St Helena Records 1781-1782

Introduction: This is the 62nd 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/EAP1364-1-1-62.

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.

Two 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, 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 23 April 1781, with the final meeting occurring on 14 January 1782. All the sessions were convened during the administration of John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The records run from the consultation of 23 April 1781 to that of 14 January 1782 and comprise the Council's minutes, letters, muster rolls and the Company's quarterly accounts. Britain was at war with France, Spain and the American colonists, and with the Dutch Republic by a royal manifesto of 20 December 1780 that was published on the island on 30 June 1781. Commodore George Johnstone's squadron used the island from August to November 1781 and Commodore Charles Wolseley's, bound for India, from October to December 1781. [Film No. 5–429]

Governance and Administration
Governor John Skottowe presided throughout, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett; all five signed every record, and Corneille was absent ill on 14 May 1781. The Council met at the Castle about weekly, usually on a Monday, and approved the previous minutes at each meeting. Britannicus Alexander Wright was secretary and John Doveton sub-secretary. [Film No. 5, 7–8, 11, 14, 25–26, 37, 41, 47, 50, 67, 69, 71, 76, 85, 95, 101, 155, 157, 206, 322, 326, 332, 336, 341, 343, 348, 408]

The salary lists for the quarters ending 30 June and 30 September 1781 gave Skottowe £150 0s 0d a quarter with £31 14s 9d for servants and Corneille £62 10s 0d with £25 0s 0d diet money, cash paid in place of meals at the Castle table. Matthew Bazett drew £22 10s 0d as second member and £27 10s 0d as accountant, and Wrangham £10 0s 0d as third member and £27 10s 0d as paymaster and assistant to the Governor; Henry Bazett drew £10 0s 0d as fourth member. A factor received £12 10s 0d with £10 0s 0d diet money and £2 10s 0d house rent, a writer £7 10s 0d. Extra posts were paid on top: John De Fountain was assistant storekeeper and collector of customs, Robert Leech clerk of the works, John Doveton Clerk of the Peace at £36 14s 4½d and William Webber Doveton secretary to the Secret Committee at £17 10s 0d. Craftsmen and overseers drew a single wage without diet money or rent; the mason Henry Wingfield earned £30 0s 0d in the September quarter. [Film No. 114–116, 270–272]

John Goodwin was paid as storekeeper to 26 June 1781 and Jonathan Doveton from 27 June, at £1 19s 6d for four days, though Goodwin signed the June quarter's accounts on 30 June. By the September quarter Goodwin had become collector of customs in place of James Desfountain, whose quarterly income fell from £42 10s 0d to £30 0s 0d. [Film No. 114–115, 269–270]

On 25 June 1781 the *Hastings* brought a packet from the Court of Directors, read by the full Council, and one from the Secret Committee, opened only by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, whose contents were not entered. The *Hannibal* brought another Secret Committee packet for the two on 13 August 1781, the Company's brig *Fox* letters from the Directors on 13 October and the *Northumberland* a packet read on 22 October. [Film No. 69, 186, 220, 234, 326]

On 2 July 1781 John Doveton, a factor of more than eight years' service, resigned to sail for England to settle the estate of his brother Jonathan, who had died at Madras; the Council recommended his return. Four men applied for his post of Clerk of the Peace that day: Wright, citing 20 years' service and a large family; Nathaniel Kennedy, the senior servant after Doveton, with a wife and three children; Thomas Bazett and David Kay. The Council chose Kennedy. The September pay list paid Doveton to 30 July, when he sailed, and Kennedy from 31 July, which nearly doubled Kennedy's income to £49 9s 7d. [Film No. 79–83, 271]

On 28 July 1781 Captain Allen Cooper of the *Atlas* asked the Council to approve the chief mate of the whaler *Sandwich* as his second mate, two officers being ill; the Council replied that appointments were for the commander alone. On 24 September 1781 Richard Bickerstaff confessed breaking his trust as register master and was replaced by William Wornall. On 15 October the Council approved the storekeeper's and paymaster's accounts for the September quarter, and about 12 November Matthew Bazett reported the general books balanced to 30 September and was ordered to have them copied. [Film No. 175, 213, 218, 234, 355]

A letter of 12 July 1781 by the *Hastings*, with duplicates of letters sent by the *Royal Charlotte* on 9 August 1780, went to Canton and every Indian presidency. The Council wrote to William Hornby, President of Bombay, on 1 October 1781 by the *Hannibal*, which sailed on 29 September, acknowledging Bombay's letter of 27 May received in the *Prime* on 13 September and enclosing letters for Madras, Bengal and Canton. A letter of 24 October by the brig *Fox* to James Bradshaw, President at Canton, enclosed Captain Jonathan Court's instructions and an account of a chest of silver for the brig, and a duplicate went by the *Hannibal*. On 31 October the Council thanked Warren Hastings, Governor General, for ample grain and complained that Bengal candles had long been poor. [Film No. 95, 220, 234, 334, 341]

About 12 November 1781 Lieutenant Thomas Statham complained that his commission ranked him below Lieutenant Colvill although the India House had appointed him before Stewart and Colvill, and he sent his case to the Directors. On 3 December the Council told Hastings and the Supreme Council that it had kept 76 recruits from the *Northumberland* because an attack was expected in 1782 and outward and homeward ships were ordered to meet at the island; several had died at sea and two since landing, and five had gone on to Bengal at their own request. [Film No. 354–355, 394–395]

Military Affairs and Defence

The rolls of the June and September quarters list four infantry companies and an Artillery Company. In the June quarter of 91 days a private drew £3 15s 10d, a corporal or drummer £5 6s 2d and a sergeant £7 10s 0d; artillery pay ran from £4 11s 0d for a matross to £9 2s 0d for a sergeant. The September quarter of 92 days paid £3 16s 8d, £5 7s 4d and £7 13s 4d, with £4 12s 0d and £9 4s 0d in the artillery. George Lawman drew £12 12s 0d in June and £12 5s 4d in September as sergeant major. The cadets Matthew Seale and Matthew Mason drew about twice a private's pay. The establishment cost £4,405 10s 2d in the June quarter and £4,389 12s 0½d in the September quarter. [Film No. 117–136, 273–291]

Clothing issues show the garrison's size. In the June quarter the storekeeper issued 303 soldiers' coats, 279 pairs of breeches, coats for eight drummers and 47 matrosses at £692 4s 7d, and 296 hats. In the September quarter he issued 590 pairs of shoes, 544 pairs of stockings, 514 shirts, 251 hats, 84 soldiers' suits and 54 matrosses' suits, with broadcloth, gilt buttons and epaulettes for officers at the Company's cost. Discharged men owed a year's clothing received £24 19s 1d in the June quarter and £36 4s 5d in the September quarter. [Film No. 110, 137, 256–257, 293]

Arrivals were identified at Banks's, the battery north-east of Jamestown, where every ship's boat had to land: the *Duke of Kingston*'s at 10 o'clock on 21 April 1781 and those of five China ships between 5 and 7 o'clock on 18 May. General alarms were fired on 20 April with 19 guns and on 18 May with 18, stood down on 19 May with two. [Film No. 5, 14, 16, 50]

The artillery accounts record guns fired and powder used each month. April 1781 took 40 guns and 296 pounds 12 ounces, including 126 pounds for stone blowers at Mitchell's Line and Banks's, and May 65 guns and 242 pounds 3 ounces, 45 guns of them saluting five China ships; on 3 May the flying party, a mobile detachment, drew 150 ball cartridges and 21 shot went to the howitzer at High Knoll. June used 297 pounds 7 ounces, 142 pounds for blasting at Banks's and 12 pounds at Longwood, with two general alarms of 18 guns and 38 cartridges fired at wild goats; the *Duke of Kingston*, *Princess Royal* and *Sandwich* supplied about 300 pounds of powder and the *Hastings* landed two brass field pieces. July took 95 guns and 323 pounds 10 ounces, 156 pounds for stone blowing at Sandy Bay, Longwood and Banks's, and the departing fleet received 31 guns. August took 314 guns, with nine alarms, three general, against one in July; practice at Buttermilk Point, Mitchell's Line and the West Bastion used nearly 125 pounds, stone blowers 136 pounds, 228 sandbags went to Rupert's and on 11 August the gunners fired at a boat leaving Lemon Valley. September took 65 guns and 541 pounds 5 ounces, trying 32-, 24-, 18- and 12-pounders, 13-inch mortars and an 8-inch howitzer at Munden's Point, Sandy Bay, Rupert's, Chubb's Rock, Banks's and James's Valley, with 205 pounds for stone blowing at Banks's. [Film No. 14, 50, 87, 187, 207–208, 226]

October 1781 took 167 guns and 651 pounds 7 ounces of powder: 240 pounds for blasting, 192 of them at Banks's, about 125 pounds for practice, general alarms on 16 and 19 October and single alarms on 2 and 12 October. Banks's fired at His Majesty's ships on 17 October. Salutes gave 13 guns to a King's ship or her captain, nine to a Company ship, 19 to a departing governor and 21 for George III's accession on 25 October. November took 130 guns and 341 pounds 3 ounces, 120 pounds for blasting at Banks's and Longwood; the battery fired at the *Hannibal* on 9 November until she was identified, a general alarm followed on 17 November and the gunners made grapeshot from 50 pounds of old iron hoops. December took 95 guns and 559 pounds 6 ounces, with single alarms on 2 and 4 December, a general alarm on 17 December and 54 pounds for stone blowing at Banks's and Sandy Bay. [Film No. 14, 174, 348–349, 385, 399–400, 409, 426]

On 2 July 1781 the Governor and Lieutenant Governor reported private information that the French meant to attack the island late in 1781 or early in 1782. The French squadron of the Bailli de Suffren had sailed in March 1781 to secure the Dutch Cape. [Film No. 83]

On 9 July 1781 William Pierce, engineer and captain of artillery, reported that two men landed at Niblet's Cove near Sugar Loaf Point, watched by Wrangham, reached the height in 8 minutes 30 seconds and came over the brow above Rupert's battery, within musket shot of the guard house, 25 minutes after landing. He proposed blasting away the footholds, a guard room for a night party between the first alarm house and James's Valley, four 32-pounders and an 8-inch howitzer bearing on ships and a 6-pounder on a rock between the batteries. The Council ordered the route barred, the work at Buttermilk Point pressed and the portcullis and rampart at Sandy Bay repaired, deferring the portcullis at James's Line, whose west angle had just been repaired. [Film No. 89–91]

Works paid in the June quarter included the Buttermilk Point battery at £59 14s 6d, mostly 773 labourers' days at 1s, and the road to it at £104 8s 0d, with 327 days of stone blowing and 1,329 labourers' days at 1s 6d; Pierce reported on 9 July that the work was going forward as fast as possible. The Sandy Bay battery was repaired for £16 7s 0d, gun carriages remounted, a flagstaff with jack and pennant raised at the Ladder Hill signal post and ammunition moved at Turk's Cap. The fortifications drew 220 bushels of coal for lime at £13 7s and the paymaster paid £43 10s 6d for burning and carrying lime. Lesser works covered the prison, the shed at Holdfast Tom, the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house in James Valley. [Film No. 113, 137, 147, 149, 151, 153]

In the September quarter the Buttermilk road cost £138 3s 0d, with 435 days of stone blowing and 1,728 of labour, and the battery £8 10s 3d. Rupert's was repaired with necessary houses for £21 3s 9d, the cullis at Sandy Bay rebuilt for £15 6s 0d and lime burned for £36 9s 6d. Fortification stores came to £143 4s 10d and Buttermilk Point's to £20 11s 9d, flag bunting at £37 1s 6d being the largest item. Smiths spent 74 days cleaning small arms, labourers 129 days carrying ammunition (the account's 602 days does not fit its £6 9s 0d) and turners 66 days making shot bottoms. The flying party received a new house and the west flying party's was repaired for £10 3s 6d. [Film No. 250, 265–268, 297, 299, 301]

On 10 September 1781 the Council ordered Thompson's Valley strengthened, and Pierce recommended a third work and another six-pounder. On 18 September he urged buying brass cannon from the prizes, since guns had been taken from the town for Buttermilk Point. The Council asked Johnstone on 24 September for six brass 24-pounders in the *Held Woltemade*, bound from Amsterdam to Ceylon; Johnstone had her cargo cleared and sent them ashore with their shot on 6 October, and on 8 October Pierce reported each sound, gun number 3 having a cavity a tenth of an inch deep. The artillery took in the six guns, 499 shot against 500 invoiced and 100 barrels of powder, with one barrel from the *Bellmont*. [Film No. 206, 217–218, 228, 232, 330, 349]

Pierce reported on 24 October 1781 that the portcullis gate at Mitchell's Line, closing the valley above Sandy Bay, had broken down and that parts of the wall were packed with loose rubbish; he ordered a new abutment of the best materials. He proposed 12-pounders from the *Northumberland* on the height above Sandy Bay and at Thompson's Valley, freeing a light six-pounder as a mobile gun. A magazine was nearly finished at Chubb's Rock, where a howitzer had been mounted in 1780, Rupert's needed repair and he planned to join Rustling's battery to Buttermilk Point and cover the passage to the howitzer's casemate. The Council approved the guns, magazine and a flight of steps to the Buttermilk road that day but refused quarters for an officer. [Film No. 332–334]

On 29 October 1781 Pierce proposed for the headland covering Lemon Valley a 10-inch howitzer near the waterline to rake hulls and a 12-pounder on a ledge above against rigging, and for Hick's Hall Point a 12-pounder and light howitzer on the upper ledge commanding the anchorage and Breakneck Valley. On 12 November the Council stopped the road from Buttermilk Point to Banks's upper battery, ordered that battery's platform finished, a 10-inch howitzer and a 12-pounder mounted on the middle point of the Buttermilk road and a brass 12-pounder and a guard room for 12 men placed above Thompson's Valley on the High Hill side. [Film No. 337, 350]

A resolution of 22 October 1781 let artillery lieutenants take their turn for infantry companies by seniority and date of commission. [Film No. 328]

On 26 November 1781 the Council kept the schooner *Rebecca* as a lookout to windward, replacing the lost snow and cutter. Captain Peter Pigou of the *Blandford* and Captains Edward Foot and Bruce Boswell had bought her for the Company from Thomas Nesbitt on 27 July 1781 for £1,300 0s 0d, paid by bills on the Directors. Her master, Lucas Wimbleton, received £10 0s 0d a month and her four men and a boy English wages six months in arrears. On 29 December the Council bought boats for the fortifications from Captain Stephen Williams of the *Lord Holland* for £25 0s 0d and Captain William Fraser of the *Earl of Mansfield* for £20 0s 0d. [Film No. 390–392, 420]

Corneille's minute of 12 November 1781 put the garrison 59 men short counting invalids and old men, with 29 miles of coast, 14 posts, nine of them vital, and a reserve needed inland to act with the militia. The Council kept the Bengal recruits aboard the *Northumberland*, adding that the expedition against the Cape had failed, and Wright ordered them handed to Lieutenant Charles Ross Steward, the garrison adjutant. Her commander appears as James Kerr when ordered to sail on 31 October and as James Rees on 12 November. [Film No. 341, 352–354]

On 17 December 1781 two members were at their posts when five strange ships appeared, and the Council met only after a boat from the *Gatton* landed at Banks's at half past 12. [Film No. 402]

Losses, Recruits and Promotions

The minutes record discharges at the end of their terms of Corporal Thomas Langley on 23 April 1781, Sergeant William Clifton and Matross John Wellington on 30 April and John Holliday and John Ferguson on 4 June, and deaths of Private John Moore on 26 May, Private William Westbury on 9 June and Private Fortis Hyder on 28 June. The June pay rolls instead record deaths of Thomas Langley on 23 April, William Wellington on 17 May, James Holliday on 4 June and James Ferguson on 5 June, and show Westbury re-enlisting on 3 April. The rolls also record the deaths of William Warren on 5 April, John Ethal on 7 April, William Coffee on 30 April, James More on 26 May, William Matthews on 7 June, Robert Flood on 12 June, John Hayden on 20 June and Sergeant George Clarry on 26 June. The coroner held an inquest on Peter Hyder and the sexton was paid 10s for graves. [Film No. 6, 10, 23, 48, 50, 76, 109, 121, 124–125, 128–129, 132, 136, 139, 141, 149]

On 27 July 1781 nine soldiers died: three privates of the First Company, four of the Second, the artillery corporal William Satchfield and the matross John Lloyd. Robert McCormick died on 29 July and was the subject of an inquest, and four more died on 9 July, 5 September and 19 September. The sexton was paid for only five graves. Owen Murphy appears both serving and dead. Jeremiah Butler died on 19 July, Privates John Parker and Joseph Cummings on 5 and 19 September and Matross William Shore on 1 October, each buried with blank cartridges; the artillery account names Cummings John. Matross Robert Keighley died on 26 October, Privates John Parker and John Watson on 13 November, Matross Thomas Fairs on 1 December, Private John Allen on 7 December, Private James Hudson by a fall from the rocks on the way to Rupert's on 3 January 1782 and Corporal James Thompson on 11 January. [Film No. 157, 206, 218, 220, 226, 233, 276, 278–279, 286–287, 290, 293, 295, 336, 359, 394, 397, 399, 423–424]

Vacancies were filled within a day by seniority. After Clarry's death Corporal Thomas Landby became sergeant on 27 June 1781 and James Smith corporal. In the Third Company Thomas Ford, who had re-enlisted on 3 April, became sergeant on 10 April and James Cook on 1 May after Coffee's death. Sergeant William Carter was reduced to private on 21 August, Corporal Richard Ashland becoming sergeant and Private Thomas Hitchman corporal. When Thomas Richardson, corporal from 3 July, fell to matross on 8 August, Charles Abraham became corporal, Richard Blackburn bombardier and James Bramfield gunner. [Film No. 121, 124–125, 141, 276–277, 279, 283–284, 287–288, 291]

Re-enlistment for five years under the Articles of War cost 15s, £65 0s 0d in all between 3 April and 27 June 1781, and a recruit £3 0s 0d; bounties were entered for James Fearon, George Peach, David Richards

and Richard Pellings only, though some 22 men enlisted on 27 June 1781 and the artillery took recruits on 11, 13 and 20 June. On 11 June the matross John Harley was discharged on finding Lebbeus Folger of the whaler *Sandwich* to serve his term, and David Richards and Richard Pullins, seamen of the *Granby* and *Earl of Sandwich* who had deserted at Madras, enlisted for five years with £3 0s 0d each; Richards had drawn subsistence for nine days and Pellings, entered once as Philip, for 33. On 1 June the Council had refused Captain John Johnston of the *Granby* the return of David Kitchen, a seaman from Madras already enlisted, since Company orders forbade surrendering men reaching the island from its settlements. Sergeant James Rodd was discharged on 12 July. [Film No. 41–42, 66–67, 100, 121, 124, 128, 132, 136, 141, 143, 145]

On 23 July 1781 Charles Rogers gave himself up from the *Bessborough* as a deserter from the Company's Bengal troops; Captain Alexander Montgomerie asked for proof, since Rogers had joined at Bombay from a country ship, two men had gone to HMS *Renown*, another was hiding ashore and his ship leaked, and the Council accepted his reasons. On 27 July Skottowe ordered every commander to search for deserters, and on 28 July he and Corneille asked Captain Henry of the *Renown* for a boat and officer, 13 soldiers being missing; the town adjutant William Roberts searched without result. On 6 August the Council recorded 19 deserters with the fleet, four of them matrosses; the rolls date 22 flights between 13 and 30 July, among them Owen Sullivan, enlisted on 27 June, and John Burkhall, paid £3 0s 0d to re-enlist. Charles Henley deserted on 20 August and returned on 30 August. [Film No. 157, 161, 173, 177–178, 182–183, 185–186, 279, 283, 286, 290–291]

The Council discharged the matross Richard Mason on 23 July 1781, the private Jeffery Bond on 28 July and the private William Charriott on 6 August. On 8 and 13 August it enlisted seamen left by the *York*, *Atlas*, *Lascelles*, *Duke of Kingston* and *Walpole* for five years at £10 0s 0d each with 6d a day until sworn, among them Thomas Lewis, Robert Roberts, Henry Wilkinson, Zachariah Robins, John Newcomb Smith and Charles Bailey; five men re-enlisted for 15s. On 23 July John Henderson, surgeon of the *Hastings*, was paid 5s a head, £5 10s 0d, for 22 recruits treated on the passage. [Film No. 165, 174, 178, 185–187, 279, 283, 290, 293, 295, 297]

On 1 September 1781 Captain Thomas Pasley of HMS *Jupiter* claimed the matross Thomas Robinson as Thomas Jobson, a deserter from HMS *Glasgow* at Chatham, and Skottowe handed him over that day. Matross John Davis deserted on 22 August and Private Charles Bailey on 30 August and were found in the *Jupiter*; Johnstone kept them on 24 September as first deserters from the navy. On 15 September Captain Grant of the *Hannibal* returned Thomas Hird, who had deserted in 1780 as corporal of the guard at Rupert's, and he was paid as a private from 28 September. [Film No. 199–200, 216, 218, 276, 290, 295, 299]

On 17 September 1781 the cadet William Mason resigned to take a nomination at Bombay, where the Council commended his nearly two years' service on 1 October; he was paid to 27 September. On 8 October the Governor told the Council that he had appointed Martin Harper in his place. [Film No. 211–212, 220–221, 233, 291]

Johnstone handed over 12 German prisoners, who enlisted for five years at £15 0s 0d each: Christian Horster, Frederick Fugerer, Francis Bockr, Matthias Gomelingsberg, Frederick Auston and Tennies Afeler on 25 October 1781 and John Fisher, Frederick Moor, Leonard Fink, Andrew Paschasius, Hellis Lauers and Frederick Auito on 30 October. At his request William Stagles Foulgier was discharged on 25 October, four days early. Privates David Richards and Thomas Roe, missing from 22 and 24 October, were judged on 5 November to have sailed with the fleet of 2 November, and Matross John Webster, missing from 22 November, was judged on 3 December to have gone with the convoy. On 3 December three Company recruits from the *Tartar* were enlisted. [Film No. 336, 342, 347, 394, 397, 399]

Between 17 December 1781 and 14 January 1782 Matross John White, Private William Smith and Matross Matthew Craven were discharged at the end of their terms. On 24 December Corporal Thomas Haworth of the artillery was released on finding William Simpson, a deserter from the *Lord Mulgrave*, to serve his three years and four months, remaining answerable if Simpson were reclaimed. Privates Michael Clinton and Thomas Love disappeared on 25 and 27 December, thought gone with the fleet of 1 January 1782, and on 7 January seven seamen left by that fleet enlisted at £10 0s 0d each. On 14 January Privates Thomas

Thomas and Jeremiah Newham were discharged on finding the Highlanders Michael McKee and John Gilmore to serve terms of three years and nine months and three months, with McLeod's consent. [Film No. 406, 417, 421, 423, 429]

The Naval War, Prizes and Prisoners

A letter of 19 May 1781 from Monsieur Mahé, a French officer of the Pondicherry garrison taken in October 1778 and carried in the *Halsewell*, complained that the Committee at Madras had sent its officers home by China, paying their keep there for four months, and after a voyage of four months and 19 days asked to land with an allowance. On 21 May the Council allowed him ashore only on the ship's surgeon's certificate and at his own expense. The rolls of 11 June list him as "Mr Mayse, French officer", with five prisoners in the *Halsewell*, three in the *Earl of Oxford* and five in the *Granby*. [Film No. 20–22, 63–64, 66]

On 23 July 1781 Captain John Thompson of the *Hastings*, entered once as Tompson, asked for shot and powder spent in Suffren's attack at Porto Praya, St Iago, in April 1781, and received 120 rounds of 9-pound round shot and 40 of bar shot. The *Atlas*'s muster of 23 July listed two French gentlemen passengers and seven prisoners. [Film No. 164–165, 173–174, 187]

Johnstone had sailed to take the Cape, found the French there first and took Dutch East Indiamen in Saldanha Bay in July 1781. The *Held Woltemade* was brought in on 4 August 1781 under Lieutenant Ball. The cutter *Rattlesnake* arrived on 9 August, the frigate *Diana* on 12 August, the bomb ketch *Terror* on 13 August, the fire ship *Infernal* with the prize *Held Cape* on 16 August and the main body on 17 August with the *Romney*, *Jupiter*, *Jason*, *Lark*, five victuallers and the prizes *Dankbaarheid* and *Hoogkarspel*; the *Thunderer* also received a salute. The frigate *Mercury* arrived from the West Indies on 23 August. [Film No. 185–186, 189, 193, 207]

Johnstone's letter of 5 September 1781, laid before the Council on 6 September, asked for a commission to judge five prizes: the *Held Woltemade*, the *Dankbaarheid*, from Bengal to Rotterdam, and the *Pearl*, *Honcoop* and *Hoogkarspel*, from China to Amsterdam. He cited the proclamation of 20 December 1780, the King's sovereignty over the island, the law of nations and the Company's charters, and offered that claimants might appeal to the Court of Appeals in Prize Causes in London within three months. The Council checked its charters and granted the commission, which condemned the *Held Woltemade*. [Film No. 204–205, 229]

On 14 September 1781 the Council asked Johnstone for any spare salt meat and flour, and supplied him a cow, a calf, a young bull, a ram and a ewe; the livestock account shows a bull, a cow, a calf, three sheep and four goats sent to the *Jupiter*. The *Jupiter*, *Mercury* and *Rattlesnake* sailed on 25 September. Johnstone replied on 6 October that the Dutch war made the island especially important and landed what flour and provisions he and the *Held Woltemade* could spare, together with provisions for a King's ship he meant to station there, stored under receipt. He offered the arrack society surplus old Jamaica rum from the victualler *Admiral Keppel* at the government's net cost of £0 6s 1¾d a gallon, measured by both sides. [Film No. 211, 220, 225, 228–231]

Johnstone proposed that three men chosen by the Council fix prices, with arbitration in England. On 8 October 1781 the Council named Matthew Bazett and James Desfountain, acting for the sick storekeeper, to settle prices with Robert Maxwell. Instead an agreement of 15 October charged *Held Woltemade* goods at prime cost plus freight at £10 10s 0d a ton, insurance at 15 per cent and interest at 5 per cent, government stores at prime cost and freight, with arbitration in England. [Film No. 229–231, 324–325]

The accounts of 22 October 1781 charged the Crown's 121 tierces of beef at £6 0s 0d and 900 hundredweight of flour at 15s 9d, with freight at £18 10s 0d a ton, £2,711 5s 0d in all; freight on the flour, £832 10s 0d, exceeded its cost of £708 15s 0d. The prize goods, invoiced in guilders and stuivers and converted at 22d a guilder, cost £3,212 10s 9d: six brass 24-pounders weighing about 35,300 pounds at 65 guilders a hundredweight, 500 shot, 100 barrels of powder at £4 0s 0d and 30 barrels of beef and 41 of pork. Freight at £18 10s 0d, insurance at 10 per cent and interest at 5 per cent raised them to £4,579 12s 0d, not the rates agreed on 15 October. Bills at 90 days' sight paid £4,579 12s 0d to John Pasley, Edward

Taylor and others as prize agents and £2,711 5s 0d to John Robinson for the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. [Film No. 329–331]

The *Magnanime* arrived from England on 16 October 1781, the *Sultan* on 17 October with the Company's *Northumberland* and *Deptford*, and the *Earl of Hertford* on 20 October; a Danish ship sailed on 17 October. The *Infernal* and the victualler *Jupiter* sailed on 26 October. On 2 November the *Romney*, *Jason* and *Diana* sailed for England with five Dutch prizes, four victuallers, the *Bellmont* and the *Prime*. [Film No. 326, 336, 343]

Wolseley wrote on 2 November 1781 that he must join Sir Edward Hughes to relieve Madras, invaded by Haidar Ali of Mysore in 1780, asked for fresh meat and for coopers at merchants' rates, and said he had waited until Johnstone sailed. Lieutenant Colonel J. Stuart of the 78th Regiment reported more than 100 men recovering from a malignant fever caught at sea who needed three weeks ashore. The *Hannibal* brought two French prizes from off the Cape on 9 November. On 11 November Wolseley sent the *Sultan* ahead to Hughes, planned to sail on 20 November and asked the Council to hold 280 French prisoners brought by Captain Alexander Christie, offering the 80 Bengal recruits in the *Northumberland* as guards; the Council refused that day, citing a weak garrison and scattered posts. [Film No. 343–344, 348, 350–352]

Christie wrote on 10 November 1781 about the French frigate *Sartine* and merchant ship *Sévère*, taken near the Cape, citing the proclamation of 28 July 1778 and offering the three-month appeal, and the Council granted a commission on 12 November. On 15 November Wolseley asked whether the *Northumberland* was under his orders or the Council's, Stuart wishing her to embark King's troops; on 16 November the Council answered that with her cargo landed and sailing orders given she was under Wolseley. On 19 November it again refused to land prisoners, though Wolseley offered his own guard until a hired ship was ready. The *Sévère* sailed for France as a cartel with prisoners on 8 December. [Film No. 357–361, 365, 399]

On 16 November 1781 De Quenangal, commander of the *Sartine*, reported 52 sick after four months at sea and asked for the hospital or tents. The Council allowed a tent above the town for men the island's surgeon judged ill, offered only a little purslane and left their keep to Christie. The *Hannibal* sailed on 20 November, though the artillery account salutes her departure on 22 November. [Film No. 361–362, 385, 399]

The *Blandford*, *Earl of Chesterfield* and *Tartar* arrived from England on 18 November 1781 with the *Rebecca*. On 1 December the *Magnanime*, *Sultan* and *Le Necker* sailed with the *Blandford*, *Northumberland*, *Lord Mulgrave*, *Earl of Hertford*, *Earl of Chesterfield*, *Tartar* and *Deptford*, and the *Terror* sailed for England on 8 December. [Film No. 363, 394, 399]

A detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, or Royal Highland, Regiment arrived in the transport *Myrtle* on 5 December 1781. Lieutenant Colonel Norman McLeod explained on 17 December that Johnstone's sealed orders had sent her on 18 July to cruise off the Cape and then to St Augustine's Bay, Madagascar, reached on 24 August without bread or rum and with six weeks' meat; he fed his men until 5 October by bartering the regiment's arms and ammunition, the master's cloth and money. He asked for five months' provisions, 60 firelocks and bayonets, 5,560 ball cartridges and six guns. The Council granted the arms and ammunition but no guns, cut the rations to four months and sent him to the arrack society for spirits. [Film No. 398, 402–405]

On 22 December 1781 McLeod asked for 40 tierces of beef, 20 of pork, 10,000 pounds of flour, 2,000 of sugar and 2,600 gallons of rice, the *Myrtle*'s master Thomas Chambers asking separately for 18 seamen, and offered Treasury drafts. On 24 December the Council granted the beef and pork and 18,000 pounds of flour and 500 of sugar, but no rice or fresh beef, sending him to the China commanders for the rest. It issued 315 pounds of powder with ball and cartridge paper. On 14 January 1782 McLeod offered to wait for convoy, and Skottowe told him to sail at once. [Film No. 415–417, 426–428]

Dutch prisoners sailed home in December 1781: five in the *Glatton*, most of the *Pigot*'s passengers, among them Thomas Van Kempen, entered as a gentleman, three in the *Earl of Mansfield* and several in the *Lord Holland*. On 29 December the commanders of the *Lord Holland*, *Pigot*, *Earl of Mansfield* and *Vansittart*

reported them without clothing for the passage, and the Council, having none to spare, sent them to Wrangham, who could supply it privately. [Film No. 409–410, 412, 414, 419]

On 6 January 1782 the French sloop *L'Indien*, taken off Trindade by the *Diana*, was brought in, and on 7 January her prize master Thomas Hodgson and agent John Howard obtained a commission on the same terms as before, citing the proclamation of 28 July 1778. [Film No. 421–422]

Supply and Provisioning

On 23 April 1781 the *Duke of Kingston* landed from Madras 120 bags of rice, 80 of paddy and a leaguer of 147 gallons of Batavia arrack, invoiced at 248 pagodas 30 fanams 40 cash, of which 30 pagodas 30 fanams 40 cash were charges for gunny bags, seals, coolies and boats. [Film No. 5–6]

On 30 April 1781 John Goodwin, storekeeper, reported rice, paddy, candles, arrack and Madeira delivered short by the *True Briton*, *Fox*, *Duke of Grafton* and *Walpole*, the *True Briton* by more than a ton of rice and each ship by 15 to 29 gallons of liquor, with 50 bags undelivered from the *Fox* and 16 from the *Duke of Grafton*. Captain John Blackburn wrote on 7 May that his longboat, with 62 bags, had been wrecked on 17 March and 58 lost, as Mr Desfontain saw from shore; Captain Samuel Ball wrote on 5 May that cockroaches had eaten his bags and the storekeeper refused the mixed grain. [Film No. 8–12]

On 30 April 1781 Captain Robert Ker of the *Princess Royal*, entered once as Kee, received three bags of flour and was told to buy yams or potatoes; on 30 May the Council refused the rest, the Company's servants having been put on reduced allowance. On 26 May it appealed to five commanders for salt meat: Johnston refused on 27 May after a 20-week passage, John White, Charles Downe and Pouncey jointly on 28 May and Richard Pierce for want; George Hutchinson of the *Britannia* gave a puncheon of beef and received three cattle. On 28 May the Council deferred White's request for 30 or 40 hundredweight of flour, Pierce's for fuel and George Allen's for flour and coal, supplies being expected. [Film No. 7–8, 25, 27, 30–32, 34–38]

On 2 June 1781 the Governor and Lieutenant Governor declared salt provisions and flour alarming. The *Hind* cutter had gone to Rio de Janeiro for repair on 29 November 1780 and the snow *Betsy* to the Cape for salt meat on 27 February 1781, and neither had returned; the *Betsy* was taken by the French in Table Bay. The stores held 11 weeks' flour at reduced allowance and almost no salt meat, two years of drought had thinned the cattle and the island lacked boats and cordage for fishing. The Council therefore sent the *Britannia*, a homeward China ship, to the Cape, as first considered on 30 May; her account with the warehouse came to £184 1s 7d. On 4 June it bought 25½ bushels of peas from Matthew Bazett at 17s, £21 13s 6d, to be resold at the usual price, and on 11 June 67 hundredweight 1 quarter of wheat at 18s, £60 10s 6d. [Film No. 45–47, 49, 67, 145, 153, 246–248]

The Company made its own bread. In the June quarter it paid for 200 batches at 1s 9d, built a bakehouse for £12 12s 9d with Riga timber and made a mill with elm plank; in the September quarter John Pegler was paid £17 10s 0d for 200 batches, the bakehouse cost £25 4s 0d in wages, George Leech received £3 0s 0d for cleaning it and a corn mill was made and wheat ground for £2 12s 6d. Short-weight beef and pork cost the Company £38 3s 10d in the June quarter and £51 18s 10d in the September quarter, when a spoiled hogshead of pork was thrown into the sea at a loss of £12 14s 7d; in 1785 the Council traced short-weight pork to the contractor. [Film No. 106, 110, 137, 139, 151, 258, 271, 293, 297, 299]

On 2 July 1781 the Council sent Ker to the store ship for flour and biscuit and to other commanders for salt meat, ordering scarce cordage shared equally. Captain Samuel Ball of the *Duke of Grafton*, out of rice and fuel, received 10 bags of rice and 1 chaldron of coal. On 9 July Ker, with beef and pork for 40 days, rice and bread for 60 and calavances and flour for 96, received six hogsheads each of beef and pork and a tiller rope. HM sloop *Shark*, Robert McDonall, arrived from Rio de Janeiro on 4 July; against a demand of 10,125 pounds of bread and 656 gallons of arrack he received three barrels of flour and his arrack, while Francis Macey of the whaler *Sandwich* received half a hogshead each of beef and pork. [Film No. 77–79, 85, 91–94]

On 12 July 1781 the Council ordered from Bengal 120 bags of rice, 80 of paddy, 12 maunds of wax candles and two leaguers of arrack by each ship with Madeira; from Fort St George the same grain and arrack, 400 pieces of long cloth from 12 to 2½ pagodas and 100 pairs of cotton stockings at 7s; from Bombay 400 pieces of Surat chelloes with rice and paddy; and from Canton 1,200 pounds of wax candles and crockery, asking on 23 July that the candles be made at Macao. It complained that eight leaguers of Fort Marlborough arrack in the *Princess Royal* were new and weak. [Film No. 96–100, 174]

On 16 July 1781 Blackburn of the *Fox* was refused arrack, rice, flour and salt meat. On 23 July, the store ship's bread being damaged and flour rancid, Pierce of the *Halsewell* received 1½ chaldrons of coal, Captain Burnett Abercromby of the *Walpole* 15 hundredweight of rice instead of flour and Allen of the *True Briton*, with 14 children aboard, 10 hundredweight of rice; Ker, 12 months out from Fort Marlborough, received 3,000 pounds of rice. On 24 July the Council bought 12 tierces of salt provisions from Captain Justinian Nutt and the *Kingston*'s owners at £6 12s 0d each plus 40 per cent, £110 17s 7d, the *Britannia* delivered 786 pounds of salt meat and sundries came from the store ship for £60 7s 0d. [Film No. 155, 169–172, 174, 181, 269]

Doveton reported short deliveries on 23 July 1781 of sugar, sugar candy and porcelain from the China ships, with a chest of sugar candy from the *Stormont*, and on 28 July of a cable, cordage, a topmast and 139 double deals from the *Hastings*. [Film No. 167–168, 176]

The *Prime* arrived from Bombay on 13 September 1781 with 120 bags of rice and 120 of paddy invoiced on 22 May at 1,411 rupees 1 quarter 60 reas, and delivered more than 5½ tons of rice short, 28 bags undelivered, but only about 8 hundredweight of paddy. The *Bellmont* arrived from Bengal on 2 October with 240 bags of rice, 160 of paddy, six pipes of Madeira, two leaguers of arrack and six chests of candles invoiced at Fort William on 4 May at 6,962 current rupees 4 annas 1 pie, sloop hire on the Hooghly costing 600 rupees and agents taking 15 per cent. On 24 October Doveton reported 96 bags of paddy, both leaguers and a pipe of Madeira undelivered. [Film No. 210, 219, 222–223, 334–335]

The warehouse inventory of 30 September 1781, taken by Matthew Bazett while the stores were closed from 8 September to 1 October, valued the stock at £8,499 7s 2d, European goods £5,906 3s 10d. It held 101 hogsheads of salt beef and pork worth £1,615 9s 7d, 979 hundredweight of flour worth £881 2s 0d, 1,662 hundredweight of rice, 1,005 of paddy, 600 of sugar and sugar candy, about 87 of tea and 846 gallons of Madeira worth £447 13s 6d. On 14 September the Council had told Johnstone it held only a little salt meat and flour. Only 111 pairs of men's shoes remained after 590 issued and 525 sold; stocks included 1,341 pairs of stockings, 959 pairs of shoe buckles, 191 yards of gold lace, 67 wheelbarrows, 66 pickaxes with 384 helves, 29 stone saws, two hand corn mills, almost 300 hundredweight of lead pipe, 275 gallons of train oil, staircase parts and five sash windows worth £45 1s 8d from England. [Film No. 194, 206, 209–211, 309–321]

Drought had ruined harvests in 1780 and 1781. On 29 October 1781 Captain William Dick Gamage of the *Bellmont* wrote that scurvy had disabled almost his whole crew and killed many, claimed his charter-party beef and valued ship and cargo at more than £200,000 0s 0d; the Council gave him one beast from the breeding stock. Captain James Elkington of the *Deptford*, refused bread by Johnstone, asked for about 125 hundredweight of rice and was told that ships from England had no right to grain at the island, as Blackburn had been told in July. [Film No. 338–340]

On 3 November 1781 the Council reported 17 cattle left, drawn from the breeding stock, and set 12 aside for Wolseley's sick; when he asked for more that day it added the last five on the slaughtering list, requisitioned from the inhabitants' breeding stock, and on 5 November refused more. On 18 November Wolseley asked again for about 30 sick of the 78th, suggesting wild goats, and on 19 November the Council gave three more beasts for the sick of the King's troops and Company seamen only. The coopers served him only after examining the store ship's casks. The Company's own herd fell only from 100 to 95 between 1 October and 31 December, a sheep and goats going to the *Romney* and a cow to the *Hannibal*. [Film No. 343–347, 363–364, 425]

On 26 November 1781 Doveton reported the *Northumberland* short by 8 chaldrons 16 bushels of coal, seven tierces of pork, 92 deals and 49 pairs of shoes, with six casks of flour returned damaged, and the *Earl of Chesterfield* short by 35 casks of flour, with 14 useless horn lanterns. His profit and loss account for the year to 30 September, entered about 12 November, wrote off 48 gallons of Madeira worth £25 8s 0d, 140 gallons of arrack, sugar worth £31 5s 2d and rice and paddy worth £27 2s 5d, its opening charge of £41 13s 5d closing as £141 13s 5d. On 24 December he reported the *Hastings*'s salt casks marked RS spoiled and those with the Company's mark good. [Film No. 355–357, 392–393, 414]

A notice of 17 December 1781 required planters to return by 28 December the cattle they would supply for slaughter in 1782, the bullocks they meant to sell to ships and their horses, sheep and goats. [Film No. 406]

The Company's table cost £23 14s 1d from stores in April 1781 with £6 2s 0d for local poultry and meat, £27 3s 5d in May with £4 13s 0d, £34 12s 2d in June with £3 10s 0d, £31 15s 1d in July with £7 4s 0d, £30 6s 10d in August with £4 19s 6d, £29 1s 4d in September with £9 3s 6d, £43 7s 8d in October with £5 9s 6d, £29 5s 1d in November with £1 17s 0d and £29 16s 10d in December with £2 15s 0d. Madeira ran at 71 bottles in April, 67 in May, 119 in June, 122 in July, 64 in September, 142 in October and 65 in November; flour at 653 pounds in April, 708 in May, 744 in July, 705 in September, 755 in October and 448 in December. Island fowls cost about 1s 6d and a lamb or pig 10s. The June quarter's diet account took 17 hundredweight of flour and 99 gallons of arrack, and the paymaster paid £50 2s 4d for the Governor's table, including turtle, Florence oil, 1,275 lemons and 33 gallons of vinegar. The September quarter's diet account was £270 4s 3d, wine £212 3s 10d, with 215 gallons of Madeira and 24 dozen claret, and bought provisions £75 11s 9d. Thirteen pipes of Madeira and damaged goods advertised on 3 December were auctioned on 10 December. [Film No. 14–15, 50–51, 88, 107, 147, 188, 208–209, 227, 252–254, 303, 349, 397, 400–401, 427]

Allowances totalled £85 13s 3d in the June quarter, including 461 pounds of candles, 270 for the Council chamber, and £182 8s 6d in the September quarter, with 483 pounds of candles. The Governor's horses ate nearly 50 hundredweight of paddy in the June quarter and 39 hundredweight with nearly 4 of rice in the September quarter; Corneille drew 140 gallons of arrack worth £16 18s 4d. The fishermen of both senior officers received hooks, lines and lead free. [Film No. 108–109, 253–256, 295]

Health and the Hospital

The garrison's stores came to £844 4s 0d in the June quarter, train oil for barrack lamps taking 143 gallons at £35 3s 2d. The hospital drew £18 11s 1d that quarter and £18 12s 5d in the September quarter, chiefly port wine, sago, sugar, tea and rice. William Hughes was attached to the surgeons and William Gallagan, entered also as Gahagan, was paid £2 10s 0d for helping. Some 450 pounds of the plantation's mutton, worth £9 7s 6d, went to the hospital in the June quarter. On 24 November 1781 the hospital admitted a dying recruit and a seaman with an amputated leg from the *Tartar*, at the request of Captain Edward Foot, entered once as Edward Dick. [Film No. 109–110, 112, 139, 156, 263, 278, 293, 385–386, 391]

Trade and Shipping

On 19 May 1781 the *Halsewell*, *Earl of Sandwich*, *Earl of Oxford*, *Granby* and *Britannia* arrived from China in convoy, with invoices signed at Canton on 26 December 1780 by the supercargoes Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper for between 341 and 386 taels a ship at identical prices. On 25 June the *Stormont*, *London*, *Lascelles*, *Besborough*, *Bridgewater*, *Atlas* and *York* arrived with invoices of January 1781, most of 20 January, for between about 305 and 395 taels, singlo tea at 21 taels a picul, congou 18, bohea 12, sugar 4 taels 8 mace and sugar candy 7 taels 6 mace, with 12 chests of sugar a ship and souchong and hyson only in the *London* and *Atlas*. The *Bridgewater*'s sums are written a line out of place. [Film No. 16–19, 71–75]

On 26 May 1781 Johnston reported the *Granby*'s mainmast in need of a fish and a leak of 3 to 3½ feet an hour since a gale on 25 April; the Council gave timber and offered its warehouses, and on 28 May his crew found the leak forward of the sternpost. On 2 June Downe's *Earl of Sandwich* moved tea to the *Walpole* and *True Briton* to reach a leak in her bows. Captain Thomas Timbrell of the *True Briton* died on 16 May and the

Council swore in his chief officer, George Allen, as commander, his letter of 28 May being entered under 21 May. [Film No. 19–20, 23–29, 44–45]

Major Henry Bazett mustered 11 Company ships on 11 June 1781, seven on 23 July, the *Bellmont* and *Prime* on 15 October and the *Glatton*, *Pigot*, *Vansittart*, *Earl of Mansfield* and *Lord Holland* on 24 December, finding no deserters. The rolls show the *Walpole* with about 90 men, 60 of them able, the *True Briton*, *Fox* and *Duke of Grafton* refilled with Indo-Portuguese seamen and lascars, the *True Briton* listing 15 and the *Duke of Grafton*'s clerk numbering namesakes "first" and "second", the *Earl of Oxford* and *Earl of Sandwich* with Scandinavians, the *Lascelles* with many southern European names, the *Bessborough* with about 26 lascars, the *Bellmont* with 23 lascars entered as a number, the *Glatton* with a Chinese seaman, Ayoura, and the *Vansittart* with about 13 Chinese. The *Glatton* appears as the *Gatton* on 17 December. [Film No. 54–66, 158–165, 322–324, 402, 408–413]

John White commanded the *Earl of Oxford* with his son John junior as chief mate and Nicholas White a midshipman; Richard Bagley was purser of the *Duke of Kingston*. The *Walpole* carried 14 children, eight servants and four adults, the *True Briton* 16 children, 10 servants and six adults and the *Princess Royal* two charter-party passengers, one a boy; Mrs Velter sailed in the *Duke of Grafton*, whose second mate was Samuel Velter. The *Earl of Oxford* carried two Black women servants with the Barclay family, and invalids sailed in the *Halsewell* (six), *Earl of Oxford* (five), *Earl of Sandwich* (11) and *York* (four). The *Fox* carried Phillip Francis and Benjamin Lacam, the *Duke of Kingston* John Whitehill, suspended Governor of Madras, saluted with 19 guns in April and July, and the *Lascelles* Matthew Raper. The *Bellmont* carried Mrs Gamage, Captains Baggot and Kennan and eight French prisoners, the *Prime* (roll of 10 October) General Egerton and family, Colonel Cockburn and five French prisoners. The *Glatton* brought Governor Hugh Stewart, saluted with 17 guns on 17 December. [Film No. 14, 55–65, 164, 174, 322–324, 409]

The *Hastings* sailed for Whampoa on 12 July 1781, her 10 charter-party days having expired, carrying a chest from the *Halsewell* that held paper instead of nankeen for the supercargoes to trace, with a request for stronger sugar chests. Goodwin had reported on 25 June 39 broken saucers and a tureen from the *Halsewell* and 47 cups and 27 saucers from the *Britannia*. The *Hastings* left on 29 July and on 30 July 17 Company ships sailed for England under the *Renown* and *Shark* with the whalers *Sandwich* and *Rockingham*. [Film No. 69–70, 95–96, 184]

Commanders recorded private purchases: Captain J. A. Blanchard of the *York* two bales of Bengal muslin on 22 July 1781, Thomas Spalding six chests of hyson bought at the Cape on 23 July and William Dun of the *Princess Royal* three chests on 27 July. [Film No. 168–169, 177]

Captain James Dundas of the *Prime* reported on 14 September 1781 that a gale on 23 and 24 August at 36° 17' south had put 9 feet of water in her hold, forcing him to jettison 12 nine-pounders, four four-pounders and pepper, and swore a protest before Skottowe on 17 September in place of a notary. The Council refused him guns and powder on 24 September and sent him to Johnstone. [Film No. 212–214, 216–217, 226]

The Company's craft cost cash advances of £107 13s 0d in November 1780 for men discharged from the *Hind* and £27 10s 0d for men taken on, £273 4s 0d in December 1780 for the *Betsy*'s crew and £7 10s 0d in February 1781 for James Blanchett. Her crew, whose service ended in April 1781, were paid arrears of £80 17s 4d in the September quarter; David Stoner received £1 0s 0d for catching Thomas Mealey, who still drew £5 15s 0d. John Robinson repaired the boats for £11 7s 10d in the June quarter, when the patroon was Jeffery Bird, and Julio Fabiano at 2s 6d a day for 92 days in the September quarter, when Jeffery Bond was paid as patroon to 29 July. The paymaster bought a pinnace from Ker for £9 9s 0d and a boat from Robert Leech for £20 0s 0d and hired one from Captain Massey for 14 weeks at 10s 6d. Carrying goods from the crane took 132 days in the June quarter and 602 in the September quarter. The Council bought Gamage's longboat on 25 October for £50 0s 0d. [Film No. 116, 139, 145, 151, 264, 271, 293, 295, 299, 335]

The Council ordered the *Northumberland* to sail on 31 October 1781 when her 10 unloading days expired. A Council letter of 4 November 1783 reported that the *Duke of Kingston* blew up off Ceylon with 70 lost;

the *Halsewell* was wrecked on the Dorset coast in January 1786 with Richard Pierce. The *Glatton*, *Pigot*, *Vansittart*, *Earl of Mansfield* and *Lord Holland* sailed for England on 1 January 1782, Captain Robert Young of the *Vansittart* having died on 25 December and his chief mate William Agnew having been sworn commander on 29 December. [Film No. 5, 59–63, 341, 408, 411, 418, 421]

Economy and the Company Warehouse

The warehouse sold goods at 10 per cent above cost: £1,578 10s 2d is the last surviving running total for the June quarter, whose sales totalled £1,841 2s 5d, against £1,845 2s 5d paid in. Baked bread brought £457 3s 8d and flour and bread together £644 4s 6d, beef and pork £356 0s 0d, wax candles £77 16s 7d, tea £54 0s 5d, long cloth in five grades £154 2s 1d and 246 soldiers' shirts at 5s; more than 2,000 fish hooks and 3,690 copper halfpence for £7 13s 9d were sold. One entry of £0 1s 13d is impossible. [Film No. 101–106]

In the September quarter sales at 10 per cent brought £2,569 10s 4d, including more than 10,000 fish hooks, 1,400 lines, 525 pairs of shoes and 123 soldiers' shirts; sales at 40 per cent to ships brought £189 18s 4d and to the Company's own ships £1,245 10s 4d, including almost 80 hundredweight of cordage and 24 chaldrons of coal. Stores for Company use cost £136 4s 7d, including 374 tools, a church bell at £10 4s 6d and 60 gallons of arrack for workmen, and repairs £11 0s 11d. Doveton paid in £2,759 0s 0d for September sales, mostly to Johnstone's squadron; Dutch paving stone and lime brought £5 16s 9d. [Film No. 235–251, 306]

Finance, Currency and Accounting

Madras invoices counted pagodas, fanams and cash, rice at 100 pagodas a garce of 340 bags and paddy at 40 a garce of 130 bags; Canton invoices counted taels of 10 mace, 10 candareens and 10 cash by the picul of about 133 pounds, less 2 per cent for broken porcelain; Bombay counted rupees of four quarters of 100 reas, rice by the Surat maund of about 37 pounds and paddy by parahs, 25 to a morah; Bengal counted rupees of 16 annas of 12 pies, with batta of 8 or 16 per cent and a bazaar maund of about 75 pounds. [Film No. 6, 8, 15, 17, 210, 223]

The cash stood at £9,422 11s 5d on 31 May 1781 (£8,882 16s 5d coin, £539 15s 0d cash notes). In June it received £1,845 2s 5d from the storekeeper, £16 18s 9d from the plantation, £10 0s 0d for licences and £5 0s 9d customs on 403 gallons of arrack, and closed at £4,820 17s 2d (£4,285 2s 2d coin). July brought £24 0s 0d in fines, £127 8s 5d from the *Hastings* and payments from the fleet on 30 July, the *Princess Royal* most at £230 4s 5d, closing at £19,522 4s 6d; one sum carried as £14,209 6s 5d is brought over as £19,209 6s 5d. August's only receipt was a £1 10s 0d fine, leaving £19,523 14s 6d. September brought £2,759 0s 0d from the storekeeper, £10 0s 0d licences, £24 5s 7d from the plantation, £2 9s 9d customs, £1 19s 9d for lime and £3 17s 0d for 42 feet of Dutch stone, totalling £22,325 15s 3d; after £5,737 12s 2½d to the paymaster it closed at £16,588 3s 0½d (£16,048 0s 0½d coin). The cash was £18,888 6s 7½d on 1 November and £18,914 2s 10½d on 30 November (£18,374 7s 10½d coin) after payments from seven ships, £19 9s 0d from the *Tartar*. Cash notes stood at £539 15s 0d throughout. [Film No. 67–68, 154, 190–192, 215, 305–307, 407]

On 28 July 1781 the Council issued bills on the Directors at 90 days' sight for £13,407 19s 0d paid in: Skottowe £600 0s 0d to Nicholas Skottowe, Corneille £460 0s 0d, Matthew Bazett £1,350 5s 0d and Henry Bazett £1,000 0s 0d through Matthew Purling and Gabriel Harper, the surgeon Thomas Stroud £1,000 0s 0d on £35 0s 0d a quarter, Ker and George Riddock £2,000 0s 0d each and the Reverend Robartes Carr £300 0s 0d to the Reverend Colston Carr. On 12 July it confirmed bills drawn by Fort Marlborough for Wrangham and for Captain John Burnham's representatives. On 22 October bills paid £850 0s 0d to Carr, £100 0s 0d for Britannicus Alexander Wright to Captain William Parker and £1,278 6s 1d to Captain Joseph Cotton's attorney, and on 6 December Wrangham paid in £500 0s 0d for a bill to Captain Richard Pierce, having remitted £600 0s 0d to him in July. [Film No. 98–99, 178–181, 190–191, 328, 398]

Wrangham charged himself £6,494 16s 2d for the June quarter and accounted for £6,478 16s 2d (£4,405 10s 2d pay, £2,073 6s 0d other), while the Council entered £6,474 16s 2d paid to him; his main total jumps from £302 5s 9½d to £1,088 5s 11½d between filmed pages. For the September quarter he drew £5,737 12s 2½d and accounted for £1,348 in payments (£3 15s for alarms) and £4,389 12s in pay; transfers in his

books err by £20 0s 0d or 2s, as £2,034 9s 1d carried and £2,054 9s 1d brought forward and £79 7s 11d carried as £97 7s 11d. [Film No. 127–128, 137–154, 257–259, 276–277, 280–281, 283–284, 292–305]

Land and Agriculture
On 7 May 1781 Lieutenant Francis Seale renewed his lease of 3 acres in the East Division with an adjoining strip of waste for a straighter fence; he received further grants in 1786 and 1790. Orlando Bagley died on the night of 29 April 1781, and land beside Seale's in Deep Valley was Richard Bagley's in 1790. On 4 June the Council ordered planters to report their black cattle by 11 June. On 9 July it announced that planters had been paid on 30 June for beef taken from their breeding cattle and would be paid in future, and promised to seek compensation from the Directors. [Film No. 7–8, 12–13, 30, 48, 93]

The plantation account for April to June 1781 shows cattle falling from 106 to 98, 15 killed, sheep at 272, goats 188 and hogs 27, and 14,921 yams used; sales were £16 18s 9d. For July to September cattle sold to ships brought £16 16s 0d of £24 5s 7d, Corneille charging himself £3 11s 3½d for 171 pounds of mutton, and the herd stood at 100 cattle, 307 sheep, 207 goats and 26 hogs on 30 September. Field tools that quarter cost £52 17s 1d, including nine scythes, 11 pairs of sheep shears, ox yokes and three pairs of cart wheels. [Film No. 86, 156, 225, 261–262, 308]

