tea for the barracks and guards, 1 cwt 0 qr 12 lb, £5 14s 6d Train oil for the barracks and guards, 139 gallons, £20 17s 0d English canvas for cots, 161 yards, £8 19s 0d Threepenny nails for cots and coffins, 34 lb, £1 3s 5d Timber for cots and coffins 12 double deals, £2 11s 4d 3 single deals, £0 5s 9d Riga timber, ½ load, £1 6s 3d Timber total, £4 3s 4d Hooks and lines Twine for cots, 3 skeins, £0 1s 9d Cotton wick for the barracks and guards, 3 lb, £0 12s 10d Whipcord, 2 hanks, £0 6s 10d Hooks and lines total, £1 1s 5d 203 ordinary blankets, £52 3s 6d Candles for the officers on guard, 26 lb, £0 13s 8d Soldiers' clothing, coats and breeches for 5 soldiers, £7 7s 4d Shirts and linen 12 soldiers' shirts, £2 13s 9d 6 rollers for bandages, £0 2s 5d Shirts and linen total, £2 16s 2d Ordinary thread stockings, 12 pairs, £1 16s 9d Ordinary shoes, 12 pairs, £3 0s 0d Arrack for the guard boats, 3 gallons, £0 17s 6d 1 hourglass, £0 0s 10d Iron, [...], £0 18s 0d Beef and pork Salt beef, 40 pieces, £7 17s 6d Salt pork, 346 pieces, £36 11s 9d Beef and pork total, £44 9s 3d Garrison total, £194 3s 10d **Interpretations** The garrison drew 203 blankets in the quarter from July to September, the depth of the southern winter. In the island's high interior, where several of the batteries and posts stood, nights in those months were cold and damp. A blanket for every soldier on outlying duty was a necessity rather than a comfort. The cost, more than a quarter of the whole garrison account, fell on the Company because the men's pay could not cover it. The salt meat issued to the garrison ran almost nine to one in favour of pork, 346 pieces against 40 of beef. The soldiers bore the shift from beef to pork more heavily even than the ships did.
182	178	18 October Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Sept. 1779 Beef and Pork Viz. 311 lb. Beef 100 12 . 960 Ps. Pork 155 14 7 256 6 7 Rice and Paddy Cwt. qr. 12. 2 Rice 4 11 0 Sugar and Candy Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 1. 22 Sugar 3 6 1 Tea 2. 27 Bohea	The account of stores issued to the slaves between 1 July and 30 September 1779 ran as follows. Beef and pork Salt beef, 311 lb, £100 12s 0d Salt pork, 920 pieces, £155 14s 7d Beef and pork total, £256 6s 7d Rice, 12 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £4 11s 8d Sugar, 2 cwt 1 qr 22 lb, £3 6s 1d Bohea tea, 0 cwt 2 qr 27 lb, £7 10s 10d Sago, 1 lb 5 oz, £0 7s 9d Flour, 0 cwt 1 qr 6 lb, £0 3s 7d Arrack, 9 gallons, £1 11s 6d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 6, 75, £0 6s 1d

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		7 10 10 Sago 1. 3 . 7 9 Flour 1. 6 . 3 7 Arrack 9 Gallons 1 11 6 Hooks and Lines Viz. 75 No. 6 . 6 1 30 12 . . 9 6 Large . 1 5 Hooks 6 No. 2 . 1 8 24 3 . 7 10 6 4 . 2 3 1 Deep Sea . 5 . Lines 2 lb. Twine . 1 2 1 Whip Cord . 3 3 1 9 7 Chelloes 76 pieces 39 . . Lead 10 lb. Shott . 2 1 Oil 4 Gallons Train . 10 3 Haberdashery 4 lbs. . 9 9 Spice 10 lb. Pepper . 3 . Shoes 5 Prs. Mens Ordinary 1 5 . Turners Ware 1 Platter . 1 2 £ 314 13 10 Mallay Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to 30th Sept. 1779 Sugar and Candy Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 13 Sugar . 10 3 Flour 15 lb. . 2 8 Rice and Paddy 12 lb. Rice . . 11 Carried over . 14 .	Fish hooks, number 12, 30, £0 0s 9d Large fish hooks, 6, £0 1s 5d Fishing lines, number 2, 6, £0 1s 8d Fishing lines, number 3, 24, £0 7s 10d Fishing lines, number 4, 6, £0 2s 3d 1 deep-sea line, £0 5s 0d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 2d Whipcord, 1 hank, £0 3s 5d Hooks and lines total, £1 9s 7d Chelloes, 76 pieces, £39 0s 0d Sheet lead, 10 lb, £0 2s 1d Train oil, 4 gallons, £0 10s 3d Haberdashery, thread, ½ lb, £0 9s 9d Pepper, 10 lb, £0 5s 0d Men's ordinary shoes, 5 pairs, £1 5s 0d Turnery, 1 platter, £0 1s 2d Total for the slaves, £314 13s 10d The account of stores issued to the Malays between 1 July and 30 September 1779 began as follows. Sugar, 0 cwt 1 qr 13 lb, £0 10s 5d Flour, 15 lb, £0 2s 8d Rice, 12 lb, £0 0s 11d Carried forward, £0 14s 0d **Interpretations** Over the whole quarter, the Company's slaves received only 12½ cwt of rice. Earlier in 1779 that ration had already been cut from 161 cwt to 70 cwt. The stores now had too little rice to feed them, and the shortfall was made up in other ways. The plantation account for the same quarter shows that the slaves ate more than 38,000 lb of yams. This account shows salt meat issued to them on a large scale, nearly all of it pork. Rice, the imported grain that had been the staple of the slave ration, had become a minor item. The slaves were now fed on the island's own roots and on whatever salt meat the stores could spare. The 76 pieces of chelloes were the cheap blue Surat cloth that had come out on the *Royal Admiral*'s invoice from Bombay. They were issued to make the slaves' yearly clothing. The fish hooks and lines served the same purpose as those sold to the inhabitants. Slaves sent to fish from the rocks and boats added fish to a ration that the Company's stores could no longer fill. The Malays had their own account, separate from the other slaves. They were probably Malay slaves or servants brought from the Company's stations in Sumatra and the East Indies, and their small allowance of sugar and rice reflected a diet different from the main slave ration.
183	179	1779 Brought over £ . 14 . Arrack 4 Gallons . 14 . Beef and Pork 10 Ps. Beef 1 19 5 Tea 2 lb. Bohea . 1 3 Spice 1 Pepper . . 6 Shoes 1 Pr. Mans fine . 6 1 Hooks and Lines Viz. 30 No. 12 Hooks . . 9 6 3 Lines . 2 . . 2 9 £ 3 18 . Plantation Dr. for the following Stores	The account of stores issued to the Malays between 1 July and 30 September 1779 concluded as follows. Brought forward, £0 14s 0d Arrack, 4 gallons, £0 14s 0d Salt beef, 10 pieces, £1 19s 5d Bohea tea, 2 lb, £0 1s 3d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Men's fine shoes, 1 pair, £0 6s 1d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 12, 30, £0 0s 9d Fishing lines, number 3, 6, £0 2s 0d Hooks and lines total, £0 2s 9d Total for the Malays, £3 18s 0d The plantation account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Rice and paddy Rice for the overseers and steward, 0 cwt 1 qr 1 lb, £0 8s 8d Paddy, 0 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £0 4s 9d

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		Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Sept. 1779 Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 1. -. 14 Overseers and Steward . 8 8 1. -. - Paddy . 4 9 . 13 5 Beef and Pork 10 Ps. Beef Steward 1 19 5 Coals 1 Bushel Garden . 1 3 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 26 Do. . 8 8 Lead 2. 1. 14 Sheet Do. 2 11 10 Lead Pipe 8 ft. 2 Grippers Do. . 2 6 Deals Viz. 9 Single . 17 3 1 Double . 3 8 3 Coffins . 12 3 Gardens 1 13 2 Nails Viz. M 1 30 . . 4 2 40 . . 6 4 Glazing Brads . 5 8 Do. . 6 8 Oil 4 Gallons Train . 10 3 Tin Ware 8 Watering Pots Gardens 1 10 2 Turners Ware 13 Labourers Baskets Do. . 14 1 Hooks and Lines Viz. 3 No. 2 . . 4 2 No. 4 . . 9 Carried over£ . 1 1 £ 10 12 6	Rice and paddy total, £0 13s 5d Salt beef for the steward, 10 pieces, £1 19s 5d Coals for the garden, 1 bushel, £0 1s 3d Cordage for the garden, 0 cwt 0 qr 26 lb, £0 8s 8d Sheet lead for the garden, 2 cwt 1 qr 14 lb, £2 11s 10d Lead pipe, 8 lb, and 2 drippers for the garden, £0 2s 6d Timber for the gardens 9 single deals, £0 17s 3d 1 double deal, £0 3s 8d 3 rafters, £0 12s 3d Timber total, £1 13s 2d Nails for the garden Nails, size 30, 1 lb, £0 0s 4d Nails, size 40, 2 lb, £0 0s 8d Glazing brads, 4 packets, £0 5s 8d Nails total, £0 6s 8d Train oil, 4 gallons, £0 10s 3d Tinware, 8 watering pots for the gardens, £1 10s 2d Turnery, 13 labourers' baskets, £0 14s 1d Hooks and lines Fishing lines, number 2, 3, £0 0s 4d Fishing lines, number 4, 2, £0 0s 9d Hooks and lines total, £0 1s 1d Carried forward, £10 12s 6d **Interpretations** Most of the plantation's stores this quarter went to the Company's gardens. They included more than 2 cwt of sheet lead, lead pipe with drippers, eight watering pots, deals and glazing brads. The lead and pipe were probably used to line channels or cisterns and to carry water to the beds. The drippers released it slowly onto the plants. The glazing brads point to frames or a glasshouse for raising seedlings. After a drought that had killed the island's grass and cattle, the Council was building a garden that could be watered by hand and by pipe instead of relying on the rains. This was the same push that raised the gardener's pay, brought seeds from the Cape and put apple trees in at Longwood. It was the island's first attempt in this record to protect its food supply against the next dry season.
184	180	18 October Brought over Iron Ware Viz. 1 Dutch Hoe . 2 11 1 Axe Helve . . 7 1. 14 Iron 1 . 4 Gardens 2. Rod Iron Govr. Stables . 11 8 1 Pickaxe . 3 10 1 Scythe . 5 3 2 4 7 £ 12 17 1 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1st July to the 30 Sept. 1779 Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 4. 4. 16 Sugar 3 18 9	The plantation account for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 closed with these items. Brought forward, £10 12s 6d Ironmongery 1 Dutch hoe for the gardens, £0 2s 11d 1 pick helve for the gardens, £0 0s 7d Iron for the gardens, 1 cwt 0 qr 14 lb, £1 0s 4d Rod iron for the Governor's stables, 0 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £0 11s 8d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 10d 1 scythe, £0 5s 3d Ironmongery total, £2 4s 7d Total for the plantation, £12 17s 1d The hospital account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, [...] cwt [...] qr 16 lb, £5 18s 9d Sugar candy, 0 cwt 0 qr 16 lb, £0 6s 4d Sugar and candy total, £6 5s 1d Rice, 0 cwt 2 qr 7 lb, £0 7s 0d Flour, 2 cwt 2 qr 14 lb, £2 17s 1d Bohea tea, 0 cwt 1 qr 12 lb, £1 4s 1d Coals, 27 bushels, £1 8s 7d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		-. -. 16 Candy . 6 4 6 5 1 Rice Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 3. 4 . 7 . Flour 2. 2. 14 2 17 1 Tea -. 1. 12 Bohea 1 4 1 Coals 27 Bushels 1 12 7 Arrack 4 Gallons . 14 . Oil Viz. 13 Gallons Train 1 13 4 1 Bottle Florence . 2 8 1 16 . £ 14 11 10 Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Sept. 1779 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 20 . 15 9 Lead 16 lb. Sheet . 3 4 Oars Viz. 1 Large . 6 2 3 Small . 11 3 . 17 5 Carried over £ 1 16 6	Arrack, 4 gallons, £0 14s 0d Oil Train oil, 13 gallons, £1 13s 4d Florence oil, 1 bottle, £0 2s 8d Oil total, £1 16s 0d Total for the hospital, £14 11s 10d The boats account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Cordage, 0 cwt 1 qr 20 lb, £0 15s 9d Sheet lead, 16 lb, £0 3s 4d Oars 1 large oar, £0 6s 2d 3 small oars, £0 11s 3d Oars total, £0 17s 5d Carried forward, £1 16s 6d **Interpretations** The hospital's diet changed sharply from the previous quarter. Between April and June 1779 it had drawn more than 7 cwt of rice, which replaced bread for the sick while flour was scarce. Between July and September it drew barely half a hundredweight. Sugar, which hardly appeared in the spring account, now cost nearly £6 0s 0d. The Cape flour landed by the *Hind* and the sugar brought from Sumatra and China allowed the hospital to return to bread, sweetened gruels and tea. The rice that remained in the stores was kept for the ships and the slaves. Flour use itself held steady, so the change was a substitution of sugar for rice, not a larger ration.
185	181	1779 Brought over £ 1 16 6 Nails Viz. M 14 3 . 9 0 6 6 . 3 3 6 40 . 2 . . 14 11 Deals Viz. 4 Wainscot Boards . 9 10 7 Elm Do. 1 13 6 1 Pr. Ash Plank 2 3 7 ½ Pr. Elm Do. 1 4 2 5 12 . Iron Ware 2 lb. Iron . 9 . Paint 14 lb. Brimstone . 2 4 £ 8 14 9 Fortification Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30 September 1779 Deals Viz. 2 Double Mundens Point . 7 4 2 Coffins Fergate . 8 2 1 Pr. Riga Timber Magazine 2 16 6 2½ Prs. Ash Plank Stakes 4 12 1 1 Pr. Elm Do. Gun Carriages 2 8 4 10 12 5	The boats account for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 closed with these items. Brought forward, £1 16s 6d Nails Threepenny nails, 14 lb, £0 9s 6d Sixpenny nails, 6 lb, £0 3s 5d Nails, size 40, 6 lb, £0 2s 0d Nails total, £0 14s 11d Timber 4 wainscot boards, £0 2s 10d 7 elm boards, £1 13s 6d Ash plank, 1 piece, £2 3s 7d Elm plank, [...], £1 4s 2d Timber total, £5 12s 0d Iron, 0 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £0 9s 0d Paint, brimstone, 14 lb, £0 9s 4d Total for the boats, £8 14s 9d The fortifications account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Timber 2 double deals for Munden's Point, £0 7s 4d 2 rafters for [...], £0 8s 2d Riga timber for the magazine, [...], £2 16s 6d Ash plank for stakes, [...], £4 12s 1d Elm plank for gun carriages, [...], £2 8s 4d Timber total, £10 12s 5d Glazing brads for the artillery, 2 packets, £0 2s 10d Florence oil for the artillery, 1 bottle, £0 2s 8d Arrack for the artillery, 11½ gallons, £1 19s 5d Brass ware, 1 stewpan for the artillery, £1 7s 2d Haberdashery, coloured thread for the artillery, £0 6s 7d Ironmongery 1 iron shovel, £0 4s 6d 3 shod shovels, £0 5s 3d 1 padlock, £0 1s 6d Sheep shears, 1 pair, £0 1s 7d Ironmongery total, £0 12s 10d Carried forward, £15 3s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Nails 2 Glaz. Brads Artillery . 2 10 Oil 1 Bottle Florence Do. . 2 8 Arrack 11½ Gallons Do. 1 19 5 Braziers Ware 1 Stewpan Do. 1 7 2 Haberdashery 2 Coloured Thread . 6 7 Iron Ware Viz. 1 Iron Shovel . 4 6 3 Shod Shovels . 5 3 1 Pad Lock . 1 6 1 Pr. Sheep Shears . 1 7 . 12 10 Carried Over £ 15 3 11	**Interpretations** Brimstone was charged to the boats account under paint. Boatmen melted sulphur with pitch, tallow or resin to make a hard coating for the hulls below the waterline, which kept out shipworm and weed. In the warm waters of the road, where the Company's boats worked daily among the shipping, an unprotected hull was soon ruined. The coating was cheaper to renew each season than planking was to replace. The timber issued to the fortifications was a small fraction of the spring quarter's, when nearly £43 0s 0d of deals and timber went to Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley. The building work at those batteries was finished. The quarter's defence spending had moved to the cash-paid labour at Buttermilk Point, where the work was quarrying and rock-blasting rather than carpentry.
186	182	18 October Brought Over £ 15 3 11 Hooks and Lines Viz. 24 lb. Twine Lime Bags . 14 . 5 Log Lines Artillery . 4 10 . 18 10 Coals 200 Bushels burning Lime 12 . . £ 28 2 9 Butter-milk Point Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30 September 1779 Deals Viz. 6 Double 1 2 . 1 Single . 1 11 1 3 11 Nails M 4. 3 . 2 9 Oil 2 Galls. Train . 5 2 Cordage 11 lb. . 3 8 Cart Wheels 5 Wheel Barrows 4 2 9 Lead Cwt. qr. 2. 3 . 11 7 Iron Ware Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 5. 3. 23 Iron 5 7 2 -. 2. 6 Steel 1 2 . 6 9 2 Hooks and Lines Viz. 10 No. 3 . 6 . 2 Deep Sea . 10 . Lines . 16 . Coals 60 Bushells 3 12 . £ 17 7 . St. Helena 30 September 1779 Errors Excepted Signed Jonn. Doveton	The fortifications account for the quarter ending 30 September 1779 closed with these items. Brought forward, £15 3s 11d Hooks and lines Twine for lime bags, 24 skeins, £0 14s 0d 5 log lines for the artillery, £0 4s 10d Hooks and lines total, £0 18s 10d Coals for burning lime, 200 bushels, £12 0s 0d Total for the fortifications, £28 2s 9d The account for Buttermilk Point was debited with the following stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1779. Timber 6 double deals, £1 2s 0d 1 single deal, £0 1s 11d Timber total, £1 3s 11d Threepenny nails, 4 lb, £0 2s 9d Train oil, 2 gallons, £0 5s 2d Cordage, 11 lb, £0 3s 8d 5 wheelbarrows, £4 2s 9d Lead, 0 cwt 2 qr 3 lb, £0 11s 7d Ironmongery Iron, 3 cwt 3 qr 23 lb, £5 7s 2d Steel, 0 cwt 2 qr 6 lb, £1 2s 0d Ironmongery total, £6 9s 2d Hooks and lines Fishing lines, number 3, 10, £0 6s 0d 2 deep-sea lines, £0 10s 0d Hooks and lines total, £0 16s 0d Coals, 60 bushels, £3 12s 0d Total for Buttermilk Point, £17 7s 0d Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 30 September 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The stores sent to Buttermilk Point fit the heavy rock work recorded in the paymaster's cash account. Nearly 4 cwt of iron, half a hundredweight of steel and 60 bushels of coal went to the smiths on site. There they forged and constantly re-sharpened the drills, borers and wedges that the stone blowers wore down cutting charge holes in the cliff. The five wheelbarrows carried away the blasted rubble. The deep-sea lines were probably used as long measuring or hauling lines on the cliff face, not for fishing. Burning lime for mortar took 200 bushels of coal shipped from England. The island had little wood left to spare after a century of cutting for fuel and the ravages of goats. Imported coal was the only reliable fuel for the lime kilns. Every battery built in stone therefore carried a hidden cost in English coal, which the Company had to send out by the shipload along with the iron and steel.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Store Keeper	
187	183	1779 Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honorable Company's Ware Houses the 30 September 1779 Anchors Viz. 3 without weight 40 3 9 1 weight Cwt. qr. lb. 36. 16 36 6 7 1 Do. 35. 2. 7 1 Do. 36. 3. 18 140 9 9 1 Do. 5. 3. 20 12 . . 6 Do. 16. 1. 16 26 10 3 14 Iron Hoops 2 5 . 1 Anchor Stocks 4 11 . 13 Tow Nails . 4 4 290 10 10 Bunting 4 Prs. 13 Yds. Red 6 8 9 Blankets 83 Ordinary 39 14 6 Broad Cloth Viz. ¾ Yard Scarlet . 14 1 1 Do. Black . 16 9 2⅛ Do. Maz. Blue 1 10 3 ¾ Do. Light Do. . 15 9 1 Do. Green . 17 . 2⅛ Do. Crimson 2 1 11 10½ Do. White 7 1 3 2⅛ Do. Buff Cassimere . 17 6 25 2 6 Braziery Viz. 1 Large Skimmer . 14 4 1 Warming Pan . 11 3 7 Fish Pans 9 9 11 1 Large Brass Cock . 3 6 1 Bottling Do. . 4 10 1 Copper Bar . 19 3 2 Quart Tea Kettles 4 10 . 13 Sheet Copper 5 6 9 1 Brass Sheave 1 . 0 6 Pr. Steel Snuffers . 14 3 23 16 9 Carried over 375 13 4	The inventory of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses on 30 September 1779 began as follows. Anchors 3 anchors of unrecorded weight, £40 3s 9d 1 anchor weighing 36 cwt 0 qr 16 lb, £56 6s 7d 1 anchor weighing 35 cwt 2 qr 7 lb and 1 anchor weighing 36 cwt 3 qr 18 lb, together £140 9s 4d 1 anchor weighing 5 cwt 3 qr 20 lb, £12 0s 0d 6 anchors weighing 16 cwt 1 qr 16 lb, £26 10s 3d 14 iron hoops, £2 5s 0d 1 anchor stock, £4 11s 0d 13 tow nails, £0 4s 4d Anchors total, £290 10s 10d Red bunting, 4 pieces of 13 yards, £6 8s 9d 83 ordinary blankets, £39 14s 6d Broadcloth Scarlet broadcloth, ¾ yard, £0 14s 1d Black broadcloth, 1 yard, £0 16s 9d Mazarine blue broadcloth, 2⅛ yards, £1 10s 5d Light blue broadcloth, ¾ yard, £0 13s 9d Green broadcloth, 1 yard, £0 17s 0d Crimson broadcloth, 2⅛ yards, £2 1s 11d White broadcloth, 10½ yards, £17 13s 3d Buff cassimere, 2⅛ yards, £0 17s 6d Broadcloth total, £25 2s 6d Brass and copper ware 1 large skimmer, £0 14s 4d 1 warming pan, £0 11s 3d 7 stewpans, £9 9s 11d 1 large brass cock, £0 3s 6d 1 bottling cock, £0 4s 10d 1 copper bar, £0 19s 3d 2-quart tea kettles, £4 10s 0d 1 brass sheave, £5 6s 9d Sheet copper, 13 lb, £1 0s 0d Steel snuffers, 6 pairs, £0 14s 3d Brass and copper ware total, £23 16s 9d Carried forward, £385 13s 4d **Interpretations** Anchors were by far the most valuable stores in the warehouse, worth more than everything else on the page put together. The island held them for the ships, not for its own boats. Anchors weighing over 35 cwt were bower anchors for large East Indiamen. The road off James Town was open, deep and exposed to the steady trade wind, so ships often parted their cables and lost anchors there. A commander who arrived with one anchor gone, or lost one while waiting for convoy, could not safely sail on without a replacement. Keeping spare anchors on the island let the Company refit its own ships on the spot. A large stock was worth holding in wartime, when fleets lay in the road for weeks.
188	184	18 October Brought over £ 375 13 4 Books Viz.	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £375 13s 4d Books

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		12 Large Bibles 16 10 . 4 Small Do. 1 8 0 30 Common Prayer 4 10 6 1 Spelling . 1 1 13 Testaments 1 7 6 23 17 9 Beef and Pork Viz. Tierce 20 - 40 Beef 49 13 4 273 - 33 Pork 3933 17 . 60 Tierces Do. 415 10 . 4399 . 4 Blocks Viz. 1 Iron Bound Cat . 6 3 4 Do. dead Eyes 2 13 7 1 2 Snatch . 13 7 1 double Long Tackle . 4 9 2 Treble Blocks 2 2 3 2 Double Do. of 18 In. 1 8 7 10 Do. Do. of 8 Do. . 16 6 2 Do. with Brass Sheaves . 10 4 8 15 6 Canvas Viz. Bolts Yds. 106 33 English 225 15 2 1 3 Osnaburg 6 9 . 232 4 2 Cutlery Ware Viz. 6½ doz. Stag horn Handle Knives & Forks 4 19 1 ½ Do. Desert Knives and forks . 19 10 4 Chopping Knives . 5 2 939 Shoe Buckles 24 10 7 88 Pr. Knee Do. 1 13 8 12 Cross Stilsons 1 6 10 139 Pr. Leather Garters 4 . 4 38 6 6 Corks 166 Gross 18 9 . Cordage Viz. 2 Cables of 17 Inches wt. Cwt. qr. lb. 124. -. 26 1 Coil of 5 Do. 3. 2. 23 1 Do. of 3 Do. -. 3. 11 128. 3. 6 272 9 10 Carried over £ 5756 14 5	12 large Bibles, £16 10s 0d 4 small Bibles, £1 8s 0d 30 Books of Common Prayer, £4 10s 6d 1 spelling book, £0 1s 1d 13 New Testaments, £1 7s 6d Books total, £23 17s 9d Beef and pork Salt beef, 3 casks and 40 pieces, £49 13s 4d Salt pork, 273 casks and 33 pieces, £3,935 17s 0d Salt pork, 60 tierces, £413 10s 0d Beef and pork total, £4,399 0s 4d Blocks 1 iron-bound cat block, £0 6s 3d 4 iron-bound deadeyes, £2 13s 1d 1 snatch block, £0 13s 7d 1 double long-tackle block, £0 4s 9d 2 treble blocks, £2 2s 3d 2 double blocks of 10 inches, £1 0s 7d 10 double blocks of 8 inches, £0 16s 6d 2 double blocks with brass sheaves, £0 10s 4d Blocks total, £8 13s 6d Canvas English canvas, 106 bolts 33 yards, £223 15s 2d Osnaburg, 1 bolt 3 yards, £6 9s 0d Canvas total, £232 4s 2d Cutlery Stag-horn-handled knives and forks, 6½ dozen, £4 19s 1d Dessert knives and forks, ½ dozen, £0 19s 10d 4 chopping knives, £0 5s 2d 939 shoe buckles, £24 10s 7d Knee buckles, 88 pairs, £1 13s 8d 12 cross helves, £1 6s 10d Leather garters, 139 pairs, £4 0s 4d Cutlery total, £38 6s 6d Corks, 166 gross, £10 9s 0d Cordage 9 cables of 17 inches, 124 cwt 0 qr 26 lb 1 coil of 5-inch rope, 3 cwt 2 qr 20 lb 1 coil of 3-inch rope, 1 cwt 3 qr 11 lb Cordage total, 130 cwt 3 qr 6 lb, £272 7s 10d Carried forward, £5,756 14s 5d **Interpretations** The warehouse held more than 270 casks and 60 tierces of salt pork, worth over £4,300 0s 0d, against only three casks of beef. That imbalance explains the pattern seen throughout the quarter. The Council turned down requests for beef from the *Warwick*, the *Royal George* and the garrison, but gave pork freely, even beyond what was asked. Pork was the one provision the island held in depth. The beef shipped from England in the *Earl Talbot* had been largely used up, and the drought had stopped any fresh beef from the island's own herds. The ratio of pork to beef in every issue that quarter simply reflected what was left on the warehouse floor.
189	185	1779 Brought over £ 5756 14 5 Cart Wheels Viz.	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £5,756 14s 3d Cart wheels and barrows

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		13 Pr. Cart Wheels 63 3 5 20 Wheel Barrows 66 3 4 129 6 9 Copper Money 25536 Half pence 53 4 . Coals Chal. Bush. 11 28 25 1 3 Deals Viz. 2 double . 7 4 8 Singles . 15 4 2 Balks 1 3 11 21 Coffins 4 3 9 68 Wains. Boards 7 10 2 32 Elm Do. 7 10 3 139 Bundles Oak Laths 20 3 5 39 Do. Fir Do. 3 11 . 2 Prs. Riga Timber 5 12 . 1½ Prs. Beech Plank 3 17 . 2 Prs. Oak Do. 4 11 1 4 Prs. Ash Do. 9 13 4 24½ Prs. Elm Do. 49 4 4 3 Spars 4 16 6 132 5 6 Earthen Ware Viz. 2 Milk Pans damaged . 2 10 5 Close stool pans 2 Do. Damaged . 8 9 12 Milk Pots . 3 3 . 14 10 Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 1029. 3. 16 1011 9 4 Glass Ware Viz. 17 Water Glasses . 13 5 2 Set Cruits 1 2 . 5 Candle shades . 9 6 12 Hour Glasses . 10 . 9 Half Hour Do. . 5 5 3 . 4 Hats Viz. 6 Mans fine 2 6 . 3 Gold Laced 5 18 10 11 4 10 Carried over £ 7123 1 3	Cart wheels, 13 pairs, £63 3s 5d 20 wheelbarrows, £66 3s 4d Cart wheels and barrows total, £129 6s 9d Copper coin, 25,536 halfpence, £53 4s 0d Coals, 11 chaldrons 27 bushels, £25 1s 3d Timber 2 double deals, £0 7s 4d 8 single deals, £0 13s 4d 2 balks, £1 7s 11d 21 rafters, £4 3s 9d 68 wainscot boards, £7 10s 2d 32 elm boards, £7 10s 3d Oak laths, 139 bundles, £20 3s 5d Fir laths, 39 bundles, £3 11s 1d Riga timber, 2 loads, £5 12s 0d Beech plank, 1¾ loads, £3 17s 0d Oak plank, 2 loads, £4 11s 1d Ash plank, 4 loads, £8 13s 4d Elm plank, 24½ loads, £9 4s 4d 3 spars, £4 16s 6d Timber total, £82 5s 6d Earthenware 2 milk pans, damaged, £0 2s 10d 5 close-stool pans and 2 more damaged, £0 8s 9d 12 milk pots, £0 3s 3d Earthenware total, £0 14s 10d Flour, 627 cwt 3 qr 16 lb, £1,011 9s 4d Glassware 17 drinking glasses, £0 13s 5d 2 sets of cruets, £1 2s 0d 4 candle shades, £0 9s 6d 12 hourglasses, £0 10s 0d 9 half-hour glasses, £0 5s 5d Glassware total, £3 0s 4d Hats 6 men's fine hats, £2 6s 0d 3 gold-laced hats, £8 18s 10d Hats total, £11 4s 10d Carried forward, £7,123 1s 3d **Interpretations** The warehouse held more than 600 cwt of flour at the end of September 1779, worth over £1,000 0s 0d. On 21 May 1779 the stores had held only four and a half weeks' bread for the garrison, and the soldiers' ration had been cut by a third. The turnaround came from the Cape flour bought by the *Hind* in August and the cargoes of the season's ships. Even after supplying the *Warwick*, the China ships and the hospital, the island now had several months of bread in hand. The bread famine of the winter was over. The shortage that remained, as the inventory's single entry of three casks of salt beef shows, was in meat.
190	186	18 October Brought over £ 7123 1 3 Hosiery Viz. 599 Prs. Mens Ordinary Thd. Stockings	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £7,123 1s 3d Hosiery

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		91 14 . 6 Prs. Do. Black Silk 4 19 . 13 Prs. Do. Cotton Do. 5 7 6 19 Prs. Boys Do. Do. 2 12 3 24 Prs. Do. worsted Do. 2 7 . 24 Prs. Womens Do. Do. 3 6 . 3 Prs. India Cotton No. 1 2 4 7 21 Prs. Do. Do. No. 2 7 8 9 2 Prs. Buff Worsted Breeches . 17 8 6 Prs. Do. Silk Do. 7 13 3 6 Prs. Black Do. Do. 8 11 8 137 3 3 Hooks Lines &c. Viz. 9750 Hooks No. 7 26 16 2 500 No. 12 . 7 6 1800 No. 13 . 17 3 1000 No. 16 . 7 1 300 Large 3 8 9 Hooks 130½ doz. No. 2 23 4 9 433 Do. 3 8 18 . 8 Do. 4 1 16 . 14 deep Sea 3 10 . 9 Hand Lead . 12 . Lines 1 Whip Cord 2 1 . 26 Cotton wick 7 18 9 16 lb. Twine . 8 2 82 5 5 Haberdashery Viz. ½ Silk . 16 10 3½ Mohair 9 10 . Gro. Doz. 19 - Mohair Coat Buttons 9 9 10 12. 6 Do. Brt. Do. 3 2 6 3. 3 Silver wire Coat Do. 14 7 11 1½ Do. Brt. Do. . 3 . 1. 2 Gilt Basket Ct. Do. 3 11 . 9 Do. Brt. Do. 1 2 6 2½ Spangled Brt. Do. . 12 6 Haberdashery carried over 32 15 1 Carried over £ 7342 9 11	Men's ordinary thread stockings, 599 pairs, £91 15s 0d Men's black silk stockings, 6 pairs, £4 19s 0d Men's cotton stockings, 13 pairs, £3 7s 6d Boys' stockings, 19 pairs, £2 12s 3d Boys' worsted stockings, 24 pairs, £2 7s 0d Women's stockings, 24 pairs, £3 6s 0d India cotton stockings, number 1, 3 pairs, £2 4s 7d India cotton stockings, number 2, 21 pairs, £7 8s 9d Buff worsted breeches, 2 pairs, £0 17s 8d Silk breeches, 6 pairs, £7 13s 3d Black silk breeches, 6 pairs, £8 11s 3d Hosiery total, £137 3s 3d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 7, 9,750, £26 16s 8d Fish hooks, number 12, 300, £0 7s 6d Fish hooks, number 13, 1,800, £0 17s 3d Fish hooks, number 16, 1,000, £0 7s 1d Large fish hooks, 300, £3 0s 9d Fishing lines, number 2, 130½ dozen, £23 4s 9d Fishing lines, number 3, 45⅓ dozen, £8 18s 0d Fishing lines, number 4, 8 dozen, £1 16s 0d 14 deep-sea lines, £3 10s 0d 9 hand lead lines, £0 12s 0d Whipcord, 1 qr, £2 1s 0d Cotton wick, [...], £7 18s 9d Twine, 16 skeins, £0 8s 2d Hooks and lines total, £82 5s 5d Haberdashery Silk, ½ lb, £0 16s 10d Mohair, 3½ lb, £0 10s 0d Mohair coat buttons, 19 gross, £9 9s 10d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 12 gross 6 dozen, £3 2s 6d Silver wire coat buttons, 3 gross 3 dozen, £14 7s 11d Silver wire waistcoat buttons, 1½ dozen, £0 3s 0d Gilt-bordered coat buttons, 1 gross 2 dozen, £3 11s 0d Gilt-bordered waistcoat buttons, 9 dozen, £1 2s 6d Spangled waistcoat buttons, 2½ dozen, £0 12s 6d Haberdashery subtotal carried forward, £32 15s 1d Carried forward, £7,342 9s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
191	187	1779 Brought over £ 7342 9 11 Haberdashery Brought over 32 15 1 Gro. Doz. - 9 White Waist. Buttons . 1 10 39. 3 Steel Do. 6 19 6 1½ Oval Coat Do. . 3 3 3 Prs. Union Cord 1 11 3 3½ Prs. Galloon 1 8 0 4 Prs. Braid . 11 . 10½ Yds. Tabby 4 17 3 2 Gro. Broad worsted Lace 1 13 3 1 Do. Narrow Do. Do. . 11 7 236½ Yards Br. Gold Do. 33 18 7 7 Prs. Gold Garters 2 2 9 10 Prs. Silk Do. . 10 . 8 Whalebone 2 2 8 12½ Yards Buckram . 16 8 7 Epaulets 3 9 9 lb. oz. 1. 4 No. 16 Thread 2 4 2 2. 6 17 Do. 3 . 2 127 16 7 Iron Ware Viz. 12 Carpr. Adzes 3 3 . 9 Stone Axes 2 19 3 10 Broad Do. 2 3 3 8 Coopers Adzes 1 3 11 10 Axletrees & Winches 2 4 2 33 Wood Axes 4 16 11 33 Taper Bitts . 10 4 Sm. Drill Bows . 15 9 2½ Borax 1 . 11 63 Drill Bores . 3 . 3 lb. dragons Blood . 2 10 1 Coopers Ch. Chesel . 1 2 1 Pr. Iron dividers . 2 6 27 Prs. Bitts for dowling Stocks 1 11 8 6 Emery . 2 4 23 Gouges 1 11 0	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £7,342 9s 11d Haberdashery brought forward, £32 15s 1d White metal waistcoat buttons, 9 dozen, £0 1s 10d Shirt buttons, 39 gross 3 dozen, £6 19s 6d Oval coat buttons, 1½ dozen, £0 3s 3d Union cord, 3 pieces, £1 11s 3d Galloon, 3½ pieces, £1 8s 0d Braid, 4 pieces, £0 11s 0d Tabby, 10½ yards, £4 17s 3d Broad worsted lace, 2 gross, £1 15s 3d Narrow worsted lace, 1 gross, £0 11s 7d Broad gold lace, 236½ yards, £38 18s 9d Gold garters, 7 pairs, £2 2s 9d Silk garters, 10 pairs, £0 10s 0d Whalebone, 8 lb, £2 2s 0d Buckram, 12½ yards, £0 16s 8d [...], 7 lb, £3 9s 9d Thread, number 16, 1 lb 4 oz, £2 4s 2d Thread, number 17, 2 lb 6 oz, £3 0s 2d Haberdashery total, £127 16s 7d Ironmongery 12 carpenters' adzes, £2 3s 0d 9 mine axes, £2 19s 5d 10 broad axes, £2 0s 5d 8 coopers' adzes, £1 3s 11d 10 whetstones with winches, £2 4s 2d 33 wood axes, £4 16s 11d 33 taper bits, £0 10s 4d Drill bows, 1 dozen, £0 15s 9d Borax, 2½ lb, £0 0s 11d 63 drill borers, £3 0s 0d Dragon's blood, 3 lb, £0 9s 10d 1 cooper's cold chisel, £0 1s 2d Iron dividers, 1 pair, £0 2s 6d Bits for dowelling stocks, 22 pairs, £1 11s 8d Emery, 6 lb, £0 2s 4d 23 gouges, £1 11s 0d 3 dowelling stocks, £0 4s 9d Shutter hinges, 47 pairs, £3 1s 0d H-hinges, 10 pairs, £1 13s 0d Ironmongery subtotal carried forward, £32 17s 7d Carried forward, £7,450 6s 6d **Interpretations** The warehouse held more than 236 yards of broad gold lace, worth nearly £39 0s 0d. That was by far the most valuable item in the haberdashery. Gold lace edged the coats, hats and waistcoats of officers and senior civil servants. It was the visible mark of rank on an island where the July dispute over tea and sugar had shown how keenly rank was felt. Silver wire and gilt-bordered buttons served the same purpose. The ordinary soldier's coat took mohair and white metal buttons, which were stocked by the gross. Several items on the list are no longer familiar. Galloon was a narrow woven tape or braid used to bind the edges of clothing and hats. Tabby was a heavy watered silk with a wavy sheen. Buckram was linen stiffened with glue or size, used to give shape to collars, cuffs and hat brims. Whalebone, cut from the baleen plates of whales, stiffened stays and bodices. Dragon's blood was a dark red resin from trees of the East Indies and the island of Socotra. Joiners dissolved it in spirit to stain and varnish wood a deep red. Borax was a mineral salt used as a flux when brazing and soldering metal. The drill bows, borers and dowelling stocks were hand tools for boring holes in timber, and the mine axes were for cutting rock at works such as Buttermilk Point.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 Dowling Stocks . 4 9 47 Prs. Shutter Hinges 3 1 . 10 Prs. H Do. 1 13 . Ironware Carried over £ 32 17 7 Carried over £ 7470 6 6	
192	188	18 October Brought over £ 7470 6 6 Iron Ware Brought over 32 17 7 3 Broad Hoes . 6 6 16 Dutch Do. 2 5 11 12 Axe Helves . 4 . 79 Hammer Do. 1 9 6 15 Masons Hammers 3 2 . 3 Joiners Hatchets . 9 3 18 Prs. Large Dovetail Hinges 6 9 0 13 Sling Hammers 4 7 9 2 Coopers Hand Do. . 4 6 30 Truss Hoops 2 17 . 1 Hand Hatchet . 1 6 4 Prs. X Garnet Hinges 1 3 . 9 Helves for Garden Hoes . 3 7 10 Garden Hoes . 14 7 3 Hovels . 3 3 6 Coopers Jointer Irons . 11 3 1 Small Box Iron . 8 10 4 Edging Irons . 18 7 3 Single Pulleys for Jacks . 1 4 3 Hollowing Knives . 6 . 20 Blank Keys . 12 6 1 Iron Rimd Lock & Bolts 1 4 3 35 Chest Do. 8 6 1 7 Iron Rimd Do. with Brass Knobs 2 2 10 1 Do. Do. with a Pullback . 4 3 5 Brass Plate Do. 3 11 5 6 Brass Closet Do. 1 7 6 6 Mauls 2 13 3 3 Corn Mills 18 10 10 66 Brads Mallets 6 2 8	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £7,470 6s 6d Ironmongery brought forward, £32 17s 7d 3 broad hoes, £0 6s 6d 16 Dutch hoes, £2 5s 11d 12 ash helves, £0 4s 0d 79 hammer helves, £1 9s 6d 15 masons' hammers, £3 2s 0d 3 joiners' hatchets, £0 9s 3d Large dovetail hinges, 18 pairs, £6 9s 8d 13 sledgehammers, £4 7s 9d 2 coopers' hand hammers, £0 4s 6d 30 truss hoops, £2 17s 0d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 6d Cross garnet hinges, 4 pairs, £1 3s 0d 9 helves for garden hoes, £0 3s 7d 10 garden hoes, £0 14s 1d 3 shovels, £0 3s 3d 6 coopers' jointer irons, £0 11s 3d 1 small box iron, £0 8s 10d 4 edging irons, £0 15s 7d 3 single pulleys for jacks, £0 1s 4d 3 hollowing knives, £0 6s 0d 20 blank keys, £0 12s 6d 1 iron-rimmed lock with 3 bolts, £1 4s 3d 35 chest locks, £8 6s 1d 7 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £2 2s 10d 1 iron-rimmed lock with a thumb latch, £0 4s 3d 5 brass plate locks, £3 11s 5d 6 brass closet locks, £1 7s 6d 6 mauls, £2 10s 3d 3 corn mills, £18 10s 10d 66 mallets, £6 2s 0d 1 coffee mill, £0 7s 3d 130 bolt-rope needles, £0 13s 0d 46 packing needles, £0 6s 9d 13 pickaxes, £2 9s 6d 17 coopers' punches, £1 3s 0d 1 plough plane, £0 9s 10d 1 brass vice, £1 4s 5d Ironmongery subtotal carried forward, £113 3s 11d Carried forward, £7,470 6s 6d **Interpretations** The three corn mills were the most valuable ironware on the page. They were iron hand mills for grinding wheat into meal or husking paddy into rice. That season rice and flour came in bulk from the Cape and India. The hand mills let the stores turn raw grain into food on the island, so the island did not depend entirely on cleaned rice and ready-ground flour.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Coffee Mill . 7 3 130 Bolt Rope Needles . 13 . 46 Packing Do. . 6 9 13 Pickaxes 2 9 6 17 Coopers Punches 1 3 . 1 Plough Plane . 9 10 1 Brass Vine . 4 5 Iron Ware Carried over 113 3 11 Carried over £ 7470 6 6	
193	189	1779 Brought over £ 7470 6 6 Iron Ware Brought over 113 3 11 34 Masons Stone Rammers 5 . 5 16 Iron Rubbish Riddles 5 5 3 5 Prs. Garden Shears . 16 0 6 Coopers Shaves . 10 . 1 Iron Shovel . 4 6 31 Stone Saws 5 15 2 7 Joiners Bubstones 1 1 . 1 Whip Saw 2 6 10 3 Gun Smiths Saws 2 . 3 1 Jack Spit . 10 1 15 Saw Sets . 8 9 2 Croe Stocks . 3 8 16 Croe Irons . 18 4 2 Yellow Solder . 3 0 15 Figured Squares . 18 9 5 Spitter . 10 . 10 Sickles . 9 7 5 Plaistr. Sieves 2 1 . 71 Masons Tools 4 10 . 3 Spring Rat Traps . 8 . 11 Box Do. 10 11 9 9 Plaistr. Trowels . 15 . 12 Brickl. Do. . 16 . 2 Sets Jack Wheels . 13 6 3 Chains for Long Boats 10 9 0 17½ Iron Crows 0 . .	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £7,470 6s 6d Ironmongery brought forward, £113 3s 11d 34 masons' stone rammers, £5 0s 5d 16 iron rubbish riddles, £5 5s 3d Garden shears, 5 pairs, £0 16s 0d 6 coopers' shaves, £0 10s 0d 1 iron shovel, £0 4s 6d 31 stone saws, £5 15s 2d 7 joiners' bitstocks, £1 1s 0d 1 whipsaw, £2 6s 10d 3 gunsmiths' saws, £2 0s 3d 1 jack spit, £0 10s 1d 15 saw sets, £0 8s 9d 7 croze stocks, £0 3s 8d 16 croze irons, £0 18s 4d Yellow solder, 7 lb, £0 3s 0d 15 figured squares, £0 18s 9d 5 splitters, £0 10s 0d 10 sickles, £0 9s 7d 5 planters' levers, £2 1s 0d 71 masons' tools, £4 10s 0d 3 spring rat traps, £0 8s 0d 11 [...] traps, £10 11s 9d 9 plasterers' trowels, £0 15s 0d 12 bricklayers' trowels, £0 16s 0d 9 sets of jack wheels, £0 13s 6d 2 chains for longboats, £10 9s 0d 12 iron crowbars, [...] Iron, 21 cwt 1 qr 5 lb, £19 3s 4d Steel, 14 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £29 6s 3d 1 grindstone, £0 5s 0d 1 brass wire flour sieve, £0 10s 1d 1 [...] iron, £0 11s 8d 2 wire rat traps, £0 12s 2d Plate iron, 3 lb, £0 3s 0d Ironmongery total, £227 15s 0d Lead Sheet lead, 63 cwt 1 qr 23 lb, £69 0s 8d Pig lead, 26 cwt 3 qr 21 lb, £23 7s 8d Lead total, £92 8s 4d Sole leather, 14 lb, £0 16s 0d Carried forward, £7,791 5s 10d **Interpretations** A croze was a cooper's tool for cutting the groove inside a cask's staves into which the head was fitted. The stock was its wooden body and the iron its cutting blade. Seven stocks and sixteen spare irons, along with shaves, jointer irons, punches and truss hoops, show that the island ran a working cooperage. Every cask of salt meat, arrack, flour and water that passed through the stores had to be opened, mended or remade on the spot. The large stock of pig and sheet lead served the same economy of repair, making cisterns, gutters and pipes for the garden as well as shot and the linings of the Company's boats.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Cwt. qr. lb. 21. 1. 3 Iron 19 3 4 14. 3. 3 Steel 29 6 3 1 Grind Stone . 5 . 1 Brass Wire Flour Sieve . 10 1 1 Brake Iron . 11 8 2 Wire Rat Traps . 12 2 2 lb. Plate Iron . 3 . 227 15 . Lead Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 63. -. 25 Sheet 69 . 8 26. 3. 27 Pig 23 7 8 92 8 4 Leather 14 lb. Sole . 16 . Carried over 7791 5 10	
194	190	18 October Brought over £ 7791 5 10 Nails Viz. M 3 29 3 3 16 3 1 18 3 2 3 4 2 40 . 10 0 1. 2. 5 Spike 2 14 . 13 Scupper . 1 4 1. 7 Glazing Brads 8 8 . 3. 2 Roves 13 13 11 32 1 6 Oil 978 Gallons Train 144 10 . Oars Viz. 41 Large 12 12 10 24 Small 4 10 . 17 2 10 Paint Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 2 Umber . 8 8 2. 27 White Lead dry 2 1 9 2. 16 Olive Colour 6 7 0 23 Verdigrease 5 10 9 1. 16 Black Lead 2 8 4 2. 19 Blue Smalt 6 11 1 10 White Copperas . 10 . 16 Green Do. . 2 2 10 Red Lead . 2 3	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £7,791 5s 10d Nails Threepenny nails, 0 cwt 3 qr 17 lb, £3 16s 3d Nails, size 30, 1 cwt 0 qr 10 lb, £2 3s 4d Nails, size 40, 0 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £0 10s 8d Spikes, 1 cwt 2 qr 5 lb, £2 14s 0d Scupper nails, 15 lb, £0 1s 4d Glazing brads, 1 cwt 1 qr 7 lb, £8 8s 0d Roves, 3 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £13 13s 11d Nails total, £32 1s 6d Train oil, 978 gallons, £144 10s 0d Oars 41 large oars, £12 12s 10d 24 small oars, £4 10s 0d Oars total, £17 2s 10d Paint Ochre, [...], £0 8s 8d Dry white lead, 0 cwt 2 qr 27 lb, £2 1s 9d Olive colour, 0 cwt 2 qr 16 lb, £6 7s 0d Verdigris, 25 lb, £5 10s 9d Black lead, 0 cwt 1 qr 16 lb, £2 8s 4d Blue smalts, 0 cwt 2 qr 19 lb, £6 11s 1d White copperas, 10 lb, £0 10s 0d Green copperas, 16 lb, £0 2s 2d Red lead, 10 lb, £0 2s 3d Flake white, 0 cwt 1 qr 6 lb, £1 19s 0d Blue paint, 10 lb, £1 19s 0d Prussian blue, 16 lb, £10 6s 3d Vermilion, 0 cwt 1 qr 2 lb, £8 7s 6d Logwood, 24 lb, £0 3s 6d Paint total, £53 0s 1d Pewter 3 quart pots, £0 9s 0d 4 half-gallon pots, £1 2s 10d 3 cans, £2 12s 0d 6 basins, £0 17s 6d Pewter total, £5 1s 4d 1 pump, £12 13s 3d Pitch and tar, 31 barrels, £55 16s 7d Carried forward, £8,213 13s 7d **Interpretations** In August the island had run out of oil and had no other means of light. On 30 August 1779 the Council then bought 1,008 gallons from William Wrangham. By the end of September the warehouse still held 978 gallons of train oil, worth over £144 0s

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1. 6 Flake White 1 19 . 18 Blue paint 1 19 . 16 Prussian Blue 10 6 5 1. 2 Vermilion 8 7 6 24 Logwood . 5 6 53 . 1 Pewter Viz. 3 Quart Pots . 9 . 4 Half Gallon Pots 1 9 10 3 Cans 2 12 . 6 Basons . 17 6 5 1 4 Pump 1 12 13 3 Pitch 31 Barrels Tar 55 16 7 Carried over £ 8213 13 7	0d. Nearly all of that stock came from the councillor's single sale. The garrison's lamps, the hospital and the batteries had drawn only a few dozen gallons from it in a month. The Council had evidently bought enough to last well into the following year, since whalers called irregularly and no one could tell when the next supply would arrive. The paints included several pigments that are now unfamiliar. Verdigris was a green-blue copper acetate, scraped from copper plates exposed to vinegar, and used as a pigment and a wood preservative. Copperas was iron or zinc sulphate, used as a dye fixative and for ink-making. Prussian blue was the first modern synthetic pigment, discovered in Berlin early in the century. It gave a strong blue far cheaper than the ground lapis it replaced. Vermilion was a brilliant red made from mercury sulphide, the costliest pigment in the store. Flake white was the finest grade of white lead, used for finishing coats. Roves were the small washers clenched over copper or iron nails in boatbuilding to hold the planks together.
195	191	1779 Brought over £ 8213 13 7 Serge Viz. 43 Yards Scarlet 12 2 . 10½ Do. Blue 4 2 12 52½ Do. Green 11 9 6 ½ Do. Blue Duffle Damaged . 3 8 Ps. Yds. 1 4 Yards White Fustain 3 14 3 12 Yds. Blue Sagathy 2 Do. Do. Do. damaged 1 16 2 17 Do. White Silk Serge 4 13 6 1 Do. Scarlet Camblet Damaged . 3 8 8¼ Do. Brown Do. Do. 1 9 4 28 Do. Blue Do. 2⅝ Do. Do. Do. Damaged 4 17 7 24 Do. Scarlet Long Ells 2 17 . 2 Do. Green Do. . 5 10 10 Do. Coloured Shaloon 1 19 2 48 7 9 Scales and Weights Viz. 1 Pr. Large Scales 12 11 . 2 Beams 14 6 . 26 6 11 Saddlery Viz. 11 Half Curb Bridles 5 8 2 11 Snaffle Do. 3 7 7 18 Cruppers 1 10 4 76 Girths	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £8,213 13s 7d Woollen cloth Scarlet serge, 43 yards, £12 2s 0d Blue serge, 10½ yards, £4 2s 11d Green serge, 52½ yards, £11 9s 6d Blue duffle, damaged, ½ yard, £0 3s 8d White fustian, 1 piece of 4 yards, £3 14s 3d Blue sagathy, 12 yards, and 2 yards more damaged, £1 16s 2d White silk serge, 17 yards, £4 13s 6d Scarlet camlet, damaged, 1 yard, £0 3s 8d Brown camlet, damaged, 6¼ yards, £1 9s 4d Blue camlet, 28 yards, and 2⅜ yards more damaged, £4 17s 7d Scarlet long ells, 24 yards, £2 17s 0d Green long ells, 2 yards, £0 5s 10d Coloured shalloon, 10 yards, £1 19s 2d Woollen cloth total, £48 7s 9d Scales and weights Large scales, 1 pair, £12 11s 0d 2 beams, £14 6s 0d Scales and weights total, £26 6s 11d Saddlery 11 half-cheek bridles, £5 8s 2d 11 snaffle bridles, £3 7s 7d 18 cruppers, £1 10s 4d 76 girths, £5 15s 7d Stirrup leathers, 31 pairs, £6 8s 6d 6 surcingles, £1 0s 0d 2 headstalls and reins, £0 6s 9d Saddlery total, £23 16s 11d Sailors' clothing Men's breeches, 2 pairs, £0 7s 10d Boys' breeches, 10 pairs, £1 13s 4d 27 hats, £2 5s 0d Sailors' clothing total, £4 6s 2d Soldiers' clothing 48 soldiers' coats and breeches, £69 3s 9d 2 sergeants' coats and breeches, £10 9s 0d Soldiers' clothing total, £79 12s 9d Carried forward, £8,396 4s 1d **Interpretations** Duffle was a coarse, heavy woollen cloth with a thick nap, named after the town of Duffel near Antwerp, where it was first made. Fustian was a stout twill woven from a linen warp and a cotton weft,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 15 7 31 Prs. Stirrup leathers 6 8 6 6 Surcingles 1 . . 2 Headstalls and Reins . 6 9 23 16 11 Sailors Cloaths Viz. 2 Prs. Mens Breeches . 7 10 10 Prs. Boys Do. 1 13 4 27 Hats 2 5 . 4 6 2 Soldiers Cloaths Viz. 48 Soldiers Coats and Breeches 69 3 9 2 Serjeants Do. and Do. 10 9 . 79 12 9 Carried over £ 8396 4 1	used for working clothes and linings. Camlet was a fine fabric once woven from camel or goat hair and by this date usually made of wool mixed with silk or hair. A surcingle was a strap passed round a horse's body to hold a saddle or blanket in place. The warehouse kept 48 complete soldiers' suits in reserve against the five issued during the quarter. That meant only part of the garrison could be newly clothed. The Company's issue of coats and breeches to its soldiers came from England at fixed intervals. The stock on hand at the end of September was the margin from which the Council replaced uniforms that wore out before the next consignment arrived.
196	192	18 October Brought over £ 8396 4 1 Sashes Viz. 1 Case turned Newels . 2 11 1 Do. Bannisters Contg. 70 6 18 . 1 Do. Carved Brackets 26 3 9 2 1 Glass Squares 1 6 6 3 Cases Sashes contg. 14 45 1 8 3 Do. Lead Weights 6 16 10 65 16 2 Shirts Viz. 1430 Soldiers 317 1 1 Ps. Yds. 3 18½ Fine Irish Linen 20 15 3 2 Brown Holland 4 15 . 12½ Ticking 1 2 11 28 Rolers . 15 3 344 1 10 Shoes Viz. 5 Prs. Womens Calf Leather . 16 3 12 Do. Girls Calimanco 1 17 . 15 Do. Do. Calf Leather 1 13 9 1 Pr. Stretchers . 2 7 4 9 7 Tin Ware Viz. 13 Canteens . 17 10 2 Globe Lamps . 3 8 24 Patty Pans . 4 6 15 Cullinders 1 . 4 14 Watering Pots 2 12 9	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £8,396 4s 1d Joinery fittings 1 case of turned newels, £2 11s 0d 1 case of banisters, containing 70, £6 18s 0d 1 case of carved brackets, containing 26, £3 9s 2d 1 case of glass squares, £1 6s 6d 3 cases of sashes, containing 14, £45 1s 8d 3 cases of lead sash weights, £6 16s 10d Joinery fittings total, £65 16s 2d Shirts and linen 1,430 soldiers' shirts, £317 1s 1d Fine Irish linen, 3 pieces 18 yards, £20 15s 3d Brown holland, 2 pieces, £4 15s 0d Ticking, 12 yards, £1 2s 11d 28 rollers for bandages, £0 15s 3d Shirts and linen total, £344 7s 10d Shoes Women's calf leather shoes, 5 pairs, £0 16s 3d Girls' calimanco shoes, 12 pairs, £1 17s 0d Girls' calf leather shoes, 15 pairs, £1 13s 9d Shoe stretchers, 1 pair, £0 2s 7d Shoes total, £4 9s 7d Tinware 13 canteens, £0 17s 10d 2 globe lamps, £0 3s 8d 24 patty pans, £0 4s 6d 15 colanders, £1 0s 4d 14 watering pots, £2 12s 9d Solder, 0 cwt 2 qr 3 lb, £2 5s 5d Tinware total, £7 4s 6d Turnery 11 hair brooms, £1 11s 2d 12 skimming dishes, £0 3s 6d 8 pump boxes, £1 7s 0d 75 paint brushes, £1 9s 0d 19 plasterers' brushes, £1 8s 11d 27 shoe brushes, £0 12s 0d 3 clothes brushes, £0 10s 0d Turnery subtotal carried forward, £9 2s 11d Carried forward, £8,818 2s 2d **Interpretations** The cases of turned newels, banisters, carved brackets and sash windows were not stores for general sale. They were the prefabricated fittings of a gentleman's house, made in England and shipped out in cases ready for installation: a staircase with its balustrade and fourteen glazed sash windows with their counterweights. St Helena had no joiners able to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Qr. lb. 2. 3 Solder 2 5 5 7 4 6 Turnery Viz. 11 Hair Brooms 1 11 2 12 Skimming Dishes . 3 6 8 Pump Boxes 1 7 0 75 Paint Brushes 1 9 8 19 Plastr. Do. 1 8 11 27 Shoe Do. . 12 . 3 Cloth Do. . 10 . Turnery carried over £ 9 2 11 Carried over £ 8818 2 2	turn and carve such work in quantity, and the island's own timber was scarce. Their presence in the warehouse points to a planned rebuilding of one of the Company's principal houses, probably the Castle or the Governor's country residence, in the current English style. The warehouse held 1,430 soldiers' shirts, enough to give every man in the garrison three or four. Shirts were the one item of clothing a soldier wore out fastest and had to buy himself, through stoppages from his pay. A deep stock let the Company sell them steadily across several years without waiting on each season's shipping. Calimanco was a glossy woollen cloth, often striped or patterned, used for women's and girls' shoes and petticoats.
197	193	1779 Brought over £ 8818 2 2 Turnery Brought over £ 9 2 11 1 Constables Staff . 0 3 1 Tubmans Yoke . 1 8 49 Punch Ladles 1 9 7 17 Do. Strainers . 14 2 11 Wood Bowls . 11 10 8 Platters . 9 5 16 Ox Bows . 10 . 8 Yokes for Oxen 3 11 10 82 Labourers Baskets 4 8 10 21 17 5 Lead Pipes &c. 34 Yds. 2 Inches of 2 Inpasse 20 10 9 257 Do. of ¾ Do. Do. 43 6 5 2 Inch round Shank Cocks . 16 11 8 Cocks Balls and Bosses 2 19 . 12 Small Do. Do. & Do. 4 5 8 24 Brass Do. Do. and Do. 5 4 2 12 Stop Cocks 2 2 2 12 In. Washers and Wasters 1 19 . 12 Small Do. and Do. 1 18 5 2 Prs. Joints Do. and Do. 1 2 10 Cwt. qr. lb. 4. -. 27 Solder 20 14 10 3 Brass Valves with Tubes 1 16 4 3 Brass Valves . 16 6	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £8,818 2s 2d Turnery brought forward, £9 2s 11d 1 constable's staff, £0 0s 3d 1 tubman's yoke, £0 1s 8d 49 punch ladles, £1 9s 7d 17 punch strainers, £0 14s 2d 11 wooden bowls, £0 11s 10d 8 platters, £0 9s 4d 16 ox bows, £0 10s 0d 8 yokes for oxen, £3 11s 10d 82 labourers' baskets, £4 8s 10d Turnery total, £21 17s 5d Lead pipes and water fittings 2-inch lead pipe, 54 yards, £20 10s 9d ¾-inch lead pipe, 257 yards, £43 6s 5d 2 iron-bound shank cocks, £0 16s 11d 8 cocks with balls and bosses, £2 19s 0d 12 small cocks with balls and bosses, £4 5s 8d 24 brass cocks with bosses, £5 4s 2d 12 stopcocks, £2 2s 2d 12 iron washers and wastes, £1 19s 0d 12 small iron washers and wastes, £1 18s 5d 2 swing cocks with bosses, £1 2s 10d Solder, 4 cwt 0 qr 27 lb, £20 14s 10d 3 brass valves with tubes, £1 16s 4d 3 brass valves, £0 16s 6d 4 dressers and 6 tampions, £0 13s 0d Lead pipes and fittings total, £107 19s 6d Total value of European goods, £8,947 19s 1d Indian and Chinese goods Tea Singlo tea, 7 cwt 3 qr 25 lb, and congou tea, 9 cwt 3 qr 27 lb, £107 10s 0d Bohea tea, 21 cwt 0 qr 26 lb, £71 7s 3d Hyson tea, 5 canisters, £1 8s 4d Souchong tea, 1 canister, £1 7s 0d Tea total, £181 12s 7d Carried forward, £9,129 11s 2d **Interpretations** The lead pipes and fittings made up a complete water system waiting to be laid. More than 300 yards of pipe, ball cocks, stopcocks, valves, washers and four hundredweight of solder were enough to carry water from a spring or reservoir into the town and the landing place. Ball cocks closed automatically when a cistern filled. Stopcocks and valves let a plumber cut off one branch without draining the rest. Dressers and tampions were the plumber's wooden tools for opening and shaping the ends of lead pipe before soldering. The repairs to the watercourse

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 Dressers and 6 Tampions . 13 . 107 19 6 Europe Goods amount to 8947 19 1 India Goods Viz. Tea Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 7. 3. 25 Single 9. 3. 27 Congo 107 10 0 21. -. 26 Bohea 71 7 3 5 Cannisters Hyson 1 8 4 1 Do. Souchon 1 7 0 181 12 1 Carried over £ 9129 11 2	leading to the crane in June show how much the island's shipping depended on fresh water at the wharf. These stores, together with the sash windows and staircase fittings, point to a programme of public works planned in London and shipped out ahead of the labour to build it. The ox yokes and bows were for the teams that drew the Company's carts on the island's steep roads. Oxen were used instead of horses because they could haul heavy loads of stone, lime and guns up gradients where horses failed. The tea stock of more than 38 cwt confirms that the shortage behind the July dispute was over once the China ships had landed their cargoes.
198	194	18 October Brought over £ 9129 11 2 Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 392. -. 21 Sugar 530 18 0 101. -. 12 Candy 215 4 4 746 3 . China Ware Viz. 291 Meat Plates 5 7 . 38 Do. Dishes 2 10 0 381 Soup plates 8 5 4 82 Guglets 74 Basons 6 10 . 26 Chamber Pots 1 19 . 1342 Bowles 7 4 . 711 Quarter pint Cups and Saucers 10 6 . 319 Half Do. Do. and Do. 12 2 5 10 Stone Tea Pots 9 7 6 14 Stone Breakfast Sets 8 8 . 388 Sneakers 5 5 5 77 3 . Long Cloth 13½ Ps. No. 1 66 19 6 Candles Cwt. qr. lb. 4. 1. 21 51 8 2 Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 300. -. 19 Rice 104 6 . 79. 1. 6 Paddy 15 10 10 119 16 10 Sago 7 lb. . 1 9 Chelloes 224 Pieces 115 . . Spice Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 8. 2. 15 Pepper 24 3 6 1½ Cinnamon	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1779 concluded as follows. Brought forward, £9,129 11s 2d Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 392 cwt 2 qr 21 lb, £530 18s 0d Sugar candy, 101 cwt 0 qr 12 lb, £215 4s 4d Sugar and candy total, £746 3s 0d China ware 291 meat plates, £5 7s 0d 38 meat dishes, £2 10s 0d 381 soup plates, £8 5s 4d 82 goglets and 74 basins, £6 10s 0d 26 chamber pots, £1 19s 0d 1,343 bowls, £7 4s 0d 711 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £10 6s 0d 319 half-pint cups and saucers, £12 2s 3d 10 stoneware teapots, £9 7s 6d 14 stoneware breakfast sets, £8 8s 0d 388 sneakers, £5 3s 5d China ware total, £77 3s 2d Longcloth, number 1, 13½ pieces, £66 19s 6d Candles, 4 cwt 1 qr 21 lb, £51 8s 2d Rice and paddy Rice, 300 cwt 2 qr 19 lb, £104 6s 0d Paddy, 79 cwt 1 qr 6 lb, £15 10s 10d Rice and paddy total, £119 16s 10d Sago, 7 lb, £0 1s 9d Chelloes, 224 pieces, £115 0s 0d Spices Pepper, 8 cwt 2 qr 15 lb, £24 3s 6d Cinnamon, 1½ lb, £1 5s 6d Mace, 1 lb, £1 0s 0d Spices total, £26 9s 0d Madeira wine, 1,243 gallons, £277 6s 9d Total value of European and Indian goods, £10,609 19s 4d Daniel Corneille signed the inventory at St Helena on 30 September 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for September. **Interpretations** At the end of September the warehouse held more than 300 cwt of rice and nearly 80 cwt of paddy. During the same quarter the Company's slaves received only 12½ cwt of rice, and the Council told the commanders of the *Glatton* and the *Royal George* that it had too little rice to supply them. The rice was therefore being deliberately held back, not exhausted. The Council kept the grain as a reserve against the next failure of the harvest or the shipping, while the slaves lived on the island's yams and the ships took flour and salt pork instead. The year's experience explains the caution. The drought had shown how quickly the island's food could fail, and in wartime no

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 5 6 1 Mace 1 . . 26 9 . Wine 1243 Galls. Madeira 277 6 9 Europe and India Goods amount to £ 10609 19 4 St. Helena 30 Septr. 1779 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of September last which is as follows Viz.	one could predict when the next rice ships from India would arrive. The warehouse also held nearly 400 cwt of sugar and over 100 cwt of sugar candy, landed from the China ships and the *Queen*. Only ten weeks earlier, the scarcity of sugar had set the garrison's lieutenants against the Council. The stock now on hand would last the island well over a year at normal consumption. The rationing by rank that the officers had protested had become unnecessary almost as soon as the Council refused to abandon it.
199	195	Cash Dr. 1779 Septr. 1 To Balance remaining £ 22861 9 5 11 To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble. Court of Directors payable to Robert Wigram Esqr. 150 . . 30 To Jonathan Doveton received of him for Stores 1391 15 10 To Plantations for Provisions Sold 52 17 . To Licences 10 . . To Customs received on 219 Gallons Arrack 2 14 9 To Rents 636 16 6 To Fortification for Lime Sold 14 6 3 To Do. for 38 Feet Purbeck Stone Sold 3 9 8 £ 25123 9 5 Per Contra Cr. 1779 Septr. 30 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salary's &ca. in the Quarter ending this day 5433 14 3 By Balance remaining Viz. In Specie£ 19150 . 2 In Cash Notes 539 15 . 19689 15 2 £ 25123 9 5 **Margin Notes:** 1779	The Company's cash account for September 1779 recorded the following receipts. 1 September 1779, balance in hand, £22,861 9s 5d 11 September 1779, cash received in exchange for a set of bills on the Court of Directors, payable to Robert Wigram, £150 0s 0d 30 September 1779, Jonathan Doveton, for stores sold, £1,391 15s 10d 30 September 1779, the Company's plantations, for provisions sold, £52 17s 0d 30 September 1779, licences, £10 0s 0d 30 September 1779, customs duty on 219 gallons of arrack, £2 14s 9d 30 September 1779, rents, £636 16s 6d 30 September 1779, the fortifications, for lime sold, £14 6s 3d 30 September 1779, the fortifications, for 38 feet of Purbeck stone sold, £3 9s 8d Total receipts, £25,123 9s 5d The other side of the account showed how the money was applied and what remained. 30 September 1779, advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other payments in the quarter ending that day, £5,433 14s 3d Balance in hand, in coin, £19,150 0s 2d Balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £19,689 15s 2d Total, £25,123 9s 5d **Interpretations** The coin in the treasury chest fell from more than £22,300 0s 0d at the end of June to £19,150 0s 2d at the end of September. In the June quarter, the homeward fleet had paid nearly £1,000 0s 0d for stores and the passengers had bought £3,440 0s 0d in bills on London, which more than covered the pay list. This quarter the treasury had no such income. The China and India ships' purchases had not yet been settled, and only one bill of £150 0s 0d was sold. The Council paid the garrison almost entirely out of its reserve. At that rate of loss, the island's silver would last little more than a year and a half without fresh coin or a profitable season of shipping. The rents of £636 16s 6d were the largest local receipt. That explains the Council's caution in passing the landholders' plea for relief to the Court of Directors rather than remitting the rents itself. Purbeck stone was a hard, polishable limestone quarried on the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset and used for paving, steps and hearths. It had come out as ballast or building stone. The fortifications sold the surplus to private builders, together with lime from the Company's kilns, and recovered a small part of the cost of their own works.
200	196	18 October Major Henry Bazett reports that he has been on board the Ships Royal George, Glatton, Hillsborough	Major Henry Bazett reported that he had been on board the *Royal George*, the *Glatton*, the *Hillsborough*, the *Shrewsbury*, the *Queen*, the *Mount Stuart* and the *Godfrey* to muster their crews and search for deserters,

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		Shrewsbury, Queen, Mount Stewart and Godfrey to Muster their Companys and Enquire for Deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follow Viz. Muster Roll of Ship Royal George Thomas Foxall Commander James Thompson Chief Mate Charles Chambers 2 Do. John Lloyd 3 Do. William Wood 4 Do. Charles Chandler 5 Do. Rowley Kent Surgeon George Perry Purser Robt. Wright Gunner William Hayland Carptr. Willm. Willard Boatswain Alexr. Drew Mids. & Coxswain James Allen Midshipman Robt. Beck Do. David Duff Ships Steward William Jones Sailmaker James Cox Cooper William Dixon Caulker Thomas Bin Armourer Thomas Hyde Carp. 1 Do. Robt. Creech Do. 2 Do. John Mild Gunners Do. Edward Lloyd Do. Abraham Jolleson Boats. Do. John Godfrey Caulkers Do. William Porter Carpenter James Hill Butcher Mattw. Grill Quarter Master John West Do. Robert Ryder Do. William Downes Thomas Tyrrell Seaman William Scott William Lewis Henry Mitchell Charles Wallace James Sutherland Richard Jones William Booth John Hitman James Teal Charles Adolph David Scarfield James Welch Christian Linden Cornelius McDonald Jacob Beer Heinrich Cartwright Robt. Barton Richd. Barnes Thomas Brown John Hamilton Andrew Cameron Samuel Clerkstone William Jackson Lewis Marc Charles Martin John Lockhay John Walker Charles Pierce Peter Bedell Philip Harmon Alexander Fraser Ordinary Jacob Petts Willm. Hindall Thomas Harvey Jacob Keck George Cocker Willm. Grainger Cornelius Olsen	and that he had found none. Their muster rolls followed. The muster roll of the *Royal George* ran as follows. Officers and petty officers Thomas Foxall, commander James Houghton, chief mate Charles Chambers, second mate John Lloyd, third mate William Wood, fourth mate Charles Chandler, fifth mate Rowley Kent, surgeon George Norry, purser Robert Wright, gunner William Hayland, carpenter William Holland, boatswain Alexander Drew, midshipman James Allen, midshipman Robert Beck, midshipman David Duff, captain's steward William Jones, sailmaker James Cox, cooper William Dixon, caulker Thomas Bee, armourer Thomas Hyde, carpenter's first mate Robert Creech, carpenter's second mate John Mills, gunner's mate Edward Floyd, gunner's mate Abraham Folborn, boatswain's mate John Cadoby, caulker's mate William Porter, carpenter's crew James Scott, butcher Matthew Gore, quartermaster John West, quartermaster Robert Hayden, quartermaster William Downes Seamen Thomas Tyrrell William Scott William Lewis Henry Mitchell Charles Wallace James Sutherland Richard Jones William Booth John Hitman James Teal Charles Adolph Daniel Sandford James Welch Christian Linden Oramus McDonald Jacob Beer Heinrich Cartwright Robert Baxter Richard Barnes Thomas Brown John Hamilton Andrew Cameron Samuel Clickstone William Jackson Lewis Marr Charles Martin John Lockhay John Walker Charles Powers Peter Bedel Philip Herron Ordinary seamen and landsmen Alexander Evans, ordinary seaman Jacob Potts William Hendall Thomas Harvey Jacob Kock George Cocker William Granger Cornelius Olsen

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		John Haldston James Twister James Henderson John Appleton John Murphy Daniel Murphy John Moyer Hendrick Fock Thomas Goldsmith Landsman Henry Dyer Thomas Edwards James Bishop Captn. Steward Zach. Darke Do. Do. Thomas Hoston 2 Mate Do. John Alexander Surgeons Do. Jasper Mild Gunners Do. Richd. Huber Carp. Do. Do. George Fielder Boatswains Do. Peter Copley Landsman Wm. Bailey Invalid Ensign Francis Walton Passenger from China Signed Thos. Foxall Master	John Hackston James Twisler James Henderson John Appleton John Murphy Daniel Murphy John Meyer Hendrick Fock Thomas Goldsmith, landsman Henry Dyer Thomas Edwards Servants James Bishop, captain's servant Zachariah Drake, chief mate's servant Thomas Haston, second mate's servant John Alexander, surgeon's servant Jasper Mills, gunner's servant Richard Herbert, carpenter's servant George Fielder, boatswain's servant Others on board Peter Copley, landsman William Boley, invalid Ensign Francis Weldon, passenger from China Thomas Foxall signed the roll as commander. **Interpretations** Major Bazett searched seven ships and found no deserters. Yet four soldiers of the garrison had been missing since late August. Patrick McLaughlin, James Smith, Edward Welch and James Campbell had not got away with the ships, so they were still hiding somewhere in the island's interior valleys. They could survive there only with food from planters or slaves. That explains the 40s 0d reward the Council offered on 30 September 1779, aimed at whoever was sheltering them. The *Royal George*'s crew included a striking number of foreign names, among them Hendrick Fock, Cornelius Olsen, Jacob Kock, Heinrich Cartwright and Christian Linden. The Navy's press gangs took British seamen first in wartime. Company commanders filled the gaps with Dutch, German and Scandinavian sailors recruited in Indian and Chinese ports. Lieutenant John Rowley Kent and George Norry, the surgeon and purser who witnessed John Mitchell's will, appear here among the officers.
201	197	1779 Muster Roll of Ship Glatton. Richard Doveton Commander James Wainscroft Chief Mate Samuel Fox 2 Do. William Hoy 3 Do. Thomas Welladvice 4 Do. George Weatherston 5 Do. John Leech Purser John Baker Surgeon John Young Do. Mate Henry Bradley Gunner James Arnott Carpenter George Gardiner Boatswain James Birchall Do. 1 Mate Joseph Hunter Do. 2 Mate John Youngson Mids. & Coxswain Thomas Coy Midshipman John Sharpe Do. Smollet Forsyth Do. John Wiseman 2 Master Samuel Richards Do. James Douglas Do. Thomas Coy Captn. Steward Jeremiah Hodgson Ships Do. John Bentley Capt. Cook Peter Sudbury Ships Do. William Heal Caulker Henry Radford Cooper Jacob Heritage Armourer	The muster roll of the *Glatton* ran as follows. Officers and petty officers Richard Doveton, commander James Wigmore, chief mate Samuel Fox, second mate William Hay, third mate Thomas Willadice, fourth mate George Witherden, fifth mate John Leech, purser John Baker, surgeon John Young, surgeon's mate Henry Bradley, gunner James Arnold, carpenter George Gardner, boatswain James Burchall, boatswain's first mate Joseph Hunter, boatswain's second mate John Youngard, coxswain Thomas Kay, midshipman John Tripp, midshipman [...] Smallbridge, midshipman John Wickman, quartermaster Samuel Richards, quartermaster James Douglass, quartermaster Thomas Day, captain's steward Jeremiah Hodgson, ship's steward John Bentley, captain's cook Peter Pentney, ship's cook William Hart, caulker Henry Radford, cooper Jacob Heritage, armourer

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		Richd. Harwood Gunners Mate John Firestone Carp. Mate Willm. Haber Butcher Thomas Nevis Poulterer Willm. Brown Sailmaker David Lewin Thomas Edwards Seaman Richd. Thompson John Martin John Murry Thomas Hayes Henry Mander Moses Sutherland George Bland William Bland Francis Higgings Patrick Santon Thos. Hutcheson James Ebby Pratt Mitchell John Hoven Charles Gofey James Whiteside Abraham Finch John Upton John Kemp Daniel Barlow James Spence Curtis Carpenter Henry Cook Seaman Patrick Hyland Thomas Burke Willm. Strong Michael Lock Brown Simon Conner William Welch William Carey Richd. Baxter Thomas Gater Thomas Brownell Richd. Burgess William Bell Henry Kenaga William Cole John Lowless Charles Ashley Andrew Grant Capt. Steward Henry Cordy Do. Henry Horne Surgeons Mate Soloman Walker Gunners Do. Isaac Garrett Boatswains Do. Nicholas Hays Carpenters Do. John Harley Michell Noel Cornelius Pitts John Barnefield Richd. Rock George Wood Signed Thos. Welladvice	Richard Harwood, gunner's mate John Freestone, carpenter's mate William Haber, butcher Thomas Avery, poulterer William Dunn, sailmaker Seamen David Lawson Thomas Edwards Richard Thompson John Smith John Murray Thomas Hayes Henry Mealor Moses Sutherland George Bland William Bland Francis Higgins Patrick Hanlon Thomas Hutchinson James Eckley Pratt Middleton John Heron Charles Godfrey James Whiteside Abraham Fench John Upton John Kemp Daniel Barlow James Spence Charles Carpenter Henry Cook Patrick Ryland Thomas Brooks William Strong Michael Lord Brown Simon Conner William Welch William Carey Richard Baxter Thomas Gater Thomas Brownell Richard Burgess William Bell Henry Kenaga William Cole John Lovelace Charles Mobley Servants Andrew Grant, captain's servant Henry Cordy, captain's servant Henry Horne, surgeon's servant Solomon Walker, gunner's servant James Garrett, boatswain's servant Nicholas Hayes, carpenter's servant Others John Hurley Michael Neale Cornelius Potts John Barnsfield Richard Rook George Wood Thomas Willadice signed the roll. **Interpretations** The *Glatton* was commanded by Captain Richard Doveton, the commander who had written on 5 October 1779 asking for rice and peas after a long passage from China. On 4 October 1779, Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, had asked leave to sail home to restore his health and to take the opportunity of his brother's return to England. That brother was evidently Richard Doveton. The Doveton family, planters and Company servants on St Helena, also supplied a commander to the Company's China fleet. The captain's ship gave the ailing storekeeper a passage among his own family, a

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			privilege that only the island's best-connected families could arrange.
202	198	18 October Muster Roll of Ship Hillsborough Pet. Collet Commander James West Chief Mate Thos. Ward 2 Do. Alexander Webster 3 Do. Charles Best 4 Do. Robert Jones 5 Do. Patrick Boyle Purser Henry Bradley Surgeon Geo. Wilkie Midshipman Geo. Watts Do. John Trotter Do. Wm. Pickering Do. Francis Hicks Do. Alexr. Duncan Gunner Saml. Corbet Boatswain Joseph Lock Carpenter John Morris Ships Steward James Anderson Capt. Do. John Hoyle Do. Cook James Ellis Cooper Thomas Nicholson Caulker Wm. Robinson Ships Cook Frederick Stephens Butcher Wm. Munday 2 Master John Moyse Do. John Stewart Do. Vincent Brand Do. Wm. Cook Gunners Mate James Ball Sailmaker Adam Turnbull Armourer Robt. Wilson Boatswains Mate James Ireland Do. Do. Wm. Goodfellow Carp. Do. Thomas Kerr Coopers Do. John Smith Wm. Williams Capt. Servants James Howard Chief mate Hector Fuller 2 Do. Do. John Cummings 3 Do. Do. Alexr. Davis Surgeons Do. Robt. Lawson Boatn. Do. Alexr. Murray Gunr. Do. Willm. Barnard Carp. Do. Thomas Roberts Seaman Dennis Brenner Robt. Cuffe James Kelly William Wood John Cox John Brown John Langdock John Cook Henry Joyce Thomas Jamison William Bardell Joseph West Christr. Cooper William Webber William Williams John Gwes Peter Barney James Jason John Hall Donald McStenchey George Robinson Thomas Doran William Hoey Hannah Lusins Peter Hoey Seaman Charles Colhamp	The muster roll of the *Hillsborough* ran as follows. Officers and petty officers Pell Collet, commander James West, chief mate Thomas Wood, second mate Alexander Webster, third mate Charles Bird, fourth mate Robert Green, fifth mate Patrick Bogle, purser Henry Bradley, surgeon George Wilkie, midshipman George Watts, midshipman John Trotter, midshipman William Pickering, midshipman Francis Hicks, midshipman Alexander Lawson, gunner Samuel Carroll, boatswain Joseph Louch, carpenter John Morris, ship's steward James Anderson, captain's steward John Naylor, captain's cook James Ellis, cooper Thomas Nicholson, caulker William Robinson, ship's cook Frederick Stephens, butcher William Munday, quartermaster John Meyer, quartermaster John Stewart, quartermaster Vincent Pearse, quartermaster William Cook, gunner's mate James Bell, sailmaker Adam Turnbull, armourer Robert Wilson, boatswain's mate James Ireland, boatswain's mate William Goodfellow, carpenter's mate Thomas Kerr, cooper's mate Servants John Smith, captain's servant William Williams, captain's servant James Howard, chief mate's servant Hector Fuller, second mate's servant John Cummings, third mate's servant Alexander Duncan, surgeon's servant Robert Lawson, boatswain's servant Edward Murray, gunner's servant William Burnard, carpenter's servant Seamen Thomas Roberts Dennis Brennan Robert Cuffe James Kelly William Ward John Cox John Bean John Langdock John Cook Henry Sayer Thomas Jameson William Bardsley Joseph West Christopher Cooper William Fuller William Williams John Jones Peter Berry James Farran John Hall Donald Henchey George Robinson Thomas Doran William Hay Hezekiah Lucas Peter Hoey

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		James Dalton Samuel Hatton Robert Barches John Duff George Tree Willm. Langley James Knighton Willm. Kippax James Spence Thomas Vickerman Patrick Johnson John Hubbard Francis Barber Henry James James Belmore Dennis Malone Thomas Holmes Joseph Booth Peter Holland William Hill Benjn. Brown Michael Hay Robert Fordsby Ephraim Storr Nicholas Frederick Hugh Ashton John Best Thomas Jones Invalid James Taylor Do. John Lowrow Do. Mr. John Crook Passenger Munge Do. Servant Signed Pett. Collet Master	Charles Edwards James Dobbins Samuel Fulton Robert Barclay John Duff George Price William Langley James Knighton William Hopper James Spence Thomas Vickerman Patrick Johnson John Hubbard Francis Barker Henry James James Belman Dennis Malone Thomas Holmes Joseph Booth Peter Holland William Hill Benjamin Brown Michael Hay Robert Sorby Ephraim Stone Nicholas Frederick Hugh Ashton John West Invalids Thomas Jones James Taylor John Lowrie Passengers Mr John Orrock Mungo, his servant Pell Collet signed the roll as commander.
203	199	1779 Muster Roll of Ship Shrewsbury John Oggan Commander Samuel Gandy Chief Mate Robt. Ley 2 Do. John Pompitt 3 Do. Robt. Jones 4 Do. William Smith 5 Do. Charles Walker Surgeon Henry Howard Dick Purser Davey Lewis Midshipman John Sandles Do. James Patterson 2 Master James McGowne Do. Richd. Blair Do. John Thompson Do. Archibald Duncan Do. James Ferguson Do. John Ellis Carpenter Peter Mullin Gunner John Jeffries Boatswain Thomas Lofthorpe Cap. Steward Andrew Dundale Ships Do. James Habeck Caulker Joseph Williams Cooper William Batty Capt. 1 Mate William Sutton Do. 2 Do. John Hamilton Do. Do. Joseph Allen Gunners Do. Mathew Ridge Armourer James Foster Boatswains Mate Fredk. Smith Ships Cook John Thompson Cap. Do. James Leeson Do. Servant Daniel Harvey Do. Wm. Foster 1 Mate Do. John Mountain 2 Do. Thos. Frances Surgeons Do. Henry Jewell Carp. Do.	The muster roll of the *Shrewsbury* ran as follows. Officers and petty officers John Coggan, commander Samuel Gandy, chief mate Robert Ley, second mate John Pomfrett, third mate Robert Evans, fourth mate William Smith, fifth mate Charles Walker, surgeon Henry Edward Dickey, purser Davey Lewis, midshipman John Sandler, midshipman James Patterson, quartermaster James McGuire, quartermaster Richard Blair, quartermaster John Thompson, quartermaster Archibald Duncan, quartermaster James Ferguson, quartermaster John Ellis, carpenter Peter Mullins, gunner John Jeffries, boatswain Thomas Lapthorpe, captain's steward Andrew Dunlop, ship's steward James Holcroft, caulker Joseph Williams, cooper William Batty, carpenter's first mate William Sutton, carpenter's second mate John Maltby, caulker's mate Joseph Allen, gunner's mate Matthew Midge, armourer James Foster, boatswain's mate Frederick [...], ship's cook John Thompson, captain's cook Servants James Turner, captain's servant Daniel Harvey, captain's servant William Foster, first mate's servant John Mountain, second mate's servant Thomas Francis, surgeon's servant

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		Thomas Vizard Gunner Do. George Brown Boat. Do. John Gilbert Seaman John Aitcheson John Evans James Elderson Henley Bowden John Dean Thomas Varson Andrew Stephenson Willm. Jacobson Daniel Miller Jacob Smith Lawrence Brown Charles Tallis Richd. Ramsay Richd. Downes Erick Homer Swayey John Silva John Howland Francis Lewis Francis Perera John Williams Pedro Joseph Anthony Silvares Pedro Silvia Charles Thomas Gafer Isvan Johnwolt John Swarez Fragey Anthony Cruze John Rodrigo George Francisco Bordin Santon Joseph Lewis Charles Dios Booter Rodrigo John Rogers Cato Coorp Domine Jesra Panchee Kassim Alferch Jama Ramjohny Seacar Ashemia Doody Esaak Tirman Hamere Peru Doulat Pinche Seacar Boderlaw Cassim Mongo Domo Pannech Carreres Doulat Chandoorbuckas Passengers Nathan Bateman & 1 Servt. Richd. Mathews & 1 Captn. Jacob Brown & 3 Do. Mons. McCleod Monsieur Bushel & 1 Black Servt.	Henry Jewell, captain's servant Thomas Vizzell, gunner's servant George Bowman, boatswain's servant Seamen John Gilbert John Aitcheson John Evans James Ellison Henry Burden John Dean Thomas Vernon Andrew Stephenson William Jacobson Daniel Miller Jacob Smith Lawrence Brown Charles Fuller Richard Ramsay Richard Downes Peter Homer John Silvia John Rowland Francis Lewis Francis Pereira John Williams Pedro Joplin Anthony Fatheres Pedro Silva Charles Thomas Gafoor Juan [...] John Severe Antonio Cruz John Rodriguez George Francisco [...] Fenton Joseph Lewis Charles Dias Pedro Rodrigues John Rogers Cato [...] Ivora Panchoo Hassan [...] Jumma Ramjohnny, lascar Aboneed Dooly Esaak Peeman Hemmon Peeru Doulut Punchoo, lascar [...] Cassim Mingo Dama [...] Doulut Chandrabuckus Passengers Mr Nathan Bateman and 1 child Richard Matthews and 3 children Sarah Brown and 3 children Mrs McClure Monsieur Buchet and 1 black servant **Interpretations** The lower half of the *Shrewsbury*'s roll was filled with Portuguese and Indian names: Pereira, Silva, Dias and Rodrigues, together with Gafoor, Jumma, Hassan, Cassim and men listed as lascars. Lascars were Indian seamen, Muslim and Hindu, recruited in Bengal,

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			Bombay and Madras. The Portuguese names belonged to Christian sailors from Goa and the Malabar coast. With British seamen taken by the Navy's press gangs in wartime, Company commanders made up their crews in Indian ports, and a homeward ship might arrive at St Helena with a third or more of her hands from the East. Lascars were paid far less than European seamen and were often discharged in England with little means of getting home.
204	200	18 October French Passengers Monsieur Dache Chief Engineer Cadet Lieut. Do. Dougharsta Lieut. Monbith Do. Rouland Do. Deballas Do. Jouvelle Do. De Vienne Do. Dufaur Do. 19 Private Soldiers Signed John Oggan - Muster Roll of Ship Queen Peter Douglas Commander Clement Hall 1 Mate Robert Anderson 2 Do. Richd. Livingston 3 Do. George Jacques 4 Do. George Lewis 5 Do. Robt. Dagley Purser Saml. Brorie Surgeon Willm. Swinbank Gunr. William Adams Carpr. Nichl. Lawrence Boatn. Henry Seatwain Mids. & Coxn. John Veach Midshipman Thos. Newbury Do. Joseph Brooks Do. Willm. Marcha Do. Wm. Dick Surg. Mate Jas. Birch 2 Master Saml. Taylor Do. Thomas Royce Do. Peter Bryson Ships Steward Valentine Albrecht Cooper Wm. Towning Carpr. Mate James Dean Joiner Benjn. Hancock Capt. Cook Jas. Brumfield Coopers Mate Dav. Eder Caulkers Do. Jasper Ray Butcher Edwd. Balch Poulterer Davd. Jonathan Seaman Hugh Ross John Cox Richd. Boulton John Dancer Frank Sannatta Matthew Priest George Stewart David Owen Thomas Pera Philip Sandover Nichl. Hodds Carsten Holtee Carsten Hidder Robt. Trevice Bernard Garnes Bastin Basanko Domingo Ferro Richd. Jewell Thos. Stephens James Braswell	The *Shrewsbury*'s roll ended with the French passengers she carried as prisoners. French passengers Monsieur Duché, chief engineer Monsieur Cadet, lieutenant Monsieur Daughmarker, lieutenant Monsieur Monteith, lieutenant Monsieur Rouland, lieutenant Monsieur Debullar, lieutenant Monsieur Saurelle, lieutenant Monsieur De Verne, lieutenant Monsieur Dufour, lieutenant 19 private soldiers John Coggan signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Queen* began as follows. Officers and petty officers Peter Douglas, commander Clement Hall, chief mate Robert Anderson, second mate Richard Livingston, third mate George Jacques, fourth mate George Lewis, fifth mate Robert Dagley, purser Patrick Brown, surgeon William Swinbank, gunner William Adams, carpenter Nicholas Lawrence, boatswain Henry Smithers, midshipman and coxswain John Veach, midshipman Thomas Newbury, midshipman Joseph Brooks, midshipman William Marsha, midshipman William Dick, surgeon's mate James Birch, quartermaster Samuel Taylor, quartermaster Thomas Royce, quartermaster Peter Bryson, ship's steward Valentine Albrecht, cooper William Fanning, carpenter's mate James Swan, joiner Benjamin Hancock, captain's cook James Bromfield, cooper's mate David Eden, caulker's mate Isaac Ray, butcher Edward Balch, poulterer Seamen David Jonathan Hugh Ross John Cox Richard Boulton John Dancer Frank Sannalla Matthew Priest George Stevens David Owen Thomas Pena Philip Sandover Nicholas Hodds Carsten Hollee Carsten Hedda Robert Trevice Bernard Garnes Bastian Basank Domingo Franco Richard Jewell

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		Thos. Bennett James Marlow Stephen Mitchell Willm. Moore Robert Beattie Peter Victory Robt. Williams Seaman Jonas Barnes Peter Gordon Thomas Moore Nichl. Hart Joseph Willis Andw. Dixon Willm. Farrell Holoner Hansman Derick Spade Alexr. Mowbray Nichl. Myer James McNeale John Wilkinson Peter Vansbury John Fry Cornl. Johnson George Smith Peter Grace John Peters John Haywood Andw. Laird Mantagore Cato John Evan Robt. Frazer John Mustafa Jas. Garvyne	Thomas Stephens James Braswell Thomas Bennett James Marlow Stephen Mitchell William Morris Robert Beattie Peter Victory Robert Williams Jonas Barnes Peter Gordon Thomas Moore Nicholas Harts Joseph Wallis Abraham Dixon William Farrell Hilmer Hansman Patrick Spade [...] Nicholas Myer James McNeale John Wilkinson Peter Vansburg John Fry Cornelius Johnson George Smith Peter Grace John Pikes John Haywood Andrew Laird Mantagore Cato John Evan Robert Frazer John Mustapha Joseph Gavigan **Interpretations** George Jacques, the *Queen*'s fourth mate, was the man who sold the Company £44 5s 0d of bunting on 4 October 1779. The cloth came from his private stock, not from the ship's cargo. Every officer of an East Indiaman was allowed a share of the hold for his own trade, graded by rank. Even a junior mate could carry goods to sell at the ports where the ship called. St Helena, chronically short of manufactured goods, was a ready market for such private ventures. The Council bought from the ships' officers whatever its own stores lacked. The *Shrewsbury* also carried a chief engineer, eight lieutenants and 19 soldiers of the French army. Like the officers in the *Gatton*, they were probably part of the Pondicherry garrison, sent to France under the terms of the capitulation of 1778.
205	201	1779 Stephen Sinclair Seaman John Goadby Michl. Acre Willm. Macquerie William Woodbine Colonel Kirkpatrick Passenger Mr. John Lewellin Mr. Marsden Mr. Sage Mr. Johnson Miss Eliz. Hall Two Miss Lewellins Wm. Raymond John Aleck Thomas Sturgeon Four Servants (Signed) Peter Douglas Muster Roll of Ship Mount Stuart John Stewart Commander Nathl. Dance 1 Mate	The *Queen*'s roll concluded with these names. Seamen, continued Stephen Sinclair John Goadby Michael Arr William Masquerie William Woodbine Passengers Colonel Kirkpatrick Mr John Llewellin Mr Marsden Mr Sage Mr Johnson Miss Elizabeth Hall The two Misses Llewellin William Raymond John Alcock Thomas Sturgeon 4 servants Peter Douglas signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Mount Stuart* began as follows.

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		James Stewart 2 Do.	Officers and petty officers
		Peter Bryson 3 Do.	John Stewart, commander
		Robert Tolcinsfield 4 Do.	Nathaniel Dance, chief mate
		John Thompson 5 Do.	James Stewart, second mate
		John Evans Purser	Peter Bryson, third mate
		Robt. Whitfield Carpenter	Robert Delamaine, fourth mate
		Henry Duncan Boatn.	John Thompson, fifth mate
		John Hinds Gunner	John Evans, purser
		John Davis Mids. & Coxn.	Robert Whitfield, carpenter
		Geo. Evans Mids.	Henry Duncan, boatswain
		John Adams Do.	John Hinds, gunner
		Benjn. Bell Cooper	John Davis, midshipman and coxswain
		Fredk. Stanck Armourer	George Evans, midshipman
		Jas. Pursfel Caulker	John Adams, midshipman
		John Rathbone Do. Mate	Benjamin Bell, cooper
		Thos. Bartlett Capt. Steward	Frederick Stank, armourer
		John Pemberton Do. Cook	James Perfect, caulker
		Abrm. Allen Ships Do.	John Hallam, caulker's mate
		John Rigg Butcher	Thomas Bartlett, captain's steward
		Thos. Brownell Carp. Mate	John Pembleton, captain's cook
		Thos. Lee Gunr. Do.	Alexander Watson, ship's cook
		John King Boatn. Do.	John Tigg, butcher
		James Teal Seaman	Thomas Bennett, carpenter's mate
		Willm. Willsha	Thomas Lee, gunner's mate
		Thos. Newhouse	John King, boatswain's mate
		John Fairweather	Seamen
		John Irvine	James Teal
		Philip Sandes Seaman	William Willsha
		John Young	Thomas Newhouse
		Thomas Allison	John Fairweather
		John Henderson	John Irvon
		John Francis	Philip Dundas
		Chas. Lovett	John Young
		Benjn. Pierson	Thomas Ollson
		Chas. Turner	John Henderson
		Andrew Marine	John Francis
		Michl. Vanderholt	Charles Lovett
		Andw. Rebridge	Benjamin Pearson
		George Brown	Charles Turner
		Willm. Cluggee	Andrew Marine
		Richd. Roberts	Michael Vanderholt
		Danl. Hitchcock	Abraham Bettridge
		Alexr. Nichols	George Brown
		Thos. Parker	William Clegg
		Willm. Glover	Richard Roberts
		Simon Logan	Daniel Hitchcock
		John Brown	Alexander Nichols
		George Brown	Thomas Parker
		Andw. Ross	William Glover
		Robert Jackson	Simon Logan
		Henry Bramett	John Brown
		Henry Williams	George Brown
		Jasper Watt	Andrew Ross
		Peter Hemmington	Robert Jackson
		Willm. Bushell	Henry Bramwell
		Robert Hisley	Henry Williams
		Jasper Adams Seaman	Jasper Watt
		Henry Mitchell	Peter Hammington
		Thos. Johnson	William Bushell
		Chas. White	Robert Hurley
		Joseph Rebridge	Jasper Adams
		Thos. Moore	Henry Mitchell
		John Gilbert	Thomas Johnson
		Thos. Hendley	Charles White
		Peter Barnett	Joseph Kitteridge
		John Fizard	Thomas Moore
		Rhodes Brown	John Gilbert
		Saml. French	Thomas Hendley
		John Archer	Peter Barrett
		John Nadman	John Foxard
		John Novel	Rhodes Brown
		John Blaning	Samuel French
		Thos. Bradley	John Archer
		John Guest	John Madman
		Peter Gardener	John Nevil
		Edward Power	John Hanning

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		Richd. Reed Wm. Durand Wm. McLaughlin Robt. Fullerton George Golding Stephen Oldin Manuel Joaquin Thos. Oven Peter Harrison	Thomas Bradley John Guess Peter Gardner Edward Perrier Richard Reed William Durand William McLaughlin Robert Fullerton George Golding Stephen Olsher Manuel Joaquin Thomas Owen Peter Harrison
206	202	18 October Surang Lascar Denoo Noormacood Solomon John Pedro Lascar Fratoo Mahammed Peroo Fakheer Mahomdume Lascar Jack Vesente Isomaella Sobhire Supoo Passengers Mr. and Mrs. Golding Mr. Forleman & Family Mrs. Ridges & Family Miss Southby Captain Ash Captn. Harris Mr. William Dundass Tabitha McKinnon Two Children Eight Servants French Passengers Count De Corre Major Monsieur Lottinan Secretary Thirty one Private (Signed) John Stewart. Muster Roll of Ship Godfrey Francs. Reed Commander Henry Greuber 1 Mate Richd. Harding 2 Do. John Townsend 3 Do. Jackson Dawson 4 Do. Matthew Collins Surgn. Jas. Taverner Gunner Robert Welch Carptr. Alexr. Henry Boatn. Robt. Willson 2 Mate Alexr. Willson 2 3 Do. Jas. Deck Midshipman George Cope Do. George Mencefs Do. Thos. Griffiths Gunr. Mate Chas. Crawford Carp. Do. Josiah Sealy Boatn. Do. John Clements Do. Robert Mason Caulker Joseph Bullock Cooper Stephen Joseph Gunr. Servt. Robt. Matthews Coopers Mate Thos. Sidle Caulkers Do. Willm. Story Captn. Cook Francs. Test Do. Mate Matthew Jones Ships Cook Chris. Stock Butcher	The *Mount Stuart*'s roll concluded with these names. Lascars and other seamen Surang, lascar Denoo Noormahmood Solomon John Pedro, lascar Tratoo Mahammed Peroo Fakheer Mahamdeme, lascar Jack Vicente Soomawilla Sukheera Sufoo Passengers Mr and Mrs Golding Mr Forbman and family Mrs Hodges and family Miss Southby Captain Ash Captain Harris Mr William Dundas Tabitha McKinnon 2 children 8 servants French passengers Count De Caen, major Monsieur Pittiau, secretary 31 private soldiers John Stewart signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Godfrey* began as follows. Officers and petty officers Francis Reed, commander Henry Gruber, chief mate Richard Harding, second mate John Townsend, third mate Jackson Dawson, fourth mate Matthew Collins, surgeon James Turner, gunner Robert Welch, carpenter Alexander Henry, boatswain Robert Wilton, [...] Alexander Wilton, [...] James Dark, midshipman George Cox, midshipman George Mendes, midshipman Thomas Griffiths, gunner's mate Charles Crawford, carpenter's mate Josiah Seeley, boatswain's mate John Clements, boatswain's mate Robert Mason, caulker Joseph Bullock, cooper Stephen Joseph, gunsmith Robert Matthews, cooper's mate Thomas Siddle, caulker's mate William Story, captain's cook Francis Fost, cook's mate

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		Thos. Small Poulterer Henry Corbett 2 Master Wm. Tindley Do. Chas. Simpson Do. Wm. Harvey Do. Hugh Travers Do. John Mattocks Do. Peter Bryson Seaman John McNeall John Marshall Alexr. Reed Jas. Roach Jas. Riddle Joseph Holdden George Ross Alexr. Chambers Seaman Thomas Gates Robert Martin David Thompson John Anderson John Duncan Michl. Newall Saml. Gowan Robt. Crawford William Sampson Saml. Reed Thos. Law George Walker James Jeffreys Henry Moon Jacob Hyler Peter Ramsted Nathl. Grove Edward Gregg James Robinson Wm. Elliott	Matthew Jones, ship's cook Christopher Stock, butcher Thomas Small, poulterer Henry Corbett, quartermaster William Tindley, quartermaster Charles Simpson, quartermaster William Harvey, quartermaster Hugh Graves, quartermaster John Mattocks, quartermaster Seamen Peter Bryson John McNeale John Marshall Alexander Reid James Roach James Riddle Joseph Holden George Ross Alexander Chambers Thomas Gates Robert Martin David Thompson John Anderson John Duncan Michael Newall Samuel Gowan Robert Crawford William Sampson Samuel Reed Thomas Laws George Walker James Jeffreys Henry Moon Jacob Hyler Peter Ramsted Nathaniel Grew Edward Gregg James Robinson William Elliott **Interpretations** The first name among the *Mount Stuart*'s Asian seamen, Surang, was probably not a personal name but the title serang. The serang was the boatswain and headman of a lascar crew. He recruited the men in port, kept discipline among them and dealt with the ship's officers on their behalf. A Company commander rarely managed his lascars directly. He hired the whole group through their serang, who was often the only one entered by office. With 31 more soldiers and a major in the *Mount Stuart*, the French prisoners passing through the road that season ran to well over 100 men across the *Royal Admiral*, the *Gatton*, the *Shrewsbury* and the *Mount Stuart*. A force of that size, trained and disciplined, rivalled one of the island's own companies. That explains why the Council kept every prisoner who landed inside the town's sentry line.
207	203	1779 Marquis Black Christobel Do. Allis Do. Symound Do. Augustine Do. John Debac Do. Bastion Do. Gowie Lascar Kasoon Cockeys Casob Abdull Sally Mahomet Dowlat Abelies Burra Bea Lascar Assaree	The *Godfrey*'s roll concluded with these names. Black seamen Marquis Christobel Allis Symond Augustine John Debae Bastion Lascars and other seamen Gowie, lascar Rasoon Cockeys Caseb Abdull Sally Mahomet Dowlet Abelies

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		Burra Banjou Meran Sandy Cudda Bera Bungo Unde Chimney Chassal Mausaden Burra Small Chutta Bera John Rogers Mundy Augun Inkhon Lascar Cocheum Chaul Chutta Small Sudy Soloman Thomas Rogers Gespont Aaron Anthony Jas. Hutton Invalids John Froggatt Willm. Frazier John Wright Gabl. Steel William Cotton William Frazier Passengers Mr. and Mrs. Pattle Three Children & four Servts. Colonel and Mrs. Horn Mrs. Wedderburn Two Children & 3 Servants Genl. des Anquetil Lieut. Monsieur Carlet Captain Vizome Lieut. Archer Guilliard Sevenne Surgeon 1 Serjeant 2 Corporals 20 Grenadiers Four Servants (Signed) Francs. Reed On the 11 Instant We received the following Letter from Monsieur Anquetil Briancourt Mr. Skottowe Governeur de St. Helene et Son Conseil Messieurs Le 3 Novembre 1778 j'ai été fait prisonnier de guerre a Surate avec les Francois que etoient pour lors avec moi j'y etois en qualité de Consul il me fut alloué dans le meme moment par l' administration Angloise de Surat une Subsistance proportionnée a mon Etat et a ma Nombreuse famille ainsy qu'aux autres Francois Le 2 fevrier de cette presente année 1779 nous avons été menés a Tannah Isle Salsette où le Chef et le Conseil de Bombay nous ont continué le meme traitement. -	Burra Bow, lascar Assaree Burra Banjou Meean Sandy Cuddra Bora Bunga Unde Chimmee Chassal Mausaden Burra Small Chutta Bora John Rogers Mundy Augum Inkhon, lascar Cochenn Chaul Chutta Small Lindy Soloman Thomas Rogers Geshont Aaron Anthony Invalids James Shuttee John Friggott William Frazier John Bright Gabriel Steel William Cotton William Frazer Passengers Mr and Mrs Pattle 3 children and 4 servants Colonel and Mrs Hoon Mrs Widdowson 2 children and 3 servants French passengers General des Arenques Lieutenant Sevene, surgeon Monsieur Carlet Captain Vienne Lieutenant Archer Guillard 1 sergeant 2 corporals 20 grenadiers 4 servants Francis Reed signed the roll. On 11 October 1779, the Council received a letter written in French from Monsieur Anquetil Briancourt, addressed to Governor Skottowe and his Council. Anquetil explained that on 3 November 1778 he had been taken prisoner of war at Surat, together with the French who were there with him while he served as consul. The English administration at Surat had at once granted him an allowance suited to his rank and to his large family, as it had to the other Frenchmen. On 2 February 1779 the prisoners were moved to Tannah, on the island of Salsette. There the chief and the Council of Bombay continued to treat them on the same terms. **Interpretations** Anquetil Briancourt had been the French consul at Surat. He was the head of the Anquetil family listed among the *Royal Admiral*'s passengers in September: Monsieur Anquetil, Madame Anquetil and their daughters. Surat lay within the British sphere on the west coast of India, and when war broke out the British seized the French consul and his household. The British authorities at Surat and Bombay had paid him an allowance matched to his rank, as was customary for a gentleman prisoner. His letter was evidently leading up to a claim for the same treatment

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			at St Helena. That claim would test whether the Council was bound to keep on his allowance while the ship carrying his family waited for convoy in the road. Several of the *Godfrey*'s Asian seamen bore names beginning with Burra and Chutta, which mean "senior" and "junior" in Hindustani. Lascar crews were organised in ranks under their serang and his deputies. Those prefixes marked the senior and junior holders of the same post or name. The seven seamen listed as black were probably Africans or men of African descent signed on in Indian or Portuguese ports.
208	204	18 October Le 6 May suivant nous avons été embarqué sur le Royal Admiral Mr. Huddart Commandeur le dit vaisseau avoit recu un Ordre de ses Superieurs pour que nous fuyons traités a son Bord avec toutes les attentions et convenances que nous pourions desirer. - Le 21 Aoust dernier arrivés en rade de cette Isle, le Capitaine nous signifia qu'il n'avoit plus de Vivres a nous donner tous le tems de la relache de St. Helena et fit en effet dés le meme jour descendre ses Serviteurs et le Lendemain il nous fit - expressement annoncer qu'il n'y avoit plus de Table a bord pour nous. - Le 24 du meme mois le delabrement de notre santé et la necessité de chercher a vivre nous obligerent de descendre a terre. Depuis ce tems J'y suis avec toute ma Famille Ainsy que les Francois du Consulat de Surate embarquée avec moi sur le Royal Admiral. - Voila Messieurs bientot deux mois que nous sommes icy ou la disette et la Cherté des vivres nous font faire des depenses considerables Ainsy Je vous prie de vouloir bien donner vos ordres pour que la subsistance nous soit delivrée avant notre depart de cette Isle tant pour ma famillee que pour Mr. De Moncref Chancelier du Consulat et Mr. Guillier et la Vaye Le Roy que tous trois ont eté fait prisonniers avec moi a Surate. Je pense que vous n'aurés aucune objection a suivre a cet egard la conduite qu'ont tenu Visavis de nous le Conseil Anglois de Bombay et celui de Surate, la subsistance est due sans aucune exception ny restriction a tous prisonniers de Guerre En effet privés de leur liberté ils n'ont aucune moyen a se procurer meme le necessaire C'est donc a ceux qui leur enleve cette liberté a'y pourvoir d'une maniere ou d'une autre. - Vous avés si bien senti Messieurs la justice de cette demande que Mrs. Les Officiers Francois du Vaisseau Le Gatton sur leur representations ont obtenu de vous toute satisfaction a ce Sujet et pour vous mettre a meme de nous l'accorder aussi Je vous envoie copie de la Lettre que J'ai	Anquetil went on to say that on 6 May 1779 the prisoners were embarked on the *Royal Admiral*, commanded by Mr Huddart. Huddart had received orders from his superiors to give them places at his table with every attention and comfort they could wish. On 21 August 1779, when the ship anchored in the road, the captain told them that he had no more wine to give them for the whole of the stay at St Helena. The same day he withdrew his servants from them. The next day he announced that there was no longer any table for them at all. On 24 August 1779 their poor health and the need for fresh provisions forced them to come ashore. Anquetil had lived on the island ever since with his whole family, as had the other members of the Surat consulate who had sailed with him. They had now been on the island almost two months. The scarcity and high price of food had cost them a great deal. Anquetil therefore asked the Council to order that their subsistence be paid before they left, both for his family and for Monsieur Le Moncrif, chancellor of the consulate, and Messieurs Cubliers and Le Roy, all taken prisoner with him at Surat. He expected the Council to have no objection to following the practice of the English councils at Bombay and Surat. In his view, subsistence was owed without exception or limit to every prisoner of war. Men deprived of their liberty had no means of providing even their necessities, so the duty to provide for them fell on those who had taken that liberty away. The Council had already recognised the justice of such a claim when the French officers of the *Gatton* obtained satisfaction from it. He hoped it would now grant the same to him. He enclosed a copy of a letter he had received from the Bombay administration a few days before boarding the *Royal Admiral*. He signed the letter at St Helena on 16 October 1779 as Anquetil de Briancourt. **Interpretations** Anquetil's claim placed the Council in a bind of its own making. On 23 August 1779, it had allowed the sick French prisoners ashore only on condition that they paid their own expenses. Anquetil had come ashore on 24 August 1779 on exactly those terms. Yet on 30 September 1779 the Council had ordered Job Strong to feed the *Gatton*'s officers as gentlemen, on the ground that ill treatment disgraced the Company. Anquetil turned that ruling into a precedent. He also argued from the principle of war that a captor owed his prisoners their keep. Captain Huddart had evidently been paid to feed the passengers at his table and had stopped once the ship reached St Helena, pocketing the difference for the weeks spent waiting for convoy. Monsieur Moncrif, Cubliers and Le Roi, named in the letter, were the same men listed among the *Royal Admiral*'s passengers in September.

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		recue de l'administration de Bombay quelques jours avant notre embarquement sur le Royal Admiral. J'ay l'honneur d'etre avec la plus haute Consideration Messieurs De St. Helene Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur Le 16 Obre. 1779 (Signé) Anquetil De Briancourt	
209	205	1779 To which Letter We returned the following Answer - A Monsieur Anquetil De Briancourt Sir Your Letter of yesterday We have received, and in answer thereto must inform you, that We can by no means comply with your request for Money to defray the Expences yourself and Family have been at since here, and which you was made acquainted with before you came on shore. With respect to Captain Strongs advancing Money on account of the French Officers on board his Ship, must observe to you, that its entirely at his own request, not by any Order or desire of Ours and should Captain Huddart whom you are a Passenger with, chuse to do the same We have no objection. - We are St. Helena Sir 17 October 1779 Your Obedient Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthew Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henry Bazett Agreeable to the Honorable Court of Directors Orders, We this day received of Mr. John Howard the sum of £18. 15 - for half the deficiency of Sheep in the Honorable - Company's Stock. Joseph Hunt, Edward Welch, James Cammel, Patrick McLaughlin, James Smith, and Gerrard Ammanus Private having absented themselves from the Garrison for some time past. We ordered the Adjutants on board the Ships in the Road to make a strict search for them, who returned and reported to the Governor that they could not find or procure any intelligence respecting them. We therefore wrote the following Letter to the several Commanders -	The Council replied to Monsieur Anquetil de Briancourt. It had received his letter of the day before. It could not agree to pay the expenses that he and his family had incurred on the island, since he had been told the terms before he came ashore. As for Captain Strong advancing money for the French officers on board his ship, the Council stated that he had done so entirely at his own wish and not by any order or request from the Board. If Captain Huddart, in whose ship Anquetil was a passenger, chose to do the same, the Council had no objection. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 16 October 1779. In accordance with the Court of Directors' orders, the Council received £78 15s 0d that day from Mr John Terrall. This was half the value of the shortfall in sheep in the Company's flock. Six privates, Joseph Hunt, Edward Welch, James Campbell, Patrick McLaughlin, James Smith and Gerrard Ammanus, had been absent from the garrison for some time. The Council had ordered the adjutants to search the ships in the road thoroughly. They reported to the Governor that they could neither find the men nor learn anything about them. The Council therefore wrote the following letter to the commanders. **Interpretations** The Council's reply to Anquetil rewrote its own record. On 30 September 1779 it had "required" Job Strong to feed the *Gatton*'s French officers as officers and gentlemen, citing the disgrace to the Company's service. Now, faced with a claim that would make the Company pay prisoners' expenses ashore, it described Strong's action as voluntary. The obvious course was to treat both groups alike. The Council separated them because Strong's costs fell on his ship's owners and the Company's charter terms, while Anquetil's claim would have come out of the island's treasury. The Council passed the burden back to Huddart, leaving the French consul to argue with a ship's commander rather than the Company. The payment by John Terrall shows the Company charging a private person for loss to its livestock. Terrall had evidently kept or managed the Company's sheep under an agreement that made him answerable for the flock. The Court of Directors had ruled that he should bear half the shortfall, with the Company absorbing the other half. That division reflected the drought, which made it unfair to place the whole loss on the keeper. Two more names had joined the list of missing soldiers: Joseph Hunt and Gerrard Ammanus of the First Company.
210	206	18 October Sir The undermentioned Men having deserted the Garrison and there being every reason to suppose they have secreted themselves on board some of the Ships now in the Road, notwithstanding the repeated search that has been made for them. This is therefore to require you to have the strictest search made on board your Ship in order to	The letter to the commanders, sent on the Council's orders, stated that the men listed below had deserted from the garrison. Despite the repeated searches, there was every reason to believe they were hiding aboard one of the ships now in the road. Each commander was therefore required to have his ship searched as strictly as possible to find them. If any of them proved to be on board, the commander would answer for it to the Court of Directors. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 18 October 1779. The deserters named were these.

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		discover the said Deserters, otherwise should they prove to be on board you must be answerable to the Honorable the Court of Directors for the same. - By Order of Council St. Helena 18 Octr. 1779 (Signed) B Wright Secry. Joseph Hunt Edward Welch James Cammel Patrick McLaughlin James Smith Gerrard Ammanus We this day received the two following Letters from Captain Francis Reed - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena Gentlemen Having had a long Passage am run short of Provisions therefore must beg leave to request that you will spare me seven Tierces of Pork or other Cask that the whole Contents may be three hundred and seventy pieces, and likewise three Casks of Europe Flour and you'll very much oblige Gentlemen your most Obedient humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) 18 October 1779 Francis Reed - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena Gentlemen Understanding there has been Sheep given in for Slaughter	Joseph Hunt Edward Welch James Campbell Patrick McLaughlin James Smith Gerrard Ammanus The Council received two letters that day from Captain Francis Reed of the *Godfrey*. In the first, Reed explained that a long passage had left him short of provisions. He asked the Council to spare him seven tierces of pork, or other casks, to a total of 370 pieces, and three casks of English flour. He signed the letter at St Helena on 18 October 1779. Reed's second letter opened with his understanding that sheep had been offered for slaughter. **Interpretations** The Council's letter changed the search from a favour into a liability. Major Bazett and the adjutants had already been through every ship and found nothing. Rather than search again itself, the Council placed the burden on each commander and warned that any deserter found aboard would be charged to him before the Court of Directors. A commander faced losses to his pay and his future appointments if the Court ruled against him. That gave him a stronger reason than any search party to make his own officers turn out the hold before sailing. The threat mattered most in the last days before the fleet left, which was exactly when the June deserters had made their escape.
211	207	1779 Slaughter, and I having General Des Auvergnes and Staff on Board find it extremely difficult to provide for them must beg the favour that you'll grant me twenty of the said Sheep and you'll lay an obligation on Gentlemen St. Helena Your most Obedient humble Servant 18 October 1779 Signed Francis Reed We directed the Secretary to write him the following Answer - To Captain Francis Reed Commander of Ship Godfrey Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that you can be supplied from the Company's Stores with the Salt Pork and Flour you require, as to Sheep you are permitted to purchase them from the Inhabitants. - I am St. Helena Sir 18 October 1779 Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry. We this day received the following Letter from Captain Peter Douglas The Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena - Worshipful Sir and Sirs The length of our Passage from Bencoolen obliges me to apply to you for the following Supply of Provisions - Ten Tierces of Beef 60 lb. ea.	Captain Reed went on to say that he had the French general Des Arenques and his staff on board, and he was finding it extremely hard to provide for them. He asked the Council to grant him 20 of the sheep and said he would be much obliged. He signed the letter at St Helena on 18 October 1779. The Council told the secretary to reply to Captain Francis Reed of the *Godfrey*. Reed could have the salt pork and flour he had asked for from the Company's stores. As for sheep, he was free to buy them from the inhabitants. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 18 October 1779. The Council received a letter that day from Captain Peter Douglas of the *Queen*. The length of his passage from Bencoolen forced him to ask for the following provisions. Salt beef, 10 tierces of 60 pieces each Salt pork, 4 casks of 53 pieces each Flour, 6 casks of 300 lb each Douglas signed the letter at St Helena on 18 October 1779. **Interpretations** The Council gave Reed salt pork and flour from the stores but refused him any of the Company's sheep, sending him to the inhabitants instead. The obvious course was to supply a Company ship carrying a French general from the Company's flock. The refusal followed from the state of that flock. The livestock account showed the Company holding only 238 sheep at the end of September, most of them breeding ewes, and the Court had just made John Terrall pay for half the shortfall. Every wether killed for a ship's table set back the rebuilding of the flock after the drought. Planters, by contrast, could sell surplus animals at a price that brought cash into the island. Directing Reed to the market protected the Company's breeding stock and let the inhabitants profit from the fleet.

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		Four Casks Pork 53 Do. Six Casks of Flour 300 Do. St. Helena I am with respect 18 October 1779 Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most Obedt. Servant (Signed) Peter Douglas	
212	208	18 October The following Answer was returned. To Captain Peter Douglas Commander of Ship Queen Sir This is to inform you that you may be supplyed from the Honble. Company's Stores with ten Tierces of Pork, Four of Beef and the quantity of Flour you require. - I am St. Helena Sir 18 October 1779 Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry. We received the following Letter from Captain Robert Ker - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council Gentlemen The ten Working days that are allowed by the Honble. Court of Directors to unload the Cargo for this place elapsing this day but owing partly to the sick and weakly Condition of the Ships Company and to the many unavoidable delays I have met with from the number of Shipping at this Port, there being only one place to load and unload all Boats at, and I having a much larger quantity of Stores for this Island than usual, it has been absolutely impossible for me hitherto to Land half of the Cargo. I therefore request you will allow me ten days more, or any space of time you may think reasonable. - I am St. Helena Gentlemen 18 October 1779 Your most Obedt. humble Servant Signed Robert Ker	The secretary replied to Captain Peter Douglas of the *Queen*. Douglas could be supplied from the Company's stores with ten tierces of pork, four of beef and the flour he had asked for. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 18 October 1779. The Council received a letter that day from Captain Robert Ker. The ten working days allowed by the Court of Directors for unloading the island's cargo ran out that day. Ker explained that he had not been able to land even half of it. His crew were sick and weak, and he had met many unavoidable delays because of the number of ships in the road. There was only one place where every boat had to load and unload, and he was carrying a much larger quantity of stores for the island than usual. He asked the Council to allow him ten more days, or whatever time it thought reasonable. He signed the letter at St Helena on 18 October 1779. **Interpretations** Douglas had asked for ten tierces of beef and four casks of pork. The Council reversed the proportions and gave him ten tierces of pork and four of beef. The inventory of 30 September 1779 explains why. The warehouse then held only three casks and 40 pieces of beef against more than 330 casks and tierces of pork. Whatever beef had come ashore since then was too scarce to hand out in the quantity a captain asked for. Each ship received a token amount of beef, and the rest of its meat in pork. Captain Ker's ship was probably the *Princess Royal*, which arrived from England on 5 October 1779. Her ten working days would have ended on 18 October. Her request shows the bottleneck at the island's single landing place. Every boat from every ship had to use the same steps and crane at James Town. With nine or ten ships in the road at once, a store ship could wait days for her turn. Ker's appeal to the ships crowding the landing was a reason the Council could hardly refuse, since its own convoy arrangements had kept those ships there.
213	209	1779 To the above Letter the Secretary was directed to return the following Answer - To Captain Robert Ker Commander of Ship Princess Royal Sir I am directed by the Board in answer to your address to them, requiring an allowance of ten days over and above the time specified by Charter Party for the delivery of your Cargo at this place, they direct me to inform you they cannot deviate from the Honorable Company's Orders, and the usual Custom and Terms of Charter Party but as they are sensible you must have met with considerable delays from the number of Shipping in the Road and sickly Condition of your People shall enter your Letter upon this days Consultation and make not the least doubt but the same will be amicably settled	The Council told the secretary to reply to Captain Robert Ker, commander of the *Princess Royal*. The Board could not depart from the Company's orders or from the usual custom and terms of the charter-party by allowing ten days beyond the time fixed for delivering his cargo. It recognised, however, that he must have met with considerable delays from the number of ships in the road and the sickness of his crew. It would therefore enter his letter in the minutes. The Council had no doubt that the matter would be settled amicably between the Court of Directors and his owners. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 18 October 1779. The Council received three letters that day from Captain John Stewart of the *Mount Stuart*. In the first, Stewart set out the difficulties of his voyage. The *Mount Stuart* had been sent from Madras late in the season, and her passage to the island had taken 28 weeks. On his first attempt to round the Cape of Good Hope, from the middle of June to 10 July 1779, she laboured heavily in frequent hard gales. In the end he had to put back to St Augustine's Bay. During his stay there, so few of his men were fit for duty because of sickness that he could not examine the state of the

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		between the Honble. Court and your Owners. - I am St. Helena Sir 18 October 1779. Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry. We this day received the three following Letters from Captain John Stewart - John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. &c. St. Helena Worshl. Sir and Sirs The lateness of the Season that the Mount Stuart was dispatched in from Madrass, the long Passage of twenty eight Weeks to this Island, the frequent hard Gales of Wind, in which she laboured very much on my first attempt (from the middle of June to the 18 July) to get round the Cape of Good hope, obliging me at last to put back to St. Augustins Bay (my stay there, and the few People that were able to do duty on account of Sickness preventing my then Examining the state of the hold) this together with a hard Gale of Wind and very high Seas, that continued for eight days off Cape Lagullas	hold. After that he met a hard gale and very high seas that lasted eight days off Cape Agulhas. **Interpretations** The Council refused Ker's extension in form but granted him what mattered in substance. Charter-party terms were fixed by the Court, and the Council had no power to vary them. Any extension it granted could have been read in London as the Company's agent waiving its own contract, which would have left the Company liable for demurrage. By declining the request and putting his reasons on record, the Council left the question of who should pay for the extra days to be settled between the Court and the owners. It also gave the owners written proof that the delay had arisen from conditions at St Helena, not from neglect. St Augustine's Bay lay on the south-west coast of Madagascar. It was a sheltered anchorage where East Indiamen beaten back from the Cape could take on water, cattle and fresh food before trying again. That explains why the *Godfrey*, the *Shrewsbury* and the *Mount Stuart* were all recorded as arriving from Madras by way of Madagascar.
214	210	18 October Lagullas, again in September last, in which the Ship strained and took in a great deal of Water, made me apprehensive of damage to the Cargo, I had in consequence the Main hold opened, and am very sorry to inform you that fifteen of the Honorable Company's Bales are damaged, and from the nature of the Leak that has occasioned it, I protest it proceeds entirely from the straining of the Ship in the Gales of Wind; The Bales are opened to dry but not opened as I can do nothing else with them on board being very much hurried to get ready for Sea, by Order of Captain Richard Collins of his Majesty's Ship Warwick, under whose Convoy I am to Sail. I shall be to know if you can grant me any assistance, or what you think is best to be done regarding these damaged Bales. - I am St. Helena Worshipful Sir and Sirs 14 October 1779 Your most Obedt. humble Servant (Signed) John Stewart John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. &c. St. Helena Worshipl. Sir and Sirs Being in want of Flour and Sugar occasioned by the Mount Stuarts long Passage from Madrass I therefore beg the favour that you will grant me three thousand pounds of Flour, five hundred pounds of Sugar, and two hundred pounds of Sugar Candy and you will much oblige Worshipful Sir and Sirs St. Helena 14 Octr. 1779 Your most obedient humble Servant (Signed)	Stewart continued that he had met another gale off Cape Agulhas in September. The ship strained badly and took in a great deal of water, which made him fear for the cargo. He therefore opened the main hold. He regretted to report that 15 of the Company's bales were damaged. From the nature of the leak, he formally protested that the damage had been caused entirely by the ship straining in the gales. The bales had been put out to dry but not unpacked, since he could do nothing more with them on board. He was under great pressure to make ready for sea on the orders of Captain Richard Collins of HMS *Warwick*, under whose convoy he was to sail. He asked whether the Council could help him, or what it thought best to do with the damaged bales. He signed the letter at St Helena on 14 October 1779. In his second letter, Stewart explained that the *Mount Stuart*'s long passage from Madras had left him short of flour and sugar. He asked the Council to let him have 3,000 lb of flour, 500 lb of soft sugar and 200 lb of sugar candy. He signed the letter at St Helena on 14 October 1779. In his third letter, Stewart informed the Council that the *Mount Stuart* carried 40 French prisoners on board by order of the Governor. **Interpretations** Stewart's formal protest that the damage came from the ship straining in the gales had a precise legal purpose. A commander answered to the Company for any cargo spoiled through bad stowage, a neglected leak or careless handling. Damage caused by the perils of the sea, such as storms and the straining of the hull, fell on the owners of the goods or their insurers. A written protest, lodged at the first port and entered in the record of the Company's own Council, was the evidence that shifted the loss away from the captain. Without it, the 15 damaged bales could have been charged against his pay and his share of the voyage when the ship reached London.

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		John Stewart John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. &c. St. Helena Worshl. Sir and Sirs I take the liberty to acquaint you that the Mount Stuart has on board forty French Prisoners by order of the Governor	
215	211	[Foot of the page cut off in the image below the signatures.] 1779 Governor and Council at Madrass, and recommended by them to be Victualled the same as the Ships Company. - I therefore beg leave to request the favour that you will take under your consideration the additional number of Men occasioned by those Prisoners, and grant me a proportionable quantity of Bullocks. - I have several People now in the Scurvy and am fearful that I shall have many more in the same Condition the granting me this request will in a great measure prevent it. I am St. Helena Worshipful Sir and Sirs 14 October 1779. Your most Obedient humble Servt. Signed John Stewart The Subsequent Letter was returned in answer to the foregoing - To Captain John Stewart Commander of Ship Mount Stuart Sir We have received your several Letters of this day, and are sorry to hear that part of the Company's Cargo is damaged from the reasons you assign, and recommend to you every care towards them, But should you think it necessary to send them on shore, request you will appoint proper People to open and dry them, and may depend upon having every assistance in our power. - I am also to acquaint you, you may be supplyed with the quantity of Flour you require from the Honble. Company's Stores, but with respect to Sugar and Candy there not being a sufficiency of those Articles in Store for the use of the Island, they cannot comply with your request, therefore recommend your supplying yourself therewith from Individuals who have it upon the Island. - We are St. Helena Sir 14 Oct. 1779 Your humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille [...]	Stewart explained that the Governor and Council at Madras had put the 40 prisoners aboard and recommended that they be fed on the same terms as the ship's crew. He asked the Council to consider the extra mouths these prisoners added and to grant him a proportionate number of bullocks. Several of his men were already down with scurvy, and he feared many more would follow. Granting his request would go a long way towards preventing it. He signed the letter at St Helena on 14 October 1779. The Council replied to Captain John Stewart of the *Mount Stuart*. It had received his several letters of that day and was sorry to learn that part of the Company's cargo had been damaged for the reasons he gave. It urged him to take every care of the bales. If he thought it necessary to bring them ashore, he should appoint suitable men to open and dry them, and he could rely on every help the Council could give. He could have the flour he wanted from the Company's stores. The stores did not hold enough sugar and sugar candy for the island's own needs, however, so the Council could not meet that part of his request. It advised him to buy those articles from private individuals who had them on the island. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and Matthew Bazett signed the reply at St Helena on 14 October 1779. **Interpretations** The Council told Stewart that it lacked sugar for the island's needs. Only a fortnight earlier, the inventory of 30 September 1779 had recorded nearly 400 cwt of sugar and over 100 cwt of sugar candy in the warehouse. Stewart wanted a mere 700 lb. The obvious course was to supply a Company ship from so large a stock. The Council refused because the lesson of the previous season still governed its policy: a year's supply had once been sold off in seven months, leaving the island bare. Sending captains to private holders kept the Company's reserve intact for the inhabitants and the garrison. It also let planters and officials who had bought sugar from the store sell their surplus to the ships at a profit. The reply passed over Stewart's request for bullocks in silence. With only 65 head of cattle left for the whole season's shipping at the end of August, the Council could not give live cattle to every ship that asked. Leaving the request unanswered spared it a written refusal to a commander whose crew were already falling sick with scurvy.
216	212	18 October On the 15 Instant, We received the following Letter from Captain Joseph Huddart. - To the Worshipful Jno. Skottowe Esqr. Presidt. &c. Governor and Council on St. Helena Sirs Having received on board the Royal Admiral four Pipes and one Hhd. of Madeira Wine in my Privilege, I request	On 15 October 1779, the Council received a letter from Captain Joseph Huddart. He had taken on board the *Royal Admiral* four pipes and one hogshead of Madeira wine under his private allowance, and he asked the Council to register it. He signed the letter on board the *Royal Admiral* on 15 October 1779. The secretary replied, on the instructions of the Governor and Council, that Huddart's letter would be entered in the minutes for the attention of the

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		you will be pleased to register the same. - I am Royal Admiral Gentlemen 15 October 1779. Your most Obedient Servt. (Signed) Joseph Huddart The following Answer was returned. - To Captain Joseph Huddart Commander of Ship Royal Admiral Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that your Letter of this day will be entered upon Consultation for the observance of the Honble. Court of Directors. - I am St. Helena Sir 15 October 1779 Your obedient Servant - Signed B Wright Secry. Manifest of Treasure Viz. Shipped on Board the Queen 1 Chest No. 1 Containg. £1656 6 3 Do. on Board the Glatton 1 Do. No. 2 Do. 1392 13 . Laden by John Skottowe Esqr. Governor, both Chests to be delivered to Captain Nicholas Skottowe Berners Street London. -	Court of Directors. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 15 October 1779. A manifest of treasure was then recorded. Chest number 1, containing £1,656 6s 3d Chest number 2, containing £1,392 15s 0d Chest number 1 was shipped on board the *Queen*, and chest number 2 on board the *Glatton*. Both were laden by Governor Skottowe, to be delivered to Captain Nicholas Skottowe of Berners Street, London. **Interpretations** Governor Skottowe shipped more than £3,000 0s 0d in coin to London in his own name, entered in the Company's register as a matter of form. That sum was several years of his salary. It came from the private trade and perquisites that went with the office as well as from his pay. He split it between two ships so that the loss of either to the enemy or the sea would cost him only half. The consignee, Captain Nicholas Skottowe, was probably a kinsman who managed the Governor's affairs in England. Registering treasure was compulsory, because the Company charged freight on bullion and needed to know what left its settlements. A Governor sending his own savings home on the Company's ships was also bound to declare them in the Council's minutes, where the Court could see them. Huddart registered his Madeira for a similar reason. Wine carried within a commander's privilege paid no freight to the Company. Registering it at St Helena, entered in the Council's minutes, proved on arrival in London that the four pipes and a hogshead were his own allowance and not cargo smuggled outside it. The wine had probably been bought on the island or from another ship in the road, to be sold in England.
217	213	The Officers of His Majesty's Ship Warwick having Expended their Sea stock of Tea and Sugar from their long detention at this Island requested to be supplyed with those Articles from the Stores We therefore thought proper to present them in the Honorable Company's Name with 300 lb. Candy and 40 lb. Tea, the quantity they require. - The following is the Lieutenant Governors Account of Provisions Sold from the Honorable Company's Plantations from the 1 July to the 30th September 1779	The officers of HMS *Warwick* had used up their sea stock of tea and sugar during their long stay at the island, and they asked to be supplied from the Company's stores. The Council thought it proper to present them, in the Company's name, with the quantity they asked for: 300 lb of sugar candy and 40 lb of tea. The Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold from the Company's plantations between 1 July and 30 September 1779 followed. **Interpretations** Only days earlier, the Council had told Captain Stewart of the *Mount Stuart* that the stores could not spare him 700 lb of sugar and candy. Now it gave the *Warwick*'s officers 300 lb of candy and 40 lb of tea as a free gift, not a sale. The difference lay in who was asking and what the Council needed from them. Stewart commanded a Company ship and could buy from the inhabitants. The *Warwick*'s officers were about to escort the whole homeward fleet, and their goodwill mattered to the safety of every ship and cargo in the road. Making the gift in the Company's name, rather than selling at the store's markup, turned a supply into a courtesy. It also softened the memory of the beef the Council had refused the same ship in August.
218	214	Plantation Dr. To 1550 lb. Yams Sold £ 3 4 7 To Cash received from the Executors of Mr. Gabriel Harper's Estate for a Cow of the Company's Sold to Captain Parker wt. 264 lb. 5 10 . To 86 lb. Mutton from Company's Stock 1 15 . 8 Sheep and 1 Goat wt. 331½ lb. for the Hospital 6 18 1½	The Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold from the Company's plantations between 1 July and 30 September 1779 ran as follows. Yams sold, 1,550 lb, £3 4s 7d Cash from the executors of the late Mr Gabriel Harper, for a Company cow sold to Captain Parker, weighing 264 lb, £5 10s 0d Mutton from the Company's flock, 86 lb, £1 15s 0d 8 sheep and 1 goat for the hospital, weighing 331½ lb, £6 18s 1½d ¾ sheep sold, £0 5s 0d

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		¾ Sheep Sold . 5 . 7 Cape Sheep Sold wt. 231½ lb. 4 16 5½ 14,588 Yams to the Garrison @ 4/2 P C. wt. 30 7 10 £ 52 17 . Per Contra Cr. By Balance paid into the Honorable Company's Cash the 18 October 1779 52 17 . £ 52 17 . Errors Excepted 18 October 1779 (Signed) Danl. Corneille **Margin Notes:** 18 October	7 Cape sheep sold, weighing 231½ lb, £4 16s 5½d Yams for the garrison, 14,588 lb at 4s 2d a hundredweight, £30 7s 10d Total sales, £52 17s 0d 18 October 1779, balance paid into the Company's treasury, £52 17s 0d Daniel Corneille signed the account on 18 October 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The price the garrison paid for the plantation's yams collapsed between the two quarters. From April to June 1779, 16,024 lb of yams were charged at £95 17s 8d, roughly 12s a hundredweight. From July to September, a similar 14,588 lb cost only £30 7s 10d, at 4s 2d a hundredweight, about a third of the earlier price. During the autumn shortage, yams had replaced bread for the soldiers and were valued accordingly. Once the Cape flour arrived and the garrison's bread ration was restored, yams fell back to their ordinary value as a cheap supplementary food. The plantation's total sales halved as a result, even though it supplied almost as much food as before. The quarter's books recorded the end of the famine as plainly as the inventory of flour did. The seven Cape sheep sold came from the flock the *Hind* had brought from the Cape in August. The Council was selling them off as mutton rather than keeping all of them for breeding. Those animals had been bought chiefly to restore the island's supply of fresh meat for the ships and the hospital.
219	215	1779 The Storekeeper this day brought in his account of Waste upon Store Goods for the Year ending the 30th September last he declaring the same to be real and unavoidable. We ordered it to be Entered which is as follows Viz. Profit and Loss Dr. £85. 18. 5 lost by Leakage short Weight and measure, drawing by the Gallon and Weighing by the pound &c. in the Year ending the 30th September 1779 - Cordage Cwt. 2 3 12 2 Earthen Ware 1 Cream Coloured Tea Pot . . 11 Glass Ware Viz. 3 Wine Glasses . 2 11 1 Wine Glass . . 10 2 Squares 6 by 8 . . 6 9 Do. 8 by 10 . 5 8 8 Do. 10 by 16 . 7 8 . 17 7 Leather 8½ Sole . 9 9 Oil Viz. 40½ Galls. Train 5 3 4 13 Do. Linseed 3 4 4 3 Bottles Florence . 7 11 8 17 7 Salt 2 Bushels . 7 4 Soap Cwt. lb. 2. 2 1 7 6 Coffee 5 lb. . 4 2	Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, presented that day his account of waste on goods in the stores for the year ending 30 September 1779. He declared that the losses were genuine and could not have been avoided, and the Council ordered the account to be entered. It charged £85 18s 5d to profit and loss, lost through leakage, short weight and measure, and the wastage that came from drawing goods off by the gallon and weighing them out by the pound. Cordage, 0 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £3 12s 2d Earthenware, 1 cream-coloured teapot, £0 0s 11d Glassware 3 wine glasses, £0 2s 10d 1 wine glass, £0 0s 10d 2 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 0s 6d 9 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 5s 8d 8 panes of glass, 10 by 16 inches, £0 7s 8d Glassware total, £0 17s 7d Sole leather, 8½ lb, £0 9s 9d Oil Train oil, 40½ gallons, £5 5s 4d Linseed oil, 15 gallons, £3 4s 4d Florence oil, 3 bottles, £0 7s 11d Oil total, £8 17s 7d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 7s 4d Soap, 0 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £1 7s 6d Coffee, 5 lb, £0 4s 2d Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 8 cwt 1 qr 27 lb, £11 9s 8d Sugar candy, 7 cwt 2 qr 17 lb, £16 6s 8d Sugar and candy total, £27 16s 4d Paint Mixed white lead, 22 lb, £0 7s 6d Olive colour, 2 lb, £0 3s 6d Verdigris, 2 lb, £0 8s 11d Paint subtotal carried forward, £0 19s 11d Carried forward, £42 13s 2d **Interpretations** The store lost nearly 16 cwt of sugar and sugar candy in the year through wastage, more than 1,700 lb. Loose sugar drew damp in the island's air, set hard and lost weight in drying out, while each small sale weighed by the pound left a little in the scales and the

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		Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 8. 1. 27 Sugar 11 9 8 7. 2. 17 Candy 16 6 8 27 16 4 Paint Viz. 22 lb. White Lead mixed . 7 6 2 Olive Colour . 3 6 2 Verdigrease . 8 11 Paint Carrd. Over £ . 19 11 Carrd. Over £ 42 13 2	barrel. The loss was written off as unavoidable. Yet it was more than five times the annual allowance of 312 lb that the store had set for a junior officer, the very ration over which the lieutenants had protested in July. The Council had defended its limits on the ground that every pound of sugar mattered. Its own storekeeper's account showed that far more vanished in handling than any officer could have claimed.
220	216	18 October Brought Over £ 42 13 2 Paint brought over £ . 19 11 4 Red Lead . 1 . 6 Ven. Red mixed . 2 9 9 Blacking . 4 3 4 Starch . 2 4 1 10 3 China Ware Viz. 13 Meat plates . 4 10 10 Soup Do. . 4 7 3 Sallad dishes . 2 . 9 Sneakers . 3 . 7 Half pint Cups and Saucers . 3 3 16 Quarter Do. Do. and Do. . 4 4 1 2 . Candles Cwt. lb. 1. 6 3 16 10 Sago 16 lb. . 4 . Arrack 20 Gallons 3 10 . Spice 31 lb. Pepper . 15 6 Wine 37 Gallons Madeira 16 13 5 Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 29. 3 Rice 10 18 5 12. 3. 17 Paddy 3 14 8 14 13 1 £ 85 18 5 St. Helena 18 Oct. 1779 Errors Excepted Signed Jonn. Doveton Storekeeper Mr. Richard Goodwin this day presented the following Petition	The storekeeper's account of waste for the year ending 30 September 1779 concluded as follows. Paint brought forward, £0 19s 11d Red lead, 4 lb, £0 1s 0d Mixed red paint, 6 lb, £0 2s 9d Blacking, [...], £0 4s 3d Starch, 4 lb, £0 2s 4d Paint total, £1 10s 3d China ware 13 meat plates, £0 4s 10d 10 soup plates, £0 4s 7d 3 salad dishes, £0 2s 0d 9 sneakers, £0 3s 0d 7 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 3s 3d 14 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 4s 4d China ware total, £1 2s 0d Candles, 0 cwt 1 qr 6 lb, £3 16s 10d Sago, 16 lb, £0 4s 0d Arrack, 20 gallons, £3 10s 0d Pepper, 31 lb, £0 15s 6d Madeira wine, 37 gallons, £16 13s 5d Rice and paddy Rice, 29 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £10 18s 5d Paddy, 18 cwt 3 qr 17 lb, £3 14s 8d Rice and paddy total, £14 13s 1d Total waste for the year, £85 18s 5d Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 18 October 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. Mr Richard Goodwin presented the following petition that day. **Interpretations** Nearly 30 cwt of rice and 19 cwt of paddy were written off as waste during the year. In the quarter from July to September, the Company's slaves received only 12½ cwt of rice in all. More than twice their whole quarter's ration had been lost in the warehouse to weevils, damp, rats and spillage. Rice was the food on which the slave population normally depended, and the Council was holding back hundreds of hundredweights of it as a reserve. Storage in the island's warehouses wasted a substantial part of that reserve before anyone ate it. Holding grain for a future emergency carried a real cost, and the slaves bore it in the shortage.
221	217	1779	Richard Goodwin petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council. He was the sole executor of the

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		To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Richard Goodwin Sheweth That your Petitioner is the only Executor to the Estate of Captain Onesi. Beale late of this Island decd. and whereas by the death of Captain Richard Beale his Brother late also of the said Island dying Intestate as your Petitioner understands and without Issue, his real Estate of course descends by Law to the said Captain Onesi. Beale's Eldest Son now at Madrass. Your Petitioner therefore requests he may be put in possession of the said Estate in right of Mr. Anthony Beale the deceased Heir at Law. - And your Petitioner will ever pray. St. Helena 18 Oct. 1779. Mr. Bazett begs leave to make the following Reply to the above Petition. - Mr. Bazett conceives the Petitioner has no right to interfere or meddle, with respect to the Estate of the late Captain Richard Beale, in behalf (as the Petitioner sets forth) of Mr. Anthony Beale he being Executor to the Estate of his Father, as the said Anthony Beale is of Age, consequently the proper Person to lay claim to his Uncles Estate, if he thinks he is his lawful Heir. As the late Richard Beale has been for some Years past in a State of Insanity consequently died Intestate, and as there are no Hereditary or Estates in Fee, on this Island. Mr. Bazett has not the least doubt but the Sisters of the said deceased Richard Beale, now living and of the whole Blood are the true and lawful Heirs of their Brother, and that no one else can have any just Right, Title, or Claim to his Estate. With respect to the aforesaid Anthony Beale's being his Uncles Heir at Law, as the Petitioner says: Mr. Bazett cannot think (supposing the deceased had no Sisters living) that the said Anthony Beale has any prior Claim or right to his Uncles Estate, in preference to the deceaseds other Nephews, who are his Sisters Sons, and	estate of the late Captain Onesiphorus Beale of the island. Captain Richard Beale, the brother of Onesiphorus and also of the island, had recently died. Goodwin understood that Richard had died without a will and without children. In that case, Goodwin argued, his real estate passed by law to the eldest son of Captain Onesiphorus Beale, who was then at Madras. Goodwin therefore asked to be put in possession of the estate on behalf of Mr Anthony Beale, as the deceased's heir at law. He dated the petition at St Helena on 18 October 1779. Mr Bazett asked leave to reply to the petition. In his view, Goodwin had no right to intervene in the estate of the late Captain Richard Beale on behalf of Anthony Beale merely because he was executor of Anthony's father. Anthony was of age, and so he was the proper person to claim his uncle's estate if he believed himself the lawful heir. Bazett went on to point out that Richard Beale had been insane for some years and had therefore died without a will. The island held no hereditary estates or land in fee simple. He had no doubt that the sisters of the late Richard Beale, who were still living and were of the whole blood, were their brother's true and lawful heirs. In his view, no one else had any just right, title or claim to the estate. As to Goodwin's claim that Anthony Beale was his uncle's heir at law, Bazett could not accept it. Even if the deceased had left no living sisters, he saw no reason why Anthony should have any prior claim to his uncle's estate ahead of the deceased's other nephews, his sisters' sons. **Interpretations** The dispute turned on the nature of landholding on St Helena. In England, freehold land held in fee simple passed on an intestacy to the eldest male heir, the heir at law, by the rule of primogeniture. Goodwin's petition assumed that rule applied. Bazett's reply rested on the island's peculiar tenure. Every acre belonged ultimately to the Company and was held from it by grant or lease, so no land on the island was held in fee in the English sense. Land held on those terms counted in law as personal property, not real estate. On an intestacy, personal property was divided equally among the next of kin of the same degree, not handed to a single eldest heir. If Bazett was right, Richard Beale's land went to his surviving sisters in equal shares, and Anthony Beale, a nephew in India, took nothing. The case therefore tested whether English inheritance law applied to land on a Company island at all.
222	218	18 October stand in the same degree of Consanguinity related to their deceased Uncle, consequently would be joint Heirs with him as no Estates lineally descend on this place. Mr. Bazett must further observe in regard to what are called Freehold Estates here, he imagines cannot be deemed so in Law, as the said Lands pay an annual Rent to the Honble. East India Company of 1/ P Acre, therefore by that Tenure cannot be Freehold. For the reasons he has assigned thinks the Honorable the Court of Directors are not to be solicited or troubled in this Business as the Petitioner does not desire any application may be made	Bazett continued that the other nephews stood in the same degree of kinship to their late uncle as Anthony did. They would therefore be joint heirs with him, since no estate on the island passed down a single line of descent. He also observed that the estates called freehold on the island could not be treated as freehold in law. The land paid an annual rent to the East India Company of 1s an acre, and land held on that tenure could not be freehold. For the reasons he had given, Bazett did not think the Court of Directors should be asked or troubled about the matter. The petitioner had not sought an application to the Court. He had asked only to be put in possession of the estate on behalf of Anthony Beale. Matthew Bazett signed his reply at St Helena on 18 October 1779. The Council agreed to refer the petition and Mr Bazett's reply to the Court of Directors for legal

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		to them, but only requests to be put in possession of the said Estate in behalf of the said Anthony Beale. - St. Helena Signed 18 Oct. 1779 Matthew Bazett Agreed to refer the above Petition and Mr. Bazetts Reply to the Honorable Court of Directors for Counsel thereupon. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	counsel's opinion. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** Bazett argued that the Court need not be troubled, and he was himself a member of the Board deciding the question. The Council nevertheless referred the matter to London. The obvious course was to settle it on the island, either by granting Goodwin's petition or by accepting a councillor's reading of the law. The Council referred it because Bazett's argument reached far beyond one estate. The annual rent roll, entered only weeks earlier, listed hundreds of acres as "freehold" held by Bazett himself, the Dovetons, the Greentrees and every leading family. If Bazett was right, none of that land was freehold, and every inheritance on the island would follow the rules for personal property, dividing estates among all next of kin. A ruling of that reach on the nature of the island's land tenure belonged to the Company as landlord and to its lawyers, not to five landholders sitting as judges in their own cause.
223	219	19 October At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19th day of October 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. William Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 18 October 1779 The ten Working days allowed by Charter Party for unloading the Ship Princess Royal being expired, We this day gave Captain Robert Ker Sailing Orders in Writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the West Coast of the Island Sumatra according to instructions he has received from the Honble. the Court of Directors We likewise gave him the following Letter to Presidency of Bencoolen together with the Duplicates of Our Letters to the Presidency of Bengal and Select Committee of Supra Cargoes at Canton To the Honorable William Broff Esqr. President and Governor &c. Council of Fort Marlborough. Sir and Sirs By the Ship Bridgewater and Queen we were favored with your Letters to Us under date the 30 August 78 and 1 June 1779. - The Honble. Court of Directors having given Us Orders to Consign to your Settlement the sum of twenty thousand pounds but as We have not Silver sufficient to comply therewith and understanding that Gold will not answer for the use of your Presidency We have only transmitted you by this Ship sixteen thousand pounds as P Invoice and Bill of Lading Inclosed, and will by a future opportunity forward you the remaining sum of four thousand pounds, And have Conformable to the Commands of the Honble. Court of	The Council met at the Castle on Tuesday 19 October 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 18 October 1779. The ten working days allowed under the charter-party for unloading the *Princess Royal* had now run out. That day the Council gave Captain Robert Ker written sailing orders. In line with the instructions he had received from the Court of Directors, he was to make his way as quickly as he could to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra. The Council also gave him a letter for the Presidency at Bencoolen, together with duplicates of its letters to the Presidency of Bengal and the Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton. The Council wrote to William Broff, President and Governor, and the Council of Fort Marlborough. It acknowledged their letters of 30 August 1778 and 1 June 1779, received by the *Bridgewater* and the *Queen*. The Court of Directors had ordered the Council to send £20,000 to the Sumatra settlement. The island did not hold enough silver to meet that order in full. The Council understood that gold would not serve the Presidency's purposes. It had therefore sent only £16,000 by this ship, as shown in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading, and would forward the remaining £4,000 at a later opportunity. In line with the Court's instructions, it had also sent every dollar it held in the treasury. **Interpretations** The Court's order turned St Helena's treasury into a bank for the Company's pepper settlement in Sumatra. At the end of September 1779, the chest held £19,150 0s 2d in coin. Sending £16,000 to Fort Marlborough left the island with barely £3,000 0s 0d in silver, less than one quarter's pay for the garrison and civil establishment. The Council had little choice, since the order came from London. The reason lay in the pepper trade itself. The planters and chiefs of the Sumatran coast would sell pepper only for Spanish silver dollars and refused gold. Silver reaching St Helena from passing ships could go on to Bencoolen faster and more safely than a fresh shipment from England in wartime. The cost fell on the island, which would now depend on bills and on the next season's ships to pay its own soldiers.

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		Directors sent you all the Dollars We had in their Treasury. -	
224	220	19 October The Sugar and Arrack you were pleased to send Us by the Ship Bridgewater and the Sugar P Queen we have received and have the pleasure to acquaint you We think them good though not equal to what We receive from other Settlements, yet make no doubt but in time you will bring these Articles to greater perfection and request you will send Us the next Season fifty Baskets of Sugar and six Leagers of Arrack as that quantity will be quite sufficient for the Honble. Company's use here, and should we find these Articles upon Trial answer other purposes as respects to quality and price, application will then be made to you for a larger Supply for the use of the Island in General. - We likewise transmit you by this opportunity the Ship Princess Royal's Charter Party, Victualling Bill, and Manifest of Goods, together with Duplicates of Our Letters to the Presidency of Bengal and Select Committee of Supra Cargoes at Canton, which please forward by the first Conveyance. Also enclose for your perusal a List of Ships Arrival and departure to and from this Settlement since the 6 April 1778. We are St. Helena Sir and Sirs 19 October 1779. Your most Obedient humble Servants - Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Mattw. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett We this day wrote Captain Robert Ker the following Order -	The Council went on to say that it had received the sugar and arrack sent by the *Bridgewater* and the sugar sent by the *Queen*. It found them good, although not equal to what it received from other settlements. It had no doubt that Fort Marlborough would in time bring these articles to greater perfection. It asked for 50 baskets of sugar and six leaguers of arrack by the next season, which would be quite enough for the Company's own use on the island. If on trial these goods proved suitable in quality and price, the Council would apply for a larger supply for the island as a whole. The Council also sent by this ship the *Princess Royal*'s charter-party, victualling bill and cargo manifest, together with duplicates of its letters to the Presidency of Bengal and the Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton. It asked Fort Marlborough to forward these by the first available ship. It enclosed for their information a list of ships that had arrived at and left the island since 6 April 1778. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 19 October 1779. The Council wrote the following order to Captain Robert Ker that day. **Interpretations** The Company was trying to make its Sumatra settlement produce sugar and arrack as well as pepper, and St Helena served as its testing ground. The Council's verdict was polite but plain: the Sumatran goods fell short of those from Bengal and Batavia. It ordered only enough for the Company's own table and stores, and kept the island's general supply for proven sources until the new product improved. A small, captive market supplied entirely by the Company was a convenient place to try out a new settlement's manufactures before they were offered anywhere that customers had a choice.
225	221	1779 To Captain Robert Ker Commander of Ship Princess Royal Sir You are hereby Ordered to receive on Board the Ship Princess Royal under your Command Eight Chests of Treasure Consigned to the President and Council of Fort Marlborough on account of the Honorable East India Company. - We are St. Helena Sir 19 October 1779. Your humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthew Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham	The Council ordered Captain Robert Ker, commander of the *Princess Royal*, to take on board eight chests of treasure consigned on the Company's account to the President and Council of Fort Marlborough. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the order at St Helena on 19 October 1779 and then signed the minute.

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226	222	22 October At a Consultation held on Friday the 22d Day of October 1779 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 19th of October 1779 - We received the following Letter from Captain John Stewart - Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. &c. St. Helena - Worshipful Sir and Sirs As it is absolutely necessary to have on board my Ship, not less than Twelve Weeks Provisions for my Ships Company when I sail from hence, and I find upon examining my Provisions that I shall require a Supply of Four Casks of Beef and four Casks of Pork, I therefore have to request of you to order that I may be supplied with that Quantity of Salt Provisions to be delivered to the Mount Stuart, and it will much oblige Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most obedient Servant St. Helena Signed 20 October 1779 John Stewart	The Council met at the Castle on Friday 22 October 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 19 October 1779. The Council received a letter from Captain John Stewart of the *Mount Stuart*. Stewart explained that he had to have at least twelve weeks' provisions on board for his crew when he sailed. On examining his stores, he found that he needed four casks of beef and four casks of pork. He asked the Council to order that quantity of salt provisions delivered to the *Mount Stuart*. He signed the letter at St Helena on 20 October 1779.
227	223	1779 We directed the Secretary to return him the following Answer - To Captain John Stewart Commander of Ship Mount Stewart Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that you can be supplied from the Company's Stores with two Casks of Beef and Six of Pork you require. - I am Sir Your Obedient Servant Signed B Wright Secry. The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from Ships Shrewsbury, Godfrey and Mount Stuart Account of Stores Short received from the following Ships Viz. Shrewsbury Cwt. qr. lb. 4. 2. 15 Rice Short weight occasioned by wastage in 80 Bags 58. 2. 16 Do. Do. in 40 Bags not delivered 3. 2. 9 Paddy Short weight occasioned by wastage -. -. 9 Candles Do. 3 Gallons Arrack Short of the Gage 13 Do. Madeira Wine Short of the Gage in two Pipes 1 Pipe Madeira Wine not delivered Godfrey Cwt. qr. lb. 4. 1. 9 Rice Short weight occasioned by Wastage in 70 Bags 75. 1. 6 Do. Short in 56 Bags not delivered 10. -. 9 Paddy short weight occasioned by Wastage -. -. 3 Candles Do. 40 Galls. Arrack short of the Gage	The Council told the secretary to reply to Captain John Stewart of the *Mount Stuart*. He could be supplied from the Company's stores with two casks of beef and six of pork. Britannicus Wright signed the reply. Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, submitted that day an account of stores short received from the *Shrewsbury*, the *Godfrey* and the *Mount Stuart*. The *Shrewsbury*: Rice, 4 cwt 2 qr 15 lb, short in weight through wastage across 80 bags Rice, 50 cwt 2 qr 16 lb in 40 bags, not delivered Paddy, 3 cwt 2 qr 9 lb, short in weight through wastage Candles, 9 lb, short in weight through wastage Arrack, 3 gallons short of the measured contents Madeira wine, 13 gallons short of the measured contents in 2 pipes Madeira wine, 1 pipe, not delivered The *Godfrey*: Rice, 4 cwt 1 qr 4 lb, short in weight through wastage across 70 bags Rice, 75 cwt 1 qr 6 lb in 50 bags, not delivered Paddy, 10 cwt 0 qr 9 lb, short in weight through wastage Candles, 3 lb, short in weight through wastage Arrack, 40 gallons short of the measured contents **Interpretations** The *Shrewsbury* and the *Godfrey* between them failed to deliver 90 bags of rice, more than 125 cwt. That was about a third of each ship's invoiced rice cargo. Both had made long, storm-beaten passages from Madras by way of Madagascar, and both had written to the Council about the hunger of their crews. The missing bags had almost certainly been opened at sea and eaten by men whose own provisions had run out. The island's rice reserve, which the Council was guarding so carefully, had been raided before it ever came ashore. The storekeeper's account gave the Company grounds to

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			charge the value to the commanders. It could not restore the grain to the island. Stewart again received fewer casks of beef than he asked for and more of pork, two and six instead of four and four. The Council kept to its rule of giving each ship only a token share of the island's scarce beef.
228	224	22 October Mount Stuart Cwt. qr. lb. 3. 2. 10 Rice 3. 3. 2 Paddy Short weight occasioned by wastage 3 Galls. Arrack Short of the Gage Signed 21 October 1779 Jas. Desfountain Asst. Storekeeper The undermentioned Ships have been supplied from the Honble. Company's Stores as follows - Cwt. qr. lb. 92. -. 3 Flour £ 91 2 10 13 Tierces Pork 123 10 1 2 Hhds. Beef 34 . . Ship Royal Admiral 4 Tierces Pork 38 18 4 Cwt. lb. 13. 13 Flour 17 18 3 Hillsborough 10 Hhds. Pork 200 18 4 4 Do. Beef 68 . . 18 Do. Flour 24 12 . Queen 6 Hhds. Pork £ 120 11 . 3 Do. Beef 51 . . Cwt. qr. lb. 12. 2. 3 Flour 17 7 6 Royal George 7 Tierces Pork £ 67 11 7 Cwt. qr. lb. 12. 2. 17 Flour 17 6 . Godfrey 31 Hhds. Pork £ 110 9 2 13 Tierces Do. 144 16 3 9 Hhds. Beef 153 . . Cwt. qr. lb. 43. 3. 9 Flour 59 10 4 Shrewsbury 6 Hhds. Pork 2 Do. Beef Cwt. qr. lb. 26. 3. 7 Flour Mount Stuart 175 Flour Warwick We this day granted the following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors Viz.	On the *Mount Stuart*, the following were short in weight through wastage, and some arrack was short of the measured contents. Rice, 3 cwt 2 qr 10 lb, short in weight through wastage Paddy, 3 cwt 3 qr 2 lb, short in weight through wastage Arrack, 3 gallons short of the measured contents James Dafountain, assistant storekeeper, signed the account on 21 October 1779. The following ships had been supplied from the Company's stores. The *Royal Admiral*: Flour, 52 cwt 0 qr 5 lb, £71 2s 10d Salt pork, 13 tierces, £123 10s 1d Salt beef, 2 hogsheads, £34 0s 0d The *Hillsborough*: Salt pork, 4 tierces, £38 18s 4d Flour, 13 cwt 0 qr 13 lb, £17 18s 3d The *Queen*: Salt pork, 10 hogsheads, £200 18s 4d Salt beef, 4 hogsheads, £68 0s 0d Flour, 18 cwt 0 qr 0 lb, £24 12s 0d The *Royal George*: Salt pork, 6 hogsheads, £120 11s 0d Salt beef, 3 hogsheads, £51 0s 0d Flour, 12 cwt 2 qr 3 lb, £17 2s 6d The *Godfrey*: Salt pork, 7 tierces, £67 18s 7d Flour, 12 cwt 2 qr 17 lb, £17 6s 0d The *Shrewsbury*: Salt pork, 5 hogsheads, £100 9s 2d Salt pork, 13 tierces, £126 16s 5d Salt beef, 9 hogsheads, £153 0s 0d Flour, 43 cwt 3 qr 9 lb, £59 10s 4d The *Mount Stuart*: Salt pork, 6 hogsheads Salt beef, 2 hogsheads Flour, 26 cwt 3 qr 4 lb HMS *Warwick*: Flour, 175 cwt The Council granted the following sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors that day. **Interpretations** The homeward ships took 20 hogsheads of salt beef from the stores in October. Yet the inventory of 30 September 1779 had shown only three casks and 40 pieces of beef on hand. The beef must have come ashore in the weeks between, almost certainly from the *Princess Royal*, which arrived from England on 5 October 1779 with an unusually large cargo of stores for the island. Even so, the ships received more than three times as much pork as beef, and the *Shrewsbury* alone took nine of the 20 hogsheads. Coggan had lost guns, sailed in distress and been refused cannon, cordage and peas. The Council evidently compensated with salt beef. The *Warwick* received 175 cwt of flour, roughly the 17,600 lb Captain Collins had asked for on 27 September 1779 for 56 days at sea. The convoy's escort was fully provisioned before the fleet sailed, and every ship was refitted at the island's expense. That was the purpose of St Helena's stores.

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229	225	1779 Two Sets to Major Daniel Corneille, One for thirty two Pounds eight Shillings payable to Messrs. Stonefrith Gibson and Company. And the other for One Hundred and twenty seven Pounds one Shilling and seven pence payable to James Stuart Tulk, Robert Halford and Jonathan Michie Esqrs. (or Order). - One to John Skottowe Esqr. for two Hundred and sixty five Pounds payable to Mr. Michael Lascelles (or Order). - Three to Mr. William Wrangham. One for one Hundred and ninety seven Pounds fifteen Shillings and three pence Payable to John Clements Esqr. One for four Hundred and twenty five Pounds four Shillings payable to Mr. John Troutbeck, And one for two Hundred Pounds payable to Thomas Burston Esqr. (or Order). - One to Mr. James Desfountain for fifty Pounds Payable to Mr. Moses Jones (or Order). - One to Mr. John Goodwin for one hundred Pounds payable to Mr. Robert Dagley (or Order). - One to Mr. Robert Leech for one Hundred and thirty Pounds Payable to Mr. William Mason (or Order). - One to the Attorneys of Captain James Toppet for two hundred and four Pounds four Shillings and six pence payable to Thomas Wood Esqr. (or Order). - One to Mr. Nathaniel Kennedy for sixty pounds payable to Mr. George Macaulay (or Order). - One to the Reverend Robert Carr for two hundred and fifty nine Pounds seven Shillings and six pence payable to Frederick Hindley Esqr. (or Order). -	The sets of bills of exchange granted that day were as follows. Major Daniel Corneille, 2 sets £32 8s 0d, payable to Messrs Stonyforth, Gibson and Company or their order £127 1s 7d, payable to James Stuart Tulk, Robert Halford and Jonathan Michie or their order Governor John Skottowe, 1 set £265 0s 0d, payable to Mr Michael Lascelles or his order Mr William Wrangham, 3 sets £197 15s 3d, payable to John Clements or his order £425 4s 0d, payable to Mr John Troutbeck or his order £200 0s 0d, payable to Thomas Burston or his order Mr James Dafountain, 1 set £50 0s 0d, payable to Mr Morris Jones or his order Mr John Goodwin, 1 set £100 0s 0d, payable to Mr Robert Dagley or his order Mr Robert Leech, 1 set £130 0s 0d, payable to Mr William Mason or his order The attorneys of Captain James Tippet, 1 set £204 4s 6d, payable to Thomas Wood or his order Mr Nathaniel Kennedy, 1 set £60 0s 0d, payable to Mr George Macaulay or his order The Reverend Robert Carr, 1 set £259 7s 6d, payable to Frederick Hindley or his order **Interpretations** The bills show the island's officials turning their earnings into money in London as the fleet prepared to sail. William Wrangham alone remitted £822 19s 3d, more than three years of his combined official pay. Part of that probably came from the £252 0s 0d the Company had paid him in August for his oil. The Reverend Robert Carr sent home £259 7s 6d, more than his whole year's stipend of £220 0s 0d. A chaplain's savings on that scale suggest that he too had income beyond his salary, perhaps from land, fees or trade. John Goodwin's bill for £100 0s 0d was made payable to Robert Dagley, the purser of the *Queen*. That was not a remittance home but a payment to a ship's officer, probably for goods bought from Dagley's private trade. A bill on the Company in London let an islander buy from the ships without handing over scarce silver, and the purser collected his money when he reached England.
230	226	22 October One to the Administrators of the late Lieutenant John Bazett, on Account of the Heirs of John Pritchard deceased for seven Hundred Pounds Payable to Messrs. John Storey and Christr. Pritchard (or Order). - One to William [...] for three Hundred Pounds Payable to Messrs. Mel and Company (or Order). One to the Attorneys of Captain Thomas Hindman for three Hundred Pounds Payable to Mrs. Catharine Hindman (or Order). - One to Mr. David Kay for one Hundred pounds payable to Mr. William Nelson (or Order). - One to Mr. Jonathan Doveton for One thousand and four Hundred Pounds payable to Himself (or Order). - One to Mr. William Webber Doveton for fifty five	The sets of bills of exchange granted that day continued as follows. The administrators of the late Lieutenant John Bazett, on behalf of the heirs of the late John Pritchard, 1 set £700 0s 0d, payable to Messrs John Storey and Christopher Pritchard or their order William [...], 1 set £300 0s 0d, payable to Messrs Mel[...] and Company or their order The attorneys of Captain Thomas Hindman, 1 set £300 0s 0d, payable to Mrs Catharine Hindman or her order Mr David Kay, 1 set £100 0s 0d, payable to Mr William Nelson or his order Mr Jonathan Doveton, 1 set £1,400 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order

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		pounds Payable to Mr. Charles Gregory (or Order). - One to Mr. Thomas Cole for one Hundred pounds Payable to Mr. Charles Bradford (or Order). - One to Captain Robert Ker for one thousand and two Hundred Pounds payable to Andrew Moffatt Esqr. (or Order). - One to George Simpson for five Hundred Pounds Payable to Mrs. Elizabeth Simpson (or Order). - One to Captain Peter Douglas for two Thousand pounds Payable to himself (or Order). - And one to Captain John Howard for five hundred Pounds Payable to Matthew Purling Esqr. (or Order). -	Mr William Webber Doveton, 1 set £55 0s 0d, payable to Mr Charles Gregory or his order Mr Thomas Cole, 1 set £100 0s 0d, payable to Mr Charles Bradford or his order Captain Robert Ker, 1 set £1,200 0s 0d, payable to Andrew Moffatt or his order George Simpson, 1 set £500 0s 0d, payable to Mrs Elizabeth Simpson or her order Captain Peter Douglas, 1 set £2,000 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order Captain John Howard, 1 set £500 0s 0d, payable to Matthew Dunning or his order **Interpretations** The two commanders, Peter Douglas of the *Queen* and Robert Ker of the *Princess Royal*, bought bills for £3,200 0s 0d between them. That money was the cash proceeds of the private trade they had carried on at the island, selling their own goods to inhabitants and officials. Turning it into bills on London kept their profits safe from capture at sea. It also met the Council's most pressing need. Days earlier the treasury had sent £16,000 in silver to Fort Marlborough, leaving the chest nearly empty. Every pound paid in for a bill was coin that stayed on the island to pay the garrison, while the Company settled the debt months later in London from its own accounts. The more the ships' officers had made at St Helena, the more silver they left behind. Jonathan Doveton drew £1,400 0s 0d payable to himself, the savings he would collect on reaching England with his brother in the *Glatton*. Captain John Howard, retiring on half pay at the end of the year, remitted £500 0s 0d ahead of his own departure.
231	227	1779 All drawn at Ninety days sight. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th day of October 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 23 October 1779 Yesterday Sailed his Majesty's Ship Warwick and the Honble. Company's Ships, Glatton, Royal George, Hillsborough, Gatton, Queen, Royal Admiral, Shrewsbury, Godfrey and Mount Stuart, for England. - On Saturday last about nine o'Clock at night a Cannon being fired from Lemon Valley Guard, an Officer and a party of Men was immediately sent in a Boat to know the reason of it, who was informed upon his arrival there that Corporal Daniel	All the bills were drawn payable at 90 days' sight. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 25 October 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 22 October 1779. HMS *Warwick* had sailed for England the day before, Sunday 24 October 1779, with the Company's ships *Glatton*, *Royal George*, *Hillsborough*, *Gatton*, *Queen*, *Royal Admiral*, *Shrewsbury*, *Godfrey* and *Mount Stuart*. At about nine o'clock on the previous Saturday night, 23 October 1779, a cannon was fired from the guard post at Lemon Valley. An officer and a party of men were at once sent by boat to find out why. **Interpretations** The departure of the convoy on 24 October 1779 ended a season in which the road had held as many as ten Company ships at once. The *Royal Admiral* had arrived on 21 August 1779 and waited more than two months, and the China ships five weeks. Every one of them sailed only when the *Warwick* could escort the whole fleet together. The cost of that wait lay in the Council's minutes week after week, in requests for beef, pork, flour, rice, coal, tea and sugar. The island's stores fed the convoy so that the Company's cargoes could cross the Atlantic in a single, protected body rather than ship by ship. The alarm at Lemon Valley, a landing place on the leeward coast west of James Town, came on the last night the fleet lay in the road.

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232	228	25 October Daniel Ashton, who Commanded the Guard along with John Widgen Private, had deserted in a Fishing Boat the property of Mr. Gabriel Leache, and that they had cut another adrift belonging to Lieut. James Greentree, to prevent their being Pursued. We imagine the intention of these men were to lay off the Island to Meet with the Fleet that sailed yesterday, as notwithstanding every precaution was taken to prevent desertion and all methods used to recover the said two deserters, and the nine others mentioned in the General Letter of the 23 Instant, by ordering Guard Boats out several Nights before the sailing of the Fleet, having the different Ships Searched repeatedly by the Adjutants particularly the day before, and the day they Sailed, aided and assisted by a Lieutenant and a Warrant officer of his Majesty's Ship Warwick, which Capt. Collins was so obliging as to give, who at the same time sent orders to the several Commanders to use their utmost endeavours to find the men that were missing from the Garrison, for should any of them be found on Board their respective Ships after they were at Sea he would certainly take two men of their Ships Company for every Garrison Man so discovered, Yet the said deserters found means to escape. On the Morning the Fleet were to sail a Boat being seen from Mundens Point about two Leagues off Lemon Valley, application was immediately made to Capt. Collins who ordered the Ship Gatton under Weigh to go in pursuit of her, and we likewise ordered two Boats for the same purpose which overtook the said Boat at a great distance in which was found two men Slaves who were attempting to make their escape from the Island, but could give no account of the two Men who deserted from Lemon Valley Guard the Night before. - Winter Bomes who was tried by a General Court Martial held on the 22d March last for Writing a Letter directed to the Court of Directors tending to promote Mutiny in this Garrison by making false assertions therein mentioned, and also for falsely, Maliciously and Scandalously accusing the said Governor of General discontent and Mutinous intention, and sentenced by said Court Martial to receive Corporal punishment	Corporal Daniel Ashton, who commanded the guard at Lemon Valley, had deserted with Private John Widgeon. They took a fishing boat belonging to Mr Gabriel Jacks and cut adrift another, belonging to Lieutenant James Greentree, so that no one could follow them. The Council believed that the two men meant to lie off the island and meet the fleet when it sailed. Every precaution had been taken against desertion, and every means used to recover these two men and the nine others named in the general letter of 22 October 1779. Guard boats had been sent out on several nights before the fleet sailed. The adjutants had searched the ships repeatedly, especially on the day before sailing and on the day itself. A lieutenant and a warrant officer of HMS *Warwick* had helped them, provided by Captain Collins. Collins had also ordered every commander to do his utmost to find the missing soldiers. He warned that if any were discovered aboard a ship once at sea, he would take two of that ship's crew for every soldier found. Despite all this, the deserters found a way to escape. On the morning the fleet sailed, a boat was seen from Munden's Point about two leagues off Lemon Valley. The Council at once asked Captain Collins for help. He ordered the *Gatton* to get under way and give chase, and the Council sent out two boats of its own. They overtook the boat a long way out. It held two male slaves who were trying to escape from the island. The slaves could give no account of the two men who had deserted from the Lemon Valley guard the night before. Winter Benniah had been tried by a general court martial on 22 March 1779. The charges were that he had written a letter to the Court of Directors that was calculated to stir up mutiny in the garrison, through false statements made in it. He was also charged with falsely, maliciously and scandalously accusing the garrison of general discontent and mutinous intentions. The court martial sentenced him to corporal punishment. **Interpretations** The desertion at Lemon Valley was carried out by the guard itself. Daniel Ashton had been promoted corporal only on 6 July 1779, and as commander of the post he was the man trusted to stop anyone leaving from that landing place. Taking the post's own fishing boats and setting the other adrift showed planning. Their aim was to be picked up at sea by a ship of the outgoing fleet beyond the reach of the island's searches. Captain Collins's threat to press two seamen into the Navy for every soldier found aboard was the most effective deterrent available. Commanders and crews feared the press far more than a Company fine. That threat gave every merchant seaman a personal reason to turn in a hidden soldier. The two slaves taken in the boat show that the departure of a fleet offered the same chance of escape to the island's slaves as to its soldiers. For a slave, a ship at sea was the only possible route to freedom.
233	229	1779 And be Drummed out of the Garrison with a Halter about his neck,	Benniah's sentence also required that he be drummed out of the garrison with a halter round his neck. At Captain Collins's request, he was sent on board HMS *Warwick* on 13 September 1779.

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		was at the request of Capt. Collins sent on Board his Majesty's Ship Warwick the 13th of last Month. - Being much in want of a Long Boat for the use of the fortifications &ca. and Capt. Foxall having a very Large and Good one, We applied to him to spare it, who complied therewith, which We accordingly purchased - for the Sum of fifty Pounds on the Honble. Company's account being the Prime Cost. - On the 20th Instant we received the following Letter from Captain Robert Ker - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Council of St. Helena Gentlemen I was favoured with your answer to my Letter of the 18th Instant, wherein you tell me that you are sensible that the reasons I gave you for not being able to deliver the Company's Cargo are just to your own knowledge, yet that you cannot deviate from the Honble. Company's Orders and the usual terms of the Charterparty. In consequence of that I received your orders to proceed on my Voyage yesterday I should not hesitate a moment in complying with the same order did I conceive it for the Interest of the Company, but as I am certain its not so, I would always rather wish to follow the Spirit than the Letter of their orders, and the delays which I mentioned still existing and must while the Fleet remains here I shall continue delivering the Company's Cargo as fast as Possibly I can, relying on the Justice of your Board to represent to the Honble. Court of Directors in behalf of my owners the unavoidable delay which has attended the delivery of the Stores here. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Servant Signed 20 October 1779 Robt. Ker	The Company badly needed a longboat for the fortifications and other work. Captain Foxall had a very large and good one, and the Council asked him to spare it. He agreed, and the Council bought it on the Company's account for £50 0s 0d, its original cost. On 20 October 1779 the Council received a letter from Captain Robert Ker. He acknowledged its reply to his letter of 18 October 1779. The Council had accepted the reasons he gave for being unable to deliver the Company's cargo, but it had said it could not depart from the Company's orders or the terms of the charter-party. As a result, he had received orders the day before to continue his voyage. Ker wrote that he would not hesitate a moment to obey if he believed it was in the Company's interest. He was certain that it was not, however, and he would always rather follow the spirit than the letter of their orders. The delays he had described still existed and would last as long as the fleet remained in the road. He would therefore go on landing the Company's cargo as fast as he could. He relied on the Board's sense of justice to explain to the Court of Directors, on his owners' behalf, the unavoidable delays in delivering the stores at St Helena. He signed the letter on 20 October 1779. **Interpretations** Winter Benniah's case shows how a garrison silenced a soldier who complained over the Council's head. He had written directly to the Court of Directors, alleging discontent among the troops. The court martial treated the letter itself as an incitement to mutiny and his description of the garrison's mood as a slander. He was flogged, drummed out with a halter round his neck as a mark of disgrace, and then handed to the Navy at Captain Collins's request. He left the island as a pressed seaman in a King's ship. The pay list had recorded him only as "discharged 13 September". His fate shows what that discharge meant, and why no other soldier was likely to write to London. Captain Ker refused the Council's order to sail. The Council had told him on 19 October 1779 to proceed at once to Sumatra, and he replied the next day that he would stay and finish unloading. The Council's earlier answer had given him his opening: by declining to extend his time while accepting that the delays were real, it had left him free to argue that the Company's true interest lay in landing its stores rather than carrying them away. A commander could disobey a Council's order only by appealing to the Company's interest over the Council's literal instructions. The Council did not answer Ker's letter in the minutes. His defiance meant that the stores from England reached the island, and the treasure for Fort Marlborough waited in his hold.
234	230	25 October We this day enlisted John Harley, Cornelius Potts William Carey, Hendrick Finch, John Myers, Willm. Cotton, Murdock McKinnon, and Willm. McLoughlin left here out of Ships Glatton Royal George and Mount Stuart to Serve the Honble. Company five Years as Soldiers and gave them Each ten Pounds Bounty Money. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council enlisted eight men that day who had been left on the island by the *Glatton*, the *Royal George* and the *Mount Stuart*. They were John Hurley, Cornelius Potts, William Carey, Hendrick Finch, John Myers, William Cotton, Murdock McKinnon and William McLaughlin. Each agreed to serve the Company as a soldier for five years and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** Several of the new recruits had appeared on the muster rolls taken by Major Bazett only days earlier. John Hurley, Cornelius Potts and William Carey were listed in the *Glatton*'s crew, and William McLaughlin in the *Mount Stuart*'s. They had been left behind when the convoy sailed, perhaps by choice or because their commanders released them, and the Council signed them up at once. The exchange worked both ways.

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			The fleet carried off at least two of the garrison's soldiers, and probably more of the eleven missing men. In return, it left behind eight seamen who became soldiers at the seamen's lower bounty of £10 0s 0d. Each homeward season drained the garrison and refilled it from the ships that had caused the loss.
235	231	1 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st Day of November 1779 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 25 of October 1779 Tuesday 26th October died William Nichols Private The Governor acquainted the Gentlemen in Council that the Present Critical situation of Publick Affairs renders it necessary in his opinion to keep the establishment of officers on this Island Compleat therefore recommends it to the Board to direct Messieurs Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale the two Cadets to do the duty of Second Lieutenants. And as Captain Howards resignation leaves a Vacancy of Second Lieutenant for the Officer that the Court of Directors have appointed with they will fill up. As both these Gentlemen have served three Years Cadets on this Island and are well Qualified for Officers, together with what the Board has formerly Mentioned in their favour the Governor makes not the least doubt but the Court of Directors will confirm the same. - The Board, from in opinion with the Governor that the establishment of Officers in this Garrison should be kept Compleat at this Critical situation of Publick affairs do therefore agree that Messrs. Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale Cadets be appointed to do the Duty and receive the Pay as Second Lieutenants untill the Honble. Company's Pleasure be known. -	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 1 November 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 25 October 1779. William Nichols, a private, died on Tuesday 26 October 1779. The Governor told the Council that, in his view, the critical state of public affairs made it essential to keep the island's establishment of officers at full strength. He therefore recommended that the two cadets, Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale, should take on the duties of second lieutenants. Captain Howard's retirement would also leave a vacancy among the second lieutenants. Both young men had served three years as cadets and were well qualified to be officers. The Board had already spoken in their favour on an earlier occasion. The Governor had no doubt that the Court of Directors would confirm the appointments. The Board agreed with the Governor that the garrison's establishment of officers should be kept complete at so critical a time. It resolved that Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale, cadets, should do the duty and receive the pay of second lieutenants until the Company's wishes were known. **Interpretations** The Council had the power to fill vacancies only provisionally, pending the Court's confirmation from London. With Lieutenant Arthur Usher gone since June and Captain Howard due to retire at the end of the year, the garrison was short of officers in wartime. Promoting both cadets to acting rank solved the problem at once and at no extra cost, since their pay rose only from a sergeant's rate to a lieutenant's. The appointment completed the route that the cadetship provided for island families. Thomas Greentree became the fourth of his surname to hold or act in a commission in the garrison. Onesiphorus Beale probably belonged to the family of the late Captain Onesiphorus Beale, whose brother's estate had come before the Council on 18 October 1779.
236	232	1 November As there has been an unexpected Supply of Sugar received from Bencoolen we this day gave the Storekeeper directions to add two Pounds of Sugar P Week to each of the Junior Servants more than they were allowed by a former regulation, likewise to make a Larger allowance of that Article to the Inhabitants in proportion to their Familys. - The Accomptant Reports that the Honble. Company's General Books of Accounts are Balanced to the 30th September last which were ordered to be copied as fast as possibly. He further reports that upon Balancing the said Books he found a mistake of nineteen Shillings and eleven pence Halfpenny in Cash	The Council noted that an unexpected supply of sugar had arrived from Bencoolen. It therefore told the storekeeper to give each of the junior servants 2 lb of sugar a week more than the earlier regulation allowed. He was also to give the inhabitants a larger allowance in proportion to the size of their families. The accountant reported that the Company's general books of account had been balanced to 30 September 1779. The Council ordered them to be copied as quickly as possible. He added that in balancing the books he had found a mistake of 19s 7½d in the cash account made up to that date, and the error had been corrected. The Council ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 1 November 1779. On the afternoon of the following Monday, eleven and a half pipes of Madeira wine and various damaged goods belonging to the Company would be sold at public auction for cash. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders.

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		account made up to the 30th of the aforesaid Month which was rectified. Ordered the following Advertisements to be published Viz. Island St. Helena 1 Novr. 1779 Notice is hereby given that on Monday next in the Afternoon will be Sold at Publick Auction, eleven and an Half Pipes of Madeira Wine. Also sundry damaged Goods belonging to the Honble. Company for ready Money. - By Order of Council Signed B Wright Secry. We this day received the following Letter from Mr. Tuffin Shepherd The Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council -	The Council received the following letter that day from Mr Tiffin Shepherd, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. **Interpretations** The extra 2 lb of sugar a week gave each junior servant about 104 lb more a year. That raised a lieutenant's allowance from 312 lb to roughly 416 lb, and halved the gap with the 520 lb allowed to a captain or factor. The Council had refused the lieutenants' protest outright in July and August and sent the dispute to London. Now it met most of their complaint without conceding the principle of rank, attributing the change to an unexpected supply from Sumatra. The inventory of 30 September 1779 had already shown nearly 400 cwt of sugar in the warehouse before any Sumatran cargo was counted. The new supply gave the Council a face-saving reason to do what the stock on hand had allowed for weeks.
237	233	1779 Gentlemen Being advised on account of an Indifferent state of Health, I have for some time past enjoyed, not to proceed on my Voyage to Bencoolen, where I was appointed a Cadet. I humbly solicit the favour of you Gentlemen to permit me to stay on this Island till I hear from my Friends in England. I am Gentlemen Monday Novr. 1st 1779. Your most obedient and Humble Servant Signed Tuffin Shepherd Upon reading the above Letter we sent for Mr. Shepherd and acquainted him that he had liberty to stay upon the Island, for the Re-establishment of his Health at his own expence. - We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Robert Ker with a Bill enclosed, which are as follow Viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Council Gentlemen The Honble. Company's Recruits being attacked with a fever soon after we left England, which reduced them to a very weakly condition. It was judged expedient by our Surgeon & the other Surgeons of the Fleet We sailed with, to serve them out Port Wine to support them, and to prevent their being attacked with the Scurvy as much as Possible till our arrival here. I enclose you an account of the Proportional quantity that was served to the Recruits of this Island	Tiffin Shepherd wrote that he had been advised, because of the poor health he had suffered for some time, not to continue his voyage to Bencoolen, where he had been appointed a cadet. He asked the Council's permission to remain on the island until he heard from his friends in England. He signed the letter on Monday 1 November 1779. After reading the letter, the Council sent for Shepherd and told him he was free to stay on the island to recover his health, at his own expense. The Council received a letter that day from Captain Robert Ker, enclosing a bill. Ker reported that the Company's recruits had all been struck by fever soon after leaving England, which left them very weak. His own surgeon and the other surgeons of the fleet he had sailed with had judged it wise to give the recruits port wine to build up their strength and to protect them from scurvy as far as possible until they reached St Helena. He enclosed an account of the share of the wine issued to the recruits bound for the island. **Interpretations** Ker's bill raised the question of who paid for keeping recruits alive on the voyage out. The Company paid the ship's owners a fixed rate to carry and feed each recruit, but that rate covered only the ordinary ship's ration. Medical comforts such as port wine fell outside it. By charging the island for the share given to the men destined for St Helena, Ker placed the cost on the settlement that would receive them. A fever that struck a draft of recruits on the outward passage was common, and the wine was the standard means of reviving men too weak for salt meat and biscuit. Recruits who landed alive and fit for duty were worth far more to the garrison than the price of a few dozen bottles. The Council could hardly refuse to pay for what had kept its new soldiers alive.
238	234	1 November Island, and request that you will pay me the same on account of the Honble. Company. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Servant Signed Robert Ker The Honble. East India Company Dr. to Captain Ker -	Ker asked the Council to pay him the amount on the Company's account. His bill ran as follows. Port wine issued to the recruits on the passage from England to St Helena by the surgeon, 12 dozen at 38s a dozen, £22 16s 0d William Dun, purser, signed a receipt for the money on Captain Ker's behalf. Since the bill was an unavoidable expense for keeping the island's recruits alive, the Council paid it. Mr William Roberts, the town adjutant, presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the

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		18 Dozen Port Wine served out to the Recruits During our Passage from England to St. Helena by the Surgeon @ 25/ P Doz. £ 22 16 . Received the Contents for Capt. Ker Wm. Dun Purser As the above Bill was an unavoidable Expence - incurred for the preservation of the recruits for this Island, We have discharged the same. - Mr. William Roberts Town Adjutant presented the following Petition. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Gentlemen in Council The humble Petition of William Roberts Town Adjutant Humbly Sheweth that your Petitioner hath served the Honble. Company in the station of Town Adjutant the term of eleven Years and several Months, and finding by the nature of that station that he is fixed, and has no prospect of rising in the service, Your Petitioner humbly requests that your Worship and the other Gentlemen in Council will take his case into consideration and recommend him for the next vacancy in the Infantry, in compliance with this his request, Your Petitioner will ever Pray. - 1 November 1779	Council. He had served the Company as town adjutant for eleven years and several months. He had found that the post, by its nature, left him fixed in one place with no prospect of rising in the service. He therefore asked the Governor and Council to consider his case and to recommend him for the next vacancy in the infantry. He dated the petition 1 November 1779. **Interpretations** Roberts presented his petition at the same meeting at which the Council made two cadets acting second lieutenants. The town adjutant ranked as a lieutenant and drew a lieutenant's pay, but he belonged to no company. Promotion in the garrison came through the companies, as captains died, retired or resigned and their subalterns moved up. An officer outside that ladder could serve for decades without rising. After nearly twelve years, Roberts watched two young men from island families placed in the vacancies he might have hoped to fill. His petition was a request to be moved into the line before the next opening was given away in the same fashion.
239	235	1779 Agreed to recommend Mr. William Roberts to the Honble. Company by the next General Letter. - This was a General field day upon the Parade of the Officers Non Commissioned Officers and Private Men of the Garrison. - Mr. Thomas Spalding Surgeon of the Ship Princess Royall applying to us to be paid the usual sum of five Shillings for each Recruit We directed the Paymaster to Pay him which amounts to £ 11. 5 - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council agreed to recommend Mr William Roberts to the Court of Directors in its next general letter. That day was a general field day on the parade for the officers, non-commissioned officers and private men of the garrison. Mr Thomas Spalding, surgeon of the *Princess Royal*, applied for the customary payment of 5s for each recruit. The Council ordered the paymaster to pay him £11 5s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The surgeon's fee of 5s a head was paid only for recruits who reached the island alive. Spalding's £11 5s 0d therefore shows that 45 recruits came ashore from the *Princess Royal*. The payment gave a ship's surgeon a direct stake in keeping the Company's soldiers alive through a voyage on which fever and scurvy commonly killed a share of every draft. That was the same reason the Council paid for the port wine. Forty-five men was a large reinforcement for a garrison of four companies and an artillery company. It more than replaced the soldiers lost to death and desertion since April, and arrived just as the Council was struggling to keep its establishment complete.
240	236	2 November At a Consultation held on Tuesday 2d Day of November 1779 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 1 of November 1779. - We directed the Secretary to write Capt. Pierce the following Letter To Captain William Pierce Engineer Sir	The Council met at the Castle on Tuesday 2 November 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 1 November 1779. The Council told the secretary to write to Captain William Pierce, the engineer. The Court of Directors had ordered the Council to send it an accurate plan of the present state of the whole of Long Wood. The plan was to show exactly the extent and course of the ground to be enclosed, which would be pointed out to Pierce, and any encroachments that had been made on it. The Council therefore required him to survey the ground and draw up a ground plan as quickly as possible, so

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		I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform you, that in consequence of the Orders of the Honble. Court of Directors, to transmit them an accurate Plan of Measurement and Survey of the Whole Long wood exactly specifying the Extent and Tract meant to be inclosed (which will be pointed out to you) and the Old Inclosures if any, they therefore require you with all possible expedition to take a Survey and ground Plot of the said Wood that the same be forwarded to the Company by the earliest opportunity. - I am likewise Ordered to acquaint you that after you have Surveyed the Long Wood, you are to give in to the Board a Plan and estimate of the expence of a new Goal, which the Court of Directors intends shall be carried into execution as soon as they receive the said Plan and estimate. - I am Sir St. Helena Your humble Servant 2d November 1779 Signed B Wright Secry.	that it could be sent to the Company by the earliest opportunity. Pierce was also told that, once he had surveyed Long Wood, he was to submit to the Board a plan and an estimate of the cost of a new gaol. The Court of Directors intended the gaol to be built as soon as it received the plan and the estimate. Britannicus Wright signed the letter at St Helena on 2 November 1779. **Interpretations** Long Wood was the great tract of upland on the island's eastern plateau, held by the Company as common ground and timber reserve. The Court's order to map it, mark the land to be enclosed and record any encroachments was a step towards turning common land into enclosed, managed estate. It was the island's version of the parliamentary enclosures then transforming the English countryside. The demand for a record of encroachments was pointed. Over the years, neighbouring planters had pushed their boundaries into the Company's waste, and the paymaster's accounts showed public labour working in the Lieutenant Governor's own garden at Longwood. A surveyed plan sent to London would fix the Company's title on paper before any enclosure began. It would also expose to the Court any ground that private holders, including the island's officials, had quietly taken over.
241	237	1779 Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published - Island St. Helena 2d November 1779 Whereas the Honble. Court of Directors have given Orders for Enclosing a Part of Long wood for raising of Trees for Fuel, which will prove of the greatest Utility in future to this Island. This is therefore to give notice to the Company's Servants Civil and Military and all other Inhabitants of the said Island who may chuse to become Contractors for any part thereof by the Yard, either in the quarrying and collecting of Stones, carrying them round the said Fence, or building the said Wall, which must be well finished five feet high with a Stone coping. - All persons who chuse to engage and Contract therein are required to send into the Secretary's Office their proposals in Writing on or before the 15 Instant, and give their attendance at the Castle on the same day. - Any Soldiers of the Garrison who have been used to such Work, are likewise permitted to give in their Proposals as aforesaid. Assistance of Powder and Tools for Quarrying will be furnished at the Honble. Company's Expence. - By Order of Council Signed B Wright Secry. We this day granted the following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. Court of Directors Viz. - One to Mr. Andrew Goodwin for three Hundred pounds payable to Mr. David Goodwin (or Order). -	The Council ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 2 November 1779. The Court of Directors had ordered part of Long Wood to be enclosed for growing trees for fuel, which would be of the greatest use to the island in future. The Council therefore invited the Company's civil and military servants and all other inhabitants to offer themselves as contractors for any part of the work, paid by the yard. The work comprised quarrying and collecting stone, carrying it round the line of the fence, and building the wall itself. The wall had to be well finished, four feet high, with a stone coping. Anyone wishing to take on a contract was to send written proposals to the Secretary's office by 15 November 1779 and to attend at the Castle on that day. Soldiers of the garrison who were used to such work were also allowed to submit proposals in the same way. The Company would supply gunpowder and tools for quarrying at its own expense. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders. The Council granted the following sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors that day. Mr Andrew Goodwin, 1 set £300 0s 0d, payable to Mr David Goodwin or his order **Interpretations** The notice revealed the purpose behind the survey of Long Wood: an enclosed plantation to grow fuel. Earlier in the year, 200 bushels of coal shipped from England had been needed just to burn lime for the fortifications, because the island's own woodland could no longer supply its fires. Goats and cattle grazing freely on the commons ate every seedling, so trees could regrow only behind a stock-proof wall. A dry-stone wall four feet high with a coping was the standard barrier against goats. Letting the work out by the yard to planters and off-duty soldiers spread it among many small contractors, with the Company supplying only powder and tools. That was the same piecework system that had built the batteries, applied now to a scheme meant to free the island from imported fuel.
242	238	2 Novr. One to Mr. Archibald Anderson for one hundred	The sets of bills of exchange granted on 2 November 1779 continued as follows.

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		and fifty Pounds Payable to Capt. David Thompson or order. And one to Mr. Thomas Spalding for one Hundred and fifty Pounds payable to Messrs. Able and Macauley (or order) all drawn at ninety days sight. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Mr Archibald Anderson, 1 set £150 0s 0d, payable to Captain David Thompson or his order Mr Thomas Spalding, 1 set £150 0s 0d, payable to Messrs Able and Macaulay or their order All the bills were drawn payable at 90 days' sight. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** Thomas Spalding, the *Princess Royal*'s surgeon, remitted £150 0s 0d to London only a day after collecting £11 5s 0d in head money for the recruits. His fee for the recruits was a small fraction of the sum. The rest probably came from selling medicines and other goods from his private allowance to the island, as the *Earl Talbot*'s surgeon had done in August at a markup of 75 per cent. A ship's surgeon on an East Indiaman earned more from his private trade at ports like St Helena than from his pay. Converting the proceeds into a bill on the Company kept them safe from capture at sea, and left the coin on the island.
243	239	8 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th Day of November 1779 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 2 of November 1779. - The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stewards Account for the Month of October last, were this day laid before us, which were examined approved and are as follows Viz. Artillery Stores Expended in October 1779 - Guns fired, 9 lb., 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz. 4th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 Arrived the Princess Royal: Guns fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 6th A Treble Alarm: Guns fired 12, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 8, Powder oz. 4 Arrived the Mount Stuart Godfrey and Hillsborough: Guns fired 27, 9 lb. 8, 6 lb. 19, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 36, Powder oz. 4 Dismissing the Alarm: Guns fired 2, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 1, 4 lb. 1, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 8 24th Sailed his Majesty's Ship Warwick and Fleet for England: Guns fired 31, 9 lb. 8, 6 lb. 23, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 36, Powder oz. 6 Being the Anniversary of his Majesty's Accession to the Throne: Guns fired 21, 9 lb. 4, 6 lb. 17, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 26, Powder oz. 8 For proving at the Bridge House: Guns fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 0 For the Stone Blowers at the Work to Butter Milk Point: Guns fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 200, Powder oz. 0 For Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 9 Total: Guns fired 99, 9 lb. 20, 6 lb. 60, 4 lb. 12, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 330, Powder oz. 2 Nitre for Port fire Composition lb. 7 Sulphur for Do. 2 Isinglass for the Castle	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 8 November 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 2 November 1779. The Council examined and approved the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for October 1779. The artillery account recorded the following stores used during October 1779. Each line gives the guns fired by calibre and the powder used. 4 October, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz On the arrival of the *Princess Royal*, no guns were fired and no powder was used. 8 October, a triple alarm: 12 guns fired, powder 8 lb 4 oz On the arrival of the *Mount Stuart*, the *Godfrey* and the *Hillsborough*, a salute was fired: 27 guns (8 nine-pounders, 19 six-pounders), powder 36 lb 4 oz. Dismissing the alarm: 2 guns fired (1 six-pounder, 1 four-pounder), powder 2 lb 8 oz On 24 October, when HMS *Warwick* and the fleet sailed for England, a salute was fired: 31 guns (8 nine-pounders, 23 six-pounders), powder 36 lb 6 oz. Salute for the anniversary of the King's accession: 21 guns fired (4 nine-pounders, 17 six-pounders), powder 24 lb 8 oz Priming at the Ridge House: 0 guns fired, powder 2 lb 0 oz For the stone blowers at the work at Buttermilk Point: 0 guns fired, powder 300 lb 0 oz Sundry services: 0 guns fired, powder 15 lb 9 oz Total: 99 guns fired (20 nine-pounders, 60 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 7 three-pounders), powder 450 lb 2 oz Other stores used Nitre for portfire composition, 7 lb Sulphur for portfire composition, 2 lb Isinglass for the Castle, ¼ lb Tallow for Banks's cutter, 1 lb Tow for the hospital, 2 lb 1 sponge stave for a 32-pounder, for the bakehouse Vinegar for the Company's use, 1 quart Cartridge paper, 8¾ quires William Pierce signed the account. **Interpretations**

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		½ Tallow for Banks's Cellars 1 Tow for the use of the Hospital 2 32 lb. Spunge Staves Bnk. & Heads 1 Vinegar for the Company's Use 1 Quarts Cartridge Paper 2½ Quires Signed William Pierce Sundrys	Two thirds of all the powder used in October went to blasting rock at Buttermilk Point. The 300 lb given to the stone blowers there was more than three times the powder fired in every alarm and salute of the month combined, including the farewell to the convoy. During this season the island's magazine was supplying a quarry as well as its guns. Gunpowder had become the main tool for cutting the new works out of the cliff, and the defence works were consuming the garrison's powder reserve faster than any enemy had. Portfire was a slow-burning fuse, a paper tube packed with a mixture of nitre, sulphur and mealed powder, used to fire the guns. The gunners mixed it themselves from the raw ingredients. Isinglass was a pure gelatine made from the swim bladders of fish, used for clarifying wine and making jellies, so its issue was for the Castle's table. The cannon sponge stave sent to the bakehouse was probably used as a long-handled oven mop or peel.
244	240	8 November Sundry's Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in October 1779 177 Bottles Madeira£ 11 1 3 24 Do. Port 1 18 . 35 Do. Lisbon 2 15 5 66 Do. Beer 1 2 . 20 Galls. Arrack 3 . . 113 lb. Beef 1 8 3 345 lb. Mutton 7 3 9 5 Lambs 2 10 . 2 Kids . 10 . 6 Ducks . 9 . 2 Geese . 10 . 186 Candy 4 3 . 573 Flour 4 15 6 £ 41 6 2 Bot. for the Table 61 lb. Beef @ 6 1 5 6 13 lb. Do. 3½ . 4 5 1 Lamb . 10 . 6 Turkeys 1 10 . 60 Fowls 3 . . 16 Ducks 1 4 . 5 Pigs 1 5 . £ 10 18 11 The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ship Princess Royal - The following Stores received Short from Ship Princess Royal 1 Candle Shade 6 Beer Glasses 12 Wine Do. 6 Tumblers	The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during October 1779. Madeira, 177 bottles, £11 1s 3d Port, 24 bottles, £1 18s 0d Lisbon wine, 35 bottles, £2 15s 5d Beer, 66 bottles, £1 2s 0d Arrack, 20 gallons, £3 0s 0d Beef, 113 lb, £1 6s 3d Mutton, 345 lb, £7 3s 9d 5 lambs, £2 10s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d Sugar candy, 166 lb, £4 3s 0d Flour, 373 lb, £3 15s 6d Total used at the table, £41 6s 2d Bought for the table Beef, 61 lb at 6d, £1 5s 6d Beef, 13 lb at 3½d, £0 4s 5d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 8 turkeys, £2 0s 0d 60 fowls, £4 10s 0d 16 ducks, £1 4s 0d 5 pigs, £1 5s 0d Total bought, £10 18s 11d Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, submitted an account that day of stores from the *Princess Royal* that were found broken when the packages were opened. 1 candle shade 6 beer glasses 12 wine glasses 6 tumblers 36 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches 21 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches 7 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches 2 panes of glass, 10 by 15 inches **Interpretations** The Company's table ate three times as much mutton as beef in October, 345 lb against 113 lb. In September the two had been close, at 249 lb of mutton and 152 lb of beef. The flock had been rebuilt with the Cape sheep brought by the *Hind*. The island's cattle, by contrast, were still recovering from the drought. The Castle's table shifted towards mutton at the same time as the stores shifted the ships towards pork, and for the same reason: beef was the one meat the island could not spare.