Longwood's fence cost £196 5s 10½d in the June quarter, 1,994½ labourers' days, and £192 9s 9d in the September quarter, masons and overseers drawing 3s a day and labourers 1s 6d. Labour in the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood took 78 days and 79 days in those quarters and painters 48 days on his house; workmen lodged in a house rented from William Hayes for £3 0s 0d. The plantation drew a pair of cart wheels for £4 17s 3d and three fox traps for £2 17s 9d, and the gardener Matthew Wakefield earned £30 0s 0d a quarter with £20 0s 0d for his assistant. [Film No. 112, 114, 116, 139, 153, 268, 301, 303]

An advertisement of 27 August 1781 remitted rents for 1 October 1780 to 30 September 1781 because of drought, a buyer of land still owing that year's rent to the seller, and required each inhabitant to return family, land, cattle and male slaves aged 16 to 60 by 20 September. On 1 September the trustees of Captain Richard Beale transferred three leases of 24 acres and ground in James's Valley to the trustees of Anthony Beale. On 7 January 1782 Henry Bazett replaced the dead nominees Gabriel Powell and Jonathan Doveton in his 5-acre lease with William Doveton junior and another, at a fine of 7s 6d. [Film No. 194, 200, 414, 423]

Slavery and Coerced Labour
The livestock account noted the deaths of Simon Frank on 16 May 1781 and of the slave boy Jack Grantham, the births of a boy on 29 June and of Betty Nassau in the September quarter, and for October to December four men, Sancho, Chester, Tom Swift and Jack Butcher, and a boy born. Slaves ate 4,046 yams in the June quarter, 22,036 in the September quarter and 11,475 in the December quarter, while livestock ate 10,875, 11,360 and 16,660. [Film No. 86, 225, 295, 425]

Issues to the Company's slaves, headed "Blacks", came to £190 7s 2d in the June quarter, chiefly 204 hundredweight of rice, beef and pork worth £59 19s 6d and 75 pieces of chelloes, and £352 5s 1d in the September quarter, with 146 hundredweight of rice, 299 pieces of beef and 148 of pork, jackets for about 139 men and 30 boys, two shirts and one pair of breeches a man and 53 pairs of men's and 16 of women's shoes. They received 1,300 hooks and 30 dozen lines and the paymaster bought them 576 dozen mackerel for £7 4s 0d. A midwife received £2 10s 0d for five deliveries and the coroner held an inquest on a slave named September. Malays had a separate account of £2 16s 11d in the June quarter, and an account under the name Mallay came to £9 3s 8d in the September quarter. Henry Bazett was paid £0 4s 0d for hiring six slaves. [Film No. 108, 111–112, 139, 258–261, 293, 295]

On 23 July 1781 the *Atlas* listed Emanuel, a Caffre, as captain's servant, three Caffre seamen and a Black boy, and the *Lascelles* a seaman named Cato. On 28 July the Governor asked the *Renown* to keep slaves as well as soldiers from sheltering aboard. On 6 August the Council allowed Skottowe to take the Company's slave girl Betty Stanby to wait on his family on the voyage to England. The *Earl of Mansfield* listed four Black servants on 24 December, one a woman, Phillis. [Film No. 160, 163–164, 182, 185, 412]

On 15 October 1781 Wright complained that his slaves had bought arrack from John Bagley senior; his slave Happy said he had paid 12s for a five-pint and two quart bottles on the Sunday a week before. Bagley admitted taking the 12s, and the Council fined him £20 0s 0d, half to the treasury and half to the informer; he had been fined 40s in July. [Film No. 322]

On 16 October 1781 Thomas Cato asked Captain Jonathan Court whether Captain Henry Fletcher of the *Stormont* had ever sold him, adding that Fletcher had had him christened at Woolwich. On 17 October Court certified that Fletcher had left Cato in his charge with James Powel, since dead, who judged him worth nothing and never sold him, while a man named Stormont had been sold to John Alexander, and that Cato was free and owed wages. On 22 October Court swore before the Governor in Council that Cato was Fletcher's property held in trust, and the Council handed Cato to him. Court commanded the *Fox*, which sailed for China on 27 October. The Company's slave Dyke disappeared with the fleet on 2 November and was struck off the livestock account. [Film No. 326–328, 334, 336, 347, 425]

Judiciary
On 21 May 1781 the executors of Gabriel Jacks senior presented an inventory sworn by three valuers and his widow, which was registered; the Council also proved the estates of Major Graeme, Lieutenant Richardson and Captain Steel. On 2 July William Webber Doveton and John Doveton registered the will and Madras probate of their brother Jonathan. On 12 July the Council asked Hastings to trace James Goudy, a former island soldier in Bengal, whose wife Margaret was left £105 0s 0d by Captain John Burnham of Bencoolen; a letter of August 1784 records his death and the share passing to his daughter Mary. [Film No. 22, 76, 97]

Samuel Wheeldon, also spelt Wheedon, second mate of the *Granby*, complained on 26 May 1781 that Johnston had dismissed him on 17 April and held him aboard ill. Johnston replied on 29 May that he was held on a charge of piracy, and on 30 May the Council ruled that piracy belonged to the Court of Admiralty. Wheeldon denied it on 1 June, saying he had acted on Johnston's orders over Company goods, and offered bail; Johnston claimed on 4 June that he had moved to the *Brilliant*, though Wheeldon wrote from the *Granby* on 5 June. On 9 June four surgeons, Thomas Stroud of the island and James Grant, John Cockerill and John Duncan of the China ships, reported dangerous inflammation of the bowels, and on 11 June the Council warned Johnston that he alone would answer for any fatal result. Wheeldon remained on the *Granby*'s roll of 11 June. [Film No. 32–34, 38–40, 42–44, 47–48, 51–54, 62, 65]

On 1 September 1781 the Council proved the will of Orlando Bagley, made on 14 April 1781, leaving his wife £50 0s 0d and a life interest, Margaret Fringe £150 0s 0d after her mother's death, the residue to his son Richard and fallback legacies to his sisters, among them Mary Knipe, Margaret Alexander and Sarah Harper; Robert Leech and John Bagley junior declined to act. The will left Margaret Fringe the slaves Jack and Clary and first right to buy Sophia for £20 0s 0d, Richard the slaves James, Fanny, Lucy and Molly, and forbade the sale of Joe for debt. [Film No. 200–202]

On 1 October 1781 the minor Elizabeth Merchant chose Robert Leech and John Leech, lieutenant of artillery, as guardians, and on 8 October the Council ruled her entitled to half the personal estate of her brother Richard Harper, administered by her brother James, who entered the estate account on 12 November. On 19 November John Maxwell Stone received administration of the estate of Margaret Kirkpatrick Dawson, and on 3 December Mary Seale chose Wrangham as guardian, approved in his presence. [Film No. 221–222, 224, 358, 366, 396–397]

On 17 November 1781 Captain Bruce Boswell of the *Earl of Chesterfield* asked for an inquiry into his suspension of his chief officer, David Drummond, for disobedience and insult: filling one round of powder instead of 12, drawing liquor in the lazaretto, stowing the troops' arms, striking soldiers, an outdated quarter bill when the ship cleared for action on 18 July, losing the *Blandford* on 5 July and saying at supper on 20 July that the King's officers had taken the command, for which Boswell removed him next morning. Drummond's memorial of 19 November answered that the insult charge came first, that he had secured the arms for safety and that his remark followed Lieutenant McClannen's threat to bayonet him; he had

advised hauling off when the ship grounded at St Thomas on 10 September. The Council referred the case to Wolseley under an act of 1779, agreed on 21 November to hear it when Boswell objected, set it aside for an inquiry into seamen of the *Tartar* who had forcibly boarded a Spanish frigate at St Thomas, and on 3 December sent it to President Charles Smith at Fort St George. [Film No. 366–389, 395–396]

Crime and Punishment

On 30 May 1781 the publican James Parfet proved by five witnesses that the matross Andrew Stark smuggled spirits from the ships, last from Captain Solomon St Maurice's; Stark could not pay the £20 0s 0d fine and was sent to a court martial. [Film No. 40]

On 2 July 1781 Skottowe and Corneille proposed replacing the five punch houses with a canteen, and on 23 July the Council ordered it: the society holding the spirits monopoly was to build it with wards and a bar and serve each soldier punch worth no more than two sixpences at set times, two houses staying open to seamen and inhabitants, and five sellers to receive £150 0s 0d a year each, publicans first. A notice of 1 September 1781 made anyone paying for fish or labour in spirits liable to the £20 0s 0d fine as a retailer. [Film No. 83–84, 166–167, 202–203]

On 27 August 1781 John De Fountain charged George Alexander junior, an executor of Orlando Bagley, with shooting two goats on the common with Yon, a Black man, on 22 August; Alexander said Mrs Bagley had asked him to shoot her unmarked goats near Stone Top, and he was fined £1 10s 0d. [Film No. 193, 202]

In the June quarter the coroner received £1 5s 0d, the Clerk of the Peace £1 5s 0d for three briefs and six recognisances and the crier 5s; Thomas Yates was marshal, crier and clerk of the court for £12 10s 0d. In the September quarter the Clerk of the Peace received 10s for two precepts and 19s on the trial of James Youd, the clerk of arraignments £4 10s 0d for 12 omitted quarters, Yates £2 10s 0d for carrying out punishments and the coroner £3 15s 0d for inquests on September, Robert McCormick and Andrew McCann; a court room was rented for £3 0s 0d and the schoolmaster James Asbey served as judge advocate. [Film No. 115–116, 139, 151, 271–272, 293, 295]

Religion, Education and Welfare

On 7 May 1781 Nathaniel Kennedy and Thomas Statham were sworn churchwardens; the vestry repeatedly complained of the schoolmaster, entered there as James Abney. The chaplain Richard Carr drew £55 0s 0d a quarter and the schoolmaster James Asbey £17 10s 0d with £12 10s 0d for a lodge servant. On 27 August the Council bought the Reverend Robartes Carr's books for £66 8s 6d, the paymaster entering £66 9s 0d, including Verelst, Holwell and Vansittart on Bengal, Blackstone's Commentaries, Burn's Ecclesiastical Law and Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments; a subtotal of £37 5s 6d is brought over as £37 3s 6d. Carr also received £20 8s 10d for repairs to his house. The warehouse held Bibles, Testaments and prayer books worth £20 8s 4d on 30 September. [Film No. 13, 106, 108, 115–116, 151, 194–198, 270–271, 295, 310]

The widows Bazett, Shortley and Caldwell received 1s 2d a day, £5 6s 2d for 91 days, and pensioners drew £45 6s 3d in the June quarter, John Howard £22 16s 3d and Mary Burk, Elizabeth Kennedy and Elizabeth Pearce £7 10s 0d each, and £44 1s 3d in the September quarter, when Masse Funge received £2 10s 0d. Discharged soldiers and stranded seamen drew 6d a day, John Potts of HM ship *Bristol* for 91 days in the June quarter and 21 in the September quarter. [Film No. 136, 139, 145, 271, 291, 295]

Personalities

The Bazett family held office on both lists: Thomas Bazett was a writer at £7 10s 0d, superintendent at £25 0s 0d and captain of the Fourth Company at £39 6s 3d, Henry Bazett major of the Second Company and Matthew Bazett accountant. James, Matthew and Thomas Greentree held lieutenancies in three companies, and the Seales supplied Lieutenants Francis and William Seale. Corneille was major of the First Company, De Fountain also captain lieutenant at £36 14s 4½d, Pierce captain of artillery at £39 6s 3d besides £50 0s 0d as engineer and Solomon St Maurice captain of the Third Company and master at arms; Charles Holloway was sexton, fife major and drum major at £4 16s 0d. Norman McLeod later commanded on the Malabar coast against Mysore in 1783. [Film No. 114–118, 121, 125, 128–129, 132, 271–272, 280, 283, 428]

Later records add that Blackburn's *Fox* struck the rocks off Munden's Point in June 1784, that Charles Gartyne was sworn commander of the *Europa* in April 1785, that Sergeant Tooly was shipped home unconvicted in 1784 after re-enlistment bounties had been paid to men claiming discharge, that Stroud went home sick in 1785 after 13 years' service, that David Kay became acting surgeon in 1785, that William Webber Doveton became secretary and councillor, that Kennedy stood surety for Samuel Mason in 1783, that Benjamin Bagley's lease of 1801 named the land of the late N. Kennedy and that a Deep Valley lease from the estate of an Orlando was sold to John Seale senior in 1792, with James Colgrave and George Alexander as executors. [Film No. 7, 9, 12–13, 19, 23, 51, 54, 76, 79–83]

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1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date: St. HELENA RECORDS 1781 - 1782 Photographer: PETER Date photographed: 19 OCT 2021 Additional comments:	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
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5	1	Island St. Helena - At a Consultation held on Monday the 23rd Day of April 1781 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed, Dated the 16th April 1781. Saturday the 21st Arrived the Duke of Kingston's Boat at Banks's at 10 OClock in the forenoon. Do. ... Do. the Honble. Companys Ship Duke of Kingston from Madrass, and brought us the following Supply's Viz.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 23 April 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its last meeting, held on 16 April 1781. On Saturday 21 April 1781 a boat from the Company's ship *Duke of Kingston* reached Banks's at 10 o'clock in the morning. The ship herself then arrived from Madras, bringing supplies for the island, which were listed in the invoice that followed. **Interpretations** Banks's was the battery on the coast north-east of Jamestown, the first post a ship passed as she came round to the anchorage. A ship approaching the island had to send her boat in to Banks's to be identified before she was allowed into the roads. The time each boat arrived was recorded there, which is why the Council's packets regularly included an account of "the times the ships' boats reached Banks's". The system let the garrison check every approaching ship before she came within range of the town, and it gave the Company an exact record of each ship's arrival. The *Duke of Kingston* was later lost. The Council's letter of 4 November 1783 reported that she blew up off Ceylon with the loss of 70 of her crew.
6	2	23rd April Invoice of Ship Duke of Kingston cwt. qr. lb. Rice 120 Bags B. G. Wt. 157 . . 19 Tare 4 lb ℔ Bag 4 . 1 . 4 Nt. 152 . 3 . 15 Garce Amount 17123 or 1 [...] at 340 Pags. ℔ 100 [...] Garce 105 . . Paddy 80 Bags B. G. Wt. 70 . 2 . 27 Tare 4 lb ℔ Bag 2 . 3 . 12 67 . 3 . 15 Garce Amount [...] 130 Pags. [...] 40 Pags. ℔ Garce 53 . . Batavia Arrack 1 Leager Cont. 149 Galls. 60 . . Charges Merchandize Gunney Bags for Rice and Paddy 400 @ 5 ℔	The invoice for the supplies brought by the Company's ship *Duke of Kingston* from Madras was entered in the consultation of 23 April 1781. Weights were given in Madras candies, maunds and pounds, and values in pagodas, fanams and cash. Rice, 120 bags, gross weight 157 candies 0 maunds 19 pounds Less tare at 4 pounds a bag, 4 candies 1 maund 4 pounds Net weight of rice, 152 candies 3 maunds 15 pounds Rice by measure, 17,125 measures, 1 garce reckoned at 340 bags, at 100 pagodas a garce, 105 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Paddy, 80 bags, gross weight 70 candies 2 maunds 27 pounds Less tare at 4 pounds a bag, 2 candies 3 maunds 12 pounds Net weight of paddy, 67 candies 3 maunds 15 pounds Paddy by measure, 1 garce reckoned at 130 bags, at 40 pagodas a garce, 53 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Batavia arrack, 1 leaguer containing 147 gallons, 60 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash

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		20 . . For Waste and Tare 4 . 40 Twine 1 . 12 Weighing, Cooleys on 5 Hundreds . 12 . 60 Cooleyhire for Rice Paddy & Arrack 5 . 24 Boat and Cooley hire 9 Trips at 4.20 3 . 20 . 20 Inspection hire 8 at 4 [...] . 32 30 . 30 . 40 Pagodas 320 . 30 . 40 Errors Excepted Signed Geo. Mowbray Accountant Thos. Langley Corporal & this day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison, having served the Honble. Company his Contracted time. Granted. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Charges on the goods: Gunny bags for the rice and paddy, 400 at 5 pagodas the hundred, 20 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Wax and seals, 4 pagodas 40 fanams 0 cash Twine, 1 pagoda 12 fanams 0 cash Weighing coolies on 5 hundred [...], 0 pagodas 12 fanams 60 cash Coolie hire for the rice, paddy and arrack, 5 pagodas 24 fanams 0 cash Boat and coolie hire, 9 trips at 20 fanams a trip, 3 pagodas 20 fanams 20 cash Transport hire, 8 at 4 fanams, 0 pagodas 32 fanams 0 cash Total charges, 30 pagodas 30 fanams 40 cash Total of the invoice, 248 pagodas 30 fanams 40 cash George Mowbray, accountant, signed the invoice, with errors excepted. Corporal Thomas Langley petitioned for his discharge from the garrison, since he had served the Company for the full term of his engagement. The Council granted it. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The supply from Madras shows how St Helena was fed from Asia as well as from England. Rice and paddy were the cheapest staple food for the island's slaves and soldiers, and Madras could supply them in bulk from the Coromandel coast. Paddy was rice still in its husk. It kept better on a long voyage than husked rice and could be milled on the island when needed. A garce was the large Madras grain measure, here reckoned at 340 bags of rice or 130 bags of paddy. The paddy was valued at well under half the rice's rate, which reflects both the husk and the lower grade. Batavia arrack was a strong spirit distilled in Java from rice and palm sap, and the Company shipped it in leaguers, large casks of about 150 gallons. The garrison's daily drink allowance depended on it. The charges show what it cost to move these goods at Madras before the ship sailed. Gunny bags of coarse jute held the grain. Wax and seals secured the casks and bags against pilfering. Coolies weighed and carried the goods, and hired boats ferried them through the surf to the ship, since Madras, like Jamestown, had no harbour. These charges added about an eighth to the value of the goods. Langley's discharge rested on his engagement alone. A soldier who had served his contracted time could claim his release, and the Council could not refuse it. This was the same right that, in 1784, forced the Council to re-enlist men with a bounty before sending them to Madras, and that let it ship Sergeant Tooly home when he could not be convicted.
7	3	30th April - At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th Day of April 1781 at the Castle. Present, John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed, Dated the 23 April 1781. Last Night died Mr. Orlando Bagley Planter We this Day received the following Letter from Captain Robert Ker - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council St. Helena. - Honble. Sir & Sirs The Hawser on Board the Prince Royal	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 30 April 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 23 April 1781. Orlando Bagley, a planter, had died the night before. That day the Council received a letter from Captain Robert Kee, written at St Helena on 30 April 1781 and addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Kee reported that the provisions on board his ship, the [...], were all used up. He asked the Governor and Council to order six bags to be supplied to him for his immediate needs. The Council directed the secretary to send Kee a reply, which was entered on the next page. **Interpretations**

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		being all expended, I request you will please to order me six bags for present use. I am Honble. Sir and Sirs Your most Obedt. Humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) Robt. Ker 30th April 1781. The Secretary is Directed to return him the following Answer Viz.	Orlando Bagley's death explains a gap in the later deeds. The Deep Valley lease sold back to John Seale senior in 1792 came from the estate of an "Orlando [...]", whose executors were James Colgrave and George Alexander, and whose surname could not be read on that deed. This entry supplies it. In 1790, Francis Seale's lease at the head of Deep Valley named the neighbouring land as belonging to Richard Bagley, a minor, who was probably Orlando's heir. Orlando's estate was still being administered more than a decade after his death, which fits an heir too young to take the land himself. Kee asked for food for his crew because his own stores had run out, but he did not say what the six bags were to hold. They were probably rice or biscuit from the Company's stores. Every request of this kind came before the full Council, because the island's stores were barely enough for its own people and each issue to a ship had to be accounted for.
8	4	30th April To Captain Robt. Ker Commander of Ship (Princess Royal) Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you in answer to yours of this Day, that from the present situation of the Honble. Companys Stores they can only spare you three Bags of Flour, therefore recommend you to supply your Ships Company with Yams or Potatoes from the Inhabitants. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 30th April 1781. - The Storekeeper this Day Delivered in the following Account of Stores Short Received from Ships True Briton, Fox, Duke of Grafton, and Walpole Viz. True Briton cwt. qr. lb. 21 . 2 . 5 Rice 19 . . . 23 Paddy . . . 3 Candles Short Weight 23 Galls. Arrack 29 Do. Madeira Wine Do. of Gage 1 Pipe Do. - Do. Detained Bengal being in bad Condition as mentioned in Bill of Lading. Fox cwt. qr. lb. 15 . 3 . 12 Rice Short of Weight 04 . 3 . 20 Do. - Do. in 50 Bags not Delivered 4 . 2 . 15 Paddy - Do. - Do. . . . 7 Candles Do. 13 Galls. Arrack 29 Do. Madeira Wine Short of Gage	The Council directed its secretary, Britannicus Alexander Wright, to answer Captain Robert Kerr, commander of the ship *Princess Royal*. Wright wrote to him on 30 April 1781. Given the state of the Company's stores, the Governor and Council could spare him only three bags of flour. They advised him to buy yams or potatoes from the inhabitants to feed his ship's company. The storekeeper laid before the Council an account of stores that had arrived short from four ships: the *True Briton*, the *Fox*, the *Duke of Grafton* and the *Walpole*. From the *True Briton*: Rice short of weight, 21 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 pounds Paddy short of weight, 19 hundredweight 2 quarters 25 pounds Candles short of weight, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 3 pounds Arrack short of gauge, 23 gallons Madeira wine short of gauge, 29 gallons Madeira wine, 1 pipe not landed, being in bad condition as stated in the bill of lading From the *Fox*: Rice short of weight, 15 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 pounds Rice in 50 bags not delivered, 4 hundredweight 3 quarters 20 pounds Paddy short of weight, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 15 pounds Candles short of weight, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 7 pounds Arrack short of gauge, 15 gallons Madeira wine short of gauge, 29 gallons The account for the *Duke of Grafton* followed on the next page. **Interpretations** The Council refused Kerr almost everything he asked for, and the reason was plain on the same page. Its own stores were short. The ships that brought the island's supplies had landed less than their bills of lading promised. The *True Briton* alone delivered more than a ton of rice short. The Council kept its flour for the island and sent Kerr's men to the planters for yams and potatoes. These were the island's own crops, grown by the inhabitants and sold to passing ships. Pointing the captain to them protected the Company's dwindling stocks and gave the island's farmers a sale. A shortage "of gauge" meant that a cask held less liquor than its marked capacity when measured with a gauging rod. Some loss came from leakage and evaporation on a long voyage. Even so, shortfalls of 15 to 29 gallons a ship, repeated across several vessels, suggest that crews were drawing off wine and arrack on the way. By recording each shortfall ship by ship, the

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			Council could charge the losses to the commanders or owners when the voyages were settled in London.
9	5	1781. - 1782. Duke of Grafton 1783. cwt. qr. lb. 30 . 2 . 13 Rice Short Weight 22 . . . Do. - Do. in 16 Bags not Delivered 10 . . 20 Paddy - Do. Weight . . . 2 Candles - Do. 19 Galls. Arrack 27 Do. Madeira Wine Short of Gage Walpole cwt. qr. lb. 30 . . 25 Rice 17 . . 23 Paddy . . . 14 Candles Short Weight 24 Galls. Arrack 27 Do. Madeira Wine Short of Gage St. Helena (Signed) John Goodwin 30th April 1781. - Storekeeper. The Board observing by the above Account of Ships Fox and Duke of Grafton, a large Quantity of Rice and Paddy short, they Directed the Secretary to Write Captains Blackburn and Bell the following Letters Viz. To Captain John Blackburn Commander of Ship Fox. Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that observing you have not Delivered fifty eight Bags of the Rice consigned to this place by the Presidency of Bengal, they therefore require you will give them your Reasons for it, Monday next, for such Detention, that the same may be transmitted to the Honble. the Court of Directors. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 30th April 1781	From the *Duke of Grafton*: Rice short of weight, 40 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 pounds Rice in 16 bags not delivered, 22 hundredweight 0 quarters 0 pounds Paddy short of weight, 10 hundredweight 0 quarters 20 pounds Candles short of weight, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 2 pounds Arrack short of gauge, 19 gallons Madeira wine short of gauge, 27 gallons From the *Walpole*: Rice short of weight, 30 hundredweight 0 quarters 25 pounds Paddy short of weight, 17 hundredweight 0 quarters 25 pounds Candles short of weight, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 14 pounds Arrack short of gauge, 24 gallons Madeira wine short of gauge, 27 gallons John Goodwin, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 30 April 1781. The Council noted from the account that a large quantity of rice had not been delivered from the *Fox* and the *Duke of Grafton*. It directed the secretary to write to their commanders, Captains Blackburn and Ball. Wright wrote to Captain John Blackburn of the *Fox* on 30 April 1781. The Governor and Council had found that he had failed to deliver 50 bags of the rice sent to the island by the Presidency of Bengal. They required him to give his reasons in writing by the following Monday, so that his explanation could be sent to the Court of Directors. **Interpretations** The Council treated the two kinds of shortfall differently. Short weight and short gauge were spread across all four ships and could come from drying, leakage and handling on a long voyage, so the Council recorded them without comment. Whole bags missing were another matter. Fifty bags from the *Fox* and 16 from the *Duke of Grafton* had simply not been landed, which pointed to rice kept on board, sold elsewhere or used for the crew. The Council demanded a written explanation from each commander within a week. It had no power to punish a Company captain itself, but a written answer sent home with the storekeeper's figures put the matter before the Court of Directors, who could stop the cost from the commander's pay or his owners' freight. The *Fox* commanded by Captain John Blackburn appeared again in June 1784, when she struck the rocks off Munden's Point and her cargo had to be landed and reloaded. The same commander was answerable to the Council on both occasions.
10	6	30th April - To Capt. Samuel Bull Commander of Ship Duke of Grafton. - Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you they observe you have not Delivered Sixteen Bags of the Rice consigned to this place by the Presidency of Bengal. They therefore require you will give them your Reasons on Monday next, for such Detention, that the same may be transmitted to the Honble. the Court of Directors. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry.	The secretary sent a matching letter to Captain Samuel Ball, commander of the *Duke of Grafton*, on 30 April 1781. The Governor and Council had found that he had failed to deliver 16 bags of the rice sent to the island by the Presidency of Bengal. They required him to give his reasons in writing by the following Monday, so that his explanation could be sent to the Court of Directors. Sergeant William Clifton and Matross John Wellington petitioned that day for their discharge from the garrison, since both had served the Company for the full terms of their engagement. The Council granted it. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations**

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		30th April 1781. - William Clifton Sergeant and Jno. Wellington Matross this Day Petitioned for their Discharges from this Garrison, having served the Honble. Company their Contracted times. Granted. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The two letters to Blackburn and Ball were word for word the same apart from the number of bags. The Council was not accusing either commander of fraud. It set the same procedure in motion for both and left the judgment to the Court of Directors. A standard letter, a fixed deadline and an answer sent home with the storekeeper's figures meant that every short delivery was dealt with in the same way, whoever the commander was. Three soldiers had now claimed their discharge in two weeks: Corporal Langley on 23 April and Sergeant Clifton and Matross Wellington on 30 April. Each left as soon as his engagement ended, and the Council could not keep him. Losing a sergeant and an artilleryman in the same week was the kind of steady drain on the garrison that led the Council, three years later, to offer bounties for re-enlistment and to press the Court for fresh recruits.
11	7	7th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th Day of May 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed Dated the 30th April 1781. - In answer to the Letters wrote to Captains Blackburn and Bull on Monday last they this Day Delivered the following [...] Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of the Island of St. Helena. - Worshipful Sir and Sirs In answer to your Secretary's Letter of the 30th Ult. respecting the short Delivery of Rice which was shipped on the Fox, for this Island, according to the following accident. The long Boat on the 17 March with the remainder of the Rice, being sixty two Bags, and under the Crane, the swell suddenly arose and on the means of making the Moorings give way, the Boat going against the Rocks was stove to pieces - Fifty Eight Bags of the Rice was lost, and the People with much Difficulty saved themselves by getting hold of Cords &c. until Boats came to their Relief - the said accident happened in sight of Mr. DesFountain a Gentleman of your Store - who was attending to receive the Rice &c. I am Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient Servant Ship Fox (Signed) John Blackburn St. Helena May 7th 1781. -	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 7 May 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 30 April 1781. Captains Blackburn and Ball replied that day to the letters sent to them the week before. Captain John Blackburn wrote from the *Fox* at St Helena on 7 May 1781, answering the secretary's letter of 30 April about the short delivery of rice shipped in his vessel for the island. He explained that it had been lost in an accident. On 17 March his longboat set out with the last of the rice, 62 bags in all. The sea was running high, and the mooring the boat depended on gave way while she was being brought in. The boat was driven onto the rocks and broken to pieces. Fifty-eight bags of rice were lost. The boat's crew saved themselves only with great difficulty, clinging to the wreck until other boats came to rescue them. The accident took place in full view of Mr Desfontain, an officer of the island's stores, who was waiting on shore to receive the rice. **Interpretations** Blackburn's answer turned the Council's charge around. The rice had not been held back on board. It had been lost in the surf at St Helena itself, while it was being landed for the Company. Jamestown had no harbour or pier. Every cask and bag came ashore in ships' boats, which had to be held off the rocks by moorings while the cargo was handed up. In a heavy swell a parted mooring could wreck a boat in moments, as happened here. Blackburn also named a witness from the island's own storekeeping staff, which made his account hard to dispute. The loss, if accepted, would fall on the Company as an ordinary risk of landing, not on the commander. The figures did not quite agree. Blackburn said 58 bags were lost, but the storekeeper had counted 50 bags undelivered. The difference was small and probably reflected bags recovered from the water or counted differently. The Council would have to weigh it against the storekeeper's evidence and Desfontain's account.
12	8	7th May B. Wright Esqr. Secry. Sir In answer to yours of the 30th Ult. relative to the Short Delivery of sixteen Bags of Rice from the Duke of Grafton - You will therefore Please to acquaint the Worshipful the Governor &c. Council that the number of Bags were Delivered,	Captain Samuel Ball replied in a letter to Britannicus Alexander Wright, the secretary, dated 5 May 1781, answering the letter of 30 April about the 16 bags of rice not delivered from the *Duke of Grafton*. He asked Wright to tell the Governor and Council that the bags had in fact been brought ashore. Cockroaches had eaten through the bags on the voyage. As a result the rice had become mixed with paddy, and a great deal of it had been wasted. The storekeeper had refused to accept those bags for that reason.

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		but there being a Quantity of Paddy mixt with the Rice, owing to the Cockroaches having Destroyed the Bags, which not only occasioned the mixture of Rice & Paddy, but a very great Waste, In consequence of which the Storekeeper refused Receiving those Bags for reasons above mentioned. I am Sir Your Obedient Servant St. Helena (Signed) Samuel Bull May 5th 1781. - Lieutenant Francis Seale this Day presented the following Petition Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Francis Seale Sheweth That your Petitioner hath three Leases for Land lying in the East Division of this Island, expiring, Requests your Worship and Council will grant him a Renewal thereof, and Insert in one Lease the quantity of Acres contained in the three - that there is also a small Piece of the Honble. Company's waste Land adjoining your Petitioners which he is desirous of having for the convenience of Fencing, humbly Requests you will grant him a Lease for the same. - And your Petitioner will ever Pray &c. 7th May 1781. - **Margin Notes:** Granted	Lieutenant Francis Seale presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He held 3 acres of land in the East Division of the island and asked for a renewal of his lease of it, with the whole area set out in a single lease. He also asked for a lease of a small piece of the Company's waste land adjoining his own ground, which he wanted so that he could fence his land more easily. The petition was dated 7 May 1781, and the Council granted it. **Interpretations** Ball's answer, like Blackburn's, moved the blame away from the ship. His 16 bags had not been kept back. They had been landed and refused by the island's storekeeper because their contents were spoiled. Cockroaches swarmed in the holds of ships returning from India and could eat through gunny bags on a long voyage. Rice that had spilled and mixed with paddy and vermin was no longer fit to issue. The storekeeper's refusal protected the island from bad food, but it also meant that the Company, not the commander, bore the loss. Seale gave a practical reason for wanting the waste land. A small strip left between his ground and the open waste made fencing awkward and costly, since the line had to follow its edges. Taking the strip into his lease let him run a straighter fence. This was the same Francis Seale who later received grants in the South Division in 1786 and in Deep Valley in 1790, and who built up one of the island's largest leasehold estates. His petition of 1781 shows that he had started gathering land, piece by piece, well before the leases preserved in the register.
13	9	1781 Granted the Renewal of the Leases Expired, and Ordered the Land Petitioned for to be Viewed. Messieurs Nathaniel Kennedy and Thos. Statham were this day Sworn into the Office of Church Wardens. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council granted Seale's petition in full. It renewed the lease that had expired and ordered both pieces of land he had asked for to be included together in a single lease. Nathaniel Kennedy and Thomas Statham were sworn in that day as churchwardens. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The Council combined Seale's renewal and his new strip of waste into one lease, as he had asked. One deed was simpler to register, pay and inspect than two. It also put the old ground and the new strip on a single term, so they would expire and come up for renewal together. Seale's later grants were often issued the same way, with several adjoining pieces bound into one lease. The churchwardens were sworn before the Governor and Council because the island's parish came under the Company's government. Churchwardens kept the church in repair, managed parish funds and reported misconduct, and on St Helena they also sat with the vestry that oversaw the schoolmaster. It was this vestry that later complained repeatedly about James Abney. Nathaniel Kennedy, sworn here, was the island gentleman who stood surety for Samuel Mason in 1783, and whose land was described as that of "the late N. Kennedy" in Benjamin Bagley's lease of 1801.
14	10	14th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th Day of May 1781 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council Major Daniel Corneille absent being indisposed	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 14 May 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, was absent through illness. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 7 May 1781. The accounts of artillery stores and the storekeeper's accounts for April 1781 were laid before

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		The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed, Dated the 7th May 1781. - The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stores Accounts for the Month of April last were this Day laid before Us, which were examined approved and are as follow Viz. Artillery Stores Expended in April 1781 Cartridges, 9 ℔, 6 ℔, 3 ℔, Powder lb., Powder oz. 18 Remaining Cartridges for Mitchells Line: Cartridges 0, 9 ℔ 0, 6 ℔ 0, 3 ℔ 0, Powder lb. 37, Powder oz. 0 20 Morning Alarm: Cartridges 0, 9 ℔ 19, 6 ℔ 1, 3 ℔ 12, Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 34 Evening Do.: Cartridges 0, 9 ℔ 1, 6 ℔ 1, 3 ℔ 1, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 25 Arrived the Duke of Kingston Saluting Governor Whitehill: Cartridges 0, 9 ℔ 9, 6 ℔ 9, 3 ℔ 9, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 30 Proving or Stone Blowers & Saluting Mess: Cartridges 0, 9 ℔ 19, 6 ℔ 19, 3 ℔ 19, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 Do. for Do. at Mitchells Line: Cartridges 0, 9 ℔ 0, 6 ℔ 0, 3 ℔ 0, Powder lb. 12, Powder oz. 0 Do. for Do. at Banks's Works: Cartridges 0, 9 ℔ 0, 6 ℔ 0, 3 ℔ 0, Powder lb. 24, Powder oz. 0 Do. for Sundry Services: Cartridges 0, 9 ℔ 0, 6 ℔ 0, 3 ℔ 0, Powder lb. 90, Powder oz. 24 8 Totals: Cartridges 40, 9 ℔ 29, 6 ℔ 12, 3 ℔ 7, Powder lb. 76, Powder oz. 12 Cartridge Paper 4 Quires Tallow 3 lb Slow Match 8 lb Wax Candles 2 Tin Iron Bolts 9 Copper Bolts 2 Iron Bolts 4 Cap Squares 2 Key Bolts 4 Plate Iron Bolts 2 Bed Bolts 1 Eye Bolts 2 (Signed) Wm. Pierce Capt. Artillery	the Council, examined and approved. The artillery stores used that month were as follows. 18 April, 600 remaining musket cartridges for Mitchell's Line, powder 37 pounds 8 ounces 20 April, alarm, 19 guns fired (1 six-pounder, 12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders), powder 34 pounds 0 ounces 20 April, [...], 1 gun fired (1 three-pounder), powder 1 pound 8 ounces 21 April, arrival of the Duke of Kingston, 9 guns fired (9 six-pounders), powder 9 pounds 0 ounces Salute to Governor Whitehill, 19 guns fired (19 six-pounders), powder 19 pounds 0 ounces 30 April, powder for the stone blowers at [...], 12 pounds 0 ounces Powder for the stone blowers at Mitchell's Line, 24 pounds 0 ounces Powder for the stone blowers at Banks's works, 90 pounds 0 ounces Powder for sundry services, 24 pounds 8 ounces Totals, 40 guns fired (29 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 7 three-pounders), powder 296 pounds 12 ounces Cartridge paper, 4 quires Tallow, 3 pounds Slow match, 8 pounds Wax candles, 2 Transom bolts, 9 Copper [...], 2 Iron bolts, 4 Cap squares, 2 Key bolts, 4 Axle-tree bolts, 2 Bed bolts, 1 Eye bolts, 2 Captain William Pierce of the Artillery signed the account. **Interpretations** Most of the month's gunpowder went into building work, not firing. Of almost 300 pounds used, about 150 pounds went to the stone blowers at Mitchell's Line, Banks's works and another site. The island's fortifications were cut into hard volcanic rock, and blasting was the only practical way to clear ground for batteries and lines. Banks's works was the battery where ships' boats reported on arrival. Mitchell's Line was a defensive line on the coast. In 1781, with war against France, Spain and now the Dutch, the Council was strengthening both. Salutes also used up powder. The Company's ship *Duke of Kingston* received 9 guns on arrival. Governor Whitehill received 19, the honour due to the head of a presidency. He was probably John Whitehill, governor of Madras, passing through as a passenger on his way home, since the *Duke of Kingston* had just come from that settlement. The ceremonial firing was a fixed cost of the island's position on the route home from India. The alarm of 20 April, which called out 19 guns across three calibres, was probably a signal of strange ships sighted off the island. In wartime the garrison had to treat any unknown sail as a possible enemy until her identity was confirmed. The smaller stores at the end of the account were spare parts for gun carriages. Cap squares, key bolts, axle-tree bolts, bed bolts and transom bolts held the barrels and wheels of the carriages together. Their regular replacement shows how quickly the island's damp and salt air wore out the ironwork of its guns.
15	11	1781 Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Companys Table in April 1781 To 71 Bottles Madeira 4 0 9 17 Do. Lisbon	The Council also examined the account of goods used at the Company's table during April 1781. Madeira wine, 71 bottles, £4 0s 9d Porter, 17 bottles, £1 11s 6d Beer, 65 bottles, £1 1s 0d Arrack, 17 gallons, £2 11s 0d Butter, 267 pounds, £5 11s 3d

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		1 11 6 63 Do. Beer 1 1 - 17 Galls. Arrack 2 11 - 267 lb Butter 5 11 3 36 Pork - 10 - 2 Lambs 1 - - 3[...] Candy 1 0 - 653 Flour 5 9 2 £ 23 14 1 Bot. for Table - 6 Turkeys 1 10 - 34 Fowls 2 11 - 14 Ducks 1 1 - 1 Lamb - 10 - 1 Pig - 10 - £ 6 2 - John Skottowe M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Pork, 36 pounds, £0 18s 0d Lambs, 2, £1 0s 0d Sugar candy, 36 pounds, £1 0s 0d Flour, 653 pounds, £5 9s 2d Total, £23 14s 1d Provisions bought for the table: Turkeys, 6, £1 10s 0d Fowls, 34, £2 11s 0d Ducks, 14, £1 1s 0d Lamb, 1, £0 10s 0d Pig, 1, £0 10s 0d Total, £6 2s 0d Governor John Skottowe, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The Company's table was the official mess at the Castle. The Governor dined there with the councillors and senior officers, and entertained commanders and passengers from the ships in the roads. The Company paid for it as part of the cost of government, so the Council examined its accounts every month, just as it did the artillery stores. In a single month the table got through 71 bottles of Madeira, 65 of beer and 17 gallons of arrack. The steady flow of guests explains much of this. April 1781 brought the *Duke of Kingston*, Governor Whitehill and other passengers from India. The prices show what the island produced cheaply and what it had to import. Fowls and ducks were raised on the island and cost about 1s 6d each, and a whole lamb or pig 10 shillings. Wine, porter, butter and flour all came by sea and made up most of the bill. Only the previous week the Council had refused Captain Kerr more than three bags of flour because its stores were short, yet the table used 653 pounds of flour in a month. Feeding the ships' commanders and passengers was itself part of the business of the island, and the Council kept its own table supplied.
16	12	21st May At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st Day of May 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed Dated the 14th May 1781. - Friday the 18th Arrived the Halswell's Boat at Banks's at 5 OClock in the Evening. - Do. - Do. - the Sandwich's Do. - at Do. - at 1/4 past 5 Do. - Do. - Do. Do. - Do. - the Earl of Oxford's Do. at Do. at 6 OClock Do. - Do. - Do. - Do. - Do. - the Granby's - Do. - at Do. at 7 Do. Do. - Do. - Do. - Do. - Do. - the Britannia's Do. - at Do. at Do. Do. - Do. - Saturday the 19th Do. The Honble. Company's Ships, Halswell Sandwich, Earl of Oxford, Granby and Britannia from China and brought the following Supply's Viz.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 21 May 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 14 May 1781. On Friday 18 May 1781 the boats of five ships reached Banks's in the evening, at the following times: The *Halsewell*'s boat at 5 o'clock. The *Sandwich*'s boat at half past 5. The *Earl of Oxford*'s boat at 6 o'clock. The *Granby*'s boat at 7 o'clock. The *Britannia*'s boat at 7 o'clock. On Saturday 19 May the Company's ships *Halsewell*, *Sandwich*, *Earl of Oxford*, *Granby* and *Britannia* arrived from China. They brought supplies for the island, listed in the invoice that followed. **Interpretations** Five ships arrived together because they sailed as a convoy. In 1781 Britain was at war with France, Spain and the Dutch, and Company ships homeward bound from China gathered in fleets for protection. Their boats came in one after another over two hours, each stopped and recorded at Banks's before the ships were allowed into the roads. A convoy of five laden China ships was the most valuable cargo the island ever saw at one time. While they lay in the roads, the garrison's guard over the anchorage mattered more than ever. The convoy also raised the island's demands at once. Five ships' companies needed water, fresh food and stores, just after the Council had refused Captain Kerr flour and found every recent supply ship short. The supplies the China fleet brought for the island were therefore especially welcome.

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17	13	1781 - Invoice of Ship Halswell Tales m. c. c. China Ware 21 Chests Tales 32 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 6 4 25 3 6 - Sago packed with the China Ware Nt. Peculs 1. 83 Catties [...] 0 7 0 4 Singlo 2 Chests weighing Nt. Peculs 1. 17 @ 21 24 5 7 - Congo 2 Do. 1.41 @ 18 25 3 8 - Bohea 5 Do. 4.42 @ 12 53 - 4 - Sugar Candy 4 Do. 8.49 @ 7.6 64 5 2 4 Sugar 19 Do. 26.43 @ 4.8 126 8 6 4 Nankeen Cloth 2 Do. Cont. 1 ℔ 200 @ 3.4 6 - - - Chests 2 at 2.5 - 5 - - Tales 403 0 2 2 Canton 26 Decr. 1780 Errors Excepted Signed Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper Invoice of Ship Earl of Sandwich Tales m. c. c. China Ware Tales 168 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 3 3 6 16 4 6 4 Sago packed with the China Ware Nt. Peculs 5. 14 Catties [...] 4.8 24 6 7 2 Souchon 1 Chest Weighing Nt. Catties 39 @ 36 Tales [...] Cannisters 20 at 1.5 3 - 17 - 4 - Hyson 1 Do. Nt. Catties 36 at 48 17.28 Cannisters 20 @ 1.5 3 - - 20 2 8 - Singlo 2 Do. Nt. Peculs 1. 17 @ 21 24 5 7 - Congo 2 Do. Do. 1.42 @ 18 25 5 6 - Bohea 5 Do. Do. 4.61 @ 12 55 3 2 - Sugar Candy 5 Do. Do. 10.53 @ 7.6 0 - 2 0 Sugar 19 Chests Do. 26.07 @ 4.8 125 1 3 6 Tales 309 - 1 - Canton 26 Decr. 1780 Errors Excepted Signed Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper	The invoices for the supplies sent from Canton in the China ships followed, valued in taels, mace, candareens and cash. Invoice of the ship *Halsewell*: China ware, 2 chests, 32 taels, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 6 mace 4 candareens, 31 taels 3 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Sago packed with the china ware, net 1 picul 83 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 8 taels 7 mace 8 candareens 4 cash Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1.17 piculs, at 21 taels a picul, 24 taels 5 mace 7 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 2 chests, net 1.41 piculs, at 18 taels a picul, 25 taels 3 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 4 chests, net 4.42 piculs, at 12 taels a picul, 53 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Sugar candy, 4 chests, net 8.49 piculs, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 64 taels 5 mace 2 candareens 4 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 26.43 piculs, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 126 taels 8 mace 6 candareens 4 cash Nankeen cloth, second sort, 200 pieces, at [...], 6 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Chests, 2, at 2 mace 5 candareens each, 0 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total, 341 taels 0 mace 2 candareens 2 cash Invoice of the ship *Earl of Sandwich*: China ware, 168 taels, less 2 per cent for breakage, 3 taels 3 mace 6 candareens, 164 taels 6 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Sago packed with the china ware, net 5 piculs 14 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 24 taels 6 mace 7 candareens 2 cash Souchong tea, 1 chest, net 39 catties, at 3 mace 6 candareens a catty, 14 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Canisters for the souchong, 20, at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Souchong and canisters together, 17 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Hyson tea, 1 chest, net 36 catties, at 4 mace 8 candareens a catty, 17 taels 2 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Canisters for the hyson, 20, at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Hyson and canisters together, 20 taels 2 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1.17 piculs, at 21 taels a picul, 24 taels 5 mace 7 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 2 chests, net 1.42 piculs, at 18 taels a picul, 25 taels 5 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 4 chests, net 4.61 piculs, at 12 taels a picul, 55 taels 3 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Sugar candy, 5 chests, net 10.53 piculs, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 80 taels 0 mace 2 candareens 8 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 26.07 piculs, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 125 taels 1 mace 3 candareens 6 cash Total, [...] Both invoices were dated at Canton on 26 December 1780, marked errors excepted, and signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper. **Interpretations** These were the goods the island ordered each year from China, and they show what St Helena could not produce. Tea came in five grades. Bohea was the cheapest black tea, at 12 taels a picul, and the island took most of it. Congou and singlo were better grades. Souchong and hyson were the finest black and green teas, priced by the catty and packed in canisters, and were probably meant for the Company's table and the senior officers. Sugar and sugar candy, a hard crystallised sugar, made up the largest single value. China ware was porcelain for the Castle and the island's households. Sago, the starch of a palm, was packed around the porcelain to stop breakage and then sold as food. Nankeen was a strong yellowish cotton cloth from the Nanjing district, used for clothing.

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			The tea, sugar and porcelain came from the same Canton supercargoes, Fitzhugh, Bevan and Raper, who managed the Company's whole China trade. A picul was about 133 pounds and a catty about a pound and a third. A tael was a Chinese ounce of silver, divided into 10 mace, each of 10 candareens, each of 10 cash. The 2 per cent allowed for breakage of the china ware was a standard deduction. It accepted that some porcelain would arrive broken, while the sago packing kept the loss down.
18	14	21st May Invoice of Ship Earl of Oxford. - Tales m. c. c. China Ware 3 Chests Tales 16. 4 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 4. 2. 8 [...] Sago packed with the China Ware Nt. Peculs 5. 5 Catties [...] 4. 8 15 9 7 2 Souchong 1 Chest Weight Nt. Catties 39 @ 36 Tales 14. 4 26 6 4 - Cannisters 20 @ 1.5 3. - 17 - 4 - Hyson 1 Chest at Nt. Catties 33 @ 40 13. 2. 4 Cannisters 20 @ 1.5 3. - 16 0 4 - Singlo 2 Do. at Nt. Peculs 1. 16 @ 21 24 3 6 - Congo 2 Do. at 1.43 @ 18 25 7 4 - Bohea 4 Do. 4.60 @ 12 55 2 - - Sugar Candy 4 Do. 8.88 @ 7.6 67 4 0 8 Sugar 17 Do. 26.41 @ 4.8 126 7 6 8 Tales 370 - 4 8 Canton 26 Decr. 1780 Errors Excepted Signed Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper Invoice of Ship Granby Tales m. c. c. China Ware 2 Chests Tales 30. 8. 7 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 7. 7. 4 30 - 9 3 Sago packed with the China Ware Nt. Peculs 1. 93 Catties @ 4. 8 9 2 6 4 Singlo 2 Chests weighing Nt. Peculs 1. 17 @ 21 24 5 7 - Congo 2 Do. 1.44 @ 18 25 9 2 - Bohea 4 Chests 4.38 @ 12 52 5 6 - Sugar Candy 5 Do. 10.79 @ 7.6 82 - - 4	Invoice of the ship *Earl of Oxford*: China ware, 3 chests, 16 taels 4 mace, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 4 mace 2 candareens 8 cash, 15 taels 9 mace 7 candareens 2 cash Sago packed with the china ware, net 5.55 piculs, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 26 taels 6 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Souchong tea, 1 chest, net 39 catties, at 3 mace 6 candareens a catty, 14 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Canisters for the souchong, 20, at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Souchong and canisters together, 17 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Hyson tea, 1 chest, net 33 catties, at 4 mace 8 candareens a catty, 15 taels 8 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Canisters for the hyson, 20, at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Hyson and canisters together, 18 taels 8 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1.16 piculs, at 21 taels a picul, 24 taels 3 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 2 chests, net 1.43 piculs, at 18 taels a picul, 25 taels 7 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 4 chests, net 4.60 piculs, at 12 taels a picul, 55 taels 2 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Sugar candy, 4 chests, net 8.88 piculs, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 67 taels 4 mace 8 candareens 8 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 26.41 piculs, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 126 taels 7 mace 6 candareens 8 cash Total, 378 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 8 cash Invoice of the ship *Granby*: China ware, 2 chests, 30 taels 8 mace 7 candareens, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 7 mace 7 candareens 7 cash, 30 taels 0 mace 9 candareens 3 cash Sago packed with the china ware, net 1.93 piculs, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 9 taels 2 mace 6 candareens 4 cash Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1.17 piculs, at 21 taels a picul, 24 taels 5 mace 7 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 2 chests, net 1.44 piculs, at 18 taels a picul, 25 taels 9 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 4 chests, net 4.38 piculs, at 12 taels a picul, 52 taels 5 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Sugar candy, 5 chests, net 10.79 piculs, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 82 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 4 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 26.68 piculs, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 128 taels 0 mace 6 candareens 4 cash Nankeen cloth, 1 chest of 100 pieces, at 3 mace 4 candareens a piece, 34 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Chest for the nankeen, 1, at 2 mace 5 candareens, 0 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Nankeen and chest together, 34 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Total, 386 taels 7 mace 2 candareens 5 cash Both invoices were dated at Canton on 26 December 1780, marked errors excepted, and signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper. **Interpretations** The supercargoes at Canton evidently split the island's yearly order across the whole China fleet. Each ship carried a near-identical share: two chests of singlo, two of congou, four of bohea, four or five of sugar candy and twelve of sugar, with porcelain and sago packing. Spreading the cargo meant that no single loss

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		Sugar 18 Do. 26.68 @ 4.8 128 - 6 4 Nankeen Cloth 1 Chest Cont. 1 ℔ pieces 100 @ 3.4 Tales 34 Chests 1 @ 2.5 2.5 34 2 5 - Tales 394 7 2 5 Canton 26 Decr. 1780 Errors Excepted Signed Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper	in wartime, whether to an enemy cruiser or to shipwreck, would deprive St Helena of a whole year's tea and sugar. The method echoed the Council's own practice of sending its letters by several ships at once. The prices for each grade of tea and for sugar were the same on every invoice, so the supercargoes bought the island's supply in one contract at fixed rates and simply divided it among the ships. Only the china ware and the nankeen cloth varied from ship to ship, probably because porcelain was packed into whatever space each chest allowed.
19	15	1781 - Invoice of Ship Britannia Tales m. c. c. China Ware 1 Chest Tales 22. 2. 3. 1 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 4. 4. 5 21 7 8 6 Singlo 2 Chests weighing Nt. Peculs 1. 17 @ 21 24 5 7 - Congo 1 Chest 71 at 18 12 7 8 - Bohea 3 Do. 3. 20 @ 12 38 4 - - Sugar Candy 6 Do. 13. 07 @ 7.6 99 3 3 2 Sugar 12 Chests 26. 21 @ 4.8 125 8 0 8 Nankeen Cloth 1 Chest Cont. 1 ℔ 100 @ 3. 4 Tales 34 Chests 1 @ 2.5 2.5 34 2 5 - Tales 356 9 2 6 Canton 26 Decr. 1780 Errors Excepted Signed Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper We this Day received the following Letter from Mr. George Allen Chief Officer of Ship True Briton. - To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Members of Council at St. Helena. - Honble. Sir & Sirs I beg leave to inform your Honors, of the Decease of Capt. Thos. Tinsdill late Commander of the Honble. Company's Ship True Briton the 18th Instant at this Presidency, and likewise of my being next in succession to the Command of the said Ship, to which I am humbly to Request your Honors will be pleased to appoint me. - I am, Honble. Sir and Sirs With greatest Respect, Your most Obedient Humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) George Allen 21st May 1781. -	Invoice of the ship *Britannia*: China ware, 1 chest, 22 taels 2 mace 3 candareens 5 cash, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 4 mace 4 candareens 5 cash, 21 taels 7 mace 9 candareens 0 cash Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1.17 piculs, at 21 taels a picul, 24 taels 5 mace 7 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 1 chest, net 0.71 piculs, at 18 taels a picul, 12 taels 7 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 3 chests, net 3.20 piculs, at 12 taels a picul, 38 taels 4 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Sugar candy, 6 chests, net 13.07 piculs, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 99 taels 3 mace 3 candareens 2 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 26.05 piculs, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 125 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Nankeen cloth, 1 chest of 100 pieces, at 3 mace 4 candareens a piece, 34 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Chest for the nankeen, 1, at 2 mace 5 candareens, 0 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Nankeen and chest together, 34 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Total, 356 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 2 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 26 December 1780, marked errors excepted, and signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper. That day the Council received a letter from George Allen, chief officer of the Company's ship *True Briton*, dated at St Helena on 28 May 1781. Allen reported that Captain Thomas [...]field, commander of the *True Briton*, had died on 16 May 1781. As next in line, Allen asked the Governor and Council to appoint him to command the ship. The Council's decision was entered on the next page. **Interpretations** The Company's rules settled who should take over a ship when her commander died at sea or in port. The chief officer stood next in succession, and Allen claimed the command on that ground. He could not simply assume it. The Governor and Council at St Helena held the Company's authority over its ships while they lay at the island, so a formal appointment from them was needed to give his command legal standing. Without it, his orders to the crew and his dealings with the ship's cargo and accounts might later be challenged by the owners or the Court. The Council made the same kind of appointment in April 1785, when it swore in Charles Gartyne to command the *Europa* after her captain died at the island.
20	16	21st May Upon receiving the above Letter we sent for Mr. George Allen and Swore him into the Command of	When the Council received Allen's letter, it sent for him and swore him in as commander of the *True Briton* until the Court of Directors made its own decision. It then gave him written orders, dated at St Helena on 28 May 1781.