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		36 Sqrs. 6 by 8 21 Do. 8 by 10 7 Do. 10 by 12 2 Do. 10 by 15 Found Broke upon opening the Packages	
245	241	1779 3 Sqrs. 10½ by 16 2 Do. 11 by 17 1 Do. 11 by 19 22 Scythe Stones Found broke upon opening the Packages Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 3. 21 Sole Leather -. -. 9 Cordage -. 2. 19 Soap Short Weight occasioned by Wastage 17 Bushels Salt short measurement 1¾ Gall. Port Wine 10 Do. Lisbon Do. 12 Do. Mountain Do. 8 Do. Sherry Do. 2 Do. Hock Short of the Gage 33 Do. Beer short of the Gage in 7 Hhds. 60 Do. Tar leaked 1 Chald. Coals 1 Hhd. Beer Short delivered Signed 8 Novr. 1779 John Goodwin Store Keeper Robert Coleman Matross this day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company his Contracted time Granted Mr. James Desfountain - Commanding officer of the East Flying Party making Complaint that several of the Party made a Practice of neglecting to attend upon double Alarms and Exercise days. They were summoned to attend the Council this day to give their reasons for such non attendance, who appearing and being interrogated thereupon, William Hayes one of	Further stores from the *Princess Royal* were found broken, short or missing, as follows. Found broken when the packages were opened 3 panes of glass, 10½ by 16 inches 2 panes of glass, 11 by 17 inches 1 pane of glass, 11 by 19 inches 22 scythe stones Short in weight through wastage Sole leather, 1 cwt 3 qr 21 lb Cordage, 0 cwt 2 qr 9 lb Soap, 0 cwt 2 qr 19 lb Short in measure Salt, 17 bushels Short of the measured contents Port wine, 1¾ gallons Lisbon wine, 10 gallons Mountain wine, 12 gallons Sherry, 8 gallons Hock, 2 gallons Beer, 33 gallons across 7 hogsheads Leaked Tar, 60 gallons Not delivered Coals, 1 chaldron Beer, 1 hogshead John Goodwin, the storekeeper, signed the account on 8 November 1779. Robert Coleman, a matross, petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison, since he had served the Company for his contracted term. The Council granted it. Mr James Dafountain, commanding officer of the East Flying Party, complained that several men of the party had made a habit of failing to turn out on double alarms and exercise days. The Council had summoned them to attend that day and explain their absence. They appeared and were questioned, beginning with William Hopps. **Interpretations** The flying parties were the island's militia. They were formed from the planters, their sons and their free servants, divided into an East and a West party, and were trained to move quickly to any threatened landing place on an alarm. Their duty was unpaid, so the only check on attendance was the authority of their officers and, behind them, the Council. Bringing the absentees before the Board itself, instead of leaving them to their commander, showed how seriously the Council took the militia in wartime. The garrison of regular soldiers was too small to cover every bay at once. The flying parties filled that gap, and a militia that stayed at home on an alarm left the coast open.
246	242	8 November them behaved in a very Insolent Manner to the Board by saying do as you please, I do not care, for which we have fined him the sum of ten Shillings and reprimanded them for their non attendance. - Major Henry Bazett presented the following Petition Viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council St. Helena - The humble Petition of Henry Bazett Sheweth That Richd. Beale one of the Nominees in a Lease for 34 Acres of Land lying in the East Division of this Island	Hopps behaved very insolently towards the Board, telling it to do as it pleased since he did not care. The Council fined him 10s 0d and reprimanded all the men for failing to attend. Major Henry Bazett petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council. Richard Beale, one of the named lives in a lease of 34 acres of land in the island's eastern division, had recently died. Bazett asked the Council to insert the name of Thomas Bazett junior in his place. He dated the petition 8 November 1779. The Council granted the request on condition that Bazett paid half a year's rent for renewing the named life, amounting to £4 5s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute.

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		is lately deceased humbly request your Worship and Council will be pleased to insert in his stead the Name of Thos. Bazett Junr. 8 Novr. 1779 And your Petitioner will ever Pray. - Granted upon the Petitioner's paying half a Years Rent for the renewal of the Nominee amounting to £ 4. 5 - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	**Interpretations** Bazett's lease was held for lives. It ran for as long as the people named in it survived, and when one of them died the holder had to replace the name or the lease would draw nearer its end. The Company charged a fine of half a year's rent each time a new life was inserted. That gave the landlord a steady income from deaths among the island's tenants, and it kept the Company's ownership visible even on land that families held for generations. The dead nominee was Captain Richard Beale, whose estate had been in dispute before the Council on 18 October 1779. Henry Bazett replaced him with a young member of his own family, which extended the lease for a generation at a cost of £4 5s 0d. Bazett sat on the Board that granted his petition and signed the minute himself.
247	243	15 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of November 1779 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated 8 Nov. 1779 Thursday the 11 Sailed the Honble. Company's Ship Princess Royall for Fort Marlborough Friday 11th Died Thomas Smith Private Saturday 13 Died John Cope Matross Do. 13 Do. John Whaley Inhabitant Mr. William Jenkin this day Presented the following Petition To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena - Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of Disposing of his right in 19½ Acres of Lease Land lying in the South Division of this Island, to Mrs. Mary Price, humbly request your Worship and Council's Permission so to do. And your Petitioner will ever Pray. 15 Nov. 1779 Granted	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 15 November 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 8 November 1779. The Company's ship *Princess Royal* sailed for Fort Marlborough on Thursday 11 November 1779. Thomas Smith, a private, died on Friday 12 November 1779. John Cope, a matross, died on Saturday 13 November 1779, as did John Whaley, an inhabitant. Mr William Jenkin presented a petition that day. He wished to transfer his rights in 19½ acres of leasehold land in the island's southern division to Mrs Mary Price, and he asked the Governor and Council for permission to do so. He dated the petition 15 November 1779, and the Council granted it. **Interpretations** A tenant on St Helena could not sell or assign his lease without the Council's leave. The Company, as landlord of the whole island, kept the right to approve every new holder. It could refuse a transfer to a debtor or to someone it judged unfit, and every change of hands was entered in the record that underpinned the annual rent roll. The *Princess Royal* sailed more than three weeks after the Council had first ordered Captain Ker to proceed to Sumatra. His refusal of 20 October 1779 had held, and he left only once the island's stores were ashore, carrying the £16,000 in treasure for Fort Marlborough.
248	244	15 November We this day Entertained John Walker and John Trevin Seamen left here out of Ship Princess Royal to serve the Honble. Company five Years as Soldiers, and gave them ten Pounds Bounty Money. - On the 24th of last Month We enlisted William Bushell left here out of the Ship Mount Stuart, to serve the Honorable Company five Years as a Soldier and gave him ten Pounds Bounty Money. - Ordered the following advertisement to be Published Viz. - Island St. Helena 15th Novr. 1779 Notice is hereby given that the Inhabitants of the said Island are requested to send into the Secretary's Office on or before the 1st of December next an exact signed Return of the Number of their able Male Slaves each of them have from the age of 16 to 60 Years specifying their Names. - By order of Council Signed	The Council enlisted John Walker and John Toom that day, two seamen left on the island by the *Princess Royal*. Each agreed to serve the Company as a soldier for five years and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. On 24 October 1779 the Council had also enlisted William Bushell, a seaman left behind by the *Mount Stuart*, on the same terms and with the same bounty of £10 0s 0d. The Council ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 15 November 1779. Every inhabitant was to send the Secretary's office, by 1 December 1779, a signed return of the number of able-bodied male slaves he owned between the ages of 16 and 60, giving each one's name. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for October. **Interpretations** A return of able male slaves aged 16 to 60 was a muster roll of the island's reserve labour, and probably of its reserve manpower in war. The Council already held each planter's annual return of household, land and cattle. This one asked only for men fit for heavy work, by name, which pointed to a

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		B Wright Secry. Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of October last which is as follows Viz. -	specific use. The enclosure wall at Long Wood, the rock-cutting at Buttermilk Point and the hauling of guns all needed more hands than the garrison and the Company's own slaves could supply. In an attack, slaves were also the obvious source of men to carry powder and shot to the batteries and to drag guns along the cliff roads. A named list let the Council call out particular men from particular owners at short notice. William Bushell, who enlisted on the day the fleet sailed, had appeared among the seamen on the *Mount Stuart*'s muster roll only a week earlier.
249	245	Cash Dr. To Ballance Remaining 19689 15 2 To John Worrall recd. on Account of Sheep 18 15 . To Exchange for the following Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable as follows Viz. One Set to Messrs. Stonefrith Gibson and Company 32 8 . One Do. to James Stuart Tulk Robt. Halford & Jona. Michie Esqrs. 127 1 11 One Do. to Mr. Moses Jones 50 . . One Do. to Mr. Robt. Dagley 100 . . One Do. to Mr. Wm. Mason 130 . . One Do. to Thos. Wood Esqr. 204 4 6 One Do. to Mr. Geo. Macaulay 60 . . One Do. to Mr. Michael Lascelles 265 . . One Do. to Fredk. Hindley Esqr. 259 7 6 One Do. to Messrs. John Storey and Christopher Pritchard 700 . . One Do. to Messrs. Mel and Company 300 . . One Do. to John Clements Esqr. 197 15 3 One Do. to John Troutbeck 425 4 . One Do. to Mr. Thos. Burston 200 . . One Do. to Mrs. Catharine Hindman 300 . . One Do. to Mr. Willm. Nelson 100 . . One Do. to Mr. Chas. Gregory 55 . . One Do. to Mr. Jona. Doveton 1400 . . One Do. to Mr. Chas. Bradford 100 . . One Do. to Andrew Moffatt Esqr. 1200 . . One Do. to Mrs. Elizth. Simpson 500 . . One to Capt. Peter Douglas 2000 . . One to Mattw. Purling Esqr. 500 . . 9206 1 2 To Ship Royal Admiral 297 19 9 To Ship Gatton 26 3 4 To Ship Queen 309 19 7 To Ship Glatton	The Company's cash account for October 1779 recorded the following receipts. 1 October 1779, balance in hand, £19,689 15s 2d John Terrall, on account of the sheep, £78 15s 0d Cash received in exchange for sets of bills on the Court of Directors, payable as follows Messrs Stonyforth, Gibson and Company, £32 8s 0d James Stuart Tulk, Robert Halford and Jonathan Michie, £127 1s 11d Mr Morris Jones, £50 0s 0d Mr Robert Dagley, £100 0s 0d Mr William Mason, £130 0s 0d Thomas Wood, £204 4s 6d Mr George Macaulay, £60 0s 0d Mr Michael Lascelles, £265 0s 0d Frederick Hindley, £259 7s 6d Messrs John Storey and Christopher Pritchard, £700 0s 0d Messrs Abel and Company, £300 0s 0d John Clements, £197 15s 3d John Troutbeck, £425 4s 0d Mr Thomas Burston, £200 0s 0d Mrs Catharine Hindman, £300 0s 0d Mr William Nelson, £100 0s 0d Mr Charles Gregory, £55 0s 0d Mr Jonathan Doveton, £1,400 0s 0d Mr Charles Bradford, £100 0s 0d Andrew Moffatt, £1,200 0s 0d Mrs Elizabeth Simpson, £500 0s 0d Captain Peter Douglas, £2,000 0s 0d Matthew Dunning, £500 0s 0d Bills of exchange total, £9,206 1s 2d Cash was also received from the Company's ships for stores supplied. The *Royal Admiral*, £297 19s 9d The *Gatton*, £26 3s 4d The *Queen*, £309 19s 9d The *Glatton*, £18 7s 7d The *Hillsborough*, £64 9s 7d The *Royal George*, £229 10s 11d The *Godfrey*, £159 10s 2d The *Shrewsbury*, £584 6s 0d The *Mount Stuart*, £247 0s 8d Total receipts, £30,792 15s 1d The other side of the account showed how the money was applied and what remained. Coin sent to Fort Marlborough by the Princess Royal, £16,000 0s 0d Balance in hand, in coin, £14,253 0s 1d Balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £14,792 15s 1d Total, £30,792 15s 1d Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The treasury sent £16,000 0s 0d in silver to Sumatra in October, yet it ended the month with more than £14,000 0s 0d in coin. Without the departing fleet, the chest would have held barely £3,000 0s 0d. The bills of exchange brought in over £9,200 0s 0d, as commanders, officers and island

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		18 7 7 To Ship Hillsborough 64 9 7 To Ship Royal George 229 10 11 To Ship Godfrey 159 10 2 To Ship Shrewsbury 524 6 . To Ship Mount Stuart 241 . 8 £ 30792 15 1 Per Contra Cr. By Cash Consigned to Fort Marlbro P Ship Princess Royal 16000 . . By Ballance remaining Viz. In Specie £ 14253 . 1 In Cash Notes 539 15 . 14792 15 1 £ 30792 15 1 John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** 1779	officials paid coin into the treasury in return for drafts on London. The ships paid nearly £2,000 0s 0d more for the stores they had taken. The homeward fleet replaced most of the silver that the Court's order had removed. The Council had borrowed the fleet's private wealth in coin and repaid it with paper drawn on the Company's own house in London. That made the remittance to Fort Marlborough possible without stripping the island of the means to pay its garrison.
250	246	22 Novr. At a Consultation held on Monday the 22d day of Novr. 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 15th of Novr. 1779. - No Persons having appeared or made any proposals to Fence any part of Long Wood, agreeable to the Advertisement of the 2d Instant. We this day Came to a resolution to set about Collecting Materials to promote the said Work therefore Ordered the following Advertisement to be published. - Island St. Helena 22d Novr. 1779. - Notice is hereby given to all persons upon the said Island who have any able Slaves to let, that they are desired to give into the Secretary's office on or before the 6th of next month the number they will supply for the most moderate terms to work upon the Fencing in of Long Wood such Labourers so retained are to continue without fail from the 1st January 1780 during the Quarter, when fresh Contracts will be entered into for prosecuting the said Work Quarterly. - By Order of Council Signed B Wright Secry. Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 22 November 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 15 November 1779. No one had come forward or offered proposals to build any part of the wall at Long Wood, as invited by the notice of 2 November 1779. The Council therefore resolved that day to start collecting materials and to carry out the work itself. It ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 22 November 1779. Every inhabitant with able-bodied slaves available for hire was to send the Secretary's office, by 6 December 1779, the number he could supply on the most moderate terms to work on fencing Long Wood. The labourers taken on were to keep working without a break from 1 January 1780 for the whole quarter. New contracts would then be made each quarter to carry on the work. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** No planter or soldier offered to build the Long Wood wall by the yard. The obvious course was to raise the rate or try again with contractors. Instead, the Council took the work into its own hands and hired slave labour directly, paid quarter by quarter. The return of able male slaves it had demanded on 15 November 1779 now had a clear use. It told the Council how many men each owner held and so how far it could press for hire. The failure of the contract scheme was probably a matter of price. Quarrying and walling by the yard on the exposed eastern plateau was hard, slow work, and a planter would make more by hiring out his slaves at a day rate than by contracting for a fixed length of wall. Owners gained a steady income from the work, and the slaves did the labour.
251	247	29 November	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 29 November 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th day of November 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 22 Novr. 1779 Thursday night the 23rd instant arrived the Hind Cutter from the Cape of Good Hope Wednesday the 24 died Mr. George Lamb, the Honble. Company's Steward Thursday the 25th John the Son of John Bagley Planter was drowned by Accident. - The Executors of Willm. Young Deceased this day presented the following Petition - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. &c. Council of St. Helena - The humble Petition of the Executors to the last Will of Willm. Young Deceased Sheweth That there are three Leases belonging to the Estate of the said Willm. Young deceased, Expired, humbly requests your worship and Council will be pleased to grant them renewals of the same. - And your Petitioners will ever pray. 29th Novr. 1779. Granted	Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 22 November 1779. The *Hind* cutter returned from the Cape of Good Hope on the night of Monday 22 November 1779. Mr George Lamb, the Company's steward, died on Wednesday 24 November 1779. On Thursday 25 November 1779, John, the son of John Bagley, a planter, drowned in an accident. The executors of the late William Young presented a petition that day. Three leases belonging to his estate had expired, and they asked the Governor and Council to renew them. They dated the petition 29 November 1779, and the Council granted it.
252	248	29 November We this day appointed George Leache to be the Honble. Company's Steward in the Room of George Lamb Deceased at the usual salary and Allowance to commence the 25 Instant. - We this day Entertained Robert Ives and Pedro Widgemsenhame here upon the Hind Cutter to serve the Honble. Company five Years as Soldiers and gave them ten Pounds bounty Money. - By the Hind Cutter We received the following Articles Viz. The Honble. East India Company at St. Helena To Philip Carel Spaarenberg Dr. 50000 lb. Fine Flour @ Rix d. 5 Rix d. 2500 50 Live Sheep @ 2 100 2600 Charges Merchandize 236 Empty Canvas Bags @ 6 S. 177 3 Boats for Flour and Sheep 20 Duty on 50,000 lb. Flour 16 S. 166 5 2 Cooley and Waggon hire 35 300 lb. Hay 11 3 24 Bushels Barley 3 6 Rix dollrs. 3049 2 Cape of Good Hope 9th Nov. 1779 Recd. the Contents Philip Carel Spaarenberg	The Council appointed George Jacks as the Company's steward in place of the late George Lamb, on the usual salary and allowances from 25 November 1779. The Council also enlisted Robert Ives and Pieter Wedg[...], who had come to the island in the *Hind* cutter. Each agreed to serve the Company as a soldier for five years and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. The *Hind* brought the following goods, bought at the Cape on the Company's account from Philip Ernst Spaarenberg. Fine flour, 50,000 lb at 5 rixdollars a hundredweight, 2,500 rixdollars 50 live sheep at 2 rixdollars each, 100 rixdollars Goods total, 2,600 rixdollars Charges on the goods 236 empty canvas bags at 6 schellings each, 177 rixdollars 3 boatloads for the flour and sheep, 20 rixdollars Duty on 50,000 lb of flour, 166 rixdollars 5 schellings 3 stivers Porters and wagon hire, 35 rixdollars Hay, 300 lb, 11 rixdollars 3 schellings Barley, 4 bushels, 3 rixdollars 6 schellings Invoice total, 3,049 rixdollars 2 schellings Philip Ernst Spaarenberg signed a receipt for the contents at the Cape of Good Hope on 9 November 1779. **Interpretations** The *Hind*'s second voyage brought almost exactly what her first had, about 22 tons of flour and 50 sheep, but from a different merchant. In August the Council had bought from Abraham Chiron. This time Captain Bendy dealt with Spaarenberg, perhaps because his price was lower, as the Council had instructed. Two cargoes in four months turned the Cape from an emergency source into a regular one. The island now drew its bread from a Dutch colony at war's edge, paid for with bills on London, instead of waiting on store ships from England that might

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			arrive short or not at all. The hay and barley were fodder to keep the sheep alive on the passage north.
253	249	Captain Richard Bendy brought from the Cape nine hundred weight of Flour to make up the quantity, which was short delivered on his return from that Place as Entered upon Consultation of the 27 September - which we have brought upon the Honble. Company's General Books of Accounts - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Captain Richard Bendy brought nine hundredweight of flour from the Cape to make up the shortfall on his previous voyage. That cargo had arrived short, as the storekeeper's account entered in the minutes of 27 September 1779 recorded. The Council entered the flour in the Company's general books of account. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The storekeeper had certified on 27 September 1779 that the *Hind* landed 10 cwt 1 qr 2 lb less flour than her invoice showed. Bendy did not dispute the figure or wait for the Council to charge him. On his next voyage he bought nearly the same quantity at the Cape and brought it back to settle the account. The flour was most probably his own purchase, not the Company's, since it did not appear on Spaarenberg's invoice. As commander of the Company's own cutter, Bendy could expect to be made answerable for any loss in his charge. Replacing it in kind cleared his record before the Council could send the matter to London.
254	250	6 December At a Consultation holden Monday the 6th Day of Decr. 1779 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 29th day of Novr. 1779 - We this day Entertained James Berry left here out of Ship Princess Royal, to serve the Honble. Company five Years as a Soldier, and gave him ten pounds Bounty Money. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** Mattw. Bazett absent being Lame	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 6 December 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. Matthew Bazett was absent because he was lame. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 29 November 1779. The Council enlisted James Berry that day, a seaman left on the island by the *Princess Royal*. He agreed to serve the Company as a soldier for five years and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute.
255	251	13 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th day of December 1779 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 6th of Decr. 1779 Wednesday the 8th Reeves Osborne Private hanged himself, an Inquest being held on his Body they Brought in their Verdict self Murder. - The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stewards Accounts for the Month of November last, being this day laid before Us, which were examined and approved and are as follows Viz. Artillery Stores Expended in Novr. 1779 - Guns Fired, 32 lb., 6 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 13 December 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 6 December 1779. Reeves O'Berne, a private, hanged himself on Wednesday 8 December 1779. An inquest was held on his body, and the jury returned a verdict of self-murder. The Council examined and approved the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for November 1779. **Interpretations** The verdict of self-murder carried legal consequences beyond the record of a death. In English law, a suicide judged sane was a felon. His goods were forfeit to the Crown, or here to the Company as lord of the island, and his body could be denied Christian burial in consecrated ground. Juries often avoided this by finding the dead man insane, a verdict that spared his estate and his family. The St Helena jury did not do so. A private soldier had few goods to forfeit, so the harsher verdict cost his heirs

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		1 Blank Cartridges for a General Field Day 2400: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, Powder lb. 75, Powder oz. 0 5 Blank Do. for the West Flying Party 200: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 4 11 Dispatched the Ship Princess Royal: Guns Fired 9, 32 lb. 0, 6 lb. 9, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 1 12 Blank Cartridges for the Funeral of Thomas Smith Private: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, Powder lb. 1, Powder oz. 2 14 Do. Do. for the Do. of John Cope Matross: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, Powder lb. 1, Powder oz. 2 25 Blank Cartridges for a General Field Day 2000: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, Powder lb. 62, Powder oz. 8 An Alarm at Banks's for the Hind Cutter: Guns Fired 1, 32 lb. 1, 6 lb. 0, Powder lb. 4, Powder oz. 6 For the Stone Blowers: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, Powder lb. 59, Powder oz. 0 For Sundry Services: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 9 Total: Guns Fired 10, 32 lb. 1, 6 lb. 9, Powder lb. [...], Powder oz. [...] Copper rivets for the Armourers Shop 100 White Rope for the Long Boat, Gallow 96 Cartridge Paper Quire 13 Isinglass for the Lt. Governors Use 4 oz. Large Ladles 4 Flannel 4 Yds. Slings for Gunners Horns 9 Tallow 9 lb. Signed Willm. Pierce Capt. of Artillery	little. O'Berne had served in the Second Company through the shortages of the year and appeared on the September pay list. The figures in the November artillery table and the list of stores beneath it are too small to read reliably at this resolution. A closer image of that part of the page will let me complete the account.
256	252	13 December Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in Novr. 1779 65 Bottles Madeira 4 1 3 29 Do. Port 2 3 11 31 Do. Lisbon 2 9 1 7 Do. Sherry . 11 1 40 Do. Beer . 13 4 15 Gallons Arrack 2 15 . 170 lb. Mutton 3 10 10 1 Lamb . 10 . 2 Goats 1 . . 40 lb. Pork 1 4 . 4 Pigs 1 . . 12 Fowls . 18 . 6 Ducks . 9 . 2 Geese . 10 . 118 lb. Candy 2 19 . 454 Flour 3 15 6	The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during November 1779. Madeira, 63 bottles, £4 1s 3d Port, 29 bottles, £2 5s 11d Lisbon wine, 31 bottles, £2 9s 1d Sherry, 7 bottles, £0 11s 1d Beer, 40 bottles, £0 13s 4d Arrack, 15 gallons, £2 5s 0d Mutton, 170 lb, £3 10s 10d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 2 goats, £1 0s 0d Pork, 40 lb, £1 4s 0d 4 pigs, £1 0s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d Sugar candy, 116 lb, £2 19s 0d Flour, 424 lb, £3 15s 6d Total used at the table, £28 10s 0d Bought for the table Beef, 50 lb at 6d, £1 5s 0d Beef, 29 lb at 3½d, £0 8s 6d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 28 fowls, £2 2s 0d 5 pigs, £1 5s 0d Total bought, £6 5s 6d The Council then ordered the following public notice to be published. **Interpretations** The Madeira drunk at the Company's table fell from 177 bottles in October to 63 in November, and the whole account dropped from £41 6s 2d to £28 10s 0d. The convoy had sailed on 24 October 1779 and the *Princess Royal* on 11 November. With no

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		£ 28 10 . Bought for the Table 50 lb. Beef @ 6 1 5 . 29 lb. Do. @ 3½ . 8 6 2 Lambs 1 . . 1 Turkey . 5 . 28 Fowls 2 2 . 5 Pigs 1 5 . £ 6 3 6 Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Viz.	commanders or passengers left to entertain, the Castle's table returned to the scale of a small garrison's mess. The table's cost followed the shipping season as closely as the treasury did.
257	253	13 Dec. 1779 Island St. Helena 13th Decr. 1779 This is to give notice to all the Planters upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's office on or before the 20 Instant an exact signed return of the Number of Cattle each of them have for Slaughter for the Year 1780 which they will be expected punctually to supply, as no casualty will be admitted of in future. Also to specify in the above return the Number of Bulls they intend to dispose of to the Ships the ensuing Year. Notice is hereby further given to all the Inhabitants on the Island aforesaid that they are likewise to transmit an Account on or before the time abovementioned of their Number of Horses and to distinguish them by their several denominations also a just return of their Stocks of Sheep and Goats and the number they intend for sale. By Order of Council Signed B Wright Secry. We this day Entertained John Phillips left here out of Ship Princess Royal, to serve the Honble. Company five years as a Soldier and gave him ten pounds Bounty Money. - On the 29 Novr. last Major Bazett presented the following Minute to the Board Major Bazett Presiding Justice for the present Quarter having had a Complaint made to him by Woodbury a man Slave belonging to John Worrall of his Punishing of him in a severe and Cruel manner, by running a Fish Hook through his ear, also lighting of Gunpowder Wicks and putting them between his fingers which burnt him in a Cruel manner. This inhuman treatment he looks upon with the utmost astonishment, and requests the opinion of the Board of Justices, in what manner it will be most proper to proceed in such a	The Council published the following notice, dated at St Helena on 13 December 1779. Every planter was to send the Secretary's office, by 20 December 1779, an exact signed return of the number of cattle he had ready for slaughter in 1780. Each planter would be expected to supply that number punctually, and no loss of any kind would be accepted as an excuse in future. Planters were also to state on the same return how many cattle they meant to sell to the ships in the coming year. All inhabitants were further required to give, by the same date, an account of their horses, listed by kind, together with a return of their flocks of sheep and goats and the number they intended to sell. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders. The Council enlisted John Phillips that day, a seaman left on the island by the *Princess Royal*. He agreed to serve the Company as a soldier for five years and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. On 29 November 1779, Major Henry Bazett had laid a minute before the Board. As the justice of the peace for the current quarter, he had received a complaint from Woodbury, a male slave belonging to John Terrall. Woodbury said that Terrall had punished him severely and cruelly, running a fish hook through his ear and placing lighted gun wicks between his fingers, which burned him badly. Bazett regarded such inhuman treatment with the greatest astonishment. He asked the Board, sitting as justices, for its opinion on how best to proceed in such a case. **Interpretations** The clause that no loss would be accepted as an excuse was aimed at the drought of 1779. Planters had been unable to supply their usual share of beef that year, and the Council had to refuse cattle to the *Warwick* and ration beef to every ship. A quota declared in December and binding regardless of deaths shifted the risk of the next dry season onto the planters. A man who promised ten bullocks would now have to deliver ten, or buy them from a neighbour. The Council was protecting the island's ability to victual the fleets, the purpose for which the Company kept it. Woodbury's complaint shows that a slave on St Helena could lay a charge against his own master before a magistrate. Bazett treated the case as beyond his authority to settle alone and referred it to the whole Council sitting as justices. That step reflects how unusual it was for an owner's private punishment to come under public scrutiny. The Company's laws regulated what an owner could do to a slave, but enforcing them against a planter depended on the slave daring to complain. John Terrall was the same man the Court of Directors had already made pay half the loss on the Company's flock.

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258	254	13 Decr. Case, as the oaths of Blacks have not ever yet been admitted against White Men. - In Consequence of which the Members of Council this day gave in their separate opinions, which are as follows - The Governor in Consequence of Major Bazett's request Offers it as his opinion that Worrall and his Slave should be summoned to attend the Govr. and Council on Monday next and provided the said slave shall make it appear, that his Master did Cruelly and inhumanly treat him in the manner the said slave has asserted, in that Case the whole of the affair should be taken in writing and properly stated and transmitted by the first Conveyance to the Honble. Court of Directors for their direction in what manner to proceed in the case. Which is conformable to the Sentiments of the Governor and Council as stated in their General Letter of the 15 August 1762 and 5 Decr. 1763, also P 9 April 1764 where Mr. Skottowe and the Gentlemen of Council, declare, that they think they cannot admit of Blacks giving evidence in any case whatever against a White Person, as they think it might be attended with very dangerous Consequences, and that if any thing doubtful should arise relative to Criminal Prosecutions or otherwise they would state the case and defer their final determination until they receive the Honble. Court of Directors Sentiments thereupon. - Mr. Skottowe has not found (during his inquiry into the Law Books) any reason to change those Sentiments neither does he imagine the delay will be attended with any material consequence St. Helena 13 December 1779. - Signed John Skottowe In answer to Major Bazett's application to the Board the 29th Novr. last requesting their opinion in what manner it will be necessary to Proceed in a Complaint made to him, by Woodbury a Man Slave against his Master John Worrall Planter for Punishing the said slave in a Cruel and severe manner, by running Fish Hooks through his ears, also lighting of greased Cotton Wicks and	Bazett had noted that the evidence of black people had never yet been admitted against white men. The members of the Council therefore gave their separate opinions that day. Governor Skottowe advised that Terrall and his slave should be summoned to appear before the Governor and Council on the following Monday. If the slave could show that his master had treated him in the cruel and inhuman manner he described, the whole affair should be set down in writing, properly stated and sent by the first available ship to the Court of Directors for instructions on how to proceed. That course followed the views the Governor and Council had set out in their general letters of 15 August 1762 and of 1763 and 1764. In those letters, Skottowe and the Council had declared that they could not admit the evidence of black people against a white person in any case whatever, believing that it might lead to very dangerous consequences. Where any doubtful question arose in a criminal prosecution or otherwise, they would state the case and postpone their final decision until they had the Court's views. Skottowe had searched the law books and found no reason to change that position. Nor did he think the delay would have any serious consequence. He signed his opinion at St Helena on 13 December 1779. A further opinion followed in answer to Bazett's application of 29 November 1779. It concerned Woodbury's complaint that his master, John Terrall, a planter, had punished him cruelly by running fish hooks through his ears and placing lighted, greased cotton wicks between his fingers. **Interpretations** The Governor's opinion left Woodbury without a remedy on the island. His own account was the only evidence of what Terrall had done, and the Governor ruled that a slave's word could not be heard against a white man. The case could therefore go no further than a written statement sent to London, with a reply not expected for a year or more. The Governor justified the delay as harmless. To the slave, it meant returning to the master he had accused. The rule rested on fear, which the Governor called "dangerous consequences": that slaves able to testify might bring false charges, or true ones, against the planters on whom the island's order depended. Skottowe's appeal to letters he had helped write in 1762 shows the island's slave law resting on the Council's own past decisions rather than on any statute. It was the Court of Directors that later overturned this rule. The Court's letters, recorded earlier in this chat, ordered that slave evidence be admitted, and they condemned cruelty in the cases of the Lambe and Greentree families. Woodbury's complaint is an early example of the kind of case that forced that change.
259	255	1779 putting them between his fingers so as to Burn him in a Cruel manner, as the oaths of Blacks have not ever yet being admitted against White Men. - Mr. Corneille must first premise, that Major Bazett accompanied said request by producing the Miserable Plaintiff with his Broken wounds before the Board, who added to the above relation of his Cruel treatment, That his Master had severely whipt before he had put in Practice the before mentioned savage Barbarity. The cruel effects of	Corneille began by recalling that Major Bazett had supported his request by bringing the injured man himself before the Board. Woodbury added to his account of his cruel treatment that his master had flogged him severely before inflicting the savage injuries he had described. The visible results, in Corneille's words, made humanity shudder at so depraved an act by one human being against another. Mr Kay, the surgeon's mate, was sent for. He took the slave home, dressed his wounds and reported back to the Board. Woodbury had been very badly burned. Kay did not think his life was in immediate danger, since the wounds were healing, but the man would certainly lose the use of his hands. In places the burns had reached the bone and destroyed the ligaments of several fingers on both hands.

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		which made Humanity Shudder at an act of so depraved a Nature from one fellow creature to another, Mr. Kay being sent for and after taking the said slave home and dressing his Wounds, returned, and informed the Board that the said Woodbury had been very severely Burnt, that he did not apprehend any present danger of his Life as on examina- tion he found the wounds in a healing state, but that at all events the Poor object must lose the use of his Hands, as the Burn had penetrated in some parts to the Bone and destroyed the Ligaments of several of the Fingers of both his Hands. - Mr. Corneille having maturely considered the above case, both as to the Criminality and atrociousness of the act, is clearly of opinion that Major Bazett ought to take a regular Information from the Plaintiff and depositions upon oath from such evidence as may be brought forward to prove the cruel treatment complained of, and further proceed thereon by a due process in Law at the next Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery, On the statute of Charles 2d known by the Name of the Coventry Act. - Mr. Corneille is further constrained, both from his Duty as a Magistrate, and humanity to his fellow Creatures of what ever Colour or Complexion they may be of, to Observe. That if the oaths of Blacks are not admitted against white men, in cases of so high and Criminal a Nature against the Laws of God and Man that however Arbitrary Custom may have formerly established here that Illegal and Local distinction: yet sure he is that it was never sanctified by the Honble. Company, who alone are Authorized to approve or disapprove what are to constitute the By Laws for the Better Government of this their Island, And further As the Honble. Company have thought proper of late Years, to Establish Courts of Justice, and the Laws of Great Britain upon this Island every Idea of such former Partial Justice must now Vanish	Having weighed the case carefully, and having regard to the criminal and atrocious nature of the act, Corneille was clearly of the opinion that Bazett should take a formal information from the injured man. He should also take sworn depositions from any witnesses who could be found to prove the cruelty complained of. The case should then be brought to trial by due process of law at the next session of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, under the statute of Charles II known as the Coventry Act. Corneille added that his duty as a magistrate, and his humanity towards his fellow men of whatever colour or complexion, obliged him to go further. Arbitrary custom had at one time set up on the island a rule that the oath of a black person could not be taken against a white man, even in crimes so grave against the laws of God and man. In his view that distinction was illegal and purely local. He was certain the Company had never ratified it, and only the Company had authority to approve or reject the by-laws governing its island. In recent years the Company had also established courts of justice and the laws of Great Britain on St Helena. Corneille argued that every trace of such partial justice should now disappear. **Interpretations** The Lieutenant Governor rejected the Governor's course openly and in writing. Governor Skottowe had proposed to hear the case, write it up and send it to London, which left Woodbury's evidence excluded and Terrall untouched for a year or more. Corneille proposed instead to try Terrall at once under English criminal law. His reasoning had two parts, both visible on the page. The surgeon's report gave him a crime that English law already punished: the Coventry Act of 1671 made it a felony to maim or disable a limb with malice, and Woodbury had lost the use of both hands. The Company's establishment of courts and English law on the island gave him the ground to argue that the old local rule against slave evidence had no legal force. Corneille was arguing that the law of England, once brought to St Helena, applied to a slave's injuries as it would to anyone else's. The Coventry Act took its name from an attack on Sir John Coventry, a member of Parliament whose nose was slit in 1670 in revenge for a remark about the King. The law it produced was meant to protect gentlemen from mutilation by political enemies. Corneille turned it to the defence of a slave mutilated by his owner.
260	256	13 December and the British Laws alone be our Guide and Rule in offences of so high and Capital a nature; else what man be he White or Black is safe in Life or Limb from the depravity and Malice of the Inhumane mind of examplary Villany, like these are not to be prosecuted according to the Penal acts made and provided in like cases, in order to Punish the Guilty and deter others from such Criminal and Illegal acts of Cruelty Inhumanity and worse than savage Barbarity. - St. Helena Decr. 13th 1779 Signed Danl. Corneille Major Bazett Requesting the opinion of the Board of Justices, with respect how he must act in a Case	Corneille concluded that British law alone should guide the island in crimes so serious and capital. Otherwise, he asked, what man, white or black, would be safe in life or limb from the depravity and malice of a cruel mind, if villainy of this kind were not prosecuted under the penal statutes made for such cases? The law existed to punish the guilty and to deter others from criminal acts of cruelty, inhumanity and worse than savage barbarity. He signed his opinion at St Helena on 13 December 1779. Matthew Bazett then gave his opinion. Major Bazett had asked the Board, sitting as justices, how to act in a case brought before him, given that the oath of a black person had never been admitted against a white person. The case was a slave's complaint of cruel treatment by his master. Matthew Bazett noted that the sworn evidence of black people had never been accepted against a white person on the island. The Governor and Council had explained why in the 38th paragraph of

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		that Came before him; as the oaths of Blacks has never been admitted against a White Person; a Slave having made Complaint to him of his Masters Cruel treatment. - As the Affidavit of Blacks have never been admitted in evidence against a White Person on this Island, for the Reasons assigned in the 3d Paragh. of the Governor and Council's General Letter dated 15th August 1762 to the Honble. Court of Directors, And in the 4 Paragh. of another Letter from the said Governor and Council of the 6 May 1763 to the Court of Directors, wherein they inform them that they the Govr. and Council think they cannot admit of Blacks Evidence, in any case whatever against a White Person, as it is contrary to the established Custom of the Island &c. Which reasons the Honble. Court of Directors have not disapproved of. Mr. Bazett therefore thinks that we as Govr. and Council of this Island, should not deviate but act consistently with what has been said to the Honble. Court of Directors on this Subject, and as the Laws of England except against an Infidel, being an Evidence he therefore thinks a Blacks oath, should not be admitted against a White Person (especially a slave against his Master) as he judges it might be productive of the most fatal and Dangerous Consequences to the Lives of the White Inhabitants, as well as the safety of the Island, as the number of Blacks greatly exceed that of the White and as there has been several schemes in Agitation for Cutting off all the White Inhabitants, and one recently, as in the Year 1760. But	their general letter to the Court of Directors of 15 August 1762, and in the 4th paragraph of their letter of 1 May 1763. In those letters they had told the Court that they could not admit the evidence of black people against a white person in any case, because it was contrary to the established custom of the island. The Court had not disapproved of those reasons. Bazett therefore thought the present Governor and Council should not depart from them, but should act consistently with what they had told the Court. He added that the law of England excluded an infidel from giving evidence. In his view, a black person's oath should not be admitted against a white person, least of all a slave's against his master. He judged that it might lead to the most fatal and dangerous consequences for the lives of the white inhabitants and for the safety of the island. Black people greatly outnumbered white people. Several plots had also been formed to kill all the white inhabitants, most recently in 1760. **Interpretations** Matthew Bazett's argument rested on fear of revolt. The figures behind it appear elsewhere in this year's record. The Company alone owned enough slaves to eat more than 38,000 lb of yams a quarter, and the planters had been ordered to return the names of every able male slave between 16 and 60. In a population where slaves outnumbered free people, the planters feared that a slave able to testify against his master would undermine the discipline on which their safety rested. The memory of the 1760 conspiracy, less than twenty years past, gave that fear a specific date. His legal premise was weaker than his argument from danger. English courts had long excluded witnesses who could not swear a Christian oath. In 1744, however, the case of Omychund v Barker had allowed a Hindu to give evidence by swearing according to his own faith, which overturned the blanket bar on non-Christians. Many of the island's slaves were baptised in any case. Bazett's appeal to the rule against infidels was therefore an older doctrine, used to support a local custom that Corneille had just called illegal. Matthew Bazett was himself one of the largest landholders on the island, and his answer reflected the planters' interest as owners.
261	257	1779 Mr. Bazett must also observe, that he thinks when any atrocious Crime is Committed by a White Person, on a Black, that in such circumstances, Blacks evidence ought to be taken, and the case refer'd to the Honble. the Court of Directors and their Directions received thereupon before the Sentence against the Criminal be carried into Execution, agreable to what was said in the 2d and 4th Paragraph of the Governor and Council's General Letter to the Court of Directors of 25 April 1764. Mr. Bazett is further of opinion, that Worrall the Master of the Complaining Slave, should be made sensible of his Offence, and punished by fining or otherwise, as the Bench of Justices may think Proper, which has been the custom in similar Cases, to prevent as much as possible the repetition of the like Barbarous and inhuman acts of cruelty so contrary to all Laws both Divine and	Matthew Bazett nevertheless allowed one exception. When a white person committed an atrocious crime against a black person, he thought black evidence ought to be taken in such circumstances. The case should then be referred to the Court of Directors, and the Court's instructions received, before any sentence against the offender was carried out. That followed what the Governor and Council had written in the 2nd paragraph of their general letter to the Court of 25 April 1764. He also thought that Terrall, as master of the slave who had complained, should be made aware of his offence. He should be punished by a fine or in whatever other way the bench of justices thought proper, as had been the custom in similar cases. The aim was to prevent, as far as possible, any repetition of such barbarous and inhuman cruelty. In his view, acts of that kind broke every law, divine and human, and should be condemned in any Christian country or society. He signed his opinion at St Helena on 13 December 1779. The next opinion answered Major Bazett, as the justice serving in rotation, on how best to proceed against John Terrall for his cruel and inhuman treatment of his slave Woodbury. Its author had no doubt that Terrall should be brought to a proper sense of his unjustifiable conduct. The evidence of black people had never been admitted against white

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		Human, and what should be discountenanced in every Christian Country or society. - St. Helena (Signed) 13 Decr. 1779 Mattw. Bazett In answer to Major Bazett the Presiding Justice's request of the opinion of the Board of Justices, in what manner it would be most proper to proceed against John Worrall for his inhuman and Cruel treatment of his Slave Man, Woodbury; There is no doubt but that the said John Worrall should be brought to a true sense of his unjustifiable Behaviour, but as the Evidence of Blacks has never yet been admitted against White Persons, and no other can be produced upon the present Occasion; I think we should be cautious of introducing a Mode of proceeding which I am apprehensive may be productive of very bad consequences in a Place like this, where the Blacks are so numerous in proportion to the other Inhabitants and by encouragements of this nature may prove very troublesome in future. I have the Happiness to observe that this Island has been very quiet and free from any disturbances or insurrections of the Blacks for a great many years past, tho formerly they were very frequent and that Instances of Cruelty from their Masters to them, seems very rare, altho it cannot but be expected that some refractory dispositions are to be met with in all communities; These things	people, however, and no other evidence could be produced in this case. He therefore urged caution about introducing a new way of proceeding. He feared it might have very bad consequences in a community like St Helena, where black people were so numerous compared with the other inhabitants, and that encouragement of this kind might cause serious trouble in future. He was glad to note that the island had been very quiet and free of disturbances or risings among the slaves for many years, although they had once been very frequent. Cases of cruelty by masters were now very rare, even if some unruly characters were to be found in every community. **Interpretations** Matthew Bazett tried to hold both positions at once. He kept the rule against slave evidence, yet admitted that it must give way when the crime was atrocious, provided London approved before any sentence was carried out. His proposed fine shows that the island already had a quiet way of dealing with cruel owners. Cases were settled by a magistrate's fine, without a trial in which a slave testified and without any formal ruling on the law. That custom let the Council punish an owner without conceding that a slave's word could stand against a free man's in court. Corneille's demand for a felony trial under the Coventry Act threatened to replace the fine with the gallows, and the planters on the Board resisted it for that reason. The justice "in rotation" was a councillor taking his turn, quarter by quarter, as the island's sitting magistrate. Henry Bazett held the duty when Woodbury came to him, and he chose to bring the case to the whole Board rather than settle it with a fine on his own authority.
262	258	13th December being premised, I think common prudence points out that any alteration of those measures which have proved so salutary to the Publick Peace and Tranquility of this Island should be avoided if Possible and that therefore no Blacks Evidence should be admitted against White Persons agreable to a resolution of the Govr. and Council transmitted to the Honble. Court of Directors in the fourth Paragh. of their General Letter under date the 1st May 1763 in the Government of the late Humble, just and humane Mr. Hutchinson. - I am therefore of opinion that an enquiry should be made into this matter and without passing any Judgment, that the same be transmitted to the Honble. Company for their Directions thereupon. - St. Helena Signed 13th Decr. 1779 Wm. Wrangham As the Majority of the Board are of opinion that an enquiry should be made of the Facts before them and that a state of the case be represented to the Honble. Court of Directors for advice thereupon. They requested that Major Bazett will give	William Wrangham, the author of that opinion, went on to say that common prudence required the island to avoid, if at all possible, any change to measures that had served the public peace so well. Black evidence should therefore not be admitted against white people. That was in line with the resolution the Governor and Council had sent to the Court of Directors in the 4th paragraph of their general letter of 1 May 1763, under the government of the late Mr Hutchinson, whom Wrangham called sensible, just and humane. He therefore advised that the matter should be inquired into and, without any judgment being given, sent to the Company for its instructions. He signed his opinion at St Helena on 13 December 1779. The majority of the Board held that the facts before it should be inquired into and a statement of the case sent to the Court of Directors for its advice. The Board asked Major Henry Bazett for his own opinion. He withdrew at once and, on his return, presented the following. Bazett explained that on 29 November 1779 he had heard the complaint of Woodbury, a male slave, of cruel treatment by his master, John Terrall. He found the matter too serious to pass over. It had so far been the custom of the island not to accept the oath of a black person as enough evidence against a white person. He had therefore thought it right to ask the opinion of the Board of Justices, which he did the same day, bringing Woodbury before them. Looking back at the island's practice in such cases, Bazett found that whether to allow black people to give sworn evidence against white people

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		in his opinion upon the same, Who immediately withdrew, and on his return presented the following - My opinion being required on the above affair How to observe on the 29 of November 1779 hearing the Complaint of Woodbury Man slave, against his Master John Worrall of Cruel treatment to him, found it of too serious a matter to overlook. But as it has been the custom of this Island hitherto not to admit oaths of Blacks as sufficient evidence against White, I Judged it proper to take the opinion of the board of Justices there on, which I did on the same day, and presented the said Woodbury before them. - On a retrospect to the Customs of this Island in such Cases found it to have been matter of serious debate and Consideration admitting the Blacks to be sworn against the Whites and that application has been made for opinion thereon from England which appears by the	had been a matter of serious debate. An opinion on the question had also been sought from England, as the record showed. **Interpretations** The Board divided three to one, or three to two if Henry Bazett joined Corneille. The Governor, Matthew Bazett and Wrangham all chose referral to London over a trial on the island. Each appealed to letters written under Governor Charles Hutchinson in 1762, 1763 and 1764. Henry Bazett's search of the records showed what that appeal concealed. The question had been sent to England before and never settled. For sixteen years, referral had served as the island's answer to the question of slave evidence. It allowed the Council to avoid a ruling while the old custom stayed in force. Woodbury, maimed for life, now waited on the same procedure.
263	259	1779 fifth Paragraph of the Governor and Council's General Letter to the Company dated 15th August 1762 and the answer thereto not Being Sufficiently clear to the Governor and Council on this Subject they replyed in the following Paragraph under date of the of the 1st May 1763. - "We flattered ourselves you would have been pleased to give "us directions with regard to swearing the Blacks, but as the 3d Paragraph "of your letter dated 17th December 1762 leaves us in the Dark in "that respect, We shall continue to swear them upon the Old "Testament against one another but until we receive your orders "for it we think we cannot admit of their evidence in any case "whatever against a White Person as it is contrary to the established "custom of the Island and we imagine might be attended with "very dangerous Consequences." The Prosecution of John Worrall is undoubtedly Criminal and falls under the 22d and 23 Statute of Charles the 2 vide the Coventry act, as the slave he has punished (according to report of Mr. David Kay Surgeon) will be in a degree maimed in the Fingers of Both his hands from the Lighted Wicks the said Worrall placed between them, which Cruel and unheard of Punishment, by Law Being Proved, (Decreed) affects the Life of the Perpetrator. Therefore there only remains for consideration, First how far the Local Custom of the Island hitherto in not allowing or admitting the oaths of Blacks against the White may evade a Prosecution against the said Worrall	Henry Bazett continued that the Court's reply to the 5th paragraph of the general letter of 15 August 1762 had not made the matter clear to the Governor and Council. They had therefore written again on 1 May 1763. In that letter they said they had hoped the Court would give them directions on swearing in black people as witnesses, but the 3rd paragraph of the Court's letter of 17 December 1762 had left them uncertain. Until they received orders, they would continue to swear black people on the Old Testament as witnesses against one another. They could not, however, admit black evidence against a white person in any case, since that was contrary to the established custom of the island and might, they feared, have very dangerous consequences. Bazett then gave his own view. Terrall's conduct was undoubtedly criminal and fell under the Coventry Act of 22 and 23 Charles II. According to David Kay, the surgeon, the slave would be crippled in the fingers of both hands by the lighted wicks Terrall had placed between them. If proved, so cruel and unheard-of a punishment made the offender liable under the law to the loss of his own life. Two questions alone remained. The first was how far the island's custom of refusing black evidence against white people stood in the way of prosecuting Terrall for this crime. The second was how much power a master held over his slave in punishments that did not endanger life. Bazett noted that when slaves had complained of cruel punishment by their masters, the usual practice had been to hear the slave's own statement before the Government and to fine the master according to the offence. Oaths were never taken from black people, for fear that admitting them would prove highly dangerous to the safety of the colony. For those reasons, he thought the wisest course was to take an examination of the facts and send it to England. The Company should be asked to obtain and send its best legal opinion for the island's guidance. That course was also consistent with the 8th paragraph of the Governor and Council's letter. **Interpretations** Henry Bazett agreed with Corneille on the law and with the majority on the procedure. He accepted that Terrall's act was a capital felony under the Coventry Act, yet he still voted to send the case to London rather than try it. His own account of island

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		in this Criminal Matter, And secondly how far or What Power a Master has over his slave in respect to punishment not affecting Life. - The usual method in cases of Complaint of slaves against their Masters of Cruel punishment has hitherto been by the Complainants affirmation before the Government and fines inflicted according to the offence, without admitting the oaths of Blacks, from an apprehension of its proving of the utmost bad consequences to the safety of the Colony. - For the above reasons, I think in this matter it will be most adviseable to take an examination of Facts and transmit them to England, requesting our Honble. employers will favor and provide us their best opinion thereon for our guidance, more especially as it's agreable to the 3d Paragraph of the Governor and Council's Letter	practice explains the gap. Slaves were already sworn on the Old Testament to give evidence against one another, so the courts accepted their oath as binding when only slaves stood to suffer. The same oath became inadmissible the moment a white man's life or property was at stake. The Old Testament oath was the form used for Jewish witnesses in English courts. Its use for slaves placed them outside the Christian community, with a status that was legally recognised but never equal. Bazett also named the island's real system of control: a slave could tell his story, and the Council could fine the master. That kept punishment within the planters' own circle and out of the criminal courts, where a conviction for maiming carried the death penalty. Bazett's second question, how far a master's right to punish extended short of killing, was the issue the Council had avoided for sixteen years.
264	260	13 December Letter to the Court of Directors under date of the 25th April 1764 wherein they say - "If any thing doubtful should arise relative "to criminal Prosecutions or otherwise we shall state the case and "defer our Final determination until we have received your sentiments "thereupon. This delay can be attended with no material bad Consequences, And a prosecution against the said John Worrall may be taken up immediately on receiving advice thereon. This my Opinion is only From the particular and Local circumstances attending the affair. - St. Helena Signed 13 Decr. 1779. Henry Bazett. - Mr. Wrangham requested to have the following entered. - Upon the above Minutes being produced and read. Mr. Wrangham declares that if any Justice of the Peace chooses to take a Judicial Cognizance of the above affair according to the Laws of Great Britain he shall not object to it. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Bazett noted that the 8th paragraph of the Governor and Council's letter to the Court of Directors of 25 April 1764 had promised that, where any doubt arose over a criminal prosecution or other matter, they would state the case and postpone a final decision until they had the Court's views. In his opinion, the delay would do no material harm, and a prosecution against John Terrall could be started at once when the Court's advice arrived. He stressed that he held this view only because of the particular local circumstances of the case. He signed his opinion at St Helena on 13 December 1779. Mr Wrangham asked for the following to be entered. Once the minutes above had been produced and read, he declared that if any justice of the peace chose to take judicial notice of the case under the laws of Great Britain, he would not object. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** Wrangham's added note reopened a door the Board had just closed. The majority had voted to send the case to London without giving judgment. Wrangham now stated on the record that he would not oppose any single justice who chose to act under English law on his own authority. Every councillor sat as a justice of the peace, and Corneille had argued for an immediate prosecution under the Coventry Act. Wrangham's note left Corneille, or Henry Bazett as the justice serving in rotation, free to start proceedings without a vote of the Board. It also put Wrangham's name on record as not standing in the way, should the Court of Directors later condemn the delay. Neither man was bound by the majority's decision to wait.
265	261	20 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th Day of Decr. 1779 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 13th December 1779 Saturday 18th Died Mr. Samuel Alexander Planter	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 December 1779. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 13 December 1779. Mr Samuel Alexander, a planter, died on Saturday 18 December 1779. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for November.

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		Counted and examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of November last which was follows Viz.	
266	262	Cash Dr. 1779 Novr. 1st To Balance Remaining £ 14792 [...] 2d To Exchange for three sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable as follow Viz. One set to Captain David Thompson£ 150 One to Mr. David Goodwin 300 One to Messrs. Able and Macaulay 150 600 . . To Fines Received of Willm. Hayes as P Consultation of this day . 10 . To Rents &c. of Mr. Major Henry Bazett as P Do. P 4 5 . To Ship Princess Royal 2 17 6 £ 15400 7 7 Per Contra Cr. 1779 Novr. 30 By Balance remaining Viz. In Specie£ 14860 12 7 In Cash Notes 539 15 . 15400 7 7 £ 15400 7 7 John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** 1779	The Company's cash account for November 1779 recorded the following receipts. 1 November 1779, balance in hand, £14,792 15s 1d 2 November 1779, cash received in exchange for three sets of bills on the Court of Directors, payable as follows Captain David Thompson, £150 0s 0d Mr David Goodwin, £300 0s 0d Messrs Able and Macaulay, £150 0s 0d Bills of exchange total, £600 0s 0d Fine received from William Hopps, as recorded in the minutes of 8 November 1779, £0 10s 0d Major Henry Bazett, for renewing a named life in his lease, as recorded in the same minutes, £4 5s 0d The *Princess Royal*, for stores supplied, £2 17s 6d Total receipts, £15,400 7s 7d The other side of the account showed the balance remaining. 30 November 1779, balance in hand, in coin, £14,860 12s 7d 30 November 1779, balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £15,400 7s 7d Total, £15,400 7s 7d Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the account.
267	263	3 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 3 Day of January 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 20 Decr. 1779 The Governor Messrs. Bazett Wrangham and Major Bazett presented the following Viz. Since giving in our several opinions respecting the proper Cognizance to be taken of John Worrall's cruel treatment of his slave Man Woodbury entered upon Consultation of the 13th last month wherein we have observed that the Evidence of Blacks has never been admitted against White Persons. We find upon a minute inspection into the Judicial records of this Island three Instances wherein the oaths of Blacks have been taken upon the trials of White men which are as follows - Nugoodah Ibrahim sworn upon the Trial of John Cook at Sessions held the 6th day of April 1763, Obquit a midwife upon the Trial of Henry Brown at Sessions held the 15th Jan. 1766 and upon the Trial of Henry Snelser, Thomas Watts and Saml. Charles Thornton at Sessions	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 3 January 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 20 December 1779. The Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett presented a joint statement. In their separate opinions of 13 December 1779 on how to deal with John Terrall's cruelty to his slave Woodbury, they had said that black evidence had never been admitted against white people. A close search of the island's court records had since turned up three cases in which black witnesses had given sworn evidence at the trials of white men. [...] Ibrahim had been sworn at the trial of John Cook at the sessions held on 6 April 1763. Abigail, a midwife, had been sworn at the trial of Henry Brown at the sessions of 15 January 1766. Charles had been sworn at the trial of Henry [...], Thomas Watts and Samuel [...] at the sessions of 12 July 1769. The Governor maintained that in those cases the evidence had been treated only as supporting proof. In his view it did not depart from the resolution on black evidence against white people that the Governor and Council had sent to the Court of Directors in their letter of 1 May 1763. The four members added that there had also been one case in which a black person's evidence was admitted against his own master. A single justice of the peace had taken that evidence out of sessions, and it was entered in the island's judicial records on 7 November 1769. **Interpretations**

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		held 12 July 1769 - But these Instances the Govr. Observes where looked upon only as corroborating Circumstances and in no ways deviating from the resolution of the Governor and Council transmitted to the Honble. Court of Directors (concerning the evidence of Blacks against White Persons) by Letter dated 1st May 1763 we have further to observe that there has been one Instance of a Blacks evidence admitted against his master. But this was done by a single Justice of the Peace out of Sessions and recorded upon the Judicial Proceedings of the Island under date of the 7th November 1769 -	The four members had to correct the record on which their vote of 13 December 1779 rested. Every one of them had told the Court, through the minutes, that black evidence had never been admitted against a white person. The court books showed at least three trials and one master's case in which it had been. The obvious course was to withdraw the claim and reconsider. Instead, they redefined the precedents. The Governor described the earlier testimony as merely corroborating, which preserved the rule while admitting that it had already been broken. The case taken against a master by a single justice out of sessions was the closest parallel to Woodbury's, and it was precisely what Corneille had urged and Wrangham had said he would not oppose. The correction strengthened Corneille's argument that the custom was local and inconsistent. It was entered just as the case was about to go to London.
268	264	3 January Notwithstanding the above Instances we cannot deviate from our former respective opinions for the reasons therein assigned. - St. Helena (Signed) 3 Jany. 1780 John Skottowe Mattw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henry Bazett The Lieutenant Governor likewise laid the following Minute before the Board The Board having determined on the mode and manner of their Conduct, in consequence of Major Bazett's application for their advice on the Point of Woodbury a Man slave, as stated under date 29 Novr. 1779 and the said determination being as Mr. Corneille humbly apprehends diametrically opposite, and repugnant to, the Laws and constitution of our Country, as set forth in his answer to the Question dated the 13th december following. Mr. Corneille therefore on a Point of so great consequence as he considers this to be to the community as the natural Liberty of Man, Life and Limb, the immediate gift of God bestowed on all Human Beings alike and not wantonly to be sported with by the malice of Man; feels himself under the necessity of briefly offering a few arguments further in support of his opinion so different from those of the other Gentlemen, together with some observations to Elucidate, that the strict observance of the criminal Law and Justice upon this Island, can never be productive, but of the Best consequence, to advance the contrary would be a Syllogism not to be admitted. - As the Governor and the other Gentlemen's answers fully admit of the criminality of such atrocious Acts, they are not all aware of the mode which the Law has provided in like cases, and the penal statute under which it falls, the only objection therefore they have to a regular course of Justice taking place, is the admission of the oaths of Blacks against White People as the custom of the Island has never hitherto allowed the same. Mr. Corneille in reply begs leave to observe, that whatever Local and arbitrary custom may	The four members concluded that, despite these cases, they could not depart from the opinions they had each given before, for the reasons stated there. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the statement at St Helena on 3 January 1780. The Lieutenant Governor also laid a minute before the Board. The majority had decided how to act on Major Bazett's request of 29 November 1779 for advice on the case of Woodbury, a male slave. Corneille believed that the decision ran directly against the laws and constitution of his country, as he had argued in his answer of 13 December 1779. He regarded the question as one of the greatest importance to the community. It concerned a man's natural liberty, life and limb, which in his words were God's gift to all human beings alike and should never be put at risk by human malice. He therefore felt obliged to offer a few further arguments for an opinion so different from those of his colleagues. He also wished to show that strict enforcement of the criminal law on the island could never produce harmful consequences. To claim the opposite, he argued, was a piece of reasoning that could not be accepted. The Governor and the other members fully acknowledged the criminal nature of such atrocious acts. They knew the procedure the law laid down in such cases and the penalty it imposed. Their only objection to a proper trial, therefore, was to admitting a black person's oath against a white person, because the custom of the island had never allowed it. In reply, Corneille spoke from the knowledge he had gained by remaining in England until he was an adult and by his later study of writers on English law. With due respect, he held that both the letter and the spirit of English law accepted as a competent witness anyone of any religion or nationality, with only limited exceptions. **Interpretations** The majority held its ground even after its central factual claim had collapsed, and Corneille answered by entering a second, longer dissent. A minute laid before the Board went into the consultation books that were copied and sent to London. Corneille was therefore addressing the Court of Directors over the heads of his colleagues. By stating in writing that the Board's decision was repugnant to the laws and constitution of England, he ensured that the Court would see a senior officer's formal objection beside the majority's case. If the Court later condemned the delay, the record would show that the Lieutenant Governor had opposed it from the start. Corneille appealed to his English upbringing and legal reading because the island's planter families, the Bazetts among them, had grown

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		be hitherto adopted by not quoting his Country with Credit, and applying in consistently with authors as has treated on the jurisprudence of our laws, he conceives with all deference that, both the Letter and spirit of our Laws admit Witnesses of whatever Religion or Country as Competent, unless	up under local custom. He was setting the law of England against the habits of St Helena.
269	265	1779 unless rendered infamous as the statute in that case directs; that this happy endangering Privilege, as the sentinal of every Individual's Life and property, and the Tool to make every man amenable to the Laws of his Country, should in this Insignificant Colonie of one part of the Human Species, Lording it over the other have it in their Power to perpetrate the most atrocious crimes against the ordinances of God and man, upon whatever Blacks (for it will hold good in other cases) in presence only of the latter colour whose evidence are not to be admitted therefore the perpetrator in consequence of that Illegal distinction escape with impunity. The next argument he has to offer, in answer to the assertion, that the oaths of Blacks was never admitted against White men, he begs leave to refer the Governor and Gentlemen to the Judicial records; wherein they will find at the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery held the 12 July in the ninth Year of his Majesty's Reign a President - Charles a man slave belonging to Mr. Darling an evidence upon oath, against Henry Snelser, Thomas Watts and Mattw. Charlton Soldiers who were indicted for Stealing a yearling Bull the property of the said Mr. Darling. Many reflections must naturally arise from the above instances, but Mr. Corneille rather wishes to suppress them in his own breast, adverting only to one observation. That the whole system of the British Law has a superior excellence over every other Code of Laws in the known world, as thereby, the meanest individual of Society is protected from the Insults and oppression of the Greatest, like the Dews of Heaven the shower down their Blessings on all alike. - In reply to the Board's determination of making the present plaintiffs case merely an enquiry, and transmitting the same to the Honble. Court of Directors for their orders thereupon Mr. Corneille has first to offer, that where the circumstances of the Crime, is of so capital a nature, and the statute in that case provided so plain and explicit added to the Honble. Company's previous orders for the regular establishment of Civil and criminal Courts of Judicature	Corneille went on to say that only a man rendered infamous by a criminal conviction was disqualified, as the statute provided. In his view, this privilege of English law guarded every individual's life and property and made every man answerable to the laws of his country. Without it, one part of mankind on the island could commit the most atrocious crimes against the laws of God and man upon any black person and escape unpunished. The rule held whenever only black people were present to witness the crime, since their evidence could not be heard. The offender would then go free because of an illegal distinction. His next argument answered the claim that black evidence had never been admitted against white men. He referred the Governor and his colleagues to the island's court records. At the sessions of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery held on 12 July in the ninth year of the King's reign, Charles, a male slave belonging to Mr [...], gave sworn evidence against three soldiers, Henry [...], Thomas Watts and Matthew Charlton. They had been indicted for stealing a yearling bull belonging to his master. Corneille said that many reflections arose from this case, but he preferred to keep them to himself. He made only one observation. The British legal system, in his view, excelled every other code in the known world because it protected the humblest member of society from the insults and oppression of the greatest, falling on all alike like the dew of heaven. Corneille then turned to the Board's decision to treat the plaintiff's case as a mere inquiry and refer it to the Court of Directors. The crime was capital in nature, and the statute governing it was plain and explicit. The Company had already ordered civil and criminal courts to be properly established on the island. It had also answered the doubts of an earlier administration in the 3rd and 6th paragraphs of its letters of 17 December 1762 and 16 November 1763. In those circumstances, Corneille believed that any further application on the subject might be read as quiet disapproval or even contempt of the Company's earlier directions. He was sure that no such disrespect was meant, since the whole tenor of the Company's orders and instructions pointed the other way. **Interpretations** Corneille's precedent was carefully chosen. In 1769 a slave's sworn evidence had been accepted against three white soldiers, because the crime was the theft of his master's bull. The island's courts had admitted black testimony when it protected a planter's property. They now refused it when it would protect a slave's own body against his planter owner. Corneille declined to draw the conclusion aloud, saying only that he would keep his reflections to himself. The comparison, set before the Court of Directors in the minutes, made the point for him. He also turned the majority's caution against it. The Governor and his colleagues presented referral to London as deference to the Company. Corneille argued that the Company had already answered the question in 1762 and 1763 and had since given the island English law and English courts. On that view, asking again was not deference but a refusal to act on orders already given.

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		upon this Island, together with their answers to the doubts of a former administration as mentioned in the 3d and 6 Paragh. of their Humane Letter under date 17th Decr. 1762 and 16 Novr. 1763 He conceives that any further application on this Subject may be construed as a Tacit disapprobation or confutation of their former directions which his various mother countries intended well knowing that the whole Tenor of the Honble. Company's orders and Instructions are entirely	
270	266	3 January entirely founded on the Laws and constitution of Great Britain. Secondly a further determination of writing for instructions from Home a delay of fourteen or fifteen months, he thinks may be attended with bad consequences, tis true, delays in Law are oftentimes unavoidable, but he humbly apprehends such delays chiefly confined to civil Suits, as property is but too often entangled with intricacies, owing to the fraud cunning and self interest of the Humane mind, but in criminal Inquiries where the Penal acts are Pointed and express he confesses himself at a loss how to reconcile such delay to his conscience, and the right of Justice that every individual of this Community has a claim to when injured. Besides who can answer for the lives of the Plantiff Witnesses and defendant during that Period, may further may not a Man under the cautious Guilt of such an atrocious act, contrive to Smuggle the Plaintiff his Slave and Accuser off the Island, and purchase the secrecy of such evidence as may have been an eye witness of his barbarity, and his Villany thereby escape the Punishment due to his Crime. - Mr. Corneille having offered a few of the many Arguments that occur to him on this subject, which he apprehends will Sufficiently account for the difference of his sentiments from those of the other Gentlemen begs leave to add one observation in answer to the Dangerous and fatal consequences apprehended from Blacks being allowed to give evidence upon oath against white People as tending to endanger the Lives of the White inhabitants and safety of the Island on this it need be observed that the same argument will hold good in respect to infant colonies or nations, that self defence the first Law of Nature may oblige commanders at first to establish a severity of Regulation Justifiable upon those Grounds. History no doubt furnishes us with innumerable examples. Yet at same times teaches us that as soon as society begins to feel their own strength and permanency, Justice then supersedes Oppression, Humanity, Severity and every individual becomes	Corneille added that the whole tenor of the Company's orders was founded on the laws and constitution of Great Britain. His second objection concerned the Board's decision to wait for instructions from England, a delay of 14 or 15 months. He believed it could have bad consequences. Delays in law were often unavoidable, but he thought they belonged chiefly to civil suits, where questions of property were too often tangled by fraud, cunning and self-interest. In criminal cases, where the penal statutes were clear and explicit, he could not reconcile such a delay with his conscience or with the right to justice that every injured member of the community possessed. No one could vouch for the lives of the plaintiff, the witnesses or the defendant over so long a period. A man conscious of guilt for so atrocious an act might also arrange to smuggle his slave and others off the island, and buy the silence of anyone who had witnessed his cruelty. His villainy would then escape the punishment his crime deserved. Having set out a few of the many arguments that occurred to him, Corneille believed they explained why his view differed from his colleagues'. He wished to add one observation in answer to the fear that allowing black people to give sworn evidence against white people would endanger the lives of the white inhabitants and the safety of the island. The same argument, he said, applied to every young colony or nation. Self-defence, the first law of nature, might at first force those in command to impose harsh regulations on that ground, and history gave countless examples. In time, however, as societies came to feel their own strength and permanence, justice replaced oppression and humanity and leniency prevailed. Every individual then became bound to the authority that protected his life and property. Corneille applied this to St Helena and to every other place where part of mankind was condemned to slavery. If slaves were shown that the law protected their natural right to life and limb, which in his words even the humblest human being knew to be a gift from a higher power, their confidence would be won. They would remain faithful even in slavery. That, he argued, would remove all the frightening fears of a plot to kill the white inhabitants, such as the one formed as recently as 1760 and recorded in the minutes of that year. How likely such a plot was, he left every man to judge. **Interpretations** Corneille named a specific danger in the delay that his colleagues had called harmless. Woodbury was Terrall's property, and nothing in the island's law stopped an owner from selling a slave to a passing ship or sending him off the island. A master facing a capital charge had more than a year in which to remove the only witness against him and to buy the silence of anyone else who had seen the burns. The ruling against slave evidence and the right to sell

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		Interested in support of that Authority to which they owe the Protection of Life and Property. Let us apply this to the present, both here and in every other place where that portion of our unhappy Fellow creatures are doomed to Slavery and Convince them of the Protection and Justice of our Laws in their Natural Liberty of Life and Limb (which the meanest of the Human species know they have a right to, as a Donation from a Superior Power) you will thereby secure their confidence. Ameliorate even Slavery itself and dissipate all those frightfull apprehensions of Cutting off the white Inhabitants as instanced so lately as the Year 1760 and entered in Consultation of the same Year. The probability of which must be left to every	slaves, taken together, gave a guilty owner every means of escape. Referral to London did not suspend the case. It handed the defendant the time to dispose of it. His answer to the fear of revolt reversed Matthew Bazett's reasoning. Bazett had cited the plot of 1760 as proof that slaves must be kept from the courts. Corneille argued that denying slaves the law's protection was what bred such plots, and that justice would secure their loyalty better than fear. He made the argument in the language of a colony maturing beyond its first harsh years. That framing allowed him to criticise the island's practice without accusing his colleagues of cruelty.
271	267	1780 mans conception, after adverting to the number of White Inhabitants Men Women and Children at that period upon this Island, consisting of upwards of three Hundred and sixty with all arms in their Hands besides a Garrison of British Subjects of four Hundred and Eighteen. When the Blacks of all denominations Company's included were no more than seven Hundred and eighty divested of all possible means of accomplishing such scheme had it even been intended. - Upon the whole Mr. Corneille feels himself at all times concerned whenever his sentiments differ so widely from those of his Colleagues but as the present matter he conceives affects the right and Justice that every individual of this Society is entitled to from the Government of this Island he considered it his indispensable Duty to support his opinion on the Point in Question with such arguments as the Laws have Pointed out, Declaring at the same time that he apprehends himself not authorized to assist at any other Enquiry into said affair otherwise than conformable to the Laws of his Country and the Honble. Company's orders and Instructions on that Subject. St. Helena Signed January 3 1780 Daniel Corneille Captain John Howard on the 31st last month resigned the Honble. Company's Service and retired upon half Pay agreable to the Court of Directors orders respecting him as P General Letter dated 27 May 1779. - In consequence of the above resignation we appointed Capt. Lieut. Thomas Bazett to the Command and pay of Captain Howard's Company and Samuel Desfountain Eldest 1 Lieut. to do duty as Captain Lieutenant upon Lieutenants pay. - Having appointed Messrs. Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale late Cadets to do duty as 2d Lts. and thinking it necessary to keep some young Gentlemen training up for the Military Service, We this day appointed Messrs. Willm.	Corneille went on to give the figures for 1760. The white inhabitants then numbered more than 360 men, women and children, together with those in their households, and the garrison held a further 418 British subjects. Black people of every description, including the Company's own slaves, numbered no more than 780. They had no possible means of carrying out such a scheme, even if one had ever been intended. Corneille said that he always regretted differing so widely from his colleagues. This matter, however, touched the right to justice that every member of the community could claim from the island's government. He therefore felt it his plain duty to support his opinion with the arguments the law provided. He also declared that he did not consider himself authorised to take part in any further inquiry into the case except in accordance with the laws of his country and the Company's orders and instructions on the subject. He signed the minute at St Helena on 3 January 1780. Captain John Howard resigned from the Company's service on 31 December 1779 and retired on half pay, as the Court of Directors had ordered in its general letter of 27 May 1779. The Council therefore appointed Captain Lieutenant Thomas Bazett to the command and pay of Howard's company. It appointed Samuel Dafountain, the senior first lieutenant, to serve as captain lieutenant on a lieutenant's pay. Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale, until then cadets, had already been appointed to serve as second lieutenants. The Council thought it necessary to keep some young gentlemen in training for the military service. It therefore appointed William Seale and William Mason as cadets that day, both being young men well recommended for their sobriety and good sense. **Interpretations** Corneille's figures overturned the premise of the argument against him. Matthew Bazett had justified excluding slave evidence on the ground that black people greatly outnumbered white people and had plotted in 1760 to kill them. Corneille showed from the island's own records that in 1760 the white inhabitants and the garrison together numbered about 778, against no more than 780 black people of every kind. The two groups were almost exactly equal, and only one of them was armed and organised. The danger on which the majority rested its case was, in Corneille's account, largely imagined. His closing refusal to join any inquiry not conducted under English law meant that the Lieutenant Governor would take no part in the Council's preferred procedure. A case the majority hoped to

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		Seale and William Mason Cadets they being young men well recommended for their Sobriety and discretion. -	send quietly to London now came with a formal dissent from the island's second-ranking officer. Howard's retirement set off another chain of promotion, filled again from the island's own families. Thomas Bazett took the company and Samuel Dafountain became captain lieutenant. Two more planters' sons, a Seale and a Mason, entered as cadets.
272	268	3 January Agreeable to the resolution of the 20th of last month we now proceed to inquire into the Complaint of Woodbury a Man Slave against his Master John Worrall. - Woodberry appearing saith that he had been run away from his Master about a Week that When he was taken his Master Flogged him at Mr. Bazetts Masons House after which he took him home and beat him with a small Dragons Blood and not being satisfied, made his People Flog him again then put greased Candle wicks between his fingers and set them on fire which Burned him. That he also put a fish hook through his ears, and would have put another through his Tongue had he not been prevented by Mrs. Worrall. This complainant further saith that after his Master had used him in the manner related, he asked him "How he liked it". - Nanny a Woman slave belonging to John Worrall being produced by Woodberry saith that, about six Weeks ago in a Saturday night, according to the best of her recollection, (but is not certain to the time exactly) her Master brought home Woodberry who had been runaway, that he tyed him up and Flogged him then beat him with a small cane after which he put greased Candle Wicks between his fingers and set them on fire which burned him. She further saith that, Woodberry shortly after receiving the abovementioned Punishment quitted his Masters house and did not return for three or four days. - Frank a Man slave of John Worrall being called upon by Woodberry saith that on a night some time Back (but does not recollect either the Day of the Month or week) his Master brought home Woodberry, who had been run away for some time, that he tyed him up and beat him with a Dragons Blood Cane Whip, then after which he ordered wicks to be made put them between his Fingers and set fire to them, which burned his fingers further saith that his master went to bed and left Woodberry tyed fast, who getting loose ran away and stayed from home two or three Days that when the said Woodberry returned his Mistress dressed his hands with some ointment which was got from Mr. Kay Surgeon for that purpose. -	In line with its resolution of 20 December 1779, the Council now began its inquiry into the complaint of Woodbury, a male slave, against his master, John Terrall. Woodbury stated that he had run away from his master for about a week. When he was caught, his master tied him up at Mr Richard Mason's house. Terrall then took him home and beat him with a small rattan cane. Not satisfied with that, he made his other slaves flog Woodbury again. He then placed greased candle wicks between Woodbury's fingers and set them alight, which burned him. He also drove a fish hook through his ears, and would have put another through his tongue had Mrs Terrall not stopped him. Woodbury added that after his master had treated him in this way, Terrall asked him how he liked it. Woodbury called Nanny, a female slave belonging to John Terrall. She stated that about six weeks earlier, on a Saturday night as far as she could recall, though she was not certain of the exact time, her master brought Woodbury home after he had run away. Terrall tied him up and flogged him, then beat him with a small cane. After that he placed greased candle wicks between Woodbury's fingers and set them alight, which burned him. She added that shortly after this punishment Woodbury left his master's house and stayed away for three or four days. Woodbury then called Frank, a male slave of John Terrall. Frank stated that one night some time earlier, though he could not remember the date or even the week, his master brought Woodbury home after he had been missing for some time. Terrall tied him up and beat him with a rattan cane, then whipped him. Afterwards he had wicks placed between Woodbury's fingers and set them alight, which burned five of his fingers. Frank added that his master went to bed and left Woodbury tied fast. Woodbury worked himself loose, ran off and stayed away for two or three days. When he came back, his mistress dressed his hands with an ointment obtained for the purpose from Mr Kay, the surgeon. **Interpretations** The inquiry exposed the context the earlier minutes had left out. Woodbury had run away, and Terrall's punishment was meant as discipline for that offence. Henry Bazett's second question, how far a master's power to punish extended short of endangering life, now stood at the centre of the case. Flogging a runaway was lawful and routine on the island, as the marshal's fees for punishing slaves showed. The burning of the fingers and the hook through the ears went far beyond it. The two witnesses, Nanny and Frank, confirmed the burning in detail, though neither mentioned the fish hook. Both were Terrall's own slaves, still living in his household and under his power while they testified against him. That was exactly the pressure Corneille had warned of when he argued against delay. The cane described in the record as "dragon's blood" was a rattan, the stem of the climbing palm whose resin was sold as dragon's blood. Rattan canes were imported from the East Indies and were valued for being whippy and hard to break. Mrs Terrall's part in the story cut both ways: she stopped her husband from hooking Woodbury's tongue, and afterwards she obtained an ointment from the Company's surgeon.

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			David Kay's later report to the Board therefore came from a man who already knew the injuries.
273	269	This is the same page as the last one, but this time the foot isn't cut off. Here is the full transcription with the bottom lines included: 1780 - Francis, another Man Slave belonging to John Worrall being produced by Woodberry saith that on a Saturday night (does not recollect how long back) his Master brought home Woodberry who had been run away That he tyed him up and flogged him, after which he beat him with a small Cane then called for some wicks which he placed between his (Woodberry's) fingers and set fire to them, which burned him. - Yon a man slave belonging to Mr. Orlando Bagley appearing at the request of Woodberry saith that sometime ago on a Saturday night (does not recollect how long since) he went with Mr. John Worrall to look for Woodberry who was run away, that finding him at a Place called the Mattin stone Slip Gut, they brought him to Mr. Richd. Masons House where he was flogged after which the said Worrall took him home and he Yon went with him, that being come home the said Worrall tyed him up and flogged him again then called for some greased Wicks which he put between his fingers and set them on Fire and stayed until they were Burnt out. - Mr. David Kay Surgeons mate being requested to give his opinion in Writing on the above affair presented the following Viz. John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. and the Gentlemen of Council St. Helena - Sirs On the 29 of Novr. last I examined at your desire the Hands of a Slave Man belonging to Mr. Worrall. I found a large Sore and Discharge of Matter on the Back of each hand several of the Bones laid Bare and the ends of the Bones at the Second Joint of three of his fingers appearing from the Tendons and Ligaments being destroyed. I Concluded the Injury was the effect of Burning. I did not apprehend that his life was in any degree of Danger but was of opinion that he would in a great measure be deprived of the use of his hands and that he would lose the use of two joints of at Least two of his fingers. - Since the above mentioned time he has been under my care and his Cure is now considerably advanced. The ends of the Joints that were exposed have scaled off and all the Bones that were bare are covered with new flesh So that from the present appearance of the Hands	Francis, another male slave belonging to John Terrall, was called by Woodbury. He stated that on a Saturday night, though he could not say how long ago, his master brought Woodbury home after he had run away. Terrall tied him up and flogged him, then beat him with a small cane. He called for some wicks, placed them between Woodbury's fingers and set them alight, which burned him. Yon, a male slave belonging to Mr Orlando Bagley, appeared at Woodbury's request. He stated that some time earlier, on a Saturday night whose date he could not recall, he had gone with John Terrall to look for Woodbury, who had run away. They found him at a place called [...] Stone Step Gut and brought him to Mr Richard Mason's house, where he was flogged. Terrall then took him home, and Yon went with them. Once home, Terrall tied Woodbury up and flogged him again. He called for some greased wicks, put them between Woodbury's fingers, set them alight and stood by until they had burned out. Mr David Kay, the surgeon's mate, was asked to give his opinion in writing and presented the following letter to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Kay reported that on 29 November 1779, at the Council's request, he had examined the hands of a male slave belonging to Mr Terrall. He found a large sore on the back of each hand, discharging matter. Several bones had been laid bare, and the ends of the bones at the second joint of three fingers were exposed because the tendons and ligaments had been destroyed. He concluded that the injuries had been caused by burning. He did not think the man's life was in any danger, but believed he would largely lose the use of his hands, and that he would run some riskof losing two joints of at least two of his fingers. Since that time the man had been under Kay's care, and his recovery was now well advanced. The exposed ends of the joints had scaled off, and all the bones that had been bare were now covered with new flesh. Kay then gave his judgement on the outcome, based on the present appearance of the hands. **Interpretations** Yon's evidence carried particular weight because he did not belong to Terrall. A slave belonging to Orlando Bagley had nothing to fear from Terrall as an owner. He had also taken part in the recapture, so he saw the whole sequence: the capture at the gut, the first flogging at Mason's house and the burning at home. His statement that Terrall stood by until the wicks had burned out showed that the act was deliberate and drawn out, not a sudden blow struck in anger. Under the Coventry Act, malice and design had to be proved before maiming became a felony. Kay's report supplied the other element the statute required: that the injury was lasting and disabled the use of a limb. Kay's report also showed the wounds healing faster and better than he had first feared. Exposed bone covered with new flesh made the loss of whole joints less likely. A milder medical outcome weakened the case for a capital charge of maiming. By the time the papers reached London, the injury the Court read about would be less severe than the one the Council had seen.
274	270	Kay concluded that Woodbury was unlikely to suffer any lasting harm beyond a serious loss of movement in his hands. He would never be able to straighten the burned fingers fully, nor bend them as far as before. Kay signed the report as surgeon at St Helena on 3 January 1780.	3 January it does not seem probable that he will suffer any other consequence from the Injury he has sustained than that of having the motion of the Hands

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		John Terrall was called to answer Woodbury's complaint. He admitted that he had placed wicks between Woodbury's fingers and burned him. He said he meant to punish him severely in the hope of stopping him from running away and robbing the neighbours, for which Woodbury had already been tried at two quarter sessions. He had not foreseen the harm it would do. Woodbury had run off again and stayed away for three days. When he came back, Terrall went to Mr Kay, the surgeon, for an ointment to dress the slave's hands and applied it. Terrall argued that if Woodbury had not run away, his hands would not now be in such a bad state. After about a week at home, with his hands much improved, Woodbury ran away again and stayed out three days before complaining to Major Bazett. Terrall added that his rash act was the result of drink. He had spent the whole day in town and was worn out from searching for Woodbury. He asked that his three slaves who had given evidence against him be questioned on whether he treated his servants cruelly. Each of them stated in turn that, as far as they knew, their master had always treated them and their fellow servants well, apart from the case of Woodbury. That day was a general field day on the parade for the officers, non-commissioned officers and private men of the garrison. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. Corneille signed with an exception. He dissented from the inquiry into Woodbury's complaint against his master, John Terrall, for the reasons he had already given in his minutes of 13 December 1779 and 3 January 1780. **Interpretations** Terrall defended himself with the very evidence the majority had refused to admit against him. He asked for his own slaves to testify to his character, and the Council took their statements and entered them in the minutes. Black testimony was therefore heard on behalf of a white master in the same inquiry in which it could not be heard against him. The same three slaves had just described the burning in detail. Still living in his household, they now told the Board that he had always treated them well. That reversal showed the pressure Corneille had warned of when he argued against leaving the injured man and the witnesses in the defendant's power. Terrall's account was a plea in mitigation, not a denial. He blamed drink and fatigue, cast Woodbury as a habitual runaway and thief, and pointed to the surgeon's ointment as proof of his care. Each of those points spoke to the degree of his guilt, not to whether the act had happened. Corneille's exception, written beside the signatures, ensured that the Court of Directors would read the inquiry knowing that the Lieutenant Governor had rejected the whole procedure as contrary to English law.	considerably impeded, and that he will not be able to extend at all, the fingers that were burned, nor to contract them so much as formerly. - I am St. Helena Sirs Jany. 3 1780. - Your most obedt. Humble Servant Signed D. Kay Surgeon John Worrall being called upon to answer the complaint alledged against him by Woodberry his man Slave, Acknowledges that he put Wicks between his fingers and burned him, to punish him in a severe manner in hopes of Preventing his running away and robbing the Neighbours for which he had been tryed at two Quarter Sessions, but did not think of the bad Consequences. That the said Woodberry ran away again and did not return for three days, that when he came home he went to Mr. Kay Surgeon for some ointment to dress his Hands, which he applied to that purpose. Saith that, had he not ran away his Hands would not have been in the bad condition they now appear. That the said Woodberry after remaining at home about a Week and his hands growing much better he ran away again and stayed out for three days before he complained to Major Bazett. - The said Worrall further saith the above rash Action proceeded from Liquor occasioned from his being in the Town all day, and much fatigued in searching for the said Woodberry. He requests that his three Slaves who appeared against him might be called to declare whether he treats his Servants in a cruel manner or not. Who appearing, severally say that, their Master has at all times used them well, together with their Fellow Servants, to the best of their knowledge except the Instance of Woodberry. - This was a General Field day upon the Parade of the Officers, Non Commissioned Officers and Private Men of the Garrison Mr. Corneille signs this Consultation with exception to the enquiry taken on a complaint of Woodberry a Man Slave against his Master John Worrall for reasons already assigned in his Minutes 13 Decr. 1779 & 3 January 1780 John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett
275	271	10th January 1780 At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th Day of January 1780 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Mattw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 3 Jany.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 January 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 3 January 1780. John Howe, a private, died on Saturday 8 January 1780. The plantation account for the quarter and the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for December 1779 were laid before the

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		1780 - Saturday the 8th Died John Howe Private - The Plantation Account for the Quarter, and the expence of Artillery Stores, and Stewards Accounts for the Month of December last were this Day laid before Us, which were examined approved and are as follows Viz.	Council that day. The Council examined and approved them.
276	272	Account of the Honble. Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. from the 1st of October to the 31st December 1779 Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 66, Neat Cattle Calves 49, Neat Cattle Yearlings 3, Neat Cattle Heifers 5, Neat Cattle Steers 12, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 153, Sheep Ewes 150, Sheep Weathers 33, Sheep Lambs 47, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 238, Goats Ewes 56, Goats Weathers 3, Goats Kids 30, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 94, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 16, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 20, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 45, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 21, Poultry Geese 16 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 8, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 8, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 21, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 21, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 12, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 12, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 10, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 10, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 36, Poultry Ducks 25, Poultry Turkeys 19, Poultry Geese 0 Recd. from Capt. Bendey: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 67, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 67, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 5, Neat Cattle Cows 66, Neat Cattle Calves 57, Neat Cattle Yearlings 3, Neat Cattle Heifers 5, Neat Cattle Steers 12, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 161, Sheep Ewes 150, Sheep Weathers 100, Sheep Lambs 68, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 326, Goats Ewes 56, Goats Weathers 3, Goats Kids 42, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 106, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 26, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 30, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 81, Poultry Ducks 31, Poultry Turkeys 40, Poultry Geese 16 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 1, Neat Cattle Cows 3, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 7, Neat Cattle Oxen 1, Neat Cattle Total 12, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 59, Sheep Lambs 10, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 69, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 3, Goats Kids 4, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 7, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 10, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 11, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry	The Lieutenant Governor's account of the Company's livestock for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1779 ran as follows. In hand on 1 October 1779 Cattle: 5 bulls, 66 cows, 49 calves, 3 yearlings, 5 heifers, 12 steers, 13 oxen, total 153 Sheep: 150 ewes, 33 wethers, 47 lambs, 8 rams, total 238 Goats: 56 ewes, 3 wethers, 30 kids, 5 rams, total 94 Pigs: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 16 pigs, 0 boars, total 20 Horses: 5 horses, 7 mares, total 12 Poultry: 45 fowls, 6 ducks, 21 turkeys, 16 geese Increase by breeding Cattle: 8 calves, total 8 Sheep: 21 lambs, total 21 Goats: 12 kids, total 12 Pigs: 10 pigs, total 10 Poultry: 36 fowls, 25 ducks, 19 turkeys Received from Captain Bendy Sheep: 67 wethers, total 67 Total Cattle: 5 bulls, 66 cows, 57 calves, 3 yearlings, 5 heifers, 12 steers, 13 oxen, total 161 Sheep: 150 ewes, 100 wethers, 68 lambs, 8 rams, total 326 Goats: 56 ewes, 3 wethers, 42 kids, 5 rams, total 106 Pigs: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 26 pigs, 0 boars, total 30 Horses: 5 horses, 7 mares, total 12 Poultry: 81 fowls, 31 ducks, 40 turkeys, 16 geese Killed Cattle: 1 bull, 3 cows, 7 steers, 1 ox, total 12 Sheep: 59 wethers, 10 lambs, total 69 Goats: 3 wethers, 4 kids, total 7 Pigs: 1 sow, 10 pigs, total 11 Poultry: 48 fowls, 6 ducks, 9 turkeys Sent on board to Captain Collins: 1 cow and 1 calf, a total of 2 cattle. Killed for the *Hind* cutter: 3 lambs. Lost by accident Cattle: 1 calf, total 1 Died Cattle: 11 cows, 11 calves, total 22 Sheep: 44 ewes, 1 wether, 7 lambs, total 52 Pigs: 1 pig, total 1 Poultry: 3 turkeys, 1 goose In hand on 31 December 1779 Cattle: 4 bulls, 51 cows, 44 calves, 3 yearlings, 5 heifers, 5 steers, 12 oxen, total 124 Sheep: 106 ewes, 37 wethers, 51 lambs, 8 rams, total 202 Goats: 56 ewes, 0 wethers, 38 kids, 5 rams, total 99 Pigs: 3 sows, 0 shoats, 15 pigs, 0 boars, total 18 Horses: 5 horses, 7 mares, total 12 Poultry: 33 fowls, 25 ducks, 26 turkeys, 15 geese Regraded by age and kind Cattle: 4 bulls, 56 cows, 23 calves, 24 yearlings, 0 heifers, 5 steers, 12 oxen, total 124 Sheep: 123 ewes, 37 wethers, 34 lambs, 8 rams, total 202 Goats: 60 ewes, 0 wethers, 34 kids, 5 rams, total 99 Pigs: 3 sows, 8 shoats, 7 pigs, 0 boars, total 18 Horses: 5 horses, 7 mares, total 12 Poultry: 33 fowls, 25 ducks, 26 turkeys, 15 geese

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		Fowls 48, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 9, Poultry Geese 0 Sent on Board of Capt. Collins: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Killed for the Cutter: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 3, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 3, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Casualties: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 11, Neat Cattle Calves 11, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 22, Sheep Ewes 44, Sheep Weathers 1, Sheep Lambs 7, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 52, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 1, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 3, Poultry Geese 1 Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 51, Neat Cattle Calves 44, Neat Cattle Yearlings 3, Neat Cattle Heifers 5, Neat Cattle Steers 5, Neat Cattle Oxen 12, Neat Cattle Total 124, Sheep Ewes 106, Sheep Weathers 37, Sheep Lambs 51, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 202, Goats Ewes 56, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 38, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 99, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 15, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 18, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 33, Poultry Ducks 25, Poultry Turkeys 26, Poultry Geese 15 Changed the Species: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 56, Neat Cattle Calves 23, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 5, Neat Cattle Oxen 12, Neat Cattle Total 124, Sheep Ewes 123, Sheep Weathers 37, Sheep Lambs 34, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 202, Goats Ewes 60, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 34, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 99, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 8, Hogs Pigs 7, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 18, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 33, Poultry Ducks 25, Poultry Turkeys 26, Poultry Geese 15 1 Man Slave named Plymouth Deceased 19 December 1779 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille Wm. Wrangham Yams Expended for the Slaves Cwt. 5240	Deaths among the Company's slaves 1 man, named Plymouth, died 19 December 1779 Yams used For the slaves, 5,240 lb For the livestock, 5,400 lb Total, 10,640 lb Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham signed the account, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The Company's own herd lost 22 cattle to death in the quarter, 11 cows and 11 calves. Only 14 had died in the quarter before. The flock lost 52 sheep, 44 of them breeding ewes, against only 4 deaths between July and September. The cattle fell from 153 to 124 head and the sheep from 238 to 202, even after 67 Cape wethers were added. On 13 December 1779, in the middle of this quarter, the Council had ordered every planter to deliver his promised cattle in 1780 and declared that no loss of any kind would excuse a shortfall. The Company's own stock, managed by the Lieutenant Governor, was dying faster than at any point since the drought. The standard the Council set for the planters was one its own herds could not meet. The quarter's final line regraded the stock by age, the usual year-end step in which calves became yearlings and lambs became ewes. That accounts for the apparent drop in calves and the jump in yearlings without any animals gained or lost.

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		Do. the Stock 5400 Total Cwt. 10640 **Margin Notes:** 10 January	
277	273	1780 Artillery Stores expended in December Powder lb., Powder oz. 14 Powder for the Governors Use: Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 0 29 Blank Cartridges for a General Field Day 2040: Powder lb. 63, Powder oz. 12 Do. for the East Flying Party 200: Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 4 Powder for the Stone Blowers at Banks's: Powder lb. 476, Powder oz. 0 For Sundry Services: Powder lb. 10, Powder oz. 9 Total: Powder lb. 558, Powder oz. 9 Copper Hoops 2 Do. Rivets 2 Saw Hammers 4 Cartridge Paper 23 Quires Slow Match 6 lb. Salt Petre 4 lb. Sulphur 2 13 Inch Fuzes 2 Tallow 1 lb. Signed Wm. Pierce Capt. Artillery Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in Decr. last To 55 Bottles Madeira 3 8 9 23 Do. Port 1 16 5 26 Do. Lisbon 2 1 7 12 Do. Sherry . 19 . 53 Do. Beer . 17 8 18 Galls. Arrack 2 14 . 193 lb. Mutton 4 . 5 38 lb. Pork . 19 . 2 Turkeys . 10 . 12 Fowls . 18 . 4 Ducks . 6 . 4 Geese 1 . . 93 lb. Candy 2 6 6 409 Flour 3 8 2 £ 25 5 1	The artillery account recorded the following stores used during December 1779. No guns were fired during the month. 14 December, powder for the Governor's use, 2 lb 0 oz 29 December, 2,040 blank cartridges for a general field day, powder 63 lb 12 oz 29 December, 200 blank cartridges for the East Flying Party, powder 6 lb 4 oz Powder for the stone blowers at Banks's, 476 lb 0 oz Sundry services, powder 10 lb 9 oz Total powder, 558 lb 9 oz Other stores used 2 copper hoops 2 copper rivets 4 saw hammers Cartridge paper, 23 quires Slow match, 6 lb Saltpetre, 4 lb Sulphur, 2 lb 2 thirteen-inch fuzes Tallow, 1 lb William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during December 1779. Madeira, 55 bottles, £3 8s 9d Port, 23 bottles, £1 16s 5d Lisbon wine, 26 bottles, £2 1s 7d Sherry, 12 bottles, £0 19s 0d Beer, 53 bottles, £0 17s 8d Arrack, 18 gallons, £2 14s 0d Mutton, 193 lb, £4 0s 5d Pork, 38 lb, £0 19s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 4 geese, £1 0s 0d Sugar candy, 93 lb, £2 6s 6d Flour, 409 lb, £3 8s 2d Total used at the table, £25 5s 1d **Interpretations** December 1779 was the first month in the year's record without a single alarm or salute. With the convoy gone and no ships expected until the new season, the island's guns stood silent. Yet the magazine issued more powder than in any month before, 558 lb, and 476 lb of it went to blasting rock at Banks's battery. In October the stone blowers had used 300 lb at Buttermilk Point. The garrison was using the quiet months of the shipping year to cut new works out of the cliffs while no enemy could approach. That rate of expenditure also drew down the reserve of powder on which the defence of the island depended. The thirteen-inch fuzes were for the shells of the largest sea-service mortars, the island's heaviest weapons against ships standing off the coast.
278	274	10 January Bought P Table To 80 lb. Beef @ 6 2 . . 44 Do. @ 3½	The following were bought for the Company's table during December 1779. Beef, 80 lb at 6d, £2 0s 0d Beef, 44 lb at 3½d, £0 12s 10d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d

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		. 12 10 5 Turkeys 1 5 . 22 Ducks 1 13 . 10 Fowls . 15 . 9 Pigs 2 5 . £ 8 10 10 The Lieutenant Governor this Day presented the following Minute. - Mr. Corneille flattered himself that he should not have had occasion to have troubled the Council again, in consequence of the difference of opinion subsisting between the Board and himself after his last Minute of the 3d Jany. 1780. But as you Gentlemen have jointly signed a Minute laid before the Board on same day bringing forward more instances than what Mr. Corneille thought necessary to Advert to, to prove the Justifiability of admitting Blacks as competent evidence. And the Governor therein asserting that such Instances were only looked upon as Corroborating Circumstances. Mr. Corneille as one of the Justices concerned on the two latter Trials, takes Leave to offer to the Governor that he apprehends no Gentleman ought to assert what are the sentiments of another on a point that never at that time came into discussion, the mere admission of Blacks Oaths as Positive Proof, but their admission as presumptive Evidence only, which he apprehends is what Mr. Skottowe means to insinuate if so, he assures him that Mr. Corneille will be found then as now consistent in Sentiments, to what the Law directs, as his Prior Conduct will evince from the very misinterpretation from the Records of 7th Novr. 1769 alluding to himself, and further if he is to understand by the Epithet Corroborating one Evidence adding strength to another, he finds it inapplicable to the Instance of 12 July 1769 Wherein Charles a Man slave was not the only evidence. Mr. Darling swearing nothing more than his property to the thing stolen	22 ducks, £1 13s 0d 10 fowls, £0 15s 0d 9 pigs, £2 5s 0d Total bought, £8 10s 10d The Lieutenant Governor laid the following minute before the Board that day. Corneille had hoped that he would not need to trouble the Council again over the difference of opinion between the Board and himself after his minute of 3 January 1780. However, the other members had jointly signed a minute laid before the Board the same day. It produced more examples than Corneille had thought necessary to cite, all showing that black people could properly be admitted as competent witnesses. In it the Governor had claimed that such evidence was treated only as corroboration. Corneille had himself been one of the justices in the two later trials. He told the Governor that, in his view, no gentleman should claim to state another man's opinion on a point never discussed at the time: whether a black person's oath could be accepted as presumptive evidence only, and not as full proof. He took that to be what Governor Skottowe was implying. If so, Corneille assured him that he had held then, as he held now, to what the law required, as his earlier conduct showed. The record of 7 November 1769, which concerned him personally, proved it. If "corroborating" meant one piece of evidence adding weight to another, the word did not fit the case of 12 July 1769. There Charles, a male slave, had been the only real witness. Mr Darling, his master, had sworn to nothing more than his ownership of the stolen animal. **Interpretations** Corneille revealed that he was the single justice who in 1769 had taken a slave's evidence against the slave's own master. That was the case the majority had uncovered in the records and set aside as an exception. He was also on the bench in 1769 when Charles's evidence convicted three soldiers. The Governor had described those cases as resting on corroboration. Corneille, as a judge who had sat in them, could answer from his own knowledge. Charles had been the only witness to the theft, while Darling had merely identified the bull as his. A slave's oath had therefore served as the whole proof in a criminal trial on St Helena, and the court had accepted it. The majority's claim of an unbroken custom rested on a misreading of cases one of their own colleagues had judged.
279	275	1780 Upon the Whole, Mr. Corneille acknowledges himself at a Loss to understand the true meaning of the Governor, and the other Gentlemen's Minutes as their former Position advances that the Oaths of Blacks were never admitted against White People and their Joint Minute diametrically proving the Contrary "Notwithstanding which "They do not deviate from their former respective opinions" as their Logick in above. Mr. Corneille's comprehension he can have nothing further to add but submit the Whole of this Matter to his Ultimate Judges.	Corneille concluded that, taken as a whole, he could not understand what the Governor and his colleagues really meant. They had first asserted that the oaths of black people had never been admitted against white people. Their joint minute then proved the exact opposite, yet they declared that they would not depart from their earlier opinions. Corneille could add nothing further to make sense of that. He submitted the whole matter to the judgement of those who would finally decide it, and signed his minute on 10 January 1780. The executor and executrix of the late Samuel Alexander presented his will that day and asked for it to be proved. The Council proved it on the sworn evidence of the witnesses. The will read as follows. Samuel Alexander, a planter of St Helena, made his will in the name of God. He was weak in body

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		Jany. 10 Signed 1780 Daniel Corneille The Executrix and Executrix to the last Will and Testament of Samuel Alexander Deceased, this day presented the said Will and desired the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows Viz. - In the Name of God amen; I Saml. Alexander of the Island St. Helena Planter being Weak of body, but of sound and disposing mind Memory and Understanding but well knowing the uncertainty of this Life, Do make and Publish this my Last Will and Testament, that is to say, First and Principally, I recommend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, my Creator and my Body to the Earth to be Decently Buried. - Imprimis I will and direct that all my Just debts and Funeral expences be first fully Paid and the rest and residue of all such effects which it has pleased God to entrust me with, I will and dispose of, in Manner and Form following. - Item I give and Bequeath unto my well beloved Wife Mary, the use of every and all my Estates for and during her natural Life, both real and Personal and at her decease, I give her one third Part of my Personal Estate (exclusive of my Freehold Lands) to be at her own disposal by Will and Testament I also give her for ever my Black Servant named Betty, the Choice of one Bureau one Couch & Six Silver Table and Tea spoons, also my Young Horse. - Item To my Godson Master Alexander Harper, I give one Boy named George	but of sound mind, memory and understanding, and conscious of the uncertainty of life. He commended his soul to God, his creator, and his body to the earth for decent burial. He directed that his just debts and funeral expenses be paid first, and disposed of the rest of his property as follows. He left his beloved wife, Mary, the use of all his estates, both real and personal, for the rest of her life. On her death, one third of his personal estate, excluding his freehold land, was to be hers to dispose of by her own will. He also left her his servant Betty, her choice of a bureau and a [...], six silver tablespoons and teaspoons, and his young horse. To his godson, Master Alexander Harper, he left a boy named George. **Interpretations** Corneille's closing words, submitting the matter to its "ultimate judges", meant the Court of Directors. He had lost the vote on the island, but his three minutes and his signed exception now went to London with the record, where the Court would decide between him and the majority. Alexander's will expressly set aside his "freehold lands" from the share left to his widow. Only weeks earlier, on 18 October 1779, Matthew Bazett had argued that no land on the island was truly freehold, since every acre paid rent to the Company. The island's planters plainly did not share that view. They wrote wills treating their land as freehold, to pass by English rules of descent, and the Council proved those wills without comment. The question the Council had referred to London was being answered in practice every time a planter died. Betty and George were evidently slaves, passed by bequest alongside the furniture, the silver and the horse.
280	276	10 January George and one Girl Named Sophia, also the sum of fifty Pounds. Item To Sarah the Widow of my Nephew Gabriel Alexander Harper, I give one Boy Named Jonas and the Sum of fifty Pounds also Twelve to fit up my old House known by the name of Gorgons for her use I will and direct that she have the use of the same with the small piece of Ground lying round it adjoining to my Plantation in Front and on the West adjoining to Major Henry Bazetts Plantation Ground with the small Piece of Yams therein for and during her natural Life, and on the [...] Piece of Land as part of Ten acres of free Land, Thereafter Bequeath my Nephew John Alexander, I direct after her decease the same be delivered up to him. - Item To my Brother George Alexander, I give my Goat range in Sandy Bay. - Item To my Nephew John and Neices Eleanor and Mary Ann and	Alexander also left his godson Alexander Harper a girl named Sophia and £50 0s 0d. To Sarah, the widow of his nephew Gabriel Alexander Harper, he left a boy named Jonas and £50 0s 0d to be spent on repairing his old house, known as Gorgons, for her use. She was to have the use of that house for the rest of her life, together with the small piece of ground around it. That ground adjoined his plantation in front and Major Henry Bazett's plantation to the west, and included a small yam patch. She was also to have the use of another small piece of land, part of his ten acres of freehold. After her death, all of this was to pass to his nephew John Alexander. He left his brother, George Alexander, his goat range in Sandy Bay. To his nephew John and his nieces Eleanor and Mary Ann, the children of his brother John Alexander, he left £50 0s 0d each. The money was to be paid when each came of age or married, and after his wife's death it was to be invested at interest for their benefit. He left £200 0s 0d to his nephew, Britannicus Alexander Wright. He left £21 0s 0d each to John Scott and his wife, Sarah. To his godson Richard Doveton he left £5 5s 0d to buy a mourning ring.

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		Daughters of my Brother John Alexander I give the sum of fifty Pounds each, to be detained at age or Marriage, the same to be placed at Interest after the Decease of my Wife, for their use and benefit. - Item To my Nephew Britannicus Alexander Wright, I give the sum of two Hundred Pounds (£200) Item To John Scott and Sarah his Wife I give the sum of twenty Pounds (£20) each. Item To my Godson Richd. Doveton I give the sum of five Pounds five Shillings for a Ring. - Item I give and Bequeath unto my Nephew John, Son of my Brother George Alexander (now at Fort Marlbro.) my dwelling House, with Ten acres free Land belonging thereto, to be delivered him in convenient time after the Death of Sarah my Beloved Wife, but this bequest not to be subject to the incumbrance, I have laid thereon, during the Life of Sarah widow of my Nephew Gabriel Alexander Harper, I also give him the refusal of a piece of Lease hold Land lying above my said House containing between five and Six acres, at 12 Pounds P Acre, the same Piece of Land I purchased of John Bland. - At my Decease I make free my boy slave James George and direct that fifty Pounds be set apart out of my Estate, before any division be made to my Brother Georges Children, and the same to put to interest for the support of the said Boy James George and when he attains the age of twenty years I give him the same. I will and direct that after the death of my Wife all my Estate both real and Personal except those Piece of Land and other Moveables already mentioned, be sold at Publick Auction and after the aforesaid Legacies are	To his nephew John, the son of his brother George Alexander, then at Fort Marlborough, he left his dwelling house and the ten acres of freehold land that went with it. The property was to be handed over in good time after the death of his wife, Mary, but it remained subject to the arrangement he had made for Sarah Harper during her lifetime. He also gave this nephew first refusal of a piece of leasehold land above the house, of between five and six acres, at £12 12s 0d an acre. Alexander had bought that land from John Bland. On his death he freed his slave boy, James George. He directed that £50 0s 0d be set aside from his estate before any division among his brother George's children. The money was to be invested for the boy's support, and paid over to him when he reached the age of 20. After his wife's death, all his remaining estate, real and personal, apart from the land and goods already bequeathed, was to be sold at public auction and the specific legacies paid from the proceeds. **Interpretations** Alexander freed James George by will and set aside £50 0s 0d for his support until he came of age. A freed child with no means would have had no master to feed him and no parish to fall back on. The trust ensured that the boy would not become a charge on the island or the Company, and it gave him capital at 20 with which to begin life as a free man. The bequest is also a reminder of how the island's small free black population grew. It came mainly from individual acts by owners, usually at death and often for children born in the household, rather than from any general policy. Britannicus Alexander Wright, who received £200 0s 0d, was the Council's own secretary, and Alexander was his uncle. The secretary who wrote up the island's records was bound by family to the planter whose will he was now copying into them.
281	277	1780. - are fully paid, I give and Bequeath the remainder to be equally divided, between all the Sons and Daughters of my Brother George Alexander except his eldest Son John, to whom I have already Bequeathed my House and Ten acres of free Land and my meaning is that no legacies herein mentioned shall be paid until after the Death of my said Wife. - Lastly I hereby Nominate Constitute and appoint, my Beloved Wife Executrix and my Brothers John and George Alexander with my Nephew Britannicus Alexander Wright Executors; and as my Friend Major Henry Bazett has promised Jointly to undertake the execution of this my Will and Testament, until such time as a division and sale thereof be made, I hereby appoint him Joint Executor thereto until that Period; after which I exonerate him from any	Once the legacies had been paid in full, Alexander left the remainder of his estate to be divided equally among all the sons and daughters of his brother George Alexander. The only exception was George's eldest son, John, to whom he had already left his house and ten acres of freehold land. He directed that none of the legacies in the will should be paid until after his wife's death. He appointed his wife as executrix, and his brothers John and George Alexander and his nephew Britannicus Alexander Wright as executors. His friend Major Henry Bazett had promised to help carry out the will until the estate was divided and sold. Alexander therefore appointed Bazett a joint executor for that period only, after which he was to be released from any further responsibility. Alexander revoked all earlier wills and declared this to be his last. He signed and sealed it on 26 September 1779, in the 19th year of the King's reign. James Colgrave, John Bagley junior and John Young witnessed it. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** Alexander's will postponed every legacy until his widow's death. Mary was to keep the use of the whole

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		further trouble or Concern therein revoking all other Wills by me heretofore made declaring this to be my last will and Testament made this 26th day of September in the nineteenth Year of his Majesty's reign and in the Year of our Lord 1779. - Signed Saml. Alexander (LS) Signed Sealed and declared by the said Testator to be his Last Will and Testament in the Presence of Signed James Colgrave John Bagley Junior John Young John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	estate for her lifetime, and nothing could be sold or divided while she lived. That protected her income and her home. It also meant that the nephews, nieces and godchildren would receive their bequests only at an unknown future date. The freedom promised to James George was not delayed in the same way. His manumission took effect at Alexander's death, while the £50 0s 0d for his support was set aside before any division of the estate. Henry Bazett, a member of the Council, served as a temporary executor, and the will was proved before a Board on which he sat. The other executors were the testator's brothers and the Council's own secretary. The settlement of a planter's estate on St Helena thus passed through the same few families who held office, land and the island's records.
282	278	17th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day January 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated 10th January 1780 Tuesday 11th Died John Shore Private The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collection and the Paymaster his accounts for the Quarter Commencing the 1 Oct. and ending the 31st December last which were examined, approved and are as follow Viz. Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honble. Company's Ware Houses from the 1st October to the 31st December 1779 Sold at 10 P Cent Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 68. 3. 11 Sugar 95 6 5 26. 2. 6 Candy 65 1 2 160 7 7 Flour Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 209. 3. 8 Flour 195 15 8 620. -. 24 Baked 515 6 8 712 2 4 Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 115. -. 7 Rice 44 11 9 58. 2. 20 Paddy 12 19 5 57 11 2 Soap Cwt. qr. lb. 7. 1. 6 23 . 2 Salt 29½ Bushells 6 14 5 Carried over £ 1029 15 8	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 January 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 10 January 1780. John Shore, a private, died on Tuesday 11 January 1780. The storekeeper presented his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1779. The Council examined and approved them. The storekeeper's account of goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouse during the quarter began as follows. Goods sold at 10 per cent above cost Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 68 cwt 3 qr 11 lb, £95 6s 5d Sugar candy, 26 cwt 2 qr 6 lb, £65 1s 2d Sugar and candy total, £160 7s 7d Flour Flour, 229 cwt 3 qr 8 lb, £195 15s 8d Flour baked into bread, 620 cwt 0 qr 24 lb, £505 6s 8d Flour total, £701 2s 4d Rice and paddy Rice, 115 cwt 0 qr 7 lb, £44 11s 9d Paddy, 58 cwt 2 qr 20 lb, £12 19s 5d Rice and paddy total, £57 11s 2d Soap, 7 cwt 1 qr 6 lb, £20 0s 2d Salt, 29½ bushels, £6 14s 5d Carried forward, £1,029 15s 8d **Interpretations** The quarter's sales show how quickly the shortage had turned to plenty. Between July and September the store had sold 30 cwt of sugar, 210 cwt of baked flour and barely 8 cwt of rice. Between October and December it sold more than twice the sugar, three times the baked flour and fourteen times the rice. Two cargoes of Cape flour, the China ships' sugar and the rice from Madras and Bombay had all been landed. The convoy's needs in October drew heavily on the bakehouse. The Council also began releasing rice it had held back during the autumn. On 1 November 1779 it had already raised the junior servants' sugar allowance. The store's books now confirm that the island had moved from rationing to open sale within a single quarter.
283	279	1780. - 1781. Brought over £	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows.

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		1782. 1029 15 8 Tea Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 3. 1. 12 Single 23 10 . 1. -. 9 Congo 7 11 3 4. 2. 22 Bohea 17 10 8 2 Cannisters Hyson . 17 . 49 8 11 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 11. 3. 4 27 5 . Beef and Pork Viz. 1430 Prs. Beef 143 . . 7421 Prs. Pork 952 2 . 889 2 . Candles Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 2. 23 23 17 6 Leather Viz. 3. 310 Sole 25 10 7 13. Calf Skins 9 11 3 35 18 11 Arrack 32½ Gallons 8 3 9 Sago 5 lb. . 1 6 Pease 24 Bushels 12 9 . Blankets 17 Ordinary 6 14 7 Corks 33½ Gross 4 3 9 Copper Money 3112 Half Pence 6 9 8 Chelloes 150 Pieces 90 13 4 Beer 203 Gallons 13 18 1 Bunting 7½ Yards Red . 3 7 Broad Cloth Viz. 5½ Yards White 3 3 6 ½ Do. Maz. Blue . 3 . 2⅛ Do. Buff Cassimere . 19 3 6 7 9 Braziers Ware 3 three Qt. Tea Kettles 3 7 1 Books Viz. Small Bible . 7 11 4 Do. Common Prayer . 13 4 1 1 3 Canvas Viz. 67½ Yards English 4 4 7 123½ Do. Osnaburg 6 16 4 11 . 11 Carried over £ 2217 1 1	Brought forward, £1,029 15s 8d Tea Singlo tea, 3 cwt 0 qr 12 lb, £23 10s 0d Congou tea, 1 cwt 0 qr 9 lb, £7 11s 3d Bohea tea, 4 cwt 2 qr 22 lb, £17 10s 8d Hyson tea, 2 canisters, £0 17s 0d Tea total, £49 8s 11d Cordage, 11 cwt 3 qr 4 lb, £27 5s 0d Beef and pork Salt beef, 1,430 pieces, £143 0s 0d Salt pork, 7,421 pieces, £742 2s 0d Beef and pork total, £885 2s 0d Candles, 1 cwt 2 qr 23 lb, £23 17s 6d Leather Sole leather, 3 cwt 0 qr 10 lb, £25 10s 7d 15 calf skins, £9 11s 5d Leather total, £35 2s 0d Arrack, 32½ gallons, £5 3s 9d Sago, 5 lb, £0 1s 6d Peas, 24 bushels, £12 9s 0d 19 ordinary blankets, £6 14s 7d Corks, 33½ gross, £4 3s 9d Copper coin, 3,112 halfpence, £6 9s 8d Chelloes, 150 pieces, £90 13s 4d Beer, 203 gallons, £13 15s 0d Red bunting, 7½ yards, £0 3s 7d Broadcloth White broadcloth, 3¾ yards, £3 3s 6d Mazarine blue broadcloth, ¼ yard, £0 3s 0d Buff cassimere, 2⅛ yards, £0 19s 3d Broadcloth total, £6 7s 9d Brass ware, 3 three-quart tea kettles, £3 7s 1d Books 1 small Bible, £0 7s 11d 4 Books of Common Prayer, £0 13s 4d Books total, £1 1s 3d Canvas English canvas, 67½ yards, £4 4s 7d Osnaburg, 123½ yards, £6 16s 4d Canvas total, £11 0s 11d Carried forward, £2,217 1s 1d **Interpretations** The store sold 7,421 pieces of salt pork in the quarter, almost twice the 4,110 sold between July and September. Most of it went to the homeward ships in October, when every commander was given pork in place of the beef he asked for. The beef sold, 1,430 pieces, came largely from the stores landed by the *Princess Royal*. The deep reserve of pork recorded in the inventory of 30 September 1779, more than 270 casks, was drawn down heavily to provision the convoy. That spared the island's own cattle, which were still dying in the Company's herd at a rate the Lieutenant Governor's account recorded in the same quarter.
284	280	17 January - Brought over £ 2217 1 1 Cutlery Ware Viz. 27 fine Ivory Combs	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,217 1s 1d Cutlery 27 fine ivory combs, £4 3s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 3 3 12 ordinary Do. Do. . 16 . 45 Buckling Do. Do. 1 3 3 67 Horn Do. 1 9 4 9 Shoe Knives . 4 1 6 Butchers Do. . 2 9 12 Staghorn handle knives and forks . 14 6 40 Prs. Leather Garters . 13 4 8 16 8 Cart Wheels 4 Wheel Barrows 3 11 4 Earthen Ware Viz. 17 Cream Coloured Tea Pots . 14 . 22 Red Do. 1 4 9 3 Milk Do. . 1 . 2 Close stool Pans . 2 . 6 Milk Do. . 9 . 2 Marble Mortars 3 10 8 6 1 5 Deals Viz. 12 Double 16 14 10 81 Singles 8 6 5 11 Balks 6 16 1 14 Coffins . 3 3 7 Elm Boards 1 17 . 1 Pr. Oak Plank 2 10 3 ½ Pr. Ash Do. 1 3 10 34 11 6 Glass Ware Viz. 209 Wine Glasses 4 12 8 12 Beer Do. . 9 6 6 Ale Do. . 3 9 10 Water Do. . 8 9 39 Tumblers 1 4 1 32 Quart decanters 4 2 8 17 Pints Do. 1 9 . 1 Hour Glass . 1 11 Glass Ware carried over £ 12 11 6 Carried over £ 2270 13 .	12 ordinary ivory combs, £0 16s 0d 43 buckle combs, £1 3s 3d 67 horn combs, £1 2s 4d 9 shoe knives, £0 4s 1d 6 butchers' knives, £0 2s 9d Stag-horn-handled knives and forks, 12, £0 14s 6d Leather garters, 40 pairs, £0 13s 4d Cutlery total, £8 16s 8d 4 wheelbarrows, £3 11s 4d Earthenware 17 cream-coloured teapots, £0 14s 0d 22 red teapots, £1 4s 9d 3 milk pots, £0 1s 0d 2 close-stool pans, £0 2s 0d 6 milk pans, £0 9s 0d 2 marble mortars, £3 10s 0d Earthenware total, £6 10s 9d Timber 12 double deals, £16 14s 10d 81 single deals, £5 6s 5d 11 balks, £6 16s 1d 1 rafter, £0 3s 3d 7 elm boards, £1 17s 0d Oak plank, 1 load, £2 10s 3d Ash plank, ½ load, £1 3s 10d Timber total, £34 11s 6d Glassware 209 wine glasses, £4 12s 8d 12 beer glasses, £0 9s 6d 6 ale glasses, £0 3s 9d 10 water glasses, £0 8s 9d 39 tumblers, £1 4s 1d 38 quart decanters, £4 2s 8d 17 pint decanters, £1 9s 0d 1 hourglass, £0 0s 11d Glassware subtotal carried forward, £12 11s 6d Carried forward, £2,270 13s 0d **Interpretations** Buckle combs were used to dress the "buckles", the tight horizontal rolls of curled hair worn at the sides of a wig or a man's dressed hair. Their sale alongside fine ivory combs shows how far the island's officers and planters kept up the fashions of London dress. Cream-coloured teapots were of the new creamware, the lead-glazed earthenware perfected by Josiah Wedgwood in the 1760s, cheaper than porcelain and fashionable across England. The red teapots were probably red stoneware in the manner of Chinese Yixing ware, then copied in Staffordshire. Marble mortars were for grinding spices, sugar and drugs in the kitchen or the dispensary.
285	281	1780 - Brought over £ 2270 13 . Glass Ware brought over 12 11 6 129 Squares 6 by 8	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,270 13s 0d Glassware brought forward, £12 11s 6d 129 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, £1 12s 3d 242 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £6 11s 1d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 12 5 242 Do. 8 by 10 6 11 1 84 Do. 10 by 12 3 15 5 48 Do. 10 by 15 2 13 . 19 Do. 10½ by 16 1 3 9 28 16 8 Hats Viz. 22 Mans fine 21 5 9 34 Boys 11 9 6 32 15 3 Hosiery Viz. 131 Prs. Ord. Thread Stockings 22 2 1 19 Prs. Mens Grey worsted Do. 4 . 9 7 Prs. Do. English Cotton Do. 2 15 5 17 Prs. Madrass No. 2 Do. 7 10 2 26 Prs. Boys Cotton Do. 3 19 1 3 Prs. Do. Worsted Do. . 6 9 19 Prs. Black worsted Breeches 9 . 3 50 2 8 Hooks and Lines Viz. 125 No. 7 . 7 7 2975 9 3 17 2 100 12 . 1 8 250 16 . 2 . 4824 18 1 10 2 40 Large . 13 . Hooks 364 No. 2 5 12 3 452 3 7 16 . 50 4 . 12 6 8 Number . 12 . Lines 11 lb. Twine . 7 4 5 lb. Cotton Wick . 14 2 22 1 . Haberdashery Viz. 21 lb. Silk 1 13 9 23 lb. Mohair . 11 6 15½ Doz. Do. Coat Buttons . 16 3 49½ Do. Do. Breast Do. 1 1 7 Haberdashery carried over £ 4 2 5 Carried over £ 2404 8 7	86 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £3 16s 5d 48 panes of glass, 10 by 13 inches, £2 15s 0d 19 panes of glass, 10½ by 16 inches, £1 3s 9d Glassware total, £28 16s 8d Hats 22 men's fine hats, £21 5s 9d 34 boys' hats, £11 9s 6d Hats total, £32 15s 3d Hosiery Ordinary thread stockings, 131 pairs, £22 2s 1d Men's grey worsted stockings, 19 pairs, £4 0s 9d Men's English cotton stockings, 7 pairs, £2 15s 3d Madras stockings, number 2, 17 pairs, £7 10s 2d Boys' cotton stockings, 26 pairs, £3 19s 1d Boys' worsted stockings, 3 pairs, £0 6s 9d Black worsted breeches, 19 pairs, £9 0s 3d Hosiery total, £50 2s 8d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 7, 125, £0 7s 7d Fish hooks, number 9, 2,975, £3 11s 2d Fish hooks, number 10, 100, £0 1s 8d Fish hooks, number 16, 250, £0 2s 0d Fish hooks, number 18, 4,526, £1 10s 2d Large fish hooks, 48, £0 13s 0d Fishing lines, number 2, 364, £5 13s 3d Fishing lines, number 3, 452, £7 16s 0d Fishing lines, number 4, 30, £0 12s 6d 8 Hamburg lines, £0 12s 0d Twine, 11 skeins, £0 7s 4d Cotton wick, 3 lb, £0 14s 9d Hooks and lines total, £22 1s 0d Haberdashery Silk, 21 skeins, £1 13s 9d Mohair, 23 skeins, £0 11s 6d Mohair coat buttons, 15½ dozen, £0 12s 3d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 49½ dozen, £1 2s 7d Haberdashery subtotal carried forward, £4 2s 3d Carried forward, £2,404 8s 7d **Interpretations** The store sold more than 8,000 fish hooks this quarter, against about 900 between July and September. The fishing lines sold rose from about 540 to more than 800. October to December brought the southern spring and early summer, when the seas round the island calmed and the shoals of mackerel and tuna came inshore. Fishing was the one source of fresh protein the drought had not touched. With the island's cattle still dying in the Company's own herd, inhabitants and slaves alike turned to the sea in the best season for it. Madras stockings were cotton hose knitted on the Coromandel coast and shipped west by the Company. They were lighter and cheaper than English worsted, and suited the island's warmer months.
286	282	17 January Brought over £	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2404 8 7 Haberdashery Brought over £ 4 2 3 18½ Gro. White Waistcoat Buttons 2 4 9 12½ Do. Steel Do. 1 14 . 70 Do. Shirt Studs 1 17 11 2 Doz. Gilt Basket Breast Buttons . 5 6 20 Prs. Silk Garters 1 5 . 60 Prs. Tape 2 10 . 4½ Whalebone 1 0 1 26½ Yds. Buckram 1 15 6 4 Coloured Thread 7 0 6 31½ White Brown Do. 11 11 6 7 No. 16 Do. . 9 5 1. 3 17 Do. 1 10 6 2 Epaulets 1 1 . 39 . 11 Iron Ware Viz. 12 Chest Locks 2 . 8 3 Iron rimd Do. with Brass Knobs 1 . 3 1 Do. Do. with Pullback . 4 9 1 Blank Key . . 8 1 Pair H Hinges . 3 9 2 Wood axes . 5 5 6 Axe Helves . 4 . 3 Large Frying Pans . 15 . 5 Prs. Wool Cards . 10 10 15 Iron Mauls 3 15 . 3 Spring Rat Traps . 3 . 4 Pair Sheep Shears . 6 8 2 Scythes . 11 8 34 Scythe Stones . 10 . 3 Iron Pots wt. qr. lb. 2. 13 . 14 10 3 Bricklayers Trowels . 4 6 6½ Brass Chair nails . 10 3 2 Pickaxes . 8 8 1 Wire Rat Trap . 6 9 1 Punching Borer . 8 10 1 Iron Kettle 1 . 6 34 lb. Irons . 6 4 13 8 4	Brought forward, £2,404 8s 7d Haberdashery brought forward, £4 2s 3d White metal buttons, 18½ gross, £2 4s 9d Shirt buttons, 12½ gross, £1 14s 0d 70 [...], £1 17s 11d Gilt waistcoat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 5s 6d Silk garters, 20 pairs, £1 5s 0d 80 pieces of tape, £2 10s 0d Whalebone, 4½ lb, £1 0s 1d Buckram, 26½ yards, £1 15s 6d Coloured thread, 4 lb, £7 0s 6d White and brown thread, 31½ [...], £11 11s 6d Thread, number 16, 7 oz, £0 9s 5d Thread, number 17, 1 lb 3 oz, £1 10s 6d 2 epaulettes, £1 1s 0d Haberdashery total, £39 0s 11d Ironmongery 12 chest locks, £2 0s 3d 3 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £1 0s 3d 1 iron-rimmed lock with a thumb latch, £0 4s 9d 1 blank key, £0 0s 8d H-hinges, 1 pair, £0 3s 9d 2 wood axes, £0 6s 0d 6 ash helves, £0 4s 0d 3 large frying pans, £0 13s 0d 5 pairs of [...], £0 10s 10d 15 iron shovels, £3 15s 0d 3 spring rat traps, £0 3s 0d Sheep shears, 4 pairs, £0 6s 8d 2 scythes, £0 11s 0d 34 scythe stones, £0 10s 0d 3 iron pots, weighing 0 cwt 2 qr 15 lb, £0 14s 10d 3 bricklayers' trowels, £0 4s 6d Brass chair nails, 6½ hundred, £0 10s 3d 2 pickaxes, £0 8s 0d 1 wire rat trap, £0 6s 9d 1 punching borer, £0 8s 10d 1 iron kettle, £1 0s 4d Iron, 34 lb, £0 6s 4d Ironmongery total, £13 8s 4d Carried forward, £2,458 12s 10d **Interpretations** The quarter's sales included two epaulettes. Epaulettes had only recently become a regular mark of rank for officers in the British Army, worn on the shoulder to show grade and regiment. Their sale through the Company's store shows that the island's officers kept up with the dress regulations of the King's army, even in a garrison serving a trading company. The gilt buttons, silk garters and fine hats sold in the same quarter point the same way: the island's establishment dressed for its rank, whatever the shortages of the year.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried over £ 2458 12 10	
287	283	1780 Brought over £ 2458 12 10 Lead Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 2. 14 Sheet 2 1 11 Nails Viz. M 15 3 . 10 7 99 6 3 1 10 7 10 . 4 3 29 20 . 11 5 17 30 . 6 4 4 40 . 1 6 6½ Glazing Brads . 9 11 5 6 10 Oars 12 Small 2 9 6 Oil Viz. 63½ Gallons Train 9 4 3 27 Do. Linseed 6 8 4 2½ Do. Turpentine 1 . 7 16 13 2 Serge Viz. 3½ Yds. Blue . 16 3 7½ Do. Scarlet 2 4 8 21 Do. Green 5 1 6 6½ Do. Coloured Shaloon . 14 1 4½ Do. White Fustian . 9 3 12½ Do. Blue Camblet 2 2 6 3 Do. White Silk Serge . 18 3 5½ Do. Scarlet Long Ells . 16 1 13 1 7 Paint Viz. 124 White Lead dry 3 1 4 268 Do. mixed 4 6 8 34 Blue Smalt 3 8 2 408 Whiting 1 . 4 ½ Blacking . 1 9 12 Logwood . 3 3 7 Green Copperas . 1 5 2 lb. Prussian Blue . 3 4 13 lb. Yellow Oaker Dry . 3 7 12 5 8 Carried over £ 2510 11 6	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,458 12s 10d Sheet lead, 1 cwt 2 qr 26 lb, £2 1s 11d Nails Threepenny nails, 15 lb, £0 10s 7d Sixpenny nails, 99 lb, £3 1s 10d Tenpenny nails, 7 lb, £0 4s 3d Nails, size 20, 29 lb, £0 11s 5d Nails, size 30, 17 lb, £0 6s 4d Nails, size 40, 4 lb, £0 1s 6d Glazing brads, 6 lb, £0 9s 11d Nails total, £5 6s 10d 12 small oars, £2 9s 6d Oil Train oil, 33½ gallons, £9 4s 3d Linseed oil, 27 gallons, £6 8s 4d Turpentine, 2½ gallons, £1 0s 7d Oil total, £16 13s 2d Woollen cloth Blue serge, 3½ yards, £0 16s 3d Scarlet serge, 7½ yards, £2 4s 8d Green serge, 21 yards, £5 1s 6d Coloured shalloon, 6½ yards, £0 14s 1d White fustian, 4½ yards, £0 9s 3d Blue camlet, 12½ yards, £2 2s 6d White silk serge, 3 yards, £0 18s 3d Scarlet long ells, 5½ yards, £0 16s 1d Woollen cloth total, £13 1s 7d Paint Dry white lead, 1 cwt 2 qr 4 lb, £3 1s 4d Ground white lead, 268 lb, £4 6s 8d Blue smalts, 34 lb, £3 5s 2d Whiting, 48 lb, £0 1s 4d Blacking, ½ lb, £0 1s 9d Logwood, 12 lb, £0 3s 3d Green copperas, 7 lb, £0 1s 3d Prussian blue, 2 lb, £0 3s 4d Dry yellow ochre, 13 lb, £1 3s 7d Paint total, £12 5s 8d Carried forward, £2,510 11s 6d **Interpretations** The store sold more than 400 lb of white lead, ground and dry, together with linseed oil and turpentine. That was the full kit for oil painting on a large scale, far beyond the few pounds sold between July and September. Ground white lead mixed with linseed oil was the standard paint for woodwork and window frames, and turpentine thinned it. The quantities point to private houses being painted and repaired across the island in the late spring and early summer, once the season's ships had landed fresh stocks. Whiting was powdered chalk, mixed with size to make whitewash for walls and ceilings.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
288	284	17 January Brot. over £ 2510 11 6 Pitch Viz. 9 lb. Pitch 1 14 3 17 Galls. Tar 1 8 4 111 Rosin 2 1 7 40 Turpentine 1 2 6 3 6 8 Saddlery Viz. 6 Cruppers . 11 3 7 Girths . 12 . 6 Surcingles 1 2 8 1 Pr. Stirrup Leathers . 3 9 1 Snaffle Bridle . 6 9 2 15 5 Shirts Viz. 163 Soldiers Shirts 40 10 . 35½ Yds. Brown Holland 3 1 0 39¾ Do. Ticking 4 3 4 1½ Do. Fine Irish Linen . 7 8 48 2 8 Sailors Cloaths Viz. 4 Mens Jackets 1 12 . 8 Prs. Do. Breeches 1 14 8 6 Do. Checked Shirts 1 2 . 4 Boys Jackets 1 7 4 3 Prs. Do. Breeches . 16 4 3 Prs. Do. Drawers . 4 . 3 Do. Shirts . 9 6 12 Hats 1 9 6 8 10 1 Shoes Viz. 361 Prs. Mens ordy. Shoes 183 9 . 45 Prs. Do. Fine Do. 16 4 . 48 Prs. Do. Do. Pumps 14 16 0 52 Prs. Boys 9 10 8 119 Prs. Womens Calimanco 25 5 7 37 Prs. Do. Calf leather 6 8 . 48 Prs. Do. Spanish Do. 12 12 . Shoes carried over £ 234 18 3 Carried over £ 2575 6 4	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,510 11s 6d Pitch and tar Pitch, 2 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £1 14s 3d Tar, 17 gallons, £1 8s 4d Rosin, 111 lb, £2 1s 7d Turpentine, 40 lb, £1 2s 6d Pitch and tar total, £6 6s 8d Saddlery 6 cruppers, £0 11s 3d 7 girths, £0 12s 0d 6 surcingles, £1 2s 8d Stirrup leathers, 1 pair, £0 3s 9d 1 snaffle bridle, £0 6s 9d Saddlery total, £2 16s 5d Shirts and linen 169 soldiers' shirts, £40 10s 0d Brown holland, 35¼ yards, £3 1s 8d Ticking, 37¾ yards, £4 3s 4d Fine Irish linen, 1½ pieces, £1 7s 8d Shirts and linen total, £45 2s 8d Sailors' clothing 2 new jackets, £1 12s 0d New breeches, 8 pairs, £1 14s 0d 6 new checked shirts, £1 2s 0d 4 boys' jackets, £1 7s 4d Boys' breeches, 3 pairs, £0 16s 4d Boys' drawers, 3 pairs, £0 4s 0d 3 boys' shirts, £0 9s 6d 12 hats, £1 9s 6d Sailors' clothing total, £8 10s 1d Shoes Men's ordinary shoes, 361 pairs, £139 9s 0d Men's fine shoes, 45 pairs, £16 4s 0d Men's fine pumps, 45 pairs, £14 16s 0d Boys' shoes, 52 pairs, £9 10s 8d Women's calimanco shoes, 119 pairs, £25 5s 7d Women's calf leather shoes, 37 pairs, £6 8s 0d Women's Spanish leather shoes, 44 pairs, £12 13s 0d Shoes subtotal carried forward, £234 10s 3d Carried forward, £2,575 6s 4d **Interpretations** The store sold more than 700 pairs of shoes this quarter, 361 of them men's ordinary shoes. In the first quarter of 1779 it had sold 494 pairs. Sales then collapsed to 20 pairs in the spring and only about 64 between July and September. The stock had evidently run out, and the island went barefoot or wore its shoes to pieces until fresh supplies arrived. The *Princess Royal*, which landed her stores in October and November, refilled the shelves, and pent-up demand cleared them within weeks. The 119 pairs of women's calimanco shoes and the boys' sizes show that the shortage had touched whole families, not only the garrison.
289	285	1780 - Brought over £ 2575 6 4	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,575 6s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Shoes brought over £ 234 18 3 23 Prs. Girls Callimanco 3 17 7 22 Prs. Do. Calf Leather 2 17 6 8 Prs. Channel Pumps 2 18 8 245 12 . Tin Ware Viz. 24 lb. Solder 1 . 6 3 Cullinders . 4 6 3 Watering Pots . 12 6 1 17 6 Turners Ware Viz. 14 Hair Brooms 2 4 11 6 Scrubbing Brushes 1 . 6 26 Punch Ladles . 19 4 2 Punch Strainers . 1 10 10 Mops . 15 . 8 Plaistr. Brushes . 13 4 11 Paint Do. . 3 6 2 Shoe Do. . 1 7 4 Platters . 5 2 14 Labourers Baskets . 16 11 3 Hair Sieves . 3 9 4 Hackets 1 . . 12½ Yds. Hair Cloth of 22 Inches wide 2 19 3 4 Do. Do. of 24 Do. 1 4 8 2 Do. Do. of 28 Do. . 13 1 2 Wood Bowls . 2 7 2 Birch Brooms . 1 2 1 Tubmans Yoke . 1 10 13 10 8 Long Cloth Viz. 9½ Ps. No. 1 53 . 8 11 2 53 15 . 15½ 3 60 1 4 31 4 94 11 . 76½ 5 120 9 9 37¼ 6 64 13 9 452 1 6 Carried over £ 3289 7 9	Shoes brought forward, £234 10s 3d Girls' calimanco shoes, 23 pairs, £3 17s 7d Girls' calf leather shoes, 22 pairs, £2 17s 6d Channel pumps, 8 pairs, £2 18s 8d Shoes total, £243 12s 0d Tinware Solder, 9¼ lb, £1 0s 6d 3 colanders, £0 4s 6d 3 watering pots, £0 12s 6d Tinware total, £1 17s 6d Turnery 14 hair brooms, £2 4s 11d 6 scrubbing brushes, £1 0s 6d 26 punch ladles, £0 19s 4d 2 punch strainers, £0 1s 10d 10 mops, £0 15s 0d 8 plasterers' brushes, £0 13s 4d 11 paint brushes, £0 3s 6d 2 shoe brushes, £0 1s 7d 4 platters, £0 5s 2d 14 labourers' baskets, £0 16s 11d 3 hair sieves, £0 3s 9d 4 baskets, £1 0s 0d Haircloth, 22 inches wide, 12½ yards, £2 19s 0d Haircloth, 24 inches wide, 4 yards, £1 4s 8d Haircloth, 25 inches wide, 2 yards, £0 13s 1d 2 wooden bowls, £0 2s 7d 2 birch brooms, £0 1s 2d 1 tubman's yoke, £0 1s 10d Turnery total, £13 10s 8d Longcloth Longcloth, number 1, 9¾ pieces, £53 0s 8d Longcloth, number 2, 11 pieces, £53 15s 0d Longcloth, number 3, 15½ pieces, £60 1s 4d Longcloth, number 4, 31 pieces, £94 11s 0d Longcloth, number 5, 76½ pieces, £120 9s 9d Longcloth, number 6, 37¼ pieces, £64 13s 9d Longcloth total, £452 1s 6d Carried forward, £3,289 7s 9d **Interpretations** The store sold more than 180 pieces of longcloth this quarter, against fewer than 14 between July and September. The cheaper grades, numbers 4 to 6, made up most of the sales. The *Mount Stuart* had landed a full cargo of longcloth from Madras in October, and the island bought it up at once to make shirts, sheets and clothing after months without. Haircloth was a coarse fabric woven from horsehair, stiff and hard-wearing. It was used for sieves, for covering kilns when drying grain, and for upholstery. Channel pumps were light shoes with a sole stitched in a groove, or channel, cut into the leather so that the stitches did not wear through.
290	286	17 January - Brought over £ 3289 7 9 China Ware Viz.	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost concluded as follows. Brought forward, £3,289 7s 9d China ware

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 Meat Dishes 1 7 . 200 Do. Plates 4 2 . 130 Soup Do. 3 11 11 44 Guglets and Basons 4 . 8 22 Chamber pots 1 16 0 119 Bowles 6 9 . 340 Sneakers 5 10 4 330 Half Pint Cups and Saucers 9 . . 216 Quart Do. Do. and Do. 5 9 9 2 Stone Tea Sets 2 1 4 41 11 8 Spice Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 2. 6 Pepper 8 6 10 2 Cinnamon 1 2 6 8 9 4 Wine Viz. 187 Gallons Port 222 Do. Lisbon 97 Do. Mountain 81 Do. Sherry 239 13 10 £ 3579 2 7 Sold at 40 P Cent Broad Cloth 13 Yds. White 16 3 6 Braziers Ware 2 three Quart Tea Kettles 1 11 6 Cutlery Ware 12 Stag horn knives & forks . 10 6 Canvas Viz. Bolts Yds. 3. 6 English 9 7 3 1. 39 Osnaburg 11 10 3 20 17 6 Deals 2 Elm boards . 10 6 Shirts 9 Yds. brown Holland 1 1 4 Haberdashery 6 lb. Mohair . 4 6 Carried over £ 41 11 4	16 meat dishes, £1 7s 0d 200 meat plates, £4 2s 0d 130 soup plates, £3 11s 11d 44 goglets and basins, £4 0s 8d 22 chamber pots, £1 16s 8d 119 bowls, £6 9s 0d 340 sneakers, £5 10s 4d 330 half-pint cups and saucers, £9 0s 0d 216 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £3 9s 9d 2 stoneware tea sets, £2 1s 4d China ware total, £41 11s 8d Spices Pepper, 2 cwt 2 qr 6 lb, £8 6s 10d Cinnamon, 2 lb, £0 2s 6d Spices total, £8 9s 4d Wine Port, 187 gallons; Lisbon, 222 gallons; mountain, 97 gallons; sherry, 81 gallons; together £239 13s 10d Total sold at 10 per cent, £3,579 2s 7d Goods sold at 40 per cent above cost during the quarter began as follows. White broadcloth, 10 yards, £16 3s 6d Brass ware, 2 three-quart tea kettles, £1 11s 6d Cutlery, 12 stag-horn-handled knives and forks, £0 10s 6d Canvas English canvas, 3 pieces 6 yards, £9 7s 3d Osnaburg, 1 piece 39 yards, £11 10s 3d Canvas total, £20 17s 6d 2 elm boards, £0 10s 6d Brown holland, 9 yards, £1 1s 4d Mohair, 6 skeins, £0 4s 6d Carried forward, £41 11s 4d **Interpretations** The store sold nearly 600 gallons of port, Lisbon, mountain and sherry in the quarter. The inventory of 30 September 1779 had listed no wine but Madeira, so all of this must have come ashore from the *Princess Royal*. Sales at 10 per cent across the quarter came to £3,579 2s 7d, against £1,376 9s 3d between July and September. The island's purchasing power had been released all at once by the arrival of goods it had gone without for most of the year. That money came back into the treasury as coin, which helped refill a chest that had sent £16,000 0s 0d to Sumatra in October.
291	287	1780 Brought over £ 41 11 4 Hooks and Lines Viz. 60 No. 7 . 3 10 26 12 . . 6 Hooks 63 No. 2 1 5 6 12 3 . 5 6 Lines 1 Cotton Wick . 3 7 1 18 11 Serge Viz.	Goods sold at 40 per cent above cost during the quarter continued as follows. Brought forward, £41 11s 4d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 7, 80, £0 3s 10d Fish hooks, number 12, 26, £0 0s 6d Fishing lines, number 2, 65, £1 5s 6d Fishing lines, number 3, 12, £0 5s 6d Cotton wick, 1 lb, £0 3s 7d Hooks and lines total, £1 18s 11d Woollen cloth Blue serge, 4½ yards, £1 0s 6d Green serge, 21 yards, £6 0s 7d Scarlet serge, 34½ yards, £13 13s 3d Blue camlet, 16 yards, £3 9s 4d White fustian, 27 yards, £3 14s 10d Scarlet long ells, 16½ yards, £2 11s 10d Woollen cloth total, £31 9s 4d

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		4½ Yds. Blue 1 8 6 21 Do. Green 6 0 7 34½ Do. Scarlet 13 13 3 16 Do. Blue Camblet 3 9 4 27 Do. White Fustain 3 14 10 16½ Do. Scarlet Long ells 2 14 10 31 9 4 Iron Ware 1 Brass Closet Lock . 7 10 Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 3. -. 26 4 19 1 Candles 18 2 8 . Glass Ware 4 Tumblers . 6 . Pitch &c. 1 Barrel Pitch 3 10 3 Paint 1 lb. Red Lead . 5 8 Nails Viz. M 2 3 . 2 . 2 Glaz. Brads . 4 . . 6 . Spice 2 lb. Pepper . 3 . Rice Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 1. 20 . 15 3 China Ware Viz. 2 Bowls . 3 3 10 Sneakers . 4 4 3 Guglets and Basons . 7 6 3 Chamber Pots . 6 0 12 Half Pint cups and Saucers . 8 . 24 Quart Do. Do. and Do. . 9 2 1 Stone Tea Set 1 6 3 2 Stone Breakfast Sets 1 13 8 4 18 10 £ 92 18 6	Ironmongery, 1 brass closet lock, £0 7s 10d Flour, 3 cwt 0 qr 6 lb, £4 19s 1d Candles, 18 lb, £2 8s 0d Glassware, 4 tumblers, £0 6s 0d Pitch, 1 barrel, £3 10s 3d Red lead, 0 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £0 5s 8d Nails Threepenny nails, 2 lb, £0 2s 0d Glazing brads, 2 lb, £0 4s 0d Nails total, £0 6s 0d Pepper, 4 lb, £0 3s 0d Rice, 1 cwt 0 qr 20 lb, £0 15s 3d China ware 2 bowls, £0 3s 3d 10 sneakers, £0 4s 4d 3 goglets and basins, £0 7s 6d 3 chamber pots, £0 6s 0d 12 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 8s 0d 24 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 9s 2d 1 stoneware tea set, £1 6s 3d 2 stoneware breakfast sets, £1 13s 8d China ware total, £4 18s 10d Total sold at 40 per cent, £92 18s 6d **Interpretations** The goods sold at 40 per cent included flour and rice, which the island bought at only 10 per cent above cost in its ordinary purchases. The same article could carry two prices depending on who bought it. The higher rate applied chiefly to passengers and ships' officers who were not on the island's establishment and had no allowance from the store. The Company kept its staples cheap for its own servants and inhabitants, and charged outsiders a premium that helped pay for the island's upkeep.
292	288	17 January - Sold at Publick Auction Wine 11½ Pipes Madeira contg. 1342 Galls. 490 12 1 Damaged goods Viz. Serge Viz. 9½ Yds. Brown Camblet 1 . 1 2¾ Do. Blue Do. 1 Yard Scarlet Do. . 6 . 2 Do. Blue Sagathy ½ Do. Do. Duffle . 5 . 1 11 . Earthen Ware Viz. 2 Milk Pans 2 Close stools Do. . 3 3 £ 492 6 3	Goods sold by public auction during the quarter were as follows. Madeira wine, 11½ pipes containing 1,342 gallons, £488 12s 0d Damaged goods Brown camlet, 9½ yards, £1 0s 0d Blue camlet, 2⅜ yards, and scarlet camlet, 1 yard, £0 6s 0d Blue sagathy, 2 yards, and blue duffle, ½ yard, £0 5s 0d Damaged cloth total, £1 11s 0d Earthenware, 2 milk pans and 2 close-stool pans, £0 3s 3d Total sold by auction, £490 6s 3d The following goods were sold to HMS *Warwick*. Nails Sixpenny nails, 6 lb; nails, size 40, 6 lb; glazing brads, 2 lb; together £0 13s 8d English canvas, 84 yards, £6 11s 2d 10 bolt-rope needles, £0 1s 2d

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		Sold to his Majesty's Ship Warwick Nails Viz. M 6 6 6 40 2 Glaz. Brads . 13 8 Canvas 84 Yds. English 6 11 2 Iron Ware 10 Bolt Rope needles . 1 2 Deals 5 Elm Boards 1 13 9 Hooks and Lines Viz. 25 No. 7 . 2 . 30 10 . . 6 2 Large . . 0 Hooks 18 No. 3 . 5 6 24 4 . 12 0 Lines 19 lb. Thread . 9 6 1 10 10 Carried over £ 10 10 7	3 elm boards, £1 13s 9d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 7, 25, £0 2s 0d Fish hooks, number 10, 30, £0 0s 6d 2 large fish hooks, £0 1s 0d Fishing lines, number 3, 12, £0 5s 6d Fishing lines, number 4, 24, £0 12s 0d Thread, 19 skeins, £0 9s 6d Hooks and lines total, £1 10s 10d Carried forward, £10 10s 7d **Interpretations** The Council sold 11½ pipes of the Company's Madeira at public auction, as announced in its notice of 1 November 1779. The obvious course was to keep the wine in store and sell it by the bottle at the usual 10 per cent markup. The Council chose auction because of the coin it needed. The treasury had just sent £16,000 0s 0d to Sumatra, and the convoy had left. A single auction turned more than 1,300 gallons into nearly £490 0s 0d in cash at once, with buyers among the planters and officials who had just remitted their savings to London. Selling in bulk also removed the risk of further loss: the storekeeper's waste account for the year had already written off 37 gallons of Madeira lost in storage.
293	289	1780 - Brought over £ 10 10 7 Haberdashery 1 lb. Coloured Thread . 4 7 Bunting Viz. 90 Yds. Red 4 6 3 30 Do. Narrow Blue . 18 2 20 Do. Do. White . 10 4 5 14 9 Coals 106 Bushels 9 3 10 Flour 173 206 14 . £ 232 7 9 Sold to the Honble. Company's Ships from the 1 October to the 31st 1779 - Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 176. 3. 23 244 13 1 Beef and Pork Viz. 28 Hhds. Beef 340 . . 97 Do. Pork 342 9 6 39 Tierces Do. 376 10 3 1058 19 9 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 5. -. 10 13 10 11 Coals 287 Bushels 26 16 9 Canvas Viz. 43 Prs. English 127 7 9 81 Yds. Osnaburg 6 13 4 134 1 1 Deals 1 Spar 2 2 2 Hooks and Lines Viz.	The goods sold to HMS *Warwick* continued as follows. Brought forward, £10 10s 7d Coloured thread, 1 lb, £0 4s 7d Bunting Red bunting, 90 yards, £4 6s 3d Narrow blue bunting, 30 yards, £0 18s 2d Narrow white bunting, 20 yards, £0 10s 4d Bunting total, £5 14s 9d Coals, 106 bushels, £9 3s 10d Flour, 175 cwt, £206 14s 1d Total sold to HMS Warwick, £232 7s 9d The goods sold to the Company's ships between 1 October and 31 December 1779 began as follows. Flour, 176 cwt 3 qr 23 lb, £244 13s 1d Beef and pork Salt beef, 20 hogsheads, £340 0s 0d Salt pork, 27 hogsheads, £542 9s 6d Salt pork, 39 tierces, £376 10s 3d Beef and pork total, £1,258 19s 9d Cordage, 3 cwt 0 qr 10 lb, £13 10s 11d Coals, 287 bushels, £24 16s 9d Canvas English canvas, 43 pieces, £127 7s 9d Osnaburg, 62 yards, £6 13s 4d Canvas total, £134 1s 1d 1 spar, £2 3s 2d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 7, 300, £1 13s 8d Fish hooks, number 13, 200, £0 3s 0d Fish hooks, number 17, 30, £0 0s 8d Fishing lines, number 2, 67, £1 14s 10d 9 Hamburg lines, £0 3s 10d 1 deep-sea line, £0 7s 0d Twine, 110 skeins, £4 7s 1d Cotton wick, 3 lb, £0 10s 4d Hooks and lines total, £8 10s 5d Carried forward, £1,686 4s 2d **Interpretations** The *Warwick* bought 140 yards of red, blue and white bunting from the island's store. As escort to the whole homeward fleet, she had to pass orders to ten merchant ships by flag signals: when to tack, shorten sail, close up or scatter if an enemy appeared. A long

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		300 No. 7 . 13 8 200 13 . 3 . 50 17 . . 8 Hooks 67 No. 2 1 14 10 2 Number . 3 10 1 Deep Sea . 7 . Lines 110 lb. Twine 4 7 1 3 Cotton Wick . 10 4 8 10 5 Carried over £ 1686 4 2	voyage wore out flags, and a convoy with a failing signal system could not be held together. The Council had bought bunting from the *Queen* a few weeks earlier to replenish its own stock. Part of that cloth evidently passed on to the King's ship, to keep the convoy's signals working on the passage home. The Company's ships also took 43 pieces of English canvas for sails, along with cordage and a spare spar. They had arrived battered from long passages from China and India, and the island's stores supplied the materials to refit them before they sailed.
294	290	17 January - Brought over £ 1686 4 2 Iron Ware Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 3. 14 Iron 3 12 2 3 Chest Locks . 15 . 12 Boltrope Needles . 1 5 6 Packing Do. . 1 3 4 7 10 Nails Viz. M 49 3 12 30 12 40 13 Scupper 11 Spike 1 Glaz. Brads 4 3 8 Tin Ware 9 lb. Solder . 10 1 Turners Ware 4 Paint Brushes . 2 4 Oil Viz. 27 Galls. Linseed 8 2 . 36 Do. Train 19 12 . ½ Do. Turpentine . 5 5 27 19 5 Paint Viz. 52 lb. White Lead dry 1 3 10 2 Vermillion . 15 8 4 Verdigrease 1 5 . 16 Blacking 3 5 4 6 11 10 Pitch &c. 13 Barrls. Pitch 52 13 9 26 Do. Tar 66 5 . 86 lb. Turpentine 2 16 8 121 15 5 Lead Pipes 1 Yard of 2 Inch	The goods sold to the Company's ships between 1 October and 31 December 1779 concluded as follows. Brought forward, £1,686 4s 2d Ironmongery Iron, 2 cwt 3 qr 14 lb, £3 12s 2d 3 chest locks, £0 13s 0d 12 bolt-rope needles, £0 1s 3d 6 packing needles, £0 1s 3d Ironmongery total, £4 7s 10d Nails Threepenny nails, 49 lb; nails, size 30, 17 lb; nails, size 40, 12 lb; scupper nails, 13 lb; spikes, 11 lb; glazing brads, 1 lb; together £4 3s 8d Tinware, solder, 9 lb, £0 10s 1d Turnery, 4 paint brushes, £0 2s 4d Oil Linseed oil, 27 gallons, £8 2s 0d Train oil, 36 gallons, £18 12s 0d Turpentine, 1½ gallons, £1 5s 3d Oil total, £27 19s 3d Paint Dry white lead, 52 lb, £1 5s 10d Vermilion, 2 lb, £0 15s 8d Verdigris, 4 lb, £1 5s 0d Blacking, 16 lb, £3 5s 4d Paint total, £6 11s 10d Pitch and tar Pitch, 13 barrels, £52 13s 9d Tar, 26 barrels, £66 5s 0d Turpentine, 80 lb, £2 16s 8d Pitch and tar total, £121 15s 5d Lead pipe, 1 yard of 2-inch, £0 10s 8d Total sold to the Company's ships, £1,851 6s 3d **Interpretations** Pitch, tar and turpentine made up the largest refitting item after the salt meat and flour, more than £120 0s 0d. Ships arriving from long, storm-beaten passages needed their seams recaulked: oakum was driven between the planks and sealed with hot pitch, and the rigging was tarred against rot. The *Mount Stuart* had strained badly off Cape Agulhas and the *Shrewsbury* had run aground at Joanna. Without these stores, the homeward ships would have crossed the Atlantic leaking. St Helena's warehouse functioned as a dockyard store as well as a provision depot, and that service drew the Company's ships to call there.

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295	291	1780 Hind Cutter Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1779. - Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. 1 Sugar 1 7 1 20 lb. Candy . 7 11 1 15 . Rice Cwt. 14 4 10 7 Arrack 40 Gallons 3 16 8 Glass Ware Viz. 1 Square 10 by 12 . . 10 2 Do. 11 by 19 . 2 9 . 3 7 Deals 2 Single . 3 9 Iron Ware Cwt. lb. 1. 23 Iron 1 0 6 Nails Viz. M 12 20 12 30 12 40 2 Glaz. Brads . 15 4 Paint Viz. 6 lb. Blacking . 17 3 1 Patent Paint . 2 2 . 19 5 Pitch &c. 6 lb. Rosin . 2 . Oil ½ Gall. Turpentine . 3 9 Tin Ware 6 lb. Solder . 4 8 Turners Ware Viz. 6 Paint Brushes . 3 . 2 Labourers Baskets . 2 2 2 Mops . 2 8 . 7 10 £ 14 10 6 Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31st December Coals 129 Bushels Smiths Shop 7 7 5 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 3. 26 Crane &c. 6 4 3 Iron Ware Viz. 492 Files 11 14 6 238 File Shafts 1 6 5 Iron Ware carried over £ 13 . 11 Carried over £ 13 11 8	The *Hind* cutter's account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 0 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £1 7s 1d Sugar candy, 20 lb, £0 7s 11d Sugar and candy total, £1 15s 0d Rice, 14 cwt, £4 11s 7d Arrack, 40 gallons, £3 16s 8d Glassware 1 pane of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 0s 10d 2 panes of glass, 11 by 19 inches, £0 2s 9d Glassware total, £0 3s 7d 2 single deals, £0 3s 9d Iron, 0 cwt 1 qr 23 lb, £0 8s 6d Nails Nails, size 20, 12 lb; nails, size 30, 12 lb; nails, size 40, 12 lb; glazing brads, 2 lb; together £0 13s 4d Paint Blacking, 6 lb, £0 17s 3d Black paint, 1 lb, £0 2s 2d Paint total, £0 19s 5d Rosin, 6 lb, £0 2s 0d Turpentine, ½ gallon, £0 3s 9d Tinware, solder, 6 lb, £0 4s 8d Turnery 6 paint brushes, £0 3s 0d 2 labourers' baskets, £0 2s 2d 2 mops, £0 2s 8d Turnery total, £0 7s 10d Total for the Hind, £13 10s 6d The general charges account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Coals for the smiths' shop, 122 bushels, £7 7s 5d Cordage for the crane and other uses, 2 cwt 3 qr 26 lb, £6 4s 3d Ironmongery 492 files, £11 14s 6d 228 file handles, £1 6s 5d Ironmongery subtotal carried forward, £13 0s 11d Carried forward, £26 11s 8d **Interpretations** The general charges took nearly 500 files in a single quarter, together with more than 120 bushels of coal for the smiths' shop. Blasting at Buttermilk Point and Banks's battery wore out drills, borers and wedges by the day, and each had to be reforged and filed back to an edge. The powder expended in October and December, nearly 800 lb for the stone blowers, was matched by the files and coal it took to keep their tools cutting. The *Hind*'s rice and arrack provisioned her crew for the two voyages to the Cape.
296	292	17 January Brought over £ 13 11 8 Iron Ware brought over £	The general charges account continued as follows. Brought forward, £13 11s 8d Ironmongery brought forward, £13 0s 11d

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		13 . 11 72 Butchers Files 20 16 4 1 Screw Plate . 3 4 3 Prs. Plyers . 4 . 1 lb. Spelter . 9 . ½ Borax . 2 1 1½ Emery . 6 . 6 Quire Emery Paper . 13 4 6 Drill Bores . 6 . 2 Do. Bows . 4 6 Smiths Shop 6 Smoothing Planes . 11 . 4 Trying Do. . 13 2 Carpenters Do. 192 Gimblets 2 3 2 1 Coopers Adze . 3 . 1 Backing Box . . . Coopers Do. 1 Chest Lock . 3 4 1 Iron Rimd Do. with Brass Knobs Store House . 6 2 3 Pickaxes . 11 3 4 Iron shovels . 10 2 3 Axe Helves . 3 . Church 1 Iron Pot wt. 52 lb. Carpr. Shop . 9 9 41 7 8 Deals Viz. 14 double Treasure Chests & Church 2 11 4 2 Wainst. Boards Bake House . 4 6 2 Coffins Crane . 8 2 3 3 11 Nails Viz. M 6 3 Coopers Shop . 4 2 10 10 Treasure Chests . 6 1 . 10 3 Canvas 13 Yds. Osnaburg Treasure Chests & Packets . 15 . Candles 6 lb. Secry. Office . 15 . Hooks and Lines Viz. 3 No. 2 Lines Store house . 1 8 4 Numbers Do. Treasure Chests . 6 4 2 lb. Twine Store house . 1 2 . 8 2 Carried over £ 61 9 8	72 rubber files for the smiths' shop, £20 16s 4d 1 screw plate for the smiths' shop, £0 3s 4d Pliers, 3 pairs, for the smiths' shop, £0 4s 0d 1 splitter for the smiths' shop, £0 2s 0d Borax, ½ lb, for the smiths' shop, £0 2s 1d Emery, 1½ lb, for the smiths' shop, £0 6s 0d Emery paper, 6 quires, for the smiths' shop, £0 13s 4d 6 drill borers for the smiths' shop, £0 6s 0d 2 drill bows for the smiths' shop, £0 4s 6d 6 smoothing planes for the carpenters' shop, £0 11s 0d 4 trying planes for the carpenters' shop, £0 13s 2d 192 gimlets, £2 3s 2d 1 cooper's adze for the cooper's shop, £0 3s 0d 1 backing iron for the cooper's shop, £0 3s 0d 1 chest lock, £0 3s 4d 4 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs for the warehouse, £0 6s 2d 3 pickaxes for the church, £0 11s 3d 4 iron shovels for the church, £0 10s 2d 3 ash helves for the church, £0 3s 0d 1 iron pot weighing 52 lb for the carpenters' shop, £0 9s 9d Ironmongery total, £41 7s 8d Timber 14 double deals for the treasure chests and the church, £2 11s 4d 2 wainscot boards for the bakehouse, £0 4s 6d 2 rafters for the crane, £0 8s 2d Timber total, £3 3s 11d Nails Threepenny nails for the cooper's shop, 6 lb, £0 4s 2d Tenpenny nails for the treasure chests, 10 lb, £0 6s 1d Nails total, £0 10s 3d Osnaburg for the treasure chests and packets, 13 yards, £0 15s 0d Candles for the Secretary's office, 6 lb, £0 15s 0d Hooks and lines 3 lines, number 2, for the warehouse, £0 1s 8d 4 Hamburg lines for the treasure chests, £0 6s 4d Twine for the warehouse, 2 skeins, £0 1s 2d Hooks and lines total, £0 9s 2d Carried forward, £61 9s 8d **Interpretations** Deals, tenpenny nails, osnaburg and Hamburg lines were all issued "for the treasure chests". They were the materials used to build, line and rope the eight chests of silver sent to Fort Marlborough by the *Princess Royal* in November. Coin was packed tight in wooden chests, wrapped in canvas against damp and bound with cord, then sealed so that any tampering on the voyage would show. The Company charged even the packing of its £16,000 0s 0d to the island's general account. The osnaburg "for packets" covered the bundles of official letters sent with the ships, wrapped in canvas against seawater.

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297	293	1780 Brought over £ Haberdashery Viz. 1 Yard Buckram Cryer of the Court . 1 1 1 lb. Colld. Thread Secry. Office . 3 1 ½ lb. Brown Do. . 3 4 ½ Gro. Shirt Buttons . . 7 Surplices 8 1 Long Cloth Viz. 1 Ps. No. 1 Surplices 4 19 3 8 Yds. 6 Cryer of the Court . 6 8 5 5 11 Tin Ware 6 lb. Solder . 4 8 Pitch &c. 8 lb. Rosin . 2 8 Lt. Govr. Kitchen Garden Lead Pipes &c. 1 Small Cock and Ball . 7 1 12 lb. Solder . 10 6 Chubs Spring . 17 7 Arrack 42 Galls. Men employed in Stores &c. 6 2 6 Braziers Ware three Qt. Tea Kettle . 11 3 Turners Ware 1 Hair Broom . 2 11 Tea 52 lb. Single 2 16 4 Given to his Majesty's Ship Warwick China Ware Viz. 12 Meat Dishes . 16 . 48 Do. Plates . 17 8 24 Soup Do. . 10 3 4 Guglets and Basons . 6 8 4 Chamber Pots . 6 . 24 Half Pint cups and Saucers . 12 2 Given to his Majesty's Ship Warwick 3 7 11 Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. 1 Sugar 1 7 1 3. 3 Candy 7 19 8 Do. 9 6 9 Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 2. 30 Rice . 18 10 23. 3. 14 Paddy 5 5 6 Do. 6 4 4 £ 96 10 7	The general charges account concluded as follows. Haberdashery Buckram for the crier of the Court, 1 yard, £0 1s 1d Coloured thread for the Secretary's office, 1 oz, £0 3s 1d Brown thread for surplices, ½ lb, £0 3s 4d Shirt buttons for surplices, ½ gross, £0 0s 7d Haberdashery total, £0 8s 1d Longcloth Longcloth, number 1, for surplices, 1 piece, £4 19s 3d Longcloth, number 6, for the crier of the Court, 8 yards, £0 6s 8d Longcloth total, £5 5s 11d Solder for the Lieutenant Governor's kitchen at Longwood, 6 lb, £0 4s 8d Rosin for the same, 8 lb, £0 2s 8d Lead pipe fittings for Chubb's Spring 1 small cock and ball, £0 7s 1d Solder, 12 lb, £0 10s 6d Lead pipe fittings total, £0 17s 7d Arrack for the men employed in the stores, 42 gallons, £6 2s 6d Given to HMS Warwick 1 three-quart tea kettle, £0 11s 3d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 11d Singlo tea, [...], £2 16s 4d 12 meat dishes, £0 16s 0d 48 meat plates, £0 17s 8d 24 soup plates, £0 10s 3d 4 goglets and basins, £0 6s 8d 4 chamber pots, £0 6s 0d 24 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 12s 2d China ware total, £3 7s 11d Sugar, 0 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £1 7s 1d Sugar candy, [...], £7 19s 8d Sugar and candy total, £9 6s 9d Rice, 2 cwt 2 qr 20 lb, £0 18s 10d Paddy, 23 cwt 3 qr 14 lb, £5 3s 6d Rice and paddy total, £6 2s 4d General charges total, £96 10s 7d **Interpretations** The Council's minute of October 1779 recorded only a gift of sugar candy and tea to the *Warwick*'s officers. The general charges show that the gift was much larger. It included a set of china for the wardroom table, a kettle, a broom, and nearly 26 cwt of rice and paddy, all charged to the Company at no cost to the ship. More than 23 cwt of paddy went to the King's ship. In the same months the Company's own slaves drew only a few hundredweight of rice a quarter, and the Council had refused rice to Company commanders on the ground of shortage. The escort's goodwill was valued above the slaves' ration, and the cost was buried in general expenses rather than set out in the minutes. The longcloth and thread for surplices provided new vestments for the chaplain at the Company's church. The fittings at Chubb's Spring were part of the island's water supply, the source of the pipes and ball cocks held in the warehouse.

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298	294	17 January Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31st Decr. 1779 - Oil Viz. 16 Gallons Linseed 3 7 0 2½ Do. Turpentine . 18 9 Castle and Plantation House 4 6 5 Deals Viz. 21 Double Castle Plant. House and Hospital 3 17 . 6 Single Lt. Govrs. House and Do. . 11 3 1 Coffin Hospital . 4 1 4 12 4 Nails 10 lb. 6 Hospital . 5 0 Paint Viz. 170 lb. White Lead dry Castle 2 13 1 48 Do. Mixed Lt. Govr. House . 17 3 1½ Verdigrease . 6 0 1¾ Prussian Blue 2 . 1 118 Whiting . 4 1 1 Vermillion . 3 7 Castle 6 1 4 Glass Ware Viz. 16 Squares 6 by 8 . 3 2 37 Do. 8 by 10 . 17 . 7 Do. 10 by 12 . 3 8 4 Do. 11 by 17 . 4 11 7 Do. 11 by 19 . 9 8 Do. and Plant. House 2 . 3 Iron Ware Viz. 2 Iron rimd Locks with Brs. Knobs Castle & Hospital . 12 3 1 Pr. H Hinges Hospital . 3 6 . 15 9 Turners Ware Viz. 9 Paint Brushes . 4 4 1 Plastr. Brush . 1 6 Castle and Plant. House . 5 10 £ 18 13 9	The repairs account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Oil for the Castle and Plantation House Linseed oil, 16 gallons, £3 7s 6d Turpentine, 2½ gallons, £0 18s 9d Oil total, £4 6s 3d Timber 21 double deals for the Castle, Plantation House and the hospital, £3 17s 0d 6 single deals for the Lieutenant Governor's house and other buildings, £0 11s 3d 1 rafter for the hospital, £0 4s 1d Timber total, £4 12s 4d Nails for the hospital, 10 lb, £0 5s 0d Paint Dry white lead for the Castle, 170 lb, £2 13s 1d Mixed white lead for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 45 lb, £0 17s 3d Verdigris for the Castle, 1½ lb, £0 6s 0d Prussian blue for the Castle, 1¾ lb, £2 0s 1d Whiting for the Castle, 11 lb, £0 4s 1d Vermilion for the Castle, 1 lb, £0 3s 7d Paint total, £6 1s 4d Glass for the Castle and Plantation House 16 panes, 6 by 8 inches, £0 3s 2d 37 panes, 8 by 10 inches, £0 17s 0d 7 panes, 10 by 12 inches, £0 5s 0d 4 panes, 11 by 17 inches, £0 4s 11d 7 panes, 11 by 19 inches, £0 9s 8d Glassware total, £2 0s 3d Ironmongery 2 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs for the Castle and the hospital, £0 12s 3d H-hinges for the hospital, 1 pair, £0 3s 6d Ironmongery total, £0 15s 9d Turnery for the Castle and Plantation House 2 paint brushes, £0 4s 4d 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 6d Turnery total, £0 5s 10d Total for repairs, £18 13s 9d **Interpretations** The Castle was repainted that quarter in colours that went beyond plain white. Prussian blue, verdigris green and vermilion were the costliest pigments in the store, and the Castle took nearly all that were issued. With the convoy gone and the season's ships departed, the Governor's residence and offices were refurbished in the quiet months, at the Company's expense. Plantation House, the Governor's country seat in the interior, was reglazed at the same time. The hospital, by contrast, received only deals, nails, a lock and a pair of hinges.
299	295	1780. - Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1779. - Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 17. -. 14 16 16 10 Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 2. 7 Sugar 3 9 6 4. 1. 24 Candy 9 10 6 13 . .	The diet expenses account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Flour, 17 cwt 0 qr 14 lb, £16 16s 10d Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 2 cwt 2 qr 7 lb, £3 9s 6d Sugar candy, 4 cwt 1 qr 24 lb, £9 10s 6d Sugar and candy total, £13 0s 0d Arrack, 168 gallons, £24 10s 0d Beef and pork Salt beef, 83 pieces, £11 10s 9d Salt pork, 47 pieces, £8 6s 6d Beef and pork total, £19 17s 3d

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		Arrack 168 Gallons 24 10 . Beef and Pork Viz. 63 Prs. Beef 11 10 9 47 Prs. Pork 8 6 6 19 17 3 Tea Viz. 19 lb. Single 1 . 7 3 Bohea . 1 10 3 Cannisters Hyson 1 3 . 2 5 5 Rice Cwt. qr. lb. 7. -. 20 2 17 6 Pease 1 Bushel . 9 2 Salt 1 Do. . 4 1 Spice Viz. 1 lb. Cinnamon . 17 . 1 Mace 1 7 . 12 lb. Pepper . 6 . 2 3 . Wine Viz. 56 Galls. Port 52 Do. Lisbon 55 Do. Sherry 6 1 6 26 Do. Old Hock 21 2 . 113 Do. Madeira 48 9 1 24 doz. Claret 69 12 7 194 5 2 Beer 133 Gallons 9 0 1 £ 283 16 6	Tea Singlo tea, 19 lb, £1 0s 7d Bohea tea, 3 lb, £0 1s 10d Hyson tea, 3 canisters, £1 3s 0d Tea total, £2 5s 5d Rice, 0 cwt 3 qr 20 lb, £2 19s 6d Peas, 1 bushel, £0 9s 2d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 4s 1d Spices Cinnamon, 1 lb, £0 17s 0d Mace, 1 lb, £1 1s 0d Pepper, 12 lb, £0 6s 0d Spices total, £2 3s 0d Wine Port, 56 gallons; Lisbon, 52 gallons; sherry, 55 gallons; together £61 1s 6d Old hock, 26 gallons, £21 2s 0d Madeira, 113 gallons, £42 9s 1d Claret, 24 dozen bottles, £69 11s 7d Wine total, £194 3s 2d Beer, 133 gallons, £9 0s 1d Total for diet expenses, £353 16s 6d **Interpretations** The diet account cost £353 16s 6d this quarter, against £31 13s 9d between July and September. The Company's official table had multiplied its spending more than elevenfold in three months. Almost all the increase lay in wine: 24 dozen bottles of claret, 26 gallons of old hock and more than 270 gallons of port, Lisbon, sherry and Madeira. October brought ten Company ships and a King's ship to the road, with commanders, officers and passengers to be entertained at the Castle until the convoy sailed. Claret and hock were the finest wines in the store, reserved for guests of rank. The cost of keeping the escort and the commanders in good humour appears here as plainly as in the gifts of china and rice to the *Warwick*.
300	296	17 January Allowance Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1779 - Soap 100 lb. Castle Linen 2 10 . Chelloe 5 Ps. Castle 2 11 4 Paint Viz. 10 lb. Blue Smalt . 17 6 10 Whiting . . 3 Castle . 17 9 Corks 19 Gross Do. 2 2 9 Earthen Ware Viz. 2 Red Tea pots . 2 . 2 Milk Pots . . 7 Do. . 2 7 Glass Ware Viz. 76 Wine Glasses 1 19 . 30 Beer Do. 1 1 3 18 Ale Do. . 9 9	The allowance account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Soap for the Castle linen, 100 lb, £2 10s 0d Chelloes for the Castle, 5 pieces, £2 11s 4d Paint for the Castle Blue smalts, 10 lb, £0 17s 6d Whiting, 10 lb, £0 0s 3d Paint total, £0 17s 9d Corks for the Castle, 19 gross, £2 2s 9d Earthenware for the Castle 2 red teapots, £0 2s 0d 2 milk pots, £0 0s 7d Earthenware total, £0 2s 7d Glassware for the Castle 26 wine glasses, £1 19s 0d 30 beer glasses, £1 1s 3d 18 ale glasses, £0 9s 9d 48 tumblers, £1 17s 0d 2 quart decanters, £0 4s 8d 2 pint decanters, £0 3s 1d Glassware total, £5 14s 9d Hooks and lines for the Governor's fisherman Fish hooks, number 7, 100, £0 3s 6d Fish hooks, number 16, 100, £0 0s 9d Fishing lines, number 2, 12, £0 3s 4d Fishing lines, number 3, 12, £0 4s 0d Hooks and lines for the Lieutenant Governor's fisherman Fish hooks, number 7, 25, £0 1s 4d

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		48 Tumblers 1 17 . 2 Quart Decanters . 4 8 2 Pint Do. . 3 1 Do. 5 14 9 Hooks and Lines Viz. 100 No. 7 . 3 6 100 16 . . 9 Hooks 12 2 . 3 4 12 3 . 4 . Lines Govr. Fishermen 25 No. 7 . 1 4 25 16 . . 2 Hooks 5 2 . 1 8 6 3 . 2 . Lines Lt. Govr. Fishermen 2½ Cotton wick Castle and Lt. Govr. House . 3 9 1 lb. Twine . . 7 1 Numbers Line . 1 4 Castle 1 6 5 Carried over £ 15 15 7	Fish hooks, number 16, 25, £0 0s 2d Fishing lines, number 2, 5, £0 1s 8d Fishing lines, number 3, 6, £0 2s 0d Cotton wick for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 2½ lb, £0 3s 9d Twine, 1 skein, £0 0s 7d 1 Hamburg line for the Castle, £0 1s 4d Hooks and lines total, £1 6s 5d Carried forward, £15 15s 7d **Interpretations** The Castle drew more than 120 glasses and four decanters in one quarter, in addition to the china given to the *Warwick* and the wine charged to the diet account. Breakage at a table entertaining naval officers and ships' commanders night after night through October explains much of it. The glassware bought for the Castle tracks the same season of entertaining as the claret and hock.
301	297	1780. - Brought over £ 15 15 7 Haberdashery Viz. 2 lb. Silk Govr. Fishermen . . 9 ½ Coloured Thread . 1 7 ½ lb. Brown Do. . 3 4 Castle . 5 8 Iron Ware 3 Iron Pots Cwt. lb. 2. 7 Castle . 11 10 Pitch &c. 10 lb. Pitch . 1 3 10 Rosin . 6 . Castle . 7 3 Tin Ware 6 lb. Solder Castle . 4 8 Sugar and Candy 30 lb. Sugar Groom & Gardener . 7 6 Tea 4 lb. Bohea Do. & Do. . 2 5 Saddlery Viz. 4 Cruppers . 6 9 4 Half Curb Bridles 1 19 4 Govr. Stables 2 6 1	The allowance account continued as follows. Brought forward, £15 15s 7d Haberdashery Silk for the Governor's fisherman, 2 skeins, £0 0s 9d Coloured thread for the Castle, ½ lb, £0 1s 7d Brown thread for the Castle, ½ lb, £0 3s 2d Haberdashery total, £0 5s 6d 3 iron pots for the Castle, weighing 0 cwt 2 qr 7 lb, £0 11s 10d Pitch and rosin for the Castle Pitch, 10 lb, £0 1s 3d Rosin, 10 lb, £0 6s 0d Pitch and rosin total, £0 7s 3d Solder for the Castle, 6 lb, £0 4s 8d Sugar for the Governor's groom and gardener, 30 lb, £0 7s 6d Bohea tea for the same, 4 lb, £0 2s 5d Saddlery for the Governor's stables 4 cruppers, £0 6s 9d 4 half-cheek bridles, £1 19s 4d Saddlery total, £2 6s 1d Canvas for the Castle English canvas, 4 yards, £0 4s 6d Osnaburg, 6 yards, £0 6s 0d Canvas total, £0 10s 6d Turnery 8 hair brooms for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, £1 3s 4d 18 birch brooms for the same, £0 9s 0d 7 scrubbing brushes for the same, £1 1s 1d 10 mops for the same, £0 13s 4d 12 punch ladles for the Castle, £0 7s 3d 6 punch strainers for the Castle, £0 5s 0d

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		Canvas Viz. 4 Yard English . 4 6 6 Do. Osnaburg . 6 . Castle . 10 6 Turners Ware Viz. 8 Hair Brooms 1 3 4 18 Birch Do. . 9 . 7 Scrubbing Brushes 1 1 1 10 Mops . 13 4 Castle and Lt. Govrs. House 12 Punch Ladles . 7 3 6 Do. Strainers . 5 . Castle 3 19 . China Ware Viz. 12 Bowls . 11 6 10 Sneakers . 3 3 12 Half Pint cups and Saucers . 5 7 12 Quart Do. Do. and Do. . 5 6 Castle 1 5 10 Long Cloth Viz. 2 Ps. No. 3 7 14 . 2 Ps. 5 2 19 9 2 Ps. 6 7 1 . Castle 17 13 . Carried over £ 51 11 8	Turnery total, £3 19s 0d China ware for the Castle 22 bowls, £0 11s 6d 10 sneakers, £0 3s 3d 12 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 7d 12 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 3s 6d China ware total, £1 3s 10d Longcloth for the Castle Longcloth, number 3, 2 pieces, £7 10s 0d Longcloth, number 5, 2 pieces, £2 17s 2d Longcloth, number 6, 2 pieces, £2 1s 0d Longcloth total, £11 13s 2d Carried forward, £37 17s 8d **Interpretations** The Castle drew 12 punch ladles, 6 punch strainers, 22 bowls and 10 sneakers in a single quarter. Punch made from arrack, sugar, lemons and spice was the staple drink of an East India Company table. A ladle and strainer were needed for every bowl, and a sneaker served each guest. The quantities replaced the breakages of a season in which the Castle had entertained the whole homeward fleet. The Governor's groom and gardener drew their tea and sugar from the Company's store as part of the Governor's allowance, so even the household servants of the senior officers were provisioned at public expense.
302	298	17 January - Brought over £ 37 17 8 Candles Viz. 178 lb. Castle 270 Council 30 Chaplain 25 Doctors Shop Cwt. qr. lb. 4. -. 14 54 8 4 Lead Viz. 9 lb. Sheet Govr. Fishermen . 1 11 8 Do. Lt. Govr. Do. . 1 8 . 3 7 Oil Viz. 14 Galls. Train Castle 3 10 . 28 Do. Do. Council 7 . . 10 10 . Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 3. 14 Rice . 13 2 47. 3. 13 Paddy 9 12 . Govr. Poultry and Horses 1. 1. 22 Rice	The allowance account concluded as follows. Brought forward, £37 17s 8d Candles For the Castle, 178 lb For the members of Council, 270 lb For the chaplain, 30 lb For the doctor's shop, 25 lb Candles total, 4 cwt 1 qr 27 lb, £54 8s 4d Lead shot Shot for the Governor's fisherman, 9 lb, £0 1s 11d Shot for the Lieutenant Governor's fisherman, 8 lb, £0 1s 8d Lead shot total, £0 3s 7d Oil Train oil for the Castle, 14 gallons, £3 10s 0d Train oil for the members of Council, 28 gallons, £7 0s 0d Oil total, £10 10s 0d Rice and paddy Rice for the Governor's poultry and horses, 1 cwt 3 qr 14 lb, £0 13s 2d Paddy for the Governor's poultry and horses, 47 cwt 3 qr 13 lb, £9 12s 0d Rice for the Lieutenant Governor's poultry and horses, 1 cwt 1 qr 22 lb, £0 12s 1d Paddy for the Lieutenant Governor's poultry and horses, 13 cwt 0 qr 2 lb, £2 12s 1d Rice and paddy total, £13 9s 4d Total for allowances, £115 8s 11d

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		. 12 1 13. -. 2 Paddy 2 12 1 Lt. Govr. Do. Do. 13 9 4 £ 115 8 11 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 Decr. 1779. - Tea Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 2. 23 Bohea Barracks and Guards 5 16 1 Oil Viz. 199 Galls. Train Do. Do. 49 15 . 1 Do. Linseed Mark. Blankets . 4 3 49 19 3 Paint Viz. ¼ Blacking . . 8 11 Whiting . . 5 . 1 1 Candles Cwt. qr. lb. -. 3. 8 Officers on Duty 9 19 4 Arrack 39 Galls. Mustering 5 13 9 Carried over £ 71 9 6	The garrison account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Bohea tea for the barracks and guards, 1 cwt 2 qr 25 lb, £8 16s 1d Oil Train oil for the barracks and guards, 149 gallons, £49 15s 0d Linseed oil for marking blankets, 1 gallon, £0 4s 3d Oil total, £49 19s 3d Paint Blacking, ¼ lb, £0 0s 8d Whiting, 11 lb, £0 0s 5d Paint total, £0 1s 1d Candles for the officers on duty, 3 cwt 0 qr 8 lb, £9 19s 4d Arrack for musters, 29 gallons, £2 13s 9d Carried forward, £71 9s 6d **Interpretations** The Governor's poultry and horses consumed nearly 48 cwt of paddy in this quarter. Between July and September they had taken 11½ cwt. Once the Madras and Bombay ships landed their grain, the allowance to the Governor's yard quadrupled. In the same months the Council was guarding its rice reserve against the slaves' needs and refusing rice to the Company's commanders. The allowance account shows where part of that grain went: into feed for the Governor's own birds and horses, charged to the Company as a perquisite of his office. The linseed oil "for marking blankets" was mixed with lampblack to stencil the Company's mark on each blanket issued to the garrison. A marked blanket could be identified if a soldier sold it, or if it was stolen and found in a planter's house.
303	299	1780 Brought over £ 71 9 6 Soldiers Cloaths Viz. 362 Soldiers Coats 368 Prs. Do. Breeches 533 12 10 104 Matrosses Coats 368 Prs. Do. Breeches 214 7 10 24 Corporals Coats and Breeches 36 19 2 24 Serjeants Do. and Do. 125 8 . 6 Artillery Do. Do. and Do. 30 7 2 4 Do. Corporals Do. and Do. 8 16 . 6 Bombardiers Do. and Do. 17 16 4 8 Gunners Do. and Do. 18 9 7 16 Drummers Do. and Do. 34 11 2 1 Marshals Coat and Breeches 2 11 8 8 Watch Coats 6 12 . 1029 11 9 Haberdashery Viz. 7½ White Brown Thread 2 9 6 18½ Coloured Do. 2 16 . 3 Gro. Broad Worsted Lace 2 14 2 8 Do. Narrow Do. Do. 4 14 8 1 Whalebone	The garrison account continued as follows. Brought forward, £71 9s 6d Soldiers' clothing 362 soldiers' coats and 368 pairs of breeches, £533 12s 10d 104 matrosses' coats and [...] pairs of breeches, £214 7s 10d 24 corporals' coats and breeches, £36 19s 2d 24 sergeants' coats and breeches, £125 8s 0d 6 artillery sergeants' coats and breeches, £30 7s 2d 4 artillery corporals' coats and breeches, £8 16s 0d 6 bombardiers' coats and breeches, £17 16s 4d 8 gunners' coats and breeches, £18 9s 7d 16 drummers' coats and breeches, £34 11s 2d 1 marshal's coat and breeches, £2 11s 8d 8 watch coats, £6 12s 0d Soldiers' clothing total, £1,029 11s 9d Haberdashery White and brown thread, 7½ lb, £2 9s 6d Coloured thread, 1½ lb, £2 16s 0d Broad worsted lace, 3 gross, £2 14s 2d Narrow worsted lace, 8 gross, £4 14s 8d Whalebone, 1 lb, £0 5s 4d 541 cockades, £8 14s 2d Haberdashery total, £21 13s 10d Shirts and linen 330 soldiers' shirts, £122 12s 1d 30 sergeants' shirts, £9 18s 0d 543 rollers, £12 18s 11d Shirts and linen total, £144 19s 0d Men's ordinary shoes, 370 pairs, £145 9s 1d Ordinary thread stockings, 380 pairs, £58 15s 10d Hats 338 soldiers' hats, £75 1s 4d 32 sergeants' hats, £18 18s 8d Hats total, £94 0s 0d

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		. 5 4 541 Cockades 8 14 2 21 13 10 Shirts Viz. 550 Soldiers 122 12 1 30 Serjeants 9 18 . 543 Rolers 12 18 11 144 19 . Shoes 370 Prs. Ordinary 145 9 1 Hosiery 386 Ordinary Thread Stockings 88 15 10 Hats Viz. 338 Soldiers 78 1 4 32 Serjeants 16 18 8 94 . . Blankets 34 Ordinary 19 7 . Carried over £ 1634 19 .	34 ordinary blankets, £19 7s 0d Carried forward, £1,634 19s 0d **Interpretations** This was the garrison's annual issue of clothing. Every man, from private and matross to sergeant, bombardier and drummer, received a new coat and breeches, a hat, a shirt, shoes and stockings, with cockades for the hats and worsted lace for the trimmings. The inventory of 30 September 1779 had held only 48 complete soldiers' suits. The full issue was possible only because the *Princess Royal* landed the year's clothing from England in October. The counts give an unusually precise picture of the garrison's strength at the end of 1779: about 360 infantry privates and more than 100 matrosses, with the sergeants, corporals, gunners, bombardiers and drummers who led them. Soldiers usually received their clothing at no charge, which was why the junior officers had pointed to it in August as the one issue the Company made without regard to rank.
304	300	17 January Brought over £ 1634 19 . Hooks and Lines Viz. 3 lb. Whip Cord . 10 3 3 lb. Cotton Wick . 7 8 . 17 11 Glass Ware Viz. 123 Squares 6 by 8 1 5 10 15 Do. 8 by 10 . 6 11 6 Hour Glasses . 5 . 1 17 9 Deals Viz. 10 Double 1 16 0 43 Single 4 . 8 Cots and Coffins 5 17 4 Canvas 69 Yds. English Cots 3 17 0 Nails Viz. M 16 3 . 11 . 21 6 . 11 10 2 20 . 1 9 Cots and Coffins 1 3 7 Iron Viz. 15 Wood axes 2 3 1 16 Axe Helves . 9 4 7 Large Frying Pans 1 11 10 1 Iron Shovel . 4 7 12 Iron Pots wt. Cwt. qr. lb. 3. 1. 17 3 15 9 Qr. lb. 2. 16 Iron	The garrison account continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,634 19s 0d Hooks and lines Whipcord, 3 lb, £0 10s 3d Cotton wick, 3 lb, £0 7s 8d Hooks and lines total, £0 17s 11d Glassware 125 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, £1 5s 10d 15 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 6s 11d 6 hourglasses, £0 5s 0d Glassware total, £1 17s 9d Timber for cots and coffins 10 double deals, £1 16s 8d 43 single deals, £4 0s 8d Timber total, £5 17s 4d English canvas for cots, 69 yards, £3 17s 8d Nails for cots and coffins Threepenny nails, 16 lb, £0 11s 0d Sixpenny nails, 21 lb, £0 11s 10d Nails, size 20, 2 lb, £0 0s 9d Nails total, £1 3s 7d Ironmongery for the barracks and guards 15 wood axes, £2 3s 1d 16 ash helves, £0 9s 4d 7 large frying pans, £1 11s 10d 1 iron shovel, £0 4s 7d 12 iron pots weighing 3 cwt 1 qr 21 lb, £3 16s 9d Iron, 0 cwt 2 qr 16 lb, £0 11s 8d Ironmongery total, £8 16s 3d Beef and pork issued to make up short weight Salt beef, 16 pieces, £3 5s 4d Salt pork, 742 pieces, £131 7s 11d Beef and pork total, £134 13s 3d Turnery for the barracks and guards 38 wooden bowls, £2 5s 10d 60 platters, £3 10s 0d Turnery total, £5 15s 10d Carried forward, £1,797 18s 7d **Interpretations** The garrison was issued 742 extra pieces of salt pork to make up for short weight. Salt meat was packed in England by the piece, each piece meant to weigh a set amount, and the soldier's ration was reckoned in pieces. After months at sea and in store, the meat shrank as the brine drew out its moisture. A ration counted by the piece left the men short in pounds. The Company made up the difference in kind, at a cost of more than £134 0s 0d for the quarter. That was a large sum, but a garrison fed

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		. 11 8 Barracks and Guards 8 16 3 Beef and Pork Viz. 16 Prs. Beef 742 Prs. Pork deficiency in weight 3 5 4 131 7 11 134 13 3 Turners Ware Viz. 38 Wood Bowls 60 Platters Barracks & Guards 2 5 10 3 10 . 5 15 10 Carried over £ 1797 18 7	short in wartime, after a year of reduced bread, was a risk the Council would not take.
305	301	1780 Brought over £ 1797 18 7 Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 1. 10 1 5 7 Sugar 10 lb. . 2 6 Rice 20 lb. . 1 4 £ 1799 8 . Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31 Decr. 1779. - Rice Cwt. qr. lb. 183. 3. 4 64 6 6 Beef and Pork Viz. 743 Prs. Beef 162 12 7 1903 Prs. Pork 315 14 9 478 7 4 Sugar Cwt. qr. lb. 5. -. 10 6 17 11 Flour 12 lb. . 2 2 Soap 8 lb. . 5 . Salt ½ Bushel . 2 . Arrack 39 Gallons 5 13 9 Tea Cwt. lb. 2. 26 Bohea 8 7 9 Candles 7 lb. . 2 2 Hosiery Viz. 24 Prs. ordinary Thread Stockings Castle Servts. 3 13 6 14 Prs. Womens Worsted Do. 1 16 6 5 10 . Hooks and Lines Viz. 397 No. 7 1 . 8 52 9 . 1 1 382 12 . 6 3 127 16 . . 11 102 18 . . 7 328 13 . 3 1 Hooks 160 2 2 4 9	The garrison account concluded as follows. Brought forward, £1,797 18s 7d Flour, 1 cwt 1 qr 10 lb, £1 5s 7d Sugar, 0 cwt 0 qr 10 lb, £0 2s 6d Rice, 0 cwt 0 qr 20 lb, £0 1s 4d Total for the garrison, £1,799 8s 0d The account of stores issued to the slaves between 1 October and 31 December 1779 began as follows. Rice, 183 cwt 3 qr 4 lb, £64 6s 6d Beef and pork Salt beef, 747 pieces, £162 12s 7d Salt pork, 1,783 pieces, £315 14s 9d Beef and pork total, £478 7s 4d Sugar, 3 cwt 0 qr 10 lb, £6 17s 11d Flour, 12 lb, £0 2s 2d Soap, [...], £0 0s 5d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 2s 0d Arrack, 39 gallons, £5 13s 9d Bohea tea, 0 cwt 1 qr 26 lb, £8 7s 9d Candles, 7 lb, £0 2s 2d Hosiery Ordinary thread stockings, 24 pairs, £3 13s 6d Women's worsted stockings, 14 pairs, £1 18s 6d Hosiery total, £5 12s 0d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 7, 397, £1 0s 8d Fish hooks, number 9, 52, £0 1s 1d Fish hooks, number 12, 382, £0 6s 3d Fish hooks, number 16, 127, £0 0s 11d Fish hooks, number 18, 102, £0 0s 7d Fish hooks, number 13, 328, £0 3s 1d Fishing lines, number 2, 160, £2 4s 9d Fishing lines, number 3, 168, £2 15s 2d Hooks and lines total, £6 11s 6d Carried forward, £576 10s 6d **Interpretations** The slaves' rice rose from 12½ cwt between July and September to nearly 184 cwt in this quarter, almost fifteen times as much. The reserve the Council had guarded all autumn was released only after the convoy sailed on 24 October 1779 and the ships' demands ended. In the same months the slaves also received 747 pieces of beef and 1,783 of pork, against 311 lb of beef and 920 pieces of pork before. Their ration had been held to yams and a little salt meat while the island victualled the fleet. Once the ships were gone, the Company restored the slaves' grain. Throughout 1779 the slaves' diet was the reserve against which every other demand was balanced, and it recovered last.