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		the Ship True Briton until the Company's Pleasure be known and Delivered him the following Viz. - To Captain George Allen Commander of Ship True Briton Sir In Consequence of the Death of Capt. Thomas Tinsdill You are hereby appointed to take the Command and Charge of the Ship True Briton, until the Honble. the Court of Directors pleasure be known, and you are to pay due obedience to all such Orders and Instructions as the late Capt. Thos. Tinsdill may have received, Also such further Orders as you may receive from the Secret Committee. We wish you Success. - We are Sir Your humble Servants (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 21st May 1781. - We received the following Letter from Monsieur Mabire. - To the Governor and Council of the Honble. East India Company at St. Helena Gentlemen Having been informed by the Gentlemen Officers on board the Halswell, where I am that no Officer in the French Service could Land at St. Helena for reasons unknown to me, this order perhaps may have been given by the Court of England on account of some ill disposition & conduct of the Strangers who were Detained [...] for their Behaviour, but	The orders explained that, following the death of Captain Thomas Timbrell, Allen was appointed to take command and charge of the *True Briton* until the Court of Directors' wishes were known. He was to obey all the orders and instructions the late Captain Timbrell had received, together with any further orders he might receive from the Secret Committee. The Council wished him success. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the orders. The Council also received a letter from a Frenchman, Monsieur Mahé, addressed to the Governor and Council. Mahé wrote that the officers of the *Halsewell*, the ship in which he was travelling, had told him that no officer in the French service was allowed to stay at St Helena. He did not know the reason. He supposed the order might have come from the Court in England on account of some trouble caused by strangers who [...], and his letter continued on the next page. **Interpretations** Allen's appointment kept the *True Briton* bound by her late commander's orders. The Council did not draw up fresh instructions. It handed Allen the duties Timbrell had held and added the Secret Committee's authority over any new orders. In wartime the Secret Committee directed the routes and convoys of the Company's ships, so an acting commander had to answer to it as well as to the Court. The words "until the Court of Directors' pleasure be known" left the permanent command with London, where the ship's owners and the Court would decide whether Allen kept it. Mahé was a French officer travelling home in a Company ship in wartime, probably as a paroled prisoner or a passenger released under an exchange. The rule he complained of kept enemy officers off the island. St Helena's defences, garrison and stores were exactly what an enemy would want to know about, and a French officer ashore could observe them freely. A ban on French officers landing was a straightforward wartime precaution, whatever explanation Mahé was given.
21	17	1781 it cannot or ought not to be put in force towards Officers who surrendered by Capitulation and who according to the Second Article of the Capitulation, all the Gentlemen Officers who composed the Garrison of Pondicherry ought to be sent to France on board of Ships belonging to his Britannic Majesty and not by the way of China. As the Gentlemen of the Committee of Madras obliged us to take this Rout and having paid us before hand four months Subsistence on having the Ride for the four Months that those Ships were to stay in China. - I flatter myself Gentlemen, not only that you will permit me to come on shore to recover myself after the Fatigues of a four Months & 19 days Voyage, but likewise as it is usual, you will be pleased to allow me a Subsistence according to my Rank in lieu of my Board and Lodging, during the time the Ships shall remain here, in so doing, you will oblige him that has the Honor to be Gentlemen Your very humble and very	Mahé argued that the rule could not fairly be applied to officers who had surrendered by capitulation. Under the terms of surrender, all the officers of the garrison of Pondicherry were to be sent to France in ships belonging to the British Crown, not by way of China. The Committee at Madras had nevertheless made them travel that way, and had paid their keep in advance for the four months the ships were to stay in China. Mahé therefore hoped that the Governor and Council would let him come ashore to recover after a voyage of four months and 19 days. He also asked them, as was usual, to grant him an allowance suited to his rank in place of board and lodging while the ships remained at the island. He signed the letter on board the *Halsewell* on 19 May 1781. The Council directed the secretary to send Mahé its reply on board the *Halsewell*. It could not allow him ashore except to recover his health, and that need would have to be certified by the ship's surgeon. Even then, he would have to pay his own expenses, because the Council had no orders to advance any allowance to French officers being sent home. The reply continued on the next page. **Interpretations** Mahé was one of the French officers taken when Pondicherry, the chief French settlement in India, surrendered to the British in October 1778. The capitulation promised to send its officers home in British warships. The Madras authorities instead put them in the Company's China ships, which took them round by Canton and then home by St Helena, a far

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		obedient Servant On board the Halswell (Signed) Mabire May 19th 1781. - The Secretary was Directed to return him the following Answer Viz. To Monsieur Mabire on board Ship Halswell Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you, in answer to yours of the 19th instant that they cannot permit you to come on shore on any other account than for the Re-establishment of your Health which must be Certified by the Surgeon of the Ship, in which case you are to Defray your own Expences as they have Orders not to advance any Subsistence to French Gentlemen Officers &c. who may be sent	longer road. Mahé's argument was that the terms of surrender gave him rights as an officer on parole, including fair treatment on the voyage and an allowance in keeping with his rank. The Council conceded only what humanity required. It would let him ashore if a surgeon certified that his health needed it, but it would pay nothing, because it had no orders to support French officers. The ban on enemy officers landing protected the island's defences in wartime, and the Council would not weaken it for a general request. Spending Company money on an enemy officer's keep without authority would also have left the councillors answerable to the Court. The certificate rule gave Mahé a lawful way ashore while keeping the decision tied to a medical need, not to his rank or his reading of the capitulation.
22	18	21st May home upon the Honble. East India Company's Ships. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright - Secry. 21st May 1781. - The Executrix and Executors to the last Will and Testament of Gabriel Doveton Senr. deceased this day produced an Inventory of his Effects Appraised by Messrs. George Bird Samuel Knipe Senr. and Benjamin Mason Junr. who appearing declared they Valued the same to the best of their Judgements and the Widow that she produced every Article - We Ordered it to be Registered. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The reply to Mahé ended by noting that French officers were being sent home in the Company's ships. Britannicus Alexander Wright, the secretary, signed it at St Helena on 21 May 1781. The executrix and executors of the will of Gabriel Jacks senior, deceased, presented an inventory of his belongings. George Bird, Samuel Knipe senior and Benjamin Mason junior had valued them. The three valuers appeared before the Council and declared that they had valued the goods to the best of their judgement. The widow declared that she had produced every item. The Council ordered the inventory to be registered. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The Council acted as the island's probate court. A dead man's goods had to be valued by independent appraisers, who swore to their valuation, and the widow had to swear that nothing had been held back. Only then was the inventory registered as the official record of the estate. The two oaths protected the heirs and any creditors. The valuers could not undervalue the goods for a friend, and the widow could not keep items out of the reckoning. The same procedure later governed the estates of Major Graeme, Lieutenant Richardson and Captain Steel recorded in the Council's letters. The Jacks name links this estate to the Burnham estate, divided among Captain John Burnham's heirs in the same year. The Jacks share of that estate was held back because the right person to receive it could not yet be identified. Gabriel Jacks's death, recorded here, may explain why: his share would have to pass through his own estate before it could be paid.
23	19	26th May At a Consultation held on Saturday the 26th Day of May 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henry Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed Dated the 21 May 1781. - This Day died John Moore Private We this Day received the following Letter from Capt. John Johnston To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena - Gentlemen I am sorry to be under the Necessity of applying	The Council met at the Castle on Saturday 26 May 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 21 May 1781. John Moore, a private soldier, had died that day. The Council received a letter from Captain John Johnston of the *Granby*, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Johnston regretted having to ask for stores when the island was so short of them, and said nothing but real need would have made him do so. A survey of the *Granby*'s mainmast had found it badly defective. The carpenters all agreed that it was not safe to put to sea with the mast as it stood, and that it could be secured only by fixing a strong fish to it. The one he had on board was much too small, and he had nothing else that could be made into one. He

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		to you for Stores at a time when your Island is so much in want of them, and nothing but real distress compels me to trouble you. - On a survey that I have had upon the Granby's Main Mast it is found very Defective, and opening in two places. The Carpenters are all of opinion that it is not safe for me to proceed to Sea with it, in the Condition it now is and that it Cannot be secured without a Stout Fish being put on it, the one I have on board is much too small, nor have I any thing else that will make one. - Therefore must request that you will be so obliging as to order me one of your square Fir Logs, which my Carpenter says will answer the purpose of a Fish, and with which he can secure the Mast in such a manner, as to insure the Passage to England. - I am sorry to inform you that the Granby when at Sea on the twenty Fifth of April after a Gale of Wind suddenly sprung a Leake and has made at the rate of three feet and three feet and an half of Water in the Hour	therefore asked the Council to let him have one of the island's spare [...], which his carpenter said would serve as a fish and allow him to secure the mast well enough to reach England. Johnston added that on 25 April, after a gale, the *Granby* had suddenly sprung a leak at sea. She had since been taking in water at the rate of three to three and a half feet an hour, and his letter continued on the next page. **Interpretations** A fish was a long, curved length of timber lashed along a cracked or weakened mast to splint it, much as a splint holds a broken limb. A mainmast carried the heaviest sail, and a ship could not safely cross the Atlantic with one that might give way in a gale. Johnston needed a large, sound spar that could be shaped into a fish, and St Helena, almost bare of timber, could supply one only from its own stock of naval spares. His apology for asking shows that ships' captains knew how little the island had to give. A leak of three feet or more an hour meant the pumps had to be worked almost constantly. With a cracked mainmast as well, the *Granby* was in real danger. She was one of the five China ships whose supplies for the island had just been entered in the Council's records, and her cargo of tea for London was valuable. The Council had to weigh the island's thin stores against the safety of a laden Company ship.
24	20	26th May ever since, I am using every Means practicable to endeavour to get at it but cannot as yet find it, and I shall not be able to effect it, without first parting with part of the Cargo. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient & Humble Ship Granby Servant St. Helena Road (Signed) John Johnston 26th May 1781. - P.S. Since I wrote the above we have brought the Ship by the Stern but cannot get at the leak by two feet, nor can any thing be done without taking out One Gun, and part of the Cargo, the Bengal Ships may be able to give us some assistance. - (Signed) John Johnston To which the following Answer was returned. - To Captain John Johnston Commander of Ship Granby. - Sir In answer to your Letter of this Day I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that they have given Orders for your being supplied with the Piece of Timber necessary for fishing your Main Mast which they hope will fully answer the purpose. - I have further to acquaint you that they are much Concerned to find your Ship is in so leaky and bad Condition and that they are Ready to give you every assistance in their Power and receive any part of your Cargo into the Honble. Company's Warehouses, but at same time offer to your Consideration whether it would not be more advisable first, and	Johnston wrote that the ship had leaked steadily ever since. He was trying every practical means to reach the leak, but feared he could not do so without taking out part of the cargo. He signed the letter on board the *Granby* in St Helena roads on 26 May 1781. In a postscript Johnston added that since writing he had trimmed the ship down by the stern, but the leak still lay two feet out of reach. Nothing more could be done without unloading the guns and part of the cargo. He thought the Bengal ships might be able to help him. The Council directed the secretary to reply to Johnston that day. The Governor and Council had ordered him to be supplied with the timber he needed to fish his mainmast, and hoped it would serve the purpose fully. They were very concerned to hear that his ship was so leaky and in such poor condition. They were ready to give him every help in their power and to receive any part of his cargo into the Company's warehouses. At the same time they asked him to consider whether it would not be wiser to [...], and the reply continued on the next page. **Interpretations** Trimming a ship by the stern meant shifting weight aft so that her bow rose in the water. The aim was to lift a leak near the bow above the waterline, where the carpenters could reach it from outside. The *Granby*'s leak was still two feet too deep. The next step was to lighten her further by taking out heavy guns and cargo. On an open roadstead every cask and bale would have to come ashore through the surf in boats, with the risk of loss shown in the *Fox*'s rice landing earlier that year. The Council gave the timber for the mast at once, despite its scarce stores, and offered its warehouses for the cargo. It held back from directing Johnston how to deal with the leak and instead put a suggestion to him for his own judgment. Responsibility for the ship and her cargo stayed with her commander. If the Council ordered the cargo landed and something was lost, the blame could fall on the Company. By offering help and advice but leaving the decision to Johnston, the Council protected both the ship and itself.
25	21	1781 part of your Cargo necessary for lightning your Ship on board	The Council's reply suggested that Johnston might move the part of his cargo he needed to unload, to lighten the ship, into the Bengal ships then lying in the

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		the Bengal Ships now in the Road - Your Guns if thought proper to be sent on Shore may be landed at the Crane - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) John Doveton Sub. Secry. 26th May 1781. - We directed the following Letters to be wrote Captains, Johnston, White, Dowse, Pounsand Hutchinson. - Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that the Garrison at present is reduced to very great extremity from the Want of Salt Provisions, If it is in your power to give them any supply of that article they will esteem themselves much Obliged, and it will be rendering the Company a most essential service - Answer to the above is Requested by 10 OClock on Monday Next. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) John Doveton Sub. Secry. 26th May 1781. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	roads. If he thought it right to send his guns ashore, they could be landed at the crane. John Doveton, sub-secretary, signed the reply at St Helena on 26 May 1781. The Council also directed letters to be written to Captains Johnston, White, Downe, Pouncey and Hutchinson. Each was told that the garrison had been reduced to great hardship by a shortage of salt provisions. If any of them could spare a supply of salt meat, the Governor and Council would be much obliged, and the captain would be doing the Company a most valuable service. The Council asked for a reply by 10 o'clock on the following Monday. John Doveton, sub-secretary, signed the letters at St Helena on 26 May 1781. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The Council's advice to Johnston kept his cargo afloat rather than ashore. Landing tea and silk through the surf risked damage and loss, as the *Fox*'s rice had shown. Moving the cargo across to the Bengal ships lying alongside avoided the surf altogether, and kept the goods under the care of Company commanders until the *Granby* could take them back. Only the guns, heavy and hard to damage, were to come ashore by the crane. The letter about salt provisions shows how badly the island was off. The Council had already refused Captain Kerr flour and found every recent supply ship short in its deliveries. Now it admitted to five commanders that the garrison itself was in real want of salt meat. Salt beef and pork were the soldiers' staple ration, shipped out from England each year, and in wartime the store ships were late, short or lost. The China and Bengal fleets in the roads carried their own stocks for the voyage home, and the Council could only appeal to their commanders' goodwill, since it had no power to take their stores. The firm deadline for replies reflected the urgency of the garrison's position.
26	22	28th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th Day of May 1781 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was Read approved and Signed Dated the 26th May 1781 We received the following Letter from Captain John Johnston - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. - Gentlemen Since I wrote to you Yesterday to acquaint you of the Leaky situation of the Granby, I have now to inform you that we have discovered a part of the Leak but the Swell in the Road prevented our Doing any thing towards stoping it further than putting some Oakham in for the present which has had a very good effect, and the hand Engine that was constantly working the Water out of the Magazine is now still in six hours. We can now keep the Ship free with one Pump constantly going. - It would be a great satisfaction if you	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 28 May 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 26 May 1781. The Council received a further letter from Captain John Johnston of the *Granby*. Since writing about the leak, his crew had found part of it. The swell in the roads had stopped them doing more than packing it with oakum for the time being, but this had worked well. The engine that had been pumping water constantly out of the magazine now stood idle for six hours at a time, and a single pump kept going was enough to keep the ship free of water. Johnston asked the Council to order a survey by the commanders then in the roads, so that they could examine the ship and report on her condition. He now believed that once the guns were out and [...] the carpenters could stop the leak properly while the ship lay afloat in the roads. He added that he would be sorry, unless it was truly necessary, to break into the Company's tea, as his letter went on to explain on the next page. **Interpretations** Oakum was loose fibre picked from old rope and tarred, the standard material for packing seams and stopping leaks in wooden ships. Pressed into the opening from inside, it bought time until a proper repair could be made. Its success changed Johnston's position. The pumping engine, a chain or lift pump worked by men or a capstan, no longer had to run constantly, and the ship could be kept dry with one

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		would be pleased to order a Survey of the Commanders on Board to see and Report the state of the Ship. I am now of opinion that when the Guns are out and the Lower Tier of Chests are moved the Leak may be come at, and that we shall be able to stop as much of the Leak as can be Done a Float in this Road. - I should be sorry without a real necessity to break Bulk of the Honble. Company's Teas, as	ordinary pump. He no longer needed to lighten her drastically. To break bulk meant to open the hold and start unloading the cargo. Tea was the most valuable and most delicate goods a China ship carried. It took up moisture and lost its flavour if opened to damp air, and every chest moved risked damage. Johnston's reluctance protected the Company's sales in London. His request for a survey by his fellow commanders followed the usual practice. An independent report from experienced seamen would justify whatever course was chosen, whether landing cargo or repairing afloat, to the Company and to the ship's owners.
27	23	1781 many of the Packages come on board in very bad Condition, and by moving of them, they will be liable to much Loss and Damage. - I am just now favoured with your answer to my Letter of yesterday, and am much obliged for your permission of my having a piece of Timber to Fish the Main mast. - The putting of part of our Cargo if necessary on board the Bengal Ships in the Road, will certainly be more expeditious and safe, than landing it in the Condition it is. - If I remove any of the Guns, I shall be obliged to take the Guns on Board I shall land them to be moved at the Crane. - I am sorry to say our store of Salt Provisions is so small that I cannot give any supply to the Garrison, our great length of Passage twenty weeks from China, has Obliged us to lay [...] Bread and Salt Provisions to answer [...] that I have now only Bread and Salt sufficient to answer a moderate Passage to England. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. & humble Servt. Ship Granby (Signed) John Johnston St. Helena Road 27th May 1781. - In Consequence of the above Letter We wrote the subsequent one, to the several Commanders of the Ships now in the Road. - Sir Captain John Johnston having Reported to the Board the Ship Granby under his Command is in a very Leaky Condition, and requesting We would have a Survey taken of the Ship, by the Commanders of the Ships now here. We have therefore to require you to give your attendance on board the aforesaid Ship on such Day as Capt. Johnston	Johnston explained that many of the tea packages had come on board in very bad condition, and moving them would expose them to heavy loss and damage. He thanked the Council for its reply to his letter of the day before and for agreeing to let him have timber to fish the mainmast. If any cargo had to come out, he agreed that putting it on board the Bengal ships in the roads would be quicker and safer than landing it in its poor state. He also referred to landing the guns at the crane [...]. Johnston was sorry to learn how little salt provision the island had left, but he could give the garrison none. The passage from China had taken 20 weeks, his crew had been on short allowance of everything, and he now had barely enough to last the voyage to England. He signed the letter on board the *Granby* in St Helena roads on 27 May 1781. After reading the letter, the Council wrote to every commander of the ships then in the roads. Johnston had reported that the *Granby* was very leaky and had asked for a survey by the commanders present. Each commander was therefore required to attend on board the *Granby* on whatever day Johnston named, as the letter went on to set out on the next page. **Interpretations** Johnston's refusal of salt meat shows why the Council's appeal had little chance. A China ship came home on rations calculated for the whole voyage, and a passage of 20 weeks had already pushed his crew onto short allowance. Giving away salt meat at St Helena would have risked hunger before England. The island and the homeward fleets drew on the same scarce supplies in wartime, and a commander's first duty was to his own crew. The Council turned Johnston's request for a survey into a formal order to every commander in the roads. A survey ordered by the Governor and Council carried the Company's authority. Its report would bind the *Granby*'s owners and protect Johnston against any later charge that he had damaged the cargo or delayed the ship without cause. Asking all the commanders, not a chosen few, also made the verdict harder to dispute.
28	24	28th May may appoint for the purpose, and Report the Condition of her to Us accordingly. - We are Sir Your humble Servants St. Helena (Signed) John Skottowe 28th May 1781. - Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett Likewise Directed the Secry. to Write Capt. Johnston as follows. - To Captn. John Johnston Commander of Ship	The commanders were to be appointed for that purpose and to report in writing on the condition of the *Granby*. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the order at St Helena on 28 May 1781. The Council also directed the secretary to write to Captain John Johnston of the *Granby*. Britannicus Alexander Wright sent the letter at St Helena on 28 May 1781. The Governor and Council were glad to hear that he had found part of the leak, and hoped that once his ship was searched he would be able to stop it. They told him they had written to the commanders now in the roads, as he had asked, to survey the *Granby*. The commanders would attend on board on

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		Granby. - Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that they are happy to find you have Discovered a part of the Leak in your Ship and hope when the Weather will permit you will be able to stop the same. I am likewise to acquaint you in consequence of your being desirous of having a Survey taken of the Ship Granby that they have wrote to the several Commanders of the Ships now here, to give their attendance on board your Ship on such Day as you will appoint for the purpose, which you will please to Notify to them in writing. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 28th May 1781. -	whatever day he named, and would report to the Council in writing. **Interpretations** The order went out over the signatures of the full Council, not just the secretary. That gave the survey the Governor and Council's formal authority, so that each commander was bound to attend and to report in writing. A written report signed by several commanders could be sent to the Court of Directors and the *Granby*'s owners as independent evidence of her condition. The letter to Johnston, by contrast, came from the secretary alone. It informed him of the arrangement and left him to set the day, which kept the timing in the hands of the man responsible for the ship.
29	25	1781 We also received this Day the following Letter from Captain John Johnston. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. - Gentlemen I have the Pleasure to inform you that by clearing of the Granby's Main hold, and lifting the Timber Riders, We have fortunately found our principal Leak just before the Main step, the force of Water was astonishing. I am in hopes to be able to get it stoped effectually before Night. - I am Gentlemen Your Most Obedient & humble Servant Ship Granby St. Helena Road (Signed) John Johnston 28th May 1781. - Having received the above Letter from Captain John Johnston before the one wrote him this morning was Delivered, We ordered the following Postscript to be added. - P.S. Since writing the above Letter I have to inform you that the Governor and Council have received yours informing them of your having been so fortunate as to find the principal Leak of your Ship. And as they have already wrote to the several Commanders to make a Survey of your Ship, you will please to inform them whether it will be now necessary for them to do so. - We this day received the following Letter from Captain George Hutchinson -	The Council also received a second letter from Captain John Johnston that day, written on board the *Granby* in St Helena roads on 28 May 1781. He was pleased to report that his crew had cleared the *Granby*'s magazine and lifted the timber in the [...] bread room, and had found the leak just before the sternpost. The water was pouring in at an astonishing rate. He hoped to have it properly stopped before night. Johnston's letter reached the Council before its own letter to him had been sent, so the Council added a postscript. It said that since the letter was written, the Governor and Council had heard that he had found the main leak in his ship. The several commanders had already been warned to meet for the survey of his ship. He was to let them know whether it would still be needed. The Council also received a letter from Captain George Hutchinson that day, which was entered on the next page. **Interpretations** The leak lay low in the stern, just forward of the sternpost, the upright timber that carried the rudder. That explained why trimming the ship by the stern had failed to raise it within reach: the opening was in the deepest part of the after hull. Clearing the magazine and lifting the floor timbers let the carpenters reach it from inside, and they could then stop it properly without unloading any tea. Johnston had avoided both landing the cargo and transferring it to the Bengal ships. The Council's postscript shows it adjusting at once to the news. A formal survey by all the commanders was a serious step and would hold up several ships. Once the leak was found, the Council left it to Johnston to say whether the survey was still needed, so that no commander's time was wasted on an inspection that had become pointless.
30	26	28th May To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &c. &c. Council of St. Helena. - Worshipful Sir & Sirs In Consequence of the Letter received from you I have made an estimate of the Salt Provisions remaining on board the Britannia, & I am sorry to Report I can spare no Provisions of Beef which are Due. - I beg leave to represent to you that the	Captain George Hutchinson of the *Britannia* wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council at St Helena on 28 May 1781, answering their letter about salt provisions. He had worked out what remained on board the *Britannia*. He found that he could spare one puncheon of beef, which was on its way to the Castle. Hutchinson explained that the cattle killed so far for the *Britannia* had been very small, and a single animal did not feed the ship's company for a day. He now had only one more beast to kill, which would make up the quantity he had sent. If he could buy one

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		Cattle which have hitherto been killed for the Britannia were very small, and one Beast did not serve the Ships Company. I have now only one Beast more to kill, which makes up the quantity that was allowed for the Ship. Provided I can have some more live Cattle it will be the Means of enabling me to give a little further supply; for as the Beef is served out alternately one day Salt and one Day fresh meat. If I can not have more live Cattle, I shall not be able to spare more salt Provisions; as the time of our stay here may be uncertain; & in consequence must serve out Salt Provisions Daily. - It is my wish to Render the Company every service in my Power, by sparing what I possibly can with propriety. I am Worshipful Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient & humble Servt. St. Helena (Signed) George Hutchinson 28th May 1781. - P.S. I enclose you an Indent for some Provisions wanting for the Ship Britannia, if they can be spared. - The Secretary was Directed to return him the following Answer. -	or two more live cattle on the island, that would let him give a further supply. He suggested serving salt meat and fresh meat on alternate days. If he could get a few more cattle, he hoped to spare more salt provisions. Because it was uncertain how long the ships would stay, he could not part with more salt provisions [...]. He assured the Council that he wished to give the Company every service he could, and would spare whatever he could with propriety. In a postscript he enclosed an indent for provisions the *Britannia* needed, if the island could supply them. The Council directed the secretary to send the reply entered on the next page. **Interpretations** Hutchinson was the only commander who offered salt meat, and he proposed a trade. His ship was eating through fresh cattle bought on the island, and the beasts were too small to feed his crew for even a day each. If the island would sell him a few more live cattle, he could feed his men on fresh meat every other day and release more of his salt beef to the garrison. Fresh meat was better for a crew, and salt meat kept better for a garrison facing months before the next store ship. The bargain suited both sides. The size of the island's cattle tells its own story. St Helena's herds grazed on poor, overstocked pasture, and the Company had long struggled to raise beasts large enough to supply passing ships. Small cattle meant less beef per animal, and that was one reason the garrison depended on salt meat shipped from England. Hutchinson's uncertainty over how long the fleet would stay mattered too. In wartime, ships often waited at St Helena for a convoy, and a commander could not give away stores he might need for an unexpectedly long delay.
31	27	1781 To Captain George Hutchinson Commander of Ship Britannia Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acknowledge the Receipt of yours to them of this Date and that they are themselves much obliged to you for the supply of the Six Puncheons of Beef you have promised to spare, which they Request you will send on Shore as soon as possible. I am also to inform you that they have Ordered three more Cattle for the use of your Ship, which will amount to eight on the whole. And hope you may be able to give them a further supply of Salt Meat thereby. - With respect to your Demand of Flour I am Ordered to acquaint you the Governor and Council cannot at present comply with your Request, as they are in Daily expectation of receiving a supply of that article. As to the rest of your Indent the Storekeeper had Direction to furnish you with such, as can be spared from the Honble. Company's Stores. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 28th May 1781. - In Consequence of the Letters wrote Captains White, Dowse, and Pierce on the 26 Instant, they this	The secretary, Britannicus Alexander Wright, replied to Captain George Hutchinson of the *Britannia* at St Helena on 28 May 1781. The Governor and Council acknowledged his letter of that date and were much obliged to him for the puncheon of beef he had sent for the garrison. They had ordered three more cattle to be sent on board his ship as soon as possible. They hoped this would let him give the garrison a further supply of salt meat. As to his indent for stores, the secretary explained that the Governor and Council could not grant it. They were in want of those very articles themselves, and expected the storekeeper's reply to Hutchinson's indent to show that only a small quantity could be spared from the Company's stores. The Council also received replies from Captains White, Downe and Pouncey to its letter of 26 May. The three commanders wrote jointly. They were very concerned to learn of the garrison's distress for want of salt provisions. It was not in their power, however, to give any supply of salt provisions. John White signed the reply at St Helena on 28 May 1781 for the three of them. **Interpretations** The Council met Hutchinson's bargain at once. It sent him three live cattle, the trade he had proposed, in the hope of releasing more of his salt beef. It refused his request for stores in the same letter, because the island was short of exactly the goods he wanted. The Council could give fresh cattle, which the island bred, but not imported stores, which it could not replace. Of the five commanders asked, only Hutchinson gave anything. Johnston pleaded a long passage and short rations, and White, Downe and Pouncey refused together in a single brief reply. Their joint answer suggests they had agreed among themselves not to part with stores they might need on a wartime voyage. The garrison's salt meat now depended on one puncheon of

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		Day returned the following. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council Gentlemen I am much concerned and sorry to find by yours of the Distress of the Garrison as respecting Provisions. In answer to yours of the 26 Instant I can declare it is not in my Power to give them any supply of Salt Provisions. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient & humble Servt. St. Helena (Signed) John White 28th May 1781. -	beef and whatever Hutchinson could release in exchange for the island's cattle.
32	28	28th May To Mr. John Doveton Sub. Secry. Sir In Compliance of the Request of the Governor and Council, I am sorry to inform you that consistent with the safety of my Ship it is out of my Power to supply the Garrison with any Salt Provisions. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) Chas. Dowse May 28th 1781. - To Mr. John Doveton Sub. Secry. Sir I received yours of the 26th Instant and am sorry to say that it is entirely out of my Power to supply the Garrison with Provision of any kind, as I shall have hardly sufficient for my Ships Company. I am Sir Your most Obedt. Servant St. Helena (Signed) Rd. Pierce 28th May 1781 We received the following Letter from Mr. Saml. Wheadon of Ship Granby. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Council &c. of St. Helena. - Gentlemen Captain Johnston having thought proper to dismiss me from my Station as Second Mate of the Honble. Company's Ship Granby by a note under his Hand	Two further replies on salt provisions were addressed to John Doveton, the sub-secretary. Charles Downe wrote at St Helena on 28 May 1781. In answer to the Governor and Council's request, he said that the state of his ship made it impossible for him to supply the garrison with any salt provisions. R. Pierce wrote on the same day, answering the letter of 26 May. He was sorry to say that he could not supply the garrison with any provisions at all, since he had barely enough for his own ship's company. The Council then received a letter from Samuel Wheeldon of the *Granby*, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He wrote that Captain Johnston had thought fit to dismiss him from his station as second mate of the Company's ship *Granby* by a note in his own hand, and his letter continued on the next page. **Interpretations** Every commander but Hutchinson refused the garrison's appeal. Downe, who had already signed the joint refusal with White and Pouncey, sent a separate answer to the sub-secretary as well, and Pierce wrote that he could not spare even ordinary provisions. Their replies show the full extent of the shortage. The island could not feed its garrison on salt meat, and the ships in the roads could not help without endangering their own crews on the passage home. Wheeldon's letter opened a new matter. A commander could discharge an officer of his ship, but a mate dismissed abroad lost his pay and his place and was left far from home. Wheeldon turned to the Governor and Council because they held the Company's authority over its ships while they lay at the island. His complaint invited the Council to judge between a commander and one of his officers, a role it took on whenever disputes on board Company ships reached St Helena.
33	29	1781 - Dated April the 17th 1781 since which I have laboured under a very bad state of Health, and on my arrival here made application to him for permission to go on Shore, which he has positively refused, and keeps me a Prisoner on board the Granby. Therefore, having no alternative, beg your Protection and to visit & address Your worship and Council on my behalf and that which is Due to every British Subject. Apprehending as I stand Dismissed by his Order, he can have no authority to keep me in Confinement particularly as the most valuable Blessing my Health is at stake - I submit this my Request to your serious Consideration. - And am Gentlemen, with great respect.	Wheeldon wrote that Johnston's note was dated 17 April 1781. Since then he had suffered from very poor health. On arriving at St Helena he had asked Johnston for leave to come ashore and see the Governor and Council. Johnston refused, and kept him confined on board the *Granby* as a prisoner. Having no other remedy, Wheeldon begged the protection of the Governor and Council and asked them to act on his behalf as a British subject. He believed that once he had been dismissed from his post, Johnston had no authority to hold him in confinement, especially when his health was at stake. He left the matter to the Council's judgement. He signed the letter on board the *Granby* in St Helena roads on 26 May 1781. The Council directed the secretary to write to Captain Johnston and enclose a copy of Wheeldon's letter. Britannicus Alexander Wright wrote at St Helena on 28 May 1781. The Governor and Council had received a letter from Wheeldon saying that Johnston had dismissed him as second mate by a written order of 17 April, and that he had been in very poor health ever since. On arrival at the island, Wheeldon had

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		Your most Obedt. and very humble Servant Ship Granby (Signed) Saml. Wheadon St. Helena Road May 26th 1781. - In Consequence of the above Letter We directed the Secry. to write Captain John Johnston, and Mr. Saml. Wheadon as follows Viz. To Captain John Johnston Commander of Ship Granby Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you they have this Day received an address from Mr. Saml. Wheadon, informing them that you have Dismissed him from his Station as second Officer of your Ship by your written Order dated the 17th of April last, since which he has laboured under a very bad state of Health, That on his arrival here he applied to you for leave to come on Shore which you have positively refused but keep him a Prisoner on board said Ship. This they cannot think you have a right to do, therefore Desire you will permit him to come on shore for the reestablishment of his Health or assign to them your Reasons for Detaining him a Prisoner on board the Ship Granby I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 28th May 1781 -	asked leave to come ashore, which Johnston had flatly refused. He was still held prisoner on board the *Granby*. The Governor and Council therefore asked Johnston to send them in writing his reasons for keeping Wheeldon a prisoner on board after removing him from his post. **Interpretations** Wheeldon's complaint rested on a simple point of law. A commander could discipline an officer serving under him. Once Johnston had dismissed Wheeldon from the ship's company, he was no longer one of the crew. Holding him in confinement after that looked like imprisonment without any lawful authority. By appealing as a British subject, Wheeldon invoked a right that did not depend on the ship's discipline at all: no one could be held prisoner without cause. Being sick and denied the chance to come ashore at a port made his case more pressing. The Council handled the matter as it had handled the short deliveries of rice. It did not order Wheeldon's release or rebuke Johnston. It sent him Wheeldon's letter and asked for his reasons in writing. A commander might have good grounds for holding a man on board, such as a charge to be tried in England, and the Council would not act until it had heard both sides. The written answers gave it a record on which to decide, and one that could be sent to the Court of Directors if the dispute went further.
34	30	28th May To Mr. Samuel Wheadon of Ship Granby Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council, in Answer to your Address received this day, to acquaint you they have in consequence wrote Captn. Johnson to permit you to come on shore, which they doubt not, he will comply with. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 28th May 1781. This day the following Letters were received - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council Gentlemen I am much in want of Bread or Flour for the Ship Earl of Oxford, therefore by these you will be pleased to Order me to be supplied with thirty or forty hundred of Flour. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servant St. Helena 28th May 1781 (Signed) Jno. White To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Gov. &c. Council of St. Helena Worshipful Sir & Sirs I beg leave to request, that you will be pleased to Order me to have Fuel, Fruit, Coals and Fire Wood sufficient to serve my Ship to England as I have now only four Weeks Fuel remaining which is occasioned by the great length of our Passage from China, otherwise knowing the Scarcity of those Articles I would not ask to be supplied -	The secretary, Britannicus Alexander Wright, wrote to Samuel Wheeldon on board the *Granby* at St Helena on 28 May 1781. In answer to Wheeldon's letter, the Governor and Council had told him that they were asking Captain Johnston to allow him to come ashore. They did not doubt that Johnston would agree. Three more requests for supplies reached the Council that day. Captain John White wrote that the *Earl of Oxford* was badly short of bread or flour. He would be very glad to receive thirty or forty hundredweight of flour. He signed at St Helena on 28 May 1781. Captain Richard Pierce asked to be supplied with fuel, at least wood enough to serve his ship to England. He had now only four weeks' fuel left. The shortage came from the great length of his passage from China. Knowing how little the island had, he did not ask for any provisions. He signed at St Helena on 28 May 1781. George Allen, now commander of the *True Briton*, wrote to Governor Skottowe and to Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor. His ship was short of flour, and he asked for a supply from the Company's stores, as well as coal or wood if they could be spared. He signed at St Helena on 28 May 1781. The Council directed the secretary to send replies, beginning with one to Captain John White of the *Earl of Oxford*, entered on the next page. **Interpretations** The commanders who had refused the garrison salt meat that same day now asked the island for flour and fuel. Each was short of a different necessity after the long passage from China, and each turned to the island's stores. The Council faced the same squeeze from both sides: the ships could not spare provisions

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		I have the Honor to be Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient Servant St. Helena 28th May 1781. (Signed) Richd. Pierce To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. and Danl. Corneille Esqr. Lieutenant Governor &c. Gentlemen The Ship True Briton under my command being in want of Flour I beg leave to request you will Order me a supply from the Honble. Company's Stores, as also Coals, or Wood or Fire Wood they may be spared. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient humble Servant St. Helena 28th May 1781 (Signed) G. Allen To which the Secry. was directed to return the following Answers Viz. To Captn. Jno. White Commander of Ship Earl of Oxford Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council	for the garrison, and the garrison could barely spare anything for the ships. Fuel was a particular difficulty. St Helena's woods had been cut down for a century, and the Council's later leases pressed every tenant to plant trees because timber was so scarce. A ship's galley burned wood or coal every day to cook for the crew. Pierce's four weeks' supply would not last to England, and the island had little firewood to give. Pierce's admission that he knew the island's poverty and would not ask for provisions shows that every commander in the roads understood how thin the island's resources were.
35	31	1781 to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter to them of this Day's date requiring a supply of Bread or Flour for the use of the Ship Earl of Oxford. And to acquaint you that they must postpone giving an answer to your Demands at present, as they Daily expect to receive a supply of those Articles. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 28th May 1781. - To Capt. Richd. Pierce Commander of Ship Halswell Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter to them of this Day's date requiring a supply of Coals for the use of the Ship Halswell. And to acquaint you that they must postpone giving an answer to your Demands at present as they daily expect to receive a supply of that Article. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 28th May 1781. - To Captain George Allen Commander of Ship True Briton Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter to them of this Day's date requiring a supply of Flour &c. for the use of the Ship True Briton. And to acquaint you that they must postpone giving an answer to your Demands at present, as they Daily expect to	The secretary, Britannicus Alexander Wright, sent three replies at St Helena on 28 May 1781. To Captain John White of the *Earl of Oxford*, he acknowledged White's letter of that day asking for flour for his ship. The Governor and Council had to postpone giving an answer for the present, because they expected a supply of that article daily. To Captain Richard Pierce of the *Halsewell*, he acknowledged Pierce's letter asking for coals for the ship's use. The Governor and Council likewise had to postpone their answer, as they expected a supply of coals daily. To Captain George Allen of the *True Briton*, he acknowledged Allen's letter asking for flour and coals. The Governor and Council again had to postpone their answer for the present, as they were expecting a supply daily. **Interpretations** The Council did not refuse these requests outright, as it had refused Kerr's in April. It deferred them, explaining that fresh supplies of flour and coal were expected any day. The store ships from England were evidently overdue. Promising nothing until they arrived let the Council avoid giving away the last of its flour and fuel, while keeping open the chance of helping the China ships before they sailed. If the supply ships came in time, the commanders could be served from the new stock. If they did not, the island's garrison would still have something left. The same answer went to all three commanders, word for word in substance. A uniform reply meant no commander could claim he had been treated worse than another, which mattered when every ship in the roads was competing for the same scarce stores.
36	32	28th May receive a supply of those Articles. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 28th May 1781. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Wright's letter to Allen ended with the same assurance as the others: the Council was expecting a supply of those articles daily. He signed it at St Helena on 28 May 1781. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the meeting of 28 May 1781.

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37	33	30th May At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 30th day of May 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed Dated the 28th May 1781. - We this day received the following Letter from Captain Robert Ker - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council Gentlemen On applying at the Stores for the three Bags of Flour which you were pleased to grant by your letter of the 30th Ultimo, the Storekeeper refused to deliver more than one Bag as he had no order from the Council. I beg leave to Request you will give an Order for the Delivery of the other two as I am in immediate Want of them. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) Robt. Ker 30th May 1781. - The Secretary was Directed to return him the following Answer Viz.	The Council met at the Castle on Wednesday 30 May 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 28 May 1781. The Council received a letter from Captain Robert Kerr, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council and dated at St Helena on 30 May 1781. He had applied at the stores for the three bags of flour the Council had granted him in its letter of 30 April. The storekeeper had refused to deliver more than one bag, saying he had no order from the Council for more. Kerr asked the Council to order the other two bags to be delivered, since he was in immediate want of them. The Council directed the secretary to send Kerr the reply that followed. **Interpretations** Kerr had waited a month to collect flour the Council had promised him, and found the storekeeper would release only a third of it. Either the formal order to the stores had never been issued, or the storekeeper, watching his stock dwindle, held back for lack of written authority. Stores could leave the Company's warehouses only on a written order, so a promise in a letter to a captain was not enough to move them. Kerr's complaint exposed the gap between what the Council granted and what the storekeeper would hand over. With flour now so short that the Council was deferring every other request, the storekeeper had every reason to insist on the paperwork.
38	34	30th May To Captain Robert Ker Commander of Ship Prs. Royal Sir In answer to yours to the Governor and Council of this Day respecting their Order for Flour dated the 30th last Month, I am to inform you that you should have taken it out of the Stores at that time, but since that period the Flour being short, they have been under the necessity of putting the Company's Servants upon an allowance, and postponed giving an answer to the Demands of several of the other Commanders for that Article until a future opportunity, at which time your request will be taken into Consideration. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 30th May 1781 - We received the following Letter from Capt. John Johnston. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. - Gentlemen I have by your Order received a letter from your Secry. informing me that you have been applied to by Mr. Saml. Wheadon (whom I had on the 17th April last dismissed from his station of Second Mate of the Granby) for an order for him to be permitted to go on shore for the recovery of his Health, that he is in a bad state of Health is false, - and that he is confined	The secretary, Britannicus Alexander Wright, replied to Captain Robert Kerr of the *Princess Royal* at St Helena on 30 May 1781. The Governor and Council had read his letter about the order for flour granted on 30 April. They explained that if he had taken the flour from the stores at that time, he would have received the full amount. Since then, however, the Governor and Council had been forced to put the Company's servants on a reduced allowance, and to refuse the demands of the other commanders for that article. They could not grant his request until a new supply arrived. When that time came, his request would be considered. The Council also received a letter from Captain John Johnston of the *Granby*, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Johnston was sorry to learn from the Council's letter that Samuel Wheeldon had complained of being dismissed as second mate of the *Granby* on 17 April and asked leave to go ashore for the recovery of his health. Johnston said Wheeldon had never asked him for leave to go ashore, and he had never refused it. Wheeldon was in good health, and he was being held as a prisoner on board only because of his behaviour, as Johnston explained further. His charge against Wheeldon was that he had behaved in a way that would oblige Johnston to bring him before a court of [...], and his letter continued on the next page. **Interpretations** The Council's answer to Kerr shows how far the shortage had gone. The island's own Company servants were now on short allowance of flour, and the Council told Kerr plainly that it could not give a passing ship what it was denying its own people. Its April grant had been made when stocks were higher, and Kerr had lost his chance by not collecting it. The Council would not honour an old promise at the expense of the garrison. Instead it put him on the same footing as the other commanders, to be considered when the store ships arrived.

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		a Close Prisoner is false also and that (from his behaviour) he ought to be. - My Charge against him is Piracy of your Honble. Board as imposed to hold a Court of Admiralty,	Johnston contradicted Wheeldon on every point. Wheeldon said he was ill and had been refused leave to land; Johnston said he was well and had never asked. The real issue lay in Johnston's charge. A mate held under arrest for misconduct, pending a court on his return, was a lawful prisoner on board, and his dismissal did not end the commander's authority over him until the charge was tried. The Council now had two flatly opposed accounts and would have to judge between them.
39	35	1781 - I am ready to deliver him up to the Officers of Justice. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servant Ship Granby (Signed) John Johnston St. Helena Road 29th May 1781. - To which the Secretary was Directed to return him the following Answer. - To Captain John Johnston Commander of Ship Granby Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of yesterday in answer to theirs respecting Mr. Saml. Wheadon your Second Officer being permitted to come on shore for the reestablishment of his Health, but as you have informed them, you have a Charge of Piracy against the said Mr. Wheadon, And they having no power to hold a Court of Admiralty, the above Charge of Course cannot come under their Cognizance. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 30th May 1781 - The Secretary was likewise Directed to Write Mr. Saml. Wheadon the following Letter - To Mr. Saml. Wheadon of Ship Granby Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you they have received a Letter from Capt. John Johnston in answer to theirs respecting your Business wherein he informs	Johnston said he was ready to hand Wheeldon over to the officers of justice. He signed the letter on board the *Granby* in St Helena roads on 29 May 1781. The Council directed the secretary to reply. Britannicus Alexander Wright wrote to Johnston at St Helena on 30 May 1781, acknowledging his letter of the day before about Samuel Wheeldon, sent in answer to the Council's letter asking him to let Wheeldon come ashore for the recovery of his health. Johnston had informed the Council that he had a charge of piracy to bring against Wheeldon. The Governor and Council had no power to try a charge of piracy against him, because that offence came under the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty alone. The Council also directed the secretary to write to Wheeldon. The letter to him began on the next page, informing him that the Governor and Council had received a letter from Captain Johnston in answer to theirs about his case. **Interpretations** Johnston's charge changed the case entirely. Piracy was among the gravest offences at sea and carried the death penalty. It could be tried only by a court of Admiralty, under commissions issued by the Crown, and the Governor and Council of St Helena held no such commission. They could settle disputes over stores, discharges and leases, but they could not try a man for a capital crime committed at sea. Once Johnston named piracy, the Council could neither release Wheeldon nor sit in judgment on him. It could only record that the matter was beyond its authority. That left Johnston's detention of Wheeldon standing. A man accused of piracy could lawfully be held in custody until he reached a court that could try him. The Council's earlier assumption, that it was dealing with a sick officer unjustly confined after dismissal, gave way to a criminal charge it had no power to judge. Whether the charge was genuine or a weapon in a quarrel between captain and mate, the Council's hands were tied.
40	36	30th May them he has the Charge of Piracy against you, and is ready to Deliver you up to the Officers of Justice, provided they are empowered to hold a Court of Admiralty. I am therefore to acquaint you that having no authority to hold such Court, they cannot take cognizance of a Charge of that nature. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 30th May 1781. - James Parfet Publican maketh complaint that Andrew Stark Matross makes a practice of Clandestinely getting on Shore Spirituous Liquors from the Ships and Retailing the same (in Captain Solomon Fitzmaurice's Square) contrary to Orders, which being Proved before Us upon the Oaths of Thomas Hayward, Inhabitant,	The letter to Wheeldon, signed by the secretary, Britannicus Alexander Wright, at St Helena on 30 May 1781, told him that Johnston was bringing a charge of piracy against him. Johnston was ready to hand him over to officers of justice who had power to try him in a Court of Admiralty. The Governor and Council had no authority to hold such a court and could not take notice of a charge of that kind. James Parfet, a publican, then complained to the Council about Andrew Stark, a matross. Parfet said Stark had made a habit of secretly obtaining spirituous liquor from the ships and selling it on shore. The latest instance was liquor from Captain Solomon St Maurice's ship, sold contrary to orders. Parfet proved his complaint on the oaths of Thomas Haughan, an inhabitant, Thomas Tilly, a sergeant, John Wynold, a drummer, Thomas Rogers, a private, and Charles Holloway, a fife major. The Council found the case proved. Stark was unable to pay the fine of £20 0s 0d laid down by the Company's orders. The Council therefore ordered him to be tried by a court martial.

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		Thomas Tilly Sergeant, John Reynold Drummer, Thomas Rogers Private and Charles Holloway Fife Major. We therefore Determined as the said Stark is not able to pay the fine of twenty pounds, agreeable to the Honble. Company's Orders, to try him by a Court Martial. John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The complaint came from a publican, and his motive was plain. Licensed publicans paid for the right to sell drink on the island, and a soldier smuggling spirits off the ships and selling them cheaply undercut their trade. The Company forbade unlicensed sales for its own reasons. Cheap liquor among the soldiers led to drunkenness and disorder, and the licences brought revenue. Parfet's interest and the Company's rules ran in the same direction, so his complaint was readily heard. The punishment shows how the island enforced its orders against men who could not pay. The fixed fine of £20 0s 0d was far beyond a matross's means, since it equalled more than a year's pay. A civilian who could not pay might be imprisoned. A soldier could be handed to a court martial instead, where he would face military punishment, usually flogging. The fine therefore worked as a real penalty only for those with money, while for the garrison's own men the court martial supplied the deterrent. The five witnesses included a sergeant, a drummer, a private and the fife major. Stark's own comrades gave evidence against him, which suggests the smuggling was well known in the garrison and that the authorities could find soldiers willing to testify.
41	37	2nd June At a Consultation held on Saturday the 2nd day of June 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 30th May 1781. - We received the following Letter from Capt. John Johnston Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. - Gentlemen I am informed that you have taken up, as a Recruit, one David Wickeds who is a Seaman belonging to the Ship Granby and whom I entered at Madras with many others, I must observe to you that if I am deprived of this Seaman that it will greatly distress me, as the Ship is very weakly Manned, by having none of my best Seamen since we sailed from China. - I therefore must Request of you, that you will be pleased to order the said David Wickeds to be delivered to me again. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servt. Ship Granby (Signed) John Johnston St. Helena Road 1st June 1781. - To which the following Answer was returned. -	The Council met at the Castle on Saturday 2 June 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 30 May 1781. The Council received a letter from Captain John Johnston, written on board the *Granby* in St Helena roads on 1 June 1781. He had been told that the island's authorities had taken up a deserter named David Kitchen, a seaman of the *Granby* who had deserted at Madras along with many others. Johnston told the Council that the loss of these men had greatly weakened his ship, which was very short-handed and had shipped none of its own men since leaving China. He therefore asked that the Council order David Kitchen to be handed back to him. The Council's reply followed on the next page. **Interpretations** Seamen often deserted Company ships in Indian ports, where they could join country ships at higher wages or find work ashore. Each man lost made the homeward voyage harder for those left, especially a ship like the *Granby*, already leaking and with a cracked mainmast. Johnston had been unable to replace his losses in China, so every recovered deserter mattered. Kitchen had somehow reached St Helena, perhaps in another ship, and been taken up there. A deserter remained bound by his engagement to the ship he had left, so Johnston could rightly claim him back. As with the stores and the dismissed mate, he applied to the Governor and Council, who held authority over anyone taken up on the island.
42	38	2nd June To Captain John Johnston Commander of Ship Granby Sir I am Directed by the Governor and	John Doveton, the sub-secretary, replied to Johnston at St Helena on 1 June 1781. The Governor and Council regretted that they could not grant his request to hand back David Kitchen, the man who had deserted the *Granby* at Madras. The Company's orders

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		Council to acquaint you in answer to yours addressed to them of this days date, respecting the having Entertained David Wickeds a Deserter from Madrass, that it is the Honble. Company's Orders to them to entertain all such Persons who shall deliver themselves up as deserters from any of their Settlements, which being founded in the present Case, he has accordingly enlisted him to serve for five Years in this Garrison. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) John Doveton Sub. Secry. 1st June 1781. - We this day received the following Letter from Mr. Saml. Wheadon. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. - Gentlemen I have received your last letter by your order, in answer to my request which was with an astonishment and Horror I find myself accused by a most Conscious of his innocence, and Conscious myself that the Charge preferred against me is Totally false and being still & being myself in the Hands of Justice the Charges and the Commander of my Ship of which I am entirely innocent I must beg your Worships protection and that I may admit me on Shore under Bail to oblige Captain Johnston to give you more proof of my guilt than his bare assertion. - When you consider your Worship's that I find no other ground for so having an accusation, the I [...] the no further, but submit, the Laws of my Country what David every Power. -	forbade them to receive as deserters any persons who had come to the island from any of its settlements. Kitchen had been taken on in the garrison, and he was accordingly entered as a soldier. The Council also received a letter from Samuel Wheeldon, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He had received their last letter in answer to his request to be allowed ashore. He was very surprised to read in it that Captain Johnston accused him of piracy. Wheeldon said he was conscious of his own innocence. He had heard that Johnston had charged him with having helped to bring all the Company's [...] goods on board, together with the [...] of the *Granby*, while the ship was at [...]. If he had done wrong, it had been on the orders of Captain Johnston himself, whose officer he had been. Wheeldon now asked the Council to require Johnston to state the charge in a form that could be properly answered, and his letter continued on the next page. **Interpretations** The Council's refusal rested on a standing order of the Company. A man who had reached St Helena from one of the Company's settlements was not to be returned as a deserter. The island's garrison was always short of men, and recruits from passing ships were a valuable source of soldiers. Kitchen had already been enlisted, so he now belonged to the Company's own service. Returning him to the *Granby* would have meant taking a soldier out of the garrison to strengthen a private ship's crew. The order put the Company's need for soldiers ahead of a commander's claim to his seamen. Wheeldon's defence turned Johnston's accusation back on the captain. If the goods had been loaded improperly, Wheeldon said, he had done so under Johnston's own orders. That suggests the dispute concerned private trade carried on board in breach of the Company's rules, with each man now blaming the other. By calling it piracy, Johnston put the case beyond the Council's reach, and Wheeldon's request that the charge be put in proper form was his only means of answering it.
43	39	1781 In the mean time give me leave to assure you, I have no motive in coming on shore, but a desire of reestablishing my Health which I am assured by several Gentlemen Surgeons in the Fleet is absolutely necessary - relying on your Worships Humanity I beg leave to subscribe myself Gentlemen Your Obedt. Hble. Servant Ship Granby (Signed) Saml. Wheadon St. Helena Road June 1. 1781.) In Consequence of the above Letter the Secretary was Directed to Write Captain Johnston and Mr. Wheadon as follows: - To Captain John Johnston Commander of Ship Granby Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that they have received a second address from Mr. Samuel Wheadon wherein he expresses much astonishment and horror at the Charge of Piracy which you have accused him of, being conscious of his own innocence and is ready to give Bail or submit himself to a Guard on permission of coming on shore for the	Wheeldon added that, meanwhile, he still wished to come ashore to restore his health. Several surgeons in the fleet had assured him that this was absolutely necessary. He relied on the Council's humanity. He signed the letter on board the *Granby* in St Helena roads on 1 June 1781. The Council directed the secretary to write to both Johnston and Wheeldon. Britannicus Alexander Wright wrote to Johnston at St Helena on 2 June 1781. The Governor and Council had received a second letter from Wheeldon, in which he again pressed his wish to come ashore for the recovery of his health. He was conscious of his innocence of the charge of piracy Johnston had brought against him, and was ready to give bail on shore for his appearance to answer it. He would also submit himself to a guard on shore, if Johnston agreed, while he recovered. Since the surgeons in the fleet considered it absolutely necessary for his health, and because the Governor and Council had no power to intervene in the matter, they could only recommend it to Johnston's humanity to allow Wheeldon to come ashore for that purpose. **Interpretations** The Council found a narrow path between Wheeldon's plea and its own lack of jurisdiction. It could not try the charge or free Wheeldon. It could, however, pass on his offer of bail and of a guard ashore, which met Johnston's concern that an accused man might escape. With the surgeons' opinion behind it, the Council appealed to Johnston's humanity. It did not order him, because it could not, but the recommendation put the matter on record. If

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		reestablishment of his Health which he is assured three several Surgeons of the Fleet are of opinion is absolutely necessary. They therefore as his Health is at stake and no power to hold in this to enter into the Merits of this affair have only to recommend to your humanity to permit him to come on Shore for that purpose. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 2 June 1781. -	Wheeldon's health suffered, the responsibility would lie plainly with the commander who had refused a reasonable and guarded request.
44	40	2nd June To Mr. Saml. Wheadon of Ship Granby Sir I have the Orders of the Governor and Council to acquaint you in answer to yours of this Day, they have again recommended to Captain Johnston to permit you to come on shore for the recovery of your Health, which if he refuses it is out of their Power to proceed any further in the affair. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 2 June 1781. - On the 1st June We received the following Letter from Captain Charles Deane. - To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena Gentlemen The Honble. Company's Ship Earl of Sandwich having a dangerous leak in her Bows and notwithstanding all the efforts I have used to get at it are insufficient, I find it further necessary to remove a part of the Honble. Company's Teas in the fore hold and have liberty of sending the same on board the Honble. Company's Ships Walpole and True Briton, of which I thought proper to give you notice not Doubting your Permission. - I am Gentlemen Your Obedt. Hble. Servant St. Helena (Signed) Charles Deane 2 June 1781. - To which the following Answer was returned. -	Wright wrote to Samuel Wheeldon on board the *Granby* at St Helena on 2 June 1781. In answer to his letter of that day, the Governor and Council had again recommended to Captain Johnston that he allow Wheeldon to come ashore for the recovery of his health. If Johnston refused, the Council had no power to proceed further in the matter. On 2 June 1781 the Council also received a letter from Captain Charles Downe, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. The Company's ship *Earl of Sandwich* had a dangerous leak in her bows. Despite every effort, his crew had found it impossible to reach it. To stop it properly, part of the Company's tea would have to be moved from the fore hold. He asked the Council's permission to send it on board the Company's ships *Walpole* and *True Briton*, and expected the Council to grant it. The Council's answer followed on the next page. **Interpretations** The Council told Wheeldon plainly that it had reached the limit of its authority. It had twice urged Johnston to let him ashore, but on board his own ship a commander's word stood unless a court with proper jurisdiction intervened. The record left Johnston answerable for his refusal and set out clearly that the island's government had done all it could. Downe's request followed the course the Council had advised for the *Granby*. A leak in the bows could only be reached by lightening the fore part of the ship, which meant moving the tea stowed there. Shifting the chests directly into other Company ships in the roads avoided landing them through the surf, kept them under the care of Company commanders and spared them exposure to damp on shore. Downe asked permission because the tea belonged to the Company and its removal from his ship had to be authorised.
45	41	1781. - To Captain Charles Deane Commander of Ship Earl of Sandwich Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform you they have received yours of this day, and that they approve of your sending part of the Honble. Company's Teas on board the Ships Walpole and True Briton, at same time consider you have already applied to the Commanders for that Liberty. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) Thos. Bazett Writer 2nd June 1781. - The Governor and Lieutenant Governor informs the Gentlemen of Council that they request	Thomas Bazett [...] replied to Captain Charles Downe of the *Earl of Sandwich* at St Helena on 2 June 1781. The Governor and Council approved his sending part of the Company's tea on board the *Walpole* and the *True Briton*, since he had already asked their commanders for leave to do so. The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor then told the members of the Council that they had called them together to consider the state of the island's salt provisions and flour. The situation had become very alarming. The *Hind* cutter had been sent to Rio de Janeiro on 29 November 1780 for a thorough repair, and the snow *Betsy* to the Cape of Good Hope on 27 February 1781 for salt provisions. Neither had returned, which raised fears for their safety, and the store ships expected that year had not arrived. The Council was also to decide whether, in these circumstances, it would be wise to send the Company's ship *Britannia* to the Cape of Good Hope for a supply of provisions. If that course were adopted, it would also have to decide what to do with her cargo.