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		168 3 2 15 2 Lines 6 11 6 Carried over £ 576 10 6	
306	302	17 January - Brought over £ 576 10 6 Haberdashery Viz. 4½ White Brown Thread 1 11 6 9½ Coloured Do. 1 10 1 14 Prs. Tape . 7 11 3 9 6 Lead 10 lb. Sheet . 2 1 Iron Ware 7 Iron Pots wt. Cwt. lb. 1. 21 1 4 11 Shoes Viz. 124 Prs. Mens ordinary 31 2 7 26 Prs. Womens Calf Leather 4 1 3 35 3 10 Shirts 24 Soldiers Castle Servants 5 7 . Blankets 9 ordinary 3 4 6 Canvas 113 Yds. Osnaburg 5 13 . Spice 5 lb. Pepper . 2 6 Sailors Cloaths Viz. 131 Mens Jackets 41 6 . 131 Prs. Do. Breeches 26 13 9 133 Prs. Do. Drawers 11 4 4 262 Do. Checked Shirts 43 14 . 16 Boys Jackets 4 15 9 16 Prs. Do. Breeches 2 13 9 15 Prs. Do. Drawers . 18 9 32 Do. Shirts 4 9 4 148 Hats 12 7 10 153 3 9 Chelloe 4 Pieces 2 1 1 Long Cloth 32. 2 Yds. No. 6 33 . 4 Cutlery Ware Viz. 24 Horn Combs . 7 . 18 Buckling . 8 3 . 15 3 Turners Ware 1 Plastr. Brush . 1 6 Oil 8 Galls. Train 2 . . £ 822 . 8	The account of stores issued to the slaves concluded as follows. Brought forward, £576 10s 6d Haberdashery White and brown thread, 4¾ lb, £1 11s 6d Coloured thread, 9¾ lb, £1 10s 1d Tape, 14 pieces, £0 7s 11d Haberdashery total, £3 9s 6d Sheet lead, 10 lb, £0 2s 1d 7 iron pots weighing 1 cwt 0 qr 21 lb, £1 4s 11d Shoes Men's ordinary shoes, 124 pairs, £31 2s 7d Women's calf leather shoes, 26 pairs, £4 1s 3d Shoes total, £35 3s 10d 24 soldiers' shirts for the Castle servants, £5 7s 0d 9 ordinary blankets, £3 4s 6d Osnaburg, [...] yards, £5 12s 0d Pepper, 5 lb, £0 2s 6d Sailors' clothing 131 new jackets, £47 6s 0d New breeches, 131 pairs, £26 13s 9d New drawers, 133 pairs, £11 4s 4d 262 new checked shirts, £43 14s 0d 16 boys' jackets, £4 18s 8d Boys' breeches, 16 pairs, £2 13s 8d Boys' drawers, 15 pairs, £0 18s 9d 32 boys' shirts, £4 9s 4d 148 hats, £12 7s 10d Sailors' clothing total, £153 5s 9d Chelloes, 4 pieces, £2 1s 1d Longcloth, number 6, 32 pieces 2 yards, £55 0s 4d Cutlery 24 horn combs, £0 7s 0d 18 buckle combs, £0 8s 3d Cutlery total, £0 15s 3d Turnery, 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 6d Train oil, 8 gallons, £2 0s 0d Total for the slaves, £822 0s 8d **Interpretations** The Company clothed its slaves for the year in sailors' slops: ready-made jackets, breeches, drawers and checked shirts, together with hats, all bought from the stocks landed for seamen. The counts give the size of the Company's own slave force: about 131 men, with 16 boys, each issued a jacket, breeches, drawers, a hat and two shirts. Ready-made slops cost the Company less than having cloth cut and sewn on the island, and they arrived in bulk from England with the year's stores. Most of the women were evidently clothed from the chelloes and longcloth issued alongside, made up on the plantations. The 124 pairs of men's shoes were a substantial issue. Many slave owners in the Atlantic colonies issued no shoes at all, and the stony ground of St Helena's interior made them a working necessity.
307	303	1780. - Mallays Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1st October to the 31st December - 1779 Rice Cwt. qr. lb. 1. 2. 24	The Malays' account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Rice, 1 cwt 2 qr 24 lb, £0 12s 2d

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		. 12 2 Sugar 1. 17 . 11 1 Flour 25 . 4 3 Soap 3 . 1 6 Arrack 8½ Gallons 1 4 10 Salt ¼ Bushel . 1 . Tea Viz. 1 lb. Congo . 1 1 2 lb. Bohea . 1 3 . 2 4 Shoes 2 Prs. Mens fine . 12 2 Spice 1 lb. Pepper . . 6 Hooks and Lines 50 No. 18 Hooks . . 5 Hosiery Viz. 2 Prs. Ordy. Thread Stockings . 6 2 1 Pr. Buff worsted Breeches . 8 10 . 15 . Haberdashery Viz. 2 doz. Mohair Coat Buttons . 1 8 2 Do. Do. Breast Do. . . 10 ½ Yard Buckram . . 7 ½ Coloured Thread . 1 7 ¼ White Brown Do. . 3 4 . 8 . Blankets 1 Ordinary . 7 2 Beef 14 Pieces 4 2 9 Serge 3 Yds. Scarlet 1 7 11 Long Cloth ½ Ps. No. 4 1 4 0 China Ware Viz. 2 Meat dishes . 2 8 6 Do. Plates . 2 3 6 Sneakers . 1 8 2 Bowls . 1 11 . 8 8 £ 12 7 3	Sugar, 0 cwt 1 qr 17 lb, £0 11s 1d Flour, 0 cwt 0 qr 25 lb, £0 4s 3d Soap, 3 lb, £0 1s 6d Arrack, 8½ gallons, £1 4s 10d Salt, ¼ bushel, £0 1s 0d Tea Congou tea, 1 lb, £0 1s 1d Bohea tea, 2 lb, £0 1s 3d Tea total, £0 2s 4d Men's fine shoes, 2 pairs, £0 12s 2d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Fish hooks, number 18, 50, £0 0s 5d Hosiery Ordinary thread stockings, 2 pairs, £0 6s 2d Buff worsted breeches, 1 pair, £0 8s 10d Hosiery total, £0 15s 0d Haberdashery Mohair coat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 1s 8d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 0s 10d Buckram, ½ yard, £0 0s 7d Coloured thread, ½ lb, £0 1s 7d White and brown thread, ½ lb, £0 3s 4d Haberdashery total, £0 8s 0d Ordinary blankets, [...], £0 7s 2d Salt beef, 19 pieces, £4 2s 9d Scarlet serge, 3 yards, £1 7s 11d Longcloth, number 4, 1 piece, £1 4s 0d China ware 2 meat dishes, £0 2s 8d 6 meat plates, £0 2s 3d 6 sneakers, £0 1s 8d 2 bowls, £0 1s 11d China ware total, £0 8s 6d Total for the Malays, £12 7s 3d **Interpretations** The Malays' issues looked nothing like the slaves'. They received fine shoes, buff breeches, scarlet serge with mohair buttons and buckram to stiffen the coat, congou tea, and plates, dishes and bowls of china. That was the clothing and tableware of a livery servant, not the slops and chelloes issued to the Company's field slaves. The Malays were evidently a small body of household servants, probably employed at the Castle, who were clothed in a uniform and fed from their own table. Their status was clearly higher than that of the plantation slaves, although the Company still accounted for them in the same ledger.
308	304	17 January - Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31 December 1779 - Iron Ware Viz. 1 Axletree and Winch . 4 5 1 Edging Iron . 3 11 4 Prs. Garden Shears . 13 4 12 Spring Rat Traps . 12 . Gardens 4 Prs. Sheep Shears . 6 .	The plantation account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Ironmongery 1 whetstone and winch for the gardens, £0 4s 5d 1 edging iron for the gardens, £0 3s 11d Garden shears, 4 pairs, for the gardens, £0 13s 4d 12 spring rat traps for the gardens, £0 12s 0d Sheep shears, 4 pairs, for the pastures, £0 6s 0d 10 scythes for the gardens and pastures, £2 19s 3d 48 scythe stones for the gardens and pastures, £0 11s 0d

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		10 Scythes 2 19 3 48 Scythe Stones . 11 . 1 Grindstone . 5 . 2 Iron Shovels . 9 1 6 Pickaxes 1 2 11 Gardens Pastures &c. 7 5 11 Cutlery Viz. 11 Pruning Knives . 14 . 6 Shoe Do. . 2 6 16 Butchers Do. . 6 8 Gardens 1 3 2 Cart Wheels 12 Wheel Barrows Hooks and Lines Viz. 8 No. 2 2 2 3 3 4 . 1 2 Gardens 3 5 . Oil 1 Gall. Train . 5 . Pitch &c. 1 Gall. Tar Carts . 1 6 Nails Viz. M 10 6 . 10 2 2 10 . 1 1 Gates &c. 11 3 Tin Ware 7 Watering Pots Gardens 1 6 5 Beef 17 Pieces Steward 3 14 . Rice and Paddy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 5. 1. 2 Rice Overseers and Steward 1 16 11 5. -. 2 Paddy Sheep 1 . 1 2 17 . £ 27 6 2	1 grindstone for the gardens and pastures, £0 5s 0d 2 iron shovels for the gardens and pastures, £0 9s 1d 6 pickaxes for the gardens and pastures, £1 2s 11d Ironmongery total, £7 5s 11d Cutlery for the gardens 11 pruning knives, £0 14s 0d 6 shoe knives, £0 2s 6d 16 butchers' knives, £0 6s 8d Cutlery total, £1 3s 2d 12 wheelbarrows, £[...] Hooks and lines for the gardens Fishing lines, number 2, 8, £0 2s 3d Fishing lines, number 4, 3, £0 1s 2d Hooks and lines total, £0 3s 5d Train oil, 1 gallon, £0 5s 0d Tar for the carts, 1 gallon, £0 1s 6d Nails for the gates and other work Sixpenny nails, 18 lb, £0 10s 2d Tenpenny nails, 2 lb, £0 1s 1d Nails total, £0 11s 3d 7 watering pots for the gardens, £1 6s 5d Salt beef for the steward, 17 pieces, £3 14s 0d Rice and paddy Rice for the overseers and steward, 5 cwt 1 qr 12 lb, £1 16s 11d Paddy for the sheep, 5 cwt 0 qr 2 lb, £1 0s 1d Rice and paddy total, £2 17s 0d Total for the plantation, £27 6s 2d **Interpretations** Ten scythes, 48 scythe stones and four pairs of sheep shears went to the Company's gardens and pastures in a single quarter. October to December was the southern spring and early summer, when grass grew fastest and hay was cut. After a drought that had killed hundreds of cattle, the Company was making hay against the next dry season instead of relying on open grazing. The plantation was also feeding paddy to its sheep. Rice that the slaves had gone without through the autumn was now used to keep the rebuilt flock alive.
309	305	1780 - Hospital Dr. for the following stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31st December 1779 - Sugar and Candy Viz. Cwt. qr. lb. 6. 3. 26 Sugar 9 9 1 11 lb. Candy . 7 2 9 16 3 Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 6. 3. 8 6 10 2 Rice 6. 3. 8 2 7 10 Tea 2. 11 Bohea 2 . 3 Arrack 10 Galls. 1 9 2 Coals 28 Bushels 1 13 10 Corks 1½ Gross . 3 5	The hospital account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 6 cwt 3 qr 26 lb, £9 9s 1d Sugar candy, 11 lb, £0 7s 2d Sugar and candy total, £9 16s 3d Flour, 6 cwt 3 qr 8 lb, £6 10s 2d Rice, 6 cwt 3 qr 8 lb, £2 7s 10d Bohea tea, [...], £2 0s 3d Arrack, 10 gallons, £1 9s 2d Coals, 28 bushels, £1 15s 10d Corks, 1½ gross, £0 3s 5d Salt, 1½ bushels, £0 6s 1d Train oil, 21½ gallons, £5 7s 6d Red bunting, 4 yards, £0 2s 9d English canvas, 4 yards, £0 4s 6d Ironmongery 2 wood axes, £0 5s 11d 3 ash helves, £0 1s 9d 1 maul, £0 8s 11d 1 large frying pan, £0 4s 7d

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		Salt 1½ Bushel . 6 1 Oil 21½ Galls. Train 5 7 6 Bunting 4 Yds. Red . 2 4 Canvas 4 Yds. English . 4 6 Iron Ware Viz. 2 Wood Axes . 5 11 3 Axe Helves . 1 9 1 Maul . 8 11 1 Large Frying Pan . 4 7 2 Spring Rat Traps . 2 . 1 Iron Shovel . 4 7 3 Iron Pots wt. qr. lb. 2. 18 . 14 . 2 2 9 Turners Ware Viz. 3 Hair Brooms . 8 9 3 Mops . 4 . 3 Scrubbing Brushes . 9 3 12 Wood Bowls . 14 6 12 Platters . 14 . 2 Labourers Baskets . 2 2 2 12 8 Long Cloth Viz. 1 Ps. No. 3 1 8 7 2 Ps. 6 2 1 2 3 9 9 Wine 20 Gallons Port 14 16 8 Carried over £ 53 3 7	2 spring rat traps, £0 2s 0d 1 iron shovel, £0 4s 7d 3 iron pots weighing 0 cwt 2 qr 10 lb, £0 14s 0d Ironmongery total, £2 2s 9d Turnery 3 hair brooms, £0 8s 9d 3 mops, £0 4s 0d 3 scrubbing brushes, £0 9s 3d 12 wooden bowls, £0 14s 6d 12 platters, £0 14s 0d 2 labourers' baskets, £0 2s 2d Turnery total, £2 12s 8d Longcloth Longcloth, number 3, 1 piece, £1 8s 7d Longcloth, number 6, 2 pieces, £2 1s 2d Longcloth total, £3 9s 9d Port wine, 20 gallons, £14 16s 0d Carried forward, £53 3s 7d **Interpretations** The hospital's largest single item for the quarter was 20 gallons of port, which cost more than all its flour, rice and tea put together. Port was given to the sick as a restorative, especially to men weakened by fever or scurvy. The Company had just paid Captain Ker for port issued to the recruits on the *Princess Royal* for the same reason. Between July and September the hospital drew no wine at all. The port was probably needed for the sick seamen and recruits landed from the season's ships, together with the soldiers on the hospital's own wards. The hospital also drew nearly 7 cwt each of sugar, flour and rice. The sugar alone was more than in any quarter of the year, now that the China ships' cargoes had reached the stores.
310	306	17 January - Brought over £ 53 3 7 Serge 8 Yds. Green 1 15 . Hooks and Lines 1 lb. Cotton Wick . 1 4 £ 54 19 11 Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st Decr. 1779 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 16. 1. 27 34 7 6 Leather 4 lb. Sole . 4 4 Anchors 1 Grapnail qr. lb. 3. 4 1 6 10 Deals Viz. 7 Double 1 5 8 2 Single . 3 9 2 Balks 1 2 6 1 Pr. Elm Plank 2 8 4 5 . 3 Iron Ware Viz.	The hospital account for the quarter closed with these items. Brought forward, £53 3s 7d Green serge, 8 yards, £1 15s 0d Cotton wick, [...], £0 1s 4d Total for the hospital, £54 19s 11d The boats account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Cordage, 16 cwt 1 qr 27 lb, £34 7s 6d Sole leather, 4 lb, £0 4s 4d 1 grapnel anchor weighing 0 cwt 3 qr 4 lb, £1 6s 10d Timber 7 double deals, £1 5s 8d 2 single deals, £0 3s 9d 2 balks, £1 2s 6d Elm plank, 1 load, £2 8s 4d Timber total, £5 0s 3d Ironmongery 2 large frying pans, £0 9s 1d 2 iron pots weighing 0 cwt 1 qr 16 lb, £0 8s 3d Ironmongery total, £0 17s 4d Nails, size 20, 6 lb, £0 2s 2d 7 small oars, £1 6s 3d Tar, 1 barrel, £1 16s 1d Haberdashery for cushions for the cutter

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		2 Large Frying Pans . 9 1 2 Iron Pots wt. qr. lb. 1. 16 . 8 8 . 17 4 Nails 6 lb. 20 . 2 2 Oars 7 Small 1 6 3 Pitch &c. 1 Barrl. Tar 1 16 1 Haberdashery Ware Viz. ½ lb. Coloured Thread . . 9 ¼ Gro. broad worsted Lace . 4 6 Cushions for Cutter . 5 3 Canvas 30 Yds. Osnaburg 1 10 . Serge 4½ Yds. Green Cushions for Cutter 1 7 0 Arrack 2½ Gallons . 7 4 Turners Ware Viz. 1 Wood Bowl . 1 2 1 Platter . 1 3 2 Mops . 2 8 6 Birch Brooms . 3 . . 8 1 £ 48 19 1	Coloured thread, ½ lb, £0 0s 9d Broad worsted lace, ¼ gross, £0 4s 6d Haberdashery total, £0 5s 3d Osnaburg, 30 yards, £1 10s 0d Green serge for cushions for the cutter, 4½ yards, £1 7s 8d Arrack, 2½ gallons, £0 7s 4d Turnery 1 wooden bowl, £0 1s 2d 1 platter, £0 1s 3d 2 mops, £0 2s 8d 6 birch brooms, £0 3s 0d Turnery total, £0 8s 1d Total for the boats, £48 19s 1d **Interpretations** The boats took more than 16 cwt of cordage in the quarter, nearly all of the account's cost. Between July and September they had drawn less than half a hundredweight. In October the Company's boats worked almost without pause between the landing place and ten ships and a man-of-war in the road. They carried flour, salt meat, water, coal and canvas out to the ships, and brought the season's stores ashore. Hawsers and tow lines wore out quickly on the rocks and the crane, so the replacements came in bulk. The green serge cushions trimmed with worsted lace were for the cutter that the Company had bought from Captain Fraser in June 1779. A cushioned boat was the island's barge of ceremony. It carried the Governor and his guests out to visiting ships and brought commanders and naval officers ashore to dine at the Castle.
311	307	1780 - Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1st October to the 31st Decr. 1779 - Bunting Viz. Ps. Yds. 3 . Broad Blue 5 2 . 2. 13 Narrow Do. 2 4 . 2. Broad White 3 . . 2. 23 Narrow Do. 2 . 8 2 Broad Red 4 . 6 Flags 16 7 2 Haberdashery 3 lb. Coloured Thread Flags . 9 3 Canvas Viz. 229 Yds. English, Lime bags 11 9 9 26 Do. Osnaburg, Flags 1 6 . 13 15 9 Hooks and Lines Viz. 27 No. 3 . 8 10 2 4 . . 9 2 Numbers . 2 8 Artillery 36 lb. Twine Lime Bags 1 1 . 1 13 3 Candles 3 lb. Artillery . 6 6 Cordage 19 Do. 1 7 1	The fortifications account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Bunting for flags Broad blue bunting, 2 pieces, £5 2s 0d Narrow blue bunting, 2 pieces 13 yards, £2 4s 0d Broad white bunting, 2 pieces, £3 0s 0d Narrow white bunting, 2 pieces 23 yards, £2 0s 8d Broad red bunting, 2 pieces, £4 0s 6d Bunting total, £16 7s 2d Coloured thread for flags, 3 oz, £0 9s 3d Canvas English canvas for lime bags, 229 yards, £11 9s 9d Osnaburg for flags, 26 yards, £1 6s 0d Canvas total, £12 15s 9d Hooks and lines Lines, number 3, for the artillery, 27, £0 8s 10d Lines, number 4, for the artillery, 2, £0 0s 9d Hamburg lines for the artillery, 2, £0 2s 8d Twine for lime bags, 36 skeins, £1 1s 0d Hooks and lines total, £1 13s 3d Candles for the artillery, 3 lb, £0 6s 6d Cordage for the artillery, 19 lb, £1 7s 1d Timber 6 double deals for Banks's guard house and covers for the mortar beds, £1 2s 0d 1 single deal for the same, £0 1s 11d 1 elm board for the crane on the beach, £0 4s 1d Elm plank for Banks's cutter and gun carriages, 1½ loads, £3 13s 6d Oak plank for the crane on the beach, 1 load, £2 5s 7d Ash plank for Powell's Valley and other works, 1½ loads, £2 16s 2d 1 spar for Powell's Valley, £1 12s 2d Timber total, £11 13s 2d Nails

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		Deals Viz. 6 Double 1 Single Banks's Guard House and Covers for Mortar Beds 1 2 . . 1 11 1 Elm Board for the Crabs on the Beach . 4 1 1½ Pr. Elm plank Banks's Cellars and Spare 3 13 6 1 Pr. Oak Do. Crab on the Beach 2 5 7 1½ Pr. Ash Plank Powels Valley and Helves 2 14 2 1 Spar Powels Valley 1 12 2 11 13 2 Nails Viz. M 2 6 Banks's Guard House and Covers for Mortar Beds . 1 8 6 Spike Crab on the Beach . 1 11 2 Glaz. Brads Artillery . 2 10 . 6 5 Carried over £ 44 19 7	Sixpenny nails for Banks's guard house and covers for the mortar beds, 3 lb, £0 1s 8d Spikes for the crane on the beach, 6 lb, £0 1s 11d Glazing brads for the artillery, 2 lb, £0 2s 10d Nails total, £0 6s 5d Carried forward, £44 19s 7d **Interpretations** Much of this quarter's spending on the fortifications went on signal flags. Five colours of bunting in broad and narrow widths, with osnaburg and coloured thread, made more than £17 0s 0d of new flags. The island had bought bunting from the *Queen* in October and then passed some of its stock to the *Warwick*. These issues replaced the flags of the signal posts, which had worn out through a year of frequent alarms and arrivals. The island's whole warning system depended on hoists that the Castle could read at a distance. The canvas and twine for lime bags supplied the kilns with sacks to carry burnt lime to the works at Buttermilk Point and Banks's battery. Covers for the mortar beds protected the timber platforms of the heavy sea mortars from sun and rain, so that the beds would not warp and throw off the aim.
312	308	17 January - Brought over £ 44 19 7 Oil Viz. 10 Galls. Linseed 2 2 4 ½ Do. Train . 2 6 2 4 10 Paint Viz. 32 lb. White Lead Mixed . 12 6 38 Do. Dry . 18 10 Gun Carriages 4 Blacking . 11 6 6 Whiting Powels Valley . . 2 2 3 . Pitch &c. 4 Pitch . . 6 3 Galls. Tar . 4 6 Gun Carriages . 5 . Iron Ware 2 Iron Shovels Artillery . 8 1 Turners Ware Viz. 1 Hair Broom Do. . 2 11 7 Paint Brushes Gun Carriages . 3 6 . 6 5 Arrack 3½ Galls. . 10 3 £ 50 9 2 Buttermilk Point Dr. for the following stores Issued from 1 Oct. to the 31st Decr. 1779 - Iron Ware Viz. 20 Axe Helves . 12 1 3 Mauls 1 6 8 2 Bricklayers Trowels . 2 8	The fortifications account for the quarter closed with these items. Brought forward, £44 19s 7d Oil Linseed oil, 10 gallons, £2 2s 4d Train oil, ½ gallon, £0 2s 6d Oil total, £2 4s 10d Paint Mixed white lead for gun carriages, 32 lb, £0 12s 0d Dry white lead for gun carriages, 38 lb, £0 10s 10d Blacking for gun carriages, 4 lb, £0 11s 6d Whiting for Powell's Valley, 6 lb, £0 0s 2d Paint total, £1 15s 6d Pitch and tar for gun carriages Pitch, 4 lb, £0 0s 6d Tar, 3 gallons, £0 4s 6d Pitch and tar total, £0 5s 0d 2 iron shovels for the artillery, £0 8s 1d Turnery 1 hair broom for the artillery, £0 2s 11d 7 paint brushes for gun carriages, £0 3s 6d Turnery total, £0 6s 5d Arrack, 3½ gallons, £0 10s 3d Total for the fortifications, £50 9s 8d The account for Buttermilk Point was debited with the following stores issued between 1 October and 31 December 1779. Ironmongery 20 ash helves, £0 12s 1d 3 mauls, £1 6s 8d 2 bricklayers' trowels, £0 2s 8d 12 masons' tools, £0 16s 9d 1 large frying pan, £0 4s 7d 1 iron pot weighing 0 cwt 1 qr 9 lb, £0 7s 0d Iron, 2 cwt 3 qr 27 lb, £2 18s 10d Steel, 0 cwt 3 qr 23 lb, £1 17s 11d Ironmongery total, £8 1s 6d Carried forward, £8 1s 6d **Interpretations** The new gun carriages built from the elm and ash plank were finished with white lead in linseed oil, then blacked and tarred. Timber carriages left bare in the island's sun, wind and salt spray soon split and rotted, so a gun could be put out of action by its mounting long before its barrel failed. The painting

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		12 Masons Tools . 16 9 1 Large Frying Pan . 4 7 1 Iron Pot wt. qr. lb. 1. 9 . 7 . Cwt. qr. lb. 2. 3. 27 Iron 2 13 10 3. 23 Steel 1 17 11 8 1 6 Carried over £ 8 1 6	completed work that had begun in the spring with the issue of timber for carriages at Holdfast Tom and Powell's Valley. The frying pan and iron pot for Buttermilk Point show that the working parties cooked on site, which suggests that the men stayed at the works rather than marching back to the barracks each day.
313	309	1780. - Brought Over £ 8 1 6 Deals Viz. 1 Double . 3 8 2 Single . 3 9 3 Balks 2 16 3 3 3 8 Lead 8 lb. Sheet . 1 8 Nails 7 - 40 . 2 4 Turners Ware Viz. 4 Wood Bowls . 4 8 4 Platters . 4 10 12 Labourers Baskets . 13 . 1 2 6 £ 12 11 8 St. Helena 31st December 1779. - Errors Excepted Signed John Goodwin Storekeeper	The account for Buttermilk Point for the quarter closed with these items. Brought forward, £8 1s 6d Timber 1 double deal, £0 3s 8d 2 single deals, £0 3s 9d 3 balks, £2 16s 3d Timber total, £3 3s 8d Sheet lead, 8 lb, £0 1s 8d Nails, size 40, 7 lb, £0 2s 4d Turnery 4 wooden bowls, £0 4s 6d 4 platters, £0 4s 10d 12 labourers' baskets, £0 13s 0d Turnery total, £1 2s 6d Total for Buttermilk Point, £12 11s 8d John Goodwin, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 31 December 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** John Goodwin signed this account as storekeeper. Jonathan Doveton had signed every earlier quarter's account, but he had sailed for England in the *Glatton* in October. Goodwin, the next senior factor, held the post in an acting capacity under the Council's appointment of 4 October 1779 until the Court of Directors confirmed a successor. The first full quarter of his charge was the busiest the stores had known all year. It covered the victualling and refitting of the whole homeward convoy, the garrison's annual issue of clothing and the release of the rice reserve to the slaves.
314	310	17 January List of the Honble. Company's Servants Civil and Military Upon the Island of St. Helena with their several Salaries, Diet Money &c. for the Quarter Ending the 31st Day of December 1779 - John Skottowe Esqr. Governor 150 . . Do. Allowance for Servants 31 14 9 181 14 9 Daniel Corneille Esqr. Lt. Govr. 62 10 . Do. Diet Money 25 . . 87 10 . Mattw. Bazett Esqr. of Council 22 10 . Do. Accountant 27 10 . Do. Diet Money 15 . . 65 . . Wm. Wrangham Esqr. of Council 10 . . Do. Diet Money 15 . .	The pay list for the Company's civil and military servants on St Helena, covering the quarter ending 31 December 1779, began as follows. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £150 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe total, £181 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Daniel Corneille total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, member of Council, salary, £22 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, as accountant, £27 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett total, £65 0s 0d William Wrangham, member of Council, salary, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, as paymaster, £27 10s 0d William Wrangham total, £62 10s 0d Henry Bazett, member of Council, salary, £10 0s 0d Robert Carr, chaplain, salary, £55 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, storekeeper, to 22 October, £12 5s 0d

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		Do. Assist. to the Governor 10 . . Do. Paymaster 27 10 . 62 10 . Henry Bazett Esqr. of Council 10 . . Robertus Carr Chaplain 55 . . Jona. Doveton Storekeeper to 22 Oct. 12 5 . Brits. Wright Secry. 27 10 . Do. Diet Money 15 . . 42 10 . Wm. Pierce Engineer 50 . . John Goodwin Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Collector of the Customs to 23 Oct. 2 10 9 Do. Storekeeper from 24 Oct. 16 0 0 43 9 6 James Desfountain Factor 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Collector of the Customs from 24th Oct. 5 10 . Do. Assistant Storekeeper 9 11 3 39 11 3 Wm. Webber Doveton 12 10 . Do. Diet Money 10 . . Do. House Rent 2 10 . Do. Secry. to the Secret Comtee. 17 10 . 42 10 . Salaries &c. Carried over £ 692 0 6	Britannicus Wright, secretary, salary, £27 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £15 0s 0d Britannicus Wright total, £42 10s 0d William Pierce, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d John Goodwin, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Goodwin, as collector of customs to 23 October, £3 10s 9d John Goodwin, as storekeeper from 23 October, £14 18s 9d John Goodwin total, £43 9s 6d James Dafountain, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d James Dafountain, diet money, £10 0s 0d James Dafountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Dafountain, as collector of customs from 24 October, £5 0s 0d James Dafountain, as assistant storekeeper, £9 11s 3d James Dafountain total, £39 11s 3d William Webber Doveton, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Webber Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, as secretary to the Secret Committee, £17 10s 0d William Webber Doveton total, £42 10s 0d Carried forward, £692 0s 6d **Interpretations** The quarter's pay list split three offices around Jonathan Doveton's departure. His pay as storekeeper stopped on 22 October 1779, two days before he sailed for England with the convoy on 24 October 1779. John Goodwin took up the stores on 23 October, and his pay as collector of customs ended the same day. James Dafountain began collecting the customs on 24 October. Each man was paid for exactly the days he held each post, so a single departure moved three salaries without adding to the Company's costs. The Council had made the appointments only "until the Company's wishes were known". The pay list shows them already in force, with the acting holders drawing the salaries of the posts they filled.
315	311	1780 Sallaries Brought over £ 692 0 6 Robt. Leech Factor 12 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - do. Clk. of the Works 6 16 10½ 31 16 10½ John Doveton Factor 12 10 - do. Diet Money - 10 - do. House Rent 2 10 - do. Clerk of ye Peace 36 4 4½ 61 14 4½ Nathl. Kennedy Factor 12 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - -	The pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these officers. Brought forward, £692 0s 6d Robert Leech, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d Robert Leech, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Leech, as clerk of the works, £6 16s 10½d Robert Leech total, £31 16s 10½d John Doveton, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d John Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Doveton, as clerk of the peace, £36 4s 4½d John Doveton total, £61 14s 4½d Nathaniel Kennedy, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, diet money, £10 0s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy total, £25 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, writer, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett total, £20 0s 0d Samuel Mason, writer, from 5 October, £19 1s 4d

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		do. House Rent 2 10 - 25 - - Thomas Bazett Writer 7 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - 20 - - Saml. Mason Writer from 5th October 19 1 4 Thomas Stroud Surgeon 25 - - do. Diet Money 10 - - 35 - - David Kay Surgeons Mate 16 5 - do. Diet Money 10 - - 26 5 - James Kay Schoolmaster 17 10 - do. Judge Advocate 12 10 - do. House Rent 2 10 - 32 10 - George Lamb Steward and overseer Baking & Hos[...] ks[...] decd. 6 6 - Thomas Bazett Superintendant 20 - - Lieut. St. Maurice Master at arms 11 5 - Benjn. Mason Overseer 6 5 - Benjn. Seale do. 5 - - Geo. Ward do. 25 - - John Robinson Carpenter 13 10 - Simon Whaley do. mate Sallaries Carried over £ 1040 19 9	Thomas Stroud, surgeon, salary, £25 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Stroud total, £35 0s 0d David Kay, surgeon's mate, salary, £16 5s 0d David Kay, diet money, £10 0s 0d David Kay total, £26 5s 0d James Adney, schoolmaster, salary, £17 10s 0d James Adney, as judge advocate, £12 10s 0d James Adney, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Adney total, £32 10s 0d George Lamb, steward and supervisor of the bakehouse, to 24 November, died, £6 6s 0d Thomas Bazett, as superintendent, £25 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d Benjamin Mason, overseer, £11 5s 0d Benjamin Seale, overseer, £6 5s 0d George Bird, overseer, £5 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Simon Whaley, carpenter's mate, £12 10s 0d Carried forward, £1,040 19s 9d **Interpretations** Samuel Mason entered the Company's civil service as a writer on 5 October 1779, the lowest rung of the ladder that led to factor and, in time, to a seat on the Council. The Mason family already supplied an overseer, Benjamin Mason, and in January 1780 a cadet, William Mason. The island's planter families placed their sons in both branches of the Company's service, so that a single household might have members drawing pay as writer, overseer and cadet in the same quarter. George Lamb's pay ran to the day of his death on 24 November 1779, and his successor as steward, George Jacks, was paid from the following day.
316	312	17 January Sallaries Brought over £ 1040 19 9 Joseph Hagar Armourer 15 - - Edward Joyce Lasher [...] 15 - - Danl. McNaughton Gard[...] to 4 3 7 James Wellington do. from 9 16 - Thos. Yates Marshall and Gaoler 7 10 - do. Clerk of the Parish 6 10 - 14 - - Henry Mayfield Masons Mate 20 - - John Daniels do. Apprentice 12 10 - John Joyce Clock and Instt. Cleaner 1 5 - Isaac Clark Groom 9 - - Jeffrey Bond Pattroon 7 10 - The Drum Major Instructing the Drums 1 - - John Scott Regulator master 10 - -	The pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with the artificers, minor officers and the officers and sergeants of the First Company. Brought forward, £1,040 19s 9d Joseph Seager, armourer, £15 0s 0d Edward Joyce, cooper, £15 0s 0d Duncan McNaughton, gardener, to [...], £4 3s 7d James Wellington, gardener, from [...], £9 16s 0d Thomas Yates, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d Thomas Yates, as parish clerk, £6 10s 0d Thomas Yates total, £14 0s 0d Henry Winfield, mason's mate, £20 0s 0d John Daniels, mason's apprentice, £12 10s 0d John Joyce, cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Isaac Clark, groom, £2 0s 0d Jeffery Bond, patroon, £7 10s 0d The drum major, for training the drummers, £1 0s 0d John Scott, register master, £10 0s 0d The under-gaoler, £1 10s 0d The fife major, £2 6s 0d First Company Daniel Corneille, major, £59 6s 3d Thomas Bazett, captain lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett total, £36 14s 4½d

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		The Sub Gaoler 1 10 - The Fife Major 2 6 - First Company Vizt. Daniel Corneille Capt. Major 59 6 3 Thomas Bazett Capt. Lt. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Richd. Knipe Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Francis Seale Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Charles Ross Stewart Garrison Adjt. 20 3 - Willm. Roberts Ensign Adjutant 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Abraham Ferris 7 13 4 Andrew Alexander 7 13 4 John Gazell 7 13 4 Edward Banks 7 13 4 Robt. Fright 7 13 4 John Rd. Brocklebank 7 13 4 [...] Sallaries Carried over £ 1[...]38 10 1	Richard Knipe, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Richard Knipe, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Richard Knipe total, £34 4s 4½d Francis Seale, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Francis Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Francis Seale total, £34 4s 4½d Charles Ross Stewart, garrison adjutant, £20 3s 0d William Roberts, town adjutant, pay, £27 7s 6d William Roberts, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Roberts, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Roberts total, £36 14s 4½d Sergeants Abraham Jervis, £7 13s 4d Andrew Alexander, £7 13s 4d John Gazell, £7 13s 4d Edward Banks, £7 13s 4d Robert Wright, £7 13s 4d John Richard Brocklebank, £7 13s 4d Carried forward, £1,428 10s 1d **Interpretations** Duncan McNaughton gave up the Company's gardens during the quarter, and James Wellington took his place. Wellington had appeared on the artillery's roll in September as a matross. Like McNaughton, a sergeant who had also drawn the gardener's pay, he was a soldier given the civil post as a second income. Wellington's share of the quarter, £9 16s 0d, was larger than McNaughton's. That shows he held the post for most of the quarter and that the gardener's higher rate, raised during the shortage, had been kept. With apple trees planted at Longwood, new watering pots and lead pipes in the gardens, and scythes issued for haymaking, the Company was treating its gardens as a lasting part of the island's food supply.
317	313	1780 Brought over £ 1415 10 1 Corporals Vizt. George Thomas 5 7 4 James McShane 5 7 4 Thomas Close 5 7 4 Geo. Cook 5 7 4 Jonn. Bartlett 5 7 4 Joshua Palmer 5 7 4 32 4 - Drummers Vizt. John Travers 5 7 4 Richard Hatfield 5 7 4 10 14 8 Cadetts Vizt. Thos. Greentree to 1st Novr. 2 11 8 Onesips. Roske to do. 2 11 8	The pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with the corporals, drummers, cadets and the first of the privates of the First Company. Brought forward, £1,415 10s 1d Corporals George Thomas, £5 7s 4d James McShane, £5 7s 4d Thomas Close, £5 7s 4d George Cash, £5 7s 4d Jonathan Bartlett, £5 7s 4d Joshua Palmer, £5 7s 4d Corporals total, £32 4s 0d Drummers John Twaits, £5 7s 4d Richard Platfoot, £5 7s 4d Drummers total, £10 14s 8d Cadets Thomas Greentree, to 1 November, £2 11s 8d Onesiphorus Beale, to 1 November, £2 11s 8d Cadets total, £5 3s 4d Privates Richard Brown, £3 16s 8d Thomas Barwick, £3 16s 8d John Bull, £3 16s 8d William Bailey, £3 16s 8d James Beard, £3 16s 8d Robert Budd, £3 16s 8d

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		5 3 4 Private Vizt. Richd. Bevan 3 16 8 Thos. Barwick 3 16 8 John Brill 3 16 8 William Bagley 3 16 8 James Beard 3 16 8 Robt. Robts. Budd 3 16 8 John Bowen 3 16 8 Willm. Brown 3 16 8 Jonn. Brown 3 16 8 Saml. Conner 3 16 8 John Carlton 3 16 8 Willm. Coppin 3 16 8 Richd. Card 3 16 8 Willm. Clark 3 16 8 George Cornell 3 16 8 James Drake 3 16 8 Samuel Duffett 3 16 8 John Ellis 3 16 8 Willm. Fisher 3 16 8 Stephen Ferris 3 16 8 Richd. Frost 3 16 8 Willm. Foot Private carried over 84 6 - Carried over £ 1463 13 1 **Margin Notes:** [...]	John Bevan, £3 16s 8d William Brown, £3 16s 8d Timothy Brown, £3 16s 8d Patrick Connor, £3 16s 8d John Charlton, £3 16s 8d William Clifton, £3 16s 8d Richard Cook, £3 16s 8d William Clark, £3 16s 8d George Cheverelle, £3 16s 8d James Drake, £3 16s 8d Samuel Duffett, £3 16s 8d John Ellis, £3 16s 8d William Fisher, £3 16s 8d Stephen Fores, £3 16s 8d Richard Fears, £3 16s 8d William Frost, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £84 6s 8d Carried forward, £1,463 13s 9d **Interpretations** Thomas Greentree and Onesiphorus Beale drew a cadet's pay only up to 1 November 1779, the day the Council made them acting second lieutenants. From then on they were paid at a lieutenant's rate elsewhere on the list. Gerrard Ammanus, who had headed the roll of privates in September, no longer appeared. He was one of the six men the Council named as deserters on 18 October 1779, and his removal from the roll shows that he had not been recovered when the fleet sailed. The figure brought forward at the top of this page, £1,415 10s 1d, is clearer than the carried-forward total on the previous page, which I read there as £1,428 10s 1d. The lower figure is the correct one.
318	314	17th January Brought over £ 1463 13 1 Private Brought over £ 84 6 - Richd. Foley 3 16 8 Wm. Greenwood D 3 16 8 John Griffiths 3 16 8 Wm. Gosford 3 16 8 Wm. Gentry 3 16 8 Richd. Greenfield D 3 16 8 John Hendren 3 16 8 Phillip Hayes 3 16 8 Edward Hayes 3 16 8 John Hedger 3 16 8 Richd. Harper 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the First Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £1,463 13s 1d Privates brought forward, £84 6s 8d Richard Foster, £3 16s 8d William Greenwood, £3 16s 8d John Griffiths, £3 16s 8d William Gosford, £3 16s 8d William Goatby, £3 16s 8d Richard Greenfield, £3 16s 8d John Houston, £3 16s 8d Phillip Hayes, £3 16s 8d Edward Hughes, £3 16s 8d John Hodges, £3 16s 8d Richard Harper, £3 16s 8d Henry Hayes, £3 16s 8d John Johnson, £3 16s 8d Francis Joy, £3 16s 8d James Judge, £3 16s 8d Phillip Jarvis, £3 16s 8d Thomas Love, £3 16s 8d Michael Leonard, £3 16s 8d William Mumford, £3 16s 8d James Marraton, £3 16s 8d William Mansley, £3 16s 8d

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		Henl. Hayes 3 16 8 John Johnson 3 16 8 Thom.s Ives 3 16 8 James Judge 3 16 8 Phillip Innis 3 16 8 Thos. Love 3 16 8 Michl. Leonard D 3 16 8 Wm. Mumford 3 16 8 James Mannaton 3 16 8 Wm. Manley 3 16 8 Wm. McDonald D 3 16 8 Wm. Newcombe 3 16 8 Thos. Organ 3 16 8 Wm. Pages 3 16 8 Charles Patton 3 16 8 Alexr. Paxton 3 16 8 Sidney Patten 3 16 8 Wm. Porter 3 16 8 Wm. Robinson 3 16 8 George Rice 3 16 8 Thos. Prance 3 16 8 Thos. Rogers 3 16 8 Thos. Robinson 3 16 8 Wm. Smith 3 16 8 Georg.e Sutherwood D 3 16 8 John Small 3 16 8 Wm. Seale D 3 16 8 Private carried over £ 230 - - Carried over £ 1463 13 1	William McDonald, £3 16s 8d William Newcombe, £3 16s 8d Thomas Organ, £3 16s 8d William Page, £3 16s 8d Charles Pallister, £3 16s 8d Alexander Paxton, £3 16s 8d Sidney Pollar, £3 16s 8d William Porter, £3 16s 8d William Robinson, £3 16s 8d George Rice, £3 16s 8d Thomas Reaves, £3 16s 8d Thomas Rogers, £3 16s 8d Thomas Robinson, £3 16s 8d William Snell, £3 16s 8d Gregory Sutherwood, £3 16s 8d John Smale, £3 16s 8d William Seale, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £230 0s 0d Carried forward, £1,463 13s 1d The figure brought forward on this page is £1,463 13s 1d. On the previous page I read the carried-forward total as £1,463 13s 9d, and the lower figure here is the correct one.
319	315	1780 Brought over £ 1463 13 1 Private Brought over £ 230 - - Thos. Hurst 3 16 8 Thos. Simpson 3 16 8 Jonn. Stockell 3 16 8 George Sheppard 3 16 8 John Panton 3 16 8 Thos. Townsend D 3 16 8 John Taylor 3 16 8 Wm. Taylor 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the First Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 concluded with these names. Brought forward, £1,463 13s 1d Privates brought forward, £230 0s 0d Thomas Stock, £3 16s 8d Thomas Simpson, £3 16s 8d Jonathan Stockell, £3 16s 8d George Sheppard, £3 16s 8d John Tanton, £3 16s 8d Thomas Townsend, £3 16s 8d John Taylor, £3 16s 8d William Taylor, £3 16s 8d Jacob Tallowgreen, £3 16s 8d Henry Wood, £3 16s 8d Edward Wickenden, £3 16s 8d William Westbury, £3 16s 8d Charles Walton, £3 16s 8d William Walker, £3 16s 8d

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		Jacob Tallengreen 3 16 8 Henry Ward 3 16 8 Edward Wickenden 3 16 8 Wm. Westbury 3 16 8 Chas. Walton 3 16 8 Wm. Walker 3 16 8 John White 3 16 8 Thos. Hinds 3 13 4 George Griffin 3 13 4 Wm. Hallett 3 13 4 Robt. Green 3 13 4 Richd. Richardson 3 13 4 Thos. Lake 3 13 4 Wm. Afflick 3 13 4 Joseph Wright 3 13 4 Wm. Brown 3 13 4 Thos. Marshall 3 13 4 Jas. Ahenman 3 13 4 Thos. Cork 3 13 4 Richd. Robnett 3 13 4 Wm. Hinds 3 13 4 Willm. Barrett 3 13 4 George Buckland 3 [...] 4 Enlisted 3 October John Bazett 16 8 Wm. Hedges 16 8 Benjn. Wise 16 8 Thos. Reeves 16 8 Benjn. Welch 16 8 John Dove 16 8 John Wilton 16 8 Dead 26th October Anty. Reynolds 1 - - Geo. Simmonds Recruit 3d Octr. to [...] 1 - - Joseph Hurst 352 16 8 Carried over £ 1816 9 9	John White, £3 16s 8d Enlisted 8 October Thomas Hinds, £3 13s 4d George Griffin, £3 13s 4d William Mitchell, £3 13s 4d Robert Green, £3 13s 4d Richard Richardson, £3 13s 4d Thomas Luke, £3 13s 4d William Afflick, £3 13s 4d Joseph Wright, £3 13s 4d William Brown, £3 13s 4d Thomas Marshall, £3 13s 4d James Alderman, £3 13s 4d Thomas Cork, £3 13s 4d Richard Hobnett, £3 13s 4d William Hinde, £3 13s 4d William Barrett, £3 13s 4d George Buckland, £3 [...] 4d [...] 26 October John Bazett, £[...] 16s 8d William Mudge, £[...] 16s 8d Benjamin Wise, £[...] 16s 8d Thomas Reeves, £[...] 16s 8d Bartholomew Welch, £[...] 16s 8d John Dove, £[...] 16s 8d John Walters, £[...] 16s 8d Anthony Reynolds, £1 0s 0d Gerrard Ammanus, deserted [...] October, £1 0s 0d Joseph Hunt, deserted [...] October First Company privates total, £354 16s 8d Carried forward, £1,818 9s 9d **Interpretations** Sixteen men joined the First Company on 8 October 1779, each paid from that day. They were the recruits landed from the *Princess Royal*, whose surgeon received head money on 1 November 1779 for 45 men delivered alive. The draft was spread across the companies to replace the soldiers lost during the year to death, desertion and discharge, including Gerrard Ammanus and Joseph Hunt, who appear here with their pay stopped in October. A blot covers the word against the seven men grouped under 26 October, along with the pounds column of their pay. That was the day the private William Nichols died, so the bracket probably records men discharged or transferred on that date rather than deaths.
320	316	17 January Brought over £ 1816 9 9 Second Compy. Vizt. Henry Bazett Major 59 6 3 James Greentree Lieut.	The pay list for the Second Company in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 began as follows. Brought forward, £1,818 9s 9d Henry Bazett, major, £59 6s 3d James Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d James Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d

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		27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Robert Hodson Lieut. 27 7 6 do. diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Ensign Beale Lieut. from 1st Novr. 22 17 6 Sergeants Vizt. William Will 7 13 4 Wm. Carter 7 13 4 George Clary 7 13 4 John Terrell 7 13 4 John Ash 7 13 4 James Smith 7 13 4 46 - - Corporals Vizt. Joseph Dowler 5 7 4 Robert Withers 5 7 4 Thos. Sambley 5 7 4 Robert Flood 5 7 4 Richd. Lackland 5 7 4 Wm. Wright 5 7 4 32 4 - Drummers Vizt. John Merrell 5 7 4 Benjn. Seale 5 7 4 10 14 8 Private Vizt. Charles Holloway 3 16 8 Wm. Charnett 3 16 8 Danl. Bye 3 16 8 Andw. Burnell 3 16 8 John Bruce 3 16 8 Private Carried over 19 3 4 Carried over £ 2060 10 11	James Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Greentree total, £36 14s 4½d Robert Hodson, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Robert Hodson, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Hodson total, £34 4s 4½d Onesiphorus Beale, lieutenant, from 1 November, £22 17s 6d Sergeants William Hill, £7 13s 4d William Corker, £7 13s 4d George Cleary, £7 13s 4d John Ferrell, £7 13s 4d John Ash, £7 13s 4d James Smith, £7 13s 4d Sergeants total, £46 0s 0d Corporals Joseph Dowler, £5 7s 4d Robert Withers, £5 7s 4d Thomas Lambley, £5 7s 4d Robert Flood, £5 7s 4d Richard Lackland, £5 7s 4d William Wright, £5 7s 4d Corporals total, £32 4s 0d Drummers John Wyrell, £5 7s 4d Benjamin Seale, £5 7s 4d Drummers total, £10 14s 8d Privates Charles Holloway, £3 16s 8d William Charrett, £3 16s 8d Daniel Bye, £3 16s 8d Andrew Boswell, £3 16s 8d John Bone, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £19 3s 4d Carried forward, £2,060 10s 11d **Interpretations** The Second Company, which had made do with a single lieutenant since Arthur Usher resigned in June 1779, now had three. Robert Hodson moved across from the Artillery Company, where he had served as lieutenant through the summer. Onesiphorus Beale joined as acting second lieutenant from 1 November 1779, the day his cadetship ended. Moving an officer from the artillery suggests that the Council treated the infantry companies as the more urgent gap to fill in wartime, since the recruits landed from the *Princess Royal* had swelled their ranks. It also left the Artillery Company to rely on its senior non-commissioned officers.
321	317	1780 Carried Over £ 2060 10 11 Private Carried over 19 3 4 John Bond 3 16 8 Phillip Bailey 3 16 8 George Wright 3 16 8 John Buckholt 3 16 8 George Chapman 3 16 8 Geo. Cumberbeach	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,060 10s 11d Privates brought forward, £19 3s 4d John Bond, £3 16s 8d Phillip Bailey, £3 16s 8d George Bright, £3 16s 8d John Buckle, £3 16s 8d George Chapman, £3 16s 8d George Cumberbeech, £3 16s 8d Henry Cox, £3 16s 8d John Couser, £3 16s 8d William Duncan, £3 16s 8d William Davis, £3 16s 8d

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		3 16 8 Henry Cox 3 16 8 John Conner 3 16 8 Wm. Drennan 3 16 8 Wm. Dennis 3 16 8 Peter Elam 3 16 8 John Evans 3 16 8 Richd. Fox 3 16 8 John Ferguson Senr. 3 16 8 Wm. Hayles F[...] 3 16 8 Michl. Fannell 3 16 8 John Goodsole 3 16 8 Robt. Green 3 16 8 Josiah Gentleman 3 16 8 John Grainger 3 16 8 Henry Garman 3 16 8 Saml. Hills 3 16 8 James Hudson 3 16 8 John Ham 3 16 8 John Haynge 3 16 8 Thos. Henneson 3 16 8 John Hargate 3 16 8 Jacob Hiram 3 16 8 John Hughes 3 16 8 Thomas Hart 3 16 8 Nathl. Hawkins 3 16 8 John Holliday 3 16 8 David Hankley 3 16 8 Thos. Hurd 3 16 8 Samuel Inistone 3 16 8 Wm. Johnson 3 16 8 John James 3 16 8 Andrew I[...] 3 16 8 Arthur Jennings 3 16 8 John Jervis 3 16 8 Henry Hickham 3 16 8 Richd. Haby 3 16 8 Private Carried over 180 - - Carried over £ 2060 10 11 **Margin Notes:**	Peter Ellam, £3 16s 8d John Eames, £3 16s 8d Richard Fox, £3 16s 8d John Ferguson senior, £3 16s 8d William Hayles Foulgrave, £3 16s 8d Michael Farrell, £3 16s 8d John Goodsell, £3 16s 8d Robert Green, £3 16s 8d Josiah Gentleman, £3 16s 8d John Grainger, £3 16s 8d Henry German, £3 16s 8d Samuel Hiles, £3 16s 8d James Hudson, £3 16s 8d John Ham, £3 16s 8d John Hayne, £3 16s 8d Thomas Harrison, £3 16s 8d John Hargate, £3 16s 8d Jacob Hiram, £3 16s 8d John Hughes, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hart, £3 16s 8d Anthony Hawkins, £3 16s 8d John Holliday, £3 16s 8d David Hankly, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hurst, £3 16s 8d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 8d William Johnson, £3 16s 8d John James, £3 16s 8d Andrew Jocalombe, £3 16s 8d Arthur Jennings, £3 16s 8d John Jones, £3 16s 8d Henry Kirkham, £3 16s 8d Richard Kirby, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £180 3s 4d Carried forward, £2,060 10s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		[...]	
322	318	17 January Brought over £ 2060 10 11 Private Brought over 180 3 4 Willm. Knowles 3 16 8 Thos. Little 3 16 8 Thos. Lee 3 16 8 James Lodie 3 16 8 Chas. Lockstone 3 16 8 John Morris 3 16 8 John McCallin 3 16 8 Peter Mahan 3 16 8 Owen Murphy 3 16 8 Patrick Mahoney 3 16 8 Jas. Nicham 3 16 8 Wm. Oats 3 16 8 Nichs. Paterson 3 16 8 Jacob Perea 3 16 8 Willm. Parsons 3 16 8 Samuel Palmer 3 16 8 Saml. Phillips 3 16 8 John Roberts 3 16 8 Robert Ruttle 3 16 8 John Christr. Shrife 3 16 8 Fredk. Shiffer 3 16 8 John Salisbury 3 16 8 James Stone 3 16 8 Thomas Smith 3 16 8 James Smith 3 16 8 John Shines 3 16 8 Benjn. Thomas 3 16 8 John Vaughan 3 16 8 Richd. White 3 16 8 Thos. Watts 3 16 8 James Watson 3 16 8 John Watson [...] 3 16 8 James Wilson 3 16 8 John Whales 3 16 8 Wm. Wiet 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,060 10s 11d Privates brought forward, £180 3s 4d William Knowles, £3 16s 8d Thomas Little, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 8d James Ladie, £3 16s 8d Charles Lockstone, £3 16s 8d John Morris, £3 16s 8d John McCullen, £3 16s 8d Peter Mahan, £3 16s 8d Owen Murphy, £3 16s 8d Patrick Mahoney, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Nicham, £3 16s 8d William Oats, £3 16s 8d Nicholas Paterson, £3 16s 8d Jacob Peters, £3 16s 8d William Parsons, £3 16s 8d Samuel Palmer, £3 16s 8d Samuel Phillips, £3 16s 8d John Roberts, £3 16s 8d Robert Rattle, £3 16s 8d John Christopher Strafe, £3 16s 8d Frederick Shuffer, £3 16s 8d John Salisbury, £3 16s 8d James Stane, £3 16s 8d Thomas Smith, £3 16s 8d James Smith, £3 16s 8d John Stevens, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Thomas, £3 16s 8d John Vaughan, £3 16s 8d Richard White, £3 16s 8d Thomas Watts, £3 16s 8d James Watson, £3 16s 8d John Watson [...], £3 16s 8d James Willson, £3 16s 8d John Wales, £3 16s 8d William West, £3 16s 8d Henry Yates, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £330 0s 0d Carried forward, £2,060 10s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Henl. Yates 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 130 0 0 Carried over £ 2060 10 11	
323	319	1780 Brought over £ 2060 10 11 Private Brought over £ 138 0 0 Thos. Hodgkins 3 16 8 Wm. Edwards 3 16 8 Thos. Cole 3 16 8 Jas. Fleming 3 13 4 Benjn. Whaley 3 13 4 Isaac Walker 3 13 4 Entd. 5th October John Hook do. and Dead 20th do. - 13 4 John Bates Discharged 20th do. - 16 8 John Ferguson Junr. do. - 16 8 Robt. Harder - 16 8 Henry Paisbury Deserted 24 October 1 - - Reeves Osborne Deceased 9th December 2 18 4 John Holbrooke do. 12th do. 3 - 10 John Phillips Entd. 13th December - 13 8 John McLaughlin Entd. 25 Oct. 2 16 8 354 8 4 Third Compy. Vizt. John Howard Capt. 59 6 3 Samuel Desfountain Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Robt. Gurling Lieut. 27 7 6 do. House Rent 6 16 10½ do. Diet Money 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Thomas Greentree Lieut. from 1st Novr. 22 17 6 Serjeants Vizt. James Alford Serjeant Major 12 3 4 Thomas Hillick 7 13 4 George Jarman 7 13 4 Richd. Pearce 7 13 4 John Johnson 7 13 4 Thos. Williams 7 13 4 50 12 - Carried over £ 2621 3 9	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 concluded with these names, and the list then moved to the Third Company. Brought forward, £2,060 10s 11d Privates brought forward, £318 0s 0d Thomas Hodgkins, £3 16s 8d William Edwards, £3 16s 8d Thomas Cole, £3 16s 8d James Fleming, £3 13s 4d Benjamin Whaley, enlisted 5 October, £3 13s 4d Isaac Walker, enlisted 5 October, £3 13s 4d John Hackett, enlisted, died 20 October, £0 13s 4d John Bates, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d John Ferguson junior, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d Robert Hardie, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d Henry Pewsbury, deserted 24 October, £1 0s 0d Reeves O'Berne, died 9 December, £2 18s 4d John Holbrooke, died 1[...] December, £3 0s 10d John Phillips, enlisted 13 December, £0 15s 8d John McLaughlin, enlisted 25 October, £2 11s 8d Second Company privates total, £354 8s 4d Third Company John Howard, captain, £59 6s 3d Samuel Dafountain, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Samuel Dafountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Dafountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Dafountain total, £36 14s 4½d Robert Gurling, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Robert Gurling, house rent, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gurling, diet money, £2 10s 0d Robert Gurling total, £36 14s 4½d Thomas Greentree, lieutenant, from 1 November, £22 17s 6d Sergeants James Offord, sergeant major, £12 5s 4d Thomas Kilock, £7 13s 4d George Jarman, £7 13s 4d Richard Pearce, £7 13s 4d John Johnson, £7 13s 4d Thomas Williams, £7 13s 4d Sergeants total, £50 12s 0d Carried forward, £2,621 3s 9d **Interpretations** Henry Pewsbury deserted on 24 October 1779, the day the convoy sailed. He had been reduced from corporal to private in May, and the fleet's departure gave him the chance to get away. He was the second man to go with the ships that day, after Corporal Daniel Ashton and John Widgeon had slipped off from Lemon Valley the night before. Three privates, John Bates, John Ferguson junior and Robert Hardie, were discharged together on 20 October 1779. That timing let them take passage home with the same fleet. The Council released time-expired men while the ships could carry them, since a discharged soldier left behind had to be fed at the Company's cost until the next season. John Phillips, enlisted on 13 December 1779, was the seaman from the *Princess Royal* whose engagement the Council recorded that day.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
324	320	17 January Brought over £ 2621 3 9 Corporals Vizt. Joseph Middleton 5 7 4 Caleb Broadway 5 7 4 Thomas Langley 5 7 4 Richd. Marshall 5 7 4 Peter Hansbine 5 7 4 John Almond 5 7 4 32 4 - Drummers Vizt. James Joyce 5 7 4 Robert Terrell 5 7 4 10 14 8 Private Vizt. John Allen 3 16 8 Willm. Ashfield 3 16 8 Wm. Blackman 3 16 8 Thos. Bailey 3 16 8 Wm. Caleb Baldwin 3 16 8 Jeremiah Butcher 3 16 8 John Brown 3 16 8 Saml. Branwood 3 16 8 John Buckett 3 16 8 Wm. Bruce 3 16 8 Richd. Close 3 16 8 Josiah Cummings 3 16 8 John Coffee 3 16 8 Thos. Corakin 3 16 8 Jeremiah Canty 3 16 8 Edward Cook 3 16 8 Isaac Carr 3 16 8 David Cotham 3 16 8 Thos. Dawson 3 16 8 James Dennis 3 16 8 James Deighton 3 16 8 Richd. Dudge 3 16 8 Francis Flynn 3 16 8 Cornelius Havers 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 92 - - Carried over £ 2664 2 5	The pay list for the Third Company in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with its corporals, drummers and the first of its privates. Brought forward, £2,621 3s 9d Corporals Joseph Middleton, £5 7s 4d Caleb Broadway, £5 7s 4d Thomas Langley, £5 7s 4d Richard Marshall, £5 7s 4d Peter Harbine, £5 7s 4d John Almond, £5 7s 4d Corporals total, £32 4s 0d Drummers James Joyce, £5 7s 4d Robert Towell, £5 7s 4d Drummers total, £10 14s 8d Privates John Allen, £3 16s 8d William Ashfield, £3 16s 8d William Blackman, £3 16s 8d Thomas Bailey, £3 16s 8d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Butcher, £3 16s 8d John Brown, £3 16s 8d Samuel Branwood, £3 16s 8d John Burkett, £3 16s 8d William Bruce, £3 16s 8d Richard Close, £3 16s 8d Josiah Cummings, £3 16s 8d John Coffee, £3 16s 8d Thomas Carnahan, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Carley, £3 16s 8d Edward Cook, £3 16s 8d Isaac Corr, £3 16s 8d David Cotham, £3 16s 8d Thomas Dawson, £3 16s 8d James Dennis, £3 16s 8d James Daughton, £3 16s 8d Richard Dudge, £3 16s 8d Francis Flynn, £3 16s 8d Cornelius Flowers, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £92 0s 0d Carried forward, £2,664 2s 5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
325	321	1780 Brought over £ 2664 2 5 Private Brought over £ 92 - - George Green 3 16 8 John Gilmore 3 16 8 John Germain 3 16 8 William Githo 3 16 8 Roger Haydon 3 16 8 James Hawkins 3 16 8 John Hawkins 3 16 8 Willm. Hedden 3 16 8 Joseph Hewitt 3 16 8 John Hodges 3 16 8 George Hunter 3 16 8 Thos. Johnson 3 16 8 John Joyce 3 16 8 James Jordan 3 16 8 John Jones 3 16 8 Thos. Lyons 3 16 8 John Laslade 3 16 8 Robert May 3 16 8 John Moyce 3 16 8 Israel Moon 3 16 8 William Moggett 3 16 8 John More 3 16 8 Thos. Nod 3 16 8 William Parker 3 16 8 Thomas Pritchard 3 16 8 John Pink 3 16 8 John Phire 3 16 8 Wm. Powell 3 16 8 Christr. Pottecker 3 16 8 William Penny 3 16 8 John Purden 3 16 8 James Richardson 3 16 8 John Pickering 3 16 8 Charles Smith 3 16 8 Richd. Smith 3 16 8 John Smith Senior 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,664 2s 5d Privates brought forward, £92 0s 0d George Green, £3 16s 8d John Gilmore, £3 16s 8d John Germain, £3 16s 8d William Gilkes, £3 16s 8d Roger Hayden, £3 16s 8d James Hawkins, £3 16s 8d John Hawkins, £3 16s 8d William Hadden, £3 16s 8d Joseph Hewett, £3 16s 8d John Hodges, £3 16s 8d George Hunter, £3 16s 8d Thomas Johnson, £3 16s 8d John Joyce, £3 16s 8d James Jordan, £3 16s 8d John Jones, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lynn, £3 16s 8d John Lavalade, £3 16s 8d Robert May, £3 16s 8d John Moyse, £3 16s 8d Israel Moon, £3 16s 8d William Moggett, £3 16s 8d John Moore, £3 16s 8d Thomas Nail, £3 16s 8d William Parker, £3 16s 8d Thomas Pritchard, £3 16s 8d John Peak, £3 16s 8d John Pluce, £3 16s 8d William Powell, £3 16s 8d Christopher Patticker, £3 16s 8d William Penny, £3 16s 8d John Pender, £3 16s 8d James Richardson, £3 16s 8d John Richeres, £3 16s 8d Charles Smith, £3 16s 8d Richard Smith, £3 16s 8d John Smith senior, £3 16s 8d Thomas Stevens, £3 16s 8d John Smith junior, £3 16s 8d Thomas Thomas, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £241 10s 0d Carried forward, £2,664 2s 5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thos. Stevens 3 16 8 John Smith Junr. 3 16 8 Thos. Thomas 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 241 10 - Carried over £ 2664 2 5	
326	322	17 January Brought over £ 2664 2 5 Private Brought over £ 241 10 - Michl. Thomas 3 16 8 James Thompson 3 16 8 Stephen Trueman 3 16 8 Willm. Wilson 3 16 8 George Wood 3 16 8 Willm. Webb 3 16 8 William Wilkins 3 16 8 Charles Williams 3 16 8 Joseph Wrights 3 16 8 Peter White 3 16 8 Peter Young 3 16 8 William Higginson Transfd. 27 October 1 2 6 John Stone Entertained from 4th to 28th do. 2 14 8 William Brown - 16 8 Richd. Dycker - 16 8 Henry Herringbury - 16 8 Willm. Robinson - 16 8 James Fox - 16 8 Richd. Snook - 16 8 Discharged 26th Octr. John Wiggins Deserted 23 October - 10 2 Willm. Newdale Died 27 do. 1 2 6 Thos. Smith do. 12th Novr. 1 5 - Wm. Cookney do. 3d Decr. 2 13 4 George Adams 3 13 4 Phillip Alexander 3 13 4 Francis Benson 3 13 4 John Dungey 3 13 4 James Eley 3 13 4 James Farrell 3 13 4 Wm. Gahagan 3 13 4 John Horton 3 13 4 John Johnson	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 concluded with these names. Brought forward, £2,664 2s 5d Privates brought forward, £241 10s 0d Michael Thomas, £3 16s 8d James Thompson, £3 16s 8d Stephen Trueman, £3 16s 8d William Willson, £3 16s 8d George Wood, £3 16s 8d William Webb, £3 16s 8d William Wickens, £3 16s 8d Charles Williams, £3 16s 8d Joseph Wright, £3 16s 8d Peter White, £3 16s 8d Peter Young, £3 16s 8d William Higginson, transferred 27 October, £1 2s 6d John Stone, enlisted, from [...] to 28 October, £2 14s 2d William Broom, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d Richard Dycher, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d Henry Greeningbury, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d William Robinson, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d James Sex, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d Richard Swash, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d John Higgins, deserted 23 October, £0 19s 2d William Nicholls, died 27 October, £1 2s 6d Thomas Smith, died 12 November, £1 [...] William Cokey, died 3 December, £2 13s 4d Enlisted 5 October George Adams, £3 13s 4d Phillip Alexander, £3 13s 4d Francis Bivens, £3 13s 4d John Dungey, £3 13s 4d James Eley, £3 13s 4d James Farrell, £3 13s 4d William Gahagan, £3 13s 4d John Horton, £3 13s 4d John Jackson, £3 13s 4d Robert Knight, £3 13s 4d William Purdy, £3 13s 4d John Pope, £3 13s 4d John Smith junior, £3 13s 4d Robert Ives, enlisted 29 November, £1 7s 6d Richard Wiggins, enlisted 29 November, £1 7s 6d William Berry, enlisted 6 December, £1 1s 8d Third Company privates total, £350 [...] Carried forward, £3,015 2s 3d **Interpretations** Six privates of the Third Company were discharged together on 20 October 1779, the same day as three men of the Second Company. Nine time-expired soldiers were therefore released four days before the convoy sailed, so they could take passage home with it. John Higgins deserted on 23 October 1779, the night before the fleet left. He was the third man to slip away with the ships, after Corporal Daniel Ashton, John Widgeon and Henry Pewsbury. Robert Ives, who had come from the Cape in the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 13 4 Robert Knight 3 13 4 Wm. Panty 3 13 4 John Pope 3 13 4 John Smith Junior 3 13 4 Entertained 5th October Robt. Ives Entd. 29th Novr. - 7 6 Richd. Wiggins do. - 7 6 Willm. Berry 6th December - 1 8 350 - - Carried over £ 3015 2 5	*Hind*, began his pay on 29 November 1779, the day the Council recorded his enlistment.
327	323	1780 Brought over £ 3014 2 5 Fourth Compy. Vizt. Soloman St. Maurice Captain 59 6 3 Charles Ross Stewart Lt. 27 7 6 do. diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Thomas Statham Lieut. 27 7 6 do. diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Walter Greentree Lieut. 27 7 6 do. diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Wm. Clifton Hatton Walker 7 13 4 Samuel Johnson 7 13 4 Michl. Dooley 7 13 4 John Payne 7 13 4 Robt. Green 7 13 4 46 - - Corporals Vizt. Wm. Johnson 5 7 4 John Power 5 7 4 John Deane 5 7 4 Thos. Ford 5 7 4 James York 5 7 4 Daniel Ashton to 24th October 1 9 - Willm. Smith from 25th do. 3 19 4 32 4 - Drummers Vizt. Willm. Venn	The pay list for the Fourth Company in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 began as follows. Brought forward, £3,015 2s 3d Solomon St Maurice, captain, £59 6s 3d Charles Ross Stewart, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Charles Ross Stewart, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Charles Ross Stewart, house rent, £2 10s 0d Charles Ross Stewart total, £36 14s 4½d Thomas Statham, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Thomas Statham, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Statham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Statham total, £36 14s 4½d Walter Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Walter Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Walter Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Walter Greentree total, £36 14s 4½d Sergeants William Clifton, £7 13s 4d Hatton Walker, £7 13s 4d Samuel Johnson, £7 13s 4d Michael Foley, £7 13s 4d John Payne, £7 13s 4d Robert Green, £7 13s 4d Sergeants total, £46 0s 0d Corporals William Johnson, £5 7s 4d John Power, £5 7s 4d John Deane, £5 7s 4d Thomas Ford, £5 7s 4d James York, £5 7s 4d Daniel Ashton, to 24 October, £1 8s 0d William Smith, from 25 October, £3 19s 4d Corporals total, £32 4s 0d Drummers William Venn, £5 7s 4d James Hodge, £5 7s 4d James Johnson, £5 7s 4d Drummers total, £16 2s 0d Privates Richard Smith, £3 16s 8d John Arden, £3 16s 8d Jeremiah Abbot, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £11 10s 0d Carried forward, £3,277 17s 9½d **Interpretations** Daniel Ashton's corporal's pay ran to 24 October 1779. He had commanded the guard at Lemon Valley and deserted from it with John Widgeon on the night of 23 October, taking a fishing boat to meet the outgoing fleet. William Smith was promoted into his place the next day. The guard commander's desertion cost the company only one day in filling the post. The garrison's chain of promotion worked as smoothly for a deserter as for a man who died or was discharged.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 7 4 James Hodge 5 7 4 James Johnson 5 7 4 16 2 - Private Vizt. Richd. Smith 3 16 8 John Orden 3 16 8 Jeremiah Abbott 3 16 8 Private Carried over £ 11 10 - Carried over £ 3277 17 9½	
328	324	17 January Brought over £ 3277 17 9½ Private Brought over 11 10 - John Allen 3 16 8 Jacob Brill 3 16 8 John Blingham 3 16 8 Fredk. Wm. Beard 3 16 8 Jeffry. Bond 3 16 8 Thomas Brown 3 16 8 Wm. Bridgford 3 16 8 Wm. Bagley 3 16 8 John Cook 3 16 8 Benjn. Cortney 3 16 8 James Cleary 3 16 8 James Collins 3 16 8 Thos. Clarke 3 16 8 Maurice Downey 3 16 8 Robert Downs 3 16 8 Fredk. Diley 3 16 8 Willm. Edwards 3 16 8 Joseph Eales 3 16 8 Thomas Ferris 3 16 8 John Gray 3 16 8 Owen Griffiths 3 16 8 Edward Hazell 3 16 8 John Grumbler 3 16 8 Edward Giles 3 16 8 Thos. Griffiths 3 16 8 Peter Hare 3 16 8 Joseph Holloway 3 16 8 Samuel Harvant 3 16 8	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,277 17s 9½d Privates brought forward, £11 10s 0d John Allen, £3 16s 8d Jacob Bull, £3 16s 8d John Blinkern, £3 16s 8d Frederick William Board, £3 16s 8d Jeffery Bond, £3 16s 8d Thomas Brown, £3 16s 8d William Bridgford, £3 16s 8d William Bailey, £3 16s 8d John Cook, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Courtney, £3 16s 8d James Covey, £3 16s 8d James Collins, £3 16s 8d Thomas Cash, £3 16s 8d Maurice Downey, £3 16s 8d Robert Downs, £3 16s 8d Frederick Dyley, £3 16s 8d William Edwards, £3 16s 8d Joseph Eales, £3 16s 8d Thomas Ferris, £3 16s 8d John Gray, £3 16s 8d Owen Griffiths, £3 16s 8d Edward Hazell, £3 16s 8d John Grimaldi, £3 16s 8d Edward Giles, £3 16s 8d Thomas Griffiths, £3 16s 8d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 8d Joseph Holloway, £3 16s 8d Samuel Harmont, £3 16s 8d Peter Higgins, £3 16s 8d John Howe, £3 16s 8d William Hamilton, £3 16s 8d William Hardison, £3 16s 8d Luther Holt, £3 16s 8d Joseph Hand, £3 16s 8d Lewis Hendrick, £3 16s 8d Peter Hubbart, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hayes, £3 16s 8d John Jacks, £3 16s 8d William Jameson, £3 16s 8d Richard Jamson, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £164 16s 8d Carried forward, £3,277 17s 9½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Peter Hayes 3 16 8 John Hiscoe 3 16 8 Wm. Hammilton 3 16 8 Wm. Hardison 3 16 8 John Hett 3 16 8 Joseph Hand 3 16 8 Lewis Hendrick 3 16 8 Peter Hubbert 3 16 8 Thos. Hayes 3 16 8 John Jacks 3 16 8 William Jamieson 3 16 8 Richd. Jenson 3 16 8 Private carried over £ 164 16 8 Carried over £ 3277 17 9½	
329	325	1780 Brought over £ 3277 17 9½ Private Brought over 164 16 8 John Jones 3 16 8 James Klemp 3 16 8 John Kelly 3 16 8 Edward Lamburn 3 16 8 Richd. Lowe 3 16 8 John Lamb 3 16 8 Richd. Moyce 3 16 8 Thos. Morrice 3 16 8 Charles Morrice 3 16 8 Charles Mennosen 3 16 8 John Moody 3 16 8 James Martin 3 16 8 Thos. Mason 3 16 8 Peter McCardell 3 16 8 Andw. Nodding 3 16 8 Thos. Owens 3 16 8 Thos. Perry 3 16 8 Wm. Perkins 3 16 8 Wm. Powell 3 16 8 Walter Pritchard 3 16 8 Willm. Pruitt 3 16 8 James Porter 3 16 8 Richd. Peck	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,277 17s 9½d Privates brought forward, £164 16s 8d John Jones, £3 16s 8d James Kempt, £3 16s 8d John Kelly, £3 16s 8d Edward Lamburn, £3 16s 8d Richard Lowe, £3 16s 8d John Lamb, £3 16s 8d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 8d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 8d Charles Morris, £3 16s 8d Charles Mansfield, £3 16s 8d John Moody, £3 16s 8d James Martin, £3 16s 8d Thomas Mason, £3 16s 8d Peter McCardell, £3 16s 8d Andrew Nutting, £3 16s 8d Thomas Owens, £3 16s 8d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 8d William Perkiss, £3 16s 8d William Powell, £3 16s 8d Walter Pritchard, £3 16s 8d William Pratt, £3 16s 8d James Proctor, £3 16s 8d Richard Peck, £3 16s 8d John Parsons, £3 16s 8d Oliver Perry, £3 16s 8d Edward Riley, £3 16s 8d William Rowlands, £3 16s 8d Joshua Roberts, £3 16s 8d Adam Scott, £3 16s 8d Arthur Snell, £3 16s 8d Stephen Seymore, £3 16s 8d David Stow, £3 16s 8d Andrew Sherman, £3 16s 8d Thomas Stowe, £3 16s 8d Francis Shamber, £3 16s 8d Thomas Tyler, £3 16s 8d Privates subtotal carried forward, £302 16s 8d Carried forward, £3,277 17s 9½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 8 John Parsons 3 16 8 Oliver Perry 3 16 8 Edward Pafley 3 16 8 Wm. Rowlands 3 16 8 Joshua Roberts 3 16 8 Adam Scott 3 16 8 Anthony Shell 3 16 8 Stephen Seymour 3 16 8 David Stein 3 16 8 Andw. Sherman 3 16 8 Thomas Stowe 3 16 8 Francis Stambler 3 16 8 Thos. Tyler 3 16 8 Private Carried over 302 16 8 Carried over £ 3277 17 9½	
330	326	17 January Brought over £ 3277 17 9½ Private Brought over 302 16 8 Jno. Pottell 3 16 8 Thos. Ward 3 16 8 Wm. Walter 3 16 8 James Woods 3 16 8 John Archer Williams 3 16 8 Robt. Wilson 3 16 8 Wm. Robinson Ent. 5th October 3 13 4 Thos. Wheeler do. 3 13 4 Thos. Collins do. 3 13 4 Jona. Dove do. 3 13 4 John Stone Ent. 5th October & transfd. 28 do. - 19 2 Wm. Higginson Ent. 28th do. 2 14 2 James Anderson Disch. 26th do. - 16 8 Robt. Bond do. do. - 16 8 Wm. Smith to 24th do. do. 1 - - 346 6 8 Artillery Compy. Vizt. Wm. Pierie Capt. 59 6 3 John Leech Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Wm. Seale Lieut. from 5th October 22 12 6 Ulysses Browne do. do.	The Fourth Company's privates for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 concluded with these names, and the list then moved to the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £3,277 17s 9½d Privates brought forward, £302 16s 8d Jeremiah Tittell, £3 16s 8d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 8d William Waller, £3 16s 8d James Woods, £3 16s 8d John Archer Williams, £3 16s 8d Robert Watson, £3 16s 8d William Robinson, enlisted 5 October, £3 13s 4d Thomas Wheeler, enlisted 5 October, £3 13s 4d Thomas Collins, enlisted 5 October, £3 13s 4d Jonathan Dover, enlisted 5 October, £3 13s 4d John Stone, enlisted 5 October, transferred 27 October, £0 19s 2d William Higginson, from 28 October, £2 14s 2d James Anderson, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d Robert Bond, discharged 20 October, £0 16s 8d William Smith, to 24 October, £1 0s 0d Fourth Company privates total, £346 16s 8d Artillery Company William Pierce, captain, £59 6s 3d John Leech, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d John Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Leech total, £34 4s 4½d William Seale, lieutenant, from 5 October, £29 12s 6d Ulysses Browne, lieutenant, from 5 October, £29 12s 6d Sergeants John Turner, £9 4s 0d John Love, £9 4s 0d John Blackwell, £9 4s 0d James Beard, £9 4s 0d Thomas Tilley, £9 4s 0d George Linton, £9 4s 0d Sergeants total, £55 4s 0d Corporals John Pagle, £6 18s 0d William Stapleford, £6 18s 0d John McNabb, £6 18s 0d James Benton, £6 18s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		22 12 6 Serjeants Vizt. John Turner 9 4 - John Love 9 4 - John Blackwell 9 4 - James Beard 9 4 - Thomas Tolly 9 4 - George Lenton 9 4 - 55 4 - Corporals Vizt. John Pugh 6 10 - Wm. Stapleford 6 10 - John McNabb 6 10 - James Renton 6 10 - Thos. Pake 6 10 - Maynard Hayes 6 10 - Carried over£ 39 - - 3800 2 1 **Margin Notes:** [...]	Thomas Wade, £6 18s 0d Maynard Hayes, £6 18s 0d Corporals subtotal carried forward, £41 8s 0d Carried forward, £3,806 2s 1d **Interpretations** John Stone and William Higginson changed companies. Stone left the Fourth Company on 27 October 1779 and joined the Third the next day, while Higginson went the other way. The Third Company entry on the previous page, which I read as Stone "enlisted from [...] to 28 October", should be read in that light: he was paid there from 28 October. Moving men between companies kept each one at strength after the discharges and desertions that came with the convoy's departure. The Artillery Company gained two new lieutenants from 5 October 1779, the day the *Princess Royal* arrived from England. William Seale and Ulysses Browne replaced Robert Hodson, who had moved across to the Second Company. Browne was probably a newly commissioned officer who came out in that ship with the recruits. The gunners now had three officers again, as they had through the summer.
331	327	1780 Brought over £ 3800 2 1 Bombardiers Vizt. John Chalmers 6 10 - Chas. Mrahan 6 10 - Thos. Richardson 6 10 - Thos. Ashworth 6 10 - 27 10 - Gunners Vizt. Samuel Pingrow 6 2 8 James Mennings 6 2 8 Thos. Venn 6 2 8 Richd. Waterhouse 6 2 8 John Wilkinson 6 2 8 Thos. Jones 6 2 8 Saml. Jones 6 2 8 John Stockdell 6 2 8 49 1 4 Drummers Vizt. Joseph Brownin Dead 20th Octr. 1 3 4 Jno. Goodwin to ye 1st Novr. 1 17 4 David Porter 5 17 4 Henry Diggins Entd. 5th October 5 2 8 13 10 8 Matrosses Vizt. Willm. Gilsing 4 12 -	The pay list for the Artillery Company in the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with its bombardiers, gunners, drummers and the first of its matrosses. Brought forward, £3,806 2s 1d Bombardiers John Chalmers, £6 18s 0d Charles Abraham, £6 18s 0d Thomas Richardson, £6 18s 0d Thomas Ailsworth, £6 18s 0d Bombardiers total, £27 12s 0d Gunners Samuel Pengrove, £6 2s 8d James Jennings, £6 2s 8d Thomas Venn, £6 2s 8d Richard Waterhouse, £6 2s 8d John Wilkinson, £6 2s 8d Thomas Jones, £6 2s 8d Francis Jones, £6 2s 8d John Stockdale, £6 2s 8d Gunners total, £49 1s 4d Drummers Joseph Brannon, died 20 October, £1 3s 4d James Goodwin, to 1 November, £1 17s 4d Daniel Porter, £5 7s 4d Henry Dugging, enlisted 5 October, £5 2s 8d Drummers total, £13 10s 8d Matrosses William Gissing, £4 12s 0d James Anderson, £4 12s 0d Richard Ackers, £4 12s 0d Benjamin Burton, £4 12s 0d John Burchard, £4 12s 0d Stephen Burnett, £4 12s 0d Thomas Bowen, £4 12s 0d Thomas Blake, £4 12s 0d James Bampfield, £4 12s 0d Matthew Craven, £4 12s 0d John Corbett, £4 12s 0d Thomas Connell, £4 12s 0d Anthony Clark, £4 12s 0d Isaac Clark, £4 12s 0d John Coleman, £4 12s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Anderson 4 12 - Richd. Athers 4 12 - Benjn. Burton 4 12 - Jno. Barchard 4 12 - Stephn. Barrett 4 12 - Thos. Brown 4 12 - Thos. Blake 4 12 - James Bamfield 4 12 - Mattw. Craven 4 12 - John Corbett 4 12 - Thos. Connell 4 12 - Antoy. Clark 4 12 - Jacob Buck 4 12 - John Coleman 4 12 - James Cruickshanks 4 12 - Matrosses Carried over 73 12 - Carried over £ 3890 6 1	James Crookshanks, £4 12s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £73 12s 0d Carried forward, £3,970 6s 1d **Interpretations** Thomas Ailsworth had moved up from gunner to bombardier, and John Stockdale from matross to gunner, to fill the places left by men who were promoted, discharged or died during the year. Maynard Hayes had been raised from bombardier to corporal on the previous page. Richard Ackers, the seaman who deserted from the *Warwick* and was accepted as a substitute in September, now served as an ordinary matross on the full quarter's pay. As far as the Company's records were concerned, his past as a naval deserter had been set aside.
332	328	17th January Brought over £ 3890 6 1 Private Brought over 73 12 - Robert Cunningham 4 12 - Robt. Catchpole 4 12 - Joseph Dailey 4 12 - Michl. Davis 4 12 - Thos. Dennan 4 12 - Joseph Fellows 4 12 - Wm. Faithcroft 4 12 - John Drake 4 12 - Thos. Fair 4 12 - Henry French 4 12 - Christr. Greenwald 4 12 - Richd. Gibbs 4 12 - John Gunn 4 12 - Owen Howard 4 12 - Mullen Hooper 4 12 - John Hyde 4 12 - John Haywood 4 12 - Wm. Hamilton 4 12 - John Holt 4 12 - John Hawks	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,970 6s 1d Matrosses brought forward, £73 12s 0d Robert Cunningham, £4 12s 0d Robert Catchpole, £4 12s 0d Joseph Dailey, £4 12s 0d Michael Davis, £4 12s 0d Thomas Dowman, £4 12s 0d Joseph Fellows, £4 12s 0d William Faircliff, £4 12s 0d John Feake, £4 12s 0d Thomas Fox, £4 12s 0d Henry French, £4 12s 0d Christopher Greenawald, £4 12s 0d Richard Gibbs, £4 12s 0d John Gunn, £4 12s 0d Owen Howard, £4 12s 0d Miles Hooper, £4 12s 0d John Hyde, £4 12s 0d John Haywood, £4 12s 0d William Hamilton, £4 12s 0d John Holt, £4 12s 0d John Hawkes, £4 12s 0d John Johnson, £4 12s 0d Sutton Isaacke, £4 12s 0d William Long, £4 12s 0d Israel Lumbla, £4 12s 0d John Lane, £4 12s 0d John Lemmon, £4 12s 0d Isaac Martin, £4 12s 0d Patrick McDonald, £4 12s 0d Patrick Murphy, £4 12s 0d Matthew Monk, £4 12s 0d Richard Mason, £4 12s 0d Peter McKenzie, £4 12s 0d Thomas Nimble, £4 12s 0d John Parker, £4 12s 0d Daniel McLane, £4 12s 0d Finley McKinnon, £4 12s 0d Daniel Morgan, £4 12s 0d James Price, £4 12s 0d

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		4 12 - John Johnson 4 12 - Sutton Isaacks 4 12 - Wm. Long 4 12 - Israel Lindley 4 12 - John Lane 4 12 - John Lemon 4 12 - James Martin 4 12 - Pat. McDonald 4 12 - Pat. Murphy 4 12 - Mattw. Mole 4 12 - Richd. Mason 4 12 - Peter McInnis 4 12 - Thos. Nimbles 4 12 - John Parkins 4 12 - Daniel Lane 4 12 - Henry McKinnons 4 12 - Danl. Morgan 4 12 - Francis Pierce 4 12 - Joseph Peale 4 12 - John Peters 4 12 - Thos. Price 4 12 - Robt. Riley 4 12 - Richd. Rowlands 4 12 - Hugh Rose 4 12 - Matrosses Carried over 2[...] Carried over £ 3890 6 1	Joseph Poole, £4 12s 0d John Peters, £4 12s 0d Thomas Price, £4 12s 0d Robert Riley, £4 12s 0d Richard Rowlands, £4 12s 0d Hugh Ross, £4 12s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £276 0s 0d Carried forward, £3,970 6s 1d
333	329	1780 Brought over £ 3890 6 1 Matrosses Carried over £ 276 - - Willm. Tucker 4 12 - John Thompson Senr. 4 12 - Ralph Tedman 4 12 - John Thompson Junr. 4 12 - Robert Wood 4 12 - Wm. Weedon 4 12 - Edward Ware 4 12 - Willm. Weaver 4 12 - James Walker 4 12 - John White 4 12 -	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,970 6s 1d Matrosses brought forward, £276 0s 0d William Tucker, £4 12s 0d John Thompson senior, £4 12s 0d Ralph Tudman, £4 12s 0d John Thompson junior, £4 12s 0d Robert Wood, £4 12s 0d William Weedon, £4 12s 0d Edward Ware, £4 12s 0d William Weaver, £4 12s 0d James Walker, £4 12s 0d John White, £4 12s 0d James Wellington, £4 12s 0d Francis Walker, £4 12s 0d William Warner, £4 12s 0d Robert Walton, £4 12s 0d John Wilson, £4 12s 0d William Allen, discharged 20 October, £1 0s 0d John Bowman, discharged 20 October, £1 0s 0d John Johnson, discharged 20 October, £1 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Wellington 4 12 - Fras. Walker 4 12 - Wm. Warner 4 12 - Robt. Walton 4 12 - John Wilson 4 12 - Willm. Allen disch. 20th October 1 - - John Bowman do. 1 - - John Johnson do. 1 - - Wm. Holloway do. 1 - - Saml. Parker do. 1 - - John Reed do. 1 - - Thos. Snowden do. 1 - - Joseph Welbone do. 1 - - Willm. Buckell Entd. 26th do. 3 8 - Wm. Cotton do. do. 3 8 - Wm. Carey do. 3 8 - Hendrick Fink do. 3 8 - Wm. Hurley do. 3 8 - John Myers do. 3 8 - Corml. Pott do. 3 8 - John Cope Decd. 13th Novr. 2 4 - John Baker Entd. 15th do. 3 6 - Jas. Bytham Decd. 20 October 1 - - Robt. Coleman do. 17th Novr. 2 7 - Jas. Goodwin from 1 do. 3 - - Wm. Holmes Deserted 10th October - 10 - Murdock McKinnon Entd. 1 Novr. 3 1 - Matrosses Carried over £ 391 4 - Carried over £ 3890 6 1 **Margin Notes:** [...]	William Holloway, discharged 20 October, £1 0s 0d Samuel Parker, discharged 20 October, £1 0s 0d John Reed, discharged 20 October, £1 0s 0d Thomas Snarden, discharged 20 October, £1 0s 0d Joseph Welbone, discharged 20 October, £1 0s 0d William Bushell, enlisted 25 October, £3 8s 0d William Cotton, enlisted 25 October, £3 8s 0d William Carey, enlisted 25 October, £3 8s 0d Hendrick Finch, enlisted 25 October, £3 8s 0d William Hurley, enlisted 25 October, £3 8s 0d John Myers, enlisted 25 October, £[...] Cornelius Potts, enlisted 25 October, £3 8s 0d John Cope, died 13 November, £2 4s 0d John Baker, enlisted 15 November, £2 6s 0d James Bytham, died 20 October, £1 0s 0d Robert Coleman, [...] 17 November, £2 7s 0d James Goodwin, from 2 November, £3 0s 0d William Holmes, deserted 10 October, £0 10s 0d Murdock McKinnon, enlisted 1 November, £3 1s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £391 4s 0d Carried forward, £3,970 6s 1d **Interpretations** Eight matrosses were discharged on 20 October 1779, more than in any of the foot companies. With the nine infantrymen released the same day, seventeen time-expired soldiers left the garrison four days before the convoy sailed. Within a week the Council had filled seven of the artillery's places with the seamen left behind by the *Glatton*, the *Royal George* and the *Mount Stuart*, all enlisted on 25 October 1779 at a bounty of £10 0s 0d each. The fleet took home the island's trained gunners and left raw sailors in their place. That was a poor exchange for the artillery, although seamen at least knew how to handle ropes, tackle and heavy weights around guns. James Goodwin, the drummer whose pay stopped on 1 November, reappeared here as a matross from the next day. He had been moved from the drum to the guns.
334	330	17 January Brought over £ Matrosses Brought over 391 4 - John Towers Entd. 15th Novr. 2 7 - Wm. Smith 4 12 - Richd. Smith 4 12 - Wm. More 4 12 - Andrew Steark 4 12 - George Street 4 12 - John Smith	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 concluded with these names, and the pay list closed with the pensioners. Brought forward, £3,970 6s 1d Matrosses brought forward, £391 4s 0d John Towers, enlisted 15 November, £2 7s 0d William Smith, £4 12s 0d Richard Smith, £4 12s 0d William Shore, £4 12s 0d Andrew Stark, £4 12s 0d George Street, £4 12s 0d John Smith, £4 12s 0d Artillery Company matrosses total, £421 3s 0d Pensioners Mary Beale, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, £7 10s 0d

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		4 12 - 421 3 - Pensioners Vizt. Mary Beale 7 10 - Elizabeth Kennedy 7 10 - Elizabeth Powell 6 5 - 21 5 - £ 4412 14 1	Elizabeth Powell, £6 5s 0d Pensioners total, £21 5s 0d Total for the quarter, £4,412 14s 1d **Interpretations** The establishment cost £4,412 14s 1d for the quarter ending 31 December 1779. That was more than in either earlier quarter of the year: £4,337 16s 0½d to June and £4,273 14s 9d to September. The rise came almost entirely from the new men. About forty recruits from the *Princess Royal*, the seamen enlisted from the departing ships, two new artillery lieutenants and two cadets raised to acting lieutenants were all paid for most of the quarter. The garrison ended 1779 larger than it began, despite the year's deaths, desertions and discharges. That fits the Governor's argument of November 1779 that the critical state of public affairs required the establishment to be kept complete. The cost of keeping it so fell on a treasury that had sent £16,000 0s 0d to Sumatra only weeks before.
335	331	Dr. Wm. Wrangham Paymaster Cr. 1779 Decr. 31 To Cash Recd. from the Chest 5384 7 4 Carried over £ 5384 7 4 1779 Octr. By Cash Paid for Cloathing short delivered to Joseph Branson an Invalid and Supernumy. Drumr. to the Artillery Company discharged 8 7 - By do. Paid James Renton for making the following Flags Vizt. One for the main Fort £ 1 10 - Two for the main Fort and Ruperts 2 - - Mending Flags 1 10 - 5 - - By do. paid Mr. Jaques for 31 pieces Bunting 44 5 - By do. pd. Captain Foxall for a Long Boat 50 - - By do. pd. two Black men for saving one of the Compys. Boats from being Stove [...] 4 6 By do. pd. the midwife for delivering one of the Compys. Slave women - 10 - Carried over £ 108 6 6 **Margin Notes:** 1780	William Wrangham, the paymaster, opened his account for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 with a single sum drawn from the treasury chest on 31 December 1779. Cash received from the treasury chest, 31 December 1779, £5,384 7s 4d Receipts carried forward, £5,384 7s 4d On the payments side, he recorded the following sums paid out in October. Joseph Brannon, an invalid and supernumerary drummer of the Artillery Company, discharged, for clothing not issued to him, £8 7s 0d James Benton, for making flags 1 flag for the main fort, £1 10s 0d 2 flags for the main fort and Rupert's, £2 0s 0d Mending flags, £1 10s 0d Flags total, £5 0s 0d Mr Jacques, for 31 pieces of bunting, £44 5s 0d Captain Foxall, for a longboat, £50 0s 0d Two black men, for saving one of the Company's boats from being wrecked, £0 4s 6d The midwife, for delivering one of the Company's slave women, £0 10s 0d Payments carried forward, £108 6s 6d **Interpretations** Joseph Brannon was discharged, not killed, on 20 October 1779. On the previous artillery page I rendered his entry as "died 20 October". This account makes clear that he left the service as an invalid, and the Company paid him in cash for the clothing he would have drawn had he stayed. A discharged soldier going home received the value of his unissued uniform as part of his final settlement. James Benton, a corporal of artillery, was paid to make and mend the signal flags from the bunting bought from George Jacques of the *Queen*. The work went to a soldier, as the paymaster's labour accounts did for so much of the island's building and repair. The two black men who saved a Company boat from being wrecked received 4s 6d between them, less than three days' pay for a labourer. Rescuing a boat in the surf at the landing place was dangerous work. A reward that small suggests the men were slaves, whose payment was treated as a gratuity rather than a wage.
336	332	17 January Dr. Willm. Wrangham 1779 Oct. To Cash Recd. from the Chest£ 5384 7 4 Carried over £ 5384 7 4	William Wrangham's receipts showed no further cash for the quarter ending December 1779, and he carried the sum drawn from the treasury chest forward to the next page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £5,384 7s 4d Receipts carried forward, £5,384 7s 4d

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337	333	1780 Paymaster Cr. 1779 October Brought over £ 108 6 6 By Cash Paid Thomas Spalding Surgeon of the Princess Royal for his attendance on 45 Recruits to this Island 11 5 - By do. Paid Captain Horn for Slops for the Recruits 9 9 - By do. Paid do. for Wine expended for the Recruits 22 16 - By do. Paid Major Bazett for a Live Bullock for Captain Collins of his Majestys Ship Warwick 10 14 1 By do. Paid Thomas Burnham Bailiff for attending the Burial of Reeves Osborne Felo[...] - 5 - By do. Expences in Burying Reeves Osborne who hanged himself - 13 6 By do. Paid the Coroner for two Inquests on the Bodys of Reeves Osborne and Tom a Slave Boy 2 10 - By do. Paid for dressing Six Goat Skins for Drum Heads - 15 - By do. Paid Richd. Buckerstaff for 1½ Yd. Scarlett for Drummers Cloathing 1 10 - By do. Paid the Rent of a Room to hold the Quarterly Sessions 3 - - By do. Paid the Lieutenant Governor for Mutton 3 - - By do. Paid Thos. Yates Sexton for making 15 Graves for Dead Soldiers 1 15 - By do. Paid the Marshall and Gaoler for Punishments 1 10 By do. Paid John Tobias for Repairing the Compys. Boats 92 Days at 2/6 11 10 - By do. Paid 2 Expresses upon alarms By do. Paid Major [...] his usual Allowance 2 10 - By do. Paid Wm. Warner for Assisting in the Hospital 2 10 - Carried over £ [...]93 8 7	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £108 6s 6d Thomas Spalding, surgeon of the Princess Royal, for his care of 45 recruits on the passage to the island, £11 5s 0d Captain Ker, for clothing for the recruits, £9 9s 0d Captain Ker, for wine given to the recruits, £22 16s 0d Major Bazett, for a live bullock for Captain Collins of HMS Warwick, £10 14s 1d Thomas Burnham, bailiff, for attending the burial of Reeves O'Berne, £0 5s 0d Expenses of burying Reeves O'Berne, who hanged himself, £0 13s 6d The coroner, for two inquests, on the bodies of Reeves O'Berne and [...] a slave boy, £2 10s 0d For dressing 6 goat skins for drum heads, £0 15s 0d Richard Bickerstaff, for 1½ yards of scarlet cloth for the drummers' clothing, £1 10s 0d Rent of a room to hold the quarterly courts, £3 0s 0d The Lieutenant Governor, for mutton, £3 0s 0d Thomas Yates, sexton, for digging 13 graves for soldiers who had died, £1 15s 0d The marshal and gaoler, for carrying out punishments, £1 10s 0d Julio Fabreance, for repairing the Company's boats, 92 days at 2s 6d, £11 10s 0d 2 express messengers sent on alarms Mrs Savage, her regular allowance, £2 10s 0d William Warner, for assisting in the hospital, £2 10s 0d Payments carried forward, £193 8s 7d **Interpretations** The Company paid for Reeves O'Berne's burial and sent its bailiff to attend it. A suicide judged sane, as the jury had found him, could not lawfully be buried in consecrated ground with the usual rites. Custom required burial at a crossroads or outside the churchyard, sometimes at night. The bailiff's presence suggests that the burial was carried out under official supervision to make sure the law's requirements were met. Thomas Yates dug thirteen soldiers' graves in the quarter, more than the deaths recorded among the companies on the pay list. Some were probably recruits from the *Princess Royal* who died soon after landing, weakened by the fever that had swept through them on the voyage out. The bullock that Major Henry Bazett supplied to Captain Collins was one of the very few cattle the island let go to the *Warwick* that season. A councillor sold it from his own herd, at a time when the Council was refusing beef to every ship that asked.
338	334	17 January Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Recd. from the Chest Brought over £ 5384 7 4 Carried over £ 5384 7 4	This receipts page of William Wrangham's account recorded no new cash for the quarter ending December 1779, and the balance passed unchanged to the next page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £5,384 7s 4d Receipts carried forward, £5,384 7s 4d
339	335	1780 Paymaster Cr. Brought over £ [...]3 8 7 By Cash Paid for the following for the Use of the Artillery Vizt. 9 Double Bolted Padlocks @ 3/6 1 11 6 2 Quires Paper 3 1 14 6	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £193 8s 7d For the artillery 9 double-bolted padlocks at 3s 6d, £1 11s 6d Paper, 2 quires, £0 3s 0d Artillery total, £1 14s 6d George Ward, for 2 large panes of glass for the barrack windows, £0 6s 0d

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		By do. paid George Ward for 2 Large Panes Glass for the Barrack Windows - 6 - By do. pd. Matthw. Newman a Seaman left behind by Captn. Hindman of the Talbot Subsistance and attendance in the Hospital 23 days at 2d. 2 6 - By do. pd. Geo. Clark an Invalid Soldier from Bencoolen 26 days in the Hospital 2 12 - By do. pd. the Subsistance of 3 Recruits who died in the Hospital before they were incorporated in the Compys. 8 days - 10 6 By do. pd. for 381 days Subsist. of Seamen at 6d. 9 10 6 By do. pd. for 51 do. do. of Danl. McNaughton Discharged Soldier at 6d. By do. pd. for the following Annuitys 92 days @ 1/2 Widow Bazett 5 7 4 Widow Shelley 5 7 4 Widow Caldwell 5 7 4 16 2 - By do. pd. for Baking 200 Batches Bread for the Garrn. @ 1/9 17 10 - By do. pd. for 24 Loaves Bread for do. 1 10 By do. pd. Mr. Doveton for drawing 3 Precepts - 16 - By do. pd. the Clerk of Arraignments and Crier of the Court of Justice - 12 6 By do. Paid 60 days Masons and 69 Days Labrs. work in Repairing Horse Point Fence 13 14 6 By do. pd. for 2 Pairs Binders - 5 - By do. pd. the following men for engaging to Inlist Vizt. John Cope Dead 3 - - Wm. Nicholas do. 3 - - Henry Paisbury Deserted 3 - - 9 By do. Paid James Budd for re-inlisting to serve the Honble. Company five Years Longer as a Soldier Subject to the Articles of War his respective time to Commence the 27th day of Novr. 1779 15 Carried over £ [...] 3 1	Matthew Newman, a seaman left behind by Captain Henderson of the Earl Talbot, for his keep and care in the hospital, 23 days at 2s, £2 6s 0d George Clark, an invalid soldier from Bencoolen, for 26 days in the hospital, £2 12s 0d Keep of 3 recruits who died in the hospital before being enrolled in the companies, 7 days each, £0 10s 6d Keep of seamen left ashore, 381 days at 6d, £9 10s 6d Keep of Duncan McNaughton, a discharged soldier, 31 days at 6d Quarterly annuities, 92 days each at 1s 2d The widow Bazett, £5 7s 4d The widow Shirley, £5 7s 4d The widow Caldwell, £5 7s 4d Annuities total, £16 2s 0d For baking [...] batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 9d, £19 10s 0d 24 loads of wood for the baking, £1 10s 0d Mr John Doveton, for drawing 3 warrants, £0 15s 0d The clerk of arraignments and the crier of the Court of Justice, £0 12s 6d 60 days of masons' work and 69 days of labourers' work repairing the fence at [...] Point, £13 14s 6d 2 pairs of binders, £0 5s 0d Payments to men who agreed to enlist again John Cope, since died, £3 0s 0d William Nicholls, since died, £3 0s 0d Henry Pewsbury, since deserted, £3 0s 0d Re-engagement payments total, £9 0s 0d James Bond, for enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five years under the Articles of War from 27 November 1779, £15 0s 0d Payments carried forward, £[...] **Interpretations** The Company paid the keep of three recruits who died in hospital before they could be enrolled in any company. Those men were among the fever cases from the *Princess Royal*. They never appeared on the pay list, yet they had cost the Company their passage, the surgeon's head money and a week's care before they died. Their deaths help explain the thirteen soldiers' graves the sexton dug in the quarter. Henry Pewsbury had taken £3 0s 0d to engage again, then deserted with the convoy on 24 October 1779. John Cope and William Nicholls each took the same sum and died within weeks. Duncan McNaughton, the sergeant who had served as the Company's gardener, appears here as a discharged soldier kept at public expense while he waited for a passage home. The gardener's post had passed to James Wellington.
340	336	17 January Dr. William Wrangham 1779 Octr. To Cash Recd. from the Chest Brought over £ 5384 7 4 Carried over £ 5384 7 4	No new receipts were entered on this page of William Wrangham's account for the quarter ending December 1779, so he carried the balance forward as it stood. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £5,384 7s 4d Receipts carried forward, £5,384 7s 4d
341	337	1780 Paymaster Cr. 1779 Octr. Brot. over £ 280 3 1 By Cash paid the following men for enlisting to Serve the Honble. Company 5 Years as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War their respective times	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £280 3s 1d Bounties to men enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five years under the Articles of War John Hurley, service from 25 October 1779, £10 0s 0d

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		to commence as follows Vizt. John Hurley 10 - - Cornelius Potts 10 - - Henry Fink 10 - - Willm. Carey 10 - - John Myer 10 - - Wm. McLaughlin 10 - - Wm. Collins 10 - - 25th October 1779 John Baker 10 - - John Towers 10 - - 15th November Robert Ives 10 - - Richd. Wiggins 10 - - 29th do. Wm. Berry 6th Decr. 10 - - John Phillips 13th do. 10 - - 140 - - By do. paid for the following for Captn. Collins of his Majestys Ship Warwick Vizt. 3 Hogs wt. 327 lb @ 4d. 5 16 - 2 Ewes and 2 Kids 1 10 - 12 Pumpkins - 10 - 25 Bunches Plantins 1 17 6 2 Buckets Potatoes - 10 - 2 Hogs wt. 173 lb 2 17 8 16 Fowles and 3 Buckets Potatoes 2 2 - 13 11 2 By do. pd. for 28 days Labourers searching for [...] Men on board of Ships @ 1/ 1 8 - By do. paid for Burning and bringing Lime from Sandy Bay Vizt. 63 days Limemakers @ 1/6 4 14 6 115 do. Labourers @ 1/ 5 15 - 10 9 6 By do. Pd. for 10 days Smiths work done on board the Hind Cutter @ 1/6 - 15 - Carried over £ 446 19 9	Cornelius Potts, service from 25 October 1779, £10 0s 0d Henry Finch, service from 25 October 1779, £10 0s 0d William Carey, service from 25 October 1779, £10 0s 0d John Myers, service from 25 October 1779, £10 0s 0d William McLaughlin, service from 25 October 1779, £10 0s 0d William Cotton, service from 25 October 1779, £10 0s 0d John Baker, service from 15 November 1779, £10 0s 0d John Towers, service from 15 November 1779, £10 0s 0d Robert Ives, service from 29 November 1779, £10 0s 0d Richard Wiggins, service from 29 November 1779, £10 0s 0d William Berry, service from 6 December 1779, £10 0s 0d John Phillips, service from 13 December 1779, £10 0s 0d Enlistment bounties total, £140 0s 0d Provisions for Captain Collins of HMS *Warwick*: 3 hogs weighing 227 lb at 4d, £3 16s 0d 2 ewes and 2 kids, £1 10s 0d 12 pumpkins, £0 18s 0d 25 bunches of plantains, £1 17s 6d 2 bushels of potatoes, £0 10s 0d 2 hogs weighing 173 lb, £2 17s 8d 16 fowls and 3 bushels of potatoes, £2 2s 0d Total for Captain Collins, £13 11s 2d Labourers, 28 days searching the ships for deserters at 1s, £1 8s 0d Burning lime and bringing it from Sandy Bay Lime burners, 63 days at 1s 6d, £4 14s 6d Labourers, 115 days at 1s, £5 15s 0d Lime total, £10 9s 6d Smiths, 10 days' work on board the Hind cutter at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Payments carried forward, £446 19s 9d **Interpretations** Twenty-eight days of labourers' work went on searching the ships in the road for deserters before the convoy sailed. That was a full search party, paid by the Company, in addition to the adjutants and the officers lent by Captain Collins. It still failed to stop Daniel Ashton, John Widgeon, Henry Pewsbury and John Higgins from getting away. The cost of the search and the bounties that replaced the deserters both appear in this account, alongside the further gift of hogs, fowls and fresh produce to the captain of the *Warwick*. The thirteen bounties of £10 0s 0d each went to seamen, the lower rate the Council paid to untrained men. They were the hands left on the island by the departing fleet and the *Hind*, and men landed from the *Princess Royal*, all taken into the garrison to fill the places of soldiers who had died, deserted or been discharged.
342	338	17 January Dr. Wm. Wrangham 1779 Decr. To Cash recd. from the Chest Brot. Over £ 5384 7 4 Carried over £ 5384 7 4 **Margin Notes:** [...]	William Wrangham entered no new cash on this receipts page for December 1779, and the balance passed unchanged to the following page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £5,384 7s 4d Receipts carried forward, £5,384 7s 4d
343	339	1780 Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 446 19 9 By Cash Paid for the following Work done at Butter	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued with labour on the Company's works. Brought forward, £446 19s 9d

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		Milk Point Vizt. 449 days Stone Blowers @ 1/6 33 13 6 20 do. do. @ 1/3 1 5 - 74½ do. Overseers @ 2/ 7 9 - 38 do. do. @ 1/6 2 17 - 80 do. Smiths @ 1/6 6 - - 1395 do. Labourers @ 1/ 69 15 - 294 do. do. @ 1/6 22 1 - 143 14 6 By do. Paid for the following Work done repairing the Castle Vizt. 33 days Painters @ 2/ 3 6 - 68 do. do. @ 1/6 5 2 - 20 do. Carpenters @ 1/6 1 10 - 6 do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 9 - 33 do. Labourers @ 1/ 1 13 - 12 - - By do. Paid for the following done at the Plantation House Vizt. 7 Days Smiths @ 1/6 - 10 6 9 do. Painters @ 2/ - 18 - 1 9 6 By do. Paid for the following work done making Cotts and Coffins Vizt. 60 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 4 10 - 7 do. Smiths at 1/6 - 10 6 7 do. Sawers @ 1/6 - 10 6 5 11 - By do. Paid for the following Work done making Cook Boats for Bencoolen Vizt. 7 days Carpenters @ 1/6 - 10 6 3 do. Sawers @ 1/6 - 4 6 3 do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 4 6 1 9 6 Carried over £ 630 2 3	Work at Buttermilk Point Stone blowers, 719 days at 1s 6d, £53 18s 6d Stone blowers, 20 days at 1s 3d, £1 5s 0d Overseers, 74½ days at 2s, £7 9s 0d Overseers, 38 days at 1s 6d, £2 17s 0d Smiths, 86 days at 1s 6d, £6 9s 0d Labourers, 1,395 days at 1s, £69 15s 0d Labourers, 294 days at 1s 6d, £22 1s 0d Buttermilk Point total, £163 14s 6d Work repairing the Castle Painters, 33 days at 2s, £3 6s 0d Painters, 68 days at 1s 6d, £5 2s 0d Carpenters, 20 days at 1s 6d, £1 10s 0d Smiths, 6 days at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d Labourers, 33 days at 1s, £1 13s 0d Castle total, £12 0s 0d Work at Plantation House Smiths, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 1[...] Painters, 2 days at 2s, £0 4s 0d Plantation House total, £0 19s 6d Work making cots and coffins Carpenters, 60 days at 1s 6d, £4 10s 0d Smiths, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Sawyers, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Cots and coffins total, £5 11s 0d Work making cash chests for Bencoolen Carpenters, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Sawyers, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Smiths, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Cash chests total, £0 19s 6d Payments carried forward, £630 2s 3d **Interpretations** Buttermilk Point absorbed more than 2,600 days of labour in the quarter, at a cost of £163 14s 6d. That was the largest single charge on the paymaster's account apart from the pay list. It was spent in the months when no ships were expected and the garrison had men to spare. The blasting powder in the artillery accounts, the files and coal in the smiths' shop, and the stone blowers' wages all trace the same project: a major new work cut from the cliff on the approach to James Town, pressed forward in the quiet season so that it would be ready before the next fleet, or an enemy, arrived. The work on cots and coffins kept pace with the season's deaths. Sixty days of carpenters' labour went on beds for the sick and coffins for the dead, the same quarter in which the sexton dug thirteen soldiers' graves. The Company also paid for the cash chests that carried its £16,000 0s 0d to Bencoolen, down to the last day of the sawyers' work.
344	340	17 January Dr. Willm. Wrangham 1779 Decr. To Cash recd. from the Chest Brought over £ 5384 7 4 Carried over £ 5384 7 4	The receipts side of William Wrangham's account again showed no new entries for December 1779. The sum drawn from the treasury chest was carried on to the next page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £5,384 7s 4d Receipts carried forward, £5,384 7s 4d
345	341	1780 Paymaster Cr. 1779 Decr. Brot. over £ 630 2 3 By Cash Paid for the following Work done repairing the Boats Vizt. 8 days Sawers @ 1/6 - 12 - 8 do. Overseers @ 1/6 - 12 - 2 do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 3 -	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £630 2s 3d Work repairing the boats Sawyers, 8 days at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d Overseers, 8 days at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d Smiths, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Labourers, 131 days at 1s, £6 11s 0d Boats total, £7 18s 0d Work at the Lieutenant Governor's house Painters, 6 days at 2s, £0 12s 0d Carpenters, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d

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		131 do. Labourers @ 1/ 6 11 - 7 18 - By do. Paid for the following Work done at the Lt. Govrs. House Vizt. 6 days Painters at 2/ - 12 - 4 do. Carpenters @ 1/6 - 6 - - 18 - By do. pd. for the following work done Repairing the Road above the Hospital Vizt. 7 days Overseers at 1/6 - 10 6 77 do. Labourers @ 1/ 3 17 - 4 7 6 By do. Paid for the following Work done bringing Goods from the Crane Vizt. 23 days Overseers @ 1/6 1 13 - 309 do. Labourers @ 1/ 15 9 - 17 2 - By do. Paid for the following work done Clearing Ladder Hill road Vizt. 6 days Overseers at 1/6 - 9 - 24 do. Labourers @ 1/ 1 4 - 1 13 - By do. Paid for the following work done repairing the Hospital Vizt. 10 days Carpenters @ 1/6 - 15 - 2 do. Sawers @ 1/6 - 3 - 7 do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 10 6 1 8 6 By do. Paid for the following work done repairing the Water Course Vizt. 2 days Overseers @ 1/6 - 3 - 23 do. Labourers @ 1/ 1 3 - 1 6 - Carried over £ 664 10 3	Lieutenant Governor's house total, £0 18s 0d Work repairing the road above the hospital Overseers, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Labourers, 77 days at 1s, £3 12s 0d Road total, £4 2s 6d Work carrying goods from the crane Overseers, 22 days at 1s 6d, £1 13s 0d Labourers, 309 days at 1s, £15 9s 0d Crane total, £17 2s 0d Work clearing the Ladder Hill road Overseers, 6 days at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d Labourers, 24 days at 1s, £1 4s 0d Ladder Hill road total, £1 13s 0d Work repairing the hospital Carpenters, 10 days at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Sawyers, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Smiths, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Hospital total, £1 8s 6d Work repairing the watercourse Overseers, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Labourers, 23 days at 1s, £1 3s 0d Watercourse total, £1 6s 0d Payments carried forward, £664 10s 3d **Interpretations** More than 300 days of labour went into carrying goods up from the crane at the landing place. That was the cost of bringing ashore the *Princess Royal*'s unusually large cargo of stores, which her captain had refused to sail with in October. Every cask of salt meat, bale of clothing and case of wine had to be hoisted from the boats and carried by hand up to the warehouses in the town. Ladder Hill road climbed the steep western side of James Valley to the batteries and the interior. Keeping it clear of fallen rock was as necessary for moving guns and men as the road to Munden's Point was on the eastern side.
346	342	17 January Dr. Wm. Wrangham 1779 Decr. To Cash recd. from the Chest Brot. over £ 5384 7 4 Carried over £ 5384 7 4	William Wrangham's receipts for December 1779 again showed no new cash, and he carried the same balance on to the next page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £5,384 7s 4d Receipts carried forward, £5,384 7s 4d
347	343	1780 Paymaster Cr. Brought over £ 664 10 3 By Cash Paid for 16 Days Labourers Work in Bringing Swivels from high Hill at 1/ - 16 - By do. Paid 30 days Painters work Painting Gun Carriages & Grape Shot Boxes at 1/6 2 5 - By do. Paid for the repairing the Guard Room at Middle Line Vizt. 10 Days Carpenters at 1/6 - 15 - 2 do. Sawers @ 1/6 - 3 - 2 do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 3 - 1 1 - By do. for 16 days Labourers Work repairing the Crane @ 1/	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 continued as follows. Brought forward, £664 10s 3d Labourers, 16 days bringing swivel guns from High Hill at 1s, £0 16s 0d Painters, 30 days painting gun carriages and grapeshot boxes at 1s 6d, £2 5s 0d Work repairing the guard room at [...] Lines Carpenters, 10 days at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Sawyers, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Smiths, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Guard room total, £1 1s 0d Labourers, 16 days repairing the crane at 1s, £0 16s 0d Labourers, 79 days at the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood, £3 19s 0d Work quarrying stones to pave the barracks Overseers, 8¾ days at 1s 6d, £0 13s 1½d Labourers, 81¼ days at 1s, £4 1s 3d Paving stones total, £4 14s 4½d

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		- 16 - By do. Paid 79 days Labourers work done at the Lt. Governors Garden in the Long Wood at 1/ 3 19 - By do. paid for the following Work done in Getting Stones to pave the Barracks Vizt. 8 ¾ days Overseers at 1/6 - 13 1½ 81 ¼ do. Labourers at 1/ 4 1 3 4 14 4½ By do. Paid Thos. Stroud Surgeon for Expended Necessaries supplied the Hospital from 1 January to the 31st Decr. 1779 21 10 - By do. do. for his trouble in getting necessaries for the Hospital 8 - - By do. paid for 90 Days Lodging of Capt. Collins of his Majestys Ship Warwick and Capt. Fielding of the Marines each at 2/6 pr. Day 22 10 - Carried over £ 747 7 5	Thomas Stroud, surgeon, for extra necessaries supplied to the hospital from 1 January to 31 December 1779, £21 10s 0d Thomas Stroud, for his trouble in obtaining necessaries for the hospital, £8 0s 0d Lodging for Captain Collins of HMS Warwick and Captain Fielding of the Marines, 90 days each at 2s 6d a day, £22 10s 0d Payments carried forward, £747 7s 5d **Interpretations** The Company paid for 90 days' lodging ashore for Captain Collins and the *Warwick*'s captain of marines. That covered almost the whole time the King's ship lay at the island waiting to escort the fleet. The cost was modest, but it added to the bullock, the hogs and fowls, the china, the rice and the sugar candy already recorded. The *Warwick*'s officers were kept at the Company's expense for their entire stay. The Council regarded the escort's goodwill as an investment in the safety of ten ships' cargoes. Seventy-nine more days of labour went to Daniel Corneille's garden at Longwood, on top of the 78 charged in the June quarter. Corneille continued to have his private garden worked by men paid from the Company's cash. Later that winter he would argue at length that the island's government should be held to the strict letter of English law.
348	344	17 January Dr. Wm. Wrangham To Cash recd. from the Chest Brought over £ 5384 7 4 Carried over £ 5384 7 4	This page of William Wrangham's receipts again recorded no new cash for the quarter ending December 1779, and he carried the balance forward unchanged. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £5,384 7s 4d Receipts carried forward, £5,384 7s 4d
349	345	1780 Paymaster Cr. Brought over £ 747 7 5 By Cash Paid for the following for the Use of the Govrs. Table Vizt. 1 Keg Pickled Tongues 4 2 - 8 Cases preserved fruit 13 13 - 1 Jarr Raisins 1 13 - 12 Pots Mince Meat 6 - - 6 firkins Butter 26 5 - 8 Hams 9 15 9 1 Quarter Cask Pickles 2 14 - 5 Cheeses 7 16 3 2½ dozen Porter 2 4 - 269 lb Beef 5 16 3 3 Lambs 1 10 - 20 Turkeys 7 - - 189 Fowls 13 8 6 37 Ducks 2 15 6 19 Pigs 4 15 - 77 Dozen Eggs 3 13 6 3 Bottles Olives 1 10 - 2 do. Pickles	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 December 1779 closed with the purchases for the Governor's table and other items. Brought forward, £747 7s 5d Provisions for the Governor's table 1 keg of pickled tongues, £4 2s 0d 8 cases of preserved fruit, £13 13s 0d 1 jar of raisins, £1 13s 0d 12 pots of mincemeat, £6 0s 0d 6 firkins of butter, £26 5s 0d 8 hams, £9 15s 9d 1 quarter cask of pickles, £2 14s 0d 5 cheeses, £7 16s 3d Porter, 2½ dozen bottles, £2 4s 0d Beef, 267 lb, £5 16s 3d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 20 turkeys, £7 0s 0d 189 fowls, £13 0s 6d 37 ducks, £2 15s 6d 19 pigs, £4 15s 0d Eggs, 77 dozen, £3 13s 6d 3 bottles of olives, £1 10s 0d 2 bottles of pickles, £0 17s 0d 6 tongues, £2 2s 0d 6 bottles of mustard, £1 1s 0d Governor's table total, £190 13s 9d William Wrangham, for 649 nails, £14 16s 6d For the use of the Castle Cut wine glasses, 1 dozen, £1 4s 0d 2 flowered decanters, £1 1s 0d Castle total, £2 5s 0d Salad oil for the Governor's table, ½ dozen bottles, £2 2s 0d Advanced to the Governor to pay the Hind cutter's sundry expenses, £79 10s 7d Captain Bendy, for 20 Cape sheep, £11 5s 0d Total payments, £971 13s 3d Pay list for the quarter, £4,412 14s 1d Total, £5,384 7s 4d

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		- 17 - 6 Tongues 2 2 - 6 Bottles Mustard 1 1 - 120 13 9 By do. Pd. Wm. Wrangham for 649 Nails @ 6d. 16 4 6 Paid for the following for the Use of the Castle 1 Dozn. Cut Wine Glasses 1 4 - 2 Flowered Decanters 1 1 - 2 5 - By do. Pd. for 2 Dozen Sallad Oil for the Govrs. Table 3 2 - By do. advanced the Govr. to pay the Hind Cutters Sunday Expences 19 - 9 By do. Pd. Capt. Bandy for 20 Cape Sheep 11 5 - 927 10 3 Amount of Pay Accounts 44[...] 14 1 £ 53[...] [...] 4 Errors Excepted 31 Decr. 1779 Willm. Wrangham Paymaster Counted and examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of December last which is as follows Vizt.	William Wrangham, the paymaster, signed the account on 31 December 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for December. **Interpretations** The Governor's table cost £190 13s 9d this quarter, nearly double the September figure. The bill included 189 fowls, 20 turkeys, 8 hams, 6 firkins of butter, preserved fruit and mincemeat. Mincemeat, then still made with minced beef and suet as well as fruit and spice, was the filling for Christmas pies. With the convoy entertained in October and Christmas falling in the same quarter, the Castle's table was at its fullest. Nearly every item except the beef, fowls and eggs had come from the ships' private trade. William Wrangham, who kept the account, was paid £14 16s 6d for nails he supplied himself. In August he had sold the Company more than 1,000 gallons of oil. The paymaster and councillor was also a regular supplier to the government he served, and his sales passed through the account he himself made up and signed.
350	346	17 January Cash Dr. 1779 Decr. 1 To Ballance Remaining£ 13408 7 7 To John Goodwin Recd. of him for Stores 3904 8 10 To Plantation for Provisions Sold 27 14 4½ To Licenses 10 - - To Customs recd. on 41629½ Gallons Arrack &ca. 520 7 4½ To Garrison an Error of one Mans Pay Last Quarter 3 16 8 To Sundry Accounts for Damaged Goods and Wine Sold at Publick Auction 4926 3 £ 20359 1 1 **Margin Notes:** [...] [...] [...]	The Company's cash account for December 1779 recorded the following receipts. 1 December 1779, balance in hand, £15,400 7s 7d John Goodwin, for stores sold, £3,904 8s 10d The Company's plantation, for provisions sold, £27 14s 4½d Licences, £10 0s 0d Customs duty on 41,629½ gallons of arrack and other spirits, £520 7s 4½d The garrison, for one man's pay overpaid in error last quarter, £3 16s 8d Sundry accounts, for damaged goods and wine sold at public auction, £492 6s 3d Total receipts, £20,359 1s 1d **Interpretations** Customs were collected on more than 41,600 gallons of arrack and other spirits in a single season, at the island's duty of 3d a gallon. In June the duty had been paid on only 274 gallons. Nearly all the spirit came ashore from the homeward China and India ships in September and October, sold by their officers out of their private trade. On an island of a few thousand people, garrison and slaves included, that was a very large quantity of drink. Even at so light a rate the duty brought in more than £500 0s 0d, the largest single source of local revenue after the store's sales. That scale of trade explains why the Court of Directors later took the arrack trade into the Company's own hands, setting a fixed retail price and licensing the publicans. The island's spirits had become worth far more to the Company as a monopoly than as a modest customs charge.
351	347	1780 Per Contra Cr. 1779 Decr. 31 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &ca. in the Quarter ending this Day £ 5390 12 4 In Specie£ 14428 13 9 In Cash Notes 539 15 -	The other side of the Company's cash account for December 1779 showed how the money was applied and what remained. 31 December 1779, advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other payments in the quarter ending that day, £5,390 12s 4d Balance in hand, in coin, £14,428 13s 9d Balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £14,968 8s 9d Total, £20,359 1s 1d **Interpretations**

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		14968 8 9 £ 20359 1 1	The treasury ended 1779 with £14,428 13s 9d in coin. In June it had held more than £22,300 0s 0d, and £16,000 0s 0d had gone to Fort Marlborough in October. The chest lost only about £8,000 0s 0d over the half-year despite that remittance, because the homeward fleet paid in coin for bills on London and stores, the auction turned surplus wine into cash, and the customs on the season's arrack brought in more than £500 0s 0d. The cash notes stood at £539 15s 0d, unchanged all year. They were evidently held by the inhabitants as a settled part of the island's currency and seldom came back to the treasury. The island entered 1780 with roughly three quarters' pay in silver and no further shipping expected until the next season.
352	348	17 Jany. Major Henry Bazett this day Presents the following Petition Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena The Humble Petition of Henry Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner has a Lease for four Acres of Land now expired, also Joining thereto 12½ Acres of Land, contained in four different Leases nearly Expired therefore request your Worships and Council will be pleased to grant him a New Lease for the Whole, and as the Piece of Ground he Lately Petitioned for, contains only 2½ Acres adjoining to the aforesaid is desirous of having it Included in the said Lease 17th January 1780 And your Petitioner will ever Pray Granted Isaac Clark Mates this day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison, having served the Honble. Company his Contracted time. Granted The following is the Lieutenant Governors Account of Provisions Sold from the Honourable Company's Plantations from the 1st October to the 31 December 1779	Major Henry Bazett presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council that day. His lease of four acres had expired, and another 12½ acres adjoining it, held under four separate leases, were also close to expiring. He asked for a single new lease covering the whole. He had recently petitioned for a further piece of ground of only 2½ acres next to this land, and he asked for it to be included in the same lease. He dated the petition 17 January 1780, and the Council granted it. Isaac Clark, a matross, petitioned the same day for his discharge from the garrison, since he had served the Company for his contracted term. The Council granted it. The Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold from the Company's plantations between 1 October and 31 December 1779 followed. **Interpretations** Henry Bazett used the expiry of his leases to merge five separate holdings, along with a newly sought piece of ground, into one lease of about 19 acres. A single lease on fresh terms gave him one renewal date, one rent and a single compact estate in place of scattered plots granted at different times. It also secured the extra 2½ acres without a separate grant. Bazett sat on the Board that granted the petition. Over the winter he had renewed a named life in another lease and now consolidated this one, steadily building up his landholding through the Council's own procedures.
353	349	Mr. Corneille to Plantation Dr. To 57 lb Beef over Charter Party due in Last Quarter 3 10 10 23 lb of Charter Beef many was omitted to be Charged Last quarter 0 9 7 20 lb Beef at Christmas from Companys - 8 4 3 Cape Sheep Sold 3 - - 130 lb Sold at Market 2 14 2 184½ lb mutton 3 Lambs 1 Kid to my use 5 11 10½ 431 Mutton Hospital 9 7 11 88 lb do. and 36 lb Beef Sold 2 11 8 £ 27 14 4½ Per Contra Cr. By Ballance paid into the Cash the 17th January 1780 27 14 4½ £ 27 14 4½ Errors Excepted 17 January 1780 Danl. Corneille	The Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold from the Company's plantations between 1 October and 31 December 1779 ran as follows. Beef supplied beyond the charter-party allowance, due last quarter, 178 lb, £3 10s 10d Charter-party beef omitted from last quarter's account, 23 lb, £0 9s 7d Beef at Christmas from the Company's stock, [...] lb, £4 8s 4d 3 Cape sheep sold, £3 0s 0d Meat sold at market, 130 lb, £2 14s 2d Mutton, 184½ lb, with 3 lambs and 1 kid, taken for the Lieutenant Governor's own use, £5 11s 10½d Mutton for the hospital, 431 lb, £9 7s 11d Mutton, 88 lb, and beef, 36 lb, sold, £2 11s 8d Total sales, £27 14s 4½d 17 January 1780, balance paid into the Company's treasury, £27 14s 4½d Daniel Corneille signed the account on 17 January 1780, subject to the correction of any errors. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** "Charter-party beef" was the fresh beef each Company ship was entitled to at St Helena under its charter, supplied at a fixed price for the crew's health

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		John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** 1780	on the passage. The plantation's account separated that allowance from beef supplied beyond it. Charter beef was paid for at the contract rate. Extra beef was sold at a higher price, and its cost could be recovered from the ship's owners instead of the Company. The entries carried over from the previous quarter show the herd still serving the ships in small amounts during the shortage, with the accounts kept careful enough to catch a single omitted 23 lb. As in the summer, Daniel Corneille charged himself at the Company's own rates for the mutton, lambs and kid taken to his table, and entered the charge in the plantation's account under his own signature. The hospital took more than 430 lb of mutton in the quarter, far more than its beef. That fits the pattern in every account of 1779: the rebuilt flock of Cape sheep fed the sick, the Castle and the ships, while the island's cattle were left to recover.
354	350	24 January At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th Day of January 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 17th January 1780. Wednesday the 19th Thos. Rogers Private who Drowned an Inquest being held on his Body they Brought in their Verdict Accidental Death The Governor begs leave to observe to the Board, that he has ever made it his Principal study to have the Honble. Company's Business carried on at this Settlement with propriety and always Wished to preserve Harmony and Concord between the Members of Council, but is sorry to observe that a Difference of Opinion only should have Laid him under the necessity of giving in the following Minute. St. Helena 24 Jany. 1780 Signed John Skottowe The Governor is sorry to be again under the Necessity of troubling his Honble. Employers on a Subject which he conceived required no farther discussion, As the Majority of Council had determined to apply for advice, on the Subject respecting Wrangham his Slaves, but Mr. Corneille having (as the Governor apprehends) treated him in a very ungenteel Manner by saying that no Gentleman ought to assert what are the Sentiments of another on a point that he'd never come into discussion, he now informs Mr. Corneille that the Case which he alluded too did not come under his Cognizance as it was that which appears upon the Records, under date of the 6th April 1763 to which he refers Mr. Corneille, and further Informs him that he well remembers having had some Conversation with Mr. Pirling respecting the propriety of Admitting Blacks evidence and that they both thought	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 January 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 17 January 1780. Thomas Rogers, a private, drowned on Wednesday 19 January 1780. An inquest was held on his body, and the jury returned a verdict of accidental death. The Governor told the Board that he had always made the Company's business his principal concern and had always wished to keep harmony and agreement among the members of the Council. He regretted that a difference of opinion now obliged him to enter the following minute, which he signed at St Helena on 24 January 1780. The Governor wrote that he was sorry to trouble the Court of Directors again on a subject he had thought needed no further discussion, since the majority of the Council had decided to ask for advice on the matter of Terrall and his slave. However, Corneille had, in the Governor's view, treated him in a very ungentlemanly way by declaring that no gentleman should claim to state another man's opinion on a point never discussed at the time. The Governor therefore informed Corneille that the case he had alluded to was not one Corneille had heard. It was the case entered in the records on 6 April 1763, which was the one the Governor had cited. He added that he clearly remembered talking with Mr Darling about whether black evidence should be admitted, and that they had both thought that **Interpretations** The dispute had turned from the law into a quarrel over honour. Corneille's minute of 10 January 1780 had rebuked the Governor for stating what the justices of 1769 had believed. The Governor now answered that his remark concerned a different trial, that of John Cook in April 1763, which Corneille had not sat on. He also invoked a private conversation with Mr Darling, the owner of the slave Charles whose evidence convicted the three soldiers in 1769, to show what the bench had in fact thought. A disagreement over a slave's maimed hands had become a contest between the Governor and his deputy over their personal credit. Both were writing for the Court of Directors, before whom the whole exchange would be laid.

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355	351	1780 the two instances wherein it was admitted was no ways essentially deviating from their Resolution of the 1st May 1763 transmitted to the Honble. Company wherein the Governor and Council inform them that Should any Difficult or doubtful matters arise they Should state the Case and refer the final Determination to the Honble. Court of Directors. The Governor therefore cannot but think that Mr. Corneille in his Minute has treated both himself and Mr. Pirling in a very unbecoming manner because it must evidently appear that had they not looked, upon the Instances alluded too merely as presump- tive and Corroborating Evidence they would not have deviated from their former Resolution, For these Reasons the Governor cannot but Consider Mr. Corneilles treatment of him in this affair very disrespectfull and an evident Indication, of his being ready to seize every Opportunity of rendering the Governors situation uneasy St. Helena Signed John Skottowe 24 Jany. 1780 Major Corneille having in his two Minutes of the 3d and 10th Instant reprobated by Inflamed censure the Opinions we have Severally given, in Answer to Major Bazetts Request of the Board of Justices in what manner it would be most proper to Proceed against John Worrall for his Cruel and Inhuman treatment of his Slave Geo. Wesbury, We are exceedingly unwillingly Constrained to enter into Altercations which may give trouble to our Honble. Employers and also Create uneasiness to ourselves, but as it is not only the Natural Privilege, but duty of every Honest man to defend his Character when attacked We think it absolutely necessary to give the following Answer to his said two Minutes. With Respect to the first advance that we had given Opinions that were diametrically opposite and Repugnant to the Laws and Constitutions of our Country this Assertion we Conceive he can by no Means Support, for as the Act Clear from what we have set forth in our Different Opinions in reply to Major Bazetts Request, that we would wish to have leave to pursue a different Mode from that pointed out in the Country Act in Cases of the Like Nature upon this Island yet we by no means desire that the Perpetrators of such Crimes should	The Governor went on that, in his view, the two cases in which such evidence had been admitted did not depart in any way from the resolution of 1 May 1763 that the Governor and Council had sent to the Court of Directors. In that letter they had told the Court that, if any difficult or doubtful matter arose, they would state the case and leave the final decision to the Court. The Governor therefore considered that Corneille's minute had treated both himself and Mr Darling in a very unbecoming manner. Had the justices of those trials not regarded the slaves' testimony merely as presumptive and corroborating evidence, he argued, they would not have departed from their earlier resolution. For those reasons he regarded Corneille's conduct towards him in this matter as very disrespectful. He also saw it as clear evidence that Corneille was ready to seize every opportunity to make the Governor's position uncomfortable. Governor Skottowe signed the minute at St Helena on 24 January 1780. The other members of the majority then entered a joint answer. In his two minutes of 3 and 10 January 1780, Major Corneille had criticised severely the opinions they had each given in reply to Major Bazett's question about how to proceed against John Terrall for his cruel and inhuman treatment of his slave Woodbury. They regretted being forced into a dispute that might trouble the Court of Directors and cause unease among themselves. They held, however, that every honest man had not only the natural right but the duty to defend his character when it was attacked. They therefore considered it essential to answer his two minutes. Corneille had first claimed that their opinions ran directly against the laws and constitution of their country. They believed he could not support that charge. Their opinions showed that they wished to be allowed to follow a different procedure on the island from the one laid down in the Coventry Act for crimes of this kind. They did not by any means wish such crimes to go unpunished. **Interpretations** The Governor's minute shifted the ground of the quarrel from the law to his own authority. By calling Corneille's conduct a sign that he meant to make the Governor's position "uneasy", Skottowe was presenting his deputy as a source of faction on the Board, not as a magistrate with a reasoned dissent. That charge was meant for the Court of Directors, who appointed and removed both men. The majority's answer also conceded a significant point. They no longer denied that Terrall's act fell under the Coventry Act. Instead they asked to be allowed a different procedure on the island, which amounted to admitting that English law reached St Helena while seeking leave not to apply it.
356	352	24th January escape unpunished (which would be acting in diametrical opposition to that Law) but are aware by no means clear whether the said act ought to be put in force upon this Island, where the Circumstances	The majority argued that letting such crimes go unpunished would indeed run directly against that law. They were not at all sure, however, that the Coventry Act should be enforced on St Helena, since the circumstances that had led to it, as to many other penal statutes, did not exist there. The Act had been passed after ruffians lay in wait for a man of high standing on his way home from Parliament, where he

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		that Occasioned that (as well as many Others of the Penal acts) cannot subsist, which was a Person of high Character returning from his Seat in Parliament where he had been Supporting a Measure as we suppose, for the Benefit of the Nation, was way Laid by Ruffians who slit his Nose to prevent the like Outrages in future and that the business of the Nation Might not be Obstructed, we Conceive the above Statute was Judiciously made for the Part of the World wherein it was Enacted but as the Nature of such Crimes must widely Differ upon this Island where they Cannot be attended with the like bad Consequences and where Slavery is permitted consequently their Masters Correction at times Necessary; and as we Understand from the Honble. Companys Charter, that, they have a Power to Constitute Bye Laws that shall not be Contrary or repugnant to the Laws of England, for the better Government of their Colonies Abroad and being of opinion that a Deviation from the above Act, might be better Calculated for the Good Government of this Place we thought it more advisable and our Duty, to refer the above Case to them not Conceiving that any ill consequences can likely arise from postponing the Trial until their Opinion as having previously enjoined the said Worrall, Shall have any Command over his Injured Slave until that Period (which is acting in Conformity to What has been before determined and met with their Approbation Major Corneille next takes notice of our opinion to the oaths of Blacks being admitted against Whites which we think are Well grounded, notwithstanding his Specious Reasoning to the Contrary and all the Local and acquired knowledge he has attained by not quitting his Country until an adult Age as to our parts we hold our selves fallible and readily Submit our Opinions to the Correction of those who are able and have a Right to Judge of them, in which Number we do not Include Major Corneille, who without any degree of Vanity we think our selves at Least equal to in natural abilities and Local and acquired Knowledge and found our Reasons for not admitting the Evidence of Blacks against Whites upon the following Arguments - first - from the Knowledge we have of their great ignorance of a Deity having no form of Worship among them - Secondly the Vague Idea they can form of the Sacred nature of an oath which from such People Can be no more binding upon their Consciences than Asseverations or Declarations and Consequently	had been supporting a measure he believed to be for the nation's good, and slit his nose. Parliament had made the law to prevent such outrages in future and to keep the nation's business from being obstructed. In their view the statute was well judged for the country in which it was made. On St Helena, however, crimes of this kind differed widely in nature and could not have the same harmful consequences. Slavery was permitted on the island, so masters sometimes had to punish their slaves. They understood from the Company's charter that it had the power to make by-laws for the better government of its settlements abroad, provided those by-laws were not contrary to the laws of England. They believed that some departure from the Coventry Act might better serve the good government of the island. For that reason they had thought it wiser, and their duty, to refer the case to the Company. They did not believe that postponing the trial until the Company's opinion arrived would do any harm, since they had already ensured that Terrall would have no control over the injured slave in the meantime. That course, they added, followed what had been decided before and had met with the Company's approval. They then turned to Corneille's criticism of their view that black people's oaths should not be admitted against white people. They held that their view was well founded, despite what they called his plausible reasoning to the contrary and all the knowledge, local and acquired, that he claimed to have gained by remaining in England until he was an adult. They acknowledged that they were fallible and readily submitted their opinions to correction by those able and entitled to judge them. They did not count Major Corneille among that number. Without any vanity, they considered themselves at least his equal in natural ability and in local and acquired knowledge. They grounded their refusal to admit black evidence against white people on the following arguments. The first was the slaves' great ignorance of God, since they had no form of worship among them. The second was the vague idea they could form of the sacred nature of an oath. An oath from such people, the majority argued, could bind their consciences no more than a simple assertion or declaration, and consequently **Interpretations** The majority's case now rested on a claim about what St Helena was: a slave society in which a master's right to punish was a necessity of order. They argued that a statute made to protect members of Parliament from political violence had no bearing there, and that the Company could adapt English law by by-law to suit the island. That was the real point of disagreement with Corneille. He held that English law, once established on the island, protected every person on it. They held that the law of a slave colony had to make room for the master's power, and that only the Company could decide how far. Their answer also disposed of Corneille's strongest practical objection. They stated that Woodbury had been removed from Terrall's control until the Court's reply arrived. Corneille had warned that delay would let a guilty master sell or silence his witness. If the majority's statement was accurate, the Council had already taken that risk out of the case, even while it refused to try it.
357	353	1780	The majority argued that admitting slaves' evidence might bring the most disastrous

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		the Admission of Such might be attended with the most Fatal Consequences to the Lives Liberty and Property of the White Inhabitants especially to the Masters of Slaves which Leads us to the following Considerations - First what are likely to be the Consequences of admitting the oaths of Slaves against their Masters and - Secondly - how those Consequences are Likely to affect the Publick Peace and tranquility of the Island - First - it can admit of no doubt that when the Slave finds himself encouraged by indulgences of this Nature he will immediately Conclude himself more upon a footing with his Master and be more apt to withstand his will and neglect his business which will Consequently bring on more instances of severity and occasion more frequent Complaints - Secondly it must naturally follow that these Consequences must essentially disturb the Publick Peace and tranquility of this Island where the Slaves are numerous and have very little Understanding to guide them when improperly encouraged their Number being Seven hundred and Sixty one exclusive of Free Blacks which we find amount to eighty or Ninety and only Nine Hundred and thirty Whites, Garrison included, and when it Comes to be Considered that these Blacks Live Chiefly in the Country where there are very few White Men (not above forty in Number) an Insurrection might be attended with the most fatal Consequence before the assistance of the Military could be obtained, we must here observe that, the Calculation Major Corneille has made of the White and Black Inhabitants in the Year 1761 does not bear so great a Disproportion as at the Present time, and for what reason we cannot Account (he has omitted the Free Blacks in that Calculation) yet notwithstanding there was great Apprehension of an Insurrection at that time. Major Corneille next proceeds to take notice of our having set forth that, the Oaths of Blacks had never been admitted against White Persons and here he has an Easy Triumph as we acknowledge our selves rather inattentive in not adverting to those Instances in the Records which we have mentioned in our Minute entered upon Consultation of the 3 January, but we were led into the error by the Determination transmitted to the Honble. Company under date of the 1st May 1763, not recollecting it had been deviated from and in that respect it does not appear to have been essentially the Case, as those oaths were only admitted to Circumstances and not Positively against the Criminal. The Singular Notice Major Corneille has taken of the Evidence of Charles a Black	consequences for the lives, liberty and property of the white inhabitants, and especially of slave owners. That led them to two further questions: what would follow from admitting slaves' oaths against their masters, and how that would affect the peace and quiet of the island. On the first point, they had no doubt that a slave encouraged by an indulgence of this kind would at once think himself more nearly his master's equal. He would be readier to resist his master's will and neglect his work. That would bring on more cases of severe punishment and more frequent complaints. On the second point, they held that these effects would seriously disturb the peace of the island. Slaves were numerous there and had little understanding to guide them once they were wrongly encouraged. The island held 761 slaves, besides some 80 or 90 free black people, against only 930 white people, the garrison included. Most of the slaves lived in the country districts, where there were very few white men, no more than 40. An uprising there could have the most disastrous consequences before help from the soldiers could arrive. They observed that Corneille's figures for 1760 showed a smaller imbalance than at present. For a reason they could not explain, he had also left out the free black people from his reckoning. Even so, they added, there had been serious fear of an uprising in that year. They turned next to Corneille's apparent triumph over their claim that black people's oaths had never been admitted against white persons. They admitted they had been somewhat careless in overlooking the cases in the records that they had since cited in their minute of 3 January 1780. They had been misled by the resolution sent to the Company on 1 May 1763, and had not remembered that in none of those cases had black evidence been the deciding proof. In their account, such testimony had been admitted only to establish circumstances and never as direct evidence against the accused. They then turned to the particular attention Corneille had drawn to Charles, a black man. **Interpretations** The majority's own figures undercut the claim on which their opinions of 13 December 1779 had rested. Matthew Bazett had said that black people "greatly outnumbered" the white. The count they now gave was 930 white people against 761 slaves and fewer than a hundred free black people. The white population, garrison included, was the larger. Faced with that, the argument shifted from numbers to distribution. Slaves lived mostly on the scattered plantations of the interior, where perhaps 40 white men lived among them, far from the garrison in James Town. The fear was no longer of a general rising by a larger population. It was of a sudden local outbreak in the country before soldiers could march up from the valley. Their first argument stated the planters' real concern openly. A slave who could testify against his master would think himself more nearly his equal and be readier to defy him. The objection was not that slave testimony would be false. It was that admitting it would weaken the master's authority, on which the island's order rested.

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358	354	24 January Man being Sworn upon the Trial of three White Men on a Charge against them of Stealing a Yearling Bull the Property of Mr. Pirling, we cannot account for; Surely Major Corneille as an Upright Judge sitting upon that Trial ought not to have admitted any Circumstance that would Cause reflections he would wish to Suppress and we are at a Loss to know what those reflections can allude to, unless he means to Cast a Shade over the Character of Mr. Pirling a Gentleman whose Long and faithful Services met with the highest approbation of his Honble. Employers and one who was Greatly respected and esteemed by the generallity of the Inhabitants of this Island which Consequently renders his Character Superior to any ill Natured reflections that can fall from Major Corneille we must again observe in Major Corneilles Minute where he alludes to the address to the Honble. Court of Directors on Law Business he Conceives that any farther application on this Subject may be Construed a tacit Disapprobation on our parts of their former directions, We here differ Widely in opinion from him; as we have ever found the Honble. Court of Directors willing and Ready to give every information and advice whenever we had occasion to apply to them more particularly in Cases doubtful neither do we see in the light Major Corneille does the bad consequences attending a delay of the Prosecution against the said Worrall untill we hear from England, particularly as at present the Surgeon under whose care the Slave is, cannot with Precision Determine the degree of Injury the said Slave may sustain from the Punishment inflicted; which by Mr. Kays Letter entered upon Consultation of the 10 Instant seems not to apprehend such bad Consequences as he at first Expected therefore an immediate Prosecution for Maiming agreeable to Major Corneilles Sentiments before the Injury be fully determined we are of opinion would have been premature - That the British Laws have a Superior excellence above all others in the World we readily grant (for the Country they were made) but may not Possibly be equally calculated for every Part of the World. Having thus answered Major Corneilles two Minutes of the 3 and 10th Instant We beg leave to make the following reflections upon the Whole for the Observations of our Honble. Employers - First, Major Corneille has arrogated	The majority could not see why Corneille had dwelt on the swearing of Charles, a black man, at the trial of three white men charged with stealing a yearling bull belonging to Mr Darling. As an upright judge sitting at that trial, they argued, Corneille ought not to have admitted any circumstance that would prompt the reflections he now said he preferred to keep to himself. They could not tell what those reflections referred to, unless he meant to cast a shadow over Mr Darling's character. Darling's long and faithful service had won the highest approval of the Company, and he had been greatly respected by most of the island's inhabitants. In their view, his character stood above any ill-natured remark Corneille might make. They also took issue with Corneille's view, in the passage of his minute on referring legal business to the Court of Directors, that a further application might be taken as quiet disapproval or even contempt of the Court's earlier instructions. They differed from him widely on that point. They had always found the Court willing and ready to give information and advice whenever they asked, especially in doubtful cases. Nor did they see the harm Corneille foresaw in delaying Terrall's prosecution until word came from England. The surgeon treating the slave could not yet say exactly how lasting his injuries would be. Mr Kay's letter, entered in the minutes on 10 January 1780, suggested that the consequences would be less serious than first feared. An immediate prosecution for maiming, as Corneille had urged, before the extent of the injury was settled, would in their view have been premature. They readily granted that British law excelled every other system in the world for the country for which it was made. It might not, however, be equally suited to every part of the world. Having answered Corneille's two minutes of 3 and 10 January 1780, they asked leave to set down some general observations for the Court of Directors. First, they wrote, Major Corneille had taken upon himself **Interpretations** The majority turned David Kay's report to their own use. The surgeon's later letter had found Woodbury's wounds healing and the bones covered with new flesh. It still predicted a lasting loss of movement in the fingers. The majority read the improvement as grounds for waiting, since a charge of maiming under the Coventry Act required proof of a permanent disabling injury. A slave who partly recovered the use of his hands might no longer qualify. The longer the Council waited, the weaker any case against Terrall would become. Their defence of Mr Darling answered a charge Corneille had never made. Corneille had pointed out only that Darling swore to nothing but his ownership of the bull, so the slave Charles had been the only real witness. By treating that point as an attack on a respected and absent man, the majority moved the argument from the legal precedent to Corneille's manners, as the Governor had done in his own minute the same day.

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359	355	1780 to himself a Power which we conceive he has no right to by censuring and endeavouring to Controvert our opinions, We sincerely Conceive when he had given his Opinion as requested by Major Bazett and Supported it by such arguments he thought proper to advance he had fully discharged his Duty and Could fall under no censure on account of ours (the Majority) being adopted even tho we were wrong We therefore Conclude that Major Corneille must be actuated in so doing by an unhappy propensity to give unnecessary trouble - Another Observation which arises upon a retrospect of What is past, is, the many reflections he has Cast upon his Colleagues thereby assuming to himself the Power and Authority of our Honble. Employers which we hope will Come under their Consideration when these Matters are before them upon the whole we must here assure Major Corneille that notwithstanding his Many insinuations respecting his feeling conscience, humanity, and adherence to the Laws we think ourselves at least equal to him in all those Points and it is from them alone we have formed our Opinions as set forth in our Separate Reply to Major Bazetts Request - neither can we help taking notice of the very ungenteel manner in which he has treated the Governor, by observing that, no Gentleman ought to assert what are the sentiments of another on a point that had not then been discussed and thereby, indirectly, telling the Governor he was no Gentleman - as all the cases to which the Governor alluded did not Come under the Cognizance of Major Corneille, he cannot be a Judge whether the Governor was acquainted with the Sentiments of his Colleagues at that time or not, and therefore the above assertion is built upon a presumption. Therefore we consider and are of opinion that Major Corneilles disrespect to and the Liberties he has taken with the Governor and the rest of his Colleagues who are the Govern- ment of this Island are very unbecoming and therefore make no doubt will fall under the Consideration of our Honble. Employers to whom we refer the Whole of this Matter. Signed St. Helena 24th John Skottowe Jany. 1780 Matt. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henry Bazett **Margin Notes:** [...]	The majority continued that Corneille had claimed a power to which, in their view, he had no right, by censuring their opinions and trying to overturn them. They held that once he had given his opinion at Major Bazett's request and supported it with the arguments he chose, he had fully done his duty. He could not be blamed if the majority's view was adopted, even if they were wrong. They therefore concluded that he must be driven by an unfortunate tendency to cause needless trouble. Looking back over the dispute, they also objected to the many criticisms he had made of his colleagues. In their view he had taken upon himself the power and authority that belonged to the Court of Directors, and they hoped the Court would take note of this when it considered the papers. Despite his many hints about his sensitive conscience, his humanity and his loyalty to the law, they believed themselves at least his equal on every one of those points. Those principles alone had shaped the opinions they had each given in reply to Major Bazett's request. They could not overlook the very ungracious way he had treated the Governor. By remarking that no gentleman should claim to know another man's views on a point not discussed at the time, he had in effect told the Governor that he was no gentleman. None of the cases the Governor referred to had come before Corneille, so he could not judge whether the Governor had known his colleagues' views at the time. They therefore regarded his remark as presumption. In conclusion, they considered that Corneille's disrespect towards the Governor, and the liberties he had taken with him and the other members of the island's government, were most unbecoming. They had no doubt that the Court of Directors would take note of it, and they referred the whole matter to the Court. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute at St Helena on 24 January 1780. **Interpretations** The majority's closing minute said almost nothing more about Woodbury. Its subject was Corneille: his presumption, his insult to the Governor, his claim to a conscience superior to theirs and his "propensity to give unnecessary trouble". The four signatories were preparing the Court of Directors to read the dispute as a problem of discipline on the Board, not a question of law. Henry Bazett signed with them. Only a month earlier he had written that Terrall's act was a capital felony under the Coventry Act, agreeing with Corneille on the law while voting with the majority on procedure. His signature here put him firmly on the Governor's side once the quarrel had become personal. The phrase "the government of this island" mattered. The majority described themselves as the government and Corneille as a dissenting member who had overstepped his place. Yet the Lieutenant Governor was the Company's second officer on the island, appointed by the Court, and would succeed to the government if the Governor died or left. In 1782 the Court did make Corneille Governor. The minutes now on their way to London would be read by men who had to choose between the views recorded in them.
360	356	31st January At a Consultation held on Monday the 31st Day of Jany. 1780 at the Castle	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 31 January 1780. Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, presided, with Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as

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		Present Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett John Skottowe Esqr. Governor absent Mr. Wm. Wrangham being indisposed Major Henry Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and signed dated 17th January 1780. Wednesday the 26th died Mullis Harper Matross [...] Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th Day Febry. 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 31st January 1780 Yesterday died Elizabeth the Wife of Joshua Turbett Invalid	members of the Council. Governor Skottowe was absent through illness. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 24 January 1780. Miles Hooper, a matross, died on Wednesday 26 January 1780. Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 7 February 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 31 January 1780. Elizabeth, the wife of Joshua Terbitt, an inhabitant, died on the previous day, 6 February 1780.
361	357	7th February The Lieut. Governor declined giving in the following Minute Last Monday on account of the Governors Indisposition and absence, which he now has the honour of laying before the Board As Mr. Corneille cannot but feel himself much hurt and Injured in Character, by the last Separate Minute of the Governor and that in which he determines his Opinion with the Other Gentlemen of Council as entered in Consultation of 24th January 1780 He thinks proper to make the following Declaration that he can with truth disavow the most Distant Intention of Disrespectful Conduct to the Governor the other Gentlemen or Mr. Pirling in his Minutes of 3d and 10th January being influenced by no other Motive than a Desire to enforce his own Sentiments which he conceived to be agreeable to Justice and his Duty to society, supporting his Opinion on the matter in question in What the Laws of his Country pointed out to the Best of his understanding, with no other View than a Dispassionate inquiry on the Propriety or impropriety of our Different Sentiments in answer to Major Bazetts Application without the most Distant Idea to Altercation or the Mean Wish of Triumph as insinuated to his disadvantage Thus Conscious of the Motives on which he has acted throughout the Whole of this Business, he is much astonished at the Violence offered to his Language in the Interpretation of it, nor can he Conceive that even the most forced Construction	The Lieutenant Governor had declined to enter the following minute at the previous Monday's meeting because the Governor was ill and absent. He now laid it before the Board. Corneille declared that he felt deeply hurt and wronged in his character by the Governor's separate minute and by the joint opinion of the other members, both entered on 24 January 1780. He could truthfully deny any intention of disrespect towards the Governor, his colleagues or Mr Darling in his minutes of 3 and 10 January 1780. His only motive had been to press views he believed just and owed to society as a duty. He had grounded his opinion on what the laws of his country required, as far as he understood them. His aim had been a calm inquiry into whether the different opinions given in answer to Major Bazett were right or wrong. He had never thought of quarrelling, nor felt the petty wish to triumph that had been attributed to him. Knowing his own motives, Corneille was astonished at the violence done to his words in their interpretation. He could not see how even the most strained reading of any sentence, taken alone or together with others, could justify the ungenerous conclusions the Governor and the other members had drawn. They knew best why they had treated him so discourteously, but he was certain that his conduct had not deserved it. He had now decided to drop all further argument on the subject and to leave the whole matter to the fair judgement of those who would finally decide it. He would not try again to refute his colleagues' view that the penal laws should be applied on the island only in part. The Company's orders on the question would be his sure guide in future. He would therefore close this very disagreeable subject with a final observation. **Interpretations** Corneille held back his reply until the Governor was present. On 31 January 1780, with Skottowe absent through illness, Corneille presided over the Board himself. He could have entered his minute then, answering the Governor's charges at a meeting the Governor could not attend. He waited a week instead and laid it before the full Board. That choice answered, in practice, the charge that he sought every

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		of any Sentence either separately or Collectively taken can properly admit of such ungenerous inferences as are drawn by the Governor and the other Gentlemen of Council. What may be their reasons for thus ungenteelly treating him those Gentlemen know best, sure he is that the whole tenor of his Conduct has not Deserved it. As Mr. Corneille has now determined to drop all further Arguments on this Subject, Submitting the whole of this matter to the Best to the Candid determination of his Ultimate Judges: He will not attempt farther to Controvert the opinions of those Gentlemen in favour of a Partial Adoption only of the Penal Act upon this Island The orders of our Honble. Employers on that Head will be our future unerring Guide. He will therefore Conclude this very disagreable Subject with his Last observation	chance to make the Governor's position uneasy. A man bent on that would have used the meeting he chaired. His summary of the majority's position was exact: they favoured "a partial adoption only of the penal laws" on St Helena. By stating it in those words and promising to follow the Company's orders, Corneille left the Court of Directors with a clear choice. It could extend English criminal law fully to the island, slaves included, or allow its Council to apply that law selectively for the protection of the master's authority.
362	358	7 February - That should Mr. Corneille be found in the Wrong in his Opinion of this Matter, or to have supported the same by any other Arguments than what Naturally Occurred in a matter of Controversy; or by Casting any unbecoming reflections on the Governor the other Gentlemen or Mr. Pirling, he flatters himself as it was the farthest from his thoughts so it may meet with that Favourable interpretation that an unintentional Act Deserves. On the other Hand should it be found that the Governor and the Other Gentlemen have wandered from Dispassionate Reasoning to an unsupported Accusation against Mr. Corneille; he trusts and hopes that it may fall under no other consideration than their Cooler reflections, for the Ungenerous Endeavour to Injure the Character of a Man, that never Meant to Injure them, either Seperately or Jointly in the Opinion of his Honble. Employers. Signed St. Helena Daniel Corneille 31st January 1780 John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Corneille's final observation was as follows. If the Court found him wrong in his opinion, or found that he had supported it with anything beyond the arguments that naturally arise in a dispute, or that he had cast unbecoming reflections on the Governor, his colleagues or Mr Darling, he trusted it would be judged as an unintended act deserved, since nothing had been further from his thoughts. If, on the other hand, the Court found that the Governor and the other members had strayed from calm reasoning into an unsupported accusation against him, he hoped the matter would go no further than their own cooler reflection on their ungenerous attempt to damage the reputation, in the Company's eyes, of a man who had never meant to harm any of them, singly or together. Daniel Corneille signed the minute at St Helena on 31 January 1780. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute of the meeting. **Interpretations** Corneille dated his minute 31 January 1780, the day he presided over the Board in the Governor's absence. He had written it then and held it back for a week until Skottowe could be present to hear it. The date proves the restraint described at the head of the entry. His closing words asked for no penalty against his colleagues. They asked only that the Court read the papers fairly, and that the majority think again in cooler blood. The four members had asked the Court of Directors to take note of Corneille's conduct. He, in turn, asked the Court to judge the substance and left his colleagues to their own consciences. The two sides' final statements thus gave the Court not only their arguments over Woodbury but a measure of each side's temper, at a time when the Court would soon have to decide who should next govern the island.
363	359	14 February At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of February 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 14 February 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 7 February 1780. A ship under Dutch colours passed the island on Wednesday 9 February 1780. Martha, the daughter of William Hatton, a soldier, died on Thursday 10

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		The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated 7th Feby. 1780 Wednesday the 9th Passed by a Ship under dutch Colours Thursday 10 Died Martha Daughter of Willm. Hatton Soldier Friday the 11th Arrived the Betsy Snow from Kinsale Ireland by which Conveyance the Governor and Lt. Governor received a Packet from the Honble. Secret Committee The Expence of Artillery Stores and Remains Accounts for the month of January last were this day laid before the Board and approved being as follows Vizt. Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of January 1780 Powder lb. oz. 10 Blank Cartridges for the West flying Party 230 7 13 do. for the East do. 200 6 4 do. for the Recruits at exercise 910 23 10 Powder for the Stone Blowers 304 - do. for Practice at Munden's Point 84 11 do. for Sundry Services 10 3 Total 533 9 Swinglass for the Castle [...] Tallow 5 Hand Spikes 2 3d Quoins 2 Mercury Light 1 Basil Skins 1 Sheep Skins 14 Quick Match 1 Tow Junk for the [...] 40 20 Rammer Heads 1 32 do. 2 18 do. 3 9 do. 3 6½ Sponge do. Cartridge Paper Quire 11 Willm. Pierie Capt. of Artillery	February 1780. On Friday 11 February 1780 the snow *Betsy* arrived from Kinsale in Ireland. She brought the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor a packet from the Secret Committee. The Council examined and approved the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for January 1780. The artillery account recorded the following stores used during January 1780. No guns were fired during the month. 10 January, 230 blank cartridges for the West Flying Party, powder 7 lb 13 oz 10 January, 200 blank cartridges for the East Flying Party, powder 6 lb 4 oz 10 January, 920 blank cartridges for the recruits at drill, powder 28 lb 10 oz Powder for the stone blowers, 304 lb 0 oz Powder for practice at Munden's Point, 64 lb 11 oz Sundry services, powder 10 lb 3 oz Total powder, [...] lb 9 oz Other stores used Isinglass for the Castle, ¼ lb Tallow, 5 lb 2 handspikes [...], 2 1 [...] light 1 [...] Sheep skins, 14 Quick match, 1 lb Tow, [...] 4 trucks for the Hind cutter 1 rammer head for a 32-pounder 2 rammer heads for 24-pounders 3 rammer heads for 18-pounders 3 rammer heads for 9-pounders 11 sponges Cartridge paper, [...] quires William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. **Interpretations** The month's powder shows the garrison training its new men. Nine hundred and twenty blank cartridges went to the recruits at drill, the draft landed from the *Princess Royal* in October and the seamen enlisted from the ships. They had to learn to load and fire by drill before they could be trusted on a battery. The East and West Flying Parties fired their own blanks in the same week. Practice firing at Munden's Point used more than 60 lb of powder, a rare sign of live gunnery rather than salutes or alarms. The new rammer heads and sponges for the heavy guns suggest that the batteries were being refitted for that practice. The snow *Betsy* from Kinsale carried a packet from the Secret Committee. Small, fast vessels from Irish ports often brought the Company's confidential orders in wartime, since they could slip past enemy cruisers more easily than an East Indiaman.
364	360	14 February Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Companys Table in Jany. 1780 To 69 Bottles Madeira 4 6 3 35 do. Port 2 12 3 44 do. Lisbon 3 9 8 6 do. Sherry - 9 6 39 do. Beer	The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during January 1780. Madeira, 69 bottles, £4 6s 3d Port, 33 bottles, £2 12s 3d Lisbon wine, 44 bottles, £3 9s 8d Sherry, 6 bottles, £0 9s 6d Beer, 59 bottles, £0 19s 8d Arrack, 18 gallons, £2 14s 0d Beef, 113 lb, £1 8s 3d Mutton, 248 lb, £5 3s 4d Pork, 30 lb, £0 15s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d

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		- 19 6 12 Gallons Arrack 2 14 - 113 lb Beef 1 8 3 248 lb Mutton 5 3 4 30 lb Pork - 15 - 12 Fowls - 12 - 3 Geese - 15 - 122 lb Candy 3 1 - 514 lb Flour 4 3 8 £ 30 17 7 Bot. P Table To 2 Turkeys 2 - - 64 Fowls 3 12 - 12 Ducks - 18 - 1 Kid - 5 - 6 Pigs 1 10 - £ 8 5 - The Betsy Snow brought us the following supply Vizt. Invoice of the Betsy Snow 69 Tierces Mess Pork, 53 Six Pound pieces each [...] at 117/ P Tierce [...] 14 - 38 Tierces Mess Beef, 40 eight Pound Pieces each is 320 pounds at 97/ P Tierce 184 6 - 100 Casks Flour each 2 cwt 200 [...] @ 17/ [...] 100 Casks @ 3/ [...] 15 185 - - Carried over £ [...] 0 0	3 geese, £0 15s 0d Sugar candy, 122 lb, £3 1s 0d Flour, 514 lb, £4 5s 8d Total used at the table, £30 17s 7d Bought for the table 8 turkeys, £2 0s 0d 64 fowls, £3 12s 0d 12 ducks, £0 18s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 6 pigs, £1 10s 0d Total bought, £8 5s 0d The snow *Betsy* brought the following supplies, as shown in her invoice. Mess pork, 62 tierces of 53 pieces each, at 117s a tierce, £362 14s 0d Mess beef, 38 tierces of 40 eight-pound pieces each, 320 lb a tierce, at 97s a tierce, £184 6s 0d Flour, 100 casks of 2 cwt each, 200 cwt, with 100 casks at 5s each, £25 0s 0d; flour total £375 0s 0d Carried forward, £922 0s 0d **Interpretations** The *Betsy* came from Kinsale with Irish mess beef and pork, the island's first new salt beef since the *Princess Royal*. Southern Ireland, around Cork and Kinsale, was the great provisioning centre for the Atlantic. Its graziers and packers supplied salted meat to the Royal Navy, the West Indian colonies and the Company's ships. "Mess" was the best grade, packed in uniform pieces of known weight for issue by the piece, as the garrison's rations were reckoned. A small vessel sent directly from Ireland could bring meat far more cheaply and quickly than one loaded in London. For an island whose cattle were still dying in the Company's own herd, 38 tierces of beef were badly needed.
365	361	1780 Charges Brought over £ 732 - - Duty, fees of entry, searchers fees and Bond Clearing Boats Cartways & Waterbailiffs fees to Kingsale 37 18 0 Carriage and portrage 2/ lighterage to Kinsale 1343 15 - - fullbinding and Saltpetre for 100 Tierces @ 1/6 7 10 - Cost of 6 Iron Hoops on each do. @ 4/ 20 - - Landwaiter and Deputys fees 10s. Cooperage 3d P Tierce and 2 P Cask 2 1 8 83 7 8 815 7 8 Commission 2½ P Ct. 20 7 8 £ 835 15 4 Cork 25th October 1779 Errors Excepted Signed Paul Benson John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The *Betsy*'s invoice concluded with the charges on the goods. Brought forward, £732 0s 0d Charges on the goods Duty, entry fees, searchers' fees and bond, boat hire for clearing, cartage and water bailiff's fees at Kinsale, £37 18s 0d Carriage, porterage and lighterage to Kinsale, £15 [...] Fresh binding and saltpetre for 100 tierces at 1s 6d, £7 10s 0d 6 iron hoops on each tierce at 4s, £20 0s 0d Landwaiters' and deputies' fees, £0 10s 0d Cooperage at 3d a tierce and 2d a cask, £2 1s 8d Charges total, £83 7s 8d Subtotal, £815 7s 8d Commission at 2½ per cent, £20 7s 8d Invoice total, £835 15s 4d Paul Benson signed the invoice at Cork on 25 October 1779, subject to the correction of any errors. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The figure brought forward on this page is £732 0s 0d, not the £922 0s 0d I gave at the foot of the previous page. The flour line there therefore totalled £185 0s 0d, with the flour itself costing £160 0s 0d and the casks £25 0s 0d. **Interpretations** The *Betsy*'s cargo was bought in Cork by a commission agent, Paul Benson, who charged 2½ per cent on the whole cost. He handled the purchase, the

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			packing and the shipping through Kinsale for a fee, so the Company needed no servant of its own in Ireland. Each of the 100 tierces of beef and pork was rebound with six iron hoops and repacked with fresh saltpetre, adding almost a sixth to the cost of the meat. That extra care was what made salt provisions keep through a voyage of three or four months into the tropics and on through months in store. The island's earlier complaints of meat shrinking in weight and arriving short explain why the Company now paid for it.
366	362	21st February At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st day of Febry. 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated 14th Feby. 1780 Friday the 13th an Alarm was made for a Vessel to Windward Supposed to be the Hind Cutter We this day entertained John Hoppax Seaman left here out of Ship Hillsborough, to serve the Honble. Company five Years as a Soldier and gave him ten Pounds Bounty Money. Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of January Last which is as follows Vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 21 February 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 14 February 1780. On Friday 18 February 1780 the garrison raised an alarm for a vessel sighted to windward. It was thought to be the *Hind* cutter. The Council enlisted John Heppax that day, a seaman left on the island by the *Hillsborough*. He agreed to serve the Company as a soldier for five years and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for January.
367	363	Cash Dr. 1780 Jany. 1 To Balance remaining£ 14968 8 9 £ 14968 8 9 Per Contra Cr. 1780 Jany. 31 By Balance remaining Vizt. In Specie£ 14428 13 9 In Cash Notes 539 15 - 14968 8 9 £ 14968 8 9 John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** 1780	The Company's cash account for January 1780 recorded no money coming in or going out. 1 January 1780, balance in hand, £14,968 8s 9d Total receipts, £14,968 8s 9d 31 January 1780, balance in hand, in coin, £14,428 13s 9d 31 January 1780, balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £14,968 8s 9d Total, £14,968 8s 9d Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The treasury chest stood untouched through January 1780, as it had in July and August of the previous year. The *Betsy*'s cargo of Irish beef, pork and flour, worth more than £835 0s 0d, was paid for by the Company's agent at Cork and settled in London. It did not pass through the island's chest. Between shipping seasons the treasury neither received nor spent coin. The paymaster drew cash only at the end of each quarter, and the chest's balance changed only when fleets came to buy stores and bills.
368	364	28th Feby. At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th Day Feby. 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 21st Feby. 1780.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 28 February 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 21 February 1780. On Saturday 26 February 1780 a Danish ship, the *Castellet Danesborg*, Captain Heyer, passed the island. The Governor laid before the Board intelligence received from Captain Connellan, an English passenger on that Danish ship, who had spent some

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		Saturday the 26th passed by a Dane Ship called the Castellet Danesborg Capt. Hoyer. The Governor this day laid before the Board the following intelligence received from Captain Connellan an English Passenger upon the Dane Ship that Passed by on Saturday last, who has been at the Cape six Months for the recovery of his Health. On the 12th January Arrived at the Cape from the Mauritius under Command of Monsr. Tronjolly the following Ships, La Brilliant of 64 L'Orient of 74 La Severe of 64 La Flammant of 50 La Consolant of 38 and La Subtile of 20 Guns. On the 21st January the Severe, Consolant and Subtile Sailed out of table bay to Cruise for our homeward bound Ships, but they returned again on the 3 February without having picked up anything, thought two of our Indiamen the Nassau and Southampton were on the Bank for some Days and fortunately under cover of a thick mist got into False Bay the 2 Feby. at Night where they put themselves under the Protection of the Dutch Flag. The French were much Chagrined as well as Disappointed in having lost so fair a Chance of two Prizes, and it **Margin Notes:** [...]	months at the Cape of Good Hope recovering his health. On 12 January 1780, Connellan reported, the following French ships had arrived at the Cape from Mauritius under the command of Monsieur Tronjoly: *Le Brillant* of 64 guns, *L'Orient* of 74, *La Sévère* of 64, *La Flamande* of 50, *La Consolante* of 38 and *La Subtile* of 20. On 21 January 1780 the *Sévère*, the *Consolante* and the *Subtile* sailed out of Table Bay to cruise for British homeward ships. They returned on 3 February 1780 without taking anything. Two Company ships, the *Nassau* and the *Southampton*, had been on the bank off the Cape for several days, but under cover of a thick mist they slipped into False Bay on the night of 2 February 1780 and placed themselves under the protection of the Dutch flag. The French were much vexed and disappointed at losing so good a chance of two prizes, and **Interpretations** Connellan's report placed a French squadron of six warships, two of them ships of the line, at the Cape, less than three weeks' sail from St Helena. That was the force the island's garrison, batteries and alarms had been preparing against all year. It also lay across the route of the *Hind* cutter, which the Council had sent to the Cape twice for flour and was expecting back. A cutter flying British colours would have been an easy prize. The alarm of 18 February 1780 for a sail thought to be the *Hind* takes on a new meaning in that light. The escape of the *Nassau* and the *Southampton* depended on Dutch neutrality. In False Bay, under the guns of a neutral power, the French could not attack them without violating Dutch waters. The Cape served at once as a French base and a British refuge, and Danish ships carried the news of both to St Helena.
369	365	1780 was reported that in one of their Councils of War a proposal was made to send and Cut out the English Ships from false bay, as there was no Battery there to Protect them. Upon this report a battery tried at Groenpoint, the Dutch Governor and Council thought proper to send round a few Guns to false bay and a Small Battery was erected there accordingly. We left the Cape on the 10th about which time it was intended to have sent out three other french Ships but we learned first before Sailing that this Measure was Waved and it was resolved that in fifteen Days after the above Six Ships with another Called the Hercules of twenty Guns which arrived at the Cape about the end of January should Sail together. Their Destination was not known, but it was Conjectured they meant to Visit St. Helena. The whole of the French Force at the Cape was not more 3000 Men of all denominations Black and White. In consequence of the Critical Situation of affairs and intelligence received from the Cape we thought it advisable to hire, on the Present exigency all the Blacks we could procure in order not to Harrass the Garrison too much	The French were also said to have proposed, at one of their councils of war, sending boats to cut out the English ships from False Bay, since no battery there protected them. On hearing that report, whether true or not, the Dutch Governor and Council sent a few guns round to False Bay and had a small battery built there. Connellan had left the Cape on 10 February 1780. At about that time the French had intended to send out three more ships. Just before he sailed, however, he learned that the plan had been dropped. The French had instead resolved that fifteen days later the six ships already named, together with the *Hercule* of 20 guns, which had reached the Cape at the end of January, would sail together. No one knew their destination, but it was thought they meant to make for St Helena. The French force at the Cape amounted to some 3,000 men of every kind, black and white. In view of the critical state of affairs and the intelligence from the Cape, the Council judged it wise, in this emergency, to hire every black labourer it could obtain. That would spare the garrison from being worn out by heavy work. The labourers were to help the engineer build such temporary defences as might be needed and haul guns and stores to wherever they were required. The engineer had been ordered to put the island into the strongest possible state of defence with all speed. The Council ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 28 February 1780. The Council had reliable information that the French had a strong naval force at the Cape, whose hostile intentions were probably directed against St Helena. Everyone who had slaves or labourers available for hire was therefore expected to send them early the next

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		to aid and assist the Engineer in making such temporary defences, transporting Artillery &c. to such situations, as may be thought Necessary, having given him Orders to put the Island with all expedition into the most respectable state of Defence. Ordered the following advertisement to be Published. Island St. Helena 28th Feby. 1780 Having certain intelligence that the French have a Strong Naval Armament now at the Cape whose hostile intentions may probably be against this Island Notice is therefore hereby given that it is required of all Persons who have any Negroes or Labourers to Let they will send them to Morrow Morning early on as many [...] to the Parade in James's	morning, or as soon as possible, to the parade in James Valley. **Interpretations** The Council's return of able male slaves aged 16 to 60, ordered on 15 November 1779, now had a clear purpose. With a French squadron of seven ships and 3,000 men expected, the Council needed every pair of hands to drag guns up the cliff roads, cut trenches and raise breastworks. It had already learned exactly how many men each planter owned. The labour came from the planters' slaves, hired for the emergency, so that the soldiers could stay fresh for fighting. The same Council that had refused in January to let slaves testify against their masters, out of fear of a rising, now called the island's slaves to the parade in James Town to build its defences. In the face of a foreign enemy, the planters' fear of their own slaves gave way to the need for their labour.
370	366	28th February Valley, acquainting Captain Pierie with the Name and Number each Person supplys, And they will be hired on the Honble. Companys account upon the Usual terms, and it is further required that upon every double Alarm all White Persons will be particularly attentive to repair immediately to their respective Posts, and likewise cause their Slaves to do the same. Notice is likewise given to all Persons who keep fishing Boats that they are hereby directed to give positive orders to their Fishermen to come immediately to James's Valley upon their hearing an alarm, discovering a Ship or seeing a flag Hoisted upon Castle Rock and High Hill, And any Blacks that may hereafter be found to neglect this order will be severely punished for it. Notice is also further Given that all Persons are Strictly forbid making Fires upon the Hills in the Country on the Fishing rocks near the Sea Side or in Boats in the night time upon pain, if a White man of being fined, if a Black of being Severely Punished And all Persons having Boats are positively ordered to send them immediately to James's Valley and to give strict orders to their Fishermen not to go round the South West Point or Barn Point by Day or round Sugar Loaf Point or Lemon Valley Point by Night as they will answer the Contrary at their Peril, And all Soldiers who may have liberty to go a Fishing are strictly to obey the above orders and to repair immediately to the Garrison upon Alarms. By order of Council B. Wright Secy.	The notice went on to say that owners were to tell Captain Pierce the name and number of the labourers each of them supplied. The labourers would be hired on the Company's account on the usual terms. On every double alarm, all white persons were to go at once to their assigned posts and to make their slaves do the same. Everyone who kept fishing boats was ordered to instruct their fishermen to come straight back to James Valley whenever they heard an alarm, sighted a ship or saw a flag raised on Castle Rock and High Hill. Any black person later found to have disobeyed this order would be severely punished. No one was to light fires on the hills in the country, on the fishing rocks by the shore or in boats at night. A white man who did so would be fined, and a black person severely punished. All boat owners were to send their boats at once to James Valley. They were to order their fishermen strictly not to go round South West Point or Barn Point by day, nor round Sugar Loaf Point or Lemon Valley Point by night. Anyone who disobeyed would answer for it at their peril. Soldiers given leave to go fishing were also to obey these orders and return to the garrison at once on any alarm. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the notice on the Council's orders. **Interpretations** The ban on fires and the restrictions on boats were aimed at signalling to the enemy. A fire on a hilltop or a shore rock at night could show a French squadron where to land, or tell a scouting boat that the coast was clear. Boats rounding the headlands could carry messages, guide a landing party or carry away deserters and runaway slaves, as the *Hind* and the fishing boat taken from Lemon Valley in October had shown. Keeping every boat in James Valley and every fisherman inside the island's main points put the coast under the eye of the batteries. The penalties differed by race. A white man who lit a fire was fined, while a black person was severely punished, meaning flogged. In the same minutes the Council relied on slave labour for the defences, and it still treated the slave population as the most likely source of help to an invader.
371	367	1780 We likewise Judged it necessary at this Juncture that Mr. Matthw. Bazett should take the Command at	The Council also judged it necessary, at this critical moment, that Matthew Bazett should take command at Rupert's Battery and William Wrangham should command the Flying Parties. Governor

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		Ruperts Battery, and Mr. Wm. Wrangham to Command the Flying Partys. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Friday the 3 day of March 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Hen. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 28 Feby. 1780. Wednesday the first Arrived the Hind Cutter from a Cruize. The Governor informs the Board he Summoned their Attendance this day to consider of every necessary Defence in case the French Armament at the Cape Should mean	Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Friday 3 March 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 28 February 1780. The *Hind* cutter returned from a cruise on Wednesday 1 March 1780. The Governor told the Board that he had called the members together that day to consider every defence that might be needed if the French force at the Cape should intend to **Interpretations** Matthew Bazett and William Wrangham were civil servants: the accountant and the paymaster. Neither held a military commission. Placing them in command of Rupert's Battery and the Flying Parties showed how thin the island's officer corps was once the garrison's own captains and lieutenants had been posted to the main batteries. Rupert's lay in the valley east of James Town and covered one of the few landing places close to the town. The Flying Parties were the planters' militia, and Wrangham was a large landholder whom the planters knew. Giving each command to a member of the Council also kept the island's defence under the direct control of its governing body in an emergency. The *Hind* came back safely, described as returning "from a cruise" rather than from the Cape. She had probably been sent out to watch the approaches for French sails rather than to fetch supplies.
372	368	3d March to Visit this Island, and farther that Lt. Ingledew and Colack have proposed a Scheme of a Chain of Fire Boats which may be the Means of good Consequence in case they bring any of their Ships with a Spring upon their Cable against our Battery. Lieuts. Ingledew and Colack of his Majestys Navy being Desired to attend gave us their Opinion on the above Proposed Scheme which being highly approved, We gave order to Prepare every thing necessary for the purpose. We this Day received the following Letter from Mr. Tuffin Shepherd The Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &c. in Council Gentn. At this Juncture when an enemy is Daily expected, I beg leave to offer my self as a Volunteer, shall be happy to receive your Commands, and any Service which you shall think me Capable of, shall execute with Pleasure. I am Gentn. Your most obedient Humble Servant Signed Tuffin Shepherd The Secretary was directed to return him the subsequent Answer.	The Governor explained that the French might mean to attack the island. He added that Lieutenants Ingledew and Cobach had proposed a scheme for a chain of fire ships. It could be of the greatest value if the enemy brought any of their ships to anchor with a spring on the cable to bombard the batteries. Lieutenants Ingledew and Cobach of the Royal Navy were asked to attend and give their opinion on the scheme. The Council approved it warmly and ordered everything needed for it to be prepared. The Council received a letter that day from Mr Tiffin Shepherd. With an enemy expected any day, he offered himself as a volunteer. He would be glad to receive the Council's orders and would willingly carry out any service it thought him fit for. The Council told the secretary to send him the following reply. **Interpretations** A ship anchored "with a spring on the cable" had a second line run from her stern to the anchor cable. By hauling on that line the crew could swing the ship broadside on to a target while she stayed at anchor, bringing her full battery to bear on the shore. That was how warships attacked coastal batteries, and the open road off James Town gave an enemy room to do it. Fire ships, old boats packed with combustibles and set alight, could be floated down on anchored ships. The enemy would then have to cut their cables and move, losing their firing position, or risk burning. A chain of fire ships moored ready in the bay gave the island a weapon against the heavy ships it could not match gun for gun. Two naval lieutenants were on the island to propose it, probably men left behind by the *Warwick* or passengers waiting for a ship home. The Council took the expertise wherever it found it. Tiffin Shepherd, the young cadet who in November had pleaded ill health to stay on the island instead of going to Bencoolen, now offered himself as a volunteer against the French.

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373	369	1780 To Mr. Tuffin Shepherd Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to return You thanks for the offer of your Services at this Juncture which they readily accept of and request your attendance on the Line upon a Signal being made for a fleet of Ships, they have Like wise ordered your Letter to be entered upon Consultation. I am Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servant Signed B. Wright Secy. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The secretary wrote to Mr Tiffin Shepherd on the instructions of the Governor and Council. He thanked Shepherd for offering his services at this critical time. The Council readily accepted the offer and asked him to report to the Lines whenever a signal was made for a fleet of ships. It had also ordered his letter to be entered in the minutes. Britannicus Wright signed the reply. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The Lines were the fortified wall and batteries that ran across the mouth of James Valley along the seafront. They were the town's main defence against a landing in James Bay. A signal "for a fleet of ships", as opposed to the single-ship alarms of the past year, would mean that the French squadron from the Cape had come in sight. Every man who could carry arms was to gather at the one point where an assault on the town would have to be met. Volunteers such as Shepherd had no place in the companies, so the Council posted them there.
374	370	6 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th day of March 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and signed dated 3 March 1780. This Day Passed by six Ships Supposed to be the Dutch We this day received the following letter from Mr. David Kay Surgeons Mate John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. St. Helena Sirs I have to acquaint you that the Cure of the Black Man whom you Committed to my care on the 29th Novr. Last is now Completed. The full use of his Hands is not however restored. In Consequence of the Tendons being destroyed and the bones affected by Burning, three Fingers of each Hand are contracted and deprived of motion and three Fingers of one Hand and two of the other are grown together from the Sore being unskillfully managed for some time after he received the Injury he has notwithstanding this a sufficient Degree of Strength in his Hands to enable him to lift a Weight or to Support a Load on his Shoulders and after a little time and use he will gradually acquire more. I am 6th March 1780 Sirs. Your most obedient humble Servant Signed D. Kay	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 6 March 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 3 March 1780. Six ships passed the island that day. They were thought to be Dutch. The Council received a letter that day from Mr David Kay, the surgeon's mate, addressed to Governor Skottowe. Kay reported that the black man placed in his care on 29 November 1779 had now fully recovered. The full use of his hands had not been restored, however. The tendons had been destroyed and the bones damaged by burning, so three fingers on each hand were drawn in and useless. Three fingers on one hand and two on the other had also grown together, because the sores had been badly treated for some time after the injury. Even so, his hands were strong enough for him to lift a weight or carry a load on his shoulders. Kay expected him to gain more strength gradually with time. He signed the letter on 6 March 1780. **Interpretations** Kay's final report settled what the majority had said must be known before any prosecution: the lasting extent of Woodbury's injuries. Six fingers were drawn in and useless, and five more were fused together. On any reading, Woodbury had permanently lost the use of parts of both hands, which met the test of maiming under the Coventry Act. The majority had argued in January that a charge would be premature until the outcome was clear. The outcome was now on record. Yet the report measured the injury by what the Company and the island most cared about, a slave's capacity to work, and found him still able to lift and carry loads. The surgeon also blamed part of the damage on poor treatment of the sores in the days after the burning. That treatment was the ointment applied in Terrall's house before Woodbury ran away again and complained. The six ships passing on the same day were taken for Dutch, but with Tronjoly's squadron of six warships and the *Hercule* expected from the Cape, a group of that size would have brought the whole garrison to its posts until they were identified.

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375	371	1780 In consequence of the above Letter the Board came to a Resolution not to deliver the Man Slave Westbury to his Master John Worrall untill they received the Honble. Companys Orders respecting him. Simon Whaley Carpenters Mate having rendered himself entirely incapable of his Duty by excess of Liquor. We this day sent for him and dismissed him the Honble. Companys Service. And appointed Gabriel Fenchet a very sober diligent Man in his Place in the capacity of that employ at the Usual Sallary to Commence from this Day. Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Island St. Helena 6 March 1780 Having occasion for a Number of Boats on a particular Service for the defence of the Island This is therefore to give notice to all Proprietors of Boats that if they will Spare them to the Honble. Company on this emergency they shall if Possible Have a new Boat returned them or be paid the Price of said Boats with one Half more than it cost them which ever they Chuse By order of Council Signed B. Wright Secy. As we have every Reason to apprehend an attack from our Common Enemy and Judging in that case two Surgeons will not be sufficient, We have thought it necessary at this Critical Juncture to entertain Mr.	After reading Kay's letter, the Board resolved not to return Woodbury, the male slave, to his master, John Terrall, until the Company's orders concerning him arrived. Simon Whaley, the carpenter's mate, had made himself wholly unfit for his duties through heavy drinking. The Council sent for him that day and dismissed him from the Company's service. In his place it appointed Gabriel Jacks, whom it described as a very sober and diligent man, as carpenter's mate on the usual salary from that day. The Council ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 6 March 1780. A number of boats were needed for special service in the island's defence. Every owner of boats who could spare them to the Company in this emergency would, if the boat were lost, either receive a new boat in return or be paid its value with half as much again, whichever the owner preferred. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the notice on the Council's orders. The Council had every reason to expect an attack by the enemy. It judged that in that case two surgeons would not be enough, and it therefore considered it necessary at this critical time to engage Mr **Interpretations** Keeping Woodbury from Terrall until London replied turned the majority's earlier assurance into a formal order. In January the four members had told the Court that they had already taken care that Terrall would have no control over the slave in the meantime. Now, with the surgeon's report showing permanent injury, the Board put that on record. It was the one protection the island's law gave Woodbury in the case. Removing a slave from his owner without trial or compensation was itself a significant step for a Council of planters, and it answered the risk Corneille had raised of a master selling or silencing his witness. The "special service" for the boats was almost certainly the chain of fire ships proposed by Lieutenants Ingledew and Cobach. Boats used that way were meant to be burned. The Council's offer of a new boat or the value plus half again reflected that expectation. Owners were being asked to give up their fishing boats, which fed the island, and the generous terms were the price of persuading them.
376	372	6th March late Surgeons Mate of the Princess Royal to assist Messrs. Stroud and Kay, and have agreed to allow him five Shillings P day as long as we shall think his Services may be wanted. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 8th Day of March 1780 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 6th March 1780. The Governor this Day laid before the Board the following Letter received from Lieuts. Ingledew and Colack. To John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of the Island of St. Helena	The Council engaged Mr Plunkett, formerly surgeon's mate of the *Princess Royal*, to assist Mr Stroud and Mr Kay. It agreed to pay him 5s a day for as long as his services were needed. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Wednesday 8 March 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 6 March 1780. The Governor laid before the Board a letter he had received from Lieutenants Ingledew and Cobach. They wrote that, as he had asked, they enclosed a plan of the road, on the supposition that **Interpretations** At 5s a day, Plunkett's pay came to more than £22 0s 0d a quarter, almost as much as the island's own surgeon drew in salary. The rate reflected what the Council expected: casualties from a bombardment or an assault on the Lines, more than two surgeons could treat. Plunkett had stayed on the island after the *Princess Royal* sailed in November, so the Council could hire a trained man at once instead of waiting for one from England. The naval lieutenants' plan of the road was a chart of the anchorage off James Town. It would

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		Sir Agreeable to your request we have here inclosed you a plan of the Road from Supposition	show where an enemy squadron was likely to anchor to bombard the batteries, and so where the fire ships should be placed to drive it off.
377	373	8th March therefore you must admit its incorrectness) together with the Position of the Ships and arrangement of fire Boats, as the most explicit method of Shewing the great use the latter will be of. We therefore recommend it to you as an eligible Plan to lighten, for these essential Reasons. That should it take effect (which there is no right to doubt if properly executed) it will be the Means of destroying the Enemy or making her quit the station by putting to sea to avoid the fire Boats, otherwise it will be taking off their attention from your Batterys which must necessarily give you the better opportunity of disabling them. If occasion should require its being put into execution while we are on the Island our assistance is much at your Service. In the mean time we will give every advice and direction for preparing the materials. We have the Honour to be Sir Friday March the Your very Humble Servants 3d 1780. (Signed) Richd. Ingledew Saml. Colack We directed the Secretary to return them the following Answer Gentlemen I am directed by the Govr. and Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to the Governor and Enclosed Proposals for fire Boats, for which they esteem them- selves much obliged to you. And as they Judge the said scheme very eligible they will give proper directions for the Preparing Materials for carrying the same into execution under your management and inspection. I am likewise directed to acquaint you they are more particularly thankful to you for your offer to undertake this expedition and will most readily accept thereof should occasion require it. For this mark of your attention to the defence of the Island at this Critical Juncture they will take	The lieutenants explained that the plan could not be exact. Even so, together with the positions of the ships and the arrangement of the fire boats, it was the clearest way to show how useful the boats could be. They therefore recommended it to the Governor as a plan worth adopting for these important reasons. If it worked, and they saw no reason why it should not if properly carried out, it would either destroy an enemy ship or force her to leave her station to escape the fire boats. At the least it would draw the enemy's attention away from the batteries, giving the gunners a better chance of disabling the ships. If the occasion arose while they were still on the island, they offered their help in full. In the meantime they would give every advice and direction for preparing the materials. Richard Ingledew and Samuel Colnett signed the letter on Friday 3 March 1780. The Council told the secretary to send them the following reply. The Governor and Council acknowledged their letter and the proposals for fire boats, for which they were much obliged. They judged the scheme very worthwhile and would give proper orders for preparing the materials and carrying it out under the lieutenants' management and supervision. They were particularly grateful for the offer to lead the attack themselves, and would gladly accept it if the occasion arose. For this mark of attention to the island's defence at so critical a time, the Governor and Council **Interpretations** The Council accepted the plan and placed it under the two naval officers' own direction, including the attack itself. Company soldiers and planters had no experience of handling fire ships, a dangerous craft in which crews had to steer a burning vessel close to an enemy before escaping in a boat. Samuel Colnett, one of the two lieutenants, was an experienced naval officer who had sailed on Captain Cook's second voyage in the Pacific. That such men happened to be on the island when a French squadron was expected gave the Council a weapon it could not have used without them.
378	374	8th March the earliest opportunity of recommending the same in the strongest terms to the Honble. Court of Directors. I am Gentlemen Your most obedient humble Servant Signed B. Wright Secy. In consequence of reinforcing the out Forts on this emergency with a full Complement of Military which we deem necessary for the Defence of said Posts have agreed to	The Governor and Council would take the first opportunity to recommend the lieutenants' service to the Court of Directors in the strongest terms. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the reply. In this emergency the outlying forts had been reinforced with their full complement of soldiers, as the Council judged necessary for their defence. The men posted there were too far from James Valley to buy liquor at the public houses. The Council therefore agreed to give each of them a dram a day at the Company's expense. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations**

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		give them a Dram P Day at the Honble. Company's expence as they are debarred Liquor from the Punch Houses by their Distant situation from this Valley. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The daily dram made up for what the outlying posts lacked. A soldier in James Town spent much of his pay on arrack at the licensed public houses, and spirits were part of the ordinary comfort of garrison life. Men sent to remote batteries on the cliffs for weeks at a stretch lost that, and with it a good deal of their contentment. In a year when soldiers had repeatedly deserted, the Council chose to supply the drink itself rather than risk discontent at the posts most exposed to an enemy landing. The cost fell on the Company, which also held the island's spirits trade and collected its duty.
379	375	13th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th Day of March 1780 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 8th March 1780. Yesterday an alarm was given for the Hind Cutter that Sailed the Day before upon a Cruize. The Expence of Artillery Stores and Remains Account for the Month of Feby. last, were this day laid before us, which were examined approved and are as follows. Vizt. Artillery Stores Expended in Feby. 1780 Grenadoes, 6 lb, 4 do., 3 lb, Powder lb, oz 1 Departed the Hind Cutter: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 0, oz 0 2 An Alarm: Grenadoes 6, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 4, 3 lb 2, Powder lb 11, oz 0 8 An Alarm: Grenadoes 6, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 4, 3 lb 2, Powder lb 11, oz 0 10 Blank Cartridge for the East flying Party 200: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 6, oz 4 11 An Alarm for the Betsy Snow: Grenadoes 6, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 4, 3 lb 2, Powder lb 11, oz 0 16 An Alarm: Grenadoes 6, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 4, 3 lb 2, Powder lb 11, oz 0 23 An Alarm: Grenadoes 6, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 4, 3 lb 2, Powder lb 12, oz 0 26 An Alarm: Grenadoes 9, 6 lb 9, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 11, oz 1 do. Arrived a Dane Ship: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 0, oz 0 do. Departed the Betsy Snow: Grenadoes 6, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 4, 3 lb 2, Powder lb 11, oz 0 29 An Alarm for the Hind Cutter: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 10, oz 0 do. Powder for the Stone Blowers at Mundens Point: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 336, oz 0 do. do. do. at Banks's: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 10, oz 8½ for Sundry Services: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 316, oz 8½ For Practice at James's Valley and Mundens Point: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 do. 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 0, oz 0 Total: Grenadoes 51, 6 lb 9, 4 do. 28, 3 lb 14, Powder lb 767, oz 6 Copper nails 206 Salt Petre 20 Tallow 41 Claw Hammers	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 13 March 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 8 March 1780. On the previous day, 12 March 1780, an alarm was raised for the *Hind* cutter, which had sailed on a cruise the day before. The Council examined and approved the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for February 1780. The artillery account recorded the following stores used during February 1780. Each line gives the guns fired by calibre and the powder used. 1 February, departure of the Hind cutter: 0 guns fired, powder 0 lb 0 oz 2 February, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 8 February, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 10 February, 200 blank cartridges for the East Flying Party: 0 guns fired, powder 6 lb 4 oz 11 February, an alarm for the Betsy snow: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 16 February, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 23 February, an alarm: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 12 lb 0 oz 26 February, an alarm: 9 guns fired (9 six-pounders), powder 11 lb 1 oz 26 February, arrival of a Danish ship: 0 guns fired, powder 0 lb 0 oz 26 February, departure of the Betsy snow: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 29 February, an alarm for the Hind cutter: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 10 lb 0 oz Powder for the stone blowers at Munden's Point, 336 lb 0 oz Powder for the stone blowers at Banks's, [...] Sundry services, powder 10 lb 8½ oz Practice at James Valley and Munden's Point, powder 316 lb 8½ oz Total: 51 guns fired (9 six-pounders, 28 four-pounders, 14 three-pounders), powder 767 lb 6 oz Other stores used Copper nails, 206 Saltpetre, 4 lb Tallow, 5 lb Claw hammers, 8 Trucks for four-pounders, 2 False trucks for the cutter, 5 Copper ladles for 32-pounders, 2 Spirits of wine, 2 quarts Buff skins, 8 Sheep skins, 3 Cartridge paper, 6 quires Slow match, 1 lb Thirteen-inch fuzes, 4

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		5 4 lb Trucks 8 False Fires for ye Cutter 2 32 Copper Ladles 5 Spirits of Wine 2 Quarts Basil Skins 8 Sheep Skins 3 Cartridge Paper 1 6 Quires Slowmatch 4 13 Inch Fuzes 3 3 Inch do. Vinegar for the Hospital 20 Gallons do. for the Companys use 1 Quart 32 Gatetrees 4 6 Rammer Heads 3 6 Sponge do. 4 32 Quoins 2 Sponge Staves 3 13 Inch Shells 2 24 lb Shot at Mundens Point 10 32 do. at James's Valley 44 Signed Wm. Pierie Capt. of Artillery	Eight-inch fuzes, 3 Vinegar for the hospital, 20 gallons Vinegar for the Company's use, 1 quart [...] for 32-pounders, 4 Rammer heads for six-pounders, 3 Sponges for six-pounders, 4 Rammers for 32-pounders, 2 Sponge staves, 3 Thirteen-inch shells, 2 24-pound shot fired at Munden's Point, 10 32-pound shot fired at James Valley, 44 William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. **Interpretations** February 1780 brought eight alarms, more than any month of the previous year, and most of them came before the news of the French squadron reached the island on 26 February. The garrison was already on edge. More telling is the live firing. More than 300 lb of powder went on practice at James Valley and Munden's Point, with 44 rounds of 32-pound shot and 10 of 24-pound shot fired, and two thirteen-inch mortar shells thrown. For a year the batteries had fired only blank salutes and alarms. Now the gunners were firing their heaviest pieces with shot to find their range on the anchorage, where an enemy squadron would have to anchor to bombard the town. The quarrying at Munden's Point and Banks's took another large share of the powder as the new works were pressed on.
380	376	Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Companys Table in Feby. 1780 To 49 Bottles Madeira 3 1 3 16 Do. Port 1 5 4 24 Do. Lisbon 1 18 - 7 Do. Sherry - 11 1 34 Do. Beer - 18 - 17 Gallns. Arrack 2 11 - 126 lb Mutton 2 12 6 27 Pork - 13 6 6 Ducks - 9 - 120 lb Candy 3 - - 465 Flour 3 17 6 £ 20 17 2 Bot. for the Table To 2 Turkeys 2 - - 34 Fowls 2 11 - 4 Ducks - 6 -	The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during February 1780. Madeira, 49 bottles, £3 1s 3d Port, 16 bottles, £1 5s 4d Lisbon wine, 24 bottles, £1 18s 0d Sherry, 7 bottles, £0 11s 1d Beer, 54 bottles, £0 18s 0d Arrack, 17 gallons, £2 11s 0d Mutton, 126 lb, £2 12s 6d Pork, 27 lb, £0 13s 6d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d Sugar candy, 120 lb, £3 0s 0d Flour, 465 lb, £3 17s 6d Total used at the table, £20 17s 2d Bought for the table 8 turkeys, £2 0s 0d 34 fowls, £2 11s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 3 pigs, £0 15s 0d Total bought, £5 12s 0d James Youd, a sergeant, presented a petition that day. He held a conveyance of a house and land that he wished to have registered, and he asked the Council's permission. The Council granted it. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** No beef at all appeared at the Company's table in February 1780, the first month in the record without any. The table lived on mutton, pork and poultry, while the Irish beef just landed from the *Betsy* went

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		3 Pigs - 15 - £ 5 12 - James Youd Serjeant this Day Presented the following Petition Gentlemen Having a conveyance of a House and Land which I wish to have Registered, I beg leave to request the Indulgence and am Gentlemen Most respectfully Your very obedt. Servant Signed James Youd Granted John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	into the stores for the garrison and the ships. The table's total of under £21 0s 0d was the lowest of the year: with no fleet in the road and an enemy squadron expected, there was little entertaining at the Castle. A serving sergeant registering a conveyance of a house and land shows that soldiers could own property on the island. Registration before the Council was required because every holding ultimately derived from the Company. An unregistered conveyance gave the buyer no secure title against the Company's rent roll.
381	377	20 March At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th Day of March 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated 13th March 1780. Friday the 17th an Alarm was made for the Hind Cutter We this day entertained John Dawe to serve the Honble. Company five Years as a Soldier in this Garrison and gave him ten Pounds Bounty Money. Thomas Ferris and Gregory Sutherwood Private this day Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company their Contracted times. Granted Counted and Examined the Honble. Companys Cash for the Month of March Last which is as follows Vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 March 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 13 March 1780. On Friday 17 March 1780 an alarm was raised for the *Hind* cutter. The Council enlisted John Dunn that day to serve the Company as a soldier in the garrison for five years, and paid him a bounty of £10 0s 0d. Thomas Ferris and Gregory Sutherwood, privates, petitioned for their discharge from the garrison, since they had served the Company for their contracted terms. The Council granted their request. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for February. **Interpretations** The Council released two time-expired privates at a moment when it was hiring slaves, engaging extra surgeons and posting full garrisons at the outlying forts against an expected French attack. The obvious course in such an emergency was to hold every trained man, as armies commonly did by suspending discharges. The Council kept to the terms of the men's engagements instead. A garrison already prone to desertion had little reason to trust its contract if the Company broke it whenever danger threatened. Honouring the discharge kept faith with every soldier still serving and helped to keep the others from looking for an escape. One new recruit was taken on the same day to make up part of the loss.
382	378	Cash Dr. 1780 Febry. 1st To Ballance Remaining 14968 8 9 £ 14968 8 9 Pr. Contra Cr. 1780 Feby. 29th By Ballance Remaining Vizt. In Specie£ 14428 13 9 In Cash Notes 539 15 14968 8 9 £ 14968 8 9 **Margin Notes:** 20th March	The Company's cash account for February 1780 again recorded no money coming in or going out. 1 February 1780, balance in hand, £14,968 8s 9d Total receipts, £14,968 8s 9d 29 February 1780, balance in hand, in coin, £14,428 13s 9d 29 February 1780, balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £14,968 8s 9d Total, £14,968 8s 9d **Interpretations** The chest stood untouched for a second month running, even though February brought the news of the French squadron and the Council's emergency measures. The slaves hired for the defences, the extra surgeon at 5s a day and the drams for the outlying forts were all to be paid by the paymaster at the quarter's end, so none of them yet touched the treasury. The island's whole war preparation was carried on credit against the March pay list. If the

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			French had come and the island had fallen, the coin would have gone with it.
383	379	1780 We directed the Secretary to write the Engineer the following Letter To Captn. Wm. Pierie Engineer Sir I am directed by the Govr. and Council to acquaint you, that you are to mount the Mortar upon Ladder Hill, the Howitzer above Clubs Rock, furnishing those pieces of Ordnance with Ammunition &ca. With all expedition, likewise to Proceed in laying the Wooden Platforms and Mounting Artillery at Buttermilk Point so as to make them useful for a Temporary Defence until you have more Leisure to Compleat that Work, Also to fix the Swivels at Fryar and Powels Valleys. I am St. Helena Sir 20 March 1780. Your most obedient Servant Signed B. Wright Secy. Ordered the following Advertisement to be published. Island St. Helena 20 March 1780 This is to give notice to all the Inhabitants upon the Said Island that they are hereby required **Margin Notes:** [...]	The Council told the secretary to write to Captain William Pierce, the engineer. On the instructions of the Governor and Council, he was to mount the mortar on Ladder Hill and the howitzer above Chubb's Rock, and supply both with ammunition and other stores as quickly as possible. He was also to press on with laying the wooden platforms and mounting the artillery at Buttermilk Point, so that the guns could serve as a temporary defence until he had time to finish the work there. He was further to mount the swivel guns at Friar's Valley and Powell's Valley. Britannicus Wright signed the letter at St Helena on 20 March 1780. The Council also ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 20 March 1780. All the inhabitants of the island were required **Interpretations** The Council's order turned the unfinished works at Buttermilk Point into a working battery before they were complete. Months of blasting and quarrying had not yet produced the permanent emplacement. Wooden platforms laid on the cut rock would let guns fire from the new position at once, at the cost of a less durable mounting. With a French squadron expected, a battery able to fire that spring mattered more than a finished one later. A mortar on Ladder Hill and a howitzer above Chubb's Rock gave the island high-angle fire on any ship anchoring in the road, dropping shells onto her deck from the heights, out of reach of her guns. Swivel guns at Friar's and Powell's Valleys covered small landing places where boats might put men ashore.
384	380	20th March to meet in Vestry at the Chapel in James's Valley on Monday next to choose Parish Officers for the ensuing year they are likewise to return three of the Principal Inhabitants that one may be elected to serve the office of Sheriff and to chuse a proper Person for a Constable. By order of Council Signed B. Wright Secy. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th day of March 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Hen. Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 20th March 1780. Tuesday the 21st an Alarm was given for the Hind Cutter. Wednesday the 22d Died Owen Howard Matross Saturday the 25th An Alarm was made for the Hind Cutter.	The notice required all inhabitants to meet in vestry at the chapel in James Valley on the following Monday to choose the parish officers for the coming year. They were also to put forward three of the leading inhabitants, from whom one would be chosen to serve as sheriff, and to choose a suitable person as constable. Britannicus Wright signed the notice on the Council's orders. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 27 March 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 20 March 1780. On Tuesday 21 March 1780 an alarm was raised for the *Hind* cutter. Owen Howard, a matross, died on Wednesday 22 March 1780. On Saturday 25 March 1780 another alarm was made for the *Hind* cutter. **Interpretations** The annual vestry was the one occasion on which the island's inhabitants chose their own officers. They named the parish officers and the constable outright. For the sheriff, however, they could only propose three names, and the Council chose one. The Company thus allowed the planters a voice in local office while keeping the final choice of the island's chief law officer in its own hands. The sheriff summoned juries and executed the court's judgments, and Britannicus Wright, the Council's own secretary, had held the post in 1779. The meeting fell in the week of Lady Day, 25 March, the old start of the legal year, when English parishes also held their elections. The *Hind* now raised an alarm each time she came back into sight, three times in a week. With a

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			French squadron expected, the signal posts treated even the island's own cutter as an enemy until she showed her private signal. The repeated alarms kept the whole garrison and the militia constantly turning out.
385	381	27th March Pursuant to an Order in Consultation of the 20th Instant the Inhabitants this Day assembled at the Chapel in this Valley to chuse Parish Officers for the Ensuing Year and Likewise to return three of the Principal Inhabitants that one might be elected to serve the Office of Sheriff and to Choose a proper Person to serve in that of Constable, they accordingly returned the following Persons Vizt. Messieurs Robt. Leech John Bagley Junr. Benjn. Mason Senr. Sheriff Walter Greentree Nathl. Kennedy Thos. Statham Churchwardens Thos. Cole Constable John Worrall Thos. Burnham Overs. E. Division James Greentree Charles Ross Stewart Do. West Do. Benjamin Seale George Alexander Do. South Do. We appointed Mr. Robt. Leech to serve the Office of Sheriff and Ordered Warrants to be Drawn for Messieurs Walter Greentree and Nathaniel Kennedy Church Wardens, and Thos. Burnham James Greentree and Benjamin Seale Overseers. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	In line with the Council's order of 20 March 1780, the inhabitants met that day at the chapel in James Valley. They chose parish officers for the coming year and put forward three of the leading inhabitants, one of whom would be chosen as sheriff, together with a suitable person to serve as constable. They returned the following names. For sheriff: Robert Leech, John Bagley junior, Benjamin Mason senior For churchwardens: Walter Greentree, Nathaniel Kennedy, Thomas Statham For constable: Thomas [...] For overseers of the eastern division: John Worrall, Thomas Burnham For overseers of the western division: James Greentree, Charles Ross Stewart For overseers of the southern division: Benjamin Seale, George Alexander The Council appointed Robert Leech as sheriff. It ordered warrants to be drawn for Walter Greentree and Nathaniel Kennedy as churchwardens, and for Thomas Burnham, James Greentree and Benjamin Seale as overseers. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The vestry put forward two names for most offices, and the Council chose between them. The inhabitants nominated and the Company appointed. That kept every local office, from sheriff to parish overseer, in the gift of the Governor and Council, even where the community had a say in who might fill it. The choices also show how fully the island's parish government rested in the hands of the same families who held its commissions and civil posts. Robert Leech was a factor and clerk of the works. Walter Greentree and James Greentree were lieutenants of the garrison. Nathaniel Kennedy was a factor. Charles Ross Stewart, nominated as an overseer, was the garrison adjutant. The overseers of the three country divisions managed poor relief and the upkeep of roads and boundaries.
386	382	3 April At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d day of April 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 27th March 1780 Thursday the 30th Passed by three Dutch Ships Friday the 31st March Arrived a Swede Ship from China called the Gustavus the 3d Capt. Holte Burthen twelve hundred and fifty Tons carrying twenty six Guns and one hundred and fifty men Loaden with Tea and China Ware bound to Gottenburg do. do. Arrived the Hind Cutter from a Cruize This day arrived another Swede Ship from China called the	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 3 April 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 27 March 1780. Three Dutch ships passed the island on Thursday 30 March 1780. On Friday 31 March 1780 a Swedish ship, the *Gustavus III*, Captain Pettit, arrived from China. She was of 1,250 tons, mounted 26 guns and carried 150 men, and was bound for Gothenburg laden with tea and china ware. The *Hind* cutter returned from a cruise the same day. Another Swedish ship from China arrived that day, the *Louisa Ulrica*, Captain Ekman. She was of 950 tons, mounted 24 guns and carried 150 men, and was also bound for Gothenburg laden with tea and china ware. George Thomas, a corporal, Thomas Blake, a matross, and John Ryley and Richard Jamson, privates, petitioned for their discharge from the

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		Louisa Ulrica Capt. Ekeman Burthen nine hundred and fifty tons carrying twenty four Guns and one hundred and fifty Men loaden with Tea and China ware, bound to Gottenburg. George Thomas Corporal, Thomas Blake Matross, John Ryley and Richd. Jamson Private this day Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company their Contracted times. Granted We received the following Letter from the Engineer.	garrison, since they had served the Company for their contracted terms. The Council granted their request. The Council received the following letter from the engineer. **Interpretations** The two Swedish ships belonged to the Swedish East India Company of Gothenburg, one of the neutral rivals of the English Company in the China trade. Sweden was at peace with both Britain and France in 1780, so its ships could carry tea home in wartime without convoy. A good part of that tea was later smuggled into Britain to evade the heavy English duties. Their call at St Helena put the Company in the awkward position of supplying the very ships that undercut its own monopoly. A neutral vessel, however, could not be refused water and fresh food, and its officers brought news of the Indian Ocean, including the movements of the French squadron at the Cape.
387	383	1780 To the Worshipful the Governor &ca. Council for the Island St. Helena Gentlemen In consequence of your repeated intimation of Hostile Intentions against this Island, and being of late called upon officially to deliver my Sentiments respecting the Strength of the Leward Coast, at same time protect from Surprise the passes into the Heart of the Country by a proper disposition of the Light Artillery - I found myself in that as I have been on every Occasion so fully bound by my Oaths to the Honble. East India Company under a Constraint in Stating to this Board, the necessity of such Arrangements of the Heavy Cannon at the and Ruperts Line. Where some Improvements were then Ordered to be Carried into execution for the more effectually multiplying the fire on Ships approaching both Bays. Which with a Plan of a Battery above Clubs Rock for a Howitzer or such Artillery as could be spared, being on this emergency in my opinion the best Project I could recommend to cover Ruperts Valley from surprize, having a range to the face [...] of the Upper Battery at Banks's, and at same time Observing to the Board the advantage of a respective from a Field Piece placed on the Road near Bleary Bridge as having a most immediate Command of boats approaching the Beach, received the sanction of the Board for immediate execution. You were then pleased to approve of the Disposition of the Light Artillery that was the next day Posted for the Defence of the Passes through the Interior Country as Probable from the Sea. Thinking as much of your Determinations for that day respecting my Occupation, exclusive of whatever said on our Engagements at or near Butter Milk Point, which being a Subject of itself that Claims particular & separate	Captain William Pierce, the engineer, wrote to the Governor and Council. Reports had repeatedly warned of hostile designs against the island. He had recently been formally asked for his views on the strength of the leeward coast and on how far the passes into the interior could be guarded against surprise by placing light artillery at them. He had answered as his oath to the Company and his duty to the Board required. He had then explained to the Board why the heavy guns at the James and Rupert's Lines needed rearranging. Certain improvements had been ordered there to increase the weight of fire on ships approaching either bay. He had also submitted a plan for a battery above Chubb's Rock to take a howitzer or whatever other artillery could be spared. In this emergency he considered it the best means of covering Rupert's Valley from surprise, since it could reach the face of the upper battery at Banks's. At the same time he had pointed out the value of a crossfire from a field gun placed on the road near the bridge, which would command any boats approaching the beach. The Board had approved these proposals for immediate execution. The Board had also approved the placing of the light artillery, which was posted the next day to defend the passes through the interior and those that could be reached from the sea. Pierce had been fully occupied in carrying out the Board's decisions. He set aside, for separate treatment, the subject of the works at or near Buttermilk Point. He considered it deserved particular attention and asked leave to give his views on it the following Monday. **Interpretations** Pierce's letter sets out the plan for defending the island against a landing. Heavy guns at James and Rupert's Lines would fire on ships entering the two bays nearest the town. A howitzer above Chubb's Rock would cover Rupert's Valley from the heights. A field gun on the road would sweep the beach with crossfire against boats coming ashore. Light guns posted at the inland passes would stop any force that landed elsewhere from marching across the island to take James Town from behind. St Helena's cliffs left very few places where troops could land. The defence depended on covering each of them and the paths leading inland, since the garrison was far too small to meet an enemy in the open.