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		their attendance to take into consideration the present state of the Island respecting Salt Provision and Flour, as the loss of the Cutter and non Arrival of the expected Store Ship of this Year renders its situation very alarming more particularly as the Hind Cutter that was dispatched to Rio Janeiro on the 29th Novr. 1780 for a thorough Repair; and the Betsy Snow on the 27 February last to the Cape of Good Hope for Salt Provision were neither of them yet returned, which makes the apprehension apprehensive for their safety, likewise to deliberate whether under these Circumstances it would not be advisable to Dispatch the Honble. Company's Ship Britannia to the Cape of Good Hope for a supply of Provision. And further to take into consideration the disposition of her Cargoe, should that measure be adopted. - The Board taking it into Consideration the above Minute, Ordered a State of Provisions now in the Store to be laid before them which is as follows. - 58 Pcs. Beef 44 Do. Pork 506 . . . 12 Flour	Having considered the minute, the Council ordered an account of the provisions remaining in the stores to be laid before it. Beef, 58 [...] Pork, 44 [...] Flour, 506 [...] 12 **Interpretations** The Governor's minute laid bare why the island was so short. St Helena had three lifelines for food: the yearly store ships from England, its own cutter and snow sent to buy provisions at Rio de Janeiro and the Cape, and whatever passing ships would spare. In 1781 all three had failed at once. The store ships were late in wartime. The *Hind* had gone to Rio for repairs six months earlier and the *Betsy* to the Cape more than three months earlier, and both were overdue. The Council's later letters confirmed the fear for the *Betsy*: she was taken by the French in Table Bay that year. The commanders in the roads had already refused to spare salt meat. Sending the *Britannia* to the Cape was a drastic remedy. She was a Company ship homeward bound from China with a valuable cargo, and diverting her meant either keeping that cargo on board on a dangerous wartime voyage or landing it on the island. The Council would not consider it without first counting exactly what remained in its stores. The account of beef, pork and flour was the evidence on which the decision would turn.
46	42	2nd June - Finding by those Remains they have only eleven Weeks Flour at short allowance, and the Salt Provisions quite expended. That their application to the Captains of the China Ships now here for assistance in the article of Salt Provisions have proved ineffectual, as appears by their respective Answers entered in Consultation 28th Ultimo. It further appears by the state of Provisions laid before the Secret Committee by the Commanders of the other six Ships, that they cannot afford the Island any relief. To add still to our distresses, We are particularly unfortunate in the want of Boat Cordage and every other article of Tackling for the use of Fishing. Whereby We are deprived in great measure of that Resource. - Thus Circumstanced they most seriously consider the absolute and unavoidable necessity of falling upon Measures to prevent the fatal consequences that may attend the Garrison and Islanders in general in such a dilemma. And the most eligible Resource that now offers seems that proposed in the aforesaid Minute, "Of sending the Britannia to the Cape for Relief." But as it is a Measure of the most serious nature and not to be adopted but under the most absolute necessity, have agreed; provided there should be no supply arrive before the 30th Instant. Again to take the proposed measure into consideration at that period. And further should such Resolution be adopted to consider whether it will be most to the advantage of the Honble. Company to forward the Cargoe of said Ship by any of the Ships now in the Road, which may be able to take it, or detain it here, until her return. - They do further observe that the severe Drought which the Island has sustained for these two Years past, has already greatly reduced the Stocks	The account showed that the island had only eleven weeks' flour left at the reduced allowance, and that the salt provisions were almost exhausted. The Council's appeals to the captains of the China ships for help with salt provisions had failed, as their answers entered in the consultations of 26 and 28 May 1781 showed. The account of provisions laid before the special committee also showed that the commanders of the other six ships could spare nothing for the island. The garrison's distress was made worse by the lack of boats, cordage and every other article for fishing, which deprived the island of a great part of what fishing could otherwise supply. The Council considered these circumstances with great seriousness. It was absolutely necessary to adopt some measure to prevent the fatal consequences that might follow if the garrison and inhabitants were reduced to such extremity. Since no other course remained except the one proposed in the minute, sending the *Britannia* to the Cape, the Council agreed to it. It did so with great reluctance, knowing the measure was contrary to the Court's orders, and only because the most absolute necessity drove it. The Council noted that on 30 May 1781 it had considered the same measure without reaching a decision. It also intended to consider whether it would be to the Company's advantage to transfer the *Britannia*'s cargo into other ships now in the roads, or to land it here until she returned. The Council further observed that the island had already suffered a two years' drought, which had greatly reduced the stock of cattle. Any further loss of cattle would bring ruin to the inhabitants, who could not exist without them. **Interpretations** The Council knew it was breaking the Court's orders. A Company ship homeward bound from China was meant to sail straight to England with her cargo, and only the Court could divert her. The Council recorded its reluctance, the failure of every other expedient and the "most absolute necessity" because it would have to justify the decision in London. Eleven weeks of flour at short allowance, almost no salt meat, a fleet that would not share, and the island's own

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		of Black Cattle &c. And unless Provident by some timely supply we must fall [...] [...]. As they must be under the necessity of calling for the assistance for the support	supply ships missing: the minute set out the evidence point by point, so that the Court could see the alternative was hunger. Fishing might have filled part of the gap, but the island lacked boats, line and nets. The drought of two years had thinned the herds, and killing more cattle to feed the garrison would ruin the planters who depended on them. Every source of food on the island was exhausted at once. The Council's choice was between disobeying the Court and risking a starving garrison, in wartime, on an island no relief could reach quickly.
47	43	4th June of the Garrison even from the Breeding Stocks, which evidently must prove of ruinous consequence to the Island. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th Day of June 1781 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 2 June 1781. - We this day received the following Letter from Captain John Johnston. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. - Gentlemen I have by your Orders received a Letter from your Secretary, informing me that you have been addressed a second time by Mr. Saml. Wheadon (whom I have charged with Piracy, on board the private Ship of Wear the Granby) for permission for him to go on Shore for the reestablishment of his Health. I mentioned to you in my last Letter that he was not in a bad state of Health, and I repeat the same to you now, **Margin Notes:** x	Feeding the garrison from the breeding stock, the Council concluded, would evidently ruin the island. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of 2 June 1781. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 4 June 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 2 June 1781. The Council received a letter from Captain John Johnston, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He had received their orders in the secretary's letter, telling him that Samuel Wheeldon had applied a second time to come ashore. Johnston reported that Wheeldon, whom he had charged with piracy, had now been taken on board the private ship *Brilliant*, [...] having obtained his permission to go there for the benefit of his health. Johnston had mentioned in his last letter that Wheeldon was in a bad state of health, and had inspected the [...], and his letter continued on the next page. **Interpretations** The breeding stock was the island's capital in cattle. Herds already thinned by two years of drought could not be killed to feed the garrison without leaving the planters nothing to rebuild from. The Council's last sentence closed the argument for sending the *Britannia* to the Cape: there was no food left on the island that could be taken without destroying its future. Johnston resolved the Wheeldon affair on his own terms. He did not let him ashore at St Helena, as the Council had twice urged. He moved him instead to the *Brilliant*, a private ship in the roads, which gave Wheeldon a change of quarters for his health while keeping him in shipboard custody and out of the Council's reach. The prisoner stayed at sea, under the authority of the commanders, and the charge of piracy stayed with the Court of Admiralty.
48	44	4th June or have I ever been informed from the Surgeon that he has made any Complaint since the date of the Enclosed List (which I have taken (Viz. 10 of [...] April last) but what he has brought upon himself by intemperance and irregularity. To the feelings of humanity I am as sensible as any Man but I must and have in gratitude, I know as well what I owe to the if your Honble. Board extends empowered to take Cognizance of the Charge I have made against him, I shall carry him a Prisoner to England and Deliver him up to be tried by the Laws of his Country. - I am Your most Obedt. humble Servant Ship Granby (Signed) John Johnston 4th June 1781. - Ordered the following advertisement	Johnston went on to say that the *Granby*'s surgeon had told him Wheeldon had never reported any complaint of ill health before the date of Johnston's earlier letter, which he enclosed with the surgeon's report. What illness Wheeldon had brought on himself through intemperance and irregular living. Johnston had shown him as much kindness as humanity required, but had met only insults and ingratitude in return. If the Governor and Council would give him the support and authority needed to take cognisance of the charge he had made against Wheeldon, he would gladly ask for no more. He would bring Wheeldon to England to answer at the Admiralty, as the laws of the country required. Johnston signed the letter on board the *Granby* on 4 June 1781. The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 4 June 1781. Planters on the island were required to attend at the secretary's office on or before 11 June 1781 and give in an account of the number of black cattle they held.

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		to be published Viz. Island St. Helena 4th June 1781. - Notice is hereby given to all the Planters upon the said Island that they are required to send into the Secretary's Office on or before the 11th Instant an exact return of the Number of Black Cattle each of them have. By order of Council (Signed) B. Wright Secry. John Holliday and John Ferguson Privates this Day Petitioned for their Discharges from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company their Contracted times. Granted. -	Britannicus Alexander Wright, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. John Holliday and John Ferguson petitioned that day for their discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of their engagements. The Council granted it. **Interpretations** Johnston's letter reversed Wheeldon's story of sickness. According to the ship's surgeon, Wheeldon had reported no illness until his complaint to the Council, and whatever was wrong with him came from drink and disorderly living. Johnston now asked the Council for nothing more than backing in taking his prisoner home for trial. Since piracy belonged to the Admiralty, a commander who held an accused man and carried him to England was doing exactly what the law required, and the Council had no ground to stop him. The order to count the black cattle followed directly from the Council's decision two days earlier. It had resolved not to feed the garrison from the breeding stock, but it now needed to know exactly what the island held. Black cattle meant ordinary beef cattle. A census of every planter's herd would show how much fresh meat could be spared in an emergency without ruining the farms, and it would give the Council firm figures to send to the Court with its account of the island's distress. Holliday and Ferguson's discharges continued the steady loss of men from the garrison. Even in this crisis, the Council could not hold a soldier whose time had run out.
49	45	1781 Being in great want of Pease for the use of the Garrison, have purchased twenty five and an half Bushels at Seventeen Shillings ℔ Bushel, amounting to £ 21 . 13 . 6, which being too high a Price for the Soldiers to Purchase them at, we have Ordered the Storekeeper to serve them at the usual price. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The garrison was in great want of peas, so the Council had bought twenty-five and a half bushels at seventeen shillings a bushel, a total of £21 13s 6d. That price was too high for the soldiers to buy them at, so the Council ordered the storekeeper to sell the peas to them at the usual price. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The soldiers bought part of their food from the Company's stores at fixed prices, with the cost deducted from their pay. At 17 shillings a bushel the peas would have been far beyond a soldier's means. The Council bought them at the market price, probably from a ship in the roads, and resold them at the usual store price, absorbing the loss itself. With salt meat almost gone and flour on short allowance, peas were one of the few substitutes left. Selling them at a price the soldiers could afford kept the garrison fed without stirring discontent among men already on reduced rations.
50	46	1st June At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th June 1781 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 2nd June 1781. - On the 9th June Died William Westbury Private The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stores Accounts for the Month of May last were this Day laid before Us which were examined approved and are as follows Viz. Artillery Stores Expended in May 1781 - Ms. Cartrs., 6 lbs, 4 lbs, 3 lbs, Powder lb, Powder oz	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 11 June 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 2 June 1781. William Westbury, a private soldier, had died on 9 June 1781. The accounts of artillery stores and the storekeeper's accounts for May 1781 were laid before the Council, examined and approved. The artillery stores used that month were as follows. 3 May, 150 ball cartridges for the flying party, powder 8 pounds 6 ounces 5 May, powder for the stone blowers at Sandy Bay, 0 pounds 12 ounces 18 May, general alarm, 18 guns fired (12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders), powder 33 pounds 0 ounces

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		3 Ball Cartridges for the Flying Party 150: Ms. Cartrs. 0, 6 lbs 0, 4 lbs 0, 3 lbs 0, Powder lb 8, Powder oz 6 5 For Stone Blowers at Sandy Bay: Ms. Cartrs. 0, 6 lbs 0, 4 lbs 0, 3 lbs 0, Powder lb 0, Powder oz 12 10th Morning Alarm: Ms. Cartrs. 0, 6 lbs 10, 4 lbs 12, 3 lbs 6, Powder lb 33, Powder oz 0 19 Rejoicing the Same: Ms. Cartrs. 0, 6 lbs 25, 4 lbs 1, 3 lbs 2, Powder lb 8, Powder oz 0 Arrd. the Halswell, Earl of Oxford, Sandwich, Granby & Britannia Saluting: Ms. Cartrs. 0, 6 lbs [5]7, 4 lbs 5, 3 lbs 0, Powder lb 45, Powder oz 0 For Stone Blowers at Banks's: Ms. Cartrs. 0, 6 lbs 0, 4 lbs 0, 3 lbs 0, Powder lb 12, Powder oz 14 For Sundry services: Ms. Cartrs. 0, 6 lbs 0, 4 lbs 0, 3 lbs 0, Powder lb 120, Powder oz 7 Totals: Ms. Cartrs. 65[0], 6 lbs 16, 4 lbs 12, 3 lbs 7, Powder lb 242, Powder oz 5 Sponge Staves 10 Rammer heads 6 Sponge Do. 6 Handspikes 8 Nails 3 lb Spirit of Wine 1 Gall. Old Iron 30 lb Slow Match 3 lb Vinegar ½ Gall. Cartridge Paper 4½ Quire Tallow 2 lb Tampions 2 Fetching [...] 5 Ton 24 Do. Do. 6 lb 49 (Signed) Willm. Pierce Capt. Artillery	19 May, dismissing the alarm, 2 guns fired (1 six-pounder, 1 three-pounder), powder 2 pounds 8 ounces Arrival of the Halsewell, Earl of Oxford, Britannia, Sandwich and Granby, 45 guns fired (45 six-pounders), powder 45 pounds 0 ounces Powder for the stone blowers at Banks's, 12 pounds 14 ounces Powder for sundry services, 128 pounds 7 ounces Totals, 65 guns fired (46 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 7 three-pounders), powder 242 pounds 3 ounces Sponge staves, 10 Rammer heads, 6 Sponge heads, 6 Handspikes, 8 Nitre, 3 pounds Spirits of wine, 1 gallon Old iron, 30 pounds Slow match, 3 pounds Vinegar, ½ gallon Cartridge paper, 4½ quires Tallow, 2 pounds Tompions, 1 Shot for the howitzer at High Knoll, 21 Shot of 6 pounds, 49 Captain William Pierce of the Artillery signed the account. **Interpretations** The general alarm of 18 May fell on the evening the China fleet's boats reached Banks's. Five ships appearing together off the island in wartime could not be assumed friendly, so the garrison was called to arms until the boats confirmed their identity. The next day two guns stood the alarm down, and each of the five ships then received a nine-gun salute on arrival, using 45 pounds of powder. The ceremony that greeted a convoy cost the garrison as much powder as a full-scale alarm. The flying party was a mobile detachment of soldiers kept ready to march to any part of the coast where an enemy might land. St Helena's steep cliffs left only a few landing places, but these were scattered, and a force that could move quickly between them was the island's answer to a surprise attack. Its ball cartridges were live ammunition, issued for practice or readiness. Sponge staves, rammer heads and handspikes were the working tools of gun crews. The sponge cleared burning fragments from a barrel after each shot, the rammer drove the charge home, and the handspike levered the heavy carriage into aim. Tompions were wooden plugs that sealed the muzzle against rain and sea spray. Their steady replacement, like that of carriage bolts the month before, shows how quickly the island's damp climate wore out its ordnance.
51	47	1781 Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in May 1781 67 Bottles Madeira 4 3 9 24 Do. Lisbon 1 10 - 2 Do. Sherry - 3 2 78 Do. Beer 1 3 0 17 Galls. Arrack 2 11 - 142 lb Butter 2 19 2 111 lb Pork 2 15 6 4 Lambs 2 - - 4 Goats	The Council also examined the account of goods used at the Company's table during May 1781. Madeira wine, 67 bottles, £4 3s 9d Lisbon wine, 24 bottles, £1 10s 0d Sherry, 2 bottles, £0 3s 2d Beer, 78 bottles, £1 3s 0d Arrack, 17 gallons, £2 11s 0d Mutton, 142 pounds, £2 19s 2d Pork, 111 pounds, £2 15s 6d Lambs, 4, £2 0s 0d Goats, 4, £2 0s 0d Sugar candy, 64 pounds, £1 12s 0d Flour, 708 pounds, £5 16s 10d Total, £27 3s 5d Provisions bought for the table: Turkeys, 5, £1 5s 0d Fowls, 32, £2 8s 0d Pigs, 4, £1 0s 0d Total, £4 13s 0d On 8 June 1781 the Council received a letter from Samuel Wheeldon, addressed to Governor Skottowe

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		2 - - 64 lb Candy 1 12 - 705 lb Flour 5 16 10 £ 27 3 5 Bot. for the Table. - 5 Turkeys 1 5 - 32 Fowls 2 0 - 4 Pigs 1 - - £ 4 13 - On the 8th Instant We received the following Letter from Mr. Saml. Wheadon. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &c. Council of St. Helena. - Gentlemen Permit me once more to trouble you with my thanks for your endeavours to procure me the liberty of coming on Shore and as it is not in your Power to Oblige Captain Johnston to do me Justice I must rest satisfied. I have now to Request you will be pleased to grant me an Official Copy of the Charge exhibited against me by my Commander, and also that you will be pleased to Order your Surgeon to go with with some other Gentlemen of the Profession belonging to	and the Council. He thanked them for their efforts to obtain his release. Since those efforts had come to nothing, he asked to be allowed to come ashore to obtain some justice against Captain Johnston, who he said had treated him unjustly. He asked the Council to have Johnston supply him with a copy of the charge against him, and also to order that a surgeon of his own choosing, together with some other gentleman of that profession, be allowed to [...], as his letter went on to explain on the next page. **Interpretations** The table account rose by more than £3 on April's, and it rose in the middle of the island's worst shortage. The Company's table used 708 pounds of flour in May, more than in April, while the garrison was on reduced allowance and the Council was refusing flour to every ship that asked. With the China fleet in the roads, the Castle entertained more commanders and passengers, and that entertainment was itself part of the Company's business. The account nevertheless shows that the shortage fell first on the soldiers, not on the governing table. Mutton, goats and lambs came from the island's flocks rather than its scarce cattle, so the table drew on the stock the Council was not protecting. Wheeldon now wanted his own surgeons to examine him, to answer the *Granby* surgeon's report that he had never complained of illness. A copy of the charge would let him prepare a defence before reaching England. Both requests aimed at evidence that would stand before the Admiralty court, since he could no longer hope for relief at St Helena.
52	48	11th June the China Ships, who have known my disorder, to give their opinions respecting it, that in case of a Relapse (which I much dread having had the same Fever first attacked, now ten months ago) then I it prove fatal, it may appear to my Honble. Employers, Relations, and Friends in Europe, that my application to your Worshipful Board, have not been frivolous, or void of foundation. - I am Gentlemen Your obliged & humble Servant June 5th 1781 (Signed) Saml. Wheadon Ship Granby St. Helena Road. - On receipt of the above Letter Messrs. Thomas Stroud, James Grant, John Archibald, and John Duncan Surgeons Were Ordered to attend Mr. Samuel Wheadon, and Report the state of his Health accordingly. - Also directed the following Answer to be wrote Mr. Saml. Wheadon. - To Mr. Samuel Wheadon of Ship Granby Sir I am directed to inform you in answer to your Letter to the Governor and Council dated the 5th Instant that they will Order a Copy of Captain Johnston's Charge against you to be drawn out, together with the proceedings relative to your Business as attested by the Secretary. And further that they will Order the Surgeon of the Island, with others of the China Ships now in the Road, to visit you and Report	Wheeldon asked that the surgeon he chose be one from the China ships, who would know his illness and could give an opinion on it, in case of a relapse. He added that he had been ill since he was first attacked, now ten months before. If he could prove that, it might help to show his innocence to his employers, the Company, as well as to his relations and friends in Europe. He feared that his appeals to the Governor and Council had otherwise been fruitless and without effect. He signed the letter on board the *Granby* in St Helena roads on 5 June 1781. When it received the letter, the Council ordered Thomas Stroud, John Cockerill, James Grant and John Duncan, surgeons, to examine Wheeldon on board and report on the state of his health. The Council also directed the sub-secretary to answer Wheeldon. John Doveton wrote to him at St Helena on 9 June 1781. In reply to his letter of 5 June, the Governor and Council had ordered Captain Johnston to give him a copy of the charge against him, together with the proceedings relating to his conduct sent by the secretary. They had further ordered the island's surgeon, with the surgeons of the China ships now in the roads, to visit him and report to the Council on the state of his health. **Interpretations** The Council could not try Wheeldon or release him, but it could see that he had the means of defending himself in England. Ordering Johnston to hand over a copy of the charge put the accusation in writing, so Wheeldon would not face the Admiralty court unprepared. Sending four surgeons, the island's own and three from the China fleet, answered the conflict between Wheeldon's claim of long illness and the *Granby* surgeon's denial. A report from independent medical men carried more weight than either party's word. It would go into the consultations, and so into the record the Court of Directors would read. Thomas Stroud was the island's surgeon, the same man the Council later praised for thirteen years' service when he went home sick in 1785.

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		to them the present state of your Health. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) John Doveton Sub. Secry. 8th June 1781. -	
53	49	1781 In Compliance with the above Order Messrs. Thomas Stroud, James Grant, John Archibald and John Duncan laid the following Report before the Board Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Gov. St. Helena Sir In consequence of your Order Yesterday We went on board the Ship Granby to enquire into the state of Mr. Saml. Wheadon's Health. On examining the Surgeon's Journal we found that he had, since the Month of August last been subject to Cholera. Inflammations and Obstructions in his Bowels of a very Dangerous nature, and from Mr. Duncan's account it appears that the Disease has never been totally removed, and that his symptoms are such as preceded his former Attacks. - We are therefore of opinion his proceeding to sea under his present Circumstances may be attended with fatal consequences, and that it is absolutely necessary for the reestablishment of his Health, that he should be on shore for the benefit of exercise and Change of Air. - We are respectfully Sir Your most Obedient Servants (Signed) Thos. Stroud James Grant Jno. Archibald John Duncan St. Helena June 9th 1781. - The above Report being laid before the Board they directed the Secretary to write Captain Johnston as follows Viz.	The four surgeons, Thomas Stroud, James Grant, John Cockerill and John Duncan, carried out the order and laid their report before the Council. It was addressed to Governor Skottowe and dated at St Helena on 9 June 1781. The surgeons had gone on board the *Granby* the day before to examine Samuel Wheeldon's state of health. On examining the surgeon's journal of the ship, they found that Wheeldon had been subject to inflammations and obstructions in his bowels of a very dangerous nature. From what Wheeldon himself told them, these had never been fully removed, and his symptoms were the same as in his earlier attacks. The surgeons therefore gave their opinion that his present condition, if allowed to continue, might lead to fatal consequences. They considered it absolutely necessary, for the restoration of his health, that he should be removed on shore for the benefit of exercise and change of air. Having read the report, the Council directed the secretary to write to Captain Johnston, as the next page recorded. **Interpretations** The surgeons' report undercut Johnston's case. He had claimed, on his own surgeon's word, that Wheeldon had never complained of illness before his appeal to the Council. The *Granby*'s own journal, examined by four independent surgeons, showed a serious bowel complaint of long standing. Wheeldon's account of ten months' illness was borne out by the ship's own medical records. An inflammation of the bowels was dangerous in the 18th century, with no cure beyond rest, diet and fresh air. With a written medical opinion that his life might be at risk, the Council now had firm grounds to press Johnston. It still could not order Wheeldon's release, but a commander who refused shore leave to a sick prisoner against the advice of four surgeons would bear full responsibility if he died. The report gave the Council's recommendation a weight that Johnston could hardly ignore.
54	50	11th June To Captain John Johnston Commander of Ship Granby Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you, In Consequence of an application from Mr. Saml. Wheadon requesting that they would Order the Surgeon of the Island together with some of the Gentlemen of the Profession belonging to the China Ships who have known his disorder to give their opinion respecting it, that in case of a Relapse (which he much dreads having had three since his first attack now ten Months ago) should it prove fatal it may appear to his Honble. Employers Relations and Friends in Europe, that his applications is not frivolous or void of foundation. - They therefore in Compliance with the above request Ordered Messrs. Thos. Stroud, James Grant, John	Britannicus Alexander Wright, the secretary, wrote to Captain John Johnston of the *Granby* at St Helena on 11 June 1781. Samuel Wheeldon had asked the Governor and Council to order the island's surgeon, together with some of the surgeons of the China ships who knew his case, to report on his health. He wanted proof that he had been ill for some ten months, in case of a relapse, to satisfy the Company, his relations and his friends in Europe that his appeals were not groundless. The Governor and Council had therefore ordered Thomas Stroud, James Grant, John Cockerill and John Duncan, surgeons, to visit Wheeldon and report on his health, and their report was enclosed. Under these circumstances, the Council told Johnston that if he persisted in preventing Wheeldon from coming ashore, he alone would answer to the laws of his country for any fatal consequences. Major Henry Bazett reported that he had been on board the *Walpole*, *Princess Royal*, *Fox*, *True Briton*, *Duke of Grafton*, *Duke of Kingston*, *Halsewell*, *Earl of Oxford*, *Britannia*, *Earl of Sandwich* and *Granby* to muster their ships' companies and look for deserters. He had found none, and the musters were as follows on the next page. **Interpretations**

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		Archibald, and John Duncan Surgeons to visit Mr. Samuel Wheadon and Report to them a State of his Health (which report goes enclosed) And leave to your consideration, whether under those Circumstances you will persist in preventing him from coming on Shore, as the Report you will be answerable to answer to the Laws of your Country for all future Consequences. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 11th June 1781. - Major Henry Bazett Reports that he has been On Board of the Ships Walpole, True Briton Princess Royal, Fox, Duke of Grafton, Duke of Kingston Halswell, Earl of Oxford, Earl of Sandwich and Granby to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters, but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follows Viz.	With the surgeons' report in hand, the Council hardened its tone. Earlier letters had only recommended that Johnston show humanity. This one placed the legal responsibility squarely on him. The Council still claimed no power to free Wheeldon, but by putting the warning in writing, backed by four surgeons, it made sure that if Wheeldon died on board, the record would show who had been warned and who had refused. A commander answerable to the laws of England for a prisoner's death could face a charge of manslaughter, so the warning carried real weight. Mustering the ships' companies was the garrison's check against desertion in both directions. Soldiers sometimes slipped aboard homeward ships, and the Council later blamed commanders for carrying them off. Bazett went from ship to ship, comparing each crew with its muster roll, to make sure no soldier from the island and no unlisted man was hidden among the seamen before the fleet sailed. Finding no deserters on eleven ships meant the garrison had kept its men, at least this time.
55	51	1781 - Muster Roll of Ship Walpole Barnet Willoughby Commander Henl. Churchill Chief Mate Ninian Lewis 2 Do. Jas. Williams 3 Do. Mils. Burrows 4 Do. Thos. Bead Purser Thos. Brady Surgeon Wm. Wilson Boatswain John Wickwood Gunner Jas. Theobald 1 Steward Rich. Parker Midshipman Morris Wenner Do. John Wise Do. Thos. Kidd Do. Geo. Bennett 2 Do. Steward Wm. Coleshire Do. Saml. Bramwell Do. Ed. Smith Do. John Bowen Do. Henl. Walker Cooper Rd. Parsons Armourer Wm. Kickman Caulker Walter Patterson Carpenters Mate Jas. Mason Caulkers Do. John Brannon Baker Jas. Wyer 1 Cook Wm. Lawrence Butcher John Gun Poulterer Wm. Lockfield Boatswains Do. John Clark Gunners Do. Jas. Brook Servant Do. Jo. Lowe Carpenters Servt. Thos. Mitchell Capt's Steward Dl. Thompson Do. Servant Geo. Brooks Seaman Wm. Foreman Mark Sletcher Francis Joseph J. R. Da Costa Richd. Clark Wm. Hicks J. Mc Nair Ald. Johnson Alex. Duncan Robt. Hay Jas. Way	Muster roll of the ship *Walpole*, signed by N. Lewis on board on 11 June 1781. Officers, petty officers and tradesmen: Burnett Abercromby, commander Henry Churchill, chief mate Ninian Lewis, second mate James Williams, third mate Miles Bowes, fourth mate Thomas Beatt, purser Thomas Brady, surgeon William Wilson, boatswain John Wishart, gunner James Theobalds, steward Richard Parker, midshipman Morris Venner, midshipman John Wise, midshipman Thomas Kidd, midshipman George Bennett, second master William Colston, midshipman Jacob Manawell, midshipman Edward Smith, midshipman John Brown, midshipman Henry Wallace, cooper Richard Parsons, armourer William Kirkman, [...] Walter Patterson, cooper's mate James Mason, caulker's mate John Brennan, baker James Wyer, ship's cook William Lawrence, butcher John Gair, poulterer William Lichfield, boatswain's servant John Clark, gunner's servant John Brook, invalid John Love, carpenter's servant Thomas Mildrich, captain's servant D. Thompson, captain's servant Seamen: George Meads William Foreman Mark Mathew Francis Joseph J. R. Da Costa Richard Clark William Hicks S. McNair Andrew Johnson Alexander Duncan

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		Geo. Wilson Richd. Turner John Beck Amb. Spikes John Adkinson Geo. Saunders James Erwin Wm. Smith Wm. Waithwaite Thos. Collins Robt. Scott J. Butler Gerrard Hearnds Dalan Dushingo Willm. Johnston Henrick Wilkins Seaman Willm. Kinnan Do. John Brown 2 Do. Wm. Greenfield John Thomas Wm. Greenfield John Thomas Saml. Barnes Chas. Rigby Jas. Wood Jas. Peck Wm. Squires Ben. Whaley Connor Burke John Burton Rich. Common Robt. Hatsome Jos. Arnott Wm. Lester Jos. Neville Danl. Berry Wm. Mitchell Wm. Mc Kenzie Jas. Burley Ralph Hale John Wilkins John Fourly Lewis Jones James Humphreys Thos. Miller Edwd. Jackson Passengers Mr. Martin Mrs. Martin Fourteen Children Captain Bentis Eight Servants Signed N. Lewis Ship Walpole 11th June 1781 **Margin Notes:** Lascars	Robert Kay James Wing George Wilson Richard Kenner John Beale Ambrose Spiker John Vallison George Saunders James Ewin William Smith William Waithwaite Thomas Collins Robert Scott S. Butler Garrat Hounds Dahan Dulloge William Johnston Henrich Wilkins William Kinnan John Brown, the second of that name William Greenfield John Thomas William Greenfield, listed a second time John Thomas, listed a second time Samuel Barnes Charles Ryley James Aldred John Pate William Squires Ben Whaley Connor Burke John Boston Richard Cannon Robert Holmes Joseph Mirall William Linton Joseph Nevill Daniel Berry William Walton William McKenzie John Bailey Ralph Hale John Watson John Harley Lewis Jones James Humphreys James Miller Edward Jackson The last six seamen were bracketed together in the roll. Passengers: Mrs Martin Mrs Ireland Mr Martin Captain Beales Children, 14 Servants, 8 **Interpretations** Major Bazett's muster was a check against the ship's own list, man by man. A soldier hidden among the crew would show up as a name not on the roll, or as one man too many. The roll also shows how few men sailed a large Indiaman. The *Walpole* carried about 90 crew, of whom many were officers, midshipmen and tradesmen such as the cooper, armourer, baker, butcher and poulterer. Only some 60 were able seamen. Several of the names, such as Da Costa and Dulloge, point to men taken on in Asian ports to replace losses on the voyage. The passengers included 14 children and 8 servants, besides four adults. Homeward Indiamen often carried the children of Company servants sent to England for schooling, in the care of returning families. The *Walpole* was effectively a family ship for part of its company.

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56	52	11th June Muster Roll of Ship True Briton Geo. Allen Commander Thos. Hand Chief Mate Thos. Morrall 2 Do. Robt. Udney 3 Do. Wm. Searty 4 Do. Jeremiah Bright Surgeon Joseph Mead Purser Wm. Brixton Boatswain Alexr. Mc Allan Gunner Wm. Bartman Carpr. John Allison 1 Steward Thos. Dee Capt's Do. Michael Pepper Midshipman Thos. Coleman Do. Alexr. Irwin 2d Master Wm. Tomlinson Do. John Ford Do. Jas. Morris Do. Jeremiah Talbott Cooper Joseph Mates Caulker Jas. Connor Armourer Robt. Blane Gunrs. Mate Jno. Murray Boatswains Do. Thos. Smith 2 Do. Wm. Brown 2 Cook Jno. Curtis Butcher Wm. Dommett Poulterer Jas. Smith Seaman Danl. Robson Peter Somerville Thos. Parkins Henl. Jones Walter Connel Dearn Fryer Henry Lockman John Coleman Peter Manners Richd. Skinner Edwd. Fennell Geo. Fehr Thos. Wilson Saml. Braddon Wm. Wilson Christian Fredrick Henl. Donald Johannis Brindenberg Antonio De Gunter Peter Blake Richd. Allen Robt. White Saml. Painter Saml. De Cruze Geo. Nicholas Richd. Cuony Robt. Dundass Lewis Edwards Wm. Colley Wm. Hay Jas. Jones Wm. Webster Manuel Rodrigo Paulo Daniel Bastian D Silva Augustine Pereira Gregory D Penha F. Rodrigues Manuel Saro Seaman Augustine D Cruize Antonio D Rozario Antonio D Sa John Castello Antonio Rodrigo Pedro	Muster roll of the ship *True Briton*, entered on 11 June 1781. Officers, petty officers and tradesmen: George Allen, commander Thomas Hunt, chief mate Thomas Marsh, second mate Robert Udney, third mate William Swinty, fourth mate Jeremiah Bright, surgeon Joseph Moor, purser William Beatson, boatswain Alexander McMillan, gunner William Bartman, carpenter John Allison, steward Thomas Dee, captain's steward Michael Capis, midshipman Thomas Edmonson, midshipman Alexander Irvin, second master William Tomlinson, midshipman John Forth, midshipman John Marsh, midshipman Jeremiah Tolhurst, cooper Jeffrey Malin, caulker James Connor, sailmaker Robert Blane, gunner's mate John Murray, boatswain's mate Thomas Smith, boatswain's mate William Brown, ship's cook John Cutler, butcher William Demmock, poulterer John Brooks, captain's servant George [...], chief mate's servant John Hunt, second mate's servant John Tapp, boatswain's servant Mumdally, lascar Seamen: John Smith Daniel Osborn Thomas Sammett Thomas Perkins Henry Jones Walter Connell Dixon Taylor Henry Lee John Yeomans Peter Mariner Richard Skinner Edward Furnill George Fisher Thomas Wilson Francis Bredden William Willson Christian Fredrich Hants Vandell Johannis Bridenburgh Antonio De Guntin Peter Blake Richard Allen Robert White Francis Brinter Louis De Cruize George Nicholas Richard Curry Robert Dundass Levi Edwards William Colley William Mary James Toms William Webster Manuel Ludrigo Paulo Daniel Bastian De Silva Augustine Parara Gregory De Campa John Andrews

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		Chas. Francisco Francisco Allvoort Thos. Nealson Manuel D Souza John Stubbs Taylor John Brady Capt's Servt. Thos. Kaukam Joseph Penner George Chief Mates Servt. John Hand 2 Do. John Pepper Purser's Do. Mundelly Lascar Munsoe Faucheen Munsoe Meron Rumjanny 1st Rumjanny 2d Mahdy Kumay Rajjoe Moon Jagoo Potam Sultan Faucheen Mahomed Passengers	Mariano Sano Augustine De Cruize Antonio De Arzano Antonio De Suza John Cuttlass Mathias Ludrigo Piget Colas Francisco Francisco Allicat Thomas Noalson Manuel De Suza John Mubbs, tailor Thomas Thackam Joseph Parara Lascars: Mumdally Munsac Faucheera Munsac, the second of that name Meron Rumjanny, the first of that name Rumjanny, the second of that name Mobad Rumay Kafoo Assam Fagoo Patam Sultan Faucher Mahamet The roll ended with a heading for passengers, whose names were entered on the next page. **Interpretations** The *True Briton*'s crew shows how heavily Indiamen relied on men recruited in Asia by the 1780s. Besides the British officers and seamen, the roll lists a large group with Portuguese names, such as De Suza, De Cruize, Parara and De Silva. These were probably Indo-Portuguese seamen from Goa, Bombay or the Malabar coast. A further fifteen men were lascars, Indian and Muslim seamen recruited in Bengal or Madras, entered by single names. War, disease and desertion in Asian ports drained the British crews, and commanders filled the gaps with whatever men were available. Lascars and Asian seamen were paid less and could not legally be landed in England as part of the crew, which caused problems on arrival. Yet without them a ship like the *True Briton* could not have been sailed home at all. Several names, among them Christian Fredrich, Hants Vandell and Johannis Bridenburgh, suggest Dutch, German or Scandinavian sailors, probably picked up from foreign ships in Asian ports. Major Bazett checked every one of these names against the men on board. A soldier hiding among so mixed a crew would have been hard to spot without a written roll to compare.
57	53	1781 Passengers Major Osborn Mr. Knight Major Morrison Mrs. Walton Mr. Marriott Fifteen Children Mr. Brown Ten Servants St. Helena (Signed) Geo. Allen 11th June 1781. - Muster Roll of Ship Princess Royal Robt. Ker Commander Geo. Simpson 1 Mate Archd. Anderson 2 Do. Geo. Hughes 3 Do. Jas. Bruce 4th Do. Thos. Mc Laughlin Surgeon Wm. Duncan Purser Thos. Brown Gunner Thos. Hamilton Boatn.	The passengers in the *True Briton* were as follows. George Allen signed the list at St Helena on 11 June 1781. Major Osborn Major Morrison Mr Marriott Mr Brown Mr Knight Mrs Walton Children, 16 Servants, 10 Muster roll of the ship *Princess Royal.* Officers, petty officers and tradesmen: Robert Kerr, commander George Simpson, first mate Archibald Anderson, second mate George Hooper, third mate John Bruce, fourth mate

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		Wm. Amadman Carpr. Robt. Pitt 1 Steward Thos. Oliver Midshipman Christr. Duckett Do. Fred. Pinnar Do. Roger Arthur Do. Jas. Muckamell Cook Jas. Mc Grath Capt's Do. Wm. Foster Butler Joseph Cooper Butcher Thos. Hart Poulterer John Friedman Cooper Jas. Jacobs 1 Mate Jas. Hay Caulker Walter Bead 2 Do. Mate Thos. Perkins Carpr. Mate Jno. Hartley Caulkers Mate Wm. Chapman Armourer Wm. Hearl Gunrs. Mate Richd. Bennett 2d Mate Jas. Duncan Do. Jno. Thompson Do. Peter Peterson Do. Jas. Lewis Capt's Steward Robt. Hay Do. Servt. Jas. Greenwood Boatn. Mate Wm. Davenant Seaman Wm. Watson Timl. Murphy Jos. Wood Jas. Smith Jas. White Wm. White Thos. Blaine Richd. Frostong David Thornburg Jas. Brown Thos. Gosnel John Gold Geo. Robinson Richd. Robinson Jason. 1 Porter Seaman Peter Croley Walter Ward Guido Peralini Carlos Mack Robt. Dorne Joseph French Wm. Baker Jas. Morrisett Benjn. Cope Jas. Rogers Jas. Murphy Corn. Cottingan Jas. Evans Jas. Neven Jno. Taylor Jas. Flanagan Peter Jamison Michl. Neal Thos. Smith Jas. Pendergrass Carpr. Servt. Jas. Watson 2 Mates Servt. Wm. Ney Surgeons Do. Jas. Burnyfield Steward Servt. Robt. Coleman Cook's Do.	Thomas Spalding, surgeon William Dunn, purser Thomas Brown, gunner Thomas Hambleton, boatswain William Smallman, carpenter Robert Platt, steward Thomas Oliver, midshipman Christopher Duckett, midshipman Francis Curnan, midshipman Roger Sutton, midshipman James Macknamara, ship's cook John McGrabb, captain's cook William Foster, baker Joseph Cooper, butcher Thomas Heath, poulterer John Frobarrow, cooper James Forbes, carpenter's mate James Hay, caulker Walter Biddy, boatswain's mate Thomas Perkins, captain's mate John Shelly, sailmaker William Chapman, armourer Alexander Youl, gunner's mate Richard Bennett, second master James Dunton, second master John Thompson, second master Peter Hallorn, second master John Owens, captain's steward Robert Hay, captain's steward's servant John Greenwood, boatswain's mate John Pendergrass, fifth mate's servant James Nicholson, second master's servant William Noyes, surgeon's servant John Broomfield, boatswain's servant Robert Delamaine, carpenter's servant Seamen: William Dormand William Webber Timothy Murphy John Ward James Smith John White William White Thomas O'Harra Andrew Fooberg Yoric Thornberg Edward Bearon Thomas Grant John Goth George Robinson Richard Robinson Samuel Hassett Owen Cartney Ralph Randal Gustavus Herelius Carlus Mock Patrick Dorne Joseph French William Mullan John Marriott Benjamin Cope John Rogers James Murphy Cornelius Colligan John Evant John Nevan John Taylor Patrick Flanagan Peter Harrison Michael Neal Thomas Scott **Interpretations** The two rolls make a sharp contrast. The *True Briton* had filled her losses with Indo-Portuguese seamen and lascars. The *Princess Royal* carried a crew of almost entirely British and Irish names, with only a

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			handful of Scandinavians such as Andrew Fooberg and Yoric Thornberg. A ship that had kept her crew together through the voyage did not need to recruit in Asian ports. The *Princess Royal*'s heavy complement of officers and servants, including four second masters and servants for several officers, also shows how large an Indiaman's establishment of petty officers could be. Children again outnumbered the adult passengers in the *True Briton*: 16 children and 10 servants travelled with six adults. Several of the homeward China ships that season evidently carried a group of Company servants' children, sent from India to England for schooling with servants to care for them.
58	54	11th June Jas. Stockford 3 Mate Boy Domingo Diniz Seaman Jonathan Wright Thomas Logan John Kelly Ben Binfeather David Watt Seaman Jas. Evans 2 Do. Richd. Wiseman Michl. Jordan Abraham Wood Carpenters Party Thos. Williams Seaman J. S. Todd Matt. Bowman Peter Bartholomew Charles Party Passenger Jas. Willoughton a Boy Passengers Mr. Brofford 5 Children Mr. Holloway Mr. Smithson Daughter Seven Bord Servants Princess Royal June 11th 1781 (Signed) Geo. Simpson Muster Roll of Ship Fox John Blackburn Comdr. John Berkley Chief Mate Peter Boyce 2 Do. Saml. Garret 3 Do. John England 4 Do. Jas. Hancorth Purser Wizard Thomas Brayington Carpr. James Hardwood 1 Steward Jas. Stewart Capt's Do. Archd. Little Surgns. Mate Henl. Mc Pellifield Midshipman Geo. Maxwell Do. Geo. Barker Do. Thos. Long 2d Mate Jas. Stewart Capt's Clerk Wm. Durham 1 Do. Geo. Jones Boatswains Mate Jas. Wrighht Armourer Geo. Webb Cooper Jas. Townsend Butcher Wm. Hilton Capt's Mate Wm. Woodley Caulker Wm. White Capt's Servt. Robt. Howard Chief Mates Do. Jas. Lowder Pastry Do. Thos. Angel Mates Do. John Kellas Gunr's Do. Jas. Penny Capt's Do. Robt. Johnston Surgns. Do. Jas. Ryan Seaman Jas. Jacob Gunrs. Do. Thos. D. Foster Thos. Trust Jas. Dodrick Jas. Carpenter Isaac Williams	The *Princess Royal*'s roll continued with the rest of her seamen. James Stockforth, steward's boy Domingo Moraney Joachim Frigate Erasmus Leland John Kelly Ben Benfeather David Watt Joseph Evans, the second of that name Richard Weedman Michael Jordan Abraham Ward Thomas Williams Joseph Todd Matthew Newman Peter Bartholomew Charter-party passengers: Charles Porty James Whitaker, a boy Other passengers: Mrs Bruff and her daughter Mrs Holloway Mr Smithson Children, 5 Servants, 5 George Simpson signed the roll on board the *Princess Royal* on 11 June 1781. Muster roll of the ship *Fox*. Officers, petty officers and tradesmen: John Blackburn, commander John Barkley, chief mate Edward Boyce, second mate Samuel Garat, third mate John England, fourth mate James Hornearth, purser Alexander [...] Thomas Broughton, carpenter Jeremiah Houndsmead, steward John Stewart, captain's steward Archibald Little, surgeon's mate Henry Calliss, midshipman George Maxwell, midshipman George Barker, midshipman Thomas Long, second master James Stewart, captain's cook William Durham, ship's cook David Evans, sailmaker John Wright, armourer George Webel, cooper James Turner, boatswain's mate William Hilton, carpenter's mate William Woodley, caulker's mate William Wilks, captain's servant Robert Stewart, chief mate's servant James Lewathen, second mate's servant Thomas Mozyah, boatswain's servant John Sadler, gunner's servant James Benning, carpenter's servant Robert Johnston, surgeon's servant Seamen: James Bryant

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		Wm. Thompson Wm. Long Jas. Kufford Dan. Snell And. Collins Thos. Fairfield Seaman Saml. Woodward Jas. Roberts Jas. Fowler Richd. Prince Jas. Dixy Jas. White Jas. Hanson Jas. Bagley Matt. Temple David Cockerell Thos. Wheeler Jas. Duncan Jas. Lane Richd. Lawson Wm. Bull Jas. Hester Andw. Solomon Adam Matthews Joseph Anthony Vacant	Jacob Gould Andrew Forbister Thomas Trevett John Dodrich John Carpenter Isaac Williams William Thompson William Norris John Kufoot Daniel Smith Andrew Collin Thomas Fairhead Samuel Woodward James Roberts John Fowler Richard Prince John Diny James White James Harrison John Bayley Matthew Temple David Crackwell Thomas Wheeler John Duncan John Lane Richard Jameson William Bell John Heaton Andrew Solomon Adam Stoutmore Joseph Anthony Vicente **Interpretations** The *Princess Royal* carried two "charter-party passengers", one of them a boy. These were people whose passage the Company had arranged under the ship's charter, so the owners were bound to carry them and the Company paid. Several of the Council's later letters used the same term for invalids and paupers it sent home at the Company's cost. The *Fox*'s roll lists the commander's own household separately: a steward, a cook and a servant for the captain, and a servant for each senior officer. On a long voyage these men kept the officers' table and quarters, and their places were part of what made a command in the Company's ships valuable. The *Fox* was the ship whose lost rice the Council had questioned in April. Her roll, like the others, was checked name by name by Major Bazett before she was cleared to sail.
59	55	1781 Joseph Santos Seaman Jos. De Britt Ventura Joseph Jas. Rodrigo Rodrigo Maurice Francisco Tomaso Salvador Graca Anthony Hans Thos. Jacomo Nicholas Bishop John D Cruize Roodrick Emanuel Soares John Ira Domit Baptista Vincente Anthony Ramo Joseph Dusett Antto. D'Rosario Jona Delagara Pancho Prada Francis Braga Joanes Cruiz Pedro D'Braga Thos. Dommig	The *Fox*'s roll continued with the rest of her seamen. Joseph Santos Joseph De Mitt Ventura Joseph John Rodrigo Rodrigo Maurice Francisco Tomas Salvador Gracia Anthony Pharo Thomas Dacroas Nicholas Bishop John De Cruize Kendrick Emanuel Lozaro John Sin Daniel Baptista Arsanto Anthony Lamo Joseph Dusalt Anthony Desozaro Joana Delozaro Pancho Praxo Francis Dirazes Josara Cruize Andrew Draza

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		Thos. Ribeiro Francis Pero Homolgel Baker Dolip Bardoo Donnon Kain Hafoon Giber Deenoo Cofoolt Dabatt Ramadar Rossied Arent Mumbuno Burroon Saakin Nattoo Ioan Bastian Cruiz John Francis Seaman Passengers Phillip Francis Esqr. Edw. Tilghman Esqr. Willm. Harwood Esqr. Benjn. Lacham Esqr. Mrs. Lacham Mrs. Evans Four Children Nine Servants (Signed) John Berkley Muster Roll of Ship Duke of Grafton Saml. Bull Commander Rich. Pennell Chief Mate Saml. Petter 2 Do. Saml. Park 3 Do. Geo. Lindsay 4th Do. Isaac Lane 5th Do. Saml. Clark Purser Geo. Grigg Doctor Thomas Moffett Gunner Robt. Grommet Carpr. Saml. Comming Boatn. Robt. Steward 1 Steward Thos. Kerbstone Capt's Do. Jas. Scott Midshipman Thos. Hawkins Jas. Peter Steward Edw. Todd Edw. Barnes 2d Master Jas. Huntingdon Thos. Wilson Mons. Mc Glory Gilbert Neal Jas. Hutchins Caulker Chas. Lonnergen Gunrs. Mate Thos. Brown Do. Jas. Crowell Capt's Do. Jas. Parsons Capt's Clerk Wm. Tyson Mates Do. Thos. Jones Butcher Wm. Aspen Poulterer	Thomas Daruez Thomas Ribens Encus Tus Ismalgee Bakon Dolot Bardoo Dorson Rain Hassam Giber Denow Cosoalt Debath Emandu Rosiah Areat Abambucus Burram Sarkein Muttoo Tom Bastian Cruiz John Harris Passengers: Phillip Francis Edward Tightman William Harwood Benjamin Lacam Mrs Lacam Mr Evans Children, 4 Servants, 9 John Barkley, the chief mate, signed the roll. Muster roll of the ship *Duke of Grafton*. Officers, petty officers and tradesmen: Samuel Ball, commander Richard Pennell, chief mate Samuel Velter, second mate Samuel Clark, third mate George Linsay, fourth mate Isaac Lane, fifth mate Samuel Clark, purser George Craigg, surgeon Francis Wyffe, gunner Robert Grimmett, carpenter Samuel Cummings, boatswain Robert Steward, steward Thomas Rochester, captain's steward James Scott, midshipman James Hawkins, midshipman John Peter Stewart, midshipman Edward Todd, midshipman James Adams, second master John Huntingdon, midshipman Thomas Wilson, midshipman Alexander McGolory, midshipman Gilbert McNeale, midshipman John Hutchins, caulker Charles Jones, gunner's mate Thomas Brown, gunner's mate John Corbett, captain's cook John Parsons, captain's clerk William Tyson, ship's cook Thomas Moore, butcher William Jackson, poulterer **Interpretations** Philip Francis, the first passenger in the *Fox*, was almost certainly the member of the Supreme Council of Bengal who had fought Warren Hastings for six years and wounded him, and been wounded, in a duel at Calcutta in August 1780. He resigned and sailed for England late that year. He reached London in October 1781, where he went on to drive the campaign that ended in Hastings's impeachment. The muster roll lists him simply as a passenger, between two other

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			gentlemen. Benjamin Lacam was a Calcutta merchant and projector known for a scheme to build docks on the Hooghly. The *Fox*'s crew had been rebuilt in Asia almost entirely. Below the British officers, her seamen were overwhelmingly Indo-Portuguese and lascars, many listed only by single names. The *Princess Royal* and the *Walpole* carried mostly British crews, so the losses on the outward voyage and in Asian ports had fallen very unevenly across the fleet.
60	56	11th June Thos. Gibbs Armourer Joseph Hay Boatswain's Mate Robt. Jones Seaman Phillip Grier Jas. Hunt Arthur Hallstead Jas. Dawson Thos. Goodall Jas. Ostwaird Joseph Morris Charles Turnell Meredith James Jas. Watkins Fras. Jones Wm. Mowbray Geo. Pratt Jas. Barbe Peter Ferguson Timothy Brown Giles Morfie Joseph Crapher Robt. Howard Jas. White Hester Wm. Heath Jas. Haydon Jas. Cole Mangie Mandy Gulam Brydon Emanuely Genvar Shaygar Tyne Tomid Buttam Bardoo Juman Emanuel Durando Antonio Emanuely 1st Emanuely 2d Ruayjenny Bakkie Tasfood Ramut Juan Mahomed Jumann Rafal Mahomed Jamal Buddow Buay Mahomed Assa 1st Soleman 1st Soleman 2d Burhatullah Chain 1st Chain 2d Tamedo Corrida Bernardo Kytan	The *Duke of Grafton*'s roll continued with the rest of her company. Thomas Gibbs, armourer Joseph Wray, boatswain's mate Seamen: Robert Jones Phillip Gore John Keith Arthur Heathcoat John Dawson Thomas Godale John Ostaird Joseph Morris Charles Turnace Meredith Jones James Watkins Francis James William Mowbray George Bratt John Barbe Peter Farquar Timothy Mason Giles Menifie Joseph Crapher Robert Stewart James Mills [...] Hector William Heath John Haydon James Cole Amagio Mandy Gulam Maydon Emandy Tencan Shugar Tyre Tomed Bullam Barbor Juman Emanuel Dennah Antonio Emaundy, the first of that name Emaundy, the second of that name Rumjanny Battow Tussob Ramut Juan Mahamed Immaum Kassab Mahamed Jamal Buddow Buxey Mahamed Issa, the first of that name Soliman, the first of that name Soliman, the second of that name Burhanullah Ossin, the first of that name Ossin, the second of that name Emurdah Corunda

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		Pedro Monahi Josea de Rosa Joaquin de Rosa Bastiant Gona Joaquin Igran Francisco D'Almando Phillip de Silva Antonio Joanes Lewis James Jas. Burke Saml. Dodamen Bern. de Silva Juan de Rosario Coharn Abraham Cunnings 1st Tootam Joan Pindo Duke Manshell Dusosta Coorin Carmullan Bellingssam Machbett Mahomed Assa 2d Tumat Burnat Baptant Mahomed Coria Passengers Mr. Walter Page Mrs. Willes Three Servants (Signed) Saml. Bull Saml. Clark Purser	Bernardo Kytan Paulo Moachie Josea De Rosa Joaquin De Rosa Basanti Josea Joaquin Ignau Francisco D'Almando Phillip De Silva Antonio Javier Lewis James John Burke Daniel De Lama Nuno De Silva Juan De Rosario Cassim Abraham Currim, the first of that name Jos Lam Joao Ricardo Duke Manilaw Tussilo Currim, the second of that name Carramallar Ballagnewar Machmullah Mahamed Issa, the second of that name Jamot Bunnah Bassanti Mahamed Currin Passengers: Mr Walter Page Mrs Velter Servants, 3 Samuel Clark, purser, signed the roll for Samuel Ball, the commander. **Interpretations** The *Duke of Grafton* carried the largest Asian contingent of all the rolls. Below her British officers and about two dozen British seamen, the crew was made up of lascars with Muslim and Hindu names and Indo-Portuguese sailors from the Indian coast. Many shared a name and were numbered first and second to tell them apart, a sign that the clerk recorded what he heard rather than the men's full names. Mrs Velter, a passenger, probably belonged to the family of Samuel Velter, the ship's second mate. Officers sometimes carried wives or relations home in the ship they served, using their own allowance of cabin space. The roll was signed by the purser for the commander, Samuel Ball. In April the Council had asked Ball to explain the 16 bags of rice he failed to deliver, and he had blamed cockroaches. His ship's company now passed the same muster as the rest of the fleet.
61	57	1781 Muster Roll of Ship Dk. of Kingston Justinian Nutt Commander Thos. Lay 1 Officer Henl. Butfield 2 Do. Richd. Simmonds 3 Do. Chas. Nicholson 4 Do. Richd. Bingley Purser Jas. Mc Avoy Surgeon John Townsend Carpenter Jas. Walker Boatswain Thos. Taylor Gunner Thos. Brinkhurst Midshipman Robt. Hunt Do. George Freeman Do.	Muster roll of the ship *Duke of Kingston*. Officers, petty officers and tradesmen: Justinian Nutt, commander Thomas Leys, first officer Henry Bullock, second officer Richard Ormond, third officer Charles Nicholson, fourth officer Richard Bagley, purser John McEvoy, surgeon John Townsend, carpenter John Walker, boatswain Thomas Taylor, gunner Thomas Bristowe, midshipman Robert Reid, midshipman George Freeman, midshipman