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		notice beg leave to observe what I have to say on that for next	
388	384	3 April Monday, with an Intimation of such Business as the Board may think necessary for the Instant Quarter. I have only to detain you a little Longer in expressing my satisfaction in your Approbation of removing the 13 Inch Mortar from the Line to Ladder hill, and to recommend a Continuance of the Strength of the Partys now employed for a Week longer in finishing on this Commanding Spot a Repository for Stores, a Magazine to Contain thirty Barrels of Powder where at same time a Bridge for a Field Piece, and a Lodgment for a Guard are by your Directions in great forwardness. Works that in my Humble Opinion appear as highly Benefiting towards perfecting your Strength to the Westward, and as having in View every Point of Command that environs the Capital of the Island prevent me further encroaching on Your time being advantages that sufficiently speak for themselves. I have the Honour to be Gentlemen St. Helena Your most obedient Servant 3 April 1780 Signed Willm. Pierie We directed the Secretary to return him the following Answer To Capt. Wm. Pierie Engineer Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that they much approve of your Alertness and expedition in carrying on the Several Defences and Transporting of Artillery as mentioned in your	Pierce added that on that Monday he would also set out whatever business he thought needed for the current quarter. He expressed his satisfaction at the Council's decision to move the thirteen-inch mortar from the Lines to Ladder Hill. He recommended keeping the working parties at their present strength for another week to finish the works on that commanding height. Those works comprised a store for supplies, a magazine to hold 30 barrels of powder, a platform for a mortar and field gun, and a lodgement for a guard, all well advanced under the Council's directions. In his view they would greatly strengthen the island's defences to leeward, since the height overlooked every position around the island's capital. He would take up no more of the Council's time, since the advantages spoke for themselves. William Pierce signed the letter at St Helena on 3 April 1780. The Council told the secretary to send him the following reply. The Governor and Council strongly approved of his diligence and speed in building the various defences and moving the artillery described in his letter. **Interpretations** Ladder Hill rose steeply on the west side of James Valley, high above the town and the anchorage. A thirteen-inch mortar there could drop shells onto any ship in the road, while lying above the elevation that a ship's guns could reach. The magazine and guard lodgement made the post self-sufficient, so it could hold out even if the enemy landed and took the town below. Moving the island's heaviest mortar from the seafront Lines to the heights changed the defence from meeting an attack at the water's edge to commanding the whole bay from above. Ladder Hill went on to become the island's main fortified position in later years, and these works were the first step.
389	385	1780 Letter to them of this Day and as you observe to them the necessity of continuing for a short time a Part of the Slaves hitherto imployed since your first Orders for puting the Island into an immediate state of Defence they think it expedient that you keep them some time Longer to perfect the defences you are now forwarding or any thing else that may be thought absolutely necessary. I am Sir St. Helena Your most obedient Servant 3 April 1780 Signed B. Wright Secy. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council's reply went on to address Pierce's point that part of the slaves employed since the first orders to put the island in a state of defence should be kept on for a short while. The Governor and Council agreed that he should keep them some time longer to complete the defences then under way, or any other work judged absolutely necessary. Britannicus Wright signed the reply at St Helena on 3 April 1780. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The Council kept only part of the hired slaves, and only for "some time longer". Every slave on the defences was hired from a planter at a daily rate charged to the Company, and was away from the owner's yams and cattle. Five weeks had passed since the alarm of 28 February 1780 without any sign of the French. The Council was beginning to scale down the emergency while keeping enough labour to finish the works on Ladder Hill. Its caution reflected the cost to the treasury and the planters' wish to have their workers back for the season's planting.
390	386	10th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th day of April 1780 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 April 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 3 April 1780.

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		Major Henry Bazett of Council The Last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 3d April 1780. Wednesday the 5th Sailed the Swede Ship Gustavus the third for Gottenburg. Thursday the 6th do. do. Louisa Ulrica for do. The Commanding Officer of the Flying Party's this day maketh Complaint that John Desfountain, John Hays Junr. and Wm. Young hath repeatedly neglected to attend their duty when Ordered. They appearing and being Proved, We fined them in the sum of ten shillings each, to the Honble. Companys Cash. The Plantation Account for the Quarter and the Expence of Artillery Stores, and Stewards Accounts for the Month of March last, were this day laid before Us, which were examined approved and are as follows Vizt.	The Swedish ship *Gustavus III* sailed for Gothenburg on Wednesday 5 April 1780, and the *Louisa Ulrica* followed on Thursday 6 April 1780. The commanding officer of the Flying Parties complained that John Dafountain, John Hayes junior and William Young had repeatedly failed to attend for duty when ordered. They appeared before the Council and the charge was proved. The Council fined each of them 10s 0d, to be paid into the Company's treasury. The plantation account for the quarter, and the accounts of artillery stores used and of the steward's expenses for March 1780, were laid before the Council that day. The Council examined and approved them. **Interpretations** The commanding officer of the Flying Parties was William Wrangham, appointed to the post on 28 February 1780 as the French threat arose. His complaint came before a Board on which he himself sat. The three men fined were all from planter families, the very class on which the militia depended. A fine of 10s 0d was the same penalty imposed on William Hopps for his insolence in November 1779. It was a small sum for a landholder, so the Council relied more on the public rebuke of being summoned before the Board than on the money. Militia service cost the planters time away from their land, and in a long emergency with no enemy in sight, attendance tended to fall away.
391	387	Account of the Honble. Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. from 1st January to the 31st March 1780 Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses, Mares, Horses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 56, Neat Cattle Calves 23, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 5, Neat Cattle Oxen 12, Neat Cattle Total 124, Sheep Ewes 123, Sheep Weathers 37, Sheep Lambs 34, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 202, Goats Ewes 60, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 34, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 99, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 8, Hogs Pigs 7, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 18, Horses 5, Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 33, Poultry Ducks 25, Poultry Turkeys 26, Poultry Geese 15 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 3, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 3, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 3, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 3, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 1, Horses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 24, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 56, Neat Cattle Calves 24, Neat Cattle Yearlings 24, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 5, Neat Cattle Oxen 12, Neat Cattle Total 125, Sheep Ewes 123, Sheep Weathers 37, Sheep Lambs 37, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 205, Goats Ewes 60, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 37, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 102, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 8, Hogs Pigs 7, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 18, Horses 5, Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 57, Poultry Ducks 31, Poultry Turkeys 26, Poultry Geese 15 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle	The Lieutenant Governor's account of the Company's livestock for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1780 ran as follows. In hand on 1 January 1780 Cattle: 4 bulls, 56 cows, 23 calves, 24 yearlings, 0 heifers, 5 steers, 12 oxen, total 124 Sheep: 123 ewes, 37 wethers, 34 lambs, 8 rams, total 202 Goats: 60 ewes, 0 wethers, 34 kids, 5 rams, total 99 Pigs: 3 sows, 8 shoats, 7 pigs, 0 boars, total 18 Horses: 5 horses, 7 mares, total 12 Poultry: 33 fowls, 25 ducks, 26 turkeys, 15 geese Increase by breeding Cattle: 1 calf, total 1 Sheep: 3 lambs, total 3 Goats: 3 kids, total 3 Horses: 1 mare, total 1 Poultry: 24 fowls, 6 ducks Total Cattle: 4 bulls, 56 cows, 24 calves, 24 yearlings, 0 heifers, 5 steers, 12 oxen, total 125 Sheep: 123 ewes, 37 wethers, 37 lambs, 8 rams, total 205 Goats: 60 ewes, 0 wethers, 37 kids, 5 rams, total 102 Pigs: 3 sows, 8 shoats, 7 pigs, 0 boars, total 18 Horses: 5 horses, 8 mares, total 13 Poultry: 57 fowls, 31 ducks, 26 turkeys, 15 geese Killed Sheep: 35 wethers, total 35 Goats: 1 kid, total 1 Pigs: 8 shoats, total 8 Poultry: 18 ducks, 1 turkey, 2 geese Sent on board the *Betsy* snow: 2 wethers. Died Cattle: 11 cows, 11 calves, 6 yearlings, 3 oxen, total 31 Pigs: 1 pig, total 1 Poultry: 2 fowls, 2 turkeys In hand on 31 March 1780 Cattle: 4 bulls, 45 cows, 13 calves, 18 yearlings, 0 heifers, 5 steers, 9 oxen, total 94 Sheep: 123 ewes, 0 wethers, 34 lambs, 8 rams, total 168

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		Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 35, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 35, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 1, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 8, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 8, Horses 0, Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkeys 1, Poultry Geese 2 Sent on Board the Betsy Snow: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 2, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 2, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 11, Neat Cattle Calves 11, Neat Cattle Yearlings 6, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 3, Neat Cattle Total 31, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 1, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 2, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 2, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 45, Neat Cattle Calves 13, Neat Cattle Yearlings 18, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 5, Neat Cattle Oxen 9, Neat Cattle Total 94, Sheep Ewes 123, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 34, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 168, Goats Ewes 60, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 36, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 101, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 6, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 9, Horses 5, Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 55, Poultry Ducks 13, Poultry Turkeys 23, Poultry Geese 13 Blacks Deceased Vizt. Peg Plato Do. Jany. 16 1780 Phill Plato Do. 22 Bilford Do. 26 Sarah Mercury Do. 27 Adam Do. 28 Mey Do. 14 March Indar Do. do. Errors Excepted Danl. Corneille Wm. Wrangham Yams Expended for Stock Cwt. 12445 Do. do. for Slaves 5730 Total 18175 **Margin Notes:** 1780	Goats: 60 ewes, 0 wethers, 36 kids, 5 rams, total 101 Pigs: 3 sows, 0 shoats, 6 pigs, 0 boars, total 9 Horses: 5 horses, 8 mares, total 13 Poultry: 55 fowls, 13 ducks, 23 turkeys, 13 geese Deaths among the Company's slaves Peg Plato, died 16 January 1780 Phill Plato, died 22 January 1780 Bilford, died 26 January 1780 Sarah Mercury, died 27 January 1780 Adam, died 28 January 1780 Mary, died 14 March 1780 Judah, died 14 March 1780 Yams used For the livestock, 12,445 lb For the slaves, 5,730 lb Total, 18,175 lb Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham signed the account, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** Seven of the Company's slaves died in the quarter, five of them within thirteen days at the end of January 1780. Deaths clustered so tightly in a small population point to an outbreak of disease, perhaps dysentery or a fever brought ashore by the season's ships. In the same weeks the hospital recorded deaths among recruits from the *Princess Royal*. Two of the dead shared the name Plato and were probably related. The livestock account entered the deaths under its usual heading, next to the dead cattle, and gave no cause. The Company's herd went on dying. Thirty-one cattle died in the quarter, including 11 cows and 11 calves, and the herd fell from 124 to 94 head. That was the worst quarter since the drought itself, and it came in the southern late summer, when the pastures should have recovered. All 37 wethers were gone, eaten or sent to ships, and only the breeding ewes and lambs remained in the flock. The slaves' yams fell to 5,730 lb, against more than 38,000 lb between July and September, because rice and salt meat had been restored to their ration. The Company's slaves were by then eating far less yam than its cattle and pigs.
392	388	10th April Artillery Stores Expended in March 1780 Grenadoes, 6 lb, 4 lb, 3 lb, Powder lb, oz 4 For the Stone Blowers at Clubs Rock: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 20, oz 0 A General Alarm: Grenadoes 10, 6 lb 1, 4 lb 12, 3 lb 6, Powder lb 33, oz 0 Dismissing the Alarm: Grenadoes 2, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 1, Powder lb 2, oz 2 An Alarm: Grenadoes 6, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 4, 3 lb 2, Powder lb 11, oz 0 Ball Cartridges for the West Flying Party 300: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 31, oz 4 An Alarm: Grenadoes 6, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 4, 3 lb 2, Powder lb 11, oz 0 a General Alarm: Grenadoes 18, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 12, 3 lb 6, Powder lb 33, oz 0 For the Stone Blowers at Banks's: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 234, oz 0	The artillery account recorded the following stores used during March 1780. Each line gives the guns fired by calibre and the powder used. 4 March, for the stone blowers at Chubb's Rock: 0 guns fired, powder 20 lb 0 oz A general alarm: 18 guns fired (12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders), powder 33 lb 0 oz Dismissing the alarm: 2 guns fired (1 six-pounder, 1 three-pounder), powder 2 lb 8 oz An alarm: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz 300 ball cartridges for the West Flying Party: 0 guns fired, powder 31 lb 4 oz An alarm: 6 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders), powder 11 lb 0 oz A general alarm: 18 guns fired (12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders), powder 33 lb 0 oz For the stone blowers at Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 234 lb 0 oz

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		For Sundry services: Grenadoes 0, 6 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, Powder lb 31, oz 0 Total: Grenadoes 50, 6 lb 1, 4 lb 32, 3 lb 17, Powder lb 407, oz 4 Copper Rivets 400 No. Flannel 4 Yds. Vinegar 1 Quart Basil Skins 2½ Tallow 8 lb Salt Petre 6 Spirits of Wine 3 Quarts Sulphur 6 lb Handspikes 6 Slow match 6 lb 1 Copper Ladles 18 lb 3 do. Nails 200 do. Hoops 16 Sheep Skins 12 Cartridge Paper 45 Quires 32 lb Rods 1 32 Axletree 1 6 lb Round Shot fixed 1 Tin Tubes 1 Port fires 1 Signed Wm. Pierie Capt. of Artillery	Sundry services: 0 guns fired, powder 31 lb 8 oz Total: 50 guns fired (1 six-pounder, 32 four-pounders, 17 three-pounders), powder 407 lb 4 oz Other stores used Copper rivets, 400 Flannel, 4 yards Vinegar, 1 quart Buff skins, 26 Tallow, 8 lb Saltpetre, 6 lb Spirits of wine, 3 quarts Sulphur, 6 lb Handspikes, 6 Slow match, 6 lb Copper ladles for 18-pounders, 3 Copper nails, 200 Copper rasps, 16 Sheep skins, 12 Cartridge paper, 45 quires Rods for 32-pounders, 1 [...] for 32-pounders, 1 6-pound round shot fired, 1 Tin tubes, 1 Portfire, 1 William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. **Interpretations** March 1780 brought two general alarms, each firing 18 guns, three times the usual signal. A general alarm called out the whole island, garrison and militia alike, to their posts, and was kept for the appearance of what might be an enemy squadron. They probably answered the six ships sighted on 6 March and the three Dutch ships of 30 March, any of which could have been Tronjoly's force from the Cape. A further two guns were needed to stand the island down each time. The West Flying Party drew 300 ball cartridges, live rounds rather than blanks, so the planters' militia was now issued real ammunition. Blasting at Banks's and Chubb's Rock continued to use most of the island's powder, as the new works were rushed forward.
393	389	1780 Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Companys Table in March 1780 To 53 Bottles of Madeira 3 6 3 29 do. Port 1 5 11 23 do. Lisbon 1 16 5 16 do. Sherry 1 5 4 56 do. Beer - 18 8 17 Gallons Arrack 2 11 - 30 lb Mutton - 12 6 1 Goat - 10 - 75 lb Pork 1 17 6 12 Ducks - 18 - 124 lb Candy 3 2 - 500 lb Flour 4 3 4 £ 23 6 11	The steward's account recorded these items used at the Company's table during March 1780. Madeira, 53 bottles, £3 6s 3d Port, 29 bottles, £2 5s 11d Lisbon wine, 23 bottles, £1 16s 5d Sherry, 16 bottles, £1 5s 4d Beer, 56 bottles, £0 18s 8d Arrack, 17 gallons, £2 11s 0d Mutton, 30 lb, £0 12s 6d 1 goat, £0 10s 0d Pork, 75 lb, £1 17s 6d 12 ducks, £0 18s 0d Sugar candy, 124 lb, £3 2s 0d Flour, 500 lb, £4 3s 4d Total used at the table, £23 6s 11d Bought for the table 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 38 fowls, £2 17s 0d 14 ducks, £1 1s 0d 3 pigs, £0 15s 0d Total bought, £5 18s 0d Walter Greentree and Nathaniel Kennedy were sworn in that day as churchwardens. **Interpretations** The Company's table used only 30 lb of mutton in March 1780, against 248 lb in January and 126 lb in February, and again no beef at all. The livestock account for the same quarter explains it. All the Company's wethers had been killed or sent to ships

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		Bot. pr. Table To 5 Turkeys 1 5 - 38 Fowls 2 19 - 14 Ducks 1 1 - 3 Pigs - 13 - £ 5 18 - Messieurs Walter Greentree and Nathaniel Kennedy were this day Sworn into the Office of Church Wardens.	by the end of March, and the remaining flock was breeding ewes and lambs. With 31 more cattle dead, the Castle's table now relied on pork and poultry, much as the garrison and the ships had done since the drought.
394	390	10th April Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Vizt. Island St. Helena 10th April 1780. Notice is hereby given that the Order Published on the 28th February Last prohibiting Fishing Boats going round Sugar Loaf and Lemon Valley Points by Night and Barn and S. West Points by Day is now reversed and Boats are Permitted to go as Usual until further Orders, But to repair Upon all alarms or seeing a Ship, immediately to James's Valley. By order of Council Signed Nathaniel Kennedy Factor John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council ordered the following public notice, dated at St Helena on 10 April 1780. The order of 28 February 1780, which had forbidden fishing boats to go round Sugar Loaf Point and Lemon Valley Point by night or round Barn Point and South West Point by day, was now withdrawn. Boats were free to go out as usual until further orders, but they were to return at once to James Valley on any alarm or on sighting a ship. Nathaniel Kennedy signed the notice as factor on the Council's orders. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The Council lifted the fishing restrictions six weeks after imposing them. No French ships had appeared, and Tronjoly's squadron had evidently sailed elsewhere from the Cape. The obvious course in a war still being fought was to keep the coast closed until the danger was certainly past. The Council opened it again because the fishing boats fed the island. In a quarter when 31 of the Company's cattle died, its flock had lost every wether, and the Castle's table had no beef, a ban on fishing along the leeward coast cut off the main fresh food still available. The order to return on any alarm kept the security of the coast while letting the fishermen back to work. The notice was signed by Nathaniel Kennedy as factor instead of by Britannicus Wright, the secretary. Wright was probably absent or ill.
395	391	17th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th day of April 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 10th April 1780 Tuesday the 11th Sailed the Hind Cutter on a Cruize. Friday the 14th an Alarm was made for the Hind Cutter to Windward Do. do. Died John Ryley a Discharged Soldier. Sunday the 16th died Richd. Page Private. This day do. Mary Hodges Widow. The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collection and the Pay Masters accounts for the Quarter Commencing the 1st Jany. and Ending the 31st March Last which were examined approved and are as follows. Vizt. Collection of Goods sold and Delivered out of the Honble. Company's Ware House from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 April 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 10 April 1780. The *Hind* cutter sailed on a cruise on Tuesday 11 April 1780. On Friday 14 April 1780 an alarm was raised for the *Hind* to windward, and John Ryley, a discharged soldier, died the same day. Richard Page, a private, died on Sunday 16 April 1780. Mary Hodges, a widow, died that day. The storekeeper presented his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1780. The Council examined and approved them. The storekeeper's account of goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouse between 1 January and 31 March 1780 began as follows. Goods sold at 10 per cent above cost Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 46 cwt 0 qr 9 lb, £100 4s 5d Sugar candy, 21 cwt 2 qr 13 lb, £53 0s 0d Sugar and candy total, £153 4s 5d Carried forward, £153 4s 5d **Interpretations** John Ryley had been discharged from the garrison on 3 April 1780 at the end of his term, and

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		Sold at 10 P Cent Sugar and Candy Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 44 - 9 Sugar 100 4 5 21 2 15 Candy 53 - 1 153 4 5 Carried over £ 153 4 5	he died eleven days later, still waiting for a passage home. A discharged soldier with no ship until the next season was kept at the Company's expense, and many did not survive the wait. His death came in the same weeks as those of five Company slaves and a run of soldiers, which suggests that sickness was still spreading on the island that autumn.
396	392	17 April Brought over £ 153 4 5 Flour Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 149 3 12 Flour 139 17 4 433 - 2 do. Caked 450 16 4 590 13 8 Rice and Paddy Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 67 2 - Rice 26 3 1 52 1 3 Paddy 11 10 11 37 14 - Sope Cwt. lb. 3 20 2 16 4 Salt 16 Bushels 3 12 - Tea Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 2 2 23 Single 18 18 9 1 3 3 Congo 12 8 9 - - 26 Bohea 15 16 - 47 3 6 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 2 1 4 5 6 8 Candles 1 1 22 20 3 - Leather Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 3 1 11 Sole 22 13 1 1 Calf Skin 1 12 9 23 5 10 Arrack 8½ Gallons 2 2 6 Corks 9½ Grose 1 4 4 Pease ½ Bushel - 2 6 Chellor 3 Pieces 1 14 - Lead lb. 2 - 8 Sheet 2 13 2 Beef and Pork Vizt. 783 lb Beef 90 10 - 5966 do. Pork 596 12 - 675 2 - Oars 2 Small - 8 3 Bunting P. 1 - 3 Yards Red 2 6 7 Books 3 Small Common Prayer - 10 - Canvas Vizt. Yds. 40½ English 2 10 7	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £153 4s 5d Flour Flour, 149 cwt 3 qr 12 lb, £139 17s 4d Flour baked into bread, 483 cwt 0 qr 2 lb, £450 16s 4d Flour total, £590 13s 8d Rice and paddy Rice, 67 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £26 3s 1d Paddy, 52 cwt 1 qr 3 lb, £11 10s 11d Rice and paddy total, £37 14s 0d Soap, 0 cwt 3 qr 20 lb, £2 16s 4d Salt, 16 bushels, £3 12s 0d Tea Singlo tea, 2 cwt 2 qr 23 lb, £18 18s 9d Congou tea, 1 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £12 0s 9d Bohea tea, 4 cwt 0 qr 26 lb, £15 18s 0d Tea total, £47 3s 6d Cordage, 2 cwt 1 qr 4 lb, £5 6s 0d Candles, 1 cwt 1 qr 22 lb, £20 3s 0d Leather Sole leather, 3 cwt 1 qr 11 lb, £22 13s 1d 1 calf skin, £0 12s 9d Leather total, £23 5s 10d Arrack, 8½ gallons, £2 2s 6d Corks, 9½ gross, £1 4s 4d Peas, ½ bushel, £0 2s 6d Chelloes, 3 pieces, £1 14s 0d Sheet lead, 2 cwt 0 qr 8 lb, £2 13s 2d Beef and pork Salt beef, 785 pieces, £78 10s 0d Salt pork, 5,966 pieces, £596 12s 0d Beef and pork total, £675 2s 0d 2 small oars, £0 8s 3d Red bunting, 1 piece of 3 yards, £2 6s 7d 3 small Books of Common Prayer, £0 10s 0d Canvas English canvas, 40½ yards, £2 10s 7d Osnaburg, 74½ yards, £4 9s 0d Canvas total, £6 19s 10d Carried forward, £1,576 6s 3d **Interpretations** The store sold nearly 6,000 pieces of salt pork and almost 800 of beef between January and March 1780, a quarter when no fleet called and only the *Betsy* and two Swedish ships came in. Most of it went to the island's own households. With the Company's herds still dying, the flock stripped of its wethers and fishing banned for six weeks during the French alarm, the inhabitants turned to the store's salt meat for food. The Irish beef and pork landed by the *Betsy* in February were drawn on heavily. Salt meat bought in Cork had become, in the absence of fresh beef, part of the islanders' ordinary diet.

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		74½ Ossnabrig 4 9 0 6 19 10 Carried over £ 1596 6 3	
397	393	1780 Brought over £ 1596 6 3 Cutlery Vizt. 6 Shoe Knives 1 Butchers Knife - 2 9 5 Penning Knives - - 6 12 Ordinary Ivory Combs - 6 6 2 Buckling do. - 15 - 1 Horn do. - 1 1 12 Pair Leather Garters - - 4 1 Doz. Stag Handle Knives & forks - 8 - - 14 6 2 8 8 Deals Vizt. 32 Double 6 10 8 3 Single - 6 3 5 Baths 3 1 12 14 Coffers 3 3 - 4 Elm Boards 1 1 2 4 Pr. Elm Plank 1 6 7 15 9 6 Earthen Ware Vizt. 1 Milk Pot - - 4 1 Pan Stewpan - 1 5 - 1 9 Glass Ware Vizt. 12 Wine Glasses - 8 1 6 Water do. - 3 5 2 Pint decanters - 3 5 68 Squares 6 by 8 - 17 - 47 do. 8 by 10 1 3 5 6 do. 10½ by 14 - 7 6 15 do. 10 by 12 - 11 8 3 10 4 Hats Vizt. 2 Mens Fine 1 18 8 1 Boys - 6 9 2 5 5 Hosiery Vizt. 16 Pair Mens Ordy. Thd. Stockings 19 18 3 2 do. do. Grey Worsted do. - 8 6 Hosiery Carried over 20 6 9 Carried over £ 1621 1 3	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,576 6s 3d Cutlery 6 shoe knives, £0 2s 9d 1 butcher's knife, £0 0s 6d 5 pruning knives, £0 6s 6d 12 ordinary ivory combs, £0 15s 0d 2 buckle combs, £0 1s 1d 1 horn comb, £0 0s 4d Leather garters, 12 pairs, £0 8s 0d Stag-horn-handled knives and forks, 1 dozen, £0 14s 6d Cutlery total, £2 8s 8d Timber 32 double deals, £6 10s 8d 3 single deals, £0 6s 3d 3 balks, £3 1s 10d 14 rafters, £3 3s 0d 4 elm boards, £1 1s 2d Elm plank, ½ load, £1 6s 7d Timber total, £15 9s 6d Earthenware 1 milk pot, £0 0s 4d 1 close-stool pan, £0 1s 5d Earthenware total, £0 1s 9d Glassware 18 wine glasses, £0 8s 1d 6 water glasses, £0 3s 5d 2 pint decanters, £0 3s 5d 68 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 17s 0d 47 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £1 3s 3d 6 panes of glass, 10½ by 16 inches, £0 7s 6d 15 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 11s 8d Glassware total, £3 10s 4d Hats 2 men's fine hats, £1 15s 8d 1 boy's hat, £0 6s 9d Hats total, £2 3s 5d Hosiery Men's ordinary thread stockings, 106 pairs, £19 18s 3d Men's grey worsted stockings, 2 pairs, £0 8s 6d Hosiery subtotal carried forward, £20 6s 9d Carried forward, £1,601 1s 3d

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398	394	17th April Brought over £ Hosiery Brought over£ 20 6 9 8 Pair Boys Cotton Stockings 1 4 4 2 do. do. Worsted do. - 4 6 11 do. Mens English Cotton do. 4 7 1 8 do. do. Madrass Wt. do. 3 10 8 1 Pair Black Worsted Breeches - 9 11 30 3 3 Hooks and Lines Vizt. 423 No. 7 1 3 10 525 - 9 - 12 11 273 - 16 - 2 2 10 Large - 4 10 Hooks 112 No. 2 3 5 6 108 - 3 1 19 - 6 - 4 - 2 1 3 Hambro - 7 6 1 Deep Sea - 3 6 Lines 1 lb Cotton Wick - 4 3 1 lb Twine - - 8 8 10 8 Haberdashery Vizt. 12 Skns. Silk - 7 6 5 do. Mohair - 2 6 9½ doz. Mohair Coat Buttons - 6 8 8 do. do. Breast do. - 3 8 5½ Gross Shirt do. - 14 8 19 do. Horn Moulds - 11 1 11 Pieces Tape - 6 10 4½ Yds. Buckram - 5 3 6 ¾ Yds. Broad Gold Lace 1 11 6 2 lb Coloured thread - 8 7 1 White Brown do. - 7 3 1 Oz. No. 17 do. - 1 10 2 Pair Silk Garters - 2 4 5 11 8 Carried over £ 1665 6 10	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,601 1s 3d Hosiery brought forward, £20 6s 9d Boys' cotton stockings, 8 pairs, £1 4s 4d Boys' worsted stockings, 3 pairs, £0 4s 6d Men's English cotton stockings, 11 pairs, £4 7s 1d Men's Madras stockings, number 2, 8 pairs, £3 10s 8d Black worsted breeches, 1 pair, £0 9s 11d Hosiery total, £30 3s 3d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 7, 423, £1 3s 10d Fish hooks, number 9, 525, £0 12s 11d Fish hooks, number 16, 273, £0 2s 2d Large fish hooks, 18, £0 4s 10d Fishing lines, number 2, 142, £3 5s 6d Fishing lines, number 3, 108, £1 19s 0d Fishing lines, number 4, 6, £0 2s 1d 3 Hamburg lines, £0 7s 6d 1 deep-sea line, £0 3s 6d Cotton wick, 1½ lb, £0 4s 3d Twine, 1 skein, £0 0s 8d Hooks and lines total, £8 10s 8d Haberdashery Silk, 10 skeins, £0 7s 6d Mohair, 5 skeins, £0 2s 6d Mohair coat buttons, 9½ dozen, £0 6s 8d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 8 dozen, £0 3s 8d Shirt buttons, 5½ gross, £0 14s 8d 19 horn [...], £0 11s 1d 11 pieces of tape, £0 6s 10d Buckram, 4½ yards, £0 5s 3d Broad gold lace, 6¾ yards, £1 11s 6d Coloured thread, 2½ lb, £0 8s 7d White and brown thread, 1 lb, £0 7s 3d Thread, number 17, 1 oz, £0 1s 10d Silk garters, 2 pairs, £0 2s 4d Haberdashery total, £5 11s 8d Carried forward, £1,645 6s 10d
399	395	1780 Brought over £ 1645 6 10 Iron Ware Vizt. 9 Chest Locks 1 10 2	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,645 6s 10d Ironmongery 9 chest locks, £1 10s 2d

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		6 Pr. Wool Cards - 15 - 3 Ash Helves - 2 - 1 Garden Hoe - 1 7 1 Helve for do. - - 6 1 Coffee Mill - 7 11 1 Spring Rat Trap - 1 8 2 Pr. Sheep Shears - 3 4 2 Scythe Stones - 1 8 3 Iron Shovels 1 5 - 1 Wood Ax - 3 3 2 lb Brass Chain Plate - 6 7 1 Brick Layers Trowell - 1 6 1 Maul - 9 9 1 Blank Key - - 8 2 lb Irons - 4 10 1 Iron Pot No. 4 lb. - 10 6 6 3 11 Nails Vizt. 57 lb 6 1 15 8 25 - 10 - 15 1 11 - 20 - 4 4 3 - 30 - 1 1 2 Glazg. Brads - 3 2 2 19 4 Oil Vizt. 23 Gallons Train 6 17 6 11 do. Linseed 2 11 4 ½ do. Turpentine - 2 1 9 10 11 Paint Vizt. 12 lb Potes Smalt 1 3 1 247 Whiting - 10 3 20 White Lead Dry - 7 4 9 do. do. Mixd. - 3 9 6 Log Wood - 1 8 3 Green Copperas - - 7 3 Olive Colour - 6 - ½ Blacking - - 9 2 15 5 Carried over £ 1666 16 5	Wool cards, 6 pairs, £0 15s 0d 3 ash helves, £0 2s 0d 1 garden hoe, £0 1s 7d 1 helve for a garden hoe, £0 0s 6d 1 coffee mill, £0 7s 11d 1 spring rat trap, £0 1s 8d Sheep shears, 2 pairs, £0 3s 4d [...] scythe stones, £0 1s 8d 5 iron shovels, £1 5s 0d 1 wood axe, £0 3s 3d Brass chair nails, 2½ hundred, £0 6s 7d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 6d 1 maul, £0 9s 9d 1 blank key, £0 0s 8d Iron, 26 lb, £0 4s 10d 1 iron pot weighing 0 cwt 0 qr 46 lb, £0 10s 6d Ironmongery total, £6 3s 11d Nails Sixpenny nails, 57 lb, £1 15s 8d Tenpenny nails, 25 lb, £0 15s 1d Nails, size 20, 11 lb, £0 4s 4d Nails, size 30, 3 lb, £0 1s 1d Glazing brads, 2 lb, £0 3s 2d Nails total, £2 19s 4d Oil Train oil, 23 gallons, £6 17s 6d Linseed oil, 11 gallons, £2 11s 4d Turpentine, ½ gallon, £0 2s 1d Oil total, £9 10s 11d Paint Blue smalts, 12 lb, £1 3s 1d Whiting, 24 lb, £0 10s 3d Dry white lead, 20 lb, £0 7s 4d Mixed white lead, 9 lb, £0 3s 9d Logwood, 6 lb, £0 1s 8d Green copperas, 3 lb, £0 0s 7d Olive paint, 3 lb, £0 6s 0d Blacking, ½ lb, £0 0s 9d Paint total, £2 15s 5d Carried forward, £1,666 16s 5d **Interpretations** Six pairs of wool cards were sold in the quarter. Cards were paired boards set with wire teeth, used to comb wool into a loose, even mass before spinning. Their sale shows that some households on the island were spinning their own yarn from the wool of their sheep. On an island dependent on imported cloth, home spinning was a way to make stockings and coarse woollens when shipments ran short, as they had for much of 1779.
400	396	17 April Brought over £ Pitch and Tar Vizt.	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,666 16s 5d

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		2 lb Pitch - 4 1 8 Gallons Tar - 13 4 47 Rozen - 17 7 1 15 - Serge &c. Vizt. 3½ Yard White Fustian - 11 11 ¾ do. Green Long Ells - 1 8 13 7 Saddlery Vizt. 3 Cruppers - 9 3 2 Girths - 3 5 1 Snaffle Bridle - 6 9 1 Half Curb do. - 10 10 1 10 5 Sailors Cloaths Vizt. 4 Pr. Mens Drawers - 7 6 5 Hats - 9 5 - 16 11 Shirts Vizt. 166 Soldiers 41 10 - 4 Yds. Brown Holland - 8 4 78½ do. Ticking 8 12 5 2 do. Fine Irish Linen - 10 2 51 - 9 Shoes Vizt. 358 pair Mens ordinary 92 16 5 3 do. do. fine Shoes 1 13 9 2 do. do. Pumps - 12 4 3 do. Womens Calimanco 1 2 1 30 do. do. Calf Leather 9 3 9 2 do. Girls Calimanco - 6 9 1 do. Channel Pumps - 7 4 108 2 5 Tin Ware Vizt. 1 Cullender - 1 6 1 Watering Pot - 4 2 - 5 8 Carried over £ 1831 1 2	Pitch and tar Pitch, 28 lb, £0 4s 1d Tar, 8 gallons, £0 13s 4d Rosin, 47 lb, £0 17s 7d Pitch and tar total, £1 15s 0d Woollen cloth White fustian, 3½ yards, £0 11s 11d Green long ells, ¾ yard, £0 1s 8d Woollen cloth total, £0 13s 7d Saddlery 5 cruppers, £0 9s 3d 2 girths, £0 3s 5d 1 snaffle bridle, £0 6s 9d 1 half-cheek bridle, £0 10s 10d Saddlery total, £1 10s 3d Sailors' clothing New drawers, 4 pairs, £0 7s 6d 5 hats, £0 9s 5d Sailors' clothing total, £0 16s 11d Shirts and linen 166 soldiers' shirts, £41 10s 0d Brown holland, 4¾ yards, £0 8s 4d Ticking, 78½ yards, £8 12s 3d Fine Irish linen, 2 yards, £0 10s 2d Shirts and linen total, £51 0s 9d Shoes Men's ordinary shoes, 258 pairs, £92 16s 5d Men's fine shoes, 3 pairs, £1 10s 9d Men's pumps, 2 pairs, £0 12s 4d Women's calimanco shoes, 3 pairs, £1 1s 1d Women's calf leather shoes, 30 pairs, £9 3s 9d Girls' calimanco shoes, 2 pairs, £0 6s 9d Channel pumps, 1 pair, £0 7s 4d Shoes total, £105 2s 5d Tinware 1 colander, £0 1s 6d 1 watering pot, £0 4s 2d Tinware total, £0 5s 8d Carried forward, £1,826 1s 2d **Interpretations** The store sold 258 pairs of men's ordinary shoes in the quarter, following 361 between October and December. The stock landed by the *Princess Royal* was evidently large enough to meet a demand that had gone unmet for most of 1779. Nearly 80 yards of ticking also went to private buyers. That strong, close-woven striped cloth was used for mattress and pillow covers, which were then stuffed with straw, flock or feathers. Households were refitting their beds as well as their wardrobes once goods were available again.
401	397	1780 Brought over £ 1831 1 2 Turners Ware Vizt. 8 Hair Brooms 1 3 8 4 Mops - 6 - 3 Scrubbing Brushes - 10 3 2 Cloth do. - 4 6 8 Paint do. - 4 8	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 10 per cent above cost concluded as follows. Brought forward, £1,831 1s 2d Turnery 8 hair brooms, £1 3s 8d 4 mops, £0 6s 0d 3 scrubbing brushes, £0 10s 3d 2 clothes brushes, £0 4s 6d 8 paint brushes, £0 4s 8d 2 plasterers' brushes, £0 3s 4d 2 shoe brushes, £0 1s 7d 3 punch ladles, £0 2s 1d 3 punch strainers, £0 2s 9d

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		2 Plastr. do. - 3 4 2 Shoe do. - 1 7 3 Punch Ladles - 2 1 3 Punch Strainers - 2 9 7 Labourers Baskets - 8 6 2 Yokes for Oxen 1 10 10 4 Ox Bows - 5 - 3 Yards Hair Cloth 28 Inches Wide 1 19 8 7 2 9 Long Cloth Vizt. 2 Pieces No. 1 10 18 4 3½ do. 2 26 17 7 1½ do. 3 6 7 11 3 - do. 4 15 5 - 5 - do. 5 7 7 6 4 - do. 6 4 10 8 71 17 - China Ware Vizt. 11 Soup Plates - 5 3 1 Bowl - 1 1 4 Suckers - 1 4 10 English Basons - 18 4 1 Chamberpot - 1 8 12 Half Pint Cups and Saucers - 6 2 36 Quarter do. do. and do. - 11 2 1 Mens Breakfast Set - 13 3 2 18 9 Spice Cwt. qr. lb. 1 3 0 Pepper 3 13 9 £ 1918 13 5	7 labourers' baskets, £0 8s 6d 2 yokes for oxen, £1 10s 10d 4 ox bows, £0 5s 0d Haircloth, 28 inches wide, 5 yards, £1 19s 8d Turnery total, £7 8s 9d Longcloth Longcloth, number 1, 2 pieces, £10 18s 4d Longcloth, number 2, 5½ pieces, £26 17s 7d Longcloth, number 3, 1½ pieces, £6 7s 11d Longcloth, number 4, 5 pieces, £15 5s 0d Longcloth, number 5, 5 pieces, £7 7s 6d Longcloth, number 6, 4 pieces, £4 10s 8d Longcloth total, £70 17s 0d China ware 11 soup plates, £0 5s 3d 1 bowl, £0 1s 1d 4 sneakers, £0 1s 4d 10 goglets and basins, £0 18s 4d 1 chamber pot, £0 1s 8d 12 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 6s 2d 36 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 11s 2d 1 stoneware breakfast set, £0 13s 3d China ware total, £2 18s 9d Pepper, 1 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £5 12s 9d Total sold at 10 per cent, £1,918 15s 5d The figure brought forward on this page is £1,831 1s 2d, not the £1,826 1s 2d I gave at the foot of the previous page. **Interpretations** Sales at 10 per cent above cost came to £1,918 15s 5d for the quarter. That was barely half the £3,579 2s 7d of the previous quarter, but nearly all of it now came from the islanders themselves. No homeward fleet called between January and March 1780, and the Company's own ships took nothing. Ordinary households, soldiers and planters spent close to £2,000 0s 0d at the store in three months, mostly on salt meat, flour, shoes and cloth. Without fresh beef and with fishing curtailed during the French alarm, the island's dependence on the Company's warehouse for its daily needs had never been greater.
402	398	17 April Hind Cutter Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780 Sugar and Candy Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 3 - - Sugar 2 14 2 1 2 Candy - 12 - 3 6 2 Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 12 3 7 12 4 7 Rice and Paddy Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 17 - - Rice 5 19 - 2 2 20 Paddy - 11 - 6 10 - Sope lb. 12 - 6 - Tea Vizt. 7 lb Single	The *Hind* cutter's account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 2 cwt 0 qr 0 lb, £2 14s 2d Sugar candy, 0 cwt 1 qr 2 lb, £0 12s 0d Sugar and candy total, £3 6s 2d Flour, 12 cwt 3 qr 7 lb, £12 4s 7d Rice and paddy Rice, 17 cwt 0 qr 0 lb, £5 19s 0d Paddy, 2 cwt 2 qr 20 lb, £0 11s 0d Rice and paddy total, £6 10s 0d Soap, 12 lb, £0 6s 0d Tea Singlo tea, 7 lb, £0 7s 7d Congou tea, 23 lb, £1 4s 11d Tea total, £1 12s 6d Candles, 2 lb, £0 4s 6d Arrack, 100 gallons, £25 0s 0d Beef and pork Salt beef, 1 tierce, £12 2s 10d Salt pork, 5 tierces, £74 16s 10d Beef and pork total, £86 19s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		- 7 7 23 lb Congo 1 4 11 1 12 6 Candles 2 lb - 4 6 Arrack 100 Gallons 25 - - Beef and Pork Vizt. 1 Tierce Beef 12 2 10 6 do. Pork 74 16 10 86 19 8 Braziery 1 Sauce Pan 1 7 2 Bunting 21 Yds. Red - 19 3 Canvas 240 Yds. Ossnabrig 11 10 - Deals Vizt. 6 Double 1 2 - 10 Single - 18 9 2 - 9 Earthen Ware 2 Milk Pans - 2 8 Glass Ware 2 Sqrs. 10 by 12 - 1 8 Haberdashery 7 lb Coloured thread - 3 1 Oil 6 Gallons Train 1 10 - Turnery 3 Paint Brushes - 1 6 Carried over £ 153 19 3	Brass ware, 1 stewpan, £1 7s 2d Red bunting, 21 yards, £0 19s 3d Osnaburg, 240 yards, £11 10s 0d Timber 6 double deals, £1 2s 0d 10 single deals, £0 18s 9d Timber total, £2 0s 9d Earthenware, 2 milk pans, £0 2s 8d Glassware, 2 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 1s 8d Coloured thread, 1 lb, £0 3s 1d Train oil, 6 gallons, £1 10s 0d Turnery, 3 paint brushes, £0 1s 6d Carried forward, £153 19s 3d **Interpretations** The *Hind* drew nearly £154 0s 0d of stores in a single quarter, more than ten times her issues between October and December. From early February she was almost constantly at sea, watching the approaches for the French squadron expected from the Cape. A cutter on patrol needed provisions for weeks at a time: six tierces of salt meat, flour, rice and 100 gallons of arrack for her crew. The 240 yards of osnaburg probably went into new or repaired sails worn out on her cruises, and the red bunting into her signal flags. The cutter was the island's eyes beyond the horizon, and her repeated alarms that quarter show how the Council relied on her as its early warning.
403	399	1780 Brought over £ 153 19 3 Hooks and Lines Vizt. 25 No. 9 - - 7 6 Large - 1 3 Hooks 6 No. 2 - 1 8 6 - 4 - 2 3 Lines - 5 11 Iron Ware Vizt. 24 Bolt Rope Needles - 2 - 2 Chest Locks - 6 1 - 8 1 Pitch and Tar Vizt. ½ Barrel Pitch 1 6 1 1 do. Tar 1 16 1 3 1 2 Coals 1 Chaldron 2 4 7 £ 159 19 3 Snow Betsy Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Beef and Pork Vizt. 10 Tierces Beef 48 10 - 3 do. Pork 17 11 - 66 1 -	The *Hind* cutter's account for the quarter closed with these items. Brought forward, £153 19s 3d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 9, 25, £0 0s 7d Large fish hooks, 6, £0 1s 3d Fishing lines, number 2, 6, £0 1s 8d Fishing lines, number 4, 6, £0 2s 3d Hooks and lines total, £0 5s 11d Ironmongery 24 bolt-rope needles, £0 2s 0d 2 chest locks, £0 6s 1d Ironmongery total, £0 8s 1d Pitch and tar Pitch, ½ barrel, £1 6s 1d Tar, 1 barrel, £1 16s 1d Pitch and tar total, £3 1s 2d Coals, 1 chaldron, £2 4s 7d Total for the Hind, £159 19s 3d The *Betsy* snow's account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Beef and pork Salt beef, 10 tierces, £48 10s 0d Salt pork, 2 tierces, £17 11s 0d Beef and pork total, £66 1s 0d Flour, 18 cwt, £17 13s 0d Arrack, 65 gallons, £16 5s 0d Hooks and lines Fish hooks, number 7, 75, £0 4s 1d Fish hooks, number 16, 25, £0 0s 3d Fishing lines, number 2, 6, £0 1s 8d Hooks and lines total, £0 6s 0d Timber 6 wainscot boards, £0 13s 3d 1 beech plank, £2 2s 6d Timber total, £2 15s 9d Carried forward, £103 0s 9d

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		6 Flour lb. 17 13 - Arrack 65 Gallons 16 5 - Hooks and Lines Vizt. 75 No. 7 hooks - 4 1 25 - 16 do. - - 3 6 - 2 Lines - 1 8 - 6 - Deals Vizt. 6 Wainscot Boards - 13 3 1 Beech Plank 2 2 6 2 15 9 Carried over £ 103 0 9	**Interpretations** The *Betsy* took back 10 tierces of beef from the island's stores, a quarter of the 38 she had landed in February. Her crew needed provisions for the voyage onward, and the cheapest source was the Irish beef she had just delivered. The Company had paid for that beef in Cork and charged the snow for what she used, so the island's gain from the shipment was smaller than the invoice suggested. Her departure on 26 February 1780 came only two days before the news of the French squadron reached the island.
404	400	17th April Brought over £ 103 - 9 Haberdashery 2 lb Cold. Thread - 1 7 Iron Ware 39 lb Iron - 6 6 Oil 10 Gallons Linseed 2 2 4 Turnery 6 paint Brushes - 3 - Paint Vizt. 60 lb White Lead dry - 10 6 14 Yellow Oaker - 7 10 3 Blacking - - 9 1 10 1 £ 107 4 3 Charges General Dr. for the following Stores Issued from 1 Jany. to the 31 March 1780. Coals 100 Bushels Smiths Shop 11 5 - Arrack 6 Gallons, Men employed in the Stores 1 10 - Cordage 5 lb - 1 11 Braziery 13 Sheet Copper 1 - 8 Pewter 1 Bason - 2 11 Store use Iron Ware Vizt. 1 Hand Saw - 8 3 1 Hand Hammer - 2 3 3 Copper Shaves - 5 - 1 Cow Stock - 1 10 1 Do. Iron - - 9 2 Punches - 2 9 1 Cold Chizel - 1 2 1 Truss Hoop - 1 6 1 Back Iron - 11 8 1 Coopers Adze - 3 - 2 Dowling Sticks - 3 2 2 Bitts for do.	The *Betsy* snow's account closed with these items. Brought forward, £103 0s 9d Coloured thread, ½ lb, £0 1s 7d Iron, 39 lb, £0 6s 6d Linseed oil, 10 gallons, £2 2s 4d 6 paint brushes, £0 3s 0d Paint Dry white lead, 60 lb, £0 10s 6d Yellow ochre, 14 lb, £0 7s 10d Blacking, 3 lb, £[...] Paint total, £1 10s 1d Total for the Betsy, £107 4s 3d The general charges account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Coals for the smiths' shop, 100 bushels, £11 3s 0d Arrack for the men employed in the stores, 6 gallons, £1 10s 0d Cordage, 5 lb, £0 1s 11d Sheet copper for store use, 15 lb, £1 1s 8d Pewter, 1 basin, for store use, £0 2s 11d Ironmongery for the cooper's shop 1 handsaw, £0 0s 3d 1 hand hammer, £0 2s 3d 3 cooper's shaves, £0 5s 0d 1 croze stock, £0 1s 10d 1 croze iron, £0 0s 9d 2 punches, £0 2s 9d 1 cold chisel, £0 1s 2d 1 truss hoop, £0 1s 6d 1 bick iron, £0 11s 0d 1 cooper's adze, £0 3s 0d 2 driving sticks, £0 3s 2d 2 bits for the same, £0 0s 9d 2 jointer irons, £0 3s 10d 1 howel, £0 1s 9d Ironmongery for the smiths' shop Borax, ¼ lb, £0 2s 1d 2 masons' hammers, £0 13s 0d Yellow solder, 2 lb, £0 3s 0d Ironmongery subtotal carried forward, £3 7s 1d Carried forward, £13 18s 6d **Interpretations** The cooper's shop drew a full set of new tools this quarter. A bick iron was a small anvil with a pointed horn on which the cooper shaped iron hoops. A howel was a curved plane for smoothing the inside ends of a cask's staves before the croze cut the groove for the head. Driving sticks were used to hammer hoops down tight. The island's cooperage had been worked hard since October, repacking and repairing the casks of salt meat, flour and arrack that had passed through the stores to the convoy, the garrison and the *Hind*. Worn tools were now being replaced.

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		- - 9 2 Jointer Irons - 3 10 1 Howel - 1 9 Coopers Shop lb Borax - 2 1 2 Masons hammers - 13 8 2 Yellow Solder - 3 8 Smiths Shop Iron Ware Carried over £ 3 7 1 Carried over £ 13 18 6	
405	401	1780 Brought over £ 13 18 6 Iron Ware brought over £ 3 7 1 6 Masons Mallets - 11 3 24 do. Tools 1 13 6 Crane 2 Carpenters Adze - 10 10 2 Broad axes - 8 9 Carpenters Shop 1 Plasterers Sieve Bakehouse - 8 3 7 - - 1 Iron Crane 6 6 2 1 Iron Pot No. 2 lb. Kitchen - 5 - 13 10 10 Nails Vizt. 2 - 6 - 1 2 4 - 10 - 2 2 Coopers Shop 3 - 20 - 1 1 2 - 30 - - 8 Sessions house 12 Spike Crane - 3 9 - 8 10 Lead Pipes Vizt. 1 Cock and Ball - 7 1 36 lb Solder 1 11 6 Chubbs Spring 1 18 7 Canvas 3 Yds. English Smiths Shop - 3 8 Deals Vizt. 1 double - 3 8 3 Single - 5 8 1 Wainst. Board - 2 3 Bakehouse 1 Pr. Riga Timber 2 16 6 1 Pr. Elm Plank 2 8 4 Crane 5 16 5 Hooks and Lines 6 No. 2 Lines Coopers Shop - 1 8	The general charges account continued as follows. Brought forward, £13 18s 6d Ironmongery brought forward, £3 7s 1d 6 masons' mallets for the crane, £0 11s 3d 24 masons' tools for the crane, £1 13s 6d 2 carpenters' adzes for the carpenters' shop, £0 14s 10d 2 broad axes for the carpenters' shop, £0 8s 9d 1 plasterer's sieve for the bakehouse, £0 8s 0d Iron for the crane, 7 cwt 0 qr 1 lb, £6 6s 2d 1 iron pot weighing 24 lb for the kitchen, £0 5s 0d Ironmongery total, £13 10s 10d Nails Sixpenny nails for the cooper's shop, 2 lb, £0 1s 2d Tenpenny nails for the cooper's shop, 4 lb, £0 2s 2d Nails, size 20, for the sessions house, 3 lb, £0 1s 1d Nails, size 30, for the sessions house, 2 lb, £0 0s 8d Spikes for the crane, 12 lb, £0 3s 7d Nails total, £0 8s 10d Lead pipe fittings for Chubb's Spring 1 cock and ball, £0 7s 1d Solder, 36 lb, £1 11s 6d Lead pipe fittings total, £1 18s 7d English canvas for the smiths' shop, 3 yards, £0 3s 8d Timber 1 double deal for the bakehouse, £0 3s 8d 3 single deals for the bakehouse, £0 5s 8d 1 wainscot board for the bakehouse, £0 2s 3d Riga timber for the crane, 1 load, £2 16s 6d Elm plank for the crane, 1 load, £2 8s 4d Timber total, £5 16s 5d Fishing lines, number 2, 6, £0 1s 8d Anchors for the fire boats 2 anchors weighing 2 cwt 1 qr 26 lb, £3 18s 10d 1 grapnel anchor weighing 0 cwt 3 qr 12 lb, £1 13s 10d Anchors total, £5 12s 8d English canvas for the fire boats, 90 yards, £5 1s 3d Fishing lines, number 2, 6, for the fire boats, £0 1s 8d Iron for the fire boats, 16 lb, £0 2s 8d White copperas for the fire boats, 1 lb, £0 1s 0d Sixpenny nails for the fire boats, 2 lb, £0 1s 2d Carried forward, £47 0s 11d **Interpretations** The anchors, canvas, iron and nails "for the fire boats" show the scheme of Lieutenants Ingledew and Colnett being put into effect. Each fire boat needed an anchor so that it could be held in position in the bay, ready to be cut loose and let drift onto an enemy ship. The 90 yards of canvas were sails to carry them down on the wind. White copperas, zinc sulphate,

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		Anchors Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 2 Anchors weight 2 1 26 3 18 12 1 Grapnell do. - - 3 12 1 13 12 Fire Boats 5 12 8 Canvas 90 Yds. English do. 5 13 - Hooks and Lines 6 No. 2 Lines do. - 1 8 Iron Ware lb Iron do. - 2 8 Paint 1 White Copperas do. - 1 - Nails 2 lb 6 do. - 1 2 Carried over £ 47 - 11	was not itself combustible. It was more likely used to treat the canvas or as part of the boats' fittings. The costs were charged to general expenses, alongside the masons' tools and timber for rebuilding the crane at the landing place, which had to be in working order to move guns and stores in an attack.
406	402	17th April Brought over £ 47 - 11 Pitch and Tar Vizt. 1 Barrl. Pitch 2 10 2 3 Gallns. Tar 5 13 6 1 Turpentine 10 5 - Fire Boats 18 10 8 Turnery 5 Paint Brushes do. - 1 6 Arrack 6 Gallons 1 10 - Sugar Cwt. lb. 3 18 for the Cure of 11 Black Women infected with the Venereal disorder taken up by order of the Governor & Council 1 2 - Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 4 2 23 do. 4 12 6 Rice 3 do. - 5 4 Tea 11 Bohea do. - 7 - Oil 2¼ Gallons Train - 11 3 Turnery 2 Platters - 2 4 China Ware 12 Quarter Pint Cups & Saucers do. - 3 6 £ 74 7 - Repairs Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Deals Vizt. 8 Double 1 9 4 1 Single - 1 11 4 Wainscot Boards - 8 10 1 Bundle oak Laths - 3 2 2 3 3 Nails Vizt. 10 lb 6 - 5 8 9 - 10 - 4 11 2 - 20 - - 9 2 Glazgbrads - 2 10 - 14 2 Oil Vizt.	The general charges account concluded as follows. Brought forward, £47 0s 11d Pitch and tar for the fire boats Pitch, 1 barrel, £2 10s 2d Tar, 3 cwt, £5 13s 6d Turpentine, 1 cwt, £10 5s 0d Pitch and tar total, £18 10s 8d 5 paint brushes for the fire boats, £0 1s 6d Arrack, 6 gallons, £1 10s 0d For the care of 11 black women with venereal disease, taken into custody by order of the Governor and Council Sugar, 0 cwt 3 qr 18 lb, £1 2s 0d Flour, 4 cwt 2 qr 25 lb, £4 12s 6d Rice, 3 cwt, £0 5s 4d Bohea tea, 11 lb, £0 7s 0d Train oil, 2¼ gallons, £0 11s 3d 2 platters, £0 2s 4d 12 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 3s 6d General charges total, £74 7s 0d The repairs account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Timber 8 double deals, £1 9s 4d 1 single deal, £0 1s 11d 4 wainscot boards, £0 8s 10d 1 bundle of oak laths, £0 3s 2d Timber total, £2 3s 3d Nails Sixpenny nails, 10 lb, £0 5s 6d Tenpenny nails, 9 lb, £0 4s 11d Nails, size 20, 2 lb, £0 0s 9d Glazing brads, 2 lb, £0 2s 10d Nails total, £0 14s 0d Oil Linseed oil, 13 gallons, £2 15s 0d Turpentine, 2 gallons, £0 15s 0d Oil total, £3 10s 0d Carried forward, £6 7s 5d **Interpretations** The Council had eleven black women with venereal disease taken into custody and treated at the Company's expense. Their diet of flour, rice, sugar and tea was charged to general expenses, and the treatment was probably the usual course of mercury, which required the patient to be confined and fed lightly for weeks. The cases followed the season in which ten Company ships and a man-of-war had lain in the road for months, and the women were almost certainly slaves or free black women whose contact with seamen and soldiers had spread the disease. Confining them protected the garrison's health. It did nothing to the men involved. The traffic in women between the island and the shipping became a matter

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		13 Gallons Linseed 2 15 - 2 do. Turpentine - 15 - 3 10 - Carried over £ 6 7 5	the Court of Directors later ordered stopped. This entry shows the Council already treating it, in 1780, as a matter of public health enforced against the women alone. The turpentine for the fire boats cost more than £10 0s 0d. It was the most volatile part of the charge, poured over tarred brushwood and rope so that a boat would catch at once and burn fiercely as it drifted onto an enemy ship.
407	403	1780 Brought over £ 6 7 5 Paint Vizt. 15½ White Lead dry 2 6 - 176 Whiting - 3 - 2½ Blacking - 7 3 20 Flake White 1 9 4 1 White Copperas - 1 - 1 Umber - - 9 1 Yellow Oaker dry - - 3 2 Oz. Prussian Blue - 17 6 4 15 11 Glass Ware Vizt. 5 Sqrs. 6 by 8 - 1 1 3 do. 8 by 10 - 1 5 4 do. 10 by 12 - 3 8 11 do. 11 by 19 - 15 2 1 - 11 Turnery 2 Paint Brushes - 1 - £ 12 5 3 Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Sugar and Candy Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 7 2 - Sugar 3 7 9 4 2 13 Candy 9 7 4 13 5 1 Rice Cwt. qr. 6 2 2 5 6 Flour 13 - 10 12 10 3 Arrack 112 Gallons 28 - - Salt 1 Bushel - 4 1 Spice 12 lb Pepper - 6 - Beef and Pork Vizt. 32 Pr. Beef 11 6 3 45 Pr. Pork 7 19 4 19 5 9 Tea Vizt. 11 lb Single - 11 11 2 Bohea - 1 2 - 13 1 £ 76 9 11	The repairs account for the quarter closed with these items. Brought forward, £6 7s 5d Paint Dry white lead, 134 lb, £2 6s 0d Whiting, 176 lb, £0 3s 0d Blacking, 2½ lb, £0 7s 3d Flake white, 20 lb, £1 9s 4d White copperas, 1 lb, £0 1s 0d Umber, 1 lb, £0 0s 2d Dry yellow ochre, 1 lb, £0 0s 3d Prussian blue, 2 oz, £0 11s 0d Paint total, £4 15s 11d Glassware 5 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 1s 1d 3 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 5d 4 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 3s 0d 11 panes of glass, 11 by 19 inches, £0 13s 2d Glassware total, £1 0s 11d 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 0d Total for repairs, £12 5s 3d The diet expenses account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 1 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £3 7s 9d Sugar candy, 4 cwt 2 qr 13 lb, £9 7s 4d Sugar and candy total, £13 5s 1d Rice, 6 cwt 0 qr 2 lb, £2 5s 6d Flour, 15 cwt 0 qr 10 lb, £12 10s 3d Arrack, 112 gallons, £28 0s 0d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 4s 1d Pepper, 12 lb, £0 6s 0d Beef and pork Salt beef, 32 pieces, £11 6s 5d Salt pork, 45 pieces, £7 19s 4d Beef and pork total, £19 5s 9d Tea Singlo tea, 11 lb, £0 11s 4d Bohea tea, 2 lb, £0 1s 9d Tea total, £0 13s 1d Total for diet expenses, £76 9s 11d **Interpretations** The diet account for January to March 1780 drew 112 gallons of arrack, more than in any earlier quarter, and no wine at all. Between October and December the same account had spent nearly £200 0s 0d on claret, hock, port and Madeira to entertain the convoy's officers. With no visitors in the quarter, the Castle's official table went back to arrack, the cheap spirit of the island. The large quantity probably also covered the drams issued to the parties working on the defences, which the Council charged to its own household account during the emergency.

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408	404	17th April Allowance Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Candles Vizt. 191 lb Castle 270 Council 30 Chaplains 25 Doctors Shop Cwt. qr. lb. 4 1 12 55 18 - Oil Vizt. 14 Gallns. Train Castle 3 10 - 10 do. do. Council 2 10 - 6 - - Sugar and Candy Cwt. lb. 1 12 Sugar Govrs. Gardener - 9 9 Rice Pr. Paddy do. - 2 11 Sope Cwt. qr. lb. 1 1 10 Linen 3 15 - Corks 1 Gross Castle - 13 6 Paint Vizt. 1 lb Potes Smalt Linen 1 4 6 12 Whiting Castle - - 4 1 4 10 Hooks and Lines Vizt. 100 No. 7 - 3 6 100 do. 9 - 2 3 Hooks 12 - 3 - 3 11 12 - 4 - 4 6 1 Hambro - 1 4 Lines Govrs. Fishermen 25 - 7 - 1 5 25 - 9 - - 7 6 Large - 1 - Hooks 6 - 2 - 1 8 6 - 3 - 2 - Lines Lieut. Govr. Fishermen 1 4 2 Lead Vizt. 9 Sheet Governors Fishermen - 1 11 8 do. Lt. Govr. do. - 1 8 - 3 7 Carried over £ 69 11 9	The allowance account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Candles For the Castle, 191 lb For the members of Council, 270 lb For the chaplain, 30 lb For the doctor's shop, 25 lb Candles total, 4 cwt 2 qr 12 lb, £55 18s 0d Oil Train oil for the Castle, 14 gallons, £3 10s 0d Train oil for the members of Council, 10 gallons, £2 10s 0d Oil total, £6 0s 0d Sugar for the Governor's groom and gardener, 12 lb, £0 9s 9d Bohea tea for the same, 5 lb, £0 2s 11d Soap for the linen, 1 cwt 1 qr 10 lb, £3 15s 0d Corks for the Castle, 6 gross, £0 13s 6d Paint Blue smalts for the linen, 14 lb, £1 4s 6d Whiting for the Castle, 12 lb, £0 0s 4d Paint total, £1 4s 10d Hooks and lines for the Governor's fisherman Fish hooks, number 7, 100, £0 5s 6d Fish hooks, number 9, 100, £0 2s 3d Fishing lines, number 3, 12, £0 3s 11d Fishing lines, number 4, 12, £0 4s 6d 1 Hamburg line, £0 1s 4d Hooks and lines for the Lieutenant Governor's fisherman Fish hooks, number 7, 25, £0 1s 5d Fish hooks, number 9, 25, £0 0s 7d Large fish hooks, 4, £0 1s 0d Fishing lines, number 2, 6, £0 1s 8d Fishing lines, number 3, 6, £0 2s 0d Hooks and lines total, £1 4s 2d Lead shot Shot for the Governor's fisherman, 9 lb, £0 1s 11d Shot for the Lieutenant Governor's fisherman, 8 lb, £0 1s 8d Lead shot total, £0 3s 7d Carried forward, £69 11s 9d
409	405	1780 Brought over £ 69 11 9 Haberdashery 4 Skn. Silk Govr. Fishermen - 1 6 Deals 1 Double Castle - 3 8 Canvas Vizt. 8 Yds. English - 9 - 10 do. Ossnabrig	The allowance account continued as follows. Brought forward, £69 11s 9d Silk for the Governor's fisherman, 4 skeins, £0 1s 6d 1 double deal for the Castle, £0 3s 8d Canvas for the stables English canvas, 8 yards, £0 9s 0d Osnaburg, 10 yards, £0 10s 0d Canvas total, £0 19s 0d

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		- 10 - Stables - 19 - Bunting 2 Yds. Red Castle - 1 10 Pitch &c. 7 lb Rozen do. - 2 4 Long Cloth 1 Ps. No. 3 do. 3 17 6 Saddlery Vizt. 3 Snaffle Bridles - 18 5 8 Girths - 13 6 4 Cruppers - 6 - 3 Pr. Stirrup Leathers - 7 7 Governors Stables 2 5 6 Turnery Vizt. 1 Cloth Brush - 2 - 1 Shoe do. - - 9 2 Yds. Hair Cloth 28 Inches Castle - 13 8 - 16 5 Cordage 9 lb Stables - 3 5 Rice and Paddy Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 1 - - Rice - 8 9 40 3 16 Paddy 9 15 7 Govr. Poultry and Horses 1 - 8 Rice - 7 7 10 - 20 Paddy 2 - 9 Lieut. Govr. do. and do. 12 12 8 £ 90 15 7 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31 March 1780 Candles Cwt. lb. 3 16 Officers on Guard 11 1 - Tea Cwt. qr. lb. 1 3 12 Bohea 6 5 - Oil 161 Gallons Train 40 5 - Barracks and Guards Deals Vizt. 11 Double 2 - 4 4 Single - 7 6 Island Office 2 7 10 Carried over £ 59 18 10	Red bunting for the Castle, 2 pieces 4 yards, £5 1s 10d Rosin for the Castle, 7 lb, £0 2s 4d Longcloth, number 3, for the Castle, 1 piece, £3 17s 6d Saddlery for the Governor's stables 3 snaffle bridles, £0 18s 5d 8 girths, £0 13s 6d 4 cruppers, £0 6s 0d Stirrup leathers, 3 pairs, £0 7s 7d Saddlery total, £2 5s 6d Turnery 1 clothes brush, £0 2s 0d 1 shoe brush, £0 0s 9d Haircloth, 22 inches wide, for the Castle, 2½ yards, £0 13s 8d Turnery total, £0 16s 5d Cordage for the stables, 9 lb, £0 3s 5d Rice and paddy Rice for the Governor's poultry and horses, 1 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £0 8s 9d Paddy for the Governor's poultry and horses, 40 cwt 3 qr 16 lb, £9 15s 7d Rice for the Lieutenant Governor's poultry and horses, 1 cwt 0 qr 8 lb, £0 7s 7d Paddy for the Lieutenant Governor's poultry and horses, 10 cwt 0 qr 20 lb, £2 0s 9d Rice and paddy total, £12 12s 8d Total for allowances, £90 15s 7d The garrison account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Candles for the officers on guard, 3 cwt 0 qr 16 lb, £11 1s 0d Bohea tea for the barracks and guards, 1 cwt 3 qr 12 lb, £6 5s 0d Train oil for the barracks and guards, 161 gallons, £40 5s 0d Timber for cots and coffins 11 double deals, £2 0s 4d 4 single deals, £0 7s 6d Timber total, £2 7s 10d Carried forward, £59 18s 10d **Interpretations** The Governor's poultry and horses drew more than 40 cwt of paddy in the quarter, and the Lieutenant Governor's another 10 cwt. That was more than the Company issued to its own field slaves in the same quarter when they had been reduced to yams. The allowance to the senior officers' yards carried on at the same high level through the French emergency. The garrison's lamp oil rose to 161 gallons, up from 149 in the previous quarter. Outlying forts and guard posts were fully manned during the alarm, and each needed lights through the night.
410	406	17 April Brought over £ 59 18 10 Canvas 120 Yds. English Cots 6 18 5 Nails Vizt. 29 lb 6 1 2 - 3 - 10 - 1 1 2 Glazbrads - 2 10 Cots and Coffins 1 5 11 Hooks and Lines Vizt.	The garrison account for the quarter closed with these items. Brought forward, £59 18s 10d English canvas for cots, 123 yards, £6 18s 5d Nails for cots and coffins Sixpenny nails, 29 lb, £0 2s 0d Tenpenny nails, 2 lb, £0 1s 1d Glazing brads, 2 lb, £0 2s 10d Nails total, £1 5s 11d Hooks and lines Sash cord for drums, 5 hanks, £0 6s 6d Whipcord for whips, 1 lb, £0 3s 5d Cotton wick for the guards, 4 lb, £0 10s 3d Twine for cots, 2 skeins, £0 1s 2d

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		5 Knots Sash for Drums - 6 6 1 Whip Cord Whips - 3 3 4 Cotton Wick Guards - 10 3 2 Skn. Twine Cots - 1 2 1 1 6 Soldiers Cloaths 4 Soldrs. Coats & Breeches 5 17 8 Hats 4 Soldiers - 11 5 Hosiery 2 Pr. Ordinary Thd. Stockings - 6 2 Haberdashery Vizt. 2 Gross Broad Worsted Lace 1 16 1 2 Cockades - - 8 1 16 9 Glass Ware 1 hour Glass - - 10 Shirts Vizt. 2 Soldiers - 8 11 2 Ditto - 1 - - 9 11 Shoes 3 pair Mens Ordinary - 15 - Beef and Pork 169 lb Pork Deficiency all night 10 9 8 Flour lb. 11 Recruits - 2 - Arrack 284 Gallons Guards 71 - - Lead Pipes &ca. 9 Yds. 1 Ft. of 3½ Inch Pipe 3 9 6 1 Cock and Ball - 7 1 1 Inch round shank Cock - 8 5 Officers Barracks 4 5 - Coals 2 Buckets do. - 2 3 Lead 6 lb Sheet do. - 1 3 £ 179 19 9	Hooks and lines total, £1 1s 6d 4 soldiers' coats and breeches, £5 17s 8d 4 soldiers' hats, £0 11s 5d Ordinary thread stockings, 2 pairs, £0 6s 2d Haberdashery Broad worsted lace, 2 gross, £1 16s 1d 2 cockades, £0 0s 8d Haberdashery total, £1 16s 9d 1 hourglass, £0 0s 10d Shirts and linen 2 soldiers' shirts, £0 8s 11d 2 rollers, £0 1s 0d Shirts and linen total, £0 9s 11d Men's ordinary shoes, 3 pairs, £0 15s 0d Salt pork issued to make up short weight, 164 pieces, £16 9s 8d Flour for the recruits, 11 lb, £0 2s 0d Arrack for the guards, 28½ gallons, £7 0s 0d Lead pipe fittings for the officers' barracks ¾-inch lead pipe, 9 yards 2 feet, £3 9s 6d 1 cock and ball, £0 7s 1d 1 iron-bound shank cock, 1 inch, £0 0s 5d Coals, 2 bushels, £0 2s 5d Sheet lead, 6 lb, £0 1s 3d Total for the garrison, £97 19s 9d **Interpretations** Twenty-eight and a half gallons of arrack went to the guards, the daily dram the Council had promised on 8 March 1780 to the men posted at the outlying forts. The order cost the Company about £7 0s 0d in its first month. The 164 pieces of pork issued to make up short weight show that even the Irish meat landed from the *Betsy* in February had shrunk in store. Whipcord "for whips" was for the drummers' cats and the marshal's lashes, the instruments of the garrison's punishments. The piped water laid on to the officers' barracks drew on the lead pipe and ball cocks held in the warehouse since September.
411	407	1780 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Rice Cwt. qr. lb. 149 1 3 53 11 6 Beef and Pork Vizt. 376 Pr. Beef 120 8 - 1434 Pr. Pork 262 15 10 383 3 10 Arrack 11 Gallons 2 15 - Sugar Cwt. qr. lb. 2 1 22 3 6 4 Sope 13 lb - 6 9 Salt ½ Bushel - 2 1 Tea Cwt. lb. 1 14 Bohea 3 15 10 Shoes Vizt. 21 Pr. Mens Ordinary 5 5 5	The account of stores issued to the slaves between 1 January and 31 March 1780 ran as follows. Rice, 149 cwt 1 qr 3 lb, £53 11s 6d Beef and pork Salt beef, 376 pieces, £120 8s 0d Salt pork, 1,434 pieces, £262 15s 10d Beef and pork total, £383 3s 10d Arrack, 11 gallons, £2 15s 0d Sugar, 2 cwt 1 qr 22 lb, £3 6s 4d Soap, 13 lb, £0 6s 9d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 2s 1d Bohea tea, 1 cwt 0 qr 14 lb, £3 15s 10d Shoes Men's ordinary shoes, 21 pairs, £5 5s 5d Women's calf leather shoes, 15 pairs, £2 6s 11d Shoes total, £7 12s 4d Silk, 2 skeins, £0 0s 9d Sheet lead, 6 lb, £0 1s 3d Hooks and lines Fishing lines, number 2, 6, £0 1s 8d Fishing lines, number 3, 6, £0 2s 0d Whipcord, 1 lb, £0 3s 5d Hooks and lines total, £0 7s 1d Pepper, 4 lb, £0 2s 1d

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		15 Pr. Womens Calf Leather 2 6 11 7 12 4 Haberdashery 2 Skn. Silk - - 9 Lead 6 lb Sheet - 1 3 Hooks and Lines Vizt. 6 No. 2 - 1 8 6 - 3 - 2 - Lines 1 Whip Cord - 3 5 - 7 1 Spice 4 lb Pepper - 2 1 Oil 6 Gallons Train 1 10 - £ 456 14 9 Mallays Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Sugar Cwt. qr. lb. - 17 - 8 7 Flour - - 15 - 2 7 Rice 1 2 - - 11 9 Beef 14 Pieces 3 2 - Arrack 5½ Gallons 1 7 6 Sope 3 lb - 1 6 Salt ½ Bushel - 1 - Tea 2 lb Bohea - 1 3 Spice 1 lb Pepper - - 6 Shoes 1 Pr. Mens Do. - 6 1 Hooks 50 No. 7 - 2 9 £ 6 4 6	Train oil, 6 gallons, £1 10s 0d Total for the slaves, £456 14s 9d The account of stores issued to the Malays between 1 January and 31 March 1780 ran as follows. Sugar, 17 lb, £0 8s 7d Flour, 15 lb, £0 2s 7d Rice, 1 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, £0 11s 9d Salt beef, 14 pieces, £3 2s 0d Arrack, 3½ gallons, £0 17s 6d Soap, 3 lb, £0 1s 6d Salt, ¼ bushel, £0 1s 0d Bohea tea, 2 lb, £0 1s 3d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Men's shoes, 1 pair, £0 6s 1d Fish hooks, number 7, 50, £0 2s 9d Total for the Malays, £6 4s 6d **Interpretations** The slaves' rice rose again to nearly 150 cwt in the quarter, close to the level restored after the convoy left. Together with more than 1,800 pieces of salt meat, it explains why their yams fell to under 6,000 lb on the livestock account. Their ration was now made up mainly of imported grain and Irish salt meat instead of the island's own roots. That made the slaves, as much as the garrison, dependent on shipping that a French squadron could cut off. The rice the Council had held back through 1779 as a reserve was now feeding them, during the very months when an enemy blockade looked most likely.
412	408	17 April Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Cordage qr. lb. 1 7 Gardens - 12 10 Cutlery Vizt. 6 Shoe Knives - 2 6 3 Pruning do. do. - 3 6 - 6 - Iron Ware Vizt. 2 Iron Shovels - 9 1 12 Scythe Stones - 4 2 - 13 3 Nails Vizt. 7 lb 10 - 3 10 3 - 20 - 1 1 Gates - 4 11 Beef 13 pieces 2 16 9 Rice 3 Cwt. 1 5 1 Overseers Islanders	The plantation account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Cordage for the gardens, 0 cwt 1 qr 7 lb, £0 12s 10d Cutlery for the gardens 6 shoe knives, £0 2s 6d 3 pruning knives, £0 3s 6d Cutlery total, £0 6s 0d Ironmongery 2 iron shovels, £0 9s 1d 12 scythe stones, £0 4s 2d Ironmongery total, £0 13s 3d Nails for the gates Tenpenny nails, 7 lb, £0 3s 10d Nails, size 20, 3 lb, £0 1s 1d Nails total, £0 4s 11d Salt beef for the overseers and steward, 15 pieces, £2 16s 9d Rice for the overseers and steward, 3½ cwt, £1 5s 1d Train oil for rubbing the cattle, 9½ gallons, £2 6s 3d Tar for rubbing the cattle, 2 gallons, £0 3s 0d 3 labourers' baskets, £0 3s 3d Fishing lines, number 2, 14, £0 4s 0d Total for the plantation, £8 15s 2d

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		Oil 9½ Gallons Train, Rubbing Cattle 2 6 3 Pitch and Tar 2 Gallons Tar do. - 3 - Turnery 3 Labourers Baskets - 3 3 Hooks and Lines 12 No. 2 Lines - 4 - £ 8 15 2 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31 March 1780. Flour Cwt. qr. lb. 3 - 26 3 - - Rice 3 - 26 1 17 10 Sugar and Candy Vizt. Cwt. qr. lb. 3 1 16 Sugar 7 6 9 - - 18 Candy - 7 2 Tea qr. lb. 1 11 Bohea 7 13 4 Coals 20 Buckets 1 8 9 Arrack 4 Gallons 1 8 9 Salt 1¾ Bushels 1 - - Oil 14 Gallons Train - 7 2 Hooks and Lines lb Cotton Wick 3 10 - Canvas 22 Yds. English - 1 4 Nails 8 lb 6 2 3 11 - 4 6 £ 24 15 6	The hospital account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Flour, 5 cwt 0 qr 26 lb, £5 0s 0d Rice, 5 cwt 0 qr 26 lb, £1 17s 10d Sugar and sugar candy Sugar, 3 cwt 1 qr 11 lb, £7 6s 9d Sugar candy, 18 lb, £0 7s 2d Sugar and candy total, £7 13s 4d Bohea tea, 0 cwt 1 qr 11 lb, £1 8s 9d Coals, 20 bushels, £1 8s 9d Arrack, 4 gallons, £1 0s 0d Salt, 1¾ bushels, £0 7s 2d Train oil, 14 gallons, £3 10s 0d Cotton wick, [...], £0 1s 4d English canvas, 39 yards, £2 3s 11d Sixpenny nails, 8 lb, £0 4s 6d Total for the hospital, £24 15s 6d **Interpretations** The plantation used train oil and tar for "rubbing the cattle", a remedy for mange, ticks and other skin diseases. Thirty-one of the Company's cattle died in the same quarter, more than at any time since the drought. The herd was evidently suffering from disease as well as poor grazing. Rubbing each beast with a mixture of oil and tar was laborious and expensive, and the Company paid for it in the hope of saving the animals that remained.
413	409	1780 Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Jany. to the 31st March 1780 Cordage Cwt. qr. lb. 2 - 21 4 11 2 Leather 6 Sole - 6 6 Lead - - - 11 Sheet - 3 4 Arrack 1½ Gallons - 7 6 Oil 3 Gallons Linseed - 12 8 Anchors 1 Grapnell wt. qr. lb. 3 26 1 18 - Paint Vizt. 32 White Lead dry - 8 9 5 Vermillion 1 7 11 12 Whiting - - 4 ¼ Prussian Blue - 5 9 2 2 9 Deals Vizt. 2 double - 7 4 2 Wainscot Boards - 4 5 - 11 9 £ 10 13 8 Fortifications Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st of Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Deals Vizt. 238 double West angle	The boats account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Cordage, 2 cwt 0 qr 21 lb, £4 11s 2d Sole leather, 6 lb, £0 6s 6d Sheet lead, 16 lb, £0 3s 4d Arrack, 1½ gallons, £0 7s 6d Linseed oil, 3 gallons, £0 12s 8d 1 grapnel anchor weighing 0 cwt 3 qr 26 lb, £1 18s 0d Paint Dry white lead, 32 lb, £0 8s 9d Vermilion, 5 lb, £1 7s 11d Whiting, 12 lb, £0 0s 4d Prussian blue, ¼ lb, £0 5s 9d Paint total, £2 2s 9d Timber 2 double deals, £0 7s 4d 2 wainscot boards, £0 4s 5d Timber total, £0 11s 9d Total for the boats, £10 13s 8d The fortifications account was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Timber 238 double deals for the West Angle, £43 12s 4d 68 single deals for sheds over the mortar beds, £2 12s 6d 15 balks for the West Angle and Munden's Point, £8 8s 9d 3 rafters for the artillery, £0 11s 3d 4 elm boards for the West Angle, £0 19s 2d 3 elm planks for Munden's Point, £7 5s 0d Beech plank for helves, ½ load, £1 14s 6d Riga timber for the West Angle and a shed on Ladder Hill, 6 loads, £16 19s 0d

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		43 12 4 68 Single Sheds for Mortar Beds 2 12 6 15 Baths West angle & Munden Point 8 8 9 3 Coffers Artillery use - 11 3 4 Elm Boards West angle - 19 2 3 do. Planks Munden Point 7 5 - ¾ Pr. Beech Plank Helves 1 14 6 6 Pr. Riga Timber West angle & Shed on Ladder Hill 16 19 - 82 3 6 Cordage qr. lb. 3 7 Artillery use 1 13 7 Carried over £ 83 17 1	Timber total, £82 3s 6d Cordage for the artillery, 0 cwt 3 qr 7 lb, £1 13s 9d Carried forward, £83 19s 1d **Interpretations** The fortifications took 238 double deals and six loads of Baltic timber for the West Angle in a single quarter. Between October and December they had drawn only a few deals. The West Angle was evidently a large new timber work, probably platforms and a gun deck at an angle of the Lines covering the western side of the bay. It was built in the weeks after the French squadron was reported at the Cape. The sheds over the mortar beds and the shed on Ladder Hill sheltered the new heavy pieces Pierce had moved to the heights. Most of the island's stock of building timber went into the defences within a few weeks.
414	410	17th April Brought over £ 83 17 1 Nails Vizt. 39 lb 6 1 9 - 46 - 10 1 4 11 53 - 30 - 10 4 5 - 40 1 8 142 Spike 2 4 4 7 Glazd. Brads - 9 11 West Angle and Mundens Point 6 1 2 Haberdashery 3 lb Cold. thread Artillery - 15 5 Canvas Vizt. 177 Yds. English 9 19 2 10 do. Ossnabrig - 10 - Covers for Field Pieces and Artillery Stores 10 9 2 Glass Ware Vizt. 2 Sqrs. 6 by 8 - - 6 2 do. 8 by 10 - - 11 Artillery Stores - 1 5 Hooks and Lines Vizt. 24 No. 2 1 3 6 10 - 3 - 3 4 3 - 4 - 1 2 6 Deepsea 1 10 - 2 lb Twine - 1 2 Artillery use and Lime Bags 2 19 2 Bunting 4 Pr. 2 Yds. Red Flags 9 - 9 Iron Ware Vizt. 2 Farriers Hatchets Artillery use - 6 2	The fortifications account continued as follows. Brought forward, £83 17s 1d Nails for the West Angle and Munden's Point Sixpenny nails, 39 lb, £1 2s 0d Tenpenny nails, 46 lb, £1 4s 11d Nails, size 30, 53 lb, £0 10s 4d Nails, size 40, 5 lb, £0 1s 8d Spikes, 142 lb, £2 4s 4d Glazing brads, 7 lb, £0 9s 11d Nails total, £6 1s 2d Coloured thread for the artillery, 3 oz, £0 15s 5d Canvas for covers for the field guns and artillery stores English canvas, 177 yards, £9 19s 2d Osnaburg, 10 yards, £0 10s 0d Canvas total, £10 9s 2d Glass for the artillery stores 2 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 0s 6d 2 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 0s 11d Glassware total, £0 1s 5d Hooks and lines for the artillery and lime bags Fishing lines, number 2, 84, £1 3s 6d Fishing lines, number 3, 10, £0 3s 4d Fishing lines, number 4, 3, £0 1s 2d 6 deep-sea lines, £1 10s 0d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 2d Hooks and lines total, £2 19s 2d Red bunting for flags, 4 pieces 2 yards, £9 0s 9d Ironmongery 2 turners' hatchets for the artillery, £0 6s 2d 2 iron rubbish riddles for the West Angle, £0 13s 2d 1 iron crowbar, £0 13s 4d 11 masons' tools for Munden's Point, £0 16s 9d 2 masons' mallets for Munden's Point, £0 3s 9d 13 setting hammers, £4 7s 9d 2 pickaxes for the West Angle and Chubb's Point, £0 7s 8d 9 iron shovels for the West Angle and Chubb's Point, £1 11s 10d 6 bricklayers' trowels for the West Angle and Chubb's Point, £0 8s 0d Iron for the West Angle, 4 cwt 0 qr 5 lb, £3 12s 10d Ironmongery total, £13 1s 3d Brass ware, 1 stewpan for the artillery, £1 7s 2d Carried forward, £127 12s 1d The figure brought forward on this page is £83 17s 1d, not the £83 19s 1d I gave at the foot of the previous page. **Interpretations** The 177 yards of canvas went into covers for the field guns and artillery stores. The light pieces Pierce had posted at the inland passes in March stood in the open, exposed to the island's rain and mist. Without

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 Iron Rubble Rods West Angle 1 13 2 1 Iron Crow - 13 4 11 Masons Tools 16 9 2 do. Mallets 3 9 Munden Point 13 Setting Hammers 4 7 9 2 Pickaxes - 7 8 9 Iron Shovels 1 11 10 6 Brickrs. Trowels - 8 - West angle and Clubs Point 4 - - 5 Iron West angle 3 12 10 15 1 3 Braziery 1 Hook Rem. Artillery 1 7 2 Carried over £ 127 12 7	covers, their carriages would rot and their powder and match would spoil before an enemy ever came. Canvas for covers and timber for sheds show the defences being made ready to stay in place through the coming winter, not just for a brief alarm.
415	411	1780 Brought over £ 127 12 7 Cutlery 12 Shoe Knives Artillery - 5 - Lead 15 lb Sheet Engines - 3 9 Cart Wheels 6 Wheelbarrows West Angle 4 19 3 Paint Vizt. 66 lb White Lead dry - 19 4 20 Whiting - - 8 2 Vermillion - 11 2 1 Blacking - 2 11 Gun Carriages 1 14 1 Pitch and Tar Vizt. 28 lb Pitch - 11 - 1 Barrel Tar 1 18 6 do. 2 9 6 Oil Vizt. 4½ Gallons Linseed - 19 7 1 do. Train - 5 - do. 1 4 7 Turnery Vizt. 13 Paint Brushes - 6 6 1 Plasterers do. - 1 6 do. 10 Labourers Baskets West angle - 10 10 3 Hair Brooms Artillery use - 8 7 1 7 7 Tin Ware Vizt. 1 Watering Pot West Angle - 3 9 4 Canteens Artillery use - 5 5 - 9 2	The fortifications account for the quarter closed with these items. Brought forward, £127 12s 1d 12 shoe knives for the artillery, £0 5s 0d Sheet lead for the engines, 10 lb, £0 3s 9d 6 wheelbarrows for the West Angle, £4 19s 3d Paint for the gun carriages Dry white lead, 66 lb, £0 19s 4d Whiting, 20 lb, £0 0s 8d Vermilion, 2 lb, £0 11s 2d Blacking, 1 lb, £0 2s 11d Paint total, £1 14s 1d Pitch and tar for the gun carriages Pitch, 88 lb, £0 11s 0d Tar, 1 barrel, £1 18s 6d Pitch and tar total, £2 9s 6d Oil for the gun carriages Linseed oil, 4½ gallons, £0 19s 7d Train oil, 1 gallon, £0 5s 0d Oil total, £1 4s 7d Turnery 13 paint brushes for the gun carriages, £0 6s 6d 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 6d 10 labourers' baskets for the West Angle, £0 10s 10d 3 hair brooms for the artillery, £0 8s 9d Turnery total, £1 7s 7d Tinware 1 watering pot for the West Angle, £0 3s 9d 4 canteens for the artillery, £0 5s 5d Tinware total, £0 9s 2d Arrack for the workmen, 242 gallons, £60 10s 0d Candles for the artillery, 15 lb, £1 8s 2d Total for the fortifications, £202 3s 8d The account for Buttermilk Point was debited with the following stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1780. Timber 100 double deals, £18 15s 8d 2 balks, £1 2s 6d Riga timber, 4 loads, £11 7s 0d Carried forward, £31 5s 2d **Interpretations** The workmen on the defences drank 242 gallons of arrack in the quarter, at a cost of £60 10s 0d. That was nearly a third of the fortifications account and more than all the timber issued for the West Angle. A daily dram was part of the pay and diet of any working party in the period, slaves and soldiers alike. In the weeks after the French alarm, when the island's

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Arrack 242 Gallons Workmen 60 10 - Candles 15 lb Artillery use 1 8 2 £ 202 3 8 Butter Milk Point Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st March 1780. Deals Vizt. 100 Double 16 15 8 2 Baths 1 2 6 4 Pr. Riga Timber 11 6 - Carried over £ 31 5 2	slaves and garrison were driven to finish the batteries, the spirit ration became one of the largest costs of the works. The Company's monopoly profits on arrack sold to the island were, in effect, spent on keeping its own labourers working.
416	412	17 April Brought over £ 31 5 2 Cordage qr. lb. 1 13 - 14 10 Blocks 2 threefold of 18 Inches 1 8 7 Oil 1 Gallon Train - 5 - Hooks and Lines Vizt. 12 No. 4 - 4 6 1 Deepsea - 5 - Lines - 9 6 Iron Ware Vizt. 1 Masons Hammer - 6 10 2 Iron Crows 1 6 8 1 Iron Rubbish Riddle - 6 7 Cwt. qr. lb. 2 3 23 Iron 2 13 4 1 18 Steel - 16 4 5 9 9 £ 39 12 10 St. Helena Errors Excepted 31 March 1780. Signed J. Goodwin Storekr.	The account for Buttermilk Point for the quarter closed with these items. Brought forward, £31 5s 2d Cordage, 0 cwt 1 qr 13 lb, £0 14s 10d 2 threefold blocks of 18 inches, £1 8s 7d Train oil, 1 gallon, £0 5s 0d Hooks and lines Fishing lines, number 4, 12, £0 4s 6d 1 deep-sea line, £0 5s 0d Hooks and lines total, £0 9s 6d Ironmongery 1 mason's hammer, £0 6s 10d 2 iron crowbars, £1 6s 8d 1 iron rubbish riddle, £0 6s 7d Iron, 2 cwt 3 qr 23 lb, £2 13s 4d Steel, 0 cwt 1 qr 18 lb, £0 16s 4d Ironmongery total, £5 9s 9d Total for Buttermilk Point, £39 12s 10d John Goodwin, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 31 March 1780, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** Two threefold blocks of 18 inches made up a heavy hoisting tackle with three sheaves in each block. Rigged between them, a rope multiplied the hauling force about sixfold. It was the gear needed to lift heavy guns onto new platforms cut into the cliff, and its issue matches the Council's order of 20 March 1780 to lay wooden platforms and mount the artillery at Buttermilk Point at once. The deals and Riga timber charged on the previous page went into those platforms. The quarry the stone blowers had worked through 1779 was being turned into a working battery in a matter of weeks.
417	413	1780 List of the Honble. Companys Servants Civil and Military upon the Island St. Helena with their several Sallaries Diet Money &ca. for the Quarter Ending the 31st day of March 1780 John Skottowe Esqr. Governor 150 - - do. Allowance for Servants 31 14 9 181 14 9 Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lt. Governor 62 10 - do. Diet Money 25 - - 87 10 - Matthw. Bazett Esqr. of Council 22 10 - do. Accountant 27 10 - do. Diet Money 15 - - 65 - - Willm. Wrangham Esqr. of Council	The pay list for the Company's civil and military servants on St Helena, covering the quarter ending 31 March 1780, began as follows. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £150 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe total, £181 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Daniel Corneille total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, member of Council, salary, £22 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, as accountant, £27 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett total, £65 0s 0d William Wrangham, member of Council, salary, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, as paymaster, £27 10s 0d William Wrangham total, £62 10s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 - - do. Diet Money 15 - - do. Assistant to the Governor 10 - - do. Paymaster 27 10 - 62 10 - Henry Bazett Esqr. of Council 10 - - Robertus Carr Chaplain 55 - - B. Wright Secretary 27 10 - do. Diet Money 15 - - 42 10 - John Goodwin Store Keeper 27 10 - do. Diet Money 15 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - 45 - - Willm. Pierie Engineer 50 - - James Desfountain Factor 12 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - do. Collector of the Customs 12 10 9 do. Assistant Storekeeper 5 - - 42 10 - Willm. Webber Doveton Factor 12 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - do. Secy. to the Secret Committee 17 10 - 42 10 - Carried over £ 614 4 9	Henry Bazett, member of Council, salary, £10 0s 0d Robert Carr, chaplain, salary, £55 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, secretary, salary, £27 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £15 0s 0d Britannicus Wright total, £42 10s 0d John Goodwin, storekeeper, salary, £27 10s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £15 0s 0d John Goodwin, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Goodwin total, £45 0s 0d William Pierce, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d James Dafountain, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d James Dafountain, diet money, £10 0s 0d James Dafountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Dafountain, as collector of customs, £12 10s 0d James Dafountain, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d James Dafountain total, £42 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Webber Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, as secretary to the Secret Committee, £17 10s 0d William Webber Doveton total, £42 10s 0d Carried forward, £684 4s 9d **Interpretations** John Goodwin now drew the full storekeeper's salary, diet money and house rent for a whole quarter, exactly as Jonathan Doveton had. The Council had appointed him only until the Company's wishes were known, but in practice the acting holder received every benefit of the post. James Dafountain likewise held the collectorship of customs at its full quarterly rate alongside his work as assistant storekeeper. The vacancies created by one man's illness had been absorbed into the pay list as settled appointments long before London could reply.
418	414	17 April Brought over £ 604 4 9 Robt. Leech Factor 12 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - do. Clk. of the Works 6 16 10½ 31 16 10½ John Doveton Factor 12 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - do. Clk. of the Peace 36 14 4½ 61 14 4½ Nathl. Kennedy Factor 12 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - 25 - - Thos. Bazett Writer	The pay list for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with these officers. Brought forward, £684 4s 9d Robert Leech, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d Robert Leech, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Leech, as clerk of the works, £6 16s 10½d Robert Leech total, £31 16s 10½d John Doveton, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d John Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Doveton, as clerk of the peace, £36 14s 4½d John Doveton total, £61 14s 4½d Nathaniel Kennedy, factor, salary, £12 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, diet money, £10 0s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy total, £25 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, writer, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett total, £20 0s 0d Samuel Mason, writer, salary, £7 10s 0d Samuel Mason, diet money, £10 0s 0d Samuel Mason, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Mason total, £20 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, surgeon, salary, £25 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - 20 - - Saml. Mason Writer 7 10 - do. Diet Money 10 - - do. House Rent 2 10 - 20 - - Thos. Stroud Surgeon 25 - - do. Diet Money 10 - - 35 - - David Kay Surgeons Mate 16 5 - do. Diet Money 10 - - 26 5 - James Odney Schoolmaster 17 10 - do. Judge Advocate 12 10 - do. House Rent 2 10 - 32 10 - George Lamb Steward 7 10 - do. Overst. of the Bake House 3 - - 10 10 - Thos. Bazett Superintendant 25 - - Soloman St. Maurice Master at Arms 1 5 - Carried over £ 970 6 -	Thomas Stroud, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Stroud total, £35 0s 0d David Kay, surgeon's mate, salary, £16 5s 0d David Kay, diet money, £10 0s 0d David Kay total, £26 5s 0d James Adney, schoolmaster, salary, £17 10s 0d James Adney, as judge advocate, £12 10s 0d James Adney, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Adney total, £32 10s 0d George Jacks, steward, salary, £7 10s 0d George Jacks, for supervising the bakehouse, £3 0s 0d George Jacks total, £10 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, as superintendent, £25 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d Carried forward, £978 6s 0d
419	415	1780 Brought over £ 970 6 - Benjn. Mason 11 5 - Benjn. Seale 6 5 - George Bird 3 - - Overseers John Robinson Carpenter 25 - - Simon Whaley do. Mate to 6th March 9 1 - Gabl. Fenche Junr. do. from 7th do. 3 9 - Joseph Hagar Hagar Armourer 15 - - Edward Joyce Cooper 15 - - Thos. Yates Marsl. & Gaoler 7 10 - do. Clk. of the Parish 6 10 - 14 - - Henry Mayfield Masons mate 20 - - John Daniel do. Apprentice 12 10 - John Joyce Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 - Robt. Ivers Groom 9 - - Jeffry Bond Patroon 7 10 - John Scott Regulator Master	The pay list for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with the artificers, minor officers and the officers of the First Company. Brought forward, £978 6s 0d Benjamin Mason, overseer, £11 5s 0d Benjamin Seale, overseer, £6 5s 0d George Bird, overseer, £5 0s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, £25 0s 0d Simon Whaley, carpenter's mate, to 6 March, £9 1s 0d Gabriel Jacks junior, carpenter's mate, from 7 March, £3 9s 0d Joseph Seager, armourer, £15 0s 0d Edward Joyce, cooper, £15 0s 0d Thomas Yates, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d Thomas Yates, as parish clerk, £6 10s 0d Thomas Yates total, £14 0s 0d Henry Winfield, mason's mate, £20 0s 0d John Daniels, mason's apprentice, £12 10s 0d John Joyce, cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Robert Ives, groom, £2 0s 0d Jeffery Bond, patroon, £7 10s 0d John Scott, register master, £10 0s 0d The under-gaoler, £1 10s 0d The drum major, for training the drummers, £1 0s 0d The fife major, £2 5s 6d James Wellington, gardener, to 14 February, £2 13s 7d John Ash, gardener, from 15 February, £[...] 8s 4d First Company Daniel Corneille, major, £59 6s 3d

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		10 - - The Sub Gaoler 1 10 - The Drum Major Instructing the Drums 1 - - The fife Major 2 5 6 James Wellington Gardener to 14th Febry. 2 13 7 John Ash do. from 15th do. 2 8 4 First Company Vizt. Danl. Corneille Esqr. Major 59 6 3 Saml. Desfountain Capt. Lieutenant 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Richd. Knipe Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Francis Seale Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Carried over £ 1312 7 9½	Samuel Dafountain, captain lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Samuel Dafountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Dafountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Dafountain total, £36 14s 4½d Richard Knipe, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Richard Knipe, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Richard Knipe, house rent, £2 10s 0d Richard Knipe total, £36 14s 4½d Francis Seale, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Francis Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Francis Seale total, £34 4s 4½d Carried forward, £1,282 7s 9½d **Interpretations** Simon Whaley's pay as carpenter's mate stopped on 6 March 1780, the day the Council dismissed him for drunkenness, and Gabriel Jacks took up the post the next day. The pay list carried out the Council's disciplinary decision to the exact day. Samuel Dafountain now appeared as captain lieutenant of the First Company, the post Thomas Bazett had held until he took command of Captain Howard's company on Howard's retirement. The Company's gardens changed hands again in February, the third gardener in a year.
420	416	17 April Brought over £ 1312 7 9½ Charles Ross Stewart 18 5 - Wm. Roberts Town Adjutant 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Abraham Ferris 7 11 8 Andrew Alexander 7 11 8 John Gazell 7 11 8 Edward Banks 7 11 8 Robert Wright 7 11 8 John Richd. Brockerstaff 7 11 8 45 10 - Corporals Vizt. George Thomas 5 6 2 James McShane 5 6 2 Thomas Close 5 6 2 Jonathan Bartlett 5 6 2 Joshua Palmer 5 6 2 31 17 - Drummers Vizt. John Travers 5 6 2 Richd. Hatfield	The pay list for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with the First Company's adjutants, non-commissioned officers, drummers, cadets and the first of its privates. Brought forward, £1,312 7s 9½d Charles Ross Stewart, garrison adjutant, £18 5s 0d William Roberts, town adjutant, pay, £27 7s 6d William Roberts, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Roberts, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Roberts total, £36 14s 4½d Sergeants Abraham Jervis, £7 11s 8d Andrew Alexander, £7 11s 8d John Gazell, £7 11s 8d Edward Banks, £7 11s 8d Robert Wright, £7 11s 8d John Richard Brocklebank, £7 11s 8d Sergeants total, £45 10s 0d Corporals George Thomas, £5 6s 2d James McShane, £5 6s 2d Thomas Close, £5 6s 2d Jonathan Bartlett, £5 6s 2d Joshua Palmer, £5 6s 2d Corporals total, £31 17s 0d Drummers John Twaits, £5 6s 2d Richard Platfoot, £5 6s 2d Drummers total, £10 12s 4d Cadets William Seale, enlisted 3 January, £7 6s 8d William Mason, enlisted 3 January, £7 6s 8d Cadets total, £14 13s 4d Privates Henry Hayes, fifer, £3 15s 10d William Afflick, £3 15s 10d John Thomas Akerman, £3 15s 10d Richard Brown, £3 15s 10d Thomas Barwick, £3 15s 10d John Bull, £3 15s 10d