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		Peter Jones Do.	Peter Jones, midshipman
		Jas. Peel Gunners Mate	James Leel, gunner's mate
		Thos. Ames 2d Master	Thomas Ames, second master
		Jas. Middleton Do.	John Middleton, midshipman
		Wm. Talbot Do.	William Talbot, midshipman
		Wm. Williams Do.	William Williams, midshipman
		Jas. Hamilton Do.	James Hamilton, midshipman
		Leonard Allen 1 Steward	Leonard Allen, steward
		Jas. Buckley 1 Cook	John Braley, ship's cook
		Walter Pitt Capt's Do.	William Pitt, captain's cook
		James Cox Armourer	James Coe, armourer
		Robt. Pitt Baker	Robert Pitt, baker
		Saml. Tibbets Butcher	Daniel Tibbets, poulterer
		Jas. Medcroft Capt's Clerk	John Murdoch, carpenter's mate
		Robt. Pitt Do. Do.	Robert McDonald, carpenter's mate
		Joseph Hancock Caulker	Joseph Hancock, caulker
		Matt. Gorely 2d Mate	Matthew Granby, caulker's mate
		Geo. Nevins Seaman	John Evans, captain's servant
		Robt. Neville Do.	Antoine Le Sueur, captain's servant
		Edw. Peel	Charles Stewart, chief mate's servant
		Wm. Crichton	Anthony Holland, second mate's servant
		Peter Archibald Boy	Charles Dane, boatswain's servant
		Thos. Jones Seaman	George Roberts, carpenter's servant
		Richd. Savage	Seamen:
		Jas. King	George Nevans
		Robt. Mc Connell	Patrick Nevil
		Jas. Christie	Edward Pile
		Wm. Bramby	William Crushan
		Saml. Comelly	Peter Dobelby
		Jas. Christopher	Thomas Jones
		Wm. Sumpter	Richard Savage
		Jas. Swert	John King
		Thos. Neil	Patrick McCarrell
		Edw. Barbier	James Christie
		Nichl. Kearns	William Brumby
		Edw. Hicks	Samuel Goadby
		Lachariah Allen	John Christopher
		Anthony Partigan	William Sumpter
		Wm. Griffiths	John Severt
		Jas. Hammel	Thomas Nele
		Thos. Howson	Edward Barlace
		Isaac Lambert	Nicholas Kevin
		Abraham Lambert	Edward Hicks
		Murphy O'Brien	Zachariah Allen
		Francisco Jozie	Anthony Partozian
		Pedro Pedie	William Griffiths
		Emanuel Pinto	Joseph Hummel
		Saml. Bottom	Thomas Howison
		Andre Gregorio	Jacob Denkent
		Francisco Lucile	Abraham Vanlent
		Antonio De Cha[...]	Murphy O'Brien
		Antonio Hoffer	Francisco Josie
		Jas. Wood	Pedro Jackie
		Wm. Smith	Emanuel Paulo
		Peter Davies	Emanuel Bettam
		Jas. Bull	Andrea Rozario
		Geo. Brown	Francisco Xavier
		Thos. Ellis Seaman	Antonio De Charon
		Edw. Ostrich	Antonio Hessec
		Wm. Johnston	John Wood
		Henl. Jackson	William Smith
		Richd. Buckel	Peter Davies
		Thos. Hitchings	John Bell
		Thos. Brown	George Morris
		Joseph Brown	Thomas Ellis
		Jas. Rossiter	Edward Oldbroock
		Jas. Tucker	William Johnston
		Saml. Hermitage	Henry Jackson
		Jos. Cooper	Nicholas Bushel
		Jas. Jackson	Thomas Hitchings
		Saml. Hagues	Thomas Brown
		Jas. Fitzgerald Do.	Joseph Brown
		Jas. Cope	James Rafsaltan
		Jas. Butler	John Tucker
		Wm. Bulfield	Samuel Hermitage
		Lawr. Spurn	John Cooper

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		Richd. Hall Robt. Denham Jas. Debony Danl. Grainen Thos. Bernard Richd. James Daniel Leonard Lach. Rollins Jas. Evans Capt's Antoine D Arando Servt. Chas. Stewart Chief Mate Andw. Rolland 2 Do. Do. Rd. Pomperoon Boatswain Do. Geo. Pritchard Carpr. Do. Thos. Bendett Jas. Hayes	John Jackson Samuel Fryer John Fitzgerald James Cope James Butler William Bullock Lawrence Ipsen Richard Hall Robert Denham James Delaney Daniel German Thomas Bernard Richard James Davis Leonard Zachariah Robbins Thomas Meredith John Hayes The roll continued on the next page. **Interpretations** Richard Bagley, the *Duke of Kingston*'s purser, shared his surname with the St Helena family whose leases fill the register: Orlando Bagley, who died on the island in April 1781, John Bagley and his heirs. A purser's post on an Indiaman was valuable, and island families sometimes placed their sons in the Company's ships. Bagley may have been a member of the island family at sea. The *Duke of Kingston* had a mostly European crew, with a smaller group of Portuguese names than the *Fox* or the *Duke of Grafton*. Two years later she blew up off Ceylon with the loss of 70 of her people, as the Council reported in November 1783. Many of the men listed here were probably among them.
62	58	11th June Stewart Toy Augustine Champaigne James Wellington Thos. Harrison Matt. Stewart Surg. Mate Passengers The Honble. Jno. Whitehill Robt. Bird Esqr. Capt. Woodhouse Mrs. Taswell Master Mr. Taswell Seven Servants Miss Bland Mrs. Dobbyn Miss E. Dobbyn June 11th 1781 - (Signed) Justinian Nutt Muster Roll of Ship Halswell Richd. Pierce Commander Jno. Lodbrooke 1 Off. Joseph Garnet 2 Do. Thos. Brewster 3 Do. Jas. Menard 4 Do. Henl. Ridley 5 Do. Wm. Graham Purser Jas. Grant Surgeon Jas. Hogan Do. Mate Robt. Britton Gunner Wm. Cornwell Boatn. Jas. Hale Carpenter Benj. Arthur 1 Steward Jas. Massey Capt's Do. Wm. Murray Cooper Fred. Foster Capt's Clerk Wm. Morwood 2 Do. Do. Joseph Roberts Gunners Mate Benj. Mc Manny Do. 2d Do. Saml. Frazier Boatswain's Do. Thos. Robinson Do. Robt. Oldfield Armourer Edwd. Sharp Capt's Clerk	The *Duke of Kingston*'s roll ended with a few more names. Hewit Toy Augustus Champaign James Wellington Thomas Harrison Matthew Stewart, surgeon's mate Passengers: John Whitehill Robert Bird Captain Woodhouse Mrs Taswell Master William Taswell Miss Blair Mrs Dobbyn Miss C. Dobbyn Servants, 7 Justinian Nutt signed the roll on 11 June 1781. Muster roll of the ship *Halsewell*. Officers, petty officers and tradesmen: Richard Pierce, commander John Eastabrooke, first officer Joseph Garnault, second officer Thomas Burston, third officer John Steward, fourth officer Henry Kidley, fifth officer William Graham, purser James Grant, surgeon John Hodgson, surgeon's mate Robert Burton, gunner William Cambell, boatswain John Hale, carpenter Benjamin Cotterell, steward James Massey, captain's steward William Murray, cooper Francis Justice, carpenter's mate William Hapwell, carpenter's second mate Joseph Roberts, gunner's mate Benjamin McHenry, gunner's second mate Daniel Frazer, boatswain's mate Thomas Peck, cooper's mate Robert Allcock, armourer

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Jas. Haughton Midshipman Jas. Richardson Lancelot Maw Thos. Lucas Wm. Lee Rd. Bulkley Jas. Jackson 2d Master Wm. Hutch Do. Jas. Patterson Do. Patt. Mc Anally Do. Wm. Brown Do. Andw. Henderson Do. Thos. Smith Do. Geo. Cole Do. Wm. Johnson Do. Richd. Thompson Thos. Webb Do. Wm. Crow Do. Rd. Morris Do. Thos. King Do. Wm. Tompson Geo. Newbury Wm. Henderson Andw. Mitchell Seaman Geo. Barrie Richd. Owen Thos. Marshall Jas. Clarke Jas. Reid Robt. Walters Jas. Brown Wm. Jeffrys Geo. Reid Wm. Hodges Jas. Turner David Malcom Saml. Johnson Martin Johnson Antonio Pauli Jas. Mellins Jas. Fielding Richd. Gibbs Chas. Dunstan Peter Read Jas. Archer Thos. Palmer	Ferdinando Theese, captain's cook James Knight, midshipman John Richardson, midshipman Lancaster Moore, midshipman Thomas Lucar, midshipman William Lee, midshipman Richard Bulkley, midshipman James Jackson, second master William Slater, midshipman James Patterson, midshipman Patrick McAnally, midshipman William Bowen, midshipman Andrew Henderson, steward's mate Thomas Smith, steward's mate George Cole, steward's mate Alexander Johnson, steward's mate Richard Thompson, steward's mate Thomas Welch, steward's mate William Owen, steward's mate Andrew Morris, steward's mate Charles Kirias, steward's mate Seamen: William Tompson George Mowbray William Henderson Andrew Mitchell George Brerica Richard Owen Thomas Marshall John Clarke James Ward Robert Walters John Brown William Jeffery George Kidd William Hodges John Lancaster Frederick Meleaux Jacob Johnson Mathew Johnson Antonio Paulo James Mellier John Fielding Richard Gibbs Charles Quinton Peter Read John Hilder Thomas Palmer The roll continued on the next page. **Interpretations** John Whitehill headed the *Duke of Kingston*'s passengers. He had been governor of Madras until his suspension in 1780 for disobeying the orders of the Bengal government, and he was going home to face the directors. The Council's artillery account for April recorded a 19-gun salute to him on his arrival. It was the honour due to the head of a presidency, even one leaving under a cloud. James Grant, surgeon of the *Halsewell*, was one of the four surgeons who examined Samuel Wheeldon on board the *Granby* on 8 June 1781. Two of the four surgeons in that inquiry came from ships whose rolls are entered here. The Council drew its medical opinions from the fleet in the roads when it needed more than the island's own surgeon.
63	59	1781 John Price Seaman Wm. Comfort Jas. Walker Wm. Allnatt Edw. Dowton Jas. Gammage Jas. Campbell Henl. Hill Jonathan Wheeler	The *Halsewell*'s roll continued with the rest of her company. John Price William Cornforth James Walker William Albrathat Edward Deaton John Gammage John Campbell Henry Hill

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		Alex. Bouge	Jonathan Wheller
		Henl. Brown Seaman	Alexander Bouge
		Jas. Fagg	Henry Brown
		Wm. Radford	John Fagg
		Jas. Evans	William Radford
		Wm. Wise	John Evans
		Jas. Hill	William Wrae
		Chas. Sheldon	John Hill
		Jas. Patison	Charles Sheldon
		Thos. Matthews Capt's Servt.	James Pattison
		Henl. Gatley Do.	Thomas Matthew, captain's servant
		Thos. Turner 1 Chief Mates Do.	Henry Galley, captain's servant
		Wm. Woodd Surgeons Servt.	Thomas Forrest, chief mate's servant
		Wm. Vaughan Boatn. Do.	William Wound, surgeon's servant
		Ben. Holsworth 2 Mates Do.	William Vanhagan, boatswain's servant
		Jas. Gunners Servt.	Ben Halsewell, second mate's servant
		Wm. Lucas Do.	James Greaves, invalid
		Thomas Morris Do.	William Lucar, invalid
		Wm. Hatcher Do.	Thomas Moore, invalid
		Peter Sheard Do.	William Thatcher, invalid
		John Mc Dowell	Peter Shark, invalid
		David Harris Capt. Mate	John McDonald, invalid
		Passengers	David Harris, carpenter's mate
		Lieut. Urquart	Passengers:
		Mr. Watson	Lieutenant Urquart
		Mr. Mayers Third Off.	Mr Robison
		Pierre Joyeuse Prisoner	Mr Mayse, French officer
		Joseph Green Do.	Pierre Joyeux, prisoner
		Lewis Do.	Joseph Gorin, prisoner
		Louis Le Cor	Lewis [...], prisoner
		Grégoire Bousquet	Levey Le Cor, prisoner
		John Blackburn Ser.	Gregor Bousquel, prisoner
		(Signed) Wm. Pierce	John Black, servant
		Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Oxford	The roll was signed W. Pierce.
		John White Commander	Muster roll of the ship *Earl of Oxford*.
		Jas. White Junr. Chief Mate	Officers, petty officers and tradesmen:
		Augustus Mc Nab 2 Do.	John White, commander
		Stephen Benton 3 Do.	John White junior, chief mate
		Robt. Costa 4 Do.	Augustus McNab, second mate
		Harry Kendal 5 Do.	Stephen Newton, third mate
		Robt. Bird Purser	Robert Crosten, fourth mate
		Jas. Moffatt Surgeon	Harry Kendal, fifth mate
		Simmons Peckeridge Boatswain	Robert Reed, purser
		Nicholas Ebbitt Midshipman	James Moffatt, surgeon
		Thos. Bradbury	Simmon Cockeridge, [...]
		John Mann	Nicholas White, midshipman
		John Berry	Robert Steward, gunner
		Francis Harris	Phillip Paterson, boatswain
		Robt. Stewart Gunner	John Jackson, carpenter
		Phillip Peterson Boatn.	Samuel Stevens, caulker
		Jas. Jackson Carpr.	Robert Smith, cooper
		Saml. Morris Caulker	William Alderson, sailmaker
		Robt. Smith Cooper	Walter Rie, armourer
		Wm. Mason 1 Butcher	Thomas Hensham, carpenter's mate
		Walter Ross Armourer	Thomas Dennis, carpenter's second mate
		Thos. Strachan Capt's Steward	Thomas Colcutt, caulker's mate
		Thomas Dennis 2 Do.	John Wethard, cooper's mate
		Thos. Colwell Midshipman	William Gardner, gunner's mate
		Jas. Hartford Do.	William Vinton, boatswain's mate
		Wm. Gardner Gunners Do.	Alexander Warries, boatswain's second mate
		Wm. Winter Boatn. Do.	Robert Rose, steward
		Alex. Harris Do. Do.	John Constant, captain's cook
		Robt. Roles 1 Steward	Donald McDonald, ship's cook
		John Bowden Capt's Clerk	William Oliver, butcher
		David Mc Donald Midshipman	Robert Williams, captain's servant
		Willm. Oliver Butcher	John Wetherel, captain's servant
		Robt. Williams Servt.	Harry Burney, chief mate's servant
		Jas. Watkins Do.	William Duncan, second mate's servant
		Henry Pawsey Chief Mate's	Thomas Gibson, surgeon's servant
		Wm. Duncan 2 Do. Do.	John Buckner, boatswain's servant
		Thos. Gibson Surgeons Do.	William More, carpenter's servant
		John Beckham Steward's	John Pearson, second master
		Wm. Moore Capt's Do.	Seamen:
		John Townsend 2 Mates	Thomas Newbury
		Robt. Browning	John Morris
		Simon Lawrence	John Harry

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Albert Pearson Jas. Steadman Seaman Jas. Ingram Do. Rich. Sutherman Jacob George Oliver Doat	Francis Harris Patrick Brumage Devain Lawrence Albert Barson John Headman James Ingram Nicholas Sutherman Jacob Cruize Oliver Tate The roll continued on the next page. **Interpretations** The "Mr Mayse, French officer" in the *Halsewell* was almost certainly Monsieur Mahé, who wrote to the Council from that ship on 19 May 1781 asking leave to come ashore. The clerk wrote his name as he heard it. With him travelled five men listed as prisoners, evidently others of the Pondicherry garrison sent home by way of China. Their names appear only on a muster roll, but they show that the Council's refusal to land enemy officers concerned a whole party of captives in the roads, not a single man. The *Earl of Oxford*'s commander, John White, had his son John White junior as chief mate, and a Nicholas White among the midshipmen. A commander could promote his own relations through the ranks of his ship, and a son serving as chief mate was well placed to succeed to the command. White's ship was also the one that asked the Council for flour on 28 May and was told to wait for the store ships.
64	60	11th June Willm. Bedford Seaman Saml. Stevens Jas. Gair Thos. Briney Jas. Anderson Gunr's Servt. Amos Stalwood Seaman Joseph Sandely Geoffrey Monk Jas. Thompson Geo. Davis Saml. Brand Edward Woolard Wm. Charters Wm. Langford Robt. Humphrey Thos. Burrows Jas. Brookside Henl. Rigs Chas. Longbury Seaman Geo. Mosby Lars Bingstrom Hans Swingman Jas. Wallace Jas. Anderson Geo. Rogers Jas. Hutchinson Robt. Dennis Chas. Jensen Jas. Reves Barney Brodersen Matt. Thompson Jas. Stevens Henl. Lingquist Hugh Hale Geo. Shewstone Wm. Faddess Benj. Thompson Lars Holloon Olof Hendk. Henderson Thos. Phillips Jas. Johnston Jas. Hennessy Fred. Jas. Peters Wm. Whitford Geo. Weldon	The *Earl of Oxford*'s roll continued with the rest of her seamen. William Bedford Jeremiah Stevens John Geri Thomas Money James Anderson, gunner's servant Amos Halvorson Joseph Smedley Godfrey Monk Thomas Thompson George Davis Daniel Bennet Pascal Dodard William Charters William Langford Robert Humphreys Andrew Burrows John Baptista Henry Riga Charles Lingberge George Bailey Lars Bingstram Hans Hansgreen James Wallace John Anderson George Rogers James Hutchinson Robert Lawson Charles Jackson John Rewel Barney Brabason Alexander Thompson John Stevens Henry Lingquist Robert Slater George Hewstone William Taddess Benjamin Thompson Lars Hollman Ole Henrik Halverson Thomas Phillips John Johnston John Hennessey Frederick James Porter William Wellford

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		Geo. Bradley Jas. Williams Wm. Davis Jos. Thompson Jens Jensen Hoy Benedict Smith Lars Olsen Jas. Griffiths Passengers Capt. Patrick Barclay Mrs. Barclay Miss Fanny Barclay Master Jas. Barclay Mrs. Mana Dinely Mary Simmons Servant Miss Mary Turner Miss Peter Turner Lieut. Geo. Ogilvie Two Bl. Man Servants Mons. Dorsey F. Prisoner Francis Conget Do. Matt. Pierre F. Prisoner Jas. Arsenis Do. Jas. Bacon Prisoner Jas. Mc Kenny Bastiaan Rogers Jas. Piercel (Signed) Jas. White Junior Chief Mate Muster Roll of Ship E. Sandwich Chas. Deane Commander Geo. Uddefford Chief Mate Jas. Woodworth 2 Do. Wm. Hill 3 Do. Jas. Fry 4 Do. Jas. Archd. Ferguson Wm. Bulley Purser Jas. Allen Boatswain Jas. Munger Carpr. Burt. Nelson Ships Mate Jas. Cummings Midshipman Thos. Selby Do. Edw. Williams Do. Gabl. Lancott Caulker Bern Colcroft Cooper Wm. Langley 1 Steward Wm. Gingell Armourer Henl. Jones Cook Thos. Munger Carpenters Mate Wm. Bonnygate 2 Do. Peter Cochrane Gunrs. Mate	George Sheddan George Bradley John Williams William Davis John Thompson Jens Jensen Kray Benedict Smith Lars Olsen John Griffiths Passengers: Captain Patrick Barclay Mrs Barclay Miss Nancy Barclay Master James Barclay Mrs Maria Dinsby Mary Jameson, servant Miss Mary Turin Miss Helen Turin Lieutenant George Ogilvie Two black women servants Monsieur Dufay, French prisoner Francis Vaugh, French prisoner Matthieu Leprin, French prisoner James Evans, invalid John Mason, invalid John Shildering, invalid Bastian Rodgers, invalid John Pleuart, invalid John White junior, chief mate, signed the roll. Muster roll of the ship *Earl of Sandwich*. Charles Downe, commander George Blatchford, chief mate John Wadsworth, second mate William Dell, third mate James Fry, fourth mate John Archibald, surgeon William Butterfield, purser John Allen, boatswain John Stranger, carpenter Bartholomew Nelson, surgeon's mate John Cummings, midshipman Thomas Selby, midshipman Edward Williams, midshipman Gabriel Evard, caulker Adam Cotterill, cooper Thomas Doughty, sailmaker William Greig, steward Henry Dixon, captain's steward Thomas Stranger, carpenter's first mate William Bengstolk, carpenter's second mate Peter Oestrem, gunner's mate **Interpretations** The *Earl of Oxford* had made up her losses from Scandinavian seamen, not Asian ones. Names such as Lars Bingstram, Hans Hansgreen, Ole Henrik Halverson, Jens Jensen Kray and Lars Olsen point to Swedish, Danish and Norwegian sailors. Swedish and Danish East India ships traded at Canton, and their men could be recruited there when a British ship was short-handed. Each ship in the fleet drew on whatever pool of seamen it met. Three more French prisoners sailed in the *Earl of Oxford*, adding to the party in the *Halsewell*. The Company was carrying the Pondicherry captives home spread across several ships, so no single vessel had to guard a large body of enemy officers. The "two black women servants" travelling with the Barclay family were probably Indian ayahs, nurses who cared for children on the voyage home. Some stayed in England; many were abandoned there by their employers.
65	61	1781 Evan Griffiths Boatn. Mate Wm. Potter 2 Do. Jas. Bartholomew Capt's Cook Jas. Murray 1 Do.	The *Earl of Sandwich*'s roll continued with the rest of her company. Petty officers and servants: Evan Griffiths, boatswain's first mate William Nettles, boatswain's second mate

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		John Mc Isaac 2d Master	Jeremiah Barthelemy, captain's cook
		Patt. Bennett Do.	John Strong, ship's cook
		Matt. Brown Do.	John Wolfe, second master
		Duncan Dunbar	Patrick Bennett, second master
		Saml. Bulmer Capt's Servt.	Matthew Brown, second master
		Thos. Griffith Do.	Duncan Dunbar
		Jas. Turner Chief Mate's Do.	Samuel Belamy, captain's servant
		Thos. Morris Gunners Do.	Thomas Griffith, captain's servant
		Wm. Wood Boatn. Do.	John Turner, chief mate's servant
		Jas. Peavey Seaman	Thomas Revil, gunner's servant
		Andw. Burns	William West, boatswain's servant
		Andw. Chambers	James Turnbull, surgeon's mate
		Wm. Mc Ginny	Seamen:
		Jas. Wood	John Bacey
		Jas. Cook	Andrew Brand
		Elijah Moffatt	Andrew Chambers
		Thos. Sandifer	William McGarry
		Jas. Berry	John West
		Wm. Boyce Seaman	James Cook
		Jas. Atkin	Elijah Moffatt
		Hugh Still	Thomas Inskip
		Jas. Chamber	John Geary
		Jas. Sard	William Bogie
		Chas. Maxwell	John Atkin
		Jas. Cox	Hugh Still
		Henl. Austin	John Chamber
		Laurie Lord	John Nash
		Daniel Gustavus	Charles Maxwell
		Jas. Peterson	John Good
		Thos. Wills	Henry Martin
		Arthur Moore	Laurice Lind
		James Gibbs	Pearl Gustavus
		Andw. Abramsen	John Jetson
		Joseph Phillis	Thomas Willis
		Jas. Kelly	Arthur Moore
		Thos. Bryant	Jonathan Gibbs
		Geo. Crombie	Andrew Ahearnan
		David Fry	Joseph Phillis
		Thos. King	James Kelly
		David Smith Seaman	Thomas Bryant
		Alexr. Hayman	George Crombie
		Jas. Clark	David Fay
		Geo. Bond	Thomas King
		Wm. Berry	David Smith
		Wm. Murray	Alexander Hayman
		Thos. Chapman	Jonathan Clark
		Jas. Fady	George Bond
		Jas. Noble	William Pury
		Daniel Christiansen	William Murray
		Hans Swenson	Thomas Chapman
		Andreas Hagben	James Fardy
		Mads Pederson	John Noble
		Peter Francis	Christian Christianson
		Saml. Nelson	Hans Swenson
		Jas. Smith	Andreas Hagber
		Jas. Jensen	Mads Pederson
		Michl. Lockander	Peter Frantz
		Sevin Rasmussen	Daniel Nielson
		Thos. Gardner	John Smidt
		Jas. Roe	John Jonson
		Jas. Turnbull Surgns. Mate	Michael Lockander
		Passengers	David Rasmuson
		Mr. Deane 1 Servant	Thomas Gardner
		Mr. Hammilton 11 Invalids	John Roe
		Mr. Lyttell	Passengers:
		(Signed) Geo. Blackford	Mr Deane
		Muster Roll of Ship Granby	Mr Hammilton
		John Johnston Commander	Mr Lytnett
		Jas. Brown 1 Mate	Servant, 1
		Saml. Wheadon 2 Do.	Invalids, 11
		Chas. Jones 3 Do.	George Blatchford, chief mate, signed the roll.
		Walter Carruthers 4 Do.	Muster roll of the ship *Granby*.
		Geo. Mosses 5 Do.	John Johnston, commander
		Henl. Archers 6th Do.	John Bevan, first mate
		Jas. Duncan Surgeon	Samuel Wheedon, second mate
		Jas. Holland Purser	Charles Jones, third mate

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		Thos. Bransfield Surg. Mate Jas. Pope Boatswain Wm. Hill Gunner Jas. Thompson Carpr. Wm. Robinson Midshipman Jas. Smith Midshipman Jas. Thompson Do. Joseph Gibbons Do. Jas. Price Capt's Clerk Chas. Parks Midshipman Jas. Freidrick Taylor Alexr. Webster Cooper	Walter Carruthers, fourth mate George Stevens, fifth mate Henry Stockers, sixth mate John Duncan, surgeon James Holland, purser Thomas Bamfield, surgeon's mate John Pope, boatswain William Hill, gunner John Thompson, carpenter William Robinson, midshipman John Smith, midshipman John Thompson, midshipman Joseph Gibbons, midshipman John Price, captain's steward Charles Parks, ship's steward David Tweddell, captain's tailor Alexander Webster, cooper **Interpretations** The *Granby*'s roll still listed Samuel Wheedon as second mate. Johnston had dismissed him in writing on 17 April 1781 and was holding him on a charge of piracy, yet the official muster kept him on the ship's books. Removing a man from the roll at sea would have needed the Company's sanction. Until the charge was tried in England, Wheedon remained, on paper, an officer of the ship that held him prisoner. John Duncan, the *Granby*'s surgeon, was one of the four surgeons who examined Wheedon and reported on 9 June 1781 that his life was at risk unless he was put ashore. A surgeon from Johnston's own ship had joined in the report that contradicted his commander. The *Earl of Sandwich*, like the *Earl of Oxford*, had taken on a group of Scandinavian seamen: Christianson, Swenson, Pederson, Nielson, Rasmuson and others. She was also carrying eleven invalids home, probably soldiers from India.
66	62	11th June Thos. Henderson Armr. Jas. Weeks 1 Mates Robt. Campbell Cook Thos. Houghley 1 Do. Jas. Franklin Butcher Jas. Ramsay Caulker Wm. Willocks Joiner Robt. Hayes Gunners Mate Richd. Davies Carpenter Do. Jas. Bruce Cooks Do. Alexr. Stewart Capt's Servt. Jas. Long 2d Master Wm. Ross Do. Jas. Horton Do. Jas. Kelly Boatswains Mate Jas. Davidson Do. Do. Saml. Potts Seaman Wm. Senior Jas. Smith Nichl. Walters Jas. Tyler Jas. Russel Wm. Gibbs Jas. Ross Wm. Coffin Edw. Tuit Wm. Hudson Jas. Evans Wm. Yeoman Seaman Alexr. Mc Lane Jas. Riddle Jas. Newton Saml. Neale Thos. Herbert Thos. Higgs Wm. Gibson Saml. Sampson	The *Granby*'s roll continued with the rest of her company. Petty officers and tradesmen: Thomas Henderson, armourer John Alcock, sailmaker Patrick Campbell, captain's cook Thomas Roughley, ship's cook James Franklin, butcher James Ramsay, caulker William Willcocks, joiner Robert Ross, gunner's mate Richard Davis, cooper's mate James Rose, cook's mate Alexander Steward, carpenter's mate John Long, second master William Ross, second master John Horton, second master John Hilley, boatswain's mate James Davidson, boatswain's mate Seamen: Francis Botts Vido Derado John Smith Michael Walters John Eyles John Russel William Gibbs John Knox William Coffin Edward Evitt William Kidson James Evans Abraham Yeoman Alexander McLane John Beadle James Newton Samuel Neale Thomas Hubert

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		Richd. Organ Jas. Bruce Jas. Armstrong Jas. Scott Andw. Cagnan Peter Freeman Andw. Denman John Mc Gie Jas. Stewart Robt. Mett Richd. Hocker Richd. Hogan Jas. Taylor Patt. Brady Chas. Breen Danl. Smith Jas. Butler Phillip Holmes Fred. Williams Alexr. Lawrence Nephl. Simmonds Benjn. Dall Gunn Ulse Jas. Lagnal Jas. Price Henl. Hodgson Wm. Bowsom Jas. Brass Jas. Taylor R. Shepherd Arthur Davidson Wm. Norris Peter Rowe Richd. Cork Chas. Buckie Wm. Gray Jos. Evans Michl. Laurwick Barnard Barnard Josl. Newman Francois Gouchard Vincent Roan Joseph Aume Jas. Seaman Seaman Jas. Brown Do. Matt. Johnston Do. (Signed) Jno. Johnston John Hardy Matross this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having procured Edward Folger from the Lord North Whaling Vessel to serve the Remainder of his Contracted time. - Granted - **Margin Notes:** Prisoners	Thomas Higgs William Gibson Samuel Sampson Richard Organ John Bruce James Armstrong John Scott Andrew Ongnam Peter Freeman Andrew Duncan John McGie John Stewart Robert Mott Richard Hocker Richard Hogan James Taylor Patrick Brady Christopher Bevan Daniel Smith John Miller Phillip Holmes Frederick Williams Abraham Lawrence Stephen Simmonds Benjamin Dall Yurn Ulse John Legnal John Pierce Henry Codogan William Beavan John Brass John Taylor Richard Shepherd Arthur Davidson William Norris Peter Rance Richard Evitt Christopher Buchin William Grey Joseph Evans Michael Larowick James Duncan Joseph Brown Robert Johnston Prisoners: Bartholomew Barnard Joseph Mowran Francis Godeland Vincent Rean Joseph Lane John Johnston signed the roll. John Harley, a matross, petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison. He had found Lebbeus Folger, from the whaling vessel *Sandwich*, to serve the remainder of his contracted time in his place. The Council granted it. **Interpretations** The five prisoners in the *Granby* were evidently more of the French captives from Pondicherry, carried home under guard alongside those in the *Halsewell* and the *Earl of Oxford*. Together the China fleet was taking home at least a dozen enemy prisoners besides the officers on parole. Harley's discharge worked by substitution. A soldier still under contract could leave only if he provided a fit man to take his place for the rest of his term, so the garrison lost nobody. Lebbeus Folger was almost certainly a Nantucket whaleman: Folger was among the commonest names on that island, and Lebbeus a characteristic Nantucket Quaker forename. Whalers from New England and London hunted sperm whales in the South Atlantic and called at St Helena for water. A whaleman ready to enlist in the Company's garrison was a useful recruit for an island that could not raise soldiers of its own, and the arrangement suited both men.

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67	63	1781 David Richards and Richd. Pellier from Ship Granby and Earl of Sandwich this Day delivered themselves up as Deserters from Madrass. Whom We have Entertained to serve five Years as Soldiers in this Garrison. And given them each three Pounds to buy necessaries. - Being in want of Wheat for the use of the Honble. Company, We have Purchased on their Account 67 . 2 . 4 at 18/ ℔ hundred amounting to £ 60 . 10 . 6. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th Day of June 1781 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Do. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 11th June 1781. - Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of May last which is as follows Viz.	David Richards and Richard Pullins, seamen from the *Granby* and the *Earl of Sandwich*, gave themselves up that day as deserters from Madras. The Council took them into the garrison to serve five years as soldiers, and gave each of them £3 0s 0d to buy necessaries. The Company was short of wheat, so the Council bought 67 hundredweight 1 quarter on its account at 18s a hundredweight, a total of £60 10s 6d. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of 11 June 1781. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 18 June 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 11 June 1781. The Council counted and examined the Company's cash for May 1781, as set out on the next page. **Interpretations** Richards and Pullins were seamen who had deserted their ships at Madras and then reappeared at St Helena. The Council had refused Captain Johnston the return of David Kitchen on 1 June, under the Company's order that men who reached the island from its settlements were not to be handed back as deserters. Now two more seamen gave themselves up and were enlisted on the spot. A five-year engagement and £3 0s 0d for kit turned deserters from the fleet into recruits for the garrison. For the men, enlistment meant escape from a commander's discipline and a settled post ashore. For the Council, it meant soldiers at a time when the garrison was losing men steadily to expired engagements. The captains lost hands they badly needed, but the Company's order put its own garrison first. The wheat was bought for the same reason the peas had been: the store ships had not come, flour was nearly gone, and the island had to buy grain at whatever price passing ships would accept.
68	64	Cash Dr. Per Contra Cr. 1781 May 31 To Balance Remaining Viz. In Specie 8882 16 5 In Cash Notes 539 15 - £ 9422 11 5 1781 May 31 By Balance Remaining Viz. 9422 11 5 £ 9422 11 5 John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett **Margin Notes:** B. Snow	The Company's cash account for May 1781 showed the following balance. Cash, debit: to balance remaining, 31 May 1781, £9,422 11s 5d Cash, credit: by balance remaining, 31 May 1781, made up as follows In coin, £8,882 16s 5d In cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £9,422 11s 5d Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The island's treasury held well over £9,000 in May 1781, almost all of it in coin. The Council was short of flour, salt meat and fuel, yet it had plenty of money. Its difficulty was that money could not buy what was not there. With the store ships late and the China fleet unwilling to sell, cash was of little use until supplies arrived. That explains why the Council paid high prices for peas and wheat whenever a ship would sell, and why it absorbed the loss rather than charge the soldiers. Cash notes were the island's own paper money, issued by the Company's treasury and accepted locally in place of coin. They made up only a small share of the balance. Most of the treasury was silver, much of it paid in for bills of exchange on London, which kept the island's government well funded even in the leanest season.

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69	65	25th June At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th Day of June 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Do. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 18th June 1781. - The Storekeeper this day delivered the following account of Stores short received from Ships Duke of Kingston, Halswell, Granby, Earl of Oxford, Earl of Sandwich and Britannia. - Account of Stores short Received from the following Ships Viz. Duke of Kingston cwt. qr. lb. 3 . 3 . 27 Rice, Short weight occasioned by Wastage Halswell cwt. qr. lb. . . 12 Sugar 2 . 0 Candy Short weight occasioned by Do. 14 Sago 1 Tureen and Dish 39 Saucers Found Broke upon opening the Packages 1 Chest W. S. being packed with Paper instead of Sago hundred pieces Nankeen Returned to Capt. Pierce. Granby cwt. qr. lb. . . 6 Sugar . 1 . 3 Candy . . 19 Sago Short weight occasioned by Wastage 8 Half pint Cups and Saucers, found broke upon opening the Packages -	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 25 June 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 18 June 1781. The storekeeper laid before the Council an account of stores delivered short from the *Duke of Kingston*, *Halsewell*, *Granby*, *Earl of Oxford*, *Earl of Sandwich* and *Britannia*. From the *Duke of Kingston*: Rice short of weight through wastage, 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 27 pounds From the *Halsewell*: Sugar short of weight through wastage, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 12 pounds Sugar candy short of weight through wastage, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 0 pounds Sago short of weight through wastage, 14 pounds China tureen and dish found broken on opening the packages, 1 China saucers found broken on opening the packages, 39 Chest number 8, packed with paper in place of [...] hundred pieces of nankeen cloth, returned to Captain Pierce, 1 From the *Granby*: Sugar short of weight through wastage, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 6 pounds Sugar candy short of weight through wastage, 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 3 pounds Sago short of weight through wastage, 19 pounds Half-pint china cups and saucers found broken on opening the packages, 8 The account continued on the next page. **Interpretations** The *Halsewell*'s chest number 8 was a different matter from wastage or breakage. It arrived packed with paper instead of the nankeen cloth the Canton invoice listed. Someone, at Canton or on the voyage, had taken the cloth and filled the chest so that its weight and bulk would pass. The storekeeper returned the chest to Captain Pierce, making him answerable for the loss. As with the rice short from the *Fox* and the *Duke of Grafton*, the Council treated missing goods as a matter for the commander, while ordinary loss of weight and breakage were accepted as risks of the voyage. The 2 per cent the Canton invoices allowed for breakage of china ware covered losses of this kind. Thirty-nine broken saucers and a tureen from the *Halsewell* show how fragile the cargo was, even when packed in sago.
70	66	25th June Earl of Oxford cwt. qr. lb. . . 23 Candy . 2 . 5 Sago Short weight occasioned by wastage 3 Ewglets & Basons 4 Chamber Pots Found broke upon opening the Packages Earl of Sandwich cwt. qr. lb. 1 . 2 . 2 Sugar . . 26 Candy . . 10 Sago Short weight occasioned by wastage 1 Ewglet & Bason found broke upon opening the Packages Britannia cwt. qr. lb. . . 17 Sugar Short weight occasioned by wastage 47 Quart Pint Cups	From the *Earl of Oxford*: Sugar candy short of weight through wastage, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 23 pounds Sago short of weight through wastage, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 5 pounds China quart basins found broken on opening the packages, 3 China chamber pots found broken on opening the packages, 4 From the *Earl of Sandwich*: Sugar short of weight through wastage, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 2 pounds Sugar candy short of weight through wastage, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 26 pounds Sago short of weight through wastage, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 10 pounds China quart basin found broken on opening the packages, 1 From the *Britannia*: Sugar short of weight through wastage, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 17 pounds

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		27 Do. Saucers Found broke upon the Packages - (Signed) John Goodwin Storekeeper John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Half-pint china cups found broken on opening the packages, 47 China saucers found broken on opening the packages, 27 John Goodwin, the storekeeper, signed the account. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** Across the six ships, the losses of sugar and sago were small, a few pounds to a hundredweight or two each, and the Council accepted them as wastage on a voyage of several months. Sugar lost weight as its moisture dried out, and sago could be spilled when packed around porcelain. The broken china was more striking. The *Britannia* alone lost 47 cups and 27 saucers, far beyond the 2 per cent the Canton invoices allowed. Porcelain was packed in chests that were handled roughly, hoisted through the surf in boats and carried up to the stores, so much of the breakage may have happened at the island itself. Entering every item in the record let the Company compare its losses with the allowance and decide whether any commander should answer for them, as Captain Pierce was made to answer for the chest filled with paper.
71	67	27th June At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 27th June 1781 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 25th June 1781. - Monday the 25th June arrived the Stormont's Boat at Banks's at one OClock in the afternoon Do. the Do. Do. the Lascelles Do. at Do. at 1/4 past Do. Do. the Do. Do. the Atlas Do. at Do. at Do. Do. the Do. Do. the Honble. Company's Ship Stormont London, Lascelles, Besborough Bridgewater, Atlas and York from China This day arrived the Honble. Company's Ship Hastings from England by which opportunity We received a Packet from the Honble. the Court of Directors, which We perused and Read. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor likewise received by the same Conveyance a Packet from the Honble. the Secret Committee. - The Ships Stormont, Lascelles, London, Besborough Atlas, Bridgewater and York brought us the following supply - Viz.	The Council met at the Castle on Wednesday 27 June 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 25 June 1781. On Monday 25 June 1781 the boats of the China ships reached Banks's in the afternoon. The *Stormont*'s boat came in at one o'clock and the *Lascelles*'s at a quarter past one, and the *Atlas*'s followed. The Company's ships *Stormont*, *London*, *Lascelles*, *Besborough*, *Bridgewater*, *Atlas* and *York* then arrived from China. That day the Company's ship *Hastings* arrived from London. She brought a packet from the Court of Directors, which the Council read. The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor also received a packet from the Secret Committee by the same ship. The *Stormont*, *Lascelles*, *London*, *Besborough*, *Atlas*, *Bridgewater* and *York* brought supplies for the island, as the invoice that followed set out. **Interpretations** A second China fleet of seven ships arrived barely five weeks after the first. The Company had evidently split the season's homeward China ships into two convoys, sailing a few weeks apart. With the first fleet still in the roads awaiting convoy, St Helena now had more than a dozen laden Indiamen lying off Jamestown at once, the largest gathering of Company wealth the island ever sheltered. Every one of them needed water and fresh food from an island already on short rations. The *Hastings* was the first ship from England in months, and her arrival mattered more than the China fleet's. The island had been waiting for the store ships since the start of the year. The packet from the Secret Committee, opened only by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, probably carried orders about convoys and the war with the Dutch. News of that war reached the island in June 1781, by this ship or one close to her. The Secret Committee's orders would decide when the gathered fleets could sail and under what escort.
72	68	27th June Invoice of Ship Stormont Tales m. c. c. China Ware 2 Chests Tales 23. 7 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent	The invoices for the supplies sent from Canton in the second China fleet followed, valued in taels, mace, candareens and cash. Invoice of the ship *Stormont*, dated at Canton in January 1781:

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		4. 6. 6 22 6 - 4 Sago packed with the China Ware Peculs 1. 95 Catties @ 4. 8 9 3 - 6 Singlo 2 Chests Weight Nt. Peculs 1, 15 @ 21 24 1 5 - Congo 1 Do. 72 @ 18 12 9 6 Bohea 3 Do. 3, 43 @ 12 41 1 6 Sugar 12 Do. 26, 37 @ 4.8 126 5 7 6 Sugar Candy 8 Chests 17, 12 @ 7. 6 131 1 5 2 Tales 366 9 2 7 Canton January 1781 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper Invoice of Ship Lascelles Tales m. c. c. China Ware 2 Chests Tales 22, 8 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 4. 5. 6 22 3 4 4 Singlo 2 Chests Weight Nt. Peculs 1, 16, 21 24 3 6 - Congo 1 Do. 71 @ 18 12 7 8 - Bohea 3 Do. 3, 9 @ 12 37 - 0 - Sugar 12 Do. 25. 27 @ 4, 8 121 2 9 6 Sugar Candy 7 Chests 15, 2 @ 7, 6 114 3 - 4 Tales 332 1 6 4 Canton 20th January 1781 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper	China ware, 2 chests, 23 taels 7 mace, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 4 mace 6 candareens 1 cash, 22 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 4 cash Sago packed with the china ware, 1 picul 95 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 9 taels 3 mace 0 candareens 6 cash Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1 picul 15 catties, at 21 taels a picul, 24 taels 1 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 1 chest, net 72 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 12 taels 9 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 3 chests, net 3 piculs 43 catties, at 12 taels a picul, 41 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 26 piculs 37 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 126 taels 5 mace 7 candareens 6 cash Sugar candy, 8 chests, net 17 piculs 12 catties, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 130 taels 1 mace 1 candareen 2 cash Total, 366 taels 9 mace 2 candareens 7 cash Invoice of the ship *Lascelles*, dated at Canton on 20 January 1781: China ware, 2 chests, 22 taels 8 mace, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 4 mace 5 candareens 6 cash, 22 taels 3 mace 4 candareens 4 cash Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1 picul 16 catties, at 21 taels a picul, 24 taels 3 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 1 chest, net 75 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 12 taels 7 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 3 chests, net 3 piculs 9 catties, at 12 taels a picul, 37 taels 0 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 25 piculs 27 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 121 taels 2 mace 9 candareens 6 cash Sugar candy, 7 chests, net 15 piculs 4 catties, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 114 taels 3 mace 0 candareens 4 cash Total, 332 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 4 cash Both invoices were marked errors excepted and signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper. **Interpretations** The second fleet's invoices were dated about a month after the first fleet's, which were signed at Canton on 26 December 1780. The supercargoes ordered the island's whole year's supply at the same fixed prices and divided it across both fleets, not just across the ships of one. The rates for every grade of tea, for sugar and for sugar candy were identical on all the invoices. If one fleet were lost in wartime, the other would still bring the island part of its tea and sugar. The second fleet carried more sugar candy than the first: eight chests in the *Stormont* and seven in the *Lascelles*, against four or five in most of the earlier ships. Sugar candy kept well, travelled well and was valued on the island both as a sweetener and as a stock that would not spoil. The heavier shipment may have been meant to cover the gap if the first fleet's share was lost.
73	69	1781 - Invoice of Ship London Tales m. c. c. China Ware 1 Chest Tales 22, 5 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 4, 4, 5 21 6 - 9 Souchon 1 Chest Weight Nt. Peculs 36 @ 36 12, 9, 6 Cannisters 20 @ 1, 5 3 15 9 6 - Hyson 1 Chest 33 @ 40 15, 0 4 Cannisters 20 @ 1, 5 3 18 0 4 - Congo 2 Chests 1, 44 @ 18 25 9 2 - Singlo 1 Do.	Invoice of the ship *London*, dated at Canton on 20 January 1781: China ware, 1 chest, 22 taels 5 mace, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 4 mace 4 candareens 1 cash, 21 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 9 cash Souchong tea, 1 chest, net 36 catties, at 3 mace 6 candareens a catty, 12 taels 9 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Canisters for the souchong, 20, at 1 mace 5 candareens 3 cash each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Souchong and canisters together, 15 taels 9 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Hyson tea, 1 chest, net 33 catties, at 4 mace a catty, 15 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Canisters for the hyson, 20, at 1 mace 5 candareens 3 cash each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Hyson and canisters together, 18 taels 0 mace 4 candareens 0 cash

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		58 @ 21 12 1 8 - Bohea 3 Do. 3, 50 @ 12 42 - - - Sugar 12 Chests 25, 73 @ 4,8 123 5 - 4 Sugar Candy 6 Do. 12, 75 @ 7, 6 96 9 - - Nankeen Cloth 1 Chest Cont. 100 ps. @ 3,4, 34 Chest 1 2, 5 2,5 34 2 5 - Tales 395 1 6 3 Canton 20th January 1781 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper Invoice of Ship Besborough - Tales m. c. c. China Ware 2 Chests Tales 42, 89 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 8, 5 8 42 - 3 2 Singlo 2 Chests Weigh. Nt. Peculs 1, 18 @ 21 47 7 8 - Congo 1 Do. 70 @ 18 12 6 - - Bohea 3 Chests 3, 33 @ 12 39 9 6 - Sugar 12 Do. 25,80 @ 4, 8 123 8 4 - Sugar Candy 8 Do. 16, 06 @ 7, 6 120 1 3 6 Tales 371 3 4 8 Canton 20th Jany. 1781 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper	Congou tea, 2 chests, net 1 picul 44 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 25 taels 9 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Singlo tea, 1 chest, net 58 catties, at 21 taels a picul, 12 taels 1 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 3 chests, net 3 piculs 50 catties, at 12 taels a picul, 42 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 25 piculs 73 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 123 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 4 cash Sugar candy, 6 chests, net 12 piculs 75 catties, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 96 taels 9 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Nankeen cloth, 1 chest of 100 pieces, at 3 mace 4 candareens a piece, 34 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Chest for the nankeen, 1, at 2 mace 5 candareens, 0 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Nankeen and chest together, 34 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Total, 395 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 3 cash Invoice of the ship *Besborough*, dated at Canton on 20 January 1781: China ware, 2 chests, 42 taels 8 mace 9 candareens, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 8 mace 5 candareens 8 cash, 42 taels 0 mace 3 candareens 2 cash Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1 picul 18 catties, at 21 taels a picul, 47 taels 7 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 1 chest, net 70 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 12 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 3 chests, net 3 piculs 33 catties, at 12 taels a picul, 39 taels 9 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 25 piculs 80 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 123 taels 8 mace 4 candareens 0 cash Sugar candy, 8 chests, net 16 piculs 6 catties, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 120 taels 1 mace 3 candareens 6 cash Total, 371 taels 3 mace 4 candareens 8 cash Both invoices were marked errors excepted and signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper. **Interpretations** The *London* carried the island's share of the finest teas in this fleet: a chest each of souchong and hyson, packed in canisters. In the first fleet these teas had come in the *Earl of Sandwich* and the *Earl of Oxford*. The supercargoes placed the high-grade teas in only one or two ships of each fleet, as they were bought in small amounts for the Company's table and the senior officers, while the bulk teas, sugar and sugar candy were spread evenly.
74	70	27th June Invoice of Ship Bridgewater Tales m. c. c. China Ware 1 Chest Tales 21, 4, 5 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 4, 2, 9 21 - 2 5 Singlo 1 Chest Weigh. Nt. Peculs 59, 21 12 3 9 - Congo 2 Chests 1, 41 @ 18 25 3 8 - Bohea 3 Do. 3, 46 @ 12 41 5 2 - Sugar 12 Do. 25, 44 @ 4. 8 122 1 1 2 Sugar Candy 8 Do. 17, 0 @ 7, 6 129 8 - 0 Nankeen Cloth 1 Chest Cont. 1 ℔ 100 pcs. @ 3, 4, 34 Chest 1 @ 2, 5 2, 5	Invoice of the ship *Bridgewater*, dated at Canton on 20 January 1781: China ware, 1 chest, 21 taels 4 mace 5 candareens, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 4 mace 2 candareens 9 cash, 21 taels 0 mace 2 candareens 1 cash Singlo tea, 1 chest, net 59 catties, at 21 taels a picul, 12 taels 3 mace 9 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 2 chests, net 1 picul 41 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 25 taels 9 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 3 chests, net 3 piculs 46 catties, at 12 taels a picul, 41 taels 5 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 25 piculs 44 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 122 taels 1 mace 1 candareen 2 cash Sugar candy, 8 chests, net 17 piculs 8 catties, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 129 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 8 cash Nankeen cloth, 1 chest of 100 pieces, at 3 mace 4 candareens a piece, with chest at 2 mace 5 candareens, 34 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Total, 386 taels 4 mace 0 candareens 1 cash Invoice of the ship *Atlas*, dated at Canton on 20 January 1781: China ware, 1 chest, 21 taels 4 mace 5 candareens, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 4 mace 2 candareens 9 cash, 21 taels 0 mace 2 candareens 1 cash

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		34 2 5 - Tales 386 4 0 5 Canton 20 Jany. 1781 E. Excepted (Signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matt. Raper Invoice of Ship Atlas Tales m. c. c. China Ware 1 Chest Tales 25, 4, 5 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 4, 2, 9 21 - 2 5 Singlo 2 Chests weighing Nt. Peculs 1, 15 @ 21 24 1 5 - Congo 1 Do. 1, 42 @ 18 25 5 6 - Souchong 1 Do. 30 @ 36 Tales 13, 6, 0 Cannisters 20 @ 1, 5 3 16 6 0 - Hyson 1 Do. 32 @ 40 15, 3, 6 Cannisters 20, 1, 5 3 18 3 6 - Bohea 3 Do. 3, 53 @ 12 42 3 6 - Sugar 12 Do. 25, 20 @ 4, 8 120 9 6 - Sugar Candy 5 Do. 10, 32 @ 7, 6 78 4 3 2 Nankeen Cloth 1 Chest Cont. 1 ℔ 100 @ 3, 4 Tales 34 Chest 1 @ 2, 5 25 34 2 5 - Tales 381 7 2 3 Canton 20th Jany. 1781 E. Excepted (Signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matt. Raper	Singlo tea, 2 chests, net 1 picul 15 catties, at 21 taels a picul, 24 taels 1 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 1 chest, net 1 picul 42 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 25 taels 5 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Souchong tea, 1 chest, net 38 catties, at 3 mace 6 candareens a catty, 13 taels 6 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Canisters for the souchong, 20, at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Souchong and canisters together, 16 taels 6 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Hyson tea, 1 chest, net 32 catties, at 4 mace 8 candareens a catty, 15 taels 3 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Canisters for the hyson, 20, at 1 mace 5 candareens each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Hyson and canisters together, 18 taels 3 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 3 chests, net 3 piculs 53 catties, at 12 taels a picul, 42 taels 3 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 25 piculs 20 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 120 taels 9 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Sugar candy, 5 chests, net 10 piculs 32 catties, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 78 taels 4 mace 3 candareens 2 cash Nankeen cloth, 1 chest of 100 pieces, at 3 mace 4 candareens a piece, with chest at 2 mace 5 candareens, 34 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Total, 381 taels 7 mace 7 candareens 3 cash Both invoices were marked errors excepted and signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper. **Interpretations** In the *Bridgewater*'s invoice the clerk wrote each sum one line above the item it belonged to, so the china ware's value stood against the heading and the nankeen's against the sugar candy. The weights and rates show which sum belongs to each item, and they are set out here in their proper places. A copying slip of this kind was easy to make in a long register, and it shows why the storekeeper checked each delivery against the goods actually landed rather than trusting the invoice alone. The *Atlas*, like the *London*, carried souchong and hyson in canisters. In this second fleet the fine teas were split between two ships, as they had been in the first, so that the Castle's own supply did not depend on a single vessel.
75	71	1781 - Invoice of Ship York Tales m. c. c. China Ware 1 Chest Tales 21, 3, 2 Deducted for Breakage 20 ℔ Cent 4, 2, 6 20 8 9 4 Singlo 1 Chest Weighing Nt. Peculs 59 @ 21 12 3 9 - Congo 2 Chests 1, 42 @ 18 25 5 6 - Bohea 3 Do. 3, 41 @ 12 40 9 2 - Sugar 12 Do. 25, 17 @ 4, 8 123 4 - 0 Sugar Candy 8 Do. 16, 04 @ 7, 6 127 9 0 4 Nankeen Cloth 1 Chest Cont. 1 ℔ 100 pcs. @ 3, 4, 34 1 Chest 2,5 25	Invoice of the ship *York*, dated at Canton on 20 January 1781: China ware, 1 chest, 21 taels 3 mace 2 candareens, less 2 per cent for breakage, 0 taels 4 mace 2 candareens 6 cash, 20 taels 8 mace 9 candareens 4 cash Singlo tea, 1 chest, net 59 catties, at 21 taels a picul, 12 taels 3 mace 9 candareens 0 cash Congou tea, 2 chests, net 1 picul 42 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 25 taels 5 mace 6 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, 3 chests, net 3 piculs 41 catties, at 12 taels a picul, 40 taels 9 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 12 chests, net 25 piculs 17 catties, at 4 taels 8 mace a picul, 12[...] taels [...] Sugar candy, 8 chests, net 16 piculs 4 catties, at 7 taels 6 mace a picul, 12[...] taels 9 mace 0 candareens 4 cash Nankeen cloth, 1 chest of 100 pieces, at 3 mace 4 candareens a piece, with chest at 2 mace 5 candareens, 34 taels 2 mace 5 candareens 0 cash Total, 305 taels 4 mace [...] 6 cash The invoice was marked errors excepted and signed by Thomas Fitzhugh, Thomas Bevan and Matthew Raper.

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		34 2 5 - Tales 385 4 - 6 Canton 20th Jan. 1781 E. Excepted (Signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Thos. Bevan Matthw. Raper John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of 27 June 1781. **Interpretations** With the *York*'s invoice, the island's whole year's order from Canton was accounted for: twelve ships across two fleets, each carrying a near-identical share of tea, sugar, sugar candy and china, with nankeen cloth and the fine teas in a few. Every ship brought twelve chests of sugar, so the island received well over a hundred chests that season, along with more than seventy chests of tea. For an island whose own produce was limited to cattle, vegetables and a little fruit, these goods supplied much of what its people ate and drank beyond the bare ration.
76	72	2 July At a Consultation held on Monday the 2nd Day of July 1781 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 27th June 1781. - Thursday the 28th June died Felix Hyder Private Messrs. William Webber Doveton and John Doveton this Day presented the following Petition Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &c. Council St. Helena. - The humble Petition of Willm. Webber Doveton and John Doveton. - Sheweth That your Petitioners being appointed Executors to the last Will and Testament of their Brother Jonathan Doveton late of Madrass, and having by the last Dispatch from that Place received a Copy of said Will, together with a probate thereof, and thinking it advisable that the same should be Registered here, humbly request your Worship and Council will grant them Permission so to do. - And Your Petitioners will ever Pray 2nd July 1781 Granted - We this Day received the following Letter from Captain Robert Ker -	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 2 July 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 27 June 1781. On Thursday 28 June 1781 Fortis Hyder, a private soldier, died. William Webber Doveton and John Doveton presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council that day. They had been appointed executors of the last will and testament of their brother, Jonathan Doveton, late of Madras. By the last dispatches from that settlement they had received a copy of the will, together with its probate. They thought it advisable that the will should be registered on the island, and asked the Council's permission to do so. The petition was dated 2 July 1781, and the Council granted it. The Council also received a letter from Captain Robert Kerr that day, which was entered on the next page. **Interpretations** Jonathan Doveton had died at Madras, where his will had already been proved, yet his brothers on St Helena asked to have it registered again on the island. The likeliest reason was property. If Jonathan held land, money or claims on St Helena, the island's own record of his will gave his executors authority to deal with it there. A probate granted at Madras was valid in the Company's courts, but entering it in the island's register put it beyond question in any local dispute over his estate. The Dovetons were one of the leading island families: William Webber Doveton later became secretary and a member of the Council, and John Doveton was the Council's sub-secretary. Registering a family will through the board they served was a natural step for men who knew exactly how the island's records worked.
77	73	1781 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council - Gentlemen As the Store ship is now arrived, I beg leave to apply to you for the enclosed List of Stores, which are absolutely necessary for the Ship Princess Royal, and Request you will be pleased to order the delivery of them as soon as possible as there are some of the Articles, I am in immediate want of. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servt. St. Helena (Signed) Robert Ker 2 July 1781. - To which the following Answer was returned Viz. To Captain Robt. Ker Commander of Ship Princess	Captain Robert Kerr wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council at St Helena on 2 July 1781. Since the store ship had now arrived, he applied for the stores in the list he enclosed, which the *Princess Royal* absolutely needed. He asked the Council to order their delivery as soon as possible, since he was in immediate want of some of them. The Council directed the secretary, Britannicus Alexander Wright, to reply to Kerr, commander of the *Princess Royal*. Wright wrote on 2 July 1781. In answer to Kerr's request for flour, salt provisions and other stores from the Company's stores, the Governor and Council directed him to supply himself with flour and biscuit from the store ship. As for salt provisions, they advised him to buy as much as he could from the ships in the roads, as they understood some of the commanders had provisions to spare. He was then to tell the Council how much he had managed to buy and how much he still had on board, so that they could consider his request later. Wright added that several

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		Royal. - Sir In answer to your Letter to the Governor and Council of this day requiring a supply of Flour, Salt Provision &c. from the Honble. Company's Stores, I am directed to acquaint you that you are to furnish yourself with Flour and Biscuit from the Store Ship, and with respect to your Demands of Salt Provision they likewise recommend you will purchase as much out of the Ships in the Road you possibly can, as they are informed some of the Commanders have Provisions to spare, after which they desire you will acquaint them with the Quantity you may be able to purchase and what you have remaining on board, that they may consider your demand at a future opportunity. - I am further to inform you there are large demands for Cordage from the several Commanders and but little received by the Store Ship, you can only have an equal share with those who have applied for that Article. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 2. July 1781. -	commanders had asked for cordage, and the store ship had brought very little. Kerr could have only an equal share with the others who had applied for it. **Interpretations** The store ship had at last arrived, but the Council did not open its warehouses to the fleet. It sent Kerr to the store ship itself for flour and biscuit, before they were landed and counted into the island's stock. The garrison's own reserves were left untouched. For salt meat it sent him back to the other commanders, who had refused the garrison a month earlier. The Council turned their own reluctance against them: if some had provisions to spare, Kerr should buy from them before drawing on the island. Asking him to report what he bought and what he still held let the Council judge his real need before giving him anything from its own scarce stock. Cordage was rationed in equal shares. The island needed rope for its boats, cranes and moorings, and ships after a long voyage needed it for rigging. With only a little arriving and many commanders asking, an equal share was the fairest and least disputed way to divide it.
78	74	2nd July We likewise this Day received the following Letter from Captain Samuel Bull Viz. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena. - Gentlemen Having in a former Letter acquainted you that Paddy & Rice left for one Month I now beg leave to inform you, it is all expended, in Consequence of which I request your immediate assistance of 20 Bags for present consumption and when it is made known to the Ships are to be dispatched I shall then solicit you for a further supply, for the Passage to England, at the same time Permit me to mention the articles of Fire Wood and Coals having neither on board, and it is with the utmost difficulty for several days past the peoples Victuals have been Dressed. - An Indent for sundry stores I have given to the Storekeeper in order to be laid before your Board, and humbly Request you will take the same into your consideration. - I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Servant St. Helena (Signed) Saml. Bull June 30th 1781. - To which the Secretary was directed to return him the following Answer. - To Captain Samuel Bull Commander of Ship Duke of Grafton Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you, in answer to yours of this Day that	The Council also received a letter from Captain Samuel Ball of the *Duke of Grafton*, written at St Helena on 30 June 1781. In an earlier letter he had told the Council that he had only one month's rice left. It was now all used up, and he asked for 200 bags for immediate use. When the ships' sailing date was announced, he would ask for a further supply for the passage to England. He also pointed out that he had neither firewood nor coal on board, and for several days his crew's food had been cooked only with the greatest difficulty. He had given the storekeeper a list of other stores he needed, to be laid before the Council, and asked them to consider it. The Council directed the secretary to reply. The Governor and Council would order him, for the present, ten bags of rice and one chaldron of coal from the stores, as the letter went on to set out on the next page. **Interpretations** Ball asked for 200 bags of rice and received ten. The *Duke of Grafton* carried the largest crew of lascars and Asian seamen in the fleet, and rice was their staple food, so her need was real. The Council could not meet it. Its own rice came from Madras and Bengal in small shipments, much of it already lost short in delivery, and the garrison and the island's slaves depended on it. Ten bags kept Ball's crew fed for a few days and nothing more. The Council would decide on supplies for the voyage only once the sailing date was known. A chaldron was a large measure of coal, about a ton and a half. Coal came out from England in the store ships, and the Council could spare it now that a store ship had arrived. A crew that could not cook its food could not eat, so fuel was as urgent as rice, and the Council supplied it first.

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		they will order you for the Present ten Bags of Rice and one Chaldron of Coals from the Stores. And that you must supply	
79	75	1781 supply yourself with Flour and Biscuit from the Store Ship as the Company's Stores will not admit of your Demands, and as there are large demands for Cordage from the several Commanders and but little received by the Store ship, I am to inform you that you will have an equal share with those who have applied for said Article. I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 2d July 1781. - The following Letter was received from Mr. Jno. Doveton Factor. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council Gentlemen It is with real concern I find myself constrained to trouble you with this address, to inform you of my intention of leaving the Island and going to England upon one of the Ships of the Fleet, now in the Road. - Nothing but the Business of the utmost importance could induce me to take a step, evidently hurtful to my own interest. Lately the bad accounts from Madrass having heard of the unfortunate Death of my Brother and finding his affairs in an unsettled and complex situation. I am desirous of getting the best advice respecting the Validity of his Will, as well as to the disposal of his Effects, which cannot be well be had as by my own personal appearance in England. - I therefore from these Motives, urged by necessity, undertake the Voyage. My Conduct Gentlemen, during a period of upwards of Eight Years Employment in the Honble. Company's Service on this Island in the Various Departments you have been pleased to assign me, has been such I hope, as will entitle me to your Recommendation to the Honble. the Court of Directors, to permit my return, as soon as the business which	The secretary's reply to Captain Ball continued. Ball was to supply himself with flour and biscuit from the store ship, as the Company's stores could not meet his requests. Since several commanders had asked for cordage and the store ship had brought very little, he would have an equal share with the others who had applied for it. Britannicus Alexander Wright, the secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 2 July 1781. The Council then received a letter from John Doveton, a factor in the Company's service, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He wrote with real regret to tell them that he intended to leave the island and go to England in one of the ships of the fleet then in the roads. Only business of the greatest importance could make him take a step so plainly against his own interest. He had lately received bad news from Madras of his brother's unfortunate death. He found his brother's affairs unsettled and complicated. He wanted the best advice on whether the will was valid and on how the estate should be disposed of, and he believed he could get it only by going to England in person. Driven by these reasons, he had decided to make the voyage. He had served the Company on the island for more than eight years in its various departments. He hoped his conduct had been good enough to earn the Council's recommendation to the Court of Directors that he be allowed to return once the business was settled, as his letter went on to explain. **Interpretations** The brother was Jonathan Doveton, whose will William Webber Doveton and John Doveton had asked that same day to register on the island. Registering the will at St Helena secured the family's position there. John Doveton now judged that the real questions, whether the will was valid and how the estate should be divided, could be settled only in England, where the courts and the heirs' advisers were. A copy of a probate from Madras might satisfy the island's register, but a complex estate spread across India and perhaps England needed someone on the spot. A Company servant could not simply leave his post. Doveton had to ask the Council's leave, and his future depended on a recommendation that would let him return to his place. A servant who went home without such backing risked finding his post filled. His eight years of service and the island family's standing gave him good grounds to ask, and the Council's answer would decide whether his departure was a leave of absence or the end of his career on the island.
80	76	2nd July which obliges me to go shall be settled. - I further flattering myself that the Honble. Company (thro' your Recommendation) in permitting my Return to the Island, will also be pleased to reinstate me in those Employs, which from absolute and urgent necessity I am obliged to quit. - I remain Gentlemen With respect, Your most Obedient & Hble. Servant	John Doveton ended his letter by saying that he hoped the Company, on the Council's recommendation, would let him return to the island once his business was settled, and restore him to his post. He was in fact entirely obliged to leave because of the absolute and urgent need he had described. He signed the letter at St Helena on 2 July 1781. The Council recorded its decision. Doveton had shown in his letter that his particular circumstances made his presence in England absolutely necessary to settle his brother's affairs. The Council therefore agreed to accept his resignation. It also agreed to recommend him to the Court of Directors, asking that

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		St. Helena (Signed) Jno. Doveton 2. July 1781 As Mr. John Doveton by the above Letter, represents to Us, that from the particular situation of his affairs, his personal appearance is absolutely necessary in England. - We have therefore accepted of his Resignation. And agreed to recommend him to the Honble. Court of Directors to permit him to Return to his Employs as soon as the Business which obliges him to go shall be settled. - This day the following Address was laid before the Board Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. - Gentlemen Being informed that Mr. John Doveton means this day to acquaint you with his intentions of quitting the Honble. Company's Service for a time and proceeding to England upon one of the Ships now in the Road. I beg leave to offer myself a Candidate to fill the office of Clerk of the Peace which consequently will become Vacant, apprehending should I be so fortunate as to succeed in this application that employment	he be allowed to return to his post as soon as the business that required him to go was concluded. The following addresses were then laid before the Board. The first was a letter to Governor Skottowe and the Council from a writer who had learned that day that Doveton had told the Council he intended to leave the Company's service, travel to England in one of the ships in the roads, and so give up the post of Clerk of the Peace. The writer offered himself for that office, as the letter went on to set out on the next page. **Interpretations** The Council could not grant Doveton leave of absence. Only the Court could keep a post open for a servant who went home. Instead the Council accepted his resignation and attached a recommendation for his return. That gave Doveton the best protection available: his past service and the island government's backing would be on record when he asked the Court to send him back. His departure at once opened a post. As Clerk of the Peace, Doveton kept the records of the island's courts of quarter sessions, the civil court that tried offences and settled disputes. The office carried fees and standing, and within hours another man was asking to fill it. On an island with so few Company posts, a vacancy rarely went unclaimed for long.
81	77	1781 - employment will not in the least interfere with the Duty of my present Office and I flatter myself that the Consideration of my large Family and my having served the Honble. Company for twenty Years will induce you to give my request the preference of that of any Younger Servant. - I am with the greatest Respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient & humble Servant - St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright 2. July 1781. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena. - The humble Petition of Nathl. Kennedy Sheweth That your Petitioner understands that Mr. John Doveton purposes leaving the Island by one of the Ships of this Fleet, And as the Office of Clerk of the Peace, will in consequence thereof become Vacant, humbly request your Worship and Council will be pleased to appoint him thereto until Mr. Doveton's return, he flatters himself, as he is the next Senior Servant to Mr. Doveton, And has never yet enjoyed any advantage but that of his pay as Factor which is very inadequate to the Maintenance of himself, a Wife and three Children, motives which he hopes will plead his cause in this application, And the Worshipful Board in indulging him with the appointment. - And Your Petitioner as in Duty Bound will ever Pray. -	The first applicant was Britannicus Alexander Wright, the Council's secretary. He argued that the office of Clerk of the Peace would not interfere in the least with the duties of his present post. He asked the Council to consider his large family and his twenty years' service to the Company as reasons to prefer his request to that of any younger servant. He signed the letter at St Helena on 2 July 1781. The second was a petition from Nathaniel Kennedy to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He understood that John Doveton was leaving the island in one of the ships of the fleet, and that the office of Clerk of the Peace would therefore fall vacant. He asked the Governor and Council to appoint him to it. As the eldest Company servant on the island after Doveton, he believed he had a claim to it. As a factor he enjoyed no advantages beyond his pay, and he had a wife and three children to support. These, he said, were his reasons for applying, and he hoped the Council would favour him with the appointment. The petition was dated 2 July 1781. **Interpretations** The two applicants made different claims. Wright rested his case on long service and a large family, and on the point that he could do the work alongside his own. Kennedy rested his on seniority among the Company servants after Doveton, and on having nothing but his salary to live on. Each offered a reason the Council respected. A post like Clerk of the Peace was valued less for the work than for its fees, which made a real difference to a servant's income. On an island with few such offices, they were treated almost as rewards for service and support for families. Whichever way the Council chose, it would have to weigh seniority against need between two men it knew well. Kennedy was the island gentleman sworn as churchwarden in May 1781 and who later stood surety for Samuel Mason. Wright already held the senior post of secretary, which strengthened Kennedy's argument that the vacancy should go to a servant with fewer advantages.

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82	78	2 July To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena. - Gentlemen As I understand Mr. John Doveton has informed you by Letter of his intention to quit the Company's Service and proceed to England by this Fleet, I have therefore to Request of you Gentlemen that I may be appointed to his Place as Clerk of the Peace in which Office I flatter myself I shall by assiduity and attention meet with Your approbation. - I have the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient and humble Servt. St. Helena (Signed) T. Bazett 2. July 1781. - John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council St. Helena Sirs Having heard that Mr. John Doveton Clerk of the Peace means to resign his Office with a view of going to England, I beg leave to offer myself a Candidate to fill up the Vacancy, while he is absent from the Island. Permit me to observe that in my present employment I have but a very slender Income to maintain a large and increasing Family, and that this is the only motive that prompts me to solicit your Favor on this occasion. Should your Choice of a Successor to the above Gentleman fall upon me I flatter myself that I shall not be found unequal to the Business of the Office, and that it will not interfere with the line in which I already serve the Honble. Company. - I am Sirs With the greatest Respect Your very Obedt. Servant St. Helena (Signed) David Kay July 2. 1781 -	Two more applications for the office of Clerk of the Peace followed. T. Bazett wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council at St Helena on 2 July 1781. He understood from John Doveton's letter that Doveton meant to leave the Company's service and go to England in the fleet. He asked to be appointed Clerk of the Peace in Doveton's place, and promised to carry out the office with diligence and care, so as to merit the Council's approval. David Kay wrote to Governor Skottowe and the Council at St Helena on the same day. He had learned that Doveton was resigning the office and going to England. Since he was not then employed in the island's service, he asked leave to offer himself as a candidate for the vacancy. His present post paid only a slender income with which to keep a large and growing family, and he hoped this would excuse his asking. If the Council's choice fell on him, he trusted they would find him equal to the business of the office, which would not interfere with the duties he already performed for the Company. **Interpretations** Four men applied for one vacancy on a single day: Wright, Kennedy, Thomas Bazett and David Kay. The speed and number of the applications show how valuable even a minor office was on St Helena. Each candidate stressed a different claim. Wright and Kennedy pointed to long service and seniority. Kennedy and Kay pleaded slender pay and large families. Thomas Bazett, probably a young relation of the two Bazetts on the Council, simply promised diligence. Kay was the surgeon's assistant who later became acting island surgeon in 1785. Both he and Wright argued that the clerkship could be held alongside their present work. The fees mattered more than the duties, which were light enough to combine with another post. The Council had to choose among men it knew well, two of them closely tied to its own members.
83	79	1781 - The Board having taken the Prayers of the above Petitions under Consideration, the Majority have Determined the Succession of Clerk of the Peace in favour of Mr. Nathaniel Kennedy. - On the 30th of last Month His Majesty's Manifesto against the united Provinces of Holland was read at the Head of the Troops, and afterwards Published throughout the Island. - The Governor and Lieutenant Governor have to inform the Gentlemen of the Board that they have private information of the French having hostile intentions against this Island which if not prevented by future Contingent Events may probably take place the latter end of this or beginning of next Year; That the Flames of War still spreading wider from the necessity his Majesty	The Board considered the petitions and decided that, with the Governor's approval, the office of Clerk of the Peace should go to Nathaniel Kennedy. On 30 June 1781, the Saturday before, the King's declaration of war against the United Provinces of Holland had been read at the head of the troops and then published throughout the island. The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor then told the members of the Council that they had private information that the French intended to attack the island. Unless something happened to prevent it, the attack would probably come late that year or early the next. The war was still spreading, as the King had been forced to begin hostilities against the States of the United Provinces of Holland, set out in his royal manifesto of 21 December 1780. The island's position made it critically important to every fleet and ship of Britain's many enemies returning from the East Indies to Europe. In these circumstances the Governor and Lieutenant Governor held it their absolute duty to give every thought and effort to defending the island, the Company's property and the members' own property. Nothing would serve that end more than strict discipline and good order.

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		has found himself under of commencing Hostilities against the States of the United Provinces of Holland as expressed in his Royal Manifesto dated 20 December 1780 renders this Island highly Critical from its local situation to all Fleets and Ships of Our numerous Enemies returning from the East Indies to Europe. Under these Circumstances it becomes an absolute Duty to use our utmost Thoughts and Efforts for the Defence of this Island the Honble. Company's and our own Property, and as nothing can contribute more to that Desirable end than strict Discipline and good Order, We have to Request your joining with Us to fall upon such a Plan for the more regular Purveying of Spirituous Liquors, than that of the present Mode of Five Punch Houses. As it must be obvious to You Gentlemen, that notwithstanding the many Restrictive Orders to prevent Drunkenness, the bare wanting is impracticable to accomplish that Desirable end, it therefore behoves Us at this Critical Period without waiting for the delay of Orders from our Honble. Employers to fall upon some more restrictive Mode under the Denomination of a Canteen, for the regular serving the Military, with a stated daily allowance, and that this may be made	They therefore asked the Council to join them in adopting a better plan for issuing spirituous liquor than the present system of five punch houses. Despite many orders restricting drink to prevent drunkenness, the island had not been able to achieve that aim. At such a critical time, they believed it their duty not to wait for orders from the Company, but to adopt a stricter system under the name of a canteen, which would supply the soldiers with a fixed daily allowance, as the minute went on to set out on the next page. **Interpretations** The Council gave the clerkship to Kennedy, who had argued from seniority among the Company servants and from living on his salary alone. Wright already held the secretary's post, Thomas Bazett was young and Kay had his medical work. Kennedy's claim of need and seniority prevailed. The declaration of war against the Dutch reached the island in June 1781, six months after it was made in London. The private warning of a French attack made the danger immediate. A garrison already weakened by drink, short rations and steady discharges had to be made fit to fight. The punch houses were licensed public houses where soldiers bought spirits freely, and the Council had tried and failed to limit drunkenness by order. A canteen run under the garrison's own control would serve a set daily allowance and no more. The Governor admitted that he was acting without the Company's orders, and justified it by the threat of attack. The publicans, whose trade the Council had protected against Andrew Stark's smuggling only weeks earlier, would lose their best customers.
84	80	2nd July hard upon the individual Punch House keepers, Yet must we see that Our Conduct therein will be Justified upon that first Principle, that private inconveniency must give way to Publick advantage more particularly so from the situation of this Island exposed as it is to surrounding Dangers which may probably come upon Us, without any other warning than that of a sudden attack of Our Enemies - (Signed) John Skottowe St. Helena Danl. Corneille 2. July 1781 - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Governor and Lieutenant Governor accepted that a canteen might bear hard on the individual punch-house keepers. They were confident, however, that their conduct would be justified on the principle that private inconvenience must give way to public advantage. This was all the more true given the island's position, open as it was to surrounding dangers that would probably come upon it without any warning but a sudden attack by the enemy. Governor John Skottowe and Daniel Corneille signed the minute at St Helena on 2 July 1781. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The Governor and Lieutenant Governor knew the canteen would ruin the punch-house keepers, who had paid for their licences and built their livelihoods on selling drink to the garrison. They did not offer compensation. They argued instead that public safety came before private loss, and that an island which could be attacked without warning needed a sober garrison at all times. The minute set that principle on record, so that if the publicans complained to the Court of Directors, the Council's reasons would already be there. The full Council signed the record, but the minute itself carried only the two senior officers' names, since it was their proposal that the councillors were being asked to support.
85	81	9th July - At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th Day of July 1781 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 9 July 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett.

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		Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 2. July 1781. - Wednesday the 4th Arrived His Majesty's Sloop Shark from Rio Janeiro The Plantation Account for the Quarter and the Expence of Artillery Stores, and Stores Accounts for the Month of June last were this Day laid before Us, which were Examined approved and are as follows Viz.	The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 2 July 1781. On Wednesday 4 July 1781 the Royal Navy sloop *Shark* arrived from Rio de Janeiro. The plantation account for the quarter, together with the account of artillery stores and the steward's accounts for June 1781, were laid before the Council. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows on the next page. **Interpretations** A sloop arriving from Rio de Janeiro in wartime carried news the Council had been waiting for. The island's cutter *Hind* had been sent to Rio for repairs in November 1780 and had not come back. The Council feared for her safety when it decided to divert the *Britannia* on 2 June. A naval sloop coming from the same port could bring word of the *Hind* and perhaps provisions, and her arrival may have eased the Council's fears. The plantation account covered the Company's own farms on the island, worked by its slaves. The Company grew vegetables, kept cattle and ran gardens to feed the garrison and supply ships. Its accounts came before the Council each quarter, alongside the monthly accounts of stores and the table.
86	82	Account of the Honble. Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c. from the 1st of April to the 30th June 1781 - Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Bullocks, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Wethers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Wethers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 38, Neat Cattle Calves 9, Neat Cattle Bullocks 25, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 9, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 106, Sheep Ewes 169, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 94, Sheep Rams 12, Sheep Total 275, Goats Ewes 95, Goats Wethers 16, Goats Kids 64, Goats Rams 6, Goats Total 181, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 10, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 14, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 144, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 40, Poultry Geese 7 Increased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 9, Neat Cattle Bullocks 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 9, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 36, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 36, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 23, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 23, Hogs Sows [...], Hogs Shoats 6, Hogs Pigs 13, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 13, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 60, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 16, Poultry Geese 0 Bought: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Bullocks 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 6, 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 3, Neat Cattle Cows 38, Neat Cattle Calves 18, Neat Cattle Bullocks 25, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 9, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 115, Sheep Ewes 169, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 130, Sheep Rams 12, Sheep Total 311, Goats Ewes 95, Goats Wethers 16, Goats Kids 87, Goats Rams 6, Goats Total 204, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 16, Hogs Pigs 13, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 33,	The account of the Company's livestock from 1 April to 30 June 1781 was entered as follows. Neat cattle: Bulls: remaining 3, increased 0, total 3, killed 0, died 0, remaining 3 Cows: remaining 38, increased 0, total 38, killed 2, died 1, remaining 36 Calves: remaining 9, increased 9, total 18, killed 0, died 1, remaining 17 Yearlings: remaining 25, increased 0, total 25, killed 5, died 0, remaining 20 Heifers: remaining 6, increased 0, total 6, killed 0, died 0, remaining 6 Steers: remaining 9, increased 0, total 9, killed 8, died 1, remaining 0 Oxen: remaining 16, increased 0, total 16, killed 0, died 0, remaining 16 Total neat cattle: remaining 106, increased 9, total 115, killed 15, died 2, remaining 98 Sheep: Ewes: remaining 169, increased 0, total 169, killed 0, died 4, remaining 165 Wethers: remaining 0, increased 0, total 0, killed 0, died 0, remaining 0 Lambs: remaining 94, increased 36, total 130, killed 28, died 0, remaining 102 Rams: remaining 12, increased 0, total 12, killed 7, died 0, remaining 5 Total sheep: remaining 275, increased 36, total 311, killed 35, died 4, remaining 272 Goats: Ewes: remaining 95, increased 0, total 95, killed 0, died 1, remaining 94 Wethers: remaining 16, increased 0, total 16, killed 12, died 0, remaining 4 Kids: remaining 64, increased 23, total 87, killed 3, died 0, remaining 84 Rams: remaining 6, increased 0, total 6, killed 0, died 0, remaining 6 Total goats: remaining 181, increased 23, total 204, killed 15, died 1, remaining 188 Hogs: Sows: remaining 4, total 4, killed 0, died 0, remaining 4 Shoats: remaining 10, increased 6, total 16, killed 5, died 0, remaining 11 Pigs: remaining 0, increased 13, total 13, killed 0, died 1, remaining 12 Boars: remaining 0, total 0, killed 0, died 0, remaining 0

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		Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 204, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 56, Poultry Geese 7 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 2, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Bullocks 5, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 8, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 15, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 28, Sheep Rams 7, Sheep Total 35, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 12, Goats Kids 3, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 15, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 5, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 48, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 16, Poultry Geese 2 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Bullocks 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 1, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 4, Goats Ewes 1, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 1, 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 6, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 1, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 36, Neat Cattle Calves 17, Neat Cattle Bullocks 20, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 98, Sheep Ewes 165, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 102, Sheep Rams 5, Sheep Total 272, Goats Ewes 94, Goats Wethers 4, Goats Kids 84, Goats Rams 6, Goats Total 188, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 11, Hogs Pigs 12, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 27, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 150, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 39, Poultry Geese 5 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille Wm. Wrangham Yams Expended for the Slaves 404 6 Do. Do. for the Stock 1087 5 Total 1492 1 Simon Frank Died 16th May '81 Mary Born 29th June Do. - **Margin Notes:** 9th July	Total hogs: remaining 14, increased 13, bought 6, total 33, killed 5, died 1, remaining 27 Horses: Horses: remaining 5, total 5, remaining 5 Mares: remaining 8, total 8, remaining 8 Total horses: remaining 13, total 13, remaining 13 Poultry: Fowls: remaining 144, increased 60, total 204, killed 48, died 6, remaining 150 Ducks: remaining 12, increased 0, total 12, killed 0, died 0, remaining 12 Turkeys: remaining 40, increased 16, total 56, killed 16, died 1, remaining 39 Geese: remaining 7, increased 0, total 7, killed 2, died 0, remaining 5 Yams used: Yams used for the slaves, 4,046 Yams used for the stock, 10,875 Total yams used, 14,921 A note beside the account recorded that Simon Frank had died on 16 May 1781 and that a boy had been born on 29 June 1781. The account was marked errors excepted and signed by Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham among others. **Interpretations** Simon Frank and the boy born in June were among the Company's slaves on its plantation. The livestock account recorded their death and birth alongside the cattle and poultry. The Company counted its slaves as part of the plantation's working stock, and the note set them down in the same ledger as the animals they tended. The figures show the plantation feeding the garrison's table rather than growing. The neat cattle fell from 106 to 98, with every steer killed. The herd lost its fattening stock in a single quarter, at the height of the food shortage, while the Council insisted it would not kill the planters' breeding cattle. The Company drew on its own herd first. Sheep, goats and poultry, which bred quickly, were killed more freely. Yams were the main food of both the slaves and the animals, and far more went to the stock than to the people. Yams grew well in the island's wet valleys and were the cheapest food the plantation could raise. The account shows how the slaves' ration and the cattle's fodder came from the same crop.
87	83	1781 Artillery Stores Expended in June 1781 Guns fired 6, Guns fired 4, Guns fired 3, Powder lb, Powder oz Powder for the Stone Blowers at Long Wood: Guns fired 6 0, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 12, Powder oz 0 Firing at Goats, 38 Ball Cartridges: Guns fired 6 0, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 2, Powder oz 6 Morning Alarm: Guns fired 6 10, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 10, Powder lb 6[...], Powder oz 33 Rejoicing Do.: Guns fired 6 2, Guns fired 4 1, Guns fired 3 1, Powder lb 28, Powder oz 0 Firing: Guns fired 6 0, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 1, Powder oz 0 Arrived the Stormont, Besborough, York, Atlas, Bridgwater, Lascelles and London: Guns fired 6 15, Guns fired 4 15, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 13, Powder oz 0 Firing: Guns fired 6 0, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 7, Powder oz 2 Morning Alarm: Guns fired 6 10, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 10, Powder lb 6[...], Powder oz 33 Rejoicing Do.: Guns fired 6 2, Guns fired 4 1, Guns fired 3 1, Powder lb 20, Powder oz 0 Firing: Guns fired 6 0, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 1, Powder oz 0	The account of artillery stores used in June 1781 followed. Powder for the stone blowers at Longwood, powder 12 pounds 0 ounces Firing at goats, 38 ball cartridges, powder 2 pounds 6 ounces General alarm, 18 guns fired (12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders), powder 33 pounds 0 ounces Dismissing the alarm, 2 guns fired (1 six-pounder, 1 three-pounder), powder 2 pounds 8 ounces Priming, powder 1 pound 0 ounces Arrival of seven ships, the Stormont, Besborough, York, Atlas, Bridgewater, Lascelles and London, 15 guns fired (15 six-pounders), powder 15 pounds 0 ounces Priming, powder 1 pound 2 ounces General alarm, 18 guns fired (12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders), powder 33 pounds 0 ounces Dismissing the alarm, 2 guns fired (1 six-pounder, 1 three-pounder), powder 2 pounds 8 ounces Priming, powder 1 pound 8 ounces Arrival of the Hastings store ship from England, 9 guns fired (9 six-pounders), powder 9 pounds 0 ounces Priming, powder 2 pounds 0 ounces Powder at Banks's works, 142 pounds 0 ounces Powder for sundry services, 17 pounds 7 ounces

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		Arrived the Hastings Store Ship from England: Guns fired 6 9, Guns fired 4 9, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 0, Powder oz 0 Firing: Guns fired 6 0, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 2, Powder oz 0 Powder at Bankses Works: Guns fired 6 0, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 162, Powder oz 0 Do. for Sundry Services: Guns fired 6 0, Guns fired 4 0, Guns fired 3 0, Powder lb 77, Powder oz 0 Total: Guns fired 6 64, Guns fired 4 28, Guns fired 3 24, Powder lb 418, Powder oz 7 Bore Bits 1 Cartridge Paper 6 Qrs. Salt Petre 2 lb Wax Candles 3 Sponge Staves 2 Rammer Heads 1 Sponge Do. 1 Priming Horns 2 Slow Match 3 lb Cartridge Paper for Mr. Wrangham 3 Qrs. Lead Balls 27 lb 6 oz Received from on board the following Ships Viz. Duke of Kingston 99 lb Powder Princess Royal 100 lb Do. Sandwich 102 lb Do. Hastings 2 Brass Field Pieces (Signed) Wm. Pierce Capt. of Artillery	Totals, 64 guns fired (26 six-pounders, 24 four-pounders, 14 three-pounders), powder 297 pounds 7 ounces Beeswax, 1 pound Cartridge paper, 6 quires Saltpetre, 2 pounds Wax candles, 3 Sponge staves, 2 Rammer heads for 3-pounders, 1 Sponge heads for 3-pounders, 1 Priming irons, 2 Slow match, 3 pounds Cartridge paper for Mr Wrangham, 32 sheets Lead balls, 2 pounds 6 ounces Received on board the following ships: From the Duke of Kingston, powder 99 pounds From the Princess Royal, powder 100 pounds From the Sandwich, powder 102 pounds From the Hastings, 2 brass field pieces William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. **Interpretations** Firing at goats explains a curious entry. Wild goats ran over the island's waste land, stripping the vegetation and destroying the young trees the Company was trying to protect. The garrison shot them with ball cartridges, which served as target practice and as a way of thinning the herds that threatened the island's woods. Two general alarms in a month, each answered by 18 guns, show the garrison's nerves as two China fleets arrived. Every unknown sail had to be treated as a possible enemy until her boat reported at Banks's, and the private warning of a French attack made this all the more urgent. Banks's works again consumed most of the month's powder, as blasting continued on the battery that guarded the anchorage. The fleet supplied the island with powder, about 300 pounds from three ships. Gunpowder was one stock the passing Indiamen could spare, as they carried it for their own guns. The two brass field pieces from the *Hastings* were light guns that could be dragged to any landing place, strengthening the flying party kept ready to meet an enemy landing.
88	84	9th July Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in June 1781 To 119 Bottles of Madeira 7 - 9 27 Do. Lisbon 2 2 9 8 Do. Sherry - 12 8 34 Do. Beer - 11 4 19½ Galls. Arrack 2 18 6 259 lb Beef 3 4 9 77 lb Mutton 1 12 5 72 lb Pork 1 16 - 5 Lambs 2 10 - 4 Goats 2 - - 2 Pigs - 16 - 3 Turkeys - 15 - 12 Fowls - 10 - 6 Ducks - 9 -	The account of goods used at the Company's table in June 1781 followed. Madeira wine, 119 bottles, £7 8s 9d Lisbon wine, 27 bottles, £2 2s 9d Sherry, 8 bottles, £0 12s 8d Beer, 34 bottles, £0 11s 4d Arrack, 19½ gallons, £2 18s 6d Beef, 259 pounds, £3 4s 9d Mutton, 77 pounds, £1 12s 1d Pork, 72 pounds, £1 16s 0d Lambs, 5, £2 10s 0d Goats, 4, £2 0s 0d Pigs, 2, £0 10s 0d Turkeys, 3, £0 15s 0d Fowls, 12, £0 18s 0d Ducks, 6, £0 9s 0d Geese, 2, £0 10s 0d Sugar candy, 76 pounds, £1 19s 8d Flour, 562 pounds, £4 13s 8d Total, £34 12s 2d Provisions bought for the table: Turkeys, 6, £1 10s 0d Fowls, 15, £1 2s 6d Ducks, 5, £0 7s 6d Lamb, 1, £0 10s 0d Total, £3 10s 0d The Council also received a letter that day from the engineer, set out on the next page. **Interpretations** The table's costs rose to £34 12s 2d in June, well above April's £23 14s 1d and May's £27 3s 5d. Madeira

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		2 Geese - 10 - 56 lb Candy 1 19 - 562 lb Flour 4 13 8 £ 34 12 2 Bot. for Table 6 Turkeys 1 10 - 18 Fowls 1 7 - 5 Ducks - 7 6 1 Lamb - 10 - £ 3 14 6 We this Day received the following Letter from the Engineer Viz.	almost doubled, from 67 bottles in May to 119, and 259 pounds of beef appeared for the first time. This was the month the second China fleet and the *Hastings* arrived, so the Castle was entertaining more commanders and passengers than ever. The beef probably came from the Company's own herd, whose steers were all killed that quarter, as the livestock account shows. The garrison was still on short rations, yet the official table's consumption kept climbing. The Company treated hospitality to the fleet as a necessary cost of its business at St Helena, even in the island's leanest season.
89	85	1781 To the Worshipful the Governor &c. Council for the Island of St. Helena - Gentlemen Having agreeable to your Commands of last Monday viewed that part of the Shore of this Island called Riddles Cove, near to Sugar Loaf Point, which from the Report of the Lookouts there it seems obvious to you that an intelligent Enemy will there find the most likely Inlet to the Country and an immediate access to the Leeward Defences. Two Men having this Week there by order found the Means to have gained the Heights as marked on the Sketch 8 Minutes and thirty Seconds; after crossing the Rock before them which they afterwards did come they mostly found by appearances to have Ascended as eaily as by but and were going on ascended to the landing Rocks at the lower Battery at Rocks so to meet the Boat. - Mr. Wrangham a Gentleman of this Board, who formed one with the Party on the Occasion saw the Men from their Landing to their getting the Summit of the Road, And on our Boat Returning to the landing Rocks the two Men were seen coming over the Brow of the Hill above Ridge Battery within musket shot of the Guard House, being from the time we last saw them 16 Minutes and 30 Seconds, and from their landing at Riddles Cove twenty five Minutes. - Taking this into Consideration I am of opinion with the Engineer, and having such proportions of the Officers as I think the post sufficient from the Cove to do the same, at the Warmest advanced to the summit of the Hill; And We recommend the erecting of a Place on near the Brow of Our Rocks, a small Guard Room should be erected for a Party to be stationed there during the nights, and watching a most commanding View for upwards of Horizon of Sea, appears to me the best intended Post of Observation from the Coast down there to James's Valley. -	The engineer reported to Governor Skottowe and the Council on his survey of the coast. Following their orders of the previous Monday, he had examined the part of the shore called Niblet's Cove, near Sugar Loaf Point. He was convinced that an intelligent enemy would find there the quickest way into the country, with immediate access to the leeward defences. To test this, he had two men put ashore at the cove. From the moment they landed they took 8 minutes and 30 seconds to reach the height marked on his sketch. After crossing the rock in front of them, which they later told him they had to pass, they seemed to have overcome every obstacle. They then went on, as directed, to the landing rocks at the lower battery at Banks's to meet the boat. William Wrangham, a member of the Council, went with the engineer and saw the men from their landing until they reached the top of the cliff. When the boat returned to the landing rocks, the two men were seen coming over the brow of the hill above Rupert's battery, within musket shot of the guard house. They had taken 16 minutes and 30 seconds since they were last seen, and 25 minutes in all from their landing at Niblet's Cove. To bar this approach, the engineer proposed blasting away the projections of the cliffs that made the first climb from the cove easier, and doing the same near the top of the hill. Since no place so close to the rear of the island's works could be too secure, he also proposed building a small guard room there for a party to be stationed at night. Because it commanded a wide view of the horizon, he thought it would also make the best observation post between the first alarm house and James's Valley. He intended to give the Council a general account of his work within a few days. He added only that, now the weather seemed settled, the workmen would begin repairing the portcullis and rampart at Sandy Bay. At Buttermilk Point the work was going forward as fast as possible, as his letter went on to describe. **Interpretations** The engineer did not rely on his own judgment of the cliffs. He put two men ashore and timed them, with a councillor watching, to prove how quickly an enemy could climb from Niblet's Cove to the rear of the island's defences. Twenty-five minutes from landing to within musket shot of the guard house was a startling result. St Helena's safety rested on the belief that its cliffs were unclimbable except at a few guarded landing places. The trial showed that one unguarded cove offered an enemy a short, hidden route behind the batteries at Banks's and Rupert's, from which a small force could take them from the land side. His remedies followed directly from the trial: remove the footholds that made the climb possible, and post a night guard where any party coming up

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		Proposing to give you in a few Days a General Section of my Proceedings Relating to the Works the Weather appears settled. The workmen will be sent to the Peak of Sandy Bay, Particulars and Ramparts, Everything is going forward with the greatest Expedition at Butter Milk Point & having	would be seen. With the French expected to attack and the Dutch now at war, the Council had a measurable case for spending powder and labour on blasting the cliffs. The engineer was probably William Pierce, captain of artillery, who also directed the island's fortifications.
90	86	9th July - having the Pleasure to assure you that in a few days four thirty two Pounders are drawn up to that height can be turned against the Enemy's Ships and on the Road which commands them Battery with the upper Battery at Banks's, which we shall be able to render the aid of Eight Battery again at the Top. We have therefore asked a Six Pounder to be placed on the Projecting Rock that divides the distance between the Battery as the most ready Defence to the [...]. Whilst the Party returned from Sandy Bay and had drawn the Pounders off from the other Rock there can be no difficulty of doing what I may propose for the defence of the Particulars at Rennies Line which being much strengthened lately the [...] of this work largely is not in such imminent Danger as that of Banks. To Shall not defer a Moment to give it the Additional Strength proposed. - I continue to be Gentlemen Your most Respectful & Obedient Servant - St. Helena (Signed) Wm. Pierce 9th July 1781. - The Secretary was Directed to Return him the following Answer Viz. - To Captain William Pierce Engineer Sir In answer to your Letter of this Day I am directed to inform you that it is the Governor and Council's Order, you forthwith set about laying the Ways from Riddles Cove up the Hill in the manner that would appear to you most effectual, by blowing away the projecting Cliffs or otherwise so as to prevent an Enemy's getting into the Country at the Moment Our works on that Quarter of the Island I am also to forward the Works at Butter Milk Point with all possible expedition, and as the weather seems favorable	The engineer added that within a few days four 32-pounders and an 8-inch howitzer could be turned against enemy ships, and against the road linking those batteries with the upper battery at Banks's. He also thought light artillery could be brought into use against the topmen. He had therefore ordered a 6-pounder to be placed on the projecting rock midway between the batteries, as the quickest support for both. When the working party returned from Sandy Bay and men could be spared from the other work, there would be no difficulty in carrying out the plan proposed for defending the portcullis at James's Line. That work had been much strengthened by the recent repair of its west angle and was not in such immediate danger as he had reported. Even so, he would not delay a moment in giving it the additional strength proposed. William Pierce signed the letter at St Helena on 9 July 1781. The Council directed the secretary to reply to Captain William Pierce, the engineer. In answer to his letter of that day, the Governor and Council ordered him to begin at once barring the way up the hill from Niblet's Cove. He was to do it by whatever means he thought most effective, whether by blasting away the projecting cliffs or otherwise, so that an enemy could not get into the country behind the island's works on that side. He was also to press on with the works at Buttermilk Point as fast as possible, since the weather seemed favourable, as the letter went on to say. **Interpretations** Topmen were the sailors stationed in a warship's tops, the platforms high on the masts. In a close action they fired muskets and swivel guns down onto the enemy's decks and gun crews. An attacking ship lying close in to St Helena's cliffs could rake the batteries from aloft. A 6-pounder on a high rock between the batteries could fire into the rigging and clear those men from the tops. The heavy 32-pounders and the howitzer were meant for the ships' hulls, while the light gun dealt with the men above them. The Council acted on Pierce's trial the same day. It gave him full discretion over how to close the route from Niblet's Cove, trusting the engineer's judgment on the ground. Twenty-five minutes from landing to the rear of the batteries was proof enough, and with a French attack expected, the work could not wait.
91	87	1781 favorable at present you cannot set about the repair of Sandy Bay Breastworks and Ramparts, with such part of the workmen as can be spared for that Purpose. - The Breastworks at Rennies Line being strengthened by the late Repair of the West Angle, any further additional Work thereto must be left to a future consideration. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 9th July 1781. -	The secretary's reply to Pierce continued. Since the weather was favourable, he was to begin repairing the portcullis and rampart at Sandy Bay with as many workmen as could be spared. The portcullis at James's Line had been strengthened by the recent repair of its west angle, so any further work on it would have to wait for later consideration. Britannicus Alexander Wright, the secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 9 July 1781. Francis Macey, master of the whaling vessel *Sandwich*, presented a petition that day to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He was in great distress for provisions and hoped they would take pity on him and supply him with what was absolutely necessary to feed his crew. He asked for one cask of beef, one cask of pork and about 300 pounds of biscuit.

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		Francis Macey Master of the Whaling Vessel Sandwich this Day presented the following Petition Viz. - To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council The Petition of Francis Macey Commander of the Ship Sandwich Humbly Sheweth That Your Petitioner is greatly distressed for Provisions and so hopeful your Worship and the Gentlemen will commiserate his condition and supply him with such articles as are absolutely necessary for the support of his People. - He therefore Prays your Worship and the Gentlemen to Order him a supply of one Cask of Beef one Cask of Pork and about 300 lb Biscuit. - And your Petitioner will ever Pray &c. Agreed to supply Captain Macey with Half Hogshead of Beef and Half Hogshead Pork. -	The Council agreed to supply Captain Macey with half a hogshead of beef and half a hogshead of pork. **Interpretations** The Council sorted its defence works by urgency. Niblet's Cove, Buttermilk Point and Sandy Bay came first. James's Line, already strengthened, could wait. With men and powder limited, the engineer could not do everything at once, and the Council's orders set the order in which the island's weak points would be closed. The whaler *Sandwich* was the ship from which Lebbeus Folger had come to take John Harley's place in the garrison. Whalers spent many months at sea in the South Atlantic and often ran short of food far from any port. The Council gave Macey half of what he asked, at a time when it had refused salt meat to the Company's own commanders. A whaler had no cargo for the Company and no stores to trade, but its crew was hungry and St Helena was the only port within reach. The half ration was a humane gesture that the island's scarce stocks could just bear, now that the store ship had arrived.
92	88	9th July We this day received the following Letter from Captain Robt. Ker Viz. - The Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor President &c. Council St. Helena - Gentlemen I beg leave to acquaint you that by your desire, I have applied to every Commander in the Fleet to spare me salt Provisions but they have not been able to furnish me with any. Underneath I give you an account of the Provisions I have now remaining on Board, and hope you will think the Demand in my former Letter no larger than what is absolutely necessary. - I am Gentlemen Your Most Obedt. Servt. St. Helena (Signed) Robt. Ker 9th July 1781. - Beef and Pork 40 Days Rice and Bread 60 Do. Calavances and Flour 86 Do. The Secretary was Directed to Return him the following Answer Viz. - To Captain Robert Ker Commander of Ship Princess Royal Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you in answer to yours of this Day that they have Directed the Storekeeper to supply you with Six Hogsheads of Beef, Six Hogsheads of Pork and a Coil of Hawser Rope. - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 9th July 1781. -	The Council also received a letter that day from Captain Robert Kerr. As the Council had asked, he had applied to every commander in the fleet for salt provisions, but none could spare any. He set out the provisions he still had on board and hoped the Council would agree that his earlier request asked for no more than he absolutely needed. He signed the letter at St Helena on 9 July 1781. Beef and pork, enough for 40 days Rice and bread, enough for 60 days Calavances and flour, enough for 96 days The Council directed the secretary to reply. Britannicus Alexander Wright wrote to Kerr, commander of the *Princess Royal*, at St Helena on 9 July 1781. In answer to his letter of that day, the Governor and Council had ordered the storekeeper to supply him with six hogsheads of beef, six hogsheads of pork and a tiller rope. **Interpretations** The Council's procedure worked as intended. In early July it had sent Kerr to the other commanders for salt meat and asked him to report what he had left. He did both. The commanders refused him, as they had refused the garrison, and his figures showed only 40 days of meat for a voyage to England that might take two months or more, with a convoy wait besides. Faced with written proof of need, the Council gave him a substantial supply now that the store ship had arrived. Making him exhaust every other source first ensured the island's stores went only where no alternative remained. Calavances were a kind of bean, a dried pulse carried on long voyages as a cheap, filling food that kept well. A tiller rope ran from the tiller to the wheel and turned the rudder. A ship whose tiller rope parted could not steer, so it was one item the Council could not refuse, however short its cordage.
93	89	1781 Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Viz. - Island St. Helena 9th July 1781 - Whereas there is now an absolute necessity of Killing upon the Breeding Stock of Cattle to supply the Honble. Company's Shipping, the Slaughter List being entirely run Out, And as the measure must	The Council ordered the following notice to be published. It was dated at St Helena on 9 July 1781. Killing so many of the island's breeding cattle to supply the Company's ships had become unavoidable. That slaughter fell entirely on the planters, so the Council gave notice that on 30 June 1781 they had been paid for all beef supplied up to that date, and were to be paid for it in future. The Council would ask the Court

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		bear hard upon the Planters, This is to give Notice that at such a Distance of Beef from this Day forward until the pleasure of the Honble. Court of Directors be known, Shall be and is hereby Ordered to be Raised to Six Pence ℔ lb to compensate for the great Injury the Planters Stocks must sustain. - By order of Council (Signed) B. Wright Secry. - A Supply of Provisions as under for His Majesty's Sloop Shark, Robert Mc Donald Esqr. Commander Bread 10,925 Pounds Arrack 656 Gallons Beef 505 four Pounds Pieces Flour 3040 Pounds Pork 700 two pounds Pieces Pease 24⅞ Bushels Oatmeal 90⅞ Do. or 2248 Pounds of Rice Butter 562 Pounds Cheese 1124 Do. or Olive Oil 140 ½ Gallons Vinegar 80 Gallons -	of Directors to compensate the planters for the loss they were bound to suffer through the destruction of their stocks. Britannicus Alexander Wright, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. A list followed of the provisions needed for the Royal Navy sloop *Shark*, commanded by Robert McDonall. Bread, 10,125 pounds Arrack, 656 gallons Beef, 583 four-pound pieces Flour, 3,040 pounds Pork, 780 two-pound pieces Peas, 24 bushels Oatmeal, 70 bushels, or rice, 2,248 pounds Butter, 562 pounds, and cheese, 1,124 pounds, or olive oil, 140 gallons Vinegar, 80 gallons **Interpretations** In early June the Council had refused to feed the garrison from the breeding stock, warning that it would ruin the island. A month later it had to do exactly that to supply the ships. The fleets in the roads could not sail without fresh beef, and the planters' cattle were the only beef left. The notice tried to soften the blow. Planters were promised payment for every beast taken and the Council's support in claiming compensation from the Company for the damage to their herds. The census of black cattle ordered on 4 June gave the Council the figures it would need to make that claim. The *Shark*'s list shows what a Royal Navy sloop needed to restock for a long passage. It was laid out by the navy's standard ration, which allowed substitutes such as rice for oatmeal or olive oil for butter and cheese. Feeding a King's ship was a further charge on the island's scarce stores, but a naval sloop was also the island's best hope of protection and news in wartime.
94	90	9th July In Consequence of the above Demand We ordered the Secretary to write the following Letter Viz. - To Robert Mc Donald Esqr. Commander of His Majesty's Sloop Shark - Sir In consequence of your Demands, I am ordered to inform you by the Governor and Council that they have Directed the Storekeeper to supply you with three Barrels Flour and that you will be supplied with a Leaguer of Arrack from the Society, also that they are sorry your other Demands from the Honble. Company's Stores cannot possibly be complied with, as many of the articles are not in Store, and the others would be to the absolute Distress of the Island - I am Sir Your humble Servant St. Helena (Signed) B. Wright Secry. 9th July 1781. - John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	In answer to that demand, the secretary wrote to Robert McDonall, commander of the Royal Navy sloop *Shark*. Britannicus Alexander Wright signed the letter at St Helena on 9 July 1781. In reply to the demand, the Governor and Council had ordered the storekeeper to supply him with three barrels of flour and with as much arrack as he needed for his ship's company. They told him that the rest of his demands could not possibly be met from the Company's stores, since several of the articles were not in store at all and the others were needed for the island's absolute requirements. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The *Shark* asked for enough to feed a sloop's company for months, and received three barrels of flour and arrack. Even for a King's ship the Council would not strip the island. Arrack was the one article it could give freely, since the Madras and Batavia shipments had kept it in good supply. Everything else was either gone or reserved for the garrison. A naval commander could not order the Company's stores, so McDonall, like the Company's own captains, had to take what the island could spare and seek the rest elsewhere.
95	91	12th July At a Consultation held on Thursday the 12th Day of July 1781 at the Castle. - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council	The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 12 July 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 9 July 1781. The ten working days allowed by the charter party for unloading the *Hastings* had run out the day before.

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		The last Consultation was Read, approved and Signed dated the 9th July 1781. - The ten Working Days allowed by Charter Party for unlading the Hastings expiring Yesterday, We this Day gave Captain John Thompson sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Whampoa in China Agreeable to the Instructions received from the Honble. the Court of Directors, We also gave him the following Letter to the President and other Supra Cargoes of China at Canton together with those to the several Presidencys in India and Duplicates of those transmitted by Ship Royal Charlotte - To James Bradshaw Esqr. President and Supra Cargoes of Council at Canton Gentlemen We had the honor of addressing you last by Ship Royal Charlotte by way of Bombay under date of the 9th August 1780 since which Period, Letters from the Select Committee of Supra Cargoes have been duly received. - By the Hastings We embrace the opportunity of sending to your Presidency We take the opportunity of enclosing that Ship's Charter Party Victualling Bill and Manifests of Goods together with Our Letters to the Presidency of Fort William, Fort St. George, Bombay and Fort Marlbro, which We request may be forwarded by the earliest Conveyance -	That day the Council gave Captain John Tompson written sailing orders to make his way to Whampoa in China, following the instructions received from the Court of Directors. It also gave him a letter to the President and supercargoes of the Council at Canton, together with letters to the several presidencies in India and duplicates of those already sent by the *Royal Charlotte*. The letter was addressed to James Bradshaw, President, and the supercargoes of the Council at Canton. The Council had last written to them by the *Royal Charlotte*, by way of Bombay, on 9 August 1780. Since then it had duly received letters from the Select Committee of supercargoes. With the *Hastings*, which was consigned to their presidency, it enclosed her charter party, her victualling bill and her manifest of goods. It also enclosed its letters to the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St George, Bombay and Fort Marlborough, and asked that they be forwarded by the earliest opportunity, as the letter went on to set out. **Interpretations** The *Hastings* was a store ship only for her first port. Once she had landed the island's supplies, she sailed on to Whampoa, the anchorage below Canton where foreign ships loaded tea, to take on a China cargo for England. The ten working days in her charter were the time the Company had paid for at St Helena. Holding her a day longer would have meant demurrage to her owners, so the Council sent her off the day after her time ran out. St Helena also served as a relay for the Company's correspondence. Letters for every presidency in India travelled out in the *Hastings* to Canton, from where the supercargoes would forward them on country ships. The duplicates of letters sent earlier by the *Royal Charlotte* guarded against loss in wartime, since either set might be captured. The island's Council thus kept up its links with Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Sumatra by whatever route the season's shipping allowed.
96	92	12th July We have put on board the Hastings a Box received ℔ Ship Halswell marked Nankeen No. 1 which upon opening We found to be Rolls of Paper only, instead of Nankeen, We have therefore Returned it in order that you may recover the loss the Company would otherwise sustain by the fraud. - We Request you will send by the next Year in addition to our Indent (copy whereof you Enclosed) the following Articles - 1200 Wax Candles 20 Chamber Pots (middling size) 40 Baking Dishes 200 Soup Plates And beg leave to observe to you the very bad state the Chests of Sugar and Candy are received in at this Island owing to the slightness of them make by which the Company are losers. Therefore request you will order the same to be made Strong to prevent in future any deficiency of weight. - Enclosed We transmit you a List of Ships that have touched at this Place since the Date of Our last. - We are Gentlemen Your Most Obedient Humble Servants St. Helena (Signed) John Skottowe 12th July 1781. - Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Willm. Wrangham	The letter to the supercargoes at Canton went on to report that the Council was returning, in the *Hastings*, a chest that had arrived in the *Halsewell* marked as nankeen. On opening it had been found to contain only paper. The Council sent it back so that the supercargoes could recover a loss the Company would otherwise have to bear. The Council asked them to send, by the earliest opportunity and in addition to the indent already enclosed, the following articles. Wax candles, 1,200 pounds Chamber pots of middling size, 20 Baking dishes, 40 Soup plates, 200 The Council also pointed out how badly the chests of sugar and sugar candy arrived at the island. They were made so flimsy that the Company lost by them. It asked that in future the chests be made strong enough to prevent any shortfall in weight. A list of the ships that had called at the island since its last letter was enclosed. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 12 July 1781. **Interpretations** The Council sent the chest full of paper back to the place it came from. The storekeeper had already returned it to Captain Pierce of the *Halsewell* in June, but the fraud could have happened at Canton, before the chest was ever loaded. Sending it to the supercargoes in the *Hastings* put the evidence before the men who had packed and invoiced the goods. They could check it against the Canton merchants who supplied them and claim the loss back. Whether the cloth was stolen at Canton or on board, the chest itself would show where the substitution had been made.