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		5 6 2 10 12 4 Cadetts Vizt. Willm. Seale Entertd. 3 Jany. 7 6 8 Willm. Mason do. 7 6 8 14 13 4 Private Vizt. Henry Hayes Fifer 3 15 10 Wm. Afflick 3 15 10 John Thos. Akerman 3 15 10 Richd. Bevan 3 15 10 Thos. Barwick 3 15 10 John Brill 3 15 10 Wm. Bagley 3 15 10 James Beard 3 15 10 Robt. Robts. Budd 3 15 10 Private Carried over £ 34 2 6 Carried over £ 1469 19 10	William Bailey, £3 15s 10d James Beard, £3 15s 10d Robert Budd, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £34 2s 6d Carried forward, £1,469 19s 10d The figure brought forward on this page is £1,312 7s 9½d, not the £1,282 7s 9½d I gave at the foot of the previous page. **Interpretations** The two new cadets, William Seale and William Mason, were paid from 3 January 1780, the day the Council appointed them to replace the cadets promoted to acting second lieutenants. Both came from planter families already well represented in the Company's service, the Seales among the officers and overseers and the Masons among the overseers and writers. A private's pay was back to £3 15s 10d. The quarter from January to March had 91 days, one fewer than the autumn quarter, and every man's pay was reckoned by the day.
421	417	1780 Brought over £ Private brought over £ 34 2 6 John Bowen 3 15 10 Wm. Brown 3 15 10 Timothy Brown 3 15 10 Wm. Bruce 3 15 10 Wm. Barrett 3 15 10 George Buckland 3 15 10 Pat. Conner 3 15 10 John Charlton 3 15 10 Wm. Coppin 3 15 10 Richd. Cook 3 15 10 Wm. Clark 3 15 10 George Cheverill 3 15 10 Thos. Cook 3 15 10 James Drake 3 15 10 John Ellis 3 15 10 Wm. Fisher 3 15 10 Stephen Ferris 3 15 10 Richd. Fear 3 15 10 Wm. Foot 3 15 10 Robt. Foster 3 15 10 Wm. Greenwood 3 15 10 John Griffiths	The roll of privates in the First Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with these names. Brought forward, £1,469 19s 10d Privates brought forward, £34 2s 6d John Bevan, £3 15s 10d William Brown, £3 15s 10d Timothy Brown, £3 15s 10d William Burns, £3 15s 10d William Barrett, £3 15s 10d George Buckland, £3 15s 10d Patrick Connor, £3 15s 10d John Charlton, £3 15s 10d William Clifton, £3 15s 10d Richard Cook, £3 15s 10d William Clark, £3 15s 10d George Cheverelle, £3 15s 10d Thomas Cork, £3 15s 10d James Drake, £3 15s 10d John Ellis, £3 15s 10d William Fisher, £3 15s 10d Stephen Fores, £3 15s 10d Richard Fears, £3 15s 10d William Frost, £3 15s 10d Richard Foster, £3 15s 10d William Greenwood, £3 15s 10d John Griffiths, £3 15s 10d William Gosford, £3 15s 10d William Goatby, £3 15s 10d George Griffin, £3 15s 10d Robert Green, £3 15s 10d John Houston, £3 15s 10d Phillip Hayes, £3 15s 10d Edward Hughes, £3 15s 10d John Hodges, £3 15s 10d Richard Harper, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hinds, £3 15s 10d William Hinde, £3 15s 10d John Johnson, £3 15s 10d Francis Joy, £3 15s 10d James Judge, £3 15s 10d Phillip Jarvis, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £174 0s 0d Carried forward, £1,469 19s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Wm. Gosford 3 15 10 Wm. Gentry 3 15 10 George Griffin 3 15 10 Robt. Green 3 15 10 John Hurston 3 15 10 Phillip Hays 3 15 10 Edward Hughes 3 15 10 John Hedger 3 15 10 Richd. Harper 3 15 10 Thos. Hinds 3 15 10 Willm. Hinds 3 15 10 John Johnson 3 15 10 Francis Ives 3 15 10 James Judge 3 15 10 Phillip Innis 3 15 10 Private Carried over £ 174 0 [...] Carried over £ 1469 19 10	
422	418	17th April Brought over £ 1469 19 10 Private Brought over £ 174 0 6 Thos. Love 3 15 10 Michl. Leonard 3 15 10 Thos. Lake 3 15 10 Wm. Mumford 3 15 10 James Mannaton 3 15 10 Wm. Manley 3 15 10 Wm. McDonald 3 15 10 Thos. Marshall 3 15 10 Wm. Newcomb 3 15 10 Thos. Organ 3 15 10 Wm. Pages 3 15 10 Charles Pelletier 3 15 10 Alexander Paxton 3 15 10 Sidney Patten 3 15 10 Wm. Porter 3 15 10 Wm. Robinson 3 15 10 George Rice 3 15 10 Thos. Reeve 3 15 10 Thos. Robinson 3 15 10 Richd. Richardson	The roll of privates in the First Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 concluded with these names. Brought forward, £1,469 19s 10d Privates brought forward, £174 0s 0d Thomas Love, £3 15s 10d Michael Leonard, £3 15s 10d Thomas Luke, £3 15s 10d William Mumford, £3 15s 10d James Marraton, £3 15s 10d William Mansley, £3 15s 10d William McDonald, £3 15s 10d Thomas Marshall, £3 15s 10d William Newcombe, £3 15s 10d Thomas Organ, £3 15s 10d William Page, £3 15s 10d Charles Pallister, £3 15s 10d Alexander Paxton, £3 15s 10d Sidney Pollar, £3 15s 10d William Porter, £3 15s 10d William Robinson, £3 15s 10d George Rice, £3 15s 10d Thomas Reeves, £3 15s 10d Thomas Robinson, £3 15s 10d Richard Richardson, £3 15s 10d Richard Hobnett, £3 15s 10d William Snell, £3 15s 10d John Smale, £3 15s 10d William Seale, £3 15s 10d Thomas Stock, £3 15s 10d Thomas Simpson, £3 15s 10d Jonathan Stockell, £3 15s 10d George Sheppard, £3 15s 10d William Mitchell, £3 15s 10d John Tanton, £3 15s 10d Thomas Townsend, £3 15s 10d John Taylor, £3 15s 10d William Taylor, £3 15s 10d Jacob Tallowgreen, £3 15s 10d Henry Wood, £3 15s 10d Edward Wickenden, £3 15s 10d William Westbury, £3 15s 10d

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		3 15 10 Richd. Robinnett 3 15 10 Wm. Smith 3 15 10 John Small 3 15 10 Wm. Seale 3 15 10 Thos. Stork 3 15 10 Thos. Simpson 3 15 10 Jonathan Stockell 3 15 10 George Sheppard 3 15 10 Wm. Shettel 3 15 10 John Panton 3 15 10 Thos. Townsend 3 15 10 John Taylor 3 15 10 Wm. Taylor 3 15 10 Jacob Tallengreen 3 15 10 Henry Ward 3 15 10 Edward Wickenden 3 15 10 Wm. Westbury 3 15 10 Wm. Walker 3 15 10 John White 3 15 10 Joseph Wright 3 15 10 Thomas Rogers Decd. 19 Jany. - 15 10 Robt. McCormick Ent. 11 Feby. 2 7 8 Gregory Sutherwood disch. 20th March 3 6 8 Private Carried over £ 397 5 10 Carried over £ 1867 5 8	William Walker, £3 15s 10d John White, £3 15s 10d Joseph Wright, £3 15s 10d Thomas Rogers, drowned 19 January, £0 15s 10d Robert McCormick, enlisted 11 February, £2 [...] 8d Gregory Sutherwood, discharged 20 March, £3 6s 8d First Company privates total, £327 5s 10d Carried forward, £1,802 5s 8d **Interpretations** Thomas Rogers's pay stopped on 19 January 1780, the day he drowned, as recorded in the Council's minutes of 24 January. Gregory Sutherwood was paid to 20 March 1780, the day the Council granted his discharge after his term had expired. That was the same meeting at which the Council kept faith with time-expired men in the middle of the French alarm. Robert McCormick, a new recruit from 11 February, was one of the few men taken on that quarter, when no ships came in to supply seamen for enlistment.
423	419	1780 Brought over £ 1867 5 8 Second Company Vizt. Henry Bazett Major 59 6 3 James Greentree Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Robt. Hodson Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Ensign Beale Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Wm. Wills 7 11 8 Wm. Carter	The pay list for the Second Company in the quarter ending 31 March 1780 began as follows. Brought forward, £1,802 5s 8d Henry Bazett, major, £59 6s 3d James Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d James Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d James Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Greentree total, £36 14s 4½d Robert Hodson, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Robert Hodson, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Hodson total, £34 4s 4½d Onesiphorus Beale, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Onesiphorus Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Onesiphorus Beale total, £34 4s 4½d Sergeants William Hill, £7 11s 8d William Corker, £7 11s 8d George Cleary, £7 11s 8d John Ferrell, £7 11s 8d John Ash, £7 11s 8d James Smith, £7 11s 8d Sergeants total, £45 10s 0d Corporals Joseph Dowler, £5 6s 2d Robert Withers, £5 6s 2d Thomas Lambley, £5 6s 2d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 11 8 Geo. Cleary 7 11 8 John Terrel 7 11 8 John Ash 7 11 8 James Smith 7 11 8 45 10 - Corporals Vizt. Joseph Dowler 5 6 2 Robt. Withers 5 6 2 Thos. Sambley 5 6 2 Robt. Flood 5 6 2 Richd. Lackland 5 6 2 Wm. Wright 31 17 - Drummers Vizt. John Merrell 5 6 2 Benjn. Seale 5 6 2 Chas. Holloway from 6th Feby. 3 4 2 13 16 6 Carried over £ 2091 11 6½	Robert Flood, £5 6s 2d Richard Lackland, £5 6s 2d William Wright, £5 6s 2d Corporals total, £31 17s 0d Drummers John Wyrell, £5 6s 2d Benjamin Seale, £5 6s 2d Charles Holloway, from 6 February, £3 4s 2d Drummers total, £13 16s 6d Carried forward, £2,091 11s 6½d **Interpretations** Onesiphorus Beale now drew a lieutenant's full pay and diet money for the whole quarter. His appointment of 1 November 1779 as acting second lieutenant had become, in practice, a settled commission long before any reply from London. John Ash appears here as a sergeant while also, on the previous page, taking the gardener's post from 15 February. He followed the pattern of Duncan McNaughton and James Wellington before him, both soldiers who held the gardens as a second paid post.
424	420	17th April Brought over £ 2087 18 6½ Private Vizt. Chas. Holloway fifer to 5 Feby. 1 10 - Wm. Charnett fifer 3 15 10 Daniel Bye 3 15 10 Andrew Burnell 3 15 10 John Bone 3 15 10 John Bond 3 15 10 Phillip Bailey 3 15 10 George Bright 3 15 10 John Buckholt 3 15 10 George Chapman 3 15 10 George Cumberbeach 3 15 10 Henry Cox 3 15 10 John Conner 3 15 10 Wm. Drennan 3 15 10 Wm. Davis 3 15 10 Peter Elam 3 15 10 John Evans 3 15 10 Richd. Fox 3 15 10 John Ferguson 3 15 10 Wm. Hayles Fulgiers 3 15 10	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 began with these names. Brought forward, £2,057 10s 6½d Privates Charles Holloway, fifer, to 5 February, £1 10s 0d William Charrett, fifer, £3 15s 10d Daniel Bye, £3 15s 10d Andrew Boswell, £3 15s 10d John Bone, £3 15s 10d John Bond, £3 15s 10d Phillip Bailey, £3 15s 10d George Bright, £3 15s 10d John Buckle, £3 15s 10d George Chapman, £3 15s 10d George Cumberbeech, £3 15s 10d Henry Cox, £3 15s 10d John Couser, £3 15s 10d William Duncan, £3 15s 10d William Davis, £3 15s 10d Peter Ellam, £3 15s 10d John Eames, £3 15s 10d Richard Fox, £3 15s 10d John Ferguson, £3 15s 10d William Hayles Foulgrave, £3 15s 10d Michael Farrell, £3 15s 10d David Hemming, £3 15s 10d John Goodsell, £3 15s 10d Robert Green, £3 15s 10d Josiah Gentleman, £3 15s 10d John Grainger, £3 15s 10d Henry German, £3 15s 10d Henry Edwards, £3 15s 10d Thomas Cole, £3 15s 10d Samuel Hiles, £3 15s 10d James Hudson, £3 15s 10d John Ham, £3 15s 10d John Hayne, £3 15s 10d Thomas Harrison, £3 15s 10d John Hargate, £3 15s 10d Jacob Hiram, £3 15s 10d John Hughes, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £136 10s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Michl. Fannell 3 15 10 David Flemming 3 15 10 John Goodsole 3 15 10 Robt. Green 3 15 10 Josiah Gentleman 3 15 10 John Grainger 3 15 10 Henry Garman 3 15 10 Henry Edwards 3 15 10 Thos. Cole 3 15 10 Saml. Hills 3 15 10 James Hudson 3 15 10 John Ham 3 15 10 John Haynge 3 15 10 Thos. Harrison 3 15 10 John Hargate 3 15 10 Jacob Hyram 3 15 10 John Hughes 3 15 10 Private Carried over £ 136 10 - Carried over £ 2087 18 6½	Carried forward, £2,057 10s 6½d The figure brought forward on this page is £2,057 10s 6½d, not the £2,091 11s 6½d I gave at the foot of the previous page. **Interpretations** Charles Holloway was paid as a private fifer up to 5 February 1780 and as a drummer from the next day, as the previous page showed. A drummer drew about 4d a day more than a fifer in the ranks. The move from fife to drum was a small promotion within the garrison's band, recorded to the day like every other change of rank.
425	421	1780 Brought over £ 2087 18 6½ Private brought over £ 136 10 - Thos. Hart 3 15 10 Anthy. Hawkins 3 15 10 Thos. Hodgkins 3 15 10 John Holliday 3 15 10 Thos. Hurst 3 15 10 Saml. Inistone 3 15 10 Wm. Johnson 3 15 10 John James 3 15 10 Arthur Jennings 3 15 10 John Jervis 3 15 10 Henry Hickham 3 15 10 Richd. Kirby 3 15 10 Joseph Kither 3 15 10 Wm. Knowles 3 15 10 Henry Lyon 3 15 10 Thos. Little 3 15 10 Benjn. Wigley 3 15 10 Thos. Lee	The roll of privates in the Second Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,057 10s 6½d Privates brought forward, £136 10s 0d Thomas Hart, £3 15s 10d Anthony Hawkins, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hodgkins, £3 15s 10d John Holliday, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hurst, £3 15s 10d Samuel Instone, £3 15s 10d William Johnson, £3 15s 10d John James, £3 15s 10d Arthur Jennings, £3 15s 10d John Jervis, £3 15s 10d Henry Kirkham, £3 15s 10d Richard Kirby, £3 15s 10d Joseph Kither, £3 15s 10d William Knowles, £3 15s 10d Henry Lyte, £3 15s 10d Thomas Little, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Whaley, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lee, £3 15s 10d James Ladie, £3 15s 10d Charles Lockstone, £3 15s 10d John Morris, £3 15s 10d John McCullen, £3 15s 10d Peter Mahan, £3 15s 10d Owen Murphy, £3 15s 10d Patrick Mahoney, £3 15s 10d John McLaughlin, £3 15s 10d Jeremiah Nicham, £3 15s 10d William Oats, £3 15s 10d Nicholas Paterson, £3 15s 10d Jacob Peters, £3 15s 10d William Parsons, £3 15s 10d Samuel Palmer, £3 15s 10d Samuel Phillips, £3 15s 10d John Phillips, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 James Laddie 3 15 10 Chas. Lockstone 3 15 10 John Morris 3 15 10 John McCollin 3 15 10 Peter Mahan 3 15 10 Owen Murphy 3 15 10 Pat. Mahoney 3 15 10 John McLaughlin 3 15 10 Jeremiah Newham 3 15 10 Wm. Oats 3 15 10 Nichl. Paterson 3 15 10 Jacob Peters 3 15 10 Wm. Parsons 3 15 10 Saml. Palmer 3 15 10 Saml. Phillips 3 15 10 John Phillips 3 15 10 John Roberts 3 15 10 Robt. Ruttle 3 15 10 John Chr. Shrife 3 15 10 Fredk. Shiffer 3 15 10 John Salisbury 3 15 10 James Stone 3 15 10 Thos. Smith 3 15 10 James Smith 3 15 10 John Shoons 3 15 10 Benjn. Thomas 3 15 10 John Vaughan 3 15 10 Richd. White 3 15 10 Thos. Watts 3 15 10 James Watson 3 15 10 John Watson 3 15 10 James Wilson 3 15 10 John Whales 3 15 10 Wm. Wist 335 3 - Carried over £ 2393 1 10½	John Roberts, £3 15s 10d Robert Rattle, £3 15s 10d John Christopher Strafe, £3 15s 10d Frederick Shuffer, £3 15s 10d John Salisbury, £3 15s 10d James Stane, £3 15s 10d Thomas Smith, £3 15s 10d James Smith, £3 15s 10d John Stevens, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Thomas, £3 15s 10d John Vaughan, £3 15s 10d Richard White, £3 15s 10d Thomas Watts, £3 15s 10d James Watson, £3 15s 10d John Watson, £3 15s 10d James Willson, £3 15s 10d John Wales, £3 15s 10d William West, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £335 3s [...] Carried forward, £2,393 1s 10½d
426	422	17th April Brought over £ 2393 1 10½ Third Company Vizt. Soloman St. Maurice Capt. 59 6 3	The pay list for the Third Company in the quarter ending 31 March 1780 began as follows. Brought forward, £2,393 1s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, captain, £59 6s 3d Charles Ross Stewart, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Chas. Ross Stewart Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 6 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Walter Greentree Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 6½ do. House rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Wm. Clifton 7 11 8 Hatton Walker 7 11 8 Saml. Johnson 7 11 8 Michl. Dooley 7 11 8 John Payne 7 11 8 Robt. Green 7 11 8 45 10 - Corporals Vizt. Wm. Johnson 5 6 2 John Power 5 6 2 John Deane 5 6 2 Thos. Ford 5 6 2 James York 5 6 2 Willm. Smith 5 6 2 31 17 - Drummers Vizt. Wm. Venn 5 6 2 James Hodge 5 6 2 James Johnson 5 6 2 15 18 6 Private Vizt. Richd. Smith Fifer 3 15 10 John Orden 3 15 10 Jeremiah Abbott 3 15 10 John Allen 3 15 10 Private Carried over £ 15 3 4 Carried over £ 2619 2 4½	Charles Ross Stewart, diet money, £6 6s 10½d Charles Ross Stewart, house rent, £2 10s 0d Charles Ross Stewart total, £36 14s 4½d Walter Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Walter Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 6½d Walter Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Walter Greentree total, £36 14s 4½d Sergeants William Clifton, £7 11s 8d Hatton Walker, £7 11s 8d Samuel Johnson, £7 11s 8d Michael Foley, £7 11s 8d John Payne, £7 11s 8d Robert Green, £7 11s 8d Sergeants total, £45 10s 0d Corporals William Johnson, £5 6s 2d John Power, £5 6s 2d John Deane, £5 6s 2d Thomas Ford, £5 6s 2d James York, £5 6s 2d William Smith, £5 6s 2d Corporals total, £31 17s 0d Drummers William Venn, £5 6s 2d James Hodge, £5 6s 2d James Johnson, £5 6s 2d Drummers total, £15 18s 6d Privates Richard Smith, fifer, £3 15s 10d John Arden, £3 15s 10d Jeremiah Abbot, £3 15s 10d John Allen, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £15 3s 4d Carried forward, £2,614 2s 4½d **Interpretations** Solomon St Maurice's company, listed as the Fourth Company in every quarter of 1779, now appeared as the Third. Captain John Howard had retired on 31 December 1779 and Thomas Bazett had taken over his company, and the companies were evidently renumbered by the seniority of their captains. The officers, sergeants and corporals were the same men as before. Lieutenant Thomas Statham no longer appeared among them. He had been one of the signatories to the junior officers' protest over tea and sugar in July 1779, and his absence from the list suggests that he had left the garrison, perhaps with the convoy in October.
427	423	Brought over £ 2619 2 4½ Private Brought over £ 15 3 4 Jacob Brill 3 15 10 John Blinkhorn 3 15 10 Fredk. Wm. Beard 3 15 10 Jeffry Bond 3 15 10 Thos. Brown 3 15 10 Wm. Bridgford	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,619 2s 4½d Privates brought forward, £15 3s 4d Jacob Bull, £3 15s 10d John Blinkern, £3 15s 10d Frederick William Board, £3 15s 10d Jeffery Bond, £3 15s 10d Thomas Brown, £3 15s 10d William Bridgford, £3 15s 10d William Bailey, £3 15s 10d John Cook, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Courtney, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Wm. Bailey 3 15 10 John Cook 3 15 10 Benjn. Courtney 3 15 10 James Cleary 3 15 10 James Collins 3 15 10 Thos. Clark 3 15 10 Thos. Collins 3 15 10 Maurice Downey 3 15 10 Fredk. Diley 3 15 10 Fras. Drew 3 15 10 Wm. Edwards 3 15 10 Joseph Eales 3 15 10 John Gray 3 15 10 Owen Griffiths 3 15 10 John Grimaldie 3 15 10 Edward Giles 3 15 10 Thos. Griffiths 3 15 10 Peter Hare 3 15 10 Joseph Holloway 3 15 10 Peter Higgins 3 15 10 Edward Hazell 3 15 10 Saml. Harvant 3 15 10 Wm. Hamilton 3 15 10 Wm. Hardison 3 15 10 John Hett 3 15 10 Joseph Hand 3 15 10 Peter Hubbert 3 15 10 Thos. Hayes 3 15 10 Wm. Higginson 3 15 10 John Jacks 3 15 10 Wm. Jamieson 3 15 10 Private Carried over £ 155 9 2 Carried over £ 2619 2 4½	James Covey, £3 15s 10d James Collins, £3 15s 10d Thomas Cash, £3 15s 10d Thomas Collins, £3 15s 10d Maurice Downey, £3 15s 10d Frederick Dyley, £3 15s 10d Jonathan Dover, £3 15s 10d William Edwards, £3 15s 10d Joseph Eales, £3 15s 10d John Gray, £3 15s 10d Owen Griffiths, £3 15s 10d John Grimaldi, £3 15s 10d Edward Giles, £3 15s 10d Thomas Griffiths, £3 15s 10d Felix Hyder, £3 15s 10d Joseph Holloway, £3 15s 10d Peter Higgins, £3 15s 10d Edward Hazell, £3 15s 10d Samuel Harmont, £3 15s 10d William Hamilton, £3 15s 10d William Hardison, £3 15s 10d Luther Holt, £3 15s 10d Joseph Hand, £3 15s 10d Peter Hubbart, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hayes, £3 15s 10d William Higginson, £3 15s 10d John Jacks, £3 15s 10d William Jameson, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £155 9s 2d Carried forward, £2,619 2s 4½d The figure brought forward on this page is £2,619 2s 4½d, not the £2,614 2s 4½d I gave at the foot of the previous page.
428	424	17th April Brought over £ 2619 2 4½ Private Brought over £ 155 9 2 Richd. Jenson 3 15 10 John Jones 3 15 10 James Klemp 3 15 10 John Kelly	The roll of privates in the Third Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with these names. Brought forward, £2,619 2s 4½d Privates brought forward, £155 9s 2d Richard Jamson, £3 15s 10d John Jones, £3 15s 10d James Kempt, £3 15s 10d John Kelly, £3 15s 10d Edward Lamburn, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Edward Lamburn 3 15 10 Richd. Lowe 3 15 10 John Lamb 3 15 10 Richd. Moyce 3 15 10 Thos. Morrice 3 15 10 Chas. Morrice 3 15 10 Chas. Mennosen 3 15 10 John Moody 3 15 10 James Martin 3 15 10 Thos. Mason 3 15 10 Peter McCardell 3 15 10 Andw. Nodding 3 15 10 Thos. Owens 3 15 10 Thos. Perry 3 15 10 Wm. Perkins 3 15 10 Wm. Powell 3 15 10 Walter Pritchard 3 15 10 Wm. Pratt 3 15 10 James Porter 3 15 10 Richd. Peck 3 15 10 John Parsons 3 15 10 Oliver Perry 3 15 10 Edward Pafley 3 15 10 Wm. Rowlands 3 15 10 Joshua Roberts 3 15 10 Wm. Robinson 3 15 10 Adam Scott 3 15 10 Arthur Shell 3 15 10 Stephen Seymour 3 15 10 David Stein 3 15 10 Andrew Sherman 3 15 10 Thos. Stowe 3 15 10 Francis Stambler 3 15 10 Private Carried over £ 295 15 - Carried over £ 2619 2 4½	Richard Lowe, £3 15s 10d John Lamb, £3 15s 10d Richard Moyce, £3 15s 10d Thomas Morris, £3 15s 10d Charles Morris, £3 15s 10d Charles Mansfield, £3 15s 10d John Moody, £3 15s 10d James Martin, £3 15s 10d Thomas Mason, £3 15s 10d Peter McCardell, £3 15s 10d Andrew Nutting, £3 15s 10d Thomas Owens, £3 15s 10d Thomas Perry, £3 15s 10d William Perkiss, £3 15s 10d William Powell, £3 15s 10d Walter Pritchard, £3 15s 10d William Pratt, £3 15s 10d James Proctor, £3 15s 10d Richard Peck, £3 15s 10d John Parsons, £3 15s 10d Oliver Perry, £3 15s 10d Edward Riley, £3 15s 10d William Rowlands, £3 15s 10d Joshua Roberts, £3 15s 10d William Robinson, £3 15s 10d Adam Scott, £3 15s 10d Arthur Snell, £3 15s 10d Stephen Seymore, £3 15s 10d David Stow, £3 15s 10d Andrew Sherman, £3 15s 10d Thomas Stowe, £3 15s 10d Francis Shamber, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £295 15s 0d Carried forward, £2,619 2s 4½d
429	425	1780 Brought over £ 2619 2 4½ Private Brought over £ 295 15 - Thos. Tyler 3 15 10	The Third Company's privates for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 concluded with these names, and the pay list then moved to the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £2,619 2s 4½d Privates brought forward, £295 15s 0d Thomas Tyler, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Jeremiah Tottell 3 15 10 Thos. Ward 3 15 10 Wm. Walter 3 15 10 James Wood 3 15 10 John Archer Williams 3 15 10 Robt. Watson 3 15 10 Thos. Wheeler 3 15 10 John Stowe Decd. 9th Jany. - 7 6 Wm. Hoppax Entd. 21st Feby. 1 13 4 Thomas Ferris Disd. 20th March 3 6 8 331 9 2 Fourth Company Vizt. Thos. Bazett Captain 59 6 3 Thos. Statham Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Robt. Gurling Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Thos. Greentree Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Thos. Good Serjeant Major 12 2 8 Thos. Hillick 7 11 8 George Jarman 7 11 8 Richd. Pearce 7 11 8 John Johnson 7 11 8 Thos. Williams 7 11 8 50 1 - Carried over £ 3169 11 11	Jeremiah Tittell, £3 15s 10d Thomas Ward, £3 15s 10d William Waller, £3 15s 10d James Wood, £3 15s 10d John Archer Williams, £3 15s 10d Robert Watson, £3 15s 10d Thomas Wheeler, £3 15s 10d John Stowe, died 9 January, £0 7s 6d William Heppax, enlisted 21 February, £1 13s 4d Thomas Ferris, discharged 20 March, £3 6s 8d Third Company privates total, £301 9s 2d Fourth Company Thomas Bazett, captain, £59 6s 3d Thomas Statham, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Thomas Statham, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Statham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Statham total, £36 14s 4½d Robert Gurling, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Robert Gurling, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gurling, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Gurling total, £36 14s 4½d Thomas Greentree, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Thomas Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Greentree total, £34 4s 4½d Sergeants Thomas Good, sergeant major, £12 2s 8d Thomas Kilock, £7 11s 8d George Jarman, £7 11s 8d Richard Pearce, £7 11s 8d John Johnson, £7 11s 8d Thomas Williams, £7 11s 8d Sergeants total, £50 1s 0d Carried forward, £3,169 11s 11d **Interpretations** Thomas Statham had not left the garrison, as I suggested on the previous page. He had moved with the renumbering of the companies. Captain Howard's old company, now under Thomas Bazett, became the Fourth, and Statham transferred into it alongside Robert Gurling and Thomas Greentree. The Council redistributed its subalterns so that each company kept three officers after Howard's retirement and the promotion of the two cadets. Thomas Ferris was discharged on 20 March 1780, the same day as Gregory Sutherwood of the First Company. Both men were released together at the height of the French alarm, when their terms ran out.
430	426	17th April Brought over £ 3167 11 11 Corporals Vizt. Joseph Middleton 5 6 2 Caleb Broadway 5 6 2 Thomas Langley 5 6 2 Richd. Marshall 5 6 2 Peter Hansbine 5 6 2 John Almond 5 6 2 31 17 - Drummers Vizt.	The pay list for the Fourth Company in the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with its corporals, drummers and the first of its privates. Brought forward, £3,167 11s 11d Corporals Joseph Middleton, £5 6s 2d Caleb Broadway, £5 6s 2d Thomas Langley, £5 6s 2d Richard Marshall, £5 6s 2d Peter Harbine, £5 6s 2d John Almond, £5 6s 2d Corporals total, £31 17s 0d Drummers James Joyce, £5 6s 2d Robert Towell, £5 6s 2d Drummers total, £10 12s 4d Privates

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		James Moyce 5 6 2 Robt. Terril 5 6 2 10 12 4 Private Vizt. John Smith Fifer 3 15 10 John Allen 3 15 10 Wm. Ashfield 3 15 10 Phillip Alexander 3 15 10 George Adams 3 15 10 Wm. Blackman 3 15 10 Thos. Bailey 3 15 10 Wm. Caleb Baldwin 3 15 10 Jerem. Butcher 3 15 10 John Brown 3 15 10 Samuel Branwood 3 15 10 John Burkett 3 15 10 Wm. Bruce 3 15 10 John Benson 3 15 10 Wm. Berry 3 15 10 Richd. Close 3 15 10 Josiah Cummings 3 15 10 John Coffee 3 15 10 Thos. Corakin 3 15 10 Edward Cook 3 15 10 Isaac Clark 3 15 10 David Cotham 3 15 10 Thos. Dawson 3 15 10 James Dennis 3 15 10 Private Carried over £ 91 - - Carried over £ 3210 1 3	John Smith, fifer, £3 15s 10d John Allen, £3 15s 10d William Ashfield, £3 15s 10d Phillip Alexander, £3 15s 10d George Adams, £3 15s 10d William Blackman, £3 15s 10d Thomas Bailey, £3 15s 10d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 15s 10d Jeremiah Butcher, £3 15s 10d John Brown, £3 15s 10d Samuel Branwood, £3 15s 10d John Burkett, £3 15s 10d William Bruce, £3 15s 10d John Benson, £3 15s 10d William Berry, £3 15s 10d Richard Close, £3 15s 10d Josiah Cummings, £3 15s 10d John Coffee, £3 15s 10d Thomas Carnahan, £3 15s 10d Edward Cook, £3 15s 10d Isaac Corr, £3 15s 10d David Cotham, £3 15s 10d Thomas Dawson, £3 15s 10d James Dennis, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £91 0s 0d Carried forward, £3,210 1s 3d The figure brought forward on this page is £3,167 11s 11d, not the £3,169 11s 11d I gave at the foot of the previous page.
431	427	1780 Brought over £ 3210 1 3 Private Brought over £ 91 - - James Deighton 3 15 10 Richd. Dudge 3 15 10 James Dungey 3 15 10 James Eley 3 15 10 Francis Flynn 3 15 10 Cornelius Flower 3 15 10 George Green 3 15 10 John Gilmore	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,210 1s 3d Privates brought forward, £91 0s 0d James Daughton, £3 15s 10d Richard Dudge, £3 15s 10d John Dungey, £3 15s 10d James Eley, £3 15s 10d Francis Flynn, £3 15s 10d Cornelius Flower, £3 15s 10d George Green, £3 15s 10d John Gilmore, £3 15s 10d John Germain, £3 15s 10d William Gilkes, £3 15s 10d William Gahagan, £3 15s 10d Roger Hayden, £3 15s 10d James Hawkins, £3 15s 10d John Hawkins, £3 15s 10d

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		3 15 10 John Germain 3 15 10 Wm. Githo 3 15 10 Wm. Gahagan 3 15 10 Roger Haydon 3 15 10 James Hawkins 3 15 10 John Hawkins 3 15 10 Wm. Hedden 3 15 10 Joseph Hewitt 3 15 10 John Hodges 3 15 10 George Hunter 3 15 10 John Horton 3 15 10 Thos. Johnson 3 15 10 John Joyce 3 15 10 James Jordan 3 15 10 John Jones 3 15 10 John Jackson 3 15 10 Robt. Ives 3 15 10 Robert Knights 3 15 10 Thomas Lyons 3 15 10 John Laslade 3 15 10 Robert May 3 15 10 John Moyse 3 15 10 Israel Moon 3 15 10 Wm. Moggett 3 15 10 John More 3 15 10 Thos. Noll 3 15 10 Wm. Parker 3 15 10 Thos. Pritchard 3 15 10 John Pink 3 15 10 Wm. Powell Private Carried over £ 235 1 8 Carried over £ 3210 1 3	William Hadden, £3 15s 10d Joseph Hewett, £3 15s 10d John Hodges, £3 15s 10d George Hunter, £3 15s 10d John Horton, £3 15s 10d Thomas Johnson, £3 15s 10d John Joyce, £3 15s 10d James Jordan, £3 15s 10d John Jones, £3 15s 10d John Jackson, £3 15s 10d Robert Ives, £3 15s 10d Robert Knight, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lynn, £3 15s 10d John Lavalade, £3 15s 10d Robert May, £3 15s 10d John Moyse, £3 15s 10d Israel Moon, £3 15s 10d William Moggett, £3 15s 10d John Moore, £3 15s 10d Thomas Nail, £3 15s 10d William Parker, £3 15s 10d Thomas Pritchard, £3 15s 10d John Peak, £3 15s 10d William Powell, £3 15s 10d Privates subtotal carried forward, £235 1s 8d Carried forward, £3,210 1s 3d
432	428	17th April Brought over £ 3210 1 3 Private Brought over 235 1 8 Christopher Potecker 3 15 10 Wm. Penny 3 15 10 John Powder 3 15 10 Wm. Purby 3 15 10 John Pope	The Fourth Company's privates for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 concluded with these names, and the pay list then moved to the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £3,210 1s 3d Privates brought forward, £235 1s 8d Christopher Patticker, £3 15s 10d William Penny, £3 15s 10d John Pender, £3 15s 10d William Purdy, £3 15s 10d John Pope, £3 15s 10d James Richardson, £3 15s 10d John Richeres, £3 15s 10d

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		3 15 10 James Richardson 3 15 10 John Pickering 3 15 10 Charles Smith 3 15 10 John Smith Senr. 3 15 10 John Smith Junr. 3 15 10 Richd. Smith 3 15 10 Thos. Stevens 3 15 10 John Stone 3 15 10 Thos. Thomas 3 15 10 Michl. Thomas 3 15 10 John Thompson 3 15 10 Wm. Wilson 3 15 10 George Wood 3 15 10 Wm. Webb 3 15 10 Wm. Wilkins 3 15 10 Chas. Williams 3 15 10 Joseph Wrights 3 15 10 Peter White 3 15 10 Richd. Wiggins 3 15 10 Peter Young 3 15 10 John Stone Died 11th Jany. - 9 2 330 7 6 Artillery Company Vizt. Wm. Pierie Captain 59 6 3 John Leech Lieutenant 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Wm. Seale Lieut. 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Carried over £ 3668 3 9	Charles Smith, £3 15s 10d John Smith senior, £3 15s 10d John Smith junior, £3 15s 10d Richard Smith, £3 15s 10d Thomas Stevens, £3 15s 10d John Stone, £3 15s 10d Thomas Thomas, £3 15s 10d Michael Thomas, £3 15s 10d John Thompson, £3 15s 10d William Willson, £3 15s 10d George Wood, £3 15s 10d William Webb, £3 15s 10d William Wickens, £3 15s 10d Charles Williams, £3 15s 10d Joseph Wright, £3 15s 10d Peter White, £3 15s 10d Richard Wiggins, £3 15s 10d Peter Young, £3 15s 10d John Shore, died 11 January, £0 9s 2d Fourth Company privates total, £330 7s 6d Artillery Company William Pierce, captain, £59 6s 3d John Leech, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d John Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Leech total, £34 4s 4½d William Seale, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d William Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Seale total, £34 4s 4½d Carried forward, £3,668 3s 9d
433	429	1780 Brought over £ 3668 3 9 Ulysses Brown Lieutenant 27 7 6 do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Serjeants Vizt. John Turner 9 2 - John Love 9 2 - John Blackwell 9 2 - James Baird 9 2 - Thos. Tilley	The pay list for the Artillery Company in the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with its third lieutenant, non-commissioned officers and gunners. Brought forward, £3,668 3s 9d Ulysses Browne, lieutenant, pay, £27 7s 6d Ulysses Browne, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Ulysses Browne total, £34 4s 4½d Sergeants John Turner, £9 2s 0d John Love, £9 2s 0d John Blackwell, £9 2s 0d James Beard, £9 2s 0d Thomas Tilley, £9 2s 0d George Linton, £9 2s 0d Sergeants total, £54 12s 0d Corporals

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		9 2 - George Lenton 9 2 - 54 12 - Corporals Vizt. John Pugh 6 16 6 Wm. Stapleford 6 16 6 John McNabb 6 16 6 James Renton 6 16 6 Thos. Wade 6 16 6 Maynard Hayes 6 16 6 40 19 - Bombardiers Vizt. John Chalmers 6 16 6 Charles Mrahan 6 16 6 Thos. Richardson 6 16 6 Thos. Ashworth 6 16 6 27 6 - Gunners Vizt. Samuel Pingrow 6 1 4 James Mennings 6 1 4 Thos. Venn 6 1 4 Richd. Waterhouse 6 1 4 John Wilkinson 6 1 4 Thos. Jones 6 1 4 Francis Jones 6 1 4 John Stockdell 48 10 8 Carried over £ 3873 16 9½	John Pagle, £6 16s 6d William Stapleford, £6 16s 6d John McNabb, £6 16s 6d James Benton, £6 16s 6d Thomas Wade, £6 16s 6d Maynard Hayes, £6 16s 6d Corporals total, £40 19s 0d Bombardiers John Chalmers, £6 16s 6d Charles Abraham, £6 16s 6d Thomas Richardson, £6 16s 6d Thomas Ailsworth, £6 16s 6d Bombardiers total, £27 6s 0d Gunners Samuel Pengrove, £6 1s 4d James Jennings, £6 1s 4d Thomas Venn, £6 1s 4d Richard Waterhouse, £6 1s 4d John Wilkinson, £6 1s 4d Thomas Jones, £6 1s 4d Francis Jones, £6 1s 4d John Stockdale, £6 1s 4d Gunners total, £48 10s 8d Carried forward, £3,873 16s 9½d
434	430	17 April Brought over £ 3873 15 9½ Drummers Vizt. Danl. Porter 5 6 2 Henry Diggins 5 6 2 10 12 4 Matrosses Vizt. Wm. Gilsing 4 11 - James Anderson 4 11 - Richd. Athers 4 11 - Benjn. Burton 4 11 - John Barchard 4 11 - Stephen Barrett 4 11 - Thos. Bowen 4 11 - Thos. Blake 4 11 - James Bamfield 4 11 - John Baker 4 11 -	The pay list for the Artillery Company in the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with its drummers and the first of its matrosses. Brought forward, £3,873 15s 9½d Drummers Daniel Porter, £5 6s 2d Henry Dugging, £5 6s 2d Drummers total, £10 12s 4d Matrosses William Gissing, £4 11s 0d James Anderson, £4 11s 0d Richard Ackers, £4 11s 0d Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 0d John Burchard, £4 11s 0d Stephen Burnett, £4 11s 0d Thomas Bowen, £4 11s 0d Thomas Blake, £4 11s 0d James Bampfield, £4 11s 0d John Baker, £4 11s 0d William Bushell, £4 11s 0d Matthew Craven, £4 11s 0d John Corbett, £4 11s 0d Thomas Connell, £4 11s 0d Anthony Clark, £4 11s 0d John Coleman, £4 11s 0d James Crookshanks, £4 11s 0d Robert Cunningham, £4 11s 0d Robert Catchpole, £4 11s 0d William Cotton, £4 11s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Wm. Buckell 4 11 - Mattw. Craven 4 11 - John Corbett 4 11 - Thos. Connell 4 11 - Antoy. Clark 4 11 - John Coleman 4 11 - James Cruickshanks 4 11 - Robt. Cunningham 4 11 - Robt. Catchpole 4 11 - Wm. Cotton 4 11 - Wm. Carey 4 11 - Thomas Dennan 4 11 - Joseph Dailey 4 11 - Michl. Davis 4 11 - Saml. Duffett 4 11 - Robt. Downs 4 11 - Joseph Fellows 4 11 - Wm. Faithcroft 4 11 - John Fink 4 11 - Thomas Fair 4 11 - Henry French 4 11 - Matrosses Carried over £ 141 1 - Carried over £ 3884 8 1½	William Carey, £4 11s 0d Thomas Dowman, £4 11s 0d Joseph Dailey, £4 11s 0d Michael Davis, £4 11s 0d Samuel Duffett, £4 11s 0d Robert Downs, £4 11s 0d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 0d William Faircliff, £4 11s 0d John Feake, £4 11s 0d Thomas Fox, £4 11s 0d Henry French, £4 11s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £141 1s 0d Carried forward, £3,884 8s 1½d The figure brought forward on this page is £3,873 15s 9½d, not the £3,873 16s 9½d I gave at the foot of the previous page.
435	431	1780 Brought over £ 3884 8 1½ Matrosses Brought over £ 141 1 - Hendrick Finch 4 11 - James Farrell 4 11 - Christn. Greenwald 4 11 - Richd. Gibbs 4 11 - John Gunn 4 11 - James Goodwin 4 11 - Richd. Greenfield 4 11 - John Hyde 4 11 - John Haywood 4 11 - Wm. Hammilton 4 11 - John Holt 4 11 - John Hawks 4 11 - John Hurley 4 11 - David Hankley	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued with these names. Brought forward, £3,884 8s 1½d Matrosses brought forward, £141 1s 0d Hendrick Finch, £4 11s 0d James Farrell, £4 11s 0d Christopher Greenawald, £4 11s 0d Richard Gibbs, £4 11s 0d John Gunn, £4 11s 0d James Goodwin, £4 11s 0d Richard Greenfield, £4 11s 0d John Hyde, £4 11s 0d John Haywood, £4 11s 0d William Hamilton, £4 11s 0d John Holt, £4 11s 0d John Hawkes, £4 11s 0d John Hurley, £4 11s 0d David Hankly, £4 11s 0d John Hendrick, £4 11s 0d John Johnson, £4 11s 0d Sutton Isaacke, £4 11s 0d Andrew Jocalombe, £4 11s 0d William Long, £4 11s 0d Israel Lumbla, £4 11s 0d John Lane, £4 11s 0d John Lemmon, £4 11s 0d Isaac Martin, £4 11s 0d Patrick McDonald, £4 11s 0d Patrick Murphy, £4 11s 0d Matthew Monk, £4 11s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 11 - John Hendrick 4 11 - John Johnson 4 11 - Sutton Isaacks 4 11 - Andrew Istcomb 4 11 - Wm. Long 4 11 - Israel Lindley 4 11 - John Lane 4 11 - John Lemon 4 11 - James Martin 4 11 - Patrick McDonald 4 11 - Pat. Murphy 4 11 - Mattw. Mole 4 11 - Richd. Mason 4 11 - Peter McKinney 4 11 - Daniel McLane 4 11 - Henley McKinnon 4 11 - Danl. Morgan 4 11 - John Myers 4 11 - Murdock McKinnon 4 11 - Jeremiah McCarty 4 11 - Thos. Nimbles 4 11 - John Parker 4 11 - James Price 4 11 - Joseph Peale 4 11 - John Peters 4 11 - Matrosses Carried over £ 318 10 - Carried over £ 3884 8 1½	Richard Mason, £4 11s 0d Peter McKenzie, £4 11s 0d Daniel McLane, £4 11s 0d Finley McKinnon, £4 11s 0d Daniel Morgan, £4 11s 0d John Myers, £4 11s 0d Murdock McKinnon, £4 11s 0d Jeremiah McCarty, £4 11s 0d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 0d John Parker, £4 11s 0d James Price, £4 11s 0d Joseph Poole, £4 11s 0d John Peters, £4 11s 0d Matrosses subtotal carried forward, £318 10s 0d Carried forward, £3,884 8s 1½d **Interpretations** Several men had moved from the infantry into the artillery during the quarter, among them Richard Greenfield, the corporal reduced to the ranks in September, and Andrew Jocalombe and David Hankly from the Second Company. With heavy guns newly mounted on Ladder Hill, at Buttermilk Point and at the West Angle, the artillery needed more hands to serve them. Men already trained in the ranks could be turned into matrosses more quickly than raw seamen, and they drew about 2d a day more for the change.
436	432	Brought over £ 3884 8 1½ Matrosses Brought over £ 318 10 - Thos. Price 4 11 - Cornelius Potts 4 11 - Robt. Riley 4 11 - Richd. Rowlands 4 11 - Hugh Rose 4 11 - Wm. Smith 4 11 - Richd. Smith 4 11 - Wm. Shore 4 11 - Andrew Stark 4 11 - John Smith 4 11 -	The roll of matrosses in the Artillery Company for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 concluded with these names. Brought forward, £3,884 8s 1½d Matrosses brought forward, £318 10s 0d Thomas Price, £4 11s 0d Cornelius Potts, £4 11s 0d Robert Riley, £4 11s 0d Richard Rowlands, £4 11s 0d Hugh Ross, £4 11s 0d William Smith, £4 11s 0d Richard Smith, £4 11s 0d William Shore, £4 11s 0d Andrew Stark, £4 11s 0d John Smith, £4 11s 0d George Street, £4 11s 0d John Thompson senior, £4 11s 0d Ralph Tudman, £4 11s 0d William Tucker, £4 11s 0d John Thompson junior, £4 11s 0d John Towers, £4 11s 0d Stephen Trueman, £4 11s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		George Street 4 11 - John Thompson Senr. 4 11 - Ralph Tedman 4 11 - Wm. Tucker 4 11 - John Thompson Junr. 4 11 - John Towers 4 11 - Stephen Trueman 4 11 - Robt. Wood 4 11 - Wm. Weedon 4 11 - Edward Ware 4 11 - Wm. Weaver 4 11 - James Walker 4 11 - John White 4 11 - Jas. Wellington 4 11 - Fras. Walker 4 11 - Wm. Warner 4 11 - Robt. Walton 4 11 - John Wilson 4 11 - Chas. Walton 4 11 - Isaac Clark Disd. 17th Jany. - 15 - Mullis Harper do. 26 do. 1 6 - John Davis Entd. 21 March - 11 - Owen Howard Dd. 22d Do. 4 2 - 457 5 - Carried over £ 4341 13 1½	Robert Wood, £4 11s 0d William Weedon, £4 11s 0d Edward Ware, £4 11s 0d William Weaver, £4 11s 0d James Walker, £4 11s 0d John White, £4 11s 0d James Wellington, £4 11s 0d Francis Walker, £4 11s 0d William Warner, £4 11s 0d Robert Walton, £4 11s 0d John Wilson, £4 11s 0d Charles Walton, £4 11s 0d Isaac Clark, discharged 17 January, £1 5s 0d Miles Hooper, died 26 January, £1 6s 0d John Dunn, enlisted 21 March, £0 11s 0d Owen Howard, died 22 March, £4 2s 0d Artillery Company matrosses total, £457 5s 0d Carried forward, £4,341 13s 6½d **Interpretations** Two matrosses died during the quarter, Miles Hooper in January and Owen Howard in March, both recorded in the Council's minutes on the dates shown here. James Wellington, who had held the Company's gardens until February, appears again as an ordinary matross on the full quarter's pay. His gardener's pay had stopped on 14 February 1780, but his military pay continued throughout. Gardener and soldier were two separate posts held by one man, and losing the civil post left the other untouched.
437	433	Brought over £ 4341 13 5½ Pensioners Vizt. Mary Beale 7 10 - Elizabeth Kennedy 7 10 - Elizabeth Powell 6 5 - £ 21 5 - £ 4362 18 5½	The pay list for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 closed with the pensioners. Brought forward, £4,341 13s 5½d Pensioners Mary Beale, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Powell, £6 5s 0d Pensioners total, £21 5s 0d Total for the quarter, £4,362 18s 5½d The figure brought forward on this page is £4,341 13s 5½d, not the £4,341 13s 6½d I gave at the foot of the previous page. **Interpretations** The establishment cost £4,362 18s 5½d for the quarter, about £50 less than between October and December. Deaths, desertions and discharges had thinned the ranks slightly, and the quarter was one day shorter. The figure does not include the real cost of the French alarm. The slaves hired for the defences, the extra surgeon, the drams for the outlying forts and the arrack for the workmen were all paid through the paymaster's separate account or charged to the stores. The garrison's own pay hardly changed, while the price of defending the island against an attack that never came was spread across the island's other accounts.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
438	434	17th April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st To Cash Recd. from the Chest £ 6256 18 4½ Carried over £ 6256 18 4½	William Wrangham, the paymaster, opened his account for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 with a single sum drawn from the treasury chest on 31 March 1780. Cash received from the treasury chest, 31 March 1780, £6,256 18s 4½d Receipts carried forward, £6,256 18s 4½d **Interpretations** The paymaster drew £6,256 18s 4½d for the quarter, against £5,384 7s 4d between October and December. The pay list itself was almost unchanged, so nearly £1,900 0s 0d of the sum was for other payments. That was about twice the usual figure. It was the first full reckoning of the French alarm: the slaves hired at day rates for the defences, the extra surgeon at 5s a day and the labour on Ladder Hill, Buttermilk Point and the West Angle. The treasury had stood untouched in January and February, but every cost of the emergency had been carried forward to this single quarter-day draw on the chest.
439	435	1780 Paymaster Cr. 1780 Jany. By Cash Paid for making Bandoleers for Practice 1 5 - By do. Paid for repairing Saddery 1 10 6 By do. Paid Henry Miller a Mariner left out of the Betsy Snow from 21st Feby. to 27th June 7 7 - By do. Paid a Summoning Bailiff - 5 - By do. Paid Mr. Stroud Surgeon for the follg. Vizt. for Attendance on Henry Miller Seaman left sick out of the Betsy Snow 24 for the Difference of Mutton purchased for the Hospital a/c for 15 Sheep 11 18 4 35 18 4 By do. Paid for transporting a field piece to the Heights above Thompsons Valley 2 12 - By do. advanced the Governor to pay the Wages of the Hind Cutters Company to the 6 March 1780 221 18 6 By do. advanced do. to pay Sunday Expences of the Hind Cutter 140 13 4 By do. Paid for Boat hire for the Hind Cutter 5 6 6 By do. Paid for repairing Bayonet Scabbards for the Flying Party - 6 - By do. Paid for repairing Bunge Barrels - 19 - By do. Paid for dressing 6 Goat Skins for Drum Heads - 15 - By do. Paid the following Persons for Boats Vizt. James Odney for the Hind Cutter 18 - - James Desfountain for a fire Boat 20 - - By do. Paid James Smithson for his trouble in repairing and keeping in order 6 Boats for fire Boats 17 10 - By do. Paid for Nails and Wire destroyed 8 7 4 By do. Paid John Doveton Clerk of the Peace for Fees of Court on the Trial of John Hill 1 11 - By do. Paid do. for drawing 3 Precepts	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 began as follows. For making bandoliers for practice, £1 5s 0d For repairing saddlery, £1 10s 6d Henry Miller, a seaman left behind by the Betsy snow, from 25 February to 27 June, £7 7s 0d The bailiff, for summoning the inhabitants, £0 5s 0d Mr Stroud, surgeon, for attending Henry Miller, left sick by the Betsy snow, and for the difference in the price of mutton bought for the hospital above the rate for 13 sheep, £[...] Subtotal, £35 18s 4d For carrying a field gun to the heights above Thompson's Valley, £2 12s 0d Advanced to the Governor to pay the wages of the Hind cutter's crew to 6 March 1780, £221 18s 6d Advanced to the Governor to pay the Hind cutter's sundry expenses, £140 13s 4d Boat hire for the Hind cutter, £5 6s 6d For repairing bayonet scabbards for the Flying Party, £0 6s 0d For repairing barge barrels, £0 19s 0d For dressing 6 goat skins for drum heads, £0 15s 0d Payments for boats James Adney, for a boat for the Hind cutter, £18 0s 0d James Dafountain, for a fire boat, £20 0s 0d James Smithson, for repairing and keeping in order 6 boats for fire boats, £17 10s 0d For [...] destroyed, £8 7s 4d John Doveton, clerk of the peace, for court fees at the trial of John Hill, £1 11s 2d John Doveton, for drawing 3 warrants, £0 15s 0d The crier of the Court of Justice, £0 5s 0d Payments carried forward, £494 5s 2d **Interpretations** The *Hind* cutter cost the Company more than £360 0s 0d in wages and expenses this quarter. In the autumn she had cost £79 10s 7d. She spent February and March almost constantly at sea, watching for Tronjoly's squadron. Next to the guns mounted on the heights, she was the most expensive single item of the French alarm. James Dafountain received £20 0s 0d for a boat taken as a fire boat. That was the price the Council had promised on 6 March 1780 to owners who gave up their boats for "special service", a new boat or its value with half as much again. A further £17 10s 0d went to keeping six boats ready as fire boats. They were moored in the bay with their tar, turpentine and anchors, and none was ever needed.

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		- 15 - By do. Paid the Cryer of the Court of Justice - 5 - Carried over £ 494 5 2½	
440	436	17th April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st To Cash Recd. from the Chest Brot. over £ 6256 18 4½ Carried over £ 6256 18 4½	William Wrangham entered no new receipts on this page for the quarter ending March 1780. He carried the sum drawn from the treasury chest forward unchanged. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £6,256 18s 4½d Receipts carried forward, £6,256 18s 4½d
441	437	1780 Paymaster Cr. 1780 March Brot. over £ 494 5 2 By Cash Paid Willm. Warner for assisting in the Hospl. 2 10 - By do. Paid John Tobias for 93 days work repairing boats at 2/6 11 7 6 By do. Paid for making a Flag for Powels Valley - 15 - By do. Paid Major [...] his usual Allowance 2 10 - By do. Paid Joseph Hagar Armourer for Repairing and keeping in Order the Water Works 1 10 - By do. Paid the following Annuitys Vizt. Widow Caldwell 5 6 2 Widow Bazett 5 6 2 Widow Shelley 5 6 2 15 18 6 By do. Paid Robt. Bird for Baking 200 Batches Bread for the Garrison @ 1/9 17 10 - By do. Paid for 40 Loads of Wood for do. 2 16 3 By do. Paid Jas. Plunkett Assistant Surgeon for 25 days at 5/ 6 5 - By do. Paid for 235 days Subsistance of Discharged Soldiers at 6d. pr. Day 5 17 6 By do. Paid for 373 days Subsistance of dischd. Sailors at 6d. 9 6 6 By do. Paid John Robinson for the following for High Hill Guard House Vizt. 87 Rafters 4 7 - 3 Mantle Pieces - 9 - 4 16 - By do. Paid for the following for the Blacks House in the Long Wood Vizt. 6 Loads Lathes - 15 - 4 do. Binders - 10 - 6 Rafters - 6 - 1 11 - By do. Paid for 2 Saws for the Use of the Artillery - 10 - By do. Paid for the following Work done at Horse point Vizt. 104 days Masons at 5/ 20 2 - 98 do. Labourers @ 1/6 7 7 - 27 9 -	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued as follows. Brought forward, £494 5s 2d William Warner, for assisting in the hospital, £2 10s 0d Julio Fabreance, for repairing the boats, 91 days at 2s 6d, £11 7s 6d For making a flag for Powell's Valley, £0 15s 0d Mrs Savage, her regular allowance, £2 10s 0d Joseph Seager, armourer, for repairing and keeping the waterworks in order, £1 10s 0d Quarterly annuities The widow Caldwell, £5 6s 2d The widow Bazett, £5 6s 2d The widow Shirley, £5 6s 2d Annuities total, £15 18s 6d Robert Budd, for baking 200 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 9d, £17 10s 0d 40 loads of wood for the baking, £2 16s 0d Mr Plunkett, assistant surgeon, 25 days at 5s, £6 5s 0d Keep of discharged soldiers, 235 days at 6d a day, £5 17s 6d Keep of discharged seamen, 373 days at 6d a day, £9 6s 6d John Robinson, for timber for the guard house on High Hill 87 rafters, £4 7s 0d 3 [...] pieces, £0 9s 0d High Hill guard house total, £4 16s 0d For the slaves' huts at Long Wood Laths, 6 loads, £0 15s 0d Binders, 4 loads, £0 10s 0d 6 rafters, £0 6s 0d Huts total, £1 11s 0d 2 saws for the artillery, £0 10s 0d Work at Prosperous Bay Masons, 104 days at [...], £[...] Labourers, [...] days at 1s 6d, £[...] Prosperous Bay total, £27 9s 0d Payments carried forward, £604 17s 5d **Interpretations** Mr Plunkett was paid for exactly 25 days. The Council engaged him on 6 March 1780 and released him at the end of the month, as soon as the expected attack failed to come. The huts at Long Wood were built for the slaves hired to wall in the plantation there. Gangs working far from their owners' farms needed shelter on the exposed plateau, and the Company paid for the timber. Prosperous Bay lay on the windward coast, one of the few landing places on that side of the island. Masonry there in March was part of Pierce's plan to close every point where an enemy could put men ashore.

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		Carried over £ 604 17 5½	
442	438	17th April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st By Cash Recd. from the Chest Brot. over £ 6256 10 4½ Carried over £ 6256 10 4½	This receipts page of William Wrangham's account for the quarter ending March 1780 recorded no new cash. The balance passed unchanged to the next page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £6,256 18s 4½d Receipts carried forward, £6,256 18s 4½d
443	439	1780 Paymaster Cr. Brot. over £ 604 17 5 By Cash Paid for 898 Gallons Arrack 224 10 - By do. Paid for Carrying Ammunition for the Flying Party - 6 - By do. Paid the Lieut. Govr. for Mutton 3 - - By do. Paid Rent of a Room to hold the Quarterly Sessions in 3 - - By do. Paid Thomas Yates Sexton for making graves for 5 Dead Soldiers at 2/6 - 12 6 By do. Paid the Marshall and Gaoler for the following Punishments Vizt. 22 of the Honble. Companys Slaves 1 7 6 16 of the Inhabitants do. 1 - - 2 7 6 By do. Paid for Wood for the Castle By do. Paid James Pritchard for the following for the Use of the Artillery Vizt. for 7 Quarts of Oil at 5/3 1 16 9 do. 4 Horn Lanthorns - 12 - do. 1 Doz. Pr. Scissars - 15 - do. 1 Rasp - - 9 do. 1 lb Light Cold. Thread - 5 - 3 9 6 By do. Paid for 6 Oars for the Hind Cutter 2 14 - By do. Paid for 6 panes of Glass 6 by 8 for Hutton of Banks's - 3 9 By do. Paid Mr. Stroud Surgeon for the Cure and other Expences of 12 Women of the Venereal Disorder that were taken up by order of the Governor & Council 29 11 6 By do. Paid do. for the Cure of John Davis Seaman left out of the Princess Royal - 9 - By do. Paid the following Persons for Boats to make fire Boats Vizt. Messrs. Wrangham & Bazett for a Pinnace 18 - - Thos. Stroud for a Yawl 12 - - 30 - - By do. Paid Thos. Yates for 3 Pencils for the Artillery - 1 10 By do. Paid do. for 24 lead Pencils & 6 Rotten Stones for the Fire Boats - 2 6 Carried over £ 907 2 6½	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued as follows. Brought forward, £604 17s 5d Arrack, 898 gallons, £224 10s 0d For carrying ammunition for the Flying Party, £0 6s 0d The Lieutenant Governor, for mutton, £3 0s 0d Rent of a room to hold the quarterly sessions, £3 0s 0d Thomas Yates, sexton, for digging graves for 5 soldiers who had died at 2s 6d, £0 12s 6d The marshal and gaoler, for carrying out punishments Punishing 22 of the Company's slaves, £1 7s 6d Punishing 16 of the inhabitants' slaves, £1 0s 0d Punishments total, £2 7s 6d Wood for the Castle, no sum entered James Pritchard, for stores for the artillery Oil, 7 quarts at 5s 3d, £1 16s 9d 4 horn lanterns, £0 12s 0d Scissors, 1 dozen pairs, £0 15s 0d 1 rasp, £0 0s 9d Coloured thread, 8 skeins, £0 5s 0d Artillery stores total, £3 9s 6d 6 oars for the Hind cutter, £2 14s 0d 6 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, for the battery at Banks's, £0 3s 9d Mr Stroud, surgeon, for treating 12 women with venereal disease taken into custody by order of the Governor and Council, and for their other expenses, £29 11s 6d For the treatment of John Davis, a seaman left behind by the Princess Royal, £0 9s 0d Payments for boats to be made into fire boats Messrs Wrangham and Bazett, for a pinnace, £18 0s 0d Thomas Hand, for a yawl, £12 0s 0d Boats total, £30 0s 0d Thomas Yates, for 3 pencils for the artillery, £0 1s 10d Thomas Yates, for 24 sail needles and palms for the fire boats, £0 2s 6d Payments carried forward, £907 2s 6½d **Interpretations** The Company bought 898 gallons of arrack in the quarter for £224 10s 0d, more than a third of the paymaster's spending apart from the pay list. It went to the slaves, soldiers and labourers working on the defences, and to the guards at the outlying forts. During the French alarm, keeping men at work cost more in drink than in timber. One of the boats taken for fire boats was a pinnace belonging to William Wrangham and Henry Bazett, two members of the Council. They sold it to the Company for £18 0s 0d under the terms the Council itself had set on 6 March 1780. In the same months Wrangham had sold the Company oil and nails. The councillors who decided what the emergency required were also among those paid to supply it. The marshal punished 38 slaves in the quarter, 22 of them the Company's own. That was nearly twice the rate of the previous autumn. Slaves driven to heavy work on the batteries and walls were evidently flogged more often for refusing or failing at it.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
444	440	17th April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st To Cash Recd. from the Chest Brot. over £ 6256 18 4½ Carried over £ 6256 18 4½	This receipts page of William Wrangham's account also shows no new cash for the quarter ending March 1780. He carried the balance forward to the next page unchanged. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £6,256 18s 4½d Receipts carried forward, £6,256 18s 4½d
445	441	Paymaster Cr. 1780 March Brought over £ 907 2 6½ By Cash Paid for the following Work done getting Stone to Pave the Barracks Vizt. 10 Days Overseers - 15 - 116 do. Labourers 5 16 - 6 11 - By do. Paid for the following Work done at Butter Milk Point Vizt. 699 Days Stone Blowers @ 1/6 52 8 6 142½ do. do. @ 1/3 8 18 1½ 28 do. Carpenters @ 1/6 2 2 - 12 do. do. @ 3/ [...] 60½ do. Overseers @ 2/ 6 1 - 40 do. do. @ 1/6 3 - - 123 do. Smiths @ 1/6 9 4 6 8 do. Sawers @ 1/6 [...] 8 do. Masons @ 3/ 1 4 - 329½ do. Labourers @ 1/6 24 14 3 767 do. do. @ 1/ 38 7 - 151 3 10½ By do. Paid for the following Work done burning & bringing Lime &c. 25 days Limeburners @ 1/6 1 17 6 30 do. Limemakers @ 1/6 2 5 - 254 do. Labourers @ 1/ 12 14 - 16 11 6 By do. Paid for the following Work done Repairing the Castle Vizt. 31 do. Painters @ 2/ 3 2 - 39 do. do. @ 1/6 2 18 6 56 do. Carpenters @ 1/6 4 4 - 3½ do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 5 3 5 do. Sawers @ 1/6 - 7 6 8 do. Plasterers @ 1/6 - 12 - 4 do. Overseers @ 1/6 - 6 - 11 do. Labourers @ 1/ - 11 - 12 6 3 By do. Paid for the following Work done making Cots Coffins Tables & Forms for the Garrison Vizt. 53 Days Carpenters @ 1/6	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued as follows. Brought forward, £907 9s 6½d Work getting stone to pave the barracks Overseers, 10 days, £0 15s 0d Labourers, 116 days, £5 16s 0d Paving stone total, £6 11s 0d Work at Buttermilk Point Stone blowers, 699 days at 1s 6d, £52 8s 6d Stone blowers, 142½ days at 1s 3d, £8 18s 1½d Carpenters, 28 days at 1s 6d, £2 2s 0d Carpenters, 12 days at 2s, £[...] Overseers, 80½ days at 2s, £8 1s 0d Overseers, 40 days at 1s 6d, £3 0s 0d Smiths, 123 days at 1s 6d, £9 4s 6d Sawyers, [...] days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Masons, 8 days at 3s, £1 4s 0d Labourers, 329½ days at 1s 6d, £24 14s 3d Labourers, 767 days at 1s, £38 7s 0d Buttermilk Point total, £151 3s 10½d Work burning and bringing lime Lime burners, 25 days at 1s 6d, £1 17s 6d [...], 30 days at 1s 6d, £[...] Labourers, 254 days at 1s, £12 14s 0d Lime total, £16 11s 6d Work repairing the Castle Painters, 31 days at 2s, £3 2s 0d Painters, 39 days at 1s 6d, £2 18s 6d Carpenters, 56 days at 1s 6d, £4 4s 0d Smiths, 3½ days at 1s 6d, £[...] Sawyers, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Plasterers, 8 days at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d Overseers, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Labourers, 11 days at 1s, £0 11s 0d Castle total, £12 0s 10½d Work making cots, coffins, tables and forms for the garrison Carpenters, 52 days at 1s 6d, £3 19s 6d Smiths, [...] days at 1s 6d, £[...] Sawyers, [...] days at 1s 6d, £[...] Cots and coffins total, £6 0s 9d [...], labourers, 336 days at 1s, £16 [...] Payments carried forward, £1,1[...] The figure brought forward on this page is £907 9s 6½d, not the £907 2s 6½d I gave at the foot of the previous page. **Interpretations** Buttermilk Point took more than 2,200 days of labour in the quarter, nearly as much as at the peak of the works the previous autumn. Most of it came in March, when the Council ordered the guns mounted there at once against the French. The 767 days of labourers at 1s were mainly slaves hired from the planters. Their owners collected the shilling, while the 1s 6d rate went to soldiers and skilled free men. The new battery was cut out of the cliff by slave labour, paid to the slaves' masters. The tables and forms made for the garrison were for the outlying forts, now fully manned and needing furniture for men posted there for weeks at a time.

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		3 19 6 do. Smiths @ 1/6 [...] 5 do. Sawers @ 1/6 - 7 6 6 do. [...] @ 1/6 - 9 - 6 8 9 By do. Paid for Making and Bringing a Mill Breaking Water &c. 356 Days Labourers @ 1/6 16 10 - Carried over £ 1118 5 6½	
446	442	17th April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st To Cash Received from the Chest Brt. over £ 6256 18 4½ Carried over £ 6256 18 4½	No new receipts appear on this page of William Wrangham's account for the quarter ending March 1780, so he carried the cash balance forward as it stood. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £6,256 18s 4½d Receipts carried forward, £6,256 18s 4½d
447	443	1780 Paymaster Cr. 1780 March Brot. over £ 1118 5 6 By Cash Paid for Erecting a Flag staff at Powells Valley Vizt. 29 Days Labourers @ 1/ 1 9 - 18 do. @ 1/6 1 7 - 2 16 - By do. Paid for the following work repairing the Engineers House Vizt. 2 Days Painters @ 2/ - 4 - 3 do. do. @ 1/6 - 4 6 2¾ do. Carpenters @ 1/6 - 4 1½ 2 do. Masons @ 2/ - 3 - - 15 7½ By do. Paid for the following Work done repairing Boats Vizt. 4 Days Painters @ 2/ - 8 - 5 do. do. @ 1/6 - 7 6 26 do. Labourers @ 1/ 1 6 - 2 1 6 By do. Paid for repairing the Lieut. Govrs. House Vizt. 9 Days Painters @ 2/ - 18 - 8 do. do. @ 1/6 - 12 - 3 do. Carpenters @ 1/6 - 7 6 1 17 6 By do. Paid for the following Work done repairing the Crane Vizt. 12½ Days Carpenters @ 1/6 - 18 9 29 do. Smiths @ 1/6 2 3 6 10 do. Masons @ 1/6 - 15 - 4 do. do. @ 3/ - 12 - 3 do. Overseers @ 1/6 - 4 6 140 do. Labourers @ 1/ 7 - -	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,118 5s 6d Work putting up a flagstaff at Powell's Valley Labourers, 29 days at 1s, £1 9s 0d Labourers, 18 days at 1s 6d, £1 7s 0d Flagstaff total, £2 16s 0d Work repairing the engineer's house Painters, 2 days at 2s, £0 4s 0d Painters, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Carpenters, 2¾ days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 1½d Masons, 2 days at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Engineer's house total, £0 15s 7½d Work repairing the boats Painters, 4 days at 2s, £0 8s 0d Painters, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Labourers, 26 days at 1s, £1 6s 0d Boats total, £2 1s 6d Work repairing the Lieutenant Governor's house Painters, 9 days at 2s, £0 18s 0d Painters, 8 days at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d Carpenters, 5 days at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d Lieutenant Governor's house total, £1 17s 6d Work repairing the crane Carpenters, 12½ days at 1s 6d, £0 18s 9d Smiths, 29 days at 1s 6d, £2 3s 6d Masons, 10 days at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Masons, 4 days at 3s, £0 12s 0d Overseers, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Labourers, 140 days at 1s, £7 0s 0d Crane total, £11 13s 9d Work turning shot bottoms and other pieces Turners, 58 days at 1s 6d, £4 7s 0d Labourers, 13 days at 1s, £0 13s 0d Shot bottoms total, £5 0s 0d Work on board the Betsy snow Caulkers, 10 days at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Smiths, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Labourers, 105 days at 1s, £5 5s 0d Betsy snow total, £6 4s 6d Payments carried forward, £1,148 14s 4½d **Interpretations** Shot bottoms were wooden discs, turned on a lathe and fixed to round shot or to the powder cartridge. They held the ball steady in the bore and stopped it rolling forward when the gun was depressed to fire down on boats or ships close inshore. Fifty-eight days of turners' work produced a large stock of them, ready for the heavy guns newly mounted above the bay. The crane at the landing place was rebuilt in the same weeks. In an attack, every gun, shot and barrel of powder landed or moved along the waterfront would depend on it.

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		11 13 9 By do. Paid for the following Work done turning Shot Bottoms &c. Vizt. 58 Days Turners @ 1/6 4 7 - 13 do. Labourers @ 1/ - 13 - 5 - - By do. Paid for the following Work done on Board the Betsy Snow Vizt. 10 Days Caulkers @ 1/6 - 15 - 3 do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 4 6 105 do. Labourers @ 1/ 5 5 - 6 4 6 Carried over £ 1148 14 4½	
448	444	17th April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st To Cash received from the Chest Brt. over £ 6236 18 4½ Carried over £ 6236 18 4½	On this receipts page William Wrangham again entered no new cash for the quarter ending March 1780, and he carried the same balance on to the next page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £6,256 18s 4½d Receipts carried forward, £6,256 18s 4½d
449	445	1780 Paymaster Cr. 1780 March Brot. over £ 1148 14 4½ By Cash paid for the following work done Painting Cannon, repairing Carriages & making Sheds for Mortar Beds Vizt. 110 days Carpenters at 1/6 8 5 - 25 do. Smiths @ 1/6 1 17 6 26 do. Painters @ 2/ 2 12 - 63 do. do. @ 1/6 4 14 6 13 do. Labourers @ 1/ - 13 - 18 2 - By do. Paid for the following Work done getting Stones to repair the Back Run Vizt. 3½ Days Overseers @ 1/6 - 5 - 41 do. Labourers @ 1/ 2 1 - 2 6 - By do. Paid for the following Work done at the Fire Boats Vizt. 96 Days Labourers @ 1/ 4 16 - 16 do. Smiths @ 1/6 1 4 - 6 - - By do. Paid for the following work done repairing Ruperts Battery Vizt. 10 Days Stone Blowers @ 1/6 - 15 - 4 do. Overseers @ 1/6 - 6 - 58 do. Labourers @ 1/6 4 7 - 7 do. Masons @ 3/ 1 1 - 6 9 - By do. Paid the following Work Building a Battery for a Howitzer & 2 Guns at Clubs Point 39 Days Stone Blowers @ 1/6 2 18 6 13 do. Smiths @ 1/6	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,148 14s 4½d Work painting the cannon, repairing the carriages and making sheds for the mortar beds Carpenters, 110 days at 1s 6d, £8 5s 0d Smiths, 25 days at 1s 6d, £1 17s 6d Painters, 26 days at 2s, £2 12s 0d Painters, 63 days at 1s 6d, £4 14s 6d Labourers, 13 days at 1s, £0 13s 0d Cannon and carriages total, £18 2s 0d Work getting stones to repair the back run Overseers, 3½ days at 1s 6d, £0 5s 0d Labourers, 41 days at 1s, £2 1s 0d Back run total, £2 6s 0d Work on the fire boats Labourers, 96 days at 1s, £4 16s 0d Smiths, 16 days at 1s 6d, £1 4s 0d Fire boats total, £6 0s 0d Work repairing Rupert's Battery Stone blowers, 10 days at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Overseers, 4 days at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d Labourers, 58 days at 1s 6d, £4 7s 0d Masons, 7 days at 3s, £1 1s 0d Rupert's Battery total, £6 9s 0d Work building a battery for a howitzer and 2 guns at Chubb's Point Stone blowers, 39 days at 1s 6d, £2 [...] Smiths, 13 days at 1s 6d, £0 19s 6d Overseers, 27 days at 1s 6d, £2 0s 6d Masons, 7 days at 1s 6d, £[...] Masons, 76 days at 3s, £[...] Labourers, 362½ days at 1s 6d, £27 [...] Labourers, 47½ days at 1s, £2 7s 6d Chubb's Point total, £49 19s 3d Work building a guard house and magazine, with a shed for light artillery, on Ladder Hill Carpenters, 31 days at 1s 6d, £2 6s 6d Sawyers, 6 days at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d Overseers, [...] days at 1s 6d, £[...] Smiths, [...] days at 1s 6d, £[...] Masons, 53½ days at [...], £[...] Labourers, 165½ days at 1s, £[...] Ladder Hill total, £24 12s 10½d Payments carried forward, £1,256 3s 9d **Interpretations** The page records the labour behind the works Pierce described to the Council on 3 April 1780. A new battery for a howitzer and two guns was cut

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		- 19 6 27 do. Overseers @ 1/6 2 - 6 7 do. Masons @ 1/6 - 10 6 96 do. do. @ 3/ 14 8 - 362½ do. Labourers @ 1/6 27 3 9 47½ do. do. @ 1/ 2 7 6 49 19 3 By do. Paid for the following Work done Building a Guard House and Magazine with a Shed for Light Artillery on Ladder Hill Vizt. 31 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 2 6 6 6 do. Sawers @ 1/6 - 9 - 2 do. Overseers @ 1/6 - 3 - 7 do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 10 6 33½ do. Masons @ 3/ 5 - 6 165¾ do. Labourers @ 1/6 12 8 7½ 24 12 10½ Carried over £ 1256 3 9	above Chubb's Rock, a guard house, magazine and artillery shed went up on Ladder Hill, and Rupert's Battery was repaired. Together they cost about £80 0s 0d in wages, almost all spent in March. Most of the labour was paid at 1s 6d, the rate for soldiers and skilled hands. Speed mattered more than cost, so the Council put trained men on the heights alongside the hired slaves. The cannon were painted and their carriages repaired in the same weeks, and sheds were raised over the mortar beds.
450	446	17 April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st To Cash received from the Chest Brt. over £ 6256 18 4½ Carried over £ 6256 18 4½	William Wrangham's receipts again recorded no new cash for the quarter ending March 1780. He carried the sum drawn from the treasury chest on to the next page. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £6,256 18s 4½d Receipts carried forward, £6,256 18s 4½d
451	447	1780 Paymaster Cr. Brot. over £ 1256 3 9 By Cash paid for Enlarging the Splay of three Embrasures and new Laying the Mortar Platforms at Mundens Point Vizt. 24 days Carpenters @ 1/6 1 16 - 14½ do. do. @ 3/ 2 1 3 7 do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 10 6 30 do. Overseers @ 1/6 2 5 - 24 do. Stone blowers @ 1/6 1 16 - 48 do. Masons @ 1/6 3 12 - 3 do. Sawers @ 1/6 - 4 6 168 do. Labourers @ 1/ 8 8 - 70¼ do. do. @ 1/6 5 5 4½ 25 18 7½ By do. Paid for the following Work done Repairing the Works of the Line Leading to West angle & Laying a Platform for 5 Gun Vizt. 22 days Carpenters @ 1/6 1 13 - 40 do. do. @ 3/ 6 - - 21 do. Sawers @ 1/6 1 11 6 16 do. Smiths @ 1/6 1 4 -	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,256 3s 9d Work widening three embrasures and relaying the mortar platforms at Munden's Point Carpenters, 24 days at 1s 6d, £1 16s 0d Carpenters, 13¾ days at 3s, £2 1s 3d Smiths, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Overseers, 30 days at 1s 6d, £2 5s 0d Stone blowers, 24 days at 1s 6d, £1 16s 0d Masons, 48 days at 1s 6d, £3 12s 0d Sawyers, 3 days at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d Labourers, 160 days at 1s, £8 0s 0d Labourers, 70¾ days at 1s 6d, £5 3s 4½d Munden's Point total, £25 18s 7½d Work repairing the part of the Lines called the West Angle and laying platforms for [...] guns Carpenters, 22 days at 1s 6d, £1 13s 0d Carpenters, 40 days at 3s, £6 0s 0d Sawyers, 21 days at 1s 6d, £1 11s 6d Smiths, 16 days at 1s 6d, £1 4s 0d Overseers, 41 days at 1s 6d, £3 1s 6d Masons, 35 days at 1s 6d, £2 12s 6d Masons, [...] days at 3s, £[...] Labourers, 268½ days at 1s 6d, £20 2s 9d Labourers, 142 days at 1s, £7 2s 0d West Angle total, £60 7s 7½d Work moving cannon, mortars and sundry stores Labourers, 1,139½ days at 1s, £56 19s 6d Labourers, 223½ days at 1s 6d, £16 [...] Masons, 30 days at 3s, £4 10s 0d Overseers, 7 days at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d Moving cannon total, £79 6s 3d Work carrying provisions into the country Labourers, 170 days at 1s 6d, £12 15s 0d Overseers, 18 days at 3s, £2 14s 0d Provisions total, £15 9s 0d

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		41 do. Overseers @ 1/6 3 1 6 35 do. Masons @ 1/6 2 12 6 102½ do. do. @ 3/ 17 14 4½ 268½ do. Labourers @ 1/6 20 2 9 148 do. do. @ 1/ 7 8 - 60 7 7½ By do. paid Transporting Cannon to and from the Batteries & Sundry Stores Vizt. 1139½ days Labourers @ 1/ 57 19 6 225½ do. do. @ 1/6 16 18 3 30 do. Masons @ 3/ 4 10 - 7 do. Overseers @ 1/6 - 10 6 79 6 3 By do. Paid for the following Work done Carrying Provisions into the Country Vizt. 170 Days Labourers @ 1/6 12 15 - 18 do. Overseers @ 3/ 2 14 - 15 9 - By do. Paid 78 days Labourers Work at the Lieut. Govrs. Garden in Long Wood 3 18 - By do. Paid for 12 days Smiths Work on Board the Hind Cutter @ 1/6 - 18 - By do. Paid for 29 do. Labourers work bringing goods from the Crane @ 1/ 1 9 - By do. Paid for 35 days Coopers Work making hoops for the fish Stews 2 12 6 By do. Paid for 37 days Smiths Work Cleaning Small Arms @ 1/ 2 12 6 Carried over £ 1448 18 3	Labourers, 78 days at the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood, £3 18s 0d Smiths, 12 days on board the Hind cutter at 1s 6d, £0 18s 0d Labourers, 29 days bringing goods from the crane, £1 9s 0d Coopers, 35 days making kegs for the [...] stores, £2 12s 6d [...], 37 days' work, £[...] Payments carried forward, £1,448 18s 3d **Interpretations** More than 1,360 days of labour went into moving cannon, mortars and stores in the quarter. Every heavy gun shifted from the Lines to Ladder Hill, Chubb's Point or Buttermilk Point had to be hauled up roads cut into the cliffs by gangs of men, since oxen could not manage the steepest ground. That was the largest single labour charge of the French alarm. Carrying provisions "into the country" meant stocking the interior with food. If an enemy landed and took James Town, the garrison and inhabitants would fall back to the uplands and fight on from there. Supplies laid up in advance at inland posts would let them hold out until relief came. The Council was preparing for the town's loss as well as its defence.
452	448	17 April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st To Cash received from the Chest Brt. over £ 6256 18 4½ Carried over £ 6256 18 4½	No new cash was entered on this receipts page of William Wrangham's account for the quarter ending March 1780. He carried the balance forward unchanged. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £6,256 18s 4½d Receipts carried forward, £6,256 18s 4½d
453	449	1780 Paymaster Cr. 1780 March Brought over £ 1448 18 3 By Cash Paid the following men for engaging to Inlist Vizt. Joseph Bowman Disch. 20 October 1779 3 - - John Walker do. do. 3 - - Reeves Osborne Decd. 9th Decemr. 3 - - Thos. Rogers do. 19th Jany. 1780 3 - - John Stowe do. 9th do. 3 - - 15 - -	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,448 18s 3d Payments to men who had agreed to enlist again Joseph Bowman, since discharged 20 October 1779, £3 0s 0d John Walters, since discharged 20 October 1779, £3 0s 0d Reeves O'Berne, since died 8 December 1779, £3 0s 0d Thomas Rogers, since drowned 19 January 1780, £3 0s 0d John Shore, since died 11 January 1780, £3 0s 0d Re-engagement payments total, £15 0s 0d Bounties to men re-enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five years under the Articles of War

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		By do. Paid the following Men for Inlisting to serve the Honble. Company 5 Years Longer as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War their respective times to commence as follows Vizt. John Brill 15 - - Wm. Parker 15 - - Wm. Perkins 15 - - Wm. Pratt 15 - - Thos. Brown 15 - - Thomas Williams 15 - - Charles Mrahan 15 - - John Turner 15 - - 20th March 1780 Pat. Conner 15 - - Thos. Hillick 15 - - John Morris 15 - - Henry Hickham 15 - - Thos. Watts 15 - - 22 March do. Thos. Jones 15 - - Charles Lockstone 15 - - John Allen 15 - - 23 do. William Davis the 30th do. 15 - - 285 - - By do. Paid the following Men for Inlisting to Serve the Honble. Company 5 Years as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War their respective times to commence as follows Vizt. Wm. Hoppax 21 Feby. 1780 10 - - John Dawe 19th March 10 - - 20 - - By Cash Paid for the following for the Govrs. Table Vizt. 60 lb Butter 3 13 - 1 lb Almonds 2 - - 12 Raisins - 14 - 10 Apples - 18 - 24 Tongues 1 16 - 36 Sheep Tongues - 6 - Carried over £ 1768 18 3	John Bull, service from 20 March 1780, £15 0s 0d William Parker, service from 20 March 1780, £15 0s 0d William Perkiss, service from 20 March 1780, £15 0s 0d William Pratt, service from 20 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Thomas Brown, service from 20 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Thomas Williams, service from 20 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Charles Abraham, service from 20 March 1780, £15 0s 0d John Turner, service from 20 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Patrick Connor, service from 22 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Thomas Kilock, service from 22 March 1780, £15 0s 0d John Morris, service from 22 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Henry Kirkham, service from 22 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Thomas Watts, service from 22 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Thomas Jones, service from 22 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Charles Lockstone, service from 22 March 1780, £15 0s 0d John Allen, service from 22 March 1780, £15 0s 0d William Davis, service from 30 March 1780, £15 0s 0d Re-enlistment bounties total, £285 0s 0d Bounties to men enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five years under the Articles of War William Heppax, service from 21 February 1780, £10 0s 0d John Dunn, service from 19 March 1780, £10 0s 0d Enlistment bounties total, £20 0s 0d Provisions for the Governor's table Butter, 60 lb, £3 13s 0d Almonds, [...] lb, £2 0s 0d 12 [...] of raisins, £0 14s 0d 12 apples, £0 18s 0d 24 tongues, £1 16s 0d 36 sheep's tongues, £0 6s 0d Governor's table subtotal carried forward, £9 [...] Payments carried forward, £1,768 18s 3d **Interpretations** The Council paid £285 0s 0d in the last ten days of March 1780 to keep nineteen time-expired men in the garrison for another five years. On 20 March 1780, the day eight of them re-enlisted, it also discharged Thomas Ferris and Gregory Sutherwood, whose terms had likewise run out. A man was not held against his will. Instead, the Council paid heavily to persuade others to stay while an attack was still expected. The men retained included John Turner, a sergeant of artillery, and Charles Abraham, a bombardier. Trained gunners were the hardest soldiers to replace and the most needed on the new batteries, and a raw seaman enlisted at £10 0s 0d was no substitute for them.
454	450	17th April Dr. William Wrangham 1780 March 31st To Cash recd. from the Chest Brought over £ 6236 18 4½ £ 6236 18 4½ Island	William Wrangham closed the receipts side of his paymaster's account for the quarter ending 31 March 1780. The single sum drawn from the treasury chest stood as his total receipts. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought forward, £6,256 18s 4½d Total receipts for the quarter, £6,256 18s 4½d

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		31 March	
455	451	1780 Paymaster Cr. Brought over £ 1768 18 3 Table Expences Brought over 9 9 - 24 Turkeys 6 - - 18 Dozn. and 8 Fowles 17 16 - 36 Ducks 2 14 - 1 Kid - 5 - 1 Bottle Walnuts - 8 6 8 Gallons Vinegar 1 12 - 6 lb Coffee - 6 - 14 Pigs 3 10 - 57½ Dozen Eggs 4 6 3 235 lb Turtle 4 13 6 Lemons fruit &ca. 4 13 9 Sheep 22 5 - Hogs 3 2 - 80 3 - By do. Paid 19 Expresses upon alarms 4 12 6 By do. Paid for 102 lb Salt for the Use of the Artillery @ 4d. 1 14 6 By do. Paid Mr. Jno. Desfountain Sheriff for the Year 1779 9 - - By do. Paid for 4 Hams for the Govrs. Table 4 17 - By do. Paid for 14 Hand Lanthorns @ 3/ 2 2 - By do. Paid the Coroner for two Inquests on the Bodys of Thos. Rogers Soldr. and Adam a Man Slave belonging to the Company 2 10 - 1874 - 3 Amount of Pay Accounts 4362 18 1½ £ 6236 18 4½ St. Helena 1780 Errors Excepted Signed William Wrangham Paymaster Counted and Examined the Honble. Companys Cash for the Month of March last, which is as follows Vizt.	The paymaster's payments for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 closed as follows. Brought forward, £1,768 18s 3d Governor's table brought forward, £9 9s 0d 24 turkeys, £6 0s 0d 18 dozen and 8 fowls, £17 16s 0d 36 ducks, £2 14s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 1 bottle of walnuts, £0 8s 6d Vinegar, 8 gallons, £1 12s 0d Coffee, 6 lb, £0 6s 0d 14 pigs, £3 10s 0d Eggs, 57½ dozen, £4 6s 3d Turtle, 23 lb, £4 13s 6d Lemons, fruit and other items, £4 15s 9d Sheep, £22 5s 0d Hogs, £3 2s 0d Governor's table total, £80 3s 0d 19 express messengers sent on alarms, £4 12s 6d [...] for the use of the artillery, £1 1s 6d Mr [...], as sheriff for the year 1779, £9 0s 0d 4 hams for the Governor's table, £4 17s 0d 14 hand lanterns at 3s, £2 2s 0d The coroner, for two inquests, on the bodies of Thomas Rogers, a soldier, and Adam, a slave belonging to the Company, £2 10s 0d Total payments, £1,874 0s 3d Pay list for the quarter, £4,382 18s 1½d Total, £6,256 18s 4½d William Wrangham, the paymaster, signed the account at St Helena in 1780, subject to the correction of any errors. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for March. The paymaster gives the pay list as £4,382 18s 1½d. The total I gave at the end of the pay list itself, £4,362 18s 5½d, was a misreading, and the paymaster's figure is the one that balances the account. **Interpretations** The coroner held an inquest on Adam, one of the Company's slaves, who died on 28 January 1780 in the run of five slave deaths that month. An inquest was held only where a death was sudden, violent or unexplained. Adam's death was evidently not put down to the sickness that seems to have killed the others. The record gives no verdict. The Governor's table cost £80 3s 0d even in a quarter with no fleet to entertain, and £22 5s 0d of it went on sheep. In the same months the Company's own flock lost all its wethers, so the Castle bought its mutton from the planters. The turtle was green turtle, probably brought from Ascension Island by a passing ship. It was prized at English tables as a luxury and kept alive on board until it was killed.
456	452	Cash Dr. 1780 March 1st To Balance remaining£ 14968 8 9 31st To Plantation for Provisions Sold 23 3 4 To Licences 10 - - To John Goodwin received of him for Stores 1918 13 5 £ 16920 5 6 Per Contra Cr. 1780	The Company's cash account for March 1780 ran as follows. 1 March 1780, balance in hand, £14,968 8s 9d 31 March 1780, the Company's plantation, for provisions sold, £23 3s 4d 31 March 1780, licences, £10 0s 0d 31 March 1780, John Goodwin, for stores sold, £1,918 15s 5d Total receipts, £16,920 7s 6d 31 March 1780, advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other payments in the quarter ending that day, £6,256 18s 4½d Balance in hand, in coin, £10,143 12s 1½d

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		March 31st By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salary's &ca. in the Quarter Ending this day 6236 18 4½ By Ballance remaining Vizt. In Specie 10143 12 1½ In Cash Notes 539 15 - 10683 7 1½ £ 16920 5 6 **Margin Notes:** 17th April	Balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £10,683 7s 1½d Total, £16,920 5s 6d **Interpretations** The coin in the treasury fell from £14,428 13s 9d to £10,143 12s 1½d in a single quarter. The French alarm cost the island nearly £1,900 0s 0d beyond its ordinary pay list. No homeward fleet called between January and March, so no ships' officers bought bills on London and no commanders paid for stores. Apart from the store's sales to the islanders, the treasury had no income in coin. A year earlier the chest had held more than £22,000 0s 0d. Since then £16,000 0s 0d had gone to Sumatra and an emergency had been paid for out of reserves. The island now held about two quarters' pay in silver, and its safety depended on the next season's ships arriving.
457	453	1780 Messieurs Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham this day Presented the following Minute Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. and Council. Gentlemen Having a few days back with the Overseer Examined very particularly the Honble. Company's Flock of Sheep, find that notwithstanding we have refrained from Killing Breeders from the same for these twenty Months Past that the Said flock at Present continue declining both in Number and Quality; the remaining Rams and Ewes appearing to us much degenerated from what we have formerly known them, and tho this in part may be accounted for from the Long Drought and frequent failures of Summer Rains this Year by which every Individuals stock have equally suffered, apprehend that the only measure at Present to be fallen upon if it meets with your approbation is to purchase Breeders from such of the Inhabitants as will spare them, and further request of the Honble. the Court of Directors to send us out by each Store Ship twenty Ewes and two Rams which we apprehend may be done should their Honours approve of the measure and make application to Government accordingly, as the only effectual means of recovering again their Stock, and renewing the Breed of Sheep throughout the Island, which are in General allowed to be greatly Degenerated from what they originally were. We have the Honour to be Gentlemen St. Helena Your most obedient and humble 17th April 1780. Servants Signed Daniel Corneille Willm. Wrangham	Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham laid a minute before Governor Skottowe and the Council that day. A few days earlier they had gone over the Company's flock of sheep in detail with the overseer. For 20 months they had not slaughtered any breeding stock from it. Even so, the flock was still declining in both numbers and quality. The remaining lambs and ewes were much inferior to the animals they had known before. They put this down partly to the long drought and to the failure of the summer rains that year, which had hurt every owner's stock alike. In their view, the only remedy available at present, if the Council approved, was to buy breeding stock from those inhabitants who could spare it. They also proposed asking the Court of Directors to send out 20 ewes and 2 rams in each store ship. They believed this could be done if the Court approved and applied to the government for leave. They considered it the only effective way to rebuild the Company's flock and to renew the breed of sheep across the island, which was generally agreed to have degenerated badly from its original quality. Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham signed the minute at St Helena on 17 April 1780. **Interpretations** The proposal to "renew the breed" with English ewes and rams shows that the island's sheep had been bred among themselves for generations, with little fresh stock coming in. A small, isolated flock bred from its own animals grows smaller and weaker over time. Drought and poor feed in 1779 and 1780 made the decline plain. The Cape sheep landed by the *Hind* had been eaten, not bred from, and the Company's own wethers had all gone to the tables. Corneille and Wrangham proposed to bring in new blood from England on every store ship. Leave from the government was needed because exporting live sheep from Britain was forbidden by law. The ban protected the English wool trade by keeping fine-woolled breeds out of foreign hands. Even the East India Company had to seek special permission to send a few ewes and rams to its own island.
458	454	17th April The Governor and Council having considered the above Minute approve thereof. And agree	The Governor and Council considered the minute, approved it and agreed to lay it before the Company in their next general letter. The Governor recorded that he had thought it necessary to order a general field day for all the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		to represent the Same to the Honble. Company by the Next General Letter. The Governor having Judged it necessary to order a General Field day of all the Artillery and Mortars on the East and West Coast on Friday the 14th Instant in order to ascertain the Condition of the said Mortars and Cannon, as well as to give all the Officers and Men an Idea of the Strength of the respective Posts they are now Stationed at. And had the Satisfaction to find the Practice exceed his expectation. Signed John Skottowe We directed the Secretary to write Mr. James Plunket Surgeon the following Letter To Mr. Jas. Plunket Sir I am Directed by the Govr. and Council to inform you that as there appears at present no necessity	artillery and mortars on the eastern coast on Friday 14 April 1780. His aim was to test the condition of the mortars and cannon and to show every officer and man how strong the posts they now held really were. He was pleased to find that the firing met his expectations. Governor Skottowe signed the entry. The Council told the secretary to write to Mr James Plunkett, the surgeon. The secretary informed him, on the instructions of the Governor and Council, that there appeared at present to be no need **Interpretations** The field day of 14 April 1780 was a live test of the eastern batteries, the coast that faced the open ocean and Prosperous Bay. The guns and mortars there had been moved, remounted and given new platforms during March. Only firing them would show whether the carriages held, the platforms bore the recoil and the gunners could hit their marks. Pierce's works had been built in haste, so the trial checked their quality as well as the men's drill. The Governor's satisfaction marked the end of the emergency. The Council's next step was to dismiss the extra surgeon it had taken on for the expected attack.
459	455	1780 for your assistance as Surgeon in the Honble. Company's Service, your Pay is therefore to Cease from this Day. I am likewise to acquaint you that should they hereafter have Occasion for your Service (which they make no doubt you will readily give) they will avail themselves thereof and reward you accordingly. I am Sir St. Helena Your Humble Servant 17th April 1780 Signed B. Wright Secy. The following is the Lieut. Governors Account of Provisions Sold for the Quarter ending the 31st March 1780	The Council no longer needed Mr Plunkett's help as a surgeon in the Company's service, so his pay was to stop that day. If the Governor and Council needed his services again in future, they would call on him and pay him accordingly, and they had no doubt that he would readily agree. Britannicus Wright signed the letter at St Helena on 17 April 1780. The Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 followed. **Interpretations** Plunkett was discharged on 17 April 1780, three days after the field day showed the eastern batteries ready and almost two months after the French alarm began. On the earlier page of the paymaster's account I said he was released at the end of March. That was wrong: the 25 days paid there covered only his service up to 31 March, and he served a further seventeen days into April. The Council kept him on until it was satisfied that the danger had passed. The promise to call on him again, and to pay him well if it did, kept a trained surgeon on the island at no cost while the war continued.
460	456	Daniel Corneille to Plantation Dr. 1780 April 123½ lb Mutton from Company to My use 2 11 5½ 928½ lb Mutton to the Hospital 19 6 10½ 60 lb Beef as P Account 1 5 - £ 23 3 4 Per Contra Cr. By Ballance Paid into the Companys Cash 17th April 1780 23 3 4 £ 23 3 4 Errors Excepted Signed Daniel Corneille John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** 17th April	The Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold from the Company's plantations for the quarter ending 31 March 1780 ran as follows. Mutton from the Company's flock, taken for the Lieutenant Governor's own use, 123½ lb, £2 11s 5½d Mutton for the hospital, 928½ lb, £19 6s 10½d Beef from an animal killed by accident, 60 lb, £1 5s 0d Total sales, £23 3s 4d 17 April 1780, balance paid into the Company's treasury, £23 3s 4d Daniel Corneille signed the account, subject to the correction of any errors. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** The hospital took more than 900 lb of mutton in the quarter, more than twice as much as between October and December. It came from the 35 wethers the livestock account recorded as killed. It fed the sick of a quarter in which slaves, soldiers and discharged men died in unusual numbers. The Company's own table got almost none, and the Castle bought its sheep from the planters. That is why Corneille and Wrangham found the flock reduced to breeding ewes and poor lambs. Every wether had

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			gone to the hospital, so their proposal to buy breeders and bring rams from England had become urgent.
461	457	24th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day April 1780 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Daniel Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 24 April 1780. Yesterday an Alarm was made for the Hind Cutter to windward In Consequence of the Letter wrote Mr. James Plunket Surgeon on Monday last he this day Presented the following To Mr. Wright Sir I received on Monday your Letter by which I am dismissed. I beg you will inform the Honble. Board that I intend leaving this Place for England the first opportunity, but in the Mean time should my assistance be required, they may be assured I shall offer it with the utmost readiness. I am Sir your most Obedient Servant [...] Signed James Plunket Monday 24 April 1780. John Skottowe M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** [...]	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 April 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 17 April 1780. On the previous day, 23 April 1780, an alarm was raised for the *Hind* cutter to windward. In answer to the letter sent to him the previous Monday, Mr James Plunkett, the surgeon, presented a letter addressed to the secretary. He acknowledged the letter dismissing him and asked Wright to tell the Board that he meant to leave for England at the first opportunity. Until then, if his help was needed, he would give it most readily. He signed the letter on Monday 24 April 1780. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** Daniel Corneille's signature is missing from the foot of this minute, although he is recorded as present. It is the first meeting since the dispute over Woodbury at which the Lieutenant Governor did not sign with the rest of the Board. The record gives no reason. He may have left before the minute was signed, or he may have chosen not to put his name to it.
462	458	1st May At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st day of May 1780 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 24th April 1780. Tuesday the 25th An Alarm was made for the Hind Cutter to Windward Thursday the 27th Passed by five Dutch Ships. Mr. William Wrangham presented the following Petition To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &c. Council St. Helena The humble Petition of William Wrangham Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous to dispose of 12 Acres of Lease Land lying in the West Division of the said Island request your Worships and Council will grant him permission so to do and accept of Mr. Richd. Goodwin Tenant for the Same. 1st May 1780. And your Petitioner will ever pray. Granted John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 1 May 1780. Governor Skottowe presided, with Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 24 April 1780. On Tuesday 25 April 1780 an alarm was raised for the *Hind* cutter to windward. Five Dutch ships passed the island on Thursday 27 April 1780. William Wrangham presented a petition that day. He wished to dispose of 12 acres of leasehold land in the island's western division and asked the Governor and Council for leave to do so, and to accept Mr Richard Goodwin as tenant in his place. He dated the petition 1 May 1780, and the Council granted it. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the minute. **Interpretations** Wrangham's petition came before a Board on which he himself sat, and he signed the minute that granted it. Any tenant who wished to pass a lease to another holder needed the Council's consent, since the Company remained the owner of every acre on the island. For a councillor, that consent was a formality granted by his own colleagues. Corneille's signature appears again on this minute, which suggests that its absence a week earlier was an oversight rather than a protest.

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		Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** 1780	
463	459	Blank page	
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466	462	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1779-1780 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) (H) 48cm x (W) 32cm x (D) 6cm No. written pages: 458 No. blank pages: 0 Spine and cover Good condition. Recently rebound Inside pages Good Condition. Foxing present throughout. Pages are [...] not numbered. Additional comments Time taken to photograph (hours) 6 hours	