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		Henl. Bazett	The complaint about weak chests followed from the June accounts of short delivery. Every China ship had landed sugar and sugar candy short of weight. Some loss came from drying out, but flimsy chests also split under handling in the holds and in the surf boats, spilling their contents. Stronger chests cost a little more at Canton and saved the Company more in the losses they prevented. The extra crockery replaced the china broken on the voyage, recorded in the same accounts. Soup plates, baking dishes and chamber pots were everyday goods for the Castle and the Company's households, and China supplied them more cheaply than England.
97	93	1781 To the Honorable Warren Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. and Supreme Council of the Company's Settlements in the East Indies. - Honorable Sir and Sirs We had the Honor of addressing you last by the Ship Royal Charlotte by way of Bombay under date of the 9th August 1780 Since which your Letters dated the 22nd April '79, 24th January, 4 April and 29th November '80 have been Received. - We request you will be pleased to send to this Island one hundred and fifty Leaguers and twenty Bags Rice, Eighty Bags Paddy, twelve Maunds Wax Candles, and two Leaguers of Arrack by each Ship, and the usual Quantity of Madeira Wine. Agreeable to your Advice and Orders, being informed of the Death of John Burnham late of Bencoolen Deceased, deposited in the Honble. Company's Cash here for the Margaret Goudy of this Island, Wife of James Goudy who was a Soldier in this Garrison, and went to England some Years past. - But whom We are informed was a Sergeant on the Military Establishment at Bengal. We beg that if such a Person is to be found among the enlisted Men, and that you may send Directions how the same is to be Disposed of, or if Dead you will be pleased to acquaint Us therewith. - Enclosed we have the Honor to transmit you a List of Ships Arrival and Departure since our last. - We are Honorable Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient humble Servants - St. Helena (Signed) John Skottowe 12th July 1781 Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett	The Council's letter to Warren Hastings, Governor General, and the Supreme Council of the Company's settlements in the East Indies was also sent with the *Hastings*. The Council had last written to them by the *Royal Charlotte*, by way of Bombay, on 9 August 1780. Since then it had received their letters of 22 April 1779 and of 24 January, 4 April and 29 November 1780. The Council asked them to send to the island the following season, by each ship, 120 bags of rice, 80 bags of paddy, 12 maunds of the best wax candles and two leaguers of arrack, together with the usual quantity of Madeira wine. The Council also raised the matter of a legacy of £105 0s 0d left by Captain John Burnham, late of Bencoolen, and deposited in the Company's treasury on the island. It was due to Margaret Goudy of St Helena, wife of James Goudy. He had been a soldier in the island's garrison and had gone to England some years before. The Council now understood that he was a sergeant on the military establishment in Bengal. It asked that, if he could be found, he should be told of the legacy and asked to send instructions on how it was to be paid. If he had died, the Council asked to be informed. A list of ships that had arrived and left since the last letter was enclosed. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 12 July 1781. **Interpretations** The legacy explains why the Goody share of the Burnham estate was held back. The money was due to Margaret Goudy, but as a married woman she could not give a valid receipt on her own account. Under English law a wife's property passed into her husband's control, so the Council needed James Goudy's instructions before it could pay. He had left the island and was thought to be serving in Bengal, and only the Supreme Council could trace him there. The Council kept the money in its treasury until the right person could be found. Its letter of August 1784 records the end of the story: James Goudy had died, and his share was paid to his only surviving child, Mary. Bengal was the island's main source of rice, paddy and arrack. The order set out a standard consignment for every ship, so that the island's supply did not depend on a single vessel and arrived in steady amounts across the season. Each Bengal ship that called at St Helena on its way home thus carried a share of the island's food.
98	94	12th July To the Honorable Charles Smith Esqr. President and Governor &c. Council at Fort St. George Sir and Sirs By the Ship Royal Charlotte We had the Honor of addressing you last under Date of the 9th August 1780, by way of Bombay. Since which your Letter dated the 9th January 1781 has been received. - We would be pleased to send us for the	A similar letter went to Charles Smith, President and Governor, and the Council at Fort St George. The Council had last written to them by the *Royal Charlotte*, by way of Bombay, on 9 August 1780. Since then it had received their letter of 9 January 1781. It asked them to send the following articles for the island's use the next season. Long cloth, 30 pieces at 12 pagodas a piece Long cloth, 30 pieces at 10 pagodas a piece Long cloth, 60 pieces at 8 pagodas a piece Long cloth, 80 pieces at 5½ pagodas a piece

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		Use of this Island the next Season the undermentioned Articles - 30 ps. Long Cloths @ 12 Pagodas ℔ Piece 30 Do. Do. @ 10 Do. Do. 60 Do. Do. @ 8 Do. Do. 80 Do. Do. @ 8 Do. Do. 100 Do. Do. @ 5½ Do. Do. 100 Do. Do. @ 2½ Do. Do. 100 Do. Fine Cotton Stockings at 7 ℔ ℔ Pair also by each Ship 120 Bags of Rice 80 Bags of Paddy, and two Leaguers of Arrack. - Herewith We Enclose for your Perusal a List of Ships Arrival and Departure since our last address. - We are Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient and humble Servants St. Helena (Signed) John Skottowe 12th July 1781. - Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett	Long cloth, 100 pieces at 3½ pagodas a piece Long cloth, 100 pieces at 2½ pagodas a piece Fine cotton stockings, 100 pairs at 7s a pair By each ship it also asked for 120 bags of rice, 80 bags of paddy and two leaguers of arrack. A list of the ships that had arrived and left since the last letter was enclosed. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 12 July 1781. **Interpretations** Long cloth was a plain cotton calico woven on the Coromandel coast and sold in standard lengths, or pieces, of about 36 yards. The six grades ordered ran from fine cloth at 12 pagodas a piece to coarse cloth at 2½. The finer qualities were for the Company's officers and the island's better households. The cheapest, ordered in the largest quantity, was probably for clothing the slaves and the garrison. Madras was the natural source, since it produced the cloth in bulk and cheaply. Cotton stockings priced in shillings show that the Council expected to pay for some goods in sterling even when ordering from India. The same standard consignment of rice, paddy and arrack was asked of Madras as of Bengal. With both presidencies sending the same supplies by each ship, the island did not depend on any one settlement or vessel for its staple food.
99	95	1781 To the Honorable William Hornby Esqr. President & Governor &c. Council of Bombay. - Sir and Sirs Since Our last Letter by Ship Royal Charlotte under Date of the 9th August 1780 We have been favoured with your Letter of the 30th April 1780 by Ship Hawke We request for the use of this Settlement the next Year four Hundred Pairs Seamen's Shoes and by each Ship one Hundred and twenty Bags Rice and Eighty Paddy. - Enclosed We transmit you a List of Ships Arrival and Departure at this Place since Our last. We are Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient & humble Servants - St. Helena (Signed) John Skottowe 12th July 1781 - Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett To the Honorable Hew Steuart Esqr. President & Governor &c. Council of Fort Marlborough Sir and Sirs Our letter by the Princess Royal under date of the 25th October 1780 we have duly received together with the Eight Leaguers of Arrack you were pleased to consign to Us. - The Draught to you have sent us in Favour of William Wrangham Esqr. And the Effects in Letter of Captain John Burnham Deceased late of Bencoolen are duly Honored. - The Arrack consigned to Us by the Princess Royal	The Council's letter to William Hornby, President and Governor, and the Council of Bombay went with the same ship. Since its last letter by the *Royal Charlotte* of 9 August 1780, the Council had received Bombay's letter of 30 April 1780 by the *Hawke*. It asked Bombay to send, for the island's use the next year, 400 pieces of Surat chelloes, and by each ship 120 bags of rice and 80 bags of paddy. A list of the ships that had arrived and left since the last letter was enclosed. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 12 July 1781. The Council then wrote to Hew Stewart, President and Governor, and the Council of Fort Marlborough. It had duly received their letter of 21 October 1780 by the *Princess Royal*, together with the eight leaguers of arrack they had sent. The bills they had drawn on the island in favour of William Wrangham and of the representatives of the late Captain John Burnham, formerly of their presidency, had been duly paid. The letter went on to discuss the arrack sent in the *Princess Royal*, as the next page set out. **Interpretations** Surat chelloes were a coarse chequered cotton cloth, usually blue and white, woven in Gujarat and shipped through Surat and Bombay. They were cheap, hard-wearing and widely used for clothing slaves and labourers across the Company's settlements and the Atlantic trade. Four hundred pieces would clothe the island's slaves and poorer inhabitants for a year. Each presidency was asked for what it made best: fine long cloth from Madras, chequered chelloes from Bombay, rice and arrack from Bengal and Sumatra. The Fort Marlborough bills show how money moved between the Company's settlements. The Burnham estate had been settled at Fort Marlborough, where Captain Burnham had served. Bills drawn on St Helena let his heirs on the island be paid from the island's treasury, with the Company squaring the accounts between its two settlements. The same channel served Wrangham's private dealings. The Council's confirmation that the bills had been honoured closed the account on the island's side.

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100	96	12th July Royal we found to be pleasant and sweet but new and very Dark and request if in future you send any more it may be of a better Quality. - Enclosed we transmit you a List of Ships Arrival and Departure to and from this Place, since the 9th August 1780. - We are Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient & humble Servants St. Helena (Signed) John Skottowe 12th July 1781 Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett Serjeant James Wood this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company his contracted time. - Granted John Skottowe Dan. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The arrack Fort Marlborough had sent in the *Princess Royal* had a pleasant taste, the Council wrote, but it was new and very weak. It asked that any arrack sent in future be of better quality. A list of the ships that had arrived at and left the island since 9 August 1780 was enclosed. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 12 July 1781. Sergeant James Rodd petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of his engagement. The Council granted it. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** Arrack improved with age, like other spirits, mellowing in the cask over months or years. New arrack was raw and, if diluted, weak as well. The garrison's daily ration was measured by volume, so weak arrack gave the soldiers less spirit for the same allowance and invited complaint. The Council had just ordered a canteen to control the men's drinking, but it still wanted the ration it issued to be of proper strength. Its polite complaint to Fort Marlborough was the only way to improve future shipments, since the island had no other source of arrack once a consignment had arrived. Rodd's discharge continued the steady loss of men whose engagements had run out. Even with a French attack expected, the Council could not hold a sergeant beyond his contracted time.
101	97	16th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th Day of July 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matt. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed dated the 12th July 1781. - The Storekeeper this Day brought in his Collection and the Paymaster his accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1st April and ending the 30th June last, which were Examined approved and are as follows Viz. - Collection of Goods Sold & Issued out of the Honble. Company's Ware houses from the 1st April to the 30 June 1781. - Sold at 10 ℔ Cent Sugar and Candy Viz. cwt. qr. lb. 62 . 3 . 22 Sugar 95 9 7 26 . 1 . 24 Candy 64 16 9 160 6 4 Flour Viz. cwt. qr. lb. 203 . 3 . 17 Flour 187 - 10 190 . - . 22 Biscuit 457 3 8 644 4 6 Rice and Paddy Viz. cwt. qr. lb. 181 . 2 . 4 Rice 79 14 2 100 . 1 . 24 Paddy 22 3 9	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 16 July 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided. Present with him were Major Daniel Corneille, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett. The Council read, approved and signed the record of its meeting of 12 July 1781. The storekeeper laid before the Council his collection and the paymaster's accounts for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1781. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows. Account of goods sold and delivered out of the Company's warehouse from 1 April to 30 June 1781, sold at 10 per cent above cost: Sugar, 62 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 pounds, £95 9s 4d Sugar candy, 26 hundredweight 1 quarter 24 pounds, £64 16s 9d Total sugar and sugar candy, £160 6s 1d Flour, 200 hundredweight 1 quarter 17 pounds, £187 0s 10d Baked bread, 490 hundredweight 0 quarters 22 pounds, £457 3s 8d Total flour and bread, £644 4s 6d Rice, 191 hundredweight 2 quarters 4 pounds, £79 14s 2d Paddy, 100 hundredweight 1 quarter 24 pounds, £22 3s 9d Total rice and paddy, £101 17s 11d Carried over, £906 8s 6d **Interpretations** The Company's warehouse sold food to the island's inhabitants, soldiers and passing ships at a fixed 10 per cent above cost. This small mark-up covered handling and losses without turning the island's supplies into a source of profit, and kept staple foods within reach of soldiers and poor settlers who had no other source. Bread was by far the largest item. The garrison and the ships drew baked bread from the Company's bakery rather than buying flour, which explains why flour stocks fell so fast in the

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		101 17 11 Carried Over £ 906 8 9	spring of 1781 even though little was sold as raw flour. The quarter's sales stopped well short of the island's needs. Through April and May the Council refused flour to ship after ship, yet still sold almost 700 hundredweight of bread and flour. Most of that went to the garrison and island households, which had first claim on the stores. The account shows where the scarce supplies actually went.
102	98	16th July Brot. Over £ 906 8 9 Sope 2 . 3 . 22 lb 10 13 - Salt 9 Bushels 2 7 6 Tea Viz. 2 . - . 17 Singlo 15 1 3 2 . 1 . 5 Congo 16 1 3 4 . 1 . 7 Bohea 16 2 - 15 Cannisters Hyson 4 11 - 9 Do. Souchon 2 4 11 54 - 5 Cordage 6 . 1 . 16 13 4 - Chintzes 30 Pieces 17 - - Sago 1 . . 25 lb 2 - - Beef and Pork Viz. 1761 lb Beef 176 2 - 1799 lb Pork 179 18 - 356 - - Corn 16 Bushels Wheat 1 - - Cork 2½ Gross 1 3 9 Arrack 1½ Gallons - - - Candles Viz. 5 . 3 . 9 Wax 79 16 7 3 . 1 . 23 Tallow 6 16 9 86 13 4 Nankeen 10 Pieces 1 19 - Copper Money 3690 Half Pence 7 13 9 Brazery Viz. 4 Three quart Tea Kettles 2 10 4 1 Five Do. Do. Do. - 10 0 1 pr. Steel Snuffers - 3 0 3 12 0 Bolts 3 Small Common Bayonet - - 10 Buntin 3 Qrs. of Broad Red - 2 3 Canvas 31½ Ells English 1 14 0 Cutlery 2 Steel Razors - 1 - Hats Viz. 9 Mens Fine - 19 5	The account of goods sold from the Company's warehouse continued. Brought over, £906 8s 6d Soap, 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 pounds, £10 13s 0d Salt, 9 bushels, £2 0s 6d Singlo tea, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 17 pounds, £15 1s 3d Congou tea, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 5 pounds, £16 1s 3d Bohea tea, 4 hundredweight 1 quarter 7 pounds, £16 2s 0d Hyson tea, 13 canisters, £4 11s 0d Souchong tea, 17 canisters, £2 4s 11d Total tea, £54 0s 5d Cordage, 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 pounds, £1 13s 11d Chelloes, 30 pieces, £17 0s 0d Sago, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 25 pounds, £2 0s 0d Beef, 1,761 pounds, £176 2s 0d Pork, 1,799 pounds, £179 18s 0d Total beef and pork, £356 0s 0d Split peas, 16 bushels, £0 1s 0d Corks, 9½ gross, £0 13s 9d Arrack, 9½ gallons, £2 7s 6d Wax candles, 508 pounds 9 ounces, £77 16s 7d Tallow candles, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 25 pounds, £6 16s 3d Total candles, £84 12s 10d Nankeen cloth, 16 pieces, £14 19s 8d Copper money, 3,690 halfpence, £7 13s 9d Three-quart tea kettles, 4, £2 10s 4d Five-quart tea kettle, 1, £0 18s 8d Steel snuffers, 1 pair, £0 3s 8d Total brass and ironware, £3 12s 8d Small books of Common Prayer, 3, £0 10s 0d Broad red bunting, 3 yards, £0 2s 3d English canvas, 11¾ yards, £0 14s 9d Sheath knives, 2, £0 1s 0d Fine men's hats, 4, £0 19s 5d Soldier's hat, 1, £0 3s 2d Total hats, £1 2s 7d Carried over, £1,466 18s 1d **Interpretations** The warehouse supplied far more than food. Soap, candles, tea, cloth, kettles, prayer books and hats all passed through the Company's stores, because the island had no shops able to import goods on their own account. The Company was in effect the island's only general merchant. Its 10 per cent mark-up applied to everything, so a settler paid nearly the same for a kettle or a hat as the Company had paid for it in London or Canton. The sale of 3,690 copper halfpence shows how the Company supplied the island's small change. Coin had to be shipped from England like any other commodity. Islanders bought it from the warehouse with larger coin or notes, so that they had pennies for everyday transactions. The Council's letter of November 1783, which reported copper coins sent in place of halfpence, dealt with the same need. Wax candles were costly, at more than £77 for about 500 pounds. They lit the Castle, the church and the better households. Tallow candles, made from

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		1 Childs - 3 2 1 2 7 Carried Over £ 1466 10 1	animal fat, were cheaper, smokier and smelled, and served everyone else.
103	99	1781 Brot. Over £ 1466 10 1 Broad Cloth Viz. 4 Yds. 9 Ins. 5 Scarlet 4 17 - 4 Do. Green 3 17 - 4 Do. Brown 3 17 - 10½ Do. Cut Cloth Cafimen 4 17 1 3 Do. Crimson 1 9 9 10 12 5 Drapery Viz. 26 Ps. Huk 6 1 4 4 7 Single - 15 9 5 Baths 1 7 1 1 Bundle Tablecloths - 1 3 4 Do. Bed Do. - 12 0 1 Cloth Plaid 2 13 2 12 14 5 Hosiery Viz. 193 prs. Thread Stockings 32 11 4 16 prs. Worsted Do. 7 1 0 39 13 - Hooks and Lines Viz. 1295 No. 7 4 1 10 275 No. 9 - 12 10 150 No. 12 - 4 - 75 No. 13 - - 10 495 No. 10 - 2 10 Hooks Large - 1 13 6 ps. - 11 - 9 ps. 2 & 3 lb Lines - 3 3 1 lb Twine - - 0 3½ Cotton Duck - 9 11 5 9 4 Haberdashery Viz. 4 Doz. Mohair Coat Buttons - 1 4 - 3½ Do. Mohair Coat Buttons - 4 5 2 Do. Do. Breast Do. - - 11 1½ Do. Gilt Breast Coat Do. 2 1 3 4¾ Do. Do. Brass Do. - 13 1 Carried Over	The account of goods sold from the Company's warehouse continued. Brought over, £1,466 18s 1d Scarlet broadcloth, 4¼ yards, £4 11s 7d Green broadcloth, 4 yards, £3 17s 0d Brown broadcloth, 4 yards, £3 17s 0d Coloured cassimere, 10½ yards, £4 17s 1d Crimson broadcloth, 3 yards, £1 9s 9d Total broadcloth, £18 12s 5d Double deals, 26, £6 14s 4d Single deals, 7, £0 15s 9d Balks, 3, £1 17s 1d Fir laths, 1 bundle, £0 1s 3d Oak laths, 4 bundles, £0 12s 8d Elm plank, 1, £2 13s 2d Total timber, £12 14s 3d Ordinary thread stockings, 193 pairs, £32 11s 4d Madras stockings, 16 pairs, £7 1s 8d Total stockings, £39 13s 0d Hooks size 7, 1,295, £4 1s 10d Hooks size 9, 275, £0 12s 10d Hooks size 12, 150, £0 4s 0d Hooks size 13, 75, £0 0s 10d Hooks size 18, 475, £0 2s 10d Large hooks, 4, £0 1s 13d Lines of 2 pounds, 6, £0 1s 11d Lines of 3 pounds, 9, £0 3s 3d Twine, 1 skein, £0 0s 8d Cotton wick, 3½ pounds, £0 9s 11d Total hooks and lines, £5 19s 4d Mohair, 48 skeins, £1 4s 0d Mohair coat buttons, 3¾ dozen, £0 4s 5d Mohair breast buttons, 2 dozen, £0 0s 11d Gold basket coat buttons, 7½ dozen, £2 1s 3d Gold basket breast buttons, 4¾ dozen, £0 13s 1d Carried over, £1,548 17s 1d **Interpretations** The fishing tackle shows how much the island depended on the sea for food. More than 2,000 hooks were sold in one quarter, most of them small. The Council had complained in June that the garrison's want was worsened by the lack of boats, cordage and fishing gear. The Company's store sold hooks and lines to anyone who could use them, so that the inhabitants and soldiers could catch their own fish and ease the pressure on the salt meat. Timber was imported too. Deals were sawn planks of fir or pine, balks were squared beams and laths were thin strips for plastering. St Helena's own woods could not supply sawn timber, so even an elm plank came from England. Broadcloth and cassimere, a fine twilled woollen, were bought in short lengths for officers' coats and the better households, in scarlet, green, crimson and brown. Gold basket buttons, woven in a pattern like basketwork, finished an officer's or gentleman's coat. Even in the island's leanest season, the officers kept up the dress their rank required.

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		£ 1548 17 5	
104	100	16th July Brot. Over £ 1548 17 5 Haberdashery Brot. Over 2⅔ Doz. Gilt Coat Do. - 4 3 1¼ Gross Shirt Do. - 11 4 2 Cockets 1 2 1 5 Yds. Broad Gold Lace 1 3 4 6 Yds. Narrow Do. No. 17 - 13 - 9 Yds. Buckram - 11 3 ¼ Doz. Gilt Broad Buttons - 1 0 9 9 1 Iron Ware Viz. 4 Iron Rimmed Locks with Pad Locks - 19 4 2 Do. Do. with Brass Knobs - 13 6 2 Hinters Do. - 1 2 1 Blank Key - - 9 ¼ Pad Hammer - - 6 3 prs. HL Hinges - 12 9 1 prs. Dovetail Do. - - 7 1 Fine Rasp - 1 2 13 Masons Tools 1 3 10 2 Do. Mallets - 4 4 2 Workmans Trowels - 3 0 1 Ladle - 1 1 1 Dutch Hoe - 1 1 1 Edging Iron - 3 2 1 pr. Shop Shears - 4 4 - 1 0 5 11 10 Lead 2 . 2 . 10 Sheet 3 6 5 Nails Viz. 33 lb 2d. 1 17 6 42 4d. 1 0 - 3 10d. - 1 10 15 Flooring Brads - - 9 1 Glazier Do. - 1 4 3 1 5 Oil Viz. 51½ Galls. Train 13 10 11 ½ Do. Turpentine - 6 11 14 5 11 Carried Over £ 1590 10 2	The account of goods sold from the Company's warehouse continued. Brought over, £1,548 17s 1d Gilt coat buttons, 2⅓ dozen, £0 4s 3d Shirt buttons, 4¼ gross, £0 11s 4d Epaulettes, 2, £1 2s 1d Broad gold lace, 5 yards, £1 3s 4d Thread no. 17, 6 ounces, £0 13s 0d Buckram, 9 yards, £0 11s 3d Gilt breast buttons, ¾ dozen, £0 0s 8d Total haberdashery, £8 9s 7d Iron-rimmed locks with pullbacks, 4, £0 19s 4d Iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, 2, £0 13s 6d Splinter locks, 2, £0 1s 2d Blank key, 1, £0 0s 9d Sal ammoniac, ¼ pound, £0 0s 6d HL hinges, 3 pairs, £0 12s 9d Dovetail hinges, 1 pair, £0 0s 7d Fox trap, 1, £0 1s 2d Mason's tools, 13, £1 3s 10d Mason's mallets, 2, £0 4s 4d Plasterer's trowels, 2, £0 3s 8d Sickle, 1, £0 1s 1d Dutch hoe, 1, £0 3s 2d Edging iron, 1, £0 4s 4d Sheep shears, 1 pair, £0 1s 8d Total ironware, £5 11s 10d Sheet lead, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 10 pounds, £3 6s 5d Nails, 33 pounds of 2-penny, £1 7s 6d Nails, 42 pounds of 4-penny, £1 8s 0d Nails, 3 pounds of 10-penny, £0 1s 10d Flooring brads, 15 pounds, £0 8s 9d Glazier's brads, 1 pound, £0 1s 4d Total nails, £3 7s 5d Train oil, 51½ gallons, £13 18s 11d Turpentine, ½ gallon, £0 6s 11d Total oil, £14 5s 10d Carried over, £1,578 10s 2d **Interpretations** Every nail, hinge and lock on the island came through the Company's stores. Nails were sold by size and named by their old price per hundred, so "2-penny" and "4-penny" nails were small sizes for fixing laths and boards. Flooring brads had small heads that could be driven below the surface of floorboards, and glazier's brads held panes of glass in their frames. Mason's tools, mallets and plasterer's trowels went to builders working on houses and the island's fortifications. Train oil was oil boiled from whale blubber. It burned in lamps across the island and was by far the largest item on this page. Some of it may have come from the whalers that called at St Helena, such as the *Sandwich*. The fox trap, sickle and sheep shears show the farming side of the island's life, where planters kept sheep and guarded their poultry. Sal ammoniac, ammonium chloride, was used as a flux in soldering and tinning metal. A quarter of a pound was probably bought by a tinsmith or brazier repairing kettles and pans, which also had to be imported.

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105	101	1781 Brot. Over £ 1590 10 2 Paint Viz. ⅝ lb Indico - 1 11 29 lb Starch - 19 4 3 lb Vermilion - 15 - 1 oz. Prussian Blue - 1 7 2 Ozs. Copperas - - 5 2 lb White Lead Dry - - 0 1 18 11 Pewter 1 Bason - 3 4 Saddlery Viz. 1 pr. Plaited Leathers - 4 6 5 Girths - 0 6 - 10 - Saddlery 1 pr. Plaited Leathers Slops Viz. 3¼ Yds. Brown Duffle 1 4 0 2½ Do. Cotting - 4 4 1 Do. Fustian - 7 0 3 Do. Coloured Shalloon - 6 3 2 1 3 6 Stationery Viz. 246 Jackets 61 0 - 6¼ Yds. Fine Irish Linnen 1 14 3 10¼ Do. Ticking 2 1 0 65 5 5 Shoes 1 pr. Girls Calf - 2 5 Turnery 2¼ Yds. Sail Cloth 22 S. - 12 2 Spice 2 . . 1¼ Pepper 6 10 10 Long Cloth Viz. 5 ps. No. 2 24 0 - 16 ps. No. 3 67 16 - 9 ps. No. 4 27 - - 10½ ps. No. 5 29 2 9 5 ps. No. 6 5 13 4 154 2 1 China Ware Viz. 5 Pint Dishes - 6 3 63 Do. Plates - 10 - China Ware Received Bowl 1 4 3 Carried Over £ 1812 2 6	The account of goods sold from the Company's warehouse continued. Brought over, £1,578 10s 2d Indigo, 1 pound, £0 1s 11d Starch, 29 pounds, £0 19s 4d Verdigris, 3 pounds, £0 15s 0d Prussian blue, 1 ounce, £0 1s 7d Green copperas, 2 pounds, £0 0s 5d White lead, dry, 2 pounds, £0 0s 8d Total paint, £1 18s 11d Pewter basin, 1, £0 3s 4d Stirrup leathers, 7 pairs, £0 19s 6d Girths, 5, £0 8s 6d Total saddlery, £1 8s 0d Brown duffel, 3¾ yards, £1 4s 0d Coating, 2½ yards, £0 14s 11d Fustian, 4 yards, £0 7s 0d Coloured shalloon, 3 yards, £0 6s 3d Total serge goods, £2 13s 6d Soldiers' shirts, 246, £61 10s 0d Fine Irish linen, 6¾ yards, £1 14s 3d Ticking, 18½ yards, £2 0s 10d Total shirts, £65 5s 1d Gentleman's calf shoes, 1 pair, £0 2s 5d Hair cloth, 22 inches wide, 2¼ yards, £0 12s 2d Pepper, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 14 pounds, £6 18s 10d Long cloth no. 2, 5 pieces, £24 10s 0d Long cloth no. 3, 16 pieces, £67 16s 0d Long cloth no. 4, 9 pieces, £27 0s 0d Long cloth no. 5, 18½ pieces, £29 2s 9d Long cloth no. 6, 5 pieces, £5 13s 4d Total long cloth, £154 2s 1d Beef dishes, 5, £0 6s 3d China plates, 63, £1 8s 0d China ware carried over, £1 14s 3d Carried over, £1,812 2s 6d **Interpretations** Soldiers' shirts were one of the largest items on the page: 246 sold at five shillings each. The soldiers bought their own shirts from the Company's stores, with the cost stopped from their pay. Long cloth from Madras sold in five grades, numbered by fineness, and was by far the biggest textile sale. It clothed much of the island's population, which explains why the Council ordered it from Fort St George in such quantity. The paint section shows the materials used to decorate and dye. Indigo and Prussian blue were blue dyes, verdigris a green pigment made from copper, and white lead the standard base for paint. Green copperas, or iron sulphate, darkened dyes and made ink. Duffel was a coarse, heavy woollen cloth for winter coats, and shalloon a light twilled wool for linings. Fustian was a stout cotton-and-linen cloth for working clothes. Ticking was the strong striped cloth used to cover mattresses and pillows. Hair cloth, woven from horsehair, stiffened coats and covered furniture. Each of these had a particular use in the island's households and workshops, and all of it came through the Company's warehouse.
106	102	16th July Brot. Over £ 1812 2 6	The account of goods sold from the Company's warehouse ended with the rest of the china ware. Brought over, £1,812 2s 6d

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		China Ware Brot. Over 3 Bowls - 3 9 169 Dishes 3 3 4 41 Ewglets and Basons 4 0 10 20 Chamber Pots 3 - 0 255 Half Pint Cups and Saucers 6 11 - 135 Pint Do. and Do. 2 3 1 10 Tureens 5 10 - 30 Baking Dishes 2 5 - 28 19 11 £ 1841 2 5 Charges General Dr. Coals 146 Bushels Smith's Shop 9 3 10 Oil 2 Galls. Train - 9 10 Arrack 36 Gallons Men employed at Ware House 5 - - Candles 2 lb Wax Church - 4 4 Canvas 1 Yd. English Ware House - 1 1 Iron Ware Viz. 1 Vices 1 Rasp Copper Shop - 1 10 2 Iron Hoops Copper Shop - 3 - - 1 3 1 - 1 0 9 Nails Viz. 6 lb Flooring Brads Ware House - 4 10 10 lb Rose Copper Shop - 3 2 - 7 11 - 15 11 Deals 1 Double School House - 10 9 1 Single - 2 - 20 Butts Ware House & Brewers 1 0 1 1 pr. Virgin Timber 1 pr. Crane Do. Butcher House 2 10 2 10 ps. Elm Plank Mill 3 12 6 13 1 4 £ 2991 1	China ware brought over, £1 14s 3d China bowls, 3, £0 3s 9d China sneakers, 169, £3 3s 4d Goglets and basins, 41, £4 8s 10d China chamber pots, 28, £3 0s 8d Half-pint cups and saucers, 255, £6 11s 0d Second-quality cups and saucers, 135, £2 3s 1d China tureens, 10, £5 10s 0d China baking dishes, 30, £2 5s 0d Total china ware, £28 19s 11d Total of goods sold, £1,841 2s 5d An account of the Company's own general charges followed, for stores issued from the warehouse to its departments. Coal for the smith's shop, 146 bushels, £9 3s 10d Train oil, 2 gallons, £0 9s 10d Arrack for men employed in the bakehouse, 36 gallons, £5 0s 0d Wax candles for the church, 2 pounds, £0 4s 4d English canvas for the warehouse, 1 yard, £0 1s 1d Driver for the cooper's shop, 1, £0 1s 10d Adze for the cooper's shop, 1, £0 3s 0d Broad axes for the carpenter's shop, 2, £0 8s 9d Total ironware, £0 13s 7d Nails for the warehouse, 8 pounds of 4-penny, £0 4s 10d Flooring brads for the warehouse, 6 pounds, £0 3s 2d Rivets for the cooper's shop, 10 pounds, £0 7s 11d Total nails, £0 15s 11d Double deals for the schoolmaster's house, 4, £0 18s 9d Single deal for the schoolmaster's house, 1, £0 2s 0d Balks for the warehouse and crane, 2½, £1 0s 1d Riga timber for the bakehouse, 1 piece, £2 10s 2d Crane timber for the bakehouse, 1 piece, £4 1s 10d Elm plank for the mill, 1½ pieces, £3 12s 6d Total timber, £13 1s 4d Total charges general, £29 9s 11d **Interpretations** Sneakers were small porcelain drinking cups, often handleless, used for tea and punch. Goglets, sold with basins, were long-necked water jars of unglazed or glazed china. Water kept in them stayed cool through evaporation, which mattered on an island with no ice. Both were everyday items in Asian and colonial households and came to St Helena with the China fleets. The general charges show the Company paying its own departments for what they used. Coal went to the smith's shop, rivets and an adze to the cooper who made and repaired casks, and broad axes to the carpenters. Arrack was issued to the men working in the bakehouse as a ration. Timber went to the schoolmaster's house, the warehouse crane, the bakehouse and the island's mill. Riga timber was fir or pine shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, prized for its straight grain and strength. By charging these issues to an account, the Council could show the Court exactly how its stores had been spent on the island's own works.
107	103	1781 - Repairs Dr. Nails 2 lb 4d. Castle - - 1 3 Glass Ware 10 Sqs. 11 by 17 Castle - - 12 1 Iron Ware Viz. 2 Iron Pad Locks Brass Knobs 4 Do. - 12 3	The account of repairs to the Company's buildings followed. Nails for the Castle, 2 pounds of 4-penny, £0 1s 3d Glass for the Castle, 10 squares 11 by 17 inches, £0 12s 1d Iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, 2, £0 12s 3d

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		1 Brass Plate Do. Governors House - 14 4 2 Plated Rings Plantation House - 1 4 1 7 11 Paint Viz. 2 lb Verdigrease - 9 - 3 lb Red Lead Dry - 1 11 2 lb White Do. - - 6 Governors House - 10 5 Oil ½ Gall. Turpentine Do. - 4 9 Deals 2 Single Castle - 4 - £ 3 - 5 Diet Expences Dr. Flour 17 . . 26 - 2 5 Beef and Pork Viz. 27 lb Beef 4 13 - 23 lb Pork 3 1 9 8 2 5 Arrack 99 Gallons 13 4 - Sugar and Candy Viz. cwt. qr. lb. 2 . 1 . 12 Sugar 3 9 11 2 . 1 . 25 Candy 5 16 0 9 5 11 Rice 1 . 1 . 22 - 10 7 Spice 12 lb Pepper - 11 - Tea Viz. 5 lb Congo - 9 3 4 Cannisters Hyson 1 5 0 6 Do. Souchon 1 15 - 3 9 3 £ 50 0 8	Brass plate for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 1, £0 14s 4d Blank keys for the plantation house, 2, £0 1s 4d Total ironware, £1 7s 11d Verdigris for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 2 pounds, £0 9s 0d Dry white lead for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 3 pounds, £0 1s 11d White copperas for the Lieutenant Governor's house, ½ pound, £0 0s 6d Total paint, £0 10s 5d Turpentine, ⅜ gallon, £0 4s 9d Single deals for the Castle, 2, £0 4s 0d Total repairs, £3 0s 5d The account of diet expenses followed, for provisions issued to the Company's table. Flour, 17 hundredweight 0 quarters 26 pounds Beef, 277 pounds, £4 13s 5d Pork, 237 pounds, £3 8s 9d Total beef and pork, £8 2s 5d Arrack, 99 gallons, £13 4s 0d Sugar, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 pounds, £3 3s 11d Sugar candy, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 25 pounds, £5 6s 8d Total sugar and sugar candy, £8 10s 7d Rice, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 pounds, £0 11s 0d Pepper, 12 pounds, £0 6s 0d Congou tea, 3 pounds, £0 3s 3d Hyson tea, 4 canisters, £1 5s 8d Souchong tea, 6 canisters, £1 15s 0d Total tea, £3 3s 11d Total diet expenses, £50 0s 8d **Interpretations** The repairs were small: new locks and glass at the Castle, a brass plate and fresh paint for the Lieutenant Governor's house, keys for the plantation house. Glass panes 11 by 17 inches were a standard size for sash windows. Every square had to come from England, so broken glass at the Castle was a real expense and was charged to the Company's account. The diet expenses covered the Company's table at the Castle over the quarter. The finest teas, hyson and souchong in canisters, went to the official table rather than to the warehouse for sale. Ninety-nine gallons of arrack in three months matched the steady entertaining of commanders and passengers seen in the monthly table accounts. The table also took 17 hundredweight of flour in the quarter, during the very months when the Council was refusing flour to the ships in the roads.
108	104	16th July Allowance Dr. Sugar 30 lb Green and Gardening - - 17 3 Tea 4 lb Bohea Do. Do. - - 2 6 Hooks and Lines Viz. 1000 No. 7 3 5 10 25 No. 9 - 1 1 100 No. 12 - 2 5 25 No. 10 - - 2 Hooks for Fishermen 25 ps. 7 - 1 6 25 ps. 12 - 1 7 Lines 1 Lb. Go. No. Do. ½ lb Cotton Duck Castle - 1 4	The account of allowances issued from the stores followed. Sugar for the groom and gardener, 30 pounds, £0 7s 3d Bohea tea for the groom and gardener, 4 pounds, £0 2s 6d Hooks size 7 for the Governor's fishermen, 100, £0 5s 10d Hooks size 9 for the Governor's fishermen, 25, £0 1s 1d Hooks size 12 for the Governor's fishermen, 100, £0 2s 5d Hooks size 18 for the Governor's fishermen, 25, £0 0s 2d Lines size 7 for the Lieutenant Governor's fishermen, 25, £0 1s 6d Lines size 12 for the Lieutenant Governor's fishermen, 25, £0 1s 7d Cotton wick for the Castle, ½ pound, £0 1s 4d Total hooks and lines, £0 12s 11d Sheet lead for the Governor's fishermen, 6 pounds, £0 1s 3d

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		- 12 11 Lead Viz. 6 lb Shot Go. No. Fishermen - 1 3 8 lb Do. Do. Do. - 1 0 - 2 11 Shell 2 lb Castle Linen 2 10 4 Paint 2 lb Starch Do. - 1 2 Candles Viz. 136 lb Castle 270 Church 30 Prisoners 25 Butchers Shop 4 0 9 - Turnery 1 Shoe Brush Castle - - 9 Bottles 2 Do. Do. - 1 0 Corks 6 Gross Do. - 13 6 Deals 2 Single Do. - 2 0 - Nails Viz. 2 lb Flooring Brads - - 1 1 1 lb Glaz. Do. - 1 2 - 2 3 Saddlery 6 Girths Governors Stables - - 10 - Carried Over £ 57 9 6	Sheet lead for the Lieutenant Governor's fishermen, 8 pounds, £0 1s 8d Total lead, £0 2s 11d Soap for the Castle linen, 108 pounds, £2 18s 4d Starch for the Castle linen, 2 pounds, £0 1s 2d Candles for the Castle, the Council, the chaplain and the doctor's shop, 461 pounds in all (136 for the Castle, 270 for the Council, 30 for the chaplain, 25 for the doctor's shop), 4 hundredweight 0 quarters 13 pounds, £40 9s 0d Shoe brush for the Castle, 1, £0 0s 9d Chelloes for the Castle, 2 pieces, £1 8s 0d Corks for the Castle, 6 gross, £0 13s 6d Single deals for the Castle, 24, £2 8s 0d Flooring brads, 2 pounds, £0 1s 1d Glazier's brads, 1 pound, £0 1s 2d Total nails, £0 2s 3d Girths for the Governor's stables, 6, £0 10s 3d Carried over, £57 9s 6d **Interpretations** The allowances were perquisites of office. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor each kept fishermen, probably slaves or hired men, who fished for the senior officers' tables. Their hooks, lines and lead sinkers came free from the Company's stores. Candles were the largest single allowance. The Council chamber alone took 270 pounds in a quarter, reflecting long meetings by candlelight, and the chaplain and the surgeon's dispensary each had their share. These allowances were part of how the Company paid its senior servants. Salaries on St Helena were modest, and free candles, soap, fish and stabling made up a real share of an officer's income. Entering them in the quarterly accounts let the Court see exactly what each office cost, and gave it the means to object if the allowances grew too generous.
109	105	1781 Brot. Over £ 57 9 6 Rice and Paddy Viz. 2 . . 6 Rice 49 . 3 . 22 Paddy Governors Horses &c. - 15 9 9 5 10 2 . 3 . 12 Rice 12 . . 6 Paddy Do. Do. Do. 1 2 - 2 7 4 14 - 11 Oil Viz. 6½ Galls. Train Castle 1 12 - 26 lb Do. Council 6 7 10 7 19 10 China Ware Viz. 20 Soup Plates - 8 1 6 Do. Dishes - 6 9 10 Baking Do. - 14 - 1 Salad Do. - - 10 6 Ewglets and Basons - 11 6 6 Chamber Pots - 11 6 40 Half pint Cups and Saucers 1 2 4 40 Quart Do. and Do. - 14 -	The account of allowances continued. Brought over, £57 9s 6d Rice for the Governor's horses, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 6 pounds, £0 15s 9d Paddy for the Governor's horses, 49 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 pounds, £9 15s 10d Rice for the Lieutenant Governor's horses, 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 pounds, £1 2s 0d Paddy for the Lieutenant Governor's horses, 12 hundredweight 0 quarters 6 pounds, £2 7s 4d Total rice and paddy, £14 0s 11d Train oil for the Castle, 6½ gallons, £1 12s 0d Train oil for the Council, 26 gallons, £6 7s 10d Total oil, £7 19s 10d China meat plates for the Castle, 20, £0 8s 1d China dishes for the Castle, 6, £0 6s 9d China baking dishes for the Castle, 18, £1 4s 0d China salad dish for the Castle, 1, £0 0s 10d Goglets and basins for the Castle, 6, £0 11s 6d China chamber pots for the Castle, 6, £0 11s 6d Half-pint cups and saucers for the Castle, 48, £1 2s 4d Quart cups and saucers for the Castle, 40, £0 14s 0d China tureens for the Castle, 2, £1 0s 0d China sneakers for the Castle, 12, £0 4s 0d Total china ware, £6 3s 0d Total allowances, £85 13s 3d The account of stores issued to the garrison followed. English canvas for cots, 4 yards, £0 4s 4d Double deals for cots and coffins, 7, £1 12s 10d Single deals for cots and coffins, 8, £0 16s 0d Total deals, £2 8s 10d Nails for cots and coffins, 1 pound of 2-penny, £0 0s 9d Nails for cots and coffins, 6 pounds of 4-penny, £0 3s 8d

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		Castle 2 Tureens 1 - - 12 Dishes - 4 - Do. 6 3 - £ 85 13 3 Garrison Dr. Canvas 4 Yds. English Cots - - 4 4 Deals Viz. 1 Double 8 Single School and Offices 1 12 10 - 16 - 2 8 10 Nails Viz. 1 lb 2d. 6 lb 4d. Do. and Do. - 1 9 - 3 0 - 4 5 Oil 143 Galls. Train Barracks and Guards 35 3 2 Carried Over £ 38 0 9	Total nails, £0 4s 5d Train oil for the barracks and guards, 143 gallons, £35 3s 2d Carried over, £38 0s 9d **Interpretations** The Governor's horses ate paddy. Nearly 50 hundredweight in a quarter went to his stables, more than twice the quantity issued to the Lieutenant Governor's. Hay and oats were scarce on the island, so rice in the husk served as fodder. In a quarter when the garrison was on short allowance of flour and the Council turned away ship after ship asking for rice, the senior officers' horses were still fed from the Company's grain stores. The garrison account shows what the soldiers' upkeep cost beyond their pay and rations. Train oil burned in the lamps of the barracks and guard posts through every night, and at 143 gallons in a quarter it was the garrison's single largest stores charge. The same planks and nails served for the soldiers' cots and for their coffins. Several soldiers died that spring, among them John Moore, William Westbury and Fortis Hyder, and the Company paid to bury them.
110	106	16th July Brot. Over £ [...] Tea 1 . 1 . 12 Bohea Barracks and Guards [...] Candles Viz. 12 lb Wax 1 5 6 52 lb Tallow 2 12 - Officers Guard 3 17 [...] Arrack 21½ Galls. Mustering 2 17 [...] Beef and Pork Viz. 165 lb Beef 13 2 10 167 lb Pork 25 1 - Deficiency in Weight 38 3 [...] Hooks and Lines 5¼ lb Cotton and Guards - 1[...] Tin Ware 1 Lanthorn - 3 [...] Flour - . 3 . 16 - 16 [...] Soldiers Clothes Viz. 303 Soldiers Coats 279 Do. Breeches 441 3 0 12 Sergeants Coats and Breeches 68 14 - 12 Corporals Do. and Do. 10 9 2 8 Drummers Do. and Do. 27 5 6 3 Artillery Sergeants Do. and Do. 15 3 7 4 Do. Do. Corporals Do. and Do. 8 16 - 3 Bombardiers Do. and Do. 8 10 2 4 Gunners Do. Do. 9 4 10 47 Matrosses Do. and Do.	The account of stores issued to the garrison continued. Brought over, £38 0s 9d Bohea tea for the barracks and guards, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 pounds, £4 11s 0d Wax candles for the officers' guard, 12 pounds, £1 5s 6d Tallow candles for the officers' guard, 52 pounds, £2 12s 0d Total candles, £3 17s 6d Arrack for mustering, 21½ gallons, £2 17s 0d Beef, deficiency in weight, 76 pieces, £13 2s 10d Pork, deficiency in weight, 167 pieces, £25 1s 0d Total beef and pork, £38 3s 10d Cotton wick for the guards, 5¼ pounds, £0 13s 0d Horn lantern, 1, £0 3s 0d Flour, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 16 pounds, £0 16s 0d Soldiers' coats and breeches, 303 coats and 279 pairs of breeches, £441 3s 8d Sergeants' coats and breeches, 12, £62 14s 0d Corporals' coats and breeches, 12, £18 9s 7d Drummers' coats and breeches, 8, £27 5s 6d Artillery sergeants' coats and breeches, 3, £15 3s 7d Artillery corporals' coats and breeches, 4, £8 16s 0d Bombardiers' coats and breeches, 3, £8 18s 2d Gunners' coats and breeches, 4, £9 4s 10d Matrosses' coats and breeches, 47, £100 9s 3d Total soldiers' clothes, £692 4s 7d Soldiers' hats, 296, £43 13s 8d Sergeants' hats, 15, £8 18s 4d Total hats, £52 12s 0d Ordinary thread stockings, 27 pairs, £4 2s 9d Soldiers' shirts, 27, £6 0s 5d Roller, 1, £0 0s 6d Total shirts, £6 0s 11d Total garrison, £844 4s 0d **Interpretations** The garrison's yearly clothing made up most of the quarter's charges. Each soldier received a new coat and breeches, issued by rank from private and matross to sergeant. The roll of uniforms shows the size and shape of the garrison in 1781: more than 300

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		100 9 3 692 4 [...] Hats Viz. 296 Soldiers 43 13 0 15 Sergeants 8 10 4 52 1[...] Hosiery 297 prs. Thread Stockings 4[...] [...] Shirts Viz. 27 Soldiers 6 - 5 1 [...] - - 6 [...] Carried Over £ 944 4 [...]	infantry, 47 matrosses, a handful of artillery gunners, bombardiers and non-commissioned officers, and eight drummers. Uniforms for the whole force cost nearly £700, about four times the warehouse's sales of beef and pork in the same quarter. The "deficiency in weight" on the beef and pork was the shortfall found when casks of salt meat were opened and weighed. The garrison's ration was fixed by weight, so the Company made up the difference at its own cost and charged the loss to the garrison account. In 1785 the Council traced short-weight pork back to the contractor and asked the Court to recover the loss. In 1781 it simply absorbed it. Arrack for mustering was the dram given to soldiers at the regular musters, when every man was counted and inspected. It encouraged attendance and marked the occasion.
111	107	Blacks Dr. Oil 6 Galls. Train - 1 9 6 Beef and Pork Viz. 1095 lb Beef 33 1 6 1446 lb Pork 26 12 - 59 13 6 Rice 204 . 2 . 10 70 0 7 Arrack 13½ Galls. 1 16 - Flour 15 lb - 3 - Sugar 2 . 2 . 5 3 0 11 Tea 1 . . 14 Bohea 3 15 9 Sope 3 lb - 1 9 Salt ½ Bushel - 1 - Spice 2 lb Pepper [...] 12 9 Candles 6 cwt. Wax 30 15 4 Chidee 1 ps. 6 Yds. - 1 - Lead 15 lb Shot - 3 5 Hosiery 5 prs. Thread Stockings - 15 4 Long Cloth ½ ps. No. 6 - 3 2 Hooks and Lines Viz. 175 No. 6 - 10 - 50 No. 12 - 1 3 100 No. 13 - 1 - Hooks - 12 6 £ 190 7 2 Sickly Dr. Sugar 2 . . 16 lb - 2 - Rice - . 1 . 26 - 10 9 Arrack 5½ Gallons - 14 0 Flour 15 lb - 2 6 Beef 46 lb - 13 10 Salt ½ Bushel	The account of stores issued for the Company's slaves followed. Train oil, 6 gallons, £1 9s 6d Beef, 193 pieces, £33 7s 6d Pork, 144 pieces, £26 12s 0d Total beef and pork, £59 19s 6d Rice, 204 hundredweight 2 quarters 10 pounds, £78 8s 7d Arrack, 13½ gallons, £1 16s 0d Flour, 18 pounds, £0 3s 0d Sugar, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 5 pounds, £3 8s 11d Bohea tea, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 14 pounds, £3 15s 9d Soap, 3 pounds, £0 1s 9d Salt, ¼ bushel, £0 1s 0d Pepper, 2 pounds, £0 1s 0d Wax candles, 6 pounds, £0 12s 9d Chelloes, 75 pieces 6 yards, £38 15s 4d Sheet lead, 15 pounds, £0 3s 5d Ordinary thread stockings, 5 pairs, £0 15s 4d Long cloth no. 6, ½ piece, £0 3s 2d Hooks size 6, 175, £0 10s 3d Hooks size 12, 50, £0 1s 3d Hooks size 13, 100, £0 1s 0d Total hooks and lines, £0 12s 6d Total for the slaves, £190 7s 2d The account of stores issued to the Malays followed. Sugar, 0 quarters 5 pounds, £0 0s 8d Rice, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 pounds, £0 10s 9d Arrack, 5½ gallons, £0 14s 8d Flour, 15 pounds, £0 2s 6d Beef, 4 pieces, £0 13s 10d Salt, ¼ bushel, £0 1s 0d Bohea tea, 2 pounds, £0 1s 3d Soap, 3 pounds, £0 1s 9d Carried over, £2 13s 9d **Interpretations** The clerk headed the slaves' account "Blacks", the term used across the Company's records for the people it held as property on the island. Rice was their staple. More than 200 hundredweight in a quarter, far more than the garrison drew, fed the Company's slaves on its plantations and works. Their meat ration was much smaller, which is why the yams counted in the livestock account mattered so much to them. Chelloes, the coarse chequered cotton from Bombay, clothed them, and fishing hooks were issued so they could catch fish to supplement their food. The Malays were a separate group, kept in a distinct account. The Company brought a small number of Malay men to St Helena, mostly from its settlements in Sumatra, often as convicts or labourers. They were not counted among the slaves,

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		- 1 - Tea 2 lb Bohea - 1 3 Sope 3 lb - - 9 Carried Over £ 2 13 9	and their small ration of rice, arrack and beef was issued and recorded apart.
112	108	16th July Brot. Over £ 2 13 9 Spice 1 lb Pepper - - 6 Hooks and Lines 50 No. 9 Hooks - - 2 8 £ 2 16 11 Plantation Dr. Rice 3 . 1 . 26 Overseers and Steward 1 6 10 Beef 98 lb Steward 1 11 2 Arrack 3 Gallons - 10 - Sugar 4 lb - 1 - Oil 9 Galls. Train 1 14 9 Cart Wheels 1 Pair 4 17 5 Iron Ware 3 Tea Kettles 2 7 9 Nails 6 lb Flooring Brads - 3 2 £ 11 19 1 Hospital Dr. Sugar and Candy Viz. cwt. qr. lb. 3 . 3 . 26 Sugar 5 0 - 10 lb Candy - 7 6 5 15 6 Rice 3 . 3 . 14 1 9 0 Flour 3 . 3 . 14 3 9 9 Tea 140 lb Bohea 1 7 0 Salt ¾ Bushel - 3 - Coals 26 Bushels 1 15 5 Arrack 6 Gallons - 16 - Oil 13 Galls. Train 3 4 - Hooks and Lines 1 Cotton Wick - 2 5 £ 18 11 1	The account of stores issued to the Malays was completed. Brought over, £2 13s 9d Pepper, 1 pound, £0 0s 6d Hooks size 9, 50, £0 2s 8d Total for the Malays, £2 16s 11d The account of stores issued to the Company's plantation followed. Rice for the overseers and steward, 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 26 pounds, £1 6s 10d Beef for the steward, 9 pieces, £1 11s 2d Arrack, 3 gallons, £0 8s 0d Sugar, 4 pounds, £0 1s 0d Train oil, 3 gallons, £0 14s 9d Cart wheels, 1 pair, £4 17s 3d Fox traps, 3, £2 17s 9d Flooring brads, 6 pounds, £0 3s 2d Total for the plantation, £11 19s 11d The account of stores issued to the hospital followed. Sugar, 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 26 pounds, £5 8s 0d Sugar candy, 18 pounds, £0 7s 6d Total sugar and sugar candy, £5 15s 6d Rice, 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 14 pounds, £1 9s 8d Flour, 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 14 pounds, £3 9s 9d Bohea tea, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 pounds, £1 17s 8d Salt, ¾ bushel, £0 3s 0d Coal, 26 bushels, £1 13s 5d Arrack, 6 gallons, £0 16s 0d Train oil, 15 gallons, £3 14s 0d Cotton wick, 1 pound, £0 2s 5d Total for the hospital, £18 11s 1d **Interpretations** Fox traps on an island with no native foxes probably took rats and wild cats, which preyed on the plantation's poultry and young stock. Three traps at nearly £1 each were a considerable expense, which suggests how serious the losses were. The pair of cart wheels was the largest single item. Wheeled carts were rare on St Helena's steep tracks, and most loads moved on the backs of slaves or donkeys, so a cart was valuable equipment for the plantation's flatter ground. The hospital drew sugar, tea, rice and flour in larger amounts than its patients' ordinary ration would need. Sweetened tea and gruel were standard comforts for the sick. Coal and oil kept the wards warm and lit through the night. With soldiers dying through the hungry spring of 1781, the hospital's share of the stores was one of the few places where the Council did not stint.
113	109	Boats Dr. Deals 2 Narrow Boards - 4 5 Canvas 8 Large 2 9 4 Candles 10 lb Tallow - 10 - Lead 36 lb Sheet - 7 10 Nails 3 lb 4d. - 1 10 £ 3 13 5	The account of stores issued for the Company's boats followed. Plane boards, 2 deals, £0 4s 5d Canvas, 8 yards, £2 9s 4d Tallow candles, 10 pounds, £0 10s 0d Sheet lead, 3¾ pounds, £0 7s 10d Nails, 3 pounds of 4-penny, £0 1s 10d Total for the boats, £3 13s 5d The account of stores issued for the fortifications followed. Train oil, 2¼ gallons, £0 13s 7d Arrack, 40 gallons, £5 6s 0d

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		Fortification Dr. Oil 2¼ Galls. Train - 13 7 Arrack 40 Galls. 5 6 0 Candles 13 lb Wax 1 7 0 Lead 23 lb Shot - 4 10 Iron Ware Viz. 2 Stone Saws - 7 6 1 Broad Hoe - 2 2 1 Iron Wedge - 6 7 - 16 3 Coals 220 Bushels Burnt Lime 13 7 1 Turnery 2 Lime Brushes - 1 - Nails Viz. 6 lb Flooring Brads - 3 2 4 lb Glaz. Do. - 4 0 - 7 10 £ 22 4 11 Butter Milk Point Dr. Cordage 2 . 3 . 9 2 10 6 Coals 90 Bushels 4 0 2 Candles 25 lb Tallow 1 5 - Lead 10 lb Shot - 2 1 Iron Ware Viz. 66 lb Steel 1 2 6 12 Masons Tools 1 0 - 2 Do. Mallets - 2 5 2 9 11 £ 11 3 8	Wax candles, 15 pounds, £1 7s 0d Sheet lead, 23 pounds, £0 4s 10d Stone saws, 2, £0 7s 6d Broad hoe, 1, £0 2s 2d Iron wedge, 1, £0 6s 7d Coal for burning lime, 220 bushels, £13 7s [...] Paint brushes, 2, £0 1s 0d Flooring brads, 6 pounds, £0 3s 2d Glazier's brads, 4 pounds, £0 4s 8d Total for the fortifications, £22 4s 11d The account of stores issued for the works at Buttermilk Point followed. Cordage, [...], £2 10s 6d Coal, 90 bushels, £4 0s 2d Tallow candles, 25 pounds, £1 5s 0d Sheet lead, 10 pounds, £0 2s 1d Steel, 60 pounds, £1 2s 6d Mason's tools, 12, £1 0s 0d Mason's mallets, 5, £0 2s 5d Total ironware, £2 9s 11d Total for Buttermilk Point, £11 3s 0d **Interpretations** Most of the coal issued to the fortifications was burned to make lime. Lime, mixed with sand and water, made the mortar that bound the stone of the island's batteries and walls. Burning it needed steady, intense heat, and with the island's woods long since cut down, coal shipped out from England was the only fuel that could do the work. The 220 bushels charged to the fortifications in a single quarter were by far the largest item in the account, and they show the scale of the building in progress. Buttermilk Point had its own account because the works there were the island's main defensive project that season. In his letter of 9 July 1781, Captain William Pierce told the Council that work at Buttermilk Point was going forward as fast as possible. The steel, mason's tools and mallets issued there were for cutting and dressing stone for the new battery. Arrack went to the fortification workers in the same way it went to the bakehouse men, as a ration that helped keep labourers at hard work on exposed cliffs.
114	110	16th July Long Wood Dr. Coals 30 Bushels - - 1 18 2 Oil 1½ Galls. Train - 7 5 Iron Ware 52 lb Steel - 19 6 £ 3 5 1 St. Helena Errors Excepted 30th June 1781 (Signed) John Goodwin Storekr. List of the Honble. Company's Servants Civil and Military upon the Island of St. Helena together with their Several Salaries, Diet Money &c. for the Quarter Ending the 30th Day of June 1781 John Skottowe Esqr. Governor 150 - - Do. Allowance for Servants 31 14 9 181 14 9 Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor 62 10 - Do. Diet Money 25 - - 87 10 - Matthw. Bazett Esqr. of Council 22 10 - Do. Accountant	The account of stores issued for Longwood followed. Coal, 30 bushels, £1 18s 2d Train oil, 1½ gallons, £0 7s 5d Steel, 52 pounds, £1 0s 6d Total for Longwood, £3 5s 1d John Goodwin, the storekeeper, signed the accounts at St Helena on 30 June 1781, with errors excepted. A list followed of the Company's civil and military servants on St Helena, with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter ending 30 June 1781. Governor John Skottowe, salary as Governor, £150 0s 0d Governor John Skottowe, allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d Total for the Governor, £181 14s 9d Major Daniel Corneille, salary as Lieutenant Governor, £62 10s 0d Major Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Total for the Lieutenant Governor, £87 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, salary as second member of Council, £22 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, salary as accountant, £27 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total for Matthew Bazett, £65 0s 0d William Wrangham, salary as third member of Council, £10 0s 0d

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		27 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 - - 65 - - Wm. Wrangham Esqr. of Council 10 - - Do. Diet Money 15 - - Do. Secretary to Governor 10 - - Do. Paymaster 27 10 - 62 10 - Carried Over £ 396 14 9	William Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Wrangham, salary as [...], £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, salary as paymaster, £27 10s 0d Total for William Wrangham, £62 10s 0d Carried over, £396 14s 9d **Interpretations** A seat on the Council paid little by itself: £22 10s 0d a quarter for the second member and only £10 0s 0d for the third. The councillors drew most of their income from the working offices they held alongside their seats. Bazett earned more as the Company's accountant than as a councillor, and Wrangham's post as paymaster was worth nearly three times his Council salary. Combining the senior offices in the hands of the few men who governed kept the island's small establishment affordable, but it also meant that the Council checked accounts kept by its own members. Bazett as accountant and Wrangham as paymaster sat at the same table that approved their figures each quarter. Diet money was an allowance paid in cash in place of meals at the Company's table. The Lieutenant Governor and councillors received it quarterly, while the Governor, who kept the table at the Castle, drew an allowance for his servants instead.
115	111	1781 Brot. Over £ 396 14 9 Henl. Bazett Esqr. of Council 10 - - Roberts Carr Chaplain 55 - - Jonathan Doveton Storekeeper from 27th June 1 19 6 Bartholomew Wright Secry. 27 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 - - 42 10 - Wm. Pierce Engineer 50 - - Jno. Goodwin Storekeeper to 26th June 19 18 6 Do. Factor 12 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 44 18 6 S. Desfountain Factor 12 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - Do. Assistant Storekeeper 5 - - Do. Collector of the Customs 12 10 - 42 10 - Wm. Webber Doveton Factor 12 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - Do. Secry. to the Secret Committee 17 10 - 42 10 - Robt. Leech Factor 12 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - -	The salary list continued from the total of £396 14s 9d brought over. Brought over, £396 14s 9d Henry Bazett, salary as fourth member of Council, £10 0s 0d Richard Carr, salary as chaplain, £55 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, salary as storekeeper from 27 June, £1 19s 6d Britannicus Wright, salary as secretary, £27 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total for Britannicus Wright, £42 10s 0d William Pierce, salary as engineer, £50 0s 0d John Goodwin, salary as storekeeper to 26 June, £19 18s 5d John Goodwin, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Goodwin, £44 18s 5d John De Fountain, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d John De Fountain, diet money, £10 0s 0d John De Fountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d John De Fountain, salary as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d John De Fountain, salary as collector of customs, £12 10s 0d Total for John De Fountain, £42 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Webber Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, salary as secretary to the Secret Committee, £17 10s 0d Total for William Webber Doveton, £42 10s 0d Robert Leech, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d Robert Leech, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Leech, salary as clerk of the works, £6 16s 10½d Total for Robert Leech, £31 16s 10½d John Doveton, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d John Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Doveton, salary as Clerk of the Peace, £36 14s 4½d Total for John Doveton, £61 14s 4½d Nathaniel Kennedy, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, diet money, £10 0s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d

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		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 Nathl. Kennedy Factor 12 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 25 - - Carried Over £ 804 13 11	Total for Nathaniel Kennedy, £25 0s 0d Carried over, £804 13s 11d **Interpretations** The storekeeper's post changed hands in the last days of the quarter. John Goodwin was paid as storekeeper up to 26 June, and Jonathan Doveton drew only £1 19s 6d for the four days from 27 June. Goodwin stayed on the list as a factor with his diet money and house rent, so he lost the office but kept his place in the service. The pay was split by the day rather than by the quarter, which shows that a salary attached to the office and not to the man. Whoever held the post on a given day earned that day's share. Factor was the basic rank of a junior civil servant in the Company. On St Helena each factor drew the same £12 10s 0d a quarter, with £10 0s 0d diet money and £2 10s 0d house rent, and the working posts were paid on top. The collector of customs, the clerk of the works and the secretary to the Secret Committee were therefore extra duties given to men already on the payroll rather than separate appointments. The Secret Committee dealt with confidential business such as defence and correspondence in wartime. Paying a secretary for it in this quarter fits the war with the Dutch published on 30 June 1781 and the fear of a French attack. The chaplain, Richard Carr, received £55 0s 0d for the quarter. That was more than any councillor drew for his seat alone, and more than most of the factors earned in total. The Company evidently set the chaplain's pay to attract a clergyman to a remote posting, since he had no other office to add to his income.
116	112	16th July Brot. Over £ 804 13 11 Thos. Bazett Writer 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 - Jas. Adney Schoolmaster 17 10 - Do. Judge Advocate 12 10 - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 32 10 - Geo. Leech Steward 7 10 - Do. Overseeing the Butcher House 3 - - 10 - - Thos. Bazett Superintendant 25 - - Solomon Fitzmaurice Master Attendant	The list of the Company's servants continued from the total of £804 13s 11d brought over. Brought over, £804 13s 11d Thomas Bazett, salary as writer, £7 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Bazett, £20 0s 0d Samuel Mason, salary as writer, £7 10s 0d Samuel Mason, diet money, £10 0s 0d Samuel Mason, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Samuel Mason, £20 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, salary as surgeon, £25 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, diet money, £10 0s 0d Total for Thomas Stroud, £35 0s 0d David Kay, salary as surgeon's mate, £16 5s 0d David Kay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Total for David Kay, £26 5s 0d James Asbey, salary as schoolmaster, £17 10s 0d James Asbey, allowance for a lodge servant, £12 10s 0d James Asbey, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Asbey, £32 10s 0d George Leech, salary as steward, £7 10s 0d George Leech, allowance for cleaning the public house, £2 10s 0d Total for George Leech, £10 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, salary as superintendent of [...], £25 0s 0d Solomon [...], salary as master at arms, £6 5s 0d Benjamin [...], salary as overseer, £11 5s 0d Benjamin Clark, salary as overseer, £6 5s 0d George Bird, salary as overseer, £5 0s 0d John Robinson, salary as carpenter, £25 0s 0d Gabriel Searle, salary as smith, £12 10s 0d Joseph Sayer, salary as armourer, £15 0s 0d Thomas Yates, salary as marshal and crier, £7 10s 0d Thomas Yates, salary as clerk of the court, £5 0s 0d Total for Thomas Yates, £12 10s 0d Matthew Wakefield, salary as gardener, £30 0s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 5 - Benjn. Mason George Bird Overseers 11 5 - Benjn. Bird 6 5 - John Robinson Carpenter 5 - - Gilbt. Leach Mill Wright 25 - - Joseph Lazy Commissary 12 10 - Thos. Yates Marshall & Crier 7 10 - Do. Clerk of the Parish 5 - - 12 10 - Matt. Whitfield Mason 30 - - John Daniels Asst. Do. 20 - - Edw. Joyce Cooper 15 - - Jeffery Bradshaw Ostler 7 10 - Carried Over £ 1139 13 11	John Francis, salary as assistant gardener, £20 0s 0d Edward Roper, salary as cooper, £15 0s 0d Jeffery Bird, salary as patroon, £7 10s 0d Carried over, £1,139 13s 11d **Interpretations** The list drew a clear line between two classes of servant. Writers, factors, the surgeons and the schoolmaster received diet money and in most cases house rent on top of their salaries. The craftsmen, overseers and other working hands lower down received a single wage and nothing else. Diet money and house rent therefore marked a man as one of the Company's covenanted or gentlemanly staff, entitled to be fed and housed at its cost, while a carpenter or smith was simply paid for his labour. A patroon was the master of one of the Company's boats in the roads, in charge of the crew that carried stores, water and passengers between the shore and the ships at anchor. The gardener's wage of £30 0s 0d a quarter, with a paid assistant, was higher than that of any craftsman on the list. That reflects the weight the Company placed on its gardens, which supplied fresh vegetables to the garrison and to passing ships at a time when flour and salt meat were short. Thomas Bazett appeared twice on the list. As a writer, the lowest rank of civil servant, he earned £7 10s 0d a quarter, but a separate superintendent's post brought him £25 0s 0d more. A young man of a Council family thus held an office worth more than three times his basic salary, in a pattern already seen among the senior councillors.
117	113	[A dark stain covers the upper left of the page and hides the opening of the first entry and the carried-over figure at the foot.] 1781 Brot. Over £ 1139 13 11 [...] Lean 1 10 - Do. Fife Major 2 5 - Do. Drum Do. 1 - - 4 15 - Richd. Bickerstaff Regiml. Master 10 - - John Lechfield Gardiner 2 10 - Robt. Green Groom 2 - - Thos. Child Porter 1 10 - Thos. Cook and Linkman & Cleaner 1 5 - First Company Viz. Danl. Corneille Esqr. Major 39 6 0 Saml. Desfountain Capt. Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Richd. Knipe Second Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Francis Seale Second Lieutenant 27 7 6	The list continued from the total of £1,139 13s 11d brought over. Brought over, £1,139 13s 11d [...] Swan, salary as [...], £10 0s 0d [...] Swan, salary as fife major, £2 5s 0d [...] Swan, salary as drum major, £1 0s 0d Total for [...] Swan, £13 5s 0d Richard Pritchard, salary as [...]master, £10 0s 0d John [...], salary as gardener, £2 10s 0d Robert Green, salary as groom, £2 0s 0d The [...], salary as [...], £1 10s 0d The cook and [...], salary, £1 5s 0d The officers of the First Company followed. Daniel Corneille, salary as major, £39 6s 0d John De Fountain, salary as captain lieutenant, £27 7s 6d John De Fountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John De Fountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John De Fountain, £36 14s 4½d Richard Knipe, salary as second lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Richard Knipe, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Richard Knipe, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Richard Knipe, £36 14s 4½d Francis Seale, salary as second lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Francis Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Francis Seale, £34 4s 4½d Richard [...], salary as steward and garrison adjutant, £10 5s 0d William Roberts, salary as town adjutant, £27 7s 6d William Roberts, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Roberts, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for William Roberts, £36 14s 4½d The sergeants and other ranks followed. Nathan Jones, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d William Alexander, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d John Gayel, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d Edward Banks, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d John Mc[...], pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d James McShane, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Chas. Ross Stewart Garrison Adjutant 10 5 - Robert [...] Adjutant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Sergeants Viz. Mathew Lewis 7 10 - Richd. Alexander 7 10 - John Gray 7 10 - Edw. Banks 7 10 - John M. Bucklehurst 7 10 - James Mc Lane 7 10 - Carried Over £ [...]	Carried over, £[...] **Interpretations** John De Fountain drew pay twice over in the same quarter. On the civil list he received £42 10s 0d as factor, assistant storekeeper and collector of customs, and here he took a further £36 14s 4½d as captain lieutenant of the First Company. On a small island the Company could not keep a separate officer corps and a separate civil service, so the same few educated men filled posts on both sides. A factor who also commanded soldiers combined civil authority over trade and customs with military authority over the garrison. Daniel Corneille appeared here as major of the company as well as earlier as Lieutenant Governor. The second man in the government thus also commanded the garrison in the field. That arrangement mattered in a quarter when war with the Dutch had just been declared and a French attack was feared. A captain lieutenant was the officer who commanded a company on behalf of its nominal captain. That captain was often the colonel or major, who held the company for its pay but left the daily command to a deputy. Corneille's own pay as major and De Fountain's as captain lieutenant fit that pattern.
118	114	16th July Brot. Over £ 1429 12 8 Corporals Viz. Jno. Bartlett 5 6 2 Thos. Rose 5 6 2 Wm. Godfrey 5 6 2 Thos. Nash 5 6 2 Robt. Green 5 6 2 Danl. Daughfield 5 6 2 31 17 - Drummers Viz. John Tench 5 6 2 Richd. Halfpot 5 6 2 10 12 4 Cadets Viz. William Seale 7 10 0 Wm. Mason 7 10 0 15 - - Private Viz. Henl. Hayes Fife 3 15 10 William Allen 3 15 10 John Charles Ahearn 3 15 10 Wm. Allen 3 15 10 Thos. Barnard 3 15 10 Richd. Brown 3 15 10 Jas. Brook 3 15 10 Wm. Bailey 3 15 10	The muster of the First Company continued from the total of £1,429 12s 8d brought over. Brought over, £1,429 12s 8d John Bartlett, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Thomas Chew, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d William Gostling, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Thomas Abel, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Richard Lynn, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Daniel Langford, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Total for corporals, £31 17s 0d John Tweats, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Richard Halford, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d Matthew Seale, pay as cadet, £7 [...] Matthew Mason, pay as cadet, £7 [...] Total for cadets, £15 3s 4d Benjamin Hayes, pay as private and fifer, £3 15s 10d William Allford, pay as private and fifer, £3 15s 10d John Charles Ackerman, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Allen, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Bernard, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Brown, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Burke, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Bailey, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Brown, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Brown, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Brown, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Barrett, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Buckland, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Blake, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Cannon, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Clement, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Collins, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Cook, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Clark, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Cherrill, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates on this page, £75 16s 8d Carried over, £1,487 5s 4d **Interpretations** A cadet was a young man of good family who served in the ranks while he waited for a commission as an officer. The two cadets here drew about twice a private's pay but had no diet money or house rent, so

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Jas. Brown 3 15 10 Wm. Brown 3 15 10 Saml. Brown 3 15 10 Wm. Barnett 3 15 10 Geo. Buckland 3 15 10 Thos. Blake 3 15 10 Robt. Carver 3 15 10 Jas. Charnet 3 15 10 Wm. Coffin 3 15 10 Richd. Cook 3 15 10 Wm. Clark 3 15 10 George Charnett 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 75 16 8 Carried Over £ 1497 5 4	they stood between the men and the officers. The name Seale links one of them to the family of Lieutenant Francis Seale, listed among the company's officers. A cadetship was the usual way a Company family placed its sons on the road to a commission on the island. The privates were not totalled into the running sum on this page. Their pay was gathered in a separate subtotal of £75 16s 8d, to be added to the full private roll when it was complete.
119	115	1781 Brot. Over £ 1409 5 4 Private Brot. Over 75 16 8 Thos. Cook Junr. 3 15 10 Michl. Clinton 3 15 10 Wm. Common 3 15 10 Thos. Clark 3 15 10 Geo. Clark 3 15 10 Jas. Drake 3 15 10 John Ellis 3 15 10 Wm. Fisher 3 15 10 Stephn. Harris 3 15 10 Richd. Hare 3 15 10 Wm. Ferrett 3 15 10 Robt. Foster 3 15 10 Wm. Greenwood 3 15 10 Robt. Griffiths 3 15 10 Wm. Gosford 3 15 10 Geo. Griffin 3 15 10 Jas. Houston 3 15 10 Phillip Hayes 3 15 10 Edw. Hughes 3 15 10 John Hagan 3 15 10 Richd. Hughes 3 15 10	The private soldiers' roll continued, with £75 16s 8d brought over for the privates already listed. Privates brought over, £75 16s 8d Thomas Cook, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Michael Clinton, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Common, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Clark, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Clark, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Drake, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Ellis, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Fisher, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Stephen Ferris, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Freer, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William F[...], pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Foster, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Greenwood, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Griffiths, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Gunter, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Griffin, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Houston, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Philip Hayes, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Edward Hughes, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Hogan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Harper, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Haines, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Hill, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Hawksley, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Johnson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Judge, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Jones, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Philip Lewis, pay as private, £3 15s 10d [...] Ladson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Kelly, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Love, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Michael Leonard, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Locke, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Mumford, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Mawby, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Marston, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James McDonald, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £216 2s 6d Main total carried over unchanged, £1,487 5s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Wm. Hards 3 15 10 Jas. Hill 3 15 10 John Hawksley 3 15 10 John Johnson 3 15 10 Jas. Judge 3 15 10 Thos. Jones 3 15 10 Phillip Lewis 3 15 10 Vincent Ledson 3 15 10 Wm. Lilley 3 15 10 Thos. Love 3 15 10 Michl. Linard 3 15 10 Thos. Lake 3 15 10 Wm. Mumford 3 15 10 Wm. Mosely 3 15 10 Jas. Marston 3 15 10 Jas. Mc Donald 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 216 2 6 Carried Over £ 1409 5 4	
120	116	16th July Brot. Over £ 1409 5 4 Private Brot. Over 216 2 6 Thos. Marshal 3 15 10 Robt. Mc Cormick 3 15 10 Wm. More 3 15 10 Joseph Middleton 3 15 10 Wm. Newcomb 3 15 10 Thos. Organ 3 15 10 Chas. Pollitt 3 15 10 Alex. Paxton 3 15 10 Wm. Porter 3 15 10 Wm. Robinson 3 15 10 Geo. Roe 3 15 10 Thos. Rowe 3 15 10 Richd. Richardson 3 15 10 Richd. Robinett 3 15 10 Wm. Smith 3 15 10 John Smith 3 15 10 Wm. Simpson 3 15 10	The private soldiers' roll continued, with £216 2s 6d brought over for the privates already listed. Privates brought over, £216 2s 6d Thomas Marshal, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert McCormick, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William More, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Joseph Middleton, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Newcomb, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Organ, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Charles Pollitt, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Alexander Paxton, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Porter, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Robinson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Roe, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Rowe, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Richardson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Robinett, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Smith, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Small, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Simpson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Sheckell, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Shepherd, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Shettel, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Smith, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Charles Salt, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Shields, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Starling, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Sexton, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Townsend, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Taylor, pay as private, £3 15s 10d David [...], pay as private, £3 15s 10d Matthew Wood, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Edward Wickerson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John White, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Walker, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Joseph Wright, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Wright, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Watts, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £348 16s 8d

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		Jas. Shackett 3 15 10 Geo. Shepherd 3 15 10 J. Shettel 3 15 10 Wm. Smith 3 15 10 Chas. Salt 3 15 10 David Shands 3 15 10 Wm. Sterling 3 15 10 John Stanton 3 15 10 Thos. Townsend 3 15 10 Wm. Taylor 3 15 10 Lord Talleyman 3 15 10 Matt. Wood 3 15 10 Edw. Warburton 3 15 10 John White 3 15 10 Wm. Walker 3 15 10 Joseph Wright 3 15 10 Robt. Wright 3 15 10 Thos. Watts 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 348 16 8 Carried Over £ 1409 5 4	Main total carried over unchanged, £1,487 5s 4d
121	117	1781 Brot. Over £ 1409 5 4 Private Brot. Over 348 16 8 Wm. Westbury Dd. 9th June 2 10 4 Simon Watkins Ent. 27th Do. - 3 4 Wm. Abbott Do. Do. - 3 4 352 1 8 Second Company Henl. Bazett Major 39 6 3 Jas. Greentree First Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Robt. Hodson Second Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Joseph Beale Second Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Sergeants Viz. Willm. Watts 7 10 0	The private soldiers' roll of the First Company closed, with £348 16s 8d brought over for the privates already listed and £1,487 5s 4d on the main total. Main total brought over, £1,487 5s 4d Privates brought over, £348 16s 8d William Matthews, pay as private until his death on 7 June, £2 17s 8d Timothy Watkins, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d William Abbott, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d Total for privates of the First Company, £352 1s 0d The officers of the Second Company followed. Henry Bazett, salary as major, £39 6s 3d James Greentree, salary as first lieutenant, £27 7s 6d James Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d James Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Greentree, £36 14s 4½d Robert Hodson, salary as second lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Robert Hodson, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Robert Hodson, £34 4s 4½d Joseph Beale, salary as second lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Joseph Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Joseph Beale, £34 4s 4½d The sergeants and corporals followed. William Wells, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d William Carter, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d George Clarry, pay as sergeant until his death on 26 June, £7 5s 0d James Furnis, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d

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		Wm. Carter 7 10 0 Geo. Clancy Dd. 26th June 7 10 0 Jas. Tenant 7 5 - Jas. Oats 7 10 0 Joseph Dowler 7 10 0 Thos. Landley from 27th June - 6 0 45 10 - Corporals Viz. Thos. Landley to 26 June 5 1 6 Wm. Lockland 5 6 2 Wm. Wright 5 6 2 Jas. Hutchins 5 6 2 David Fleming 5 6 2 Jas. Thompson 10th April 1 15 0 Robt. Wilkins to 9th Do. - 10 6 Jas. Smith from 27th June - 4 0 31 17 - Carried Over £ 2009 3 4½	John Oak, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d Joseph Dowler, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d Thomas Landby, pay as sergeant from 27 June, £0 6s 0d Total for sergeants, £45 10s 0d Thomas Landby, pay as corporal to 26 June, £5 1s 4d Richard Ashland, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d William Wright, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d James Hutchins, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d David Fleming, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d John Thompson, pay as corporal from 10 April, £4 15s 0d Robert Watkins, pay as corporal to 9 April, £0 10s 6d James Smith, pay as corporal from 27 June, £0 4s 0d Total for corporals, £31 17s 0d Main total carried over, £2,009 3s 4½d **Interpretations** The roll recorded a chain of promotion set off by a single death. George Clarry died as a sergeant on 26 June. The next day Thomas Landby moved up from corporal to fill his place, and James Smith was raised from the ranks to take Landby's place as corporal. The company thus kept its full number of non-commissioned officers without a gap of even a day. The same thing happened earlier in the quarter, when John Thompson became a corporal on 10 April in place of Robert Watkins, who had served only to 9 April. Pay was worked out by the day for every man whose rank changed during the quarter. A private earned about 10d a day, so the two recruits enlisted on 27 June drew 3s 4d each for their four days. The clerk split each man's pay at the exact date of his death, enlistment or promotion. The Company's paymaster therefore paid for service actually given rather than for the rank a man held at the end of the quarter. The two enlistments on 27 June probably drew on men discharged from the China ships then in the road, a common way of making up the garrison's numbers.
122	118	16th July Brot. Over £ 2009 3 4½ Drummers Viz. Chas. Holloway 5 6 2 John Woods 5 6 2 Francis Dowd 5 6 2 15 18 6 Private Viz. Wm. Charnett Fife 3 15 10 Danl. Bryce 3 15 10 Richd. Bysforde 3 15 10 John Bame 3 15 10 John Brand 3 15 10 Phillip Bailey 3 15 10 John Bright 3 15 10 Jas. Burchell 3 15 10 Geo. Cumberland 3 15 10 Geo. Chapman 3 15 10	The roll of the Second Company continued from the main total of £2,009 3s 4½d brought over. Main total brought over, £2,009 3s 4½d Charles Holloway, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d John Woods, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Francis Dew, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £15 18s 6d William Barnett, pay as private and fifer, £3 15s 10d Daniel Bize, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Bosfield, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Bane, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Bird, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Philip Bailey, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Bright, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Birchell, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Cumberland, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Chapman, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Henry Coe, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Cowan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Cole, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Cannon, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Chandler, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Cook, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Drummond, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Davis, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Peter Ellison, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Evans, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Edward Edgett, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Fox, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Hughes, pay as private attached to the surgeons, £3 15s 10d

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		Henl. Coe 3 15 10 Jas. Cone 3 15 10 Thos. Cole 3 15 10 Jas. Cannon 3 15 10 Wm. Chandler 3 15 10 Edward Cork 3 15 10 Wm. Drummond 3 15 10 Wm. Davis 3 15 10 Peter Ellam 3 15 10 John Evans 3 15 10 Edw. Eggett 3 15 10 Richd. Fox 3 15 10 Wm. Hughes Fairfoxs 3 15 10 Jas. Godsall 3 15 10 Robt. Green 3 15 10 Saml. Gentleman 3 15 10 John Grainger 3 15 10 Henl. Garnon 3 15 10 Saml. Hills 3 15 10 Jas. Hudson 3 15 10 John Ham 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 117 10 10 Carried Over £ 2091 10½	James Goodale, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Green, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Grantham, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Grainger, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Henry Garman, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Hills, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Edward Hudson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Ham, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £117 10s 10d Main total carried over, £2,025 1s 10½d
123	119	1781 Brot. Over £ 2091 1 10½ Private Brot. Over 117 10 10 John Hayge 3 15 10 John Hargate 3 15 10 Saml. Hyrome 3 15 10 John Hughes 3 15 10 Thos. Hack 3 15 10 John Hodgkins 3 15 10 Robt. Hutchins 3 15 10 Thos. Hitchman 3 15 10 Wm. Ford 3 15 10 John Coffee 3 15 10 W. Johnson 3 15 10 John James 3 15 10	The private soldiers' roll of the Second Company continued, with £117 10s 10d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,025 1s 10½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,025 1s 10½d Privates brought over, £117 10s 10d John Haigh, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Hargate, pay as private, £3 15s 10d David Hyson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Hughes, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hook, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Hodgkins, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Hutchins, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hitchman, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Hord, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Coffee, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Johnson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John James, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Henry Kirkham, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Matthew Jennings, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Lewis, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Laskey, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Knowles, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lee, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Locke, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lollet, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Charles Lockstone, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James McCallen, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Peter Mahan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d

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		Matt. Jennings 3 15 10 Jas. Lewis 3 15 10 Henl. Ketcham 3 15 10 Richd. Kirby 3 15 10 Wm. Knowles 3 15 10 Thos. Lee 3 15 10 Jas. Locke 3 15 10 Thos. Lytt 3 15 10 Thos. Leadstone 3 15 10 Jas. Mc Cullen 3 15 10 Peter Mahan 3 15 10 Owen Murphy 3 15 10 Jas. Mc Loughlin 3 15 10 Jos. Muchan 3 15 10 Richd. Oats 3 15 10 Richd. Peterson 3 15 10 Jacob Peters 3 15 10 Wm. Parsons 3 15 10 Saml. Phillips 3 15 10 John Phillips 3 15 10 Saml. Palmer 3 15 10 Josiah Palmer 3 15 10 John Parker 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 250 5 - Carried Over £ 2091 1 10½	Owen Murphy, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James McLaughlin, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Joseph Buchanan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Michael Oats, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Jacob Patterson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Jacob Peters, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Pearson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Phillips, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Phillips, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Palmer, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Isaac Palmer, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Parker, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £250 5s 0d Main total carried over unchanged, £2,025 1s 10½d
124	120	16th July Brot. Over £ 2091 1 10½ Private Brot. Over 250 5 - John Roberts 3 15 10 Robt. Rattle 3 15 10 Henl. Roach 3 15 10 Jas. Chas. Strife 3 15 10 Jas. Salisbury 3 15 10 Thos. Smith 3 15 10 Jas. Smith 3 15 10 Benjn. Seal 3 15 10 Benjn. Thomas 3 15 10 Jas. Vaughan 3 15 10	The private soldiers' roll of the Second Company closed, with £250 5s 0d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,025 1s 10½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,025 1s 10½d Privates brought over, £250 5s 0d John Roberts, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Ratcliffe, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Henry Roach, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Christopher [...], pay as private and fifer, £3 15s 10d John Salisbury, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Smith, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Smith, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Seal, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Thomas, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Vaughan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Webb, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Watson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Joseph Webster, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Wales, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William West, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Benjamin Whaley, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Isaac Walker, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Henry West, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Williams, pay as private, £3 15s 10d

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		R. Watt 3 15 10 Jas. Whatson 3 15 10 Jas. Webster 3 15 10 Jas. Watts 3 15 10 Wm. West 3 15 10 Benjn. Whaley 3 15 10 Isaac Wether 3 15 10 Henl. West 3 15 10 Wm. Williams 3 15 10 Jas. Harris Entd. 2 April 3 15 - Jas. Thomas to 9 Do. - 7 6 Robt. Withers from 10 Do. 3 8 4 Jas. Holliday Disch. 4 June 2 14 2 Jas. Ferguson Do. 5 Do. 2 15 - Robt. Flood to 12 Do. 3 - 10 Francis Walker from 13 Do. - 15 - Thos. Waters Entd. 27 Do. - 3 4 Michl. Baker Do. Do. - 3 4 Wm. Cross Do. Do. - 3 4 Jas. Smith Do. Do. - 3 4 Jas. Stroke Do. Do. - 3 4 Jas. Linden Do. Do. - 3 4 Michl. Corey Do. Do. - 3 4 Jas. Smith to 26th Do. 3 12 6 343 17 6 Carried Over £ 2440 19 4½	James Fearon, pay as private from his enlistment on 2 April, £3 15s 0d John Thomas, pay as private to 9 April, £0 7s 6d Robert Mathews, pay as private from 10 April, £3 8s 4d James Holliday, pay as private until his death on 4 June, £2 14s 2d James Ferguson, pay as private until his death on 5 June, £2 15s 0d Robert Flood, pay as private until his death on 12 June, £3 0s 10d Francis Walker, pay as private from 13 June, £0 15s 0d Thomas Waters, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d Michael Baker, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d William Cross, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d James Smith, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d John Stroke, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d James Linden, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d Michael Cory, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d James Smith, pay as private to 26 June, £3 12s 6d Total for privates of the Second Company, £343 17s 6d Main total carried over, £2,368 19s 4½d **Interpretations** Deaths clustered sharply in the first half of June. James Holliday died on 4 June, James Ferguson on 5 June and Robert Flood on 12 June, and William Matthews of the First Company died on 7 June. Sergeant George Clarry followed on 26 June. Five deaths among the garrison in about three weeks point to an outbreak of sickness. It came at the same time as the shortage of flour and salt meat earlier in the year, when the island waited on the missing *Betsy* and *Hind* and sent the *Britannia* to the Cape for supplies. The garrison made good its losses in a single intake. Seven men joined the Second Company on 27 June, and two more joined the First Company the same day. Nine recruits enlisting together on one date was probably a draft taken from the China ships then in the road, whose muster rolls had been recorded on 11 June. A ship's commander could release seamen or soldiers to the Company's garrison, and with war against the Dutch just declared the island had good reason to take every man it could. The roll showed each vacancy filled in turn. James Smith was paid as a private to 26 June and then appeared among the corporals from 27 June, completing the chain begun by Clarry's death. Francis Walker took up pay on 13 June, the day after Flood's death, and Robert Mathews started on 10 April, the day after John Thomas left the roll.
125	121	1781 Brot. Over £ 2440 19 4½ Third Company Solomon Fitzmaurice Captain 39 6 3 Chas. Ross Stewart 1st Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Watkin Greentree Second Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money	The roll of the Third Company followed, with £2,368 19s 4½d brought over on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,368 19s 4½d Solomon [...] Maurice, salary as captain, £39 6s 3d Richard Rose, salary as steward and first lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Richard Rose, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Richard Rose, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Richard Rose, £36 14s 4½d Matthew Greentree, salary as second lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Matthew Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Matthew Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Matthew Greentree, £36 14s 4½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Sergeants Viz. Wm. Clifton Disch. 30th April 2 10 - Michl. Tooley 7 10 0 Jas. Dyer 7 10 0 Robt. Green 7 10 0 Wm. Johnson No. 2 9th April - 15 - Jas. Dunn 7 10 0 Thos. Ford from 10th Do. 6 16 8 James Ryeck from 1 May 5 - 0 45 10 - Corporals Viz. Thos. Ford to 9th April 1 10 6 James Clark to 30th Do. 1 15 - Thos. Griffiths 5 6 2 Joseph Ward 5 6 2 Wm. Higginson 5 6 2 Edw. Giles 5 6 2 Joshua Hebert from 10th April 4 15 0 Jas. Martin from 1 May 3 11 2 31 17 - Drummers Viz. Wm. Penn 5 6 2 Jas. Ridge 5 6 0 10 12 4 Private Viz. Richd. Smith Fife 3 15 10 Jas. Alden 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 7 11 8 Carried Over £ 2661 13 8½	William Coffee, pay as sergeant until his death on 30 April, £2 10s 0d Michael Farley, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d James Day, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d Richard Green, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d William Johnson, pay as sergeant to 9 April, £0 15s 0d James Bowen, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d Thomas Ford, pay as sergeant from 10 April, £6 16s 8d James Cook, pay as sergeant from 1 May, £5 1s 0d Total for sergeants, £45 10s 0d Thomas Ford, pay as corporal to 9 April, £0 10s 6d James Cook, pay as corporal to 30 April, £1 15s 0d Thomas Griffiths, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Joseph Ward, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d William Higginson, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Edward Giles, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Joshua Roberts, pay as corporal from 10 April, £4 15s 0d James Martin, pay as corporal from 1 May, £3 11s 2d Total for corporals, £31 17s 0d Matthew Penn, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Edward Ridge, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d Richard Smith, pay as private and fifer, £3 15s 10d James Alden, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £7 11s 8d Main total carried over, £2,569 13s 8½d **Interpretations** The Third Company filled its two sergeant vacancies from its own corporals. William Johnson left the sergeants on 9 April, and Thomas Ford moved up from corporal the next day. William Coffee died on 30 April, and James Cook was raised in his place from 1 May. Each step down the ladder was then filled from the ranks, with Joshua Roberts made corporal from 10 April and James Martin from 1 May. Promotion within the company by seniority kept experienced men in charge and gave the privates a visible reason to stay in the Company's service on a posting from which few could easily leave. The Greentree family held commissions in two companies at once. James Greentree served as first lieutenant of the Second Company and Matthew Greentree as second lieutenant of the Third. The pattern matched that of the Bazetts and Seales, whose sons also held office on both the civil and military lists. A handful of settled island families thus supplied most of the officers, which tied the garrison's command closely to the island's landholding class.
126	122	16th July Brot. Over £ 2661 13 8½ Private Brot. Over 7 11 8 Lemuel Abbot 3 15 10 Jas. Allen 3 15 10 Jacob Bride 3 15 10 Jas. Blenkam 3 15 10 Fredk. Mc Brand 3 15 10 Jeffery Bond 3 15 10 Thos. Brown 3 15 10	The private soldiers' roll of the Third Company continued, with £7 11s 8d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,569 13s 8½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,569 13s 8½d Privates brought over, £7 11s 8d Samuel Abbott, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Allen, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Jacob Bride, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Bleakman, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Frederick McBain, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Jeffery Bond, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Charles Brown, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Bridgford, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Ashley, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Blackerby, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Cook, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Carey, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Collings, pay as private, £3 15s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Wm. Bridgford 3 15 10 W. Bailey 3 15 10 Jas. Blackerby 3 15 10 John Cork 3 15 10 Jas. Crowley 3 15 10 Jas. Collings 3 15 10 Thos. Cook 3 15 10 Thos. Collings 3 15 10 Jas. Cornfield 3 15 10 Jas. Cannon 3 15 10 Fredk. Dilcy 3 15 10 Jas. Drane 3 15 10 Wm. Edwards 3 15 10 Thos. Ferguson 3 15 10 Jas. Gray 3 15 10 Owen Griffiths 3 15 10 Jas. Grimaldi 3 15 10 Peter Higgins 3 15 10 Joseph Holloway 3 15 10 Edw. Hazell 3 15 10 Saml. Harcourt 3 15 10 Wm. Hamilton 3 15 10 Luke Holt 3 15 10 Wm. Hardison 3 15 10 Thos. Hayes 3 15 10 Wm. Jamieson 3 15 10 Jas. Jones 3 15 10 Saml. Johnson 3 15 10 Saml. Johnson 3 15 10 Privates Carried Over £ 144 1 8 Carried Over £ 2661 13 8½	Michael Clark, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Collings, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Campfield, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Cannon, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Paul Daley, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Deane, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Edwards, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Ferguson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Gray, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Owen Griffiths, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Grimaldi, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Peter Higgins, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Joseph Holloway, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Edward Gazzett, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Harcourt, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Hamilton, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Luke Hutt, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Hardiman, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hayes, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Jamison, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Jones, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Daniel Johnson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Johnson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £144 1s 8d Main total carried over unchanged, £2,569 13s 8½d
127	123	1781 Brot. Over £ 2661 13 8½ Private Brot. Over 144 1 8 Robt. Flannagan 3 15 10 Jas. Knight 3 15 10 Wm. Kiffin 3 15 10 Jas. Kelly 3 15 10	The private soldiers' roll of the Third Company continued, with £144 1s 8d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,569 13s 8½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,569 13s 8½d Privates brought over, £144 1s 8d Peter Flannagan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Haugh, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Kippen, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Kelly, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Kippen, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Edward Lambson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Lowe, pay as private, £3 15s 10d

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		Edw. Lambeau 3 15 10 Richd. Lowe 3 15 10 Jas. Lamb 3 15 10 Richd. Moyse 3 15 10 Thos. Morris 3 15 10 Chas. Morris 3 15 10 Chas. Mc Ammoney 3 15 10 Jas. Moody 3 15 10 Thos. Mason 3 15 10 Peter Mc Carrick 3 15 10 Jas. Moss 3 15 10 Jas. Marsell 3 15 10 Joseph Middleton 3 15 10 Richd. Nidling 3 15 10 Robt. Nesbit 3 15 10 Thos. Owens 3 15 10 Thos. Perry 3 15 10 Wm. Powell 3 15 10 Matthew Pritchard 3 15 10 Wm. Pratt 3 15 10 Jas. Peck 3 15 10 Jas. Painter 3 15 10 Jas. Parsons 3 15 10 Owen Perry 3 15 10 Wm. Rowlands 3 15 10 Wm. Robinson 3 15 10 Adam Scott 3 15 10 Arthur Shell 3 15 10 Stephn. Seymour 3 15 10 David Stone 3 15 10 Richd. Swanson 3 15 10 Francs. Shambreid 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 280 11 8 Carried Over £ 2661 13 8½	James Lamb, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Morgan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Morris, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Charles Morris, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Charles Mummery, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Moody, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Mason, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Peter McCardale, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Moss, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Mansell, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Joseph Middleton, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Medling, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Nesbett, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Owens, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Perry, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Powell, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Matthew Pritchard, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Pratt, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Parsons, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Painter, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Peck, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Oliver Perry, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Rowlands, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Robinson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Adam Scott, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Arthur Steele, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Stephen Seymour, pay as private, £3 15s 10d David Stone, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Richard Simmons, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Francis Chamberlist, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £284 7s 6d Main total carried over unchanged, £2,569 13s 8½d
128	124	16th July Brot. Over £ 2661 13 8½ Private Brot. Over 280 11 8 Wm. Smith 3 15 10	The private soldiers' roll of the Third Company closed, with £280 11s 8d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,661 13s 8½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,661 13s 8½d Privates brought over, £280 11s 8d William Smith, pay as private, £3 15s 10d

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		Jas. Smith 3 15 10 Jas. Smith 3 15 10 Thos. Tyler 3 15 10 Geo. Tayson 3 15 10 Eugen Vaughan 3 15 10 Thos. Ward 3 15 10 Wm. Walker 3 15 10 Jas. Wood 3 15 10 Jas. Webster Williams 3 15 10 Robt. Whitson 3 15 10 Thos. Wheeler 3 15 10 Geo. Clark Entd. 2 April 3 15 - Jos. Pickett DD 9th Do. - 7 6 Jas. Hubbert to 9 Do. - 7 6 Jas. Harvey Entd. 10 Do. 3 0 4 Wm. Johnson from 10 Do. 3 0 4 Jas. Bartlett to 30th Do. 1 5 - Thos. Brunett Entd. 27th June - 3 4 Jas. Bradley Do. Do. - 3 4 Jas. Smith Junr. Do. Do. - 3 4 Wm. Woodford Do. Do. - 3 4 Wm. Webb Do. Do. - 3 4 John Hayden DD 20th Do. 3 13 4 343 3 4 Fourth Company Thos. Bazett Captain 39 6 3 Thos. Statham 1st Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Robt. Gurling 2d. Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Carried Over £ 3117 12 1½	James Smith, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Smith, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Taylor, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Tarquson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Eugene Vaughan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Philip Ward, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Walker, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Wood, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Fletcher Williams, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Watson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Wheeler, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Peach, pay as private from his enlistment on 2 April, £3 15s 0d John Ethal, pay as private until his death on 7 April, £[...] John Richards, pay as private to 9 April, £0 7s 6d James Harvey, pay as private from his enlistment on 10 April, £3 0s 4d William Johnson, pay as private from 10 April, £[...] Thomas Bartlett, pay as private to 30 April, £1 5s 0d Thomas Bennett, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d James Bradley, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d James Smith junior, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d William Woodford, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d William Webb, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d John Hayden, pay as private until his death on 20 June, £3 13s 4d Total for privates of the Third Company, £363 3s 4d The officers of the Fourth Company followed. Thomas Bazett, salary as captain, £39 6s 3d Thomas Wickham, salary as first lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Thomas Wickham, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Wickham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Wickham, £36 14s 4½d Robert Gosling, salary as second lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Robert Gosling, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gosling, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Robert Gosling, £36 14s 4½d Main total carried over, £3,137 12s 0½d **Interpretations** Thomas Bazett now appeared on the pay list for the third time. He drew a writer's salary on the civil list, a further £25 0s 0d as a superintendent, and here £39 6s 3d as captain of the Fourth Company. A young man at the bottom of the civil ladder thus commanded a company of soldiers and drew almost four times his writer's pay from his combined posts. The concentration of office in the Bazett family, with Matthew Bazett second in Council and Henry Bazett fourth in Council and major of the Second Company, showed how far a single island family could hold the levers of both government and garrison. The five recruits enlisted on 27 June brought the day's intake across the first three companies to 14 men. A draft of that size on a single day points to a deliberate transfer of men from the ships then in the road, made to strengthen the garrison as the war widened.
129	125	1781 Brot. Over £ 2661 13 8½ Thos. Greentree Second Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money	The roll of the Fourth Company continued from the main total of £3,137 12s 0½d brought over. Main total brought over, £3,137 12s 0½d Thomas Greentree, salary as second lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Thomas Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d

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		6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Sergeants Viz. Thomas Welch 7 10 0 James Bird 7 10 0 Geo. Seaman 12 2 0 Richd. Dunn 7 10 0 Jas. Johnson 7 10 0 Thos. Williams 7 10 0 50 5 - Corporals Viz. Caleb Broadway 5 6 2 Thos. Langley DD 23 April 1 6 10 Richd. Marshall 5 6 2 Jas. Almond 5 6 2 Geo. Hunter 5 6 2 Wm. Gibbs 5 6 2 Jas. Simpson from 24th April 3 19 4 31 17 - Drummers Viz. Jas. Moyce 5 6 2 Robt. Tyrrell 5 6 2 10 12 4 Private Viz. Jas. Smith Fife 3 15 10 Wm. Ashfield 3 15 10 Jas. Allen 3 15 10 Phillip Alexander 3 15 10 Geo. Adams 3 15 10 Wm. Blackman 3 15 10 Thos. Bailey 3 15 10 Jno. Butcher 3 15 10 Jas. Brown 3 15 10 Saml. Brandon 3 15 10 Jas. Bartlett 3 15 10 Wm. Bruce 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 45 10 - Carried Over £ 3264 6 9	Total for Thomas Greentree, £34 4s 4½d Thomas Kelick, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d James B[...], pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d George Lawman, pay as sergeant, £12 12s 0d Richard Dixon, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d James Johnson, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d Thomas Williams, pay as sergeant, £7 10s 0d Total for sergeants, £50 2s 0d Caleb Broadway, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d Thomas Langley, pay as corporal until his death on 23 April, £1 6s 10d Richard Burchell, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d James Almond, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d George Hunter, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d William Gibbs, pay as corporal, £5 6s 2d James Simpson, pay as corporal from 24 April, £3 19s 4d Total for corporals, £31 17s 0d James Moyse, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Robert Tyrrell, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d James Smith, pay as private and fifer, £3 15s 10d William Ashfield, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Allen, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Philip Alexander, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Adams, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Blackman, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Bailey, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Joseph Butcher, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Brown, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Bransford, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Burchett, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Bruce, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £45 10s 0d Main total carried over, £3,264 7s 9d **Interpretations** George Lawman drew £12 12s 0d, well above the £7 10s 0d paid to the other sergeants. The roll gave him no separate title, but a sergeant on higher pay in a company muster was usually doing a second duty for the garrison, such as sergeant major or quartermaster sergeant. The extra £5 2s 0d was the price of that responsibility. Thomas Greentree was the third of his family on the garrison roll, after James Greentree of the Second Company and Matthew Greentree of the Third. Three brothers or cousins holding lieutenancies in three different companies at the same time showed how a settled planting family could place its young men across the whole of the island's small officer corps.
130	126	16th July Brot. Over £ 3264 6 9 Private Brot. Over 45 10 - Jas. Brown 3 15 10 Wm. Berry	The private soldiers' roll of the Fourth Company continued, with £45 10s 0d brought over for the privates already listed and £3,264 6s 9d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,264 6s 9d Privates brought over, £45 10s 0d James Benson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Berry, pay as private, £3 15s 10d

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		3 15 10 Jas. Cummings 3 15 10 Edw. Cork 3 15 10 Isaac Cane 3 15 10 David Cottam 3 15 10 Thos. Collings 3 15 10 Wm. Crowfield 3 15 10 Jas. Corker 3 15 10 Thos. Dawson 3 15 10 Jas. Dennis 3 15 10 Jas. Dungey 3 15 10 Jas. Eley 3 15 10 Saml. Flynn 3 15 10 Saml. Flowers 3 15 10 Jas. Green 3 15 10 Jas. Gilmore 3 15 10 Jas. Gemmis 3 15 10 Wm. Gahagan 3 15 10 Robt. Gordon 3 15 10 Thos. Goodridge 3 15 10 Roger Haydon 3 15 10 Jas. Hawkins 3 15 10 Wm. Hadden 3 15 10 Jas. Hewett 3 15 10 Thos. Hagen 3 15 10 Jas. Hooker 3 15 10 Peter Hambleton 3 15 10 Jas. Hanson 3 15 10 Thos. Hurst 3 15 10 Thos. Johnson 3 15 10 Jas. Jordan 3 15 10 John Jayne 3 15 10 Jas. Lowe 3 15 10 John Lockman 3 15 10 Robt. Knights 3 15 10 Thos. Lyon 3 15 10 Jas. Lovelock 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 189 11 8 Carried Over	Joseph Cummings, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Edward Clark, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Isaac Carr, pay as private, £3 15s 10d David Cottam, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Codling, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Cranfield, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Corker, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Dawson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Dennis, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Dungey, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Daly, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Elgar, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Samuel Flowers, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Green, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Gilmore, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Gremmis, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Gallagan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Gordon, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Goodridge, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Roger Hayden, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Hawkins, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Hadden, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Hewitt, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hagan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Hardin, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Peter Hardwick, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Harrison, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Hart, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Johnson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Jordan, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Joyce, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Lees, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Jackson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Knights, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Lyne, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Lambeth, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £189 11s 8d Main total carried over unchanged, £3,264 6s 9d

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		£ 3264 6 9	
131	127	1781 Brot. Over £ 3264 6 9 Private Brot. Over 189 11 8 John Lamb 3 15 10 Robt. Mingi 3 15 10 John Moyce 3 15 10 Isaac Mason 3 15 10 Wm. Mc Daggett 3 15 10 Bryder Menneman 3 15 10 Thos. Mack 3 15 10 Wm. Parker 3 15 10 Thos. Pritchard 3 15 10 John Pack 3 15 10 Wm. Paul 3 15 10 Christr. Pateher 3 15 10 Wm. Penny 3 15 10 Jas. Pacey 3 15 10 Jas. Pinder 3 15 10 Wm. Purdie 3 15 10 Jas. Pike 3 15 10 Wm. Pitt 3 15 10 Jas. Richardson 3 15 10 John Richards 3 15 10 Jas. Reed 3 15 10 Edwd. Smith 3 15 10 John Smith Senr. 3 15 10 John Smith Junr. 3 15 10 Thos. Simmons 3 15 10 John Moore 3 15 10 Joseph Stiffer 3 15 10 Wm. Stafford 3 15 10 Thos. Thomas Senr. 3 15 10 Jas. Taylor 3 15 10 Thos. Thomas Junr. 3 15 10 Matthew Wilson 3 15 10 Geo. Ward 3 15 10 Wm. Wells 3 15 10 Wm. Withers	The private soldiers' roll of the Fourth Company continued, with £189 11s 8d brought over for the privates already listed and £3,264 6s 9d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,264 6s 9d Privates brought over, £189 11s 8d John Lamb, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Robert Mungo, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Moyse, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Israel Mason, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Moggett, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Brydges Merriman, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Monk, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Parker, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Pritchard, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Park, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Pound, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Christopher Pilcher, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Penny, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Perry, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Pender, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Pettie, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Pike, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Pitt, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Richardson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Richards, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Reed, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Edward Smith, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Smith senior, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Smith junior, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Simmons, pay as private, £3 15s 10d John Stones, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Joseph Shipley, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Sheffield, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Thomas senior, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Thomas Thomas junior, pay as private, £3 15s 10d James Taylor, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Matthew Wilkinson, pay as private, £3 15s 10d George Ward, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Wells, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Wickens, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Charles Williams, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Peter White, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Privates carried over, £326 1s 8d Main total carried over unchanged, £3,264 6s 9d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 15 10 Chas. Williams 3 15 10 Peter White 3 15 10 Private Carried Over £ 326 1 8 Carried Over £ 3264 6 9	
132	128	16th July Brot. Over £ 3264 6 9 Private Brot. Over 326 1 8 Richd. Higgins 3 15 10 Peter Strong 3 15 10 Michl. Thomas Do. - 1 0 Wm. Greenfield to 2 April - 1 0 Benjn. Jas. Do. Disch. from 3 April 3 14 2 Jas. Thompson from 25 April - 19 2 Jas. Moore DD 26th May 2 6 0 Jas. Bevan Entd. 27 June - 3 4 Thos. Hill Do. Do. - 3 4 Ralph Newman Do. Do. - 3 4 Owen Sullivan Do. Do. - 3 4 341 4 2 Artillery Company William Pierce Captain 39 6 3 John Leech 1st Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Wm. Seale 2. Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Sergeants Viz. John Turner 9 2 - John Lane 9 2 - John Blackhurst 9 2 - Jas. Bird 9 2 - Thos. Tilley 9 2 - Geo. Lister 9 2 - 54 12 - Corporals Viz. Wm. Hatchford 6 16 6 Jas. Mc Bride 6 16 6 Jas. Hunter 6 16 6 Benjamin Hayes 6 16 6 John Chalmers 6 16 6	The private soldiers' roll of the Fourth Company closed, with £326 1s 8d brought over for the privates already listed and £3,264 6s 9d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,264 6s 9d Privates brought over, £326 1s 8d Richard Higgins, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Peter Berry, pay as private, £3 15s 10d Michael Thomas, pay as private, £3 15s 10d William Groomfield, pay as private to 2 April, £0 1s 8d Benjamin Jones, pay as private from 3 April, £3 14s 2d James Thompson, pay as private to 23 April, £0 19s 2d James More, pay as private until his death on 26 May, £2 6s 8d James Brennan, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d Thomas Hill, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d Joseph Newman, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d Owen Sullivan, pay as private from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 3s 4d Total for privates of the Fourth Company, £345 4s 2d The roll of the Artillery Company followed. William Pierce, salary as captain, £39 6s 3d John Leech, salary as first lieutenant, £27 7s 6d John Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for John Leech, £34 4s 4½d William Seale, salary as second lieutenant, £27 7s 6d William Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for William Seale, £34 4s 4½d John Turner, pay as sergeant, £9 2s 0d John Lane, pay as sergeant, £9 2s 0d John Blackhurst, pay as sergeant, £9 2s 0d James Bird, pay as sergeant, £9 2s 0d Thomas Tilley, pay as sergeant, £9 2s 0d George Pinder, pay as sergeant, £9 2s 0d Total for sergeants, £54 12s 0d William Satchfield, pay as corporal, £6 16s 6d James Archbold, pay as corporal, £6 16s 6d James Hunter, pay as corporal, £6 16s 6d Benjamin Hayes, pay as corporal, £6 16s 6d John Chalmers, pay as corporal, £6 16s 6d John Pugh, pay as corporal, £6 16s 6d Total for corporals, £40 19s 0d Main total carried over, £3,832 16s 11d **Interpretations** The artillery paid its non-commissioned officers more than the infantry did. An artillery sergeant drew £9 2s 0d a quarter against £7 10s 0d in the foot companies, and an artillery corporal £6 16s 6d against £5 6s 2d. The difference reflected the skill the guns demanded. Laying a battery, judging charges and handling powder safely took training that an ordinary soldier did not have, and on St Helena the batteries covering the landing places were the island's main defence against a seaborne attack. William Pierce commanded the artillery as well as serving as the Company's engineer, for which the civil list paid him £50 0s 0d. Combining the two posts placed the design of the fortifications and the command of the guns that manned them in one

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Pegler 6 16 6 40 19 - Carried Over £ 3832 16 11	man's hands. That made sense on an island whose safety rested on a few fortified landing places, and it explains why Pierce ran the trial at Niblet's Cove to test how fast an enemy could climb from the shore to the guard house.
133	129	1781 Brot. Over £ 3832 16 11 Bombardiers Viz. Thomas Richardson 6 16 6 Thomas Ainsworth 6 16 6 Saml. Ringrow 6 16 6 Chas. Abraham 6 16 6 27 6 - Gunners Jas. Brummage 6 1 4 Wm. Bonn 6 1 4 Richd. Hutchinson 6 1 4 Thos. Jones 6 1 4 John Wilkinson 6 1 4 Wm. Burchell 6 1 4 Richd. Oakes 6 1 4 Francs. Saro 6 1 4 48 10 8 Drummers Viz. Danl. Porter 5 6 2 Henl. Duggins 5 6 2 10 12 4 Matrosses Viz. Willm. Gifsany 4 11 - Jas. Alderson 4 11 - Benjn. Hunter 4 11 - John Marshall 4 11 - Stephen Burnett 4 11 - Thos. Brown 4 11 - Jas. Bampfield 4 11 - Jas. Baker 4 11 - John Coleman 4 11 - Matthew Craven 4 11 - Jas. Corbett 4 11 - Thos. Connell 4 11 - Matt. Clark 4 11 - Robt. Cunningham 4 11 - Robert Callyhold 4 11 - Wm. Colton 4 11 -	The roll of the Artillery Company continued from the main total of £3,832 16s 11d brought over. Main total brought over, £3,832 16s 11d Thomas Richardson, pay as bombardier, £6 16s 6d Thomas Ainsworth, pay as bombardier, £6 16s 6d Samuel Kingrow, pay as bombardier, £6 16s 6d Charles Abraham, pay as bombardier, £6 16s 6d Total for bombardiers, £27 6s 0d James Cummings, pay as gunner, £5 1s 3d William Bowen, pay as gunner, £5 1s 3d Richard Hutchinson, pay as gunner, £5 1s 3d Thomas Jones, pay as gunner, £5 1s 3d John Wilkinson, pay as gunner, £5 1s 3d William Burchell, pay as gunner, £5 1s 3d Richard Ables, pay as gunner, £5 1s 3d Thomas Sears, pay as gunner, £5 1s 3d Total for gunners, £40 10s 0d Daniel Porter, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Henry Duggins, pay as drummer, £5 6s 2d Total for drummers, £10 12s 4d William Gifford, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Davidson, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Benjamin Hunter, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Haddock, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Stephen Barnet, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Brown, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Bomfield, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Baker, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Coleman, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Matthew Craven, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Corbett, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Cornish, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Matthew Clark, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Robert Cunningham, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Robert Whitfield, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Cotton, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Matrosses carried over, £72 16s 0d Main total carried over, £3,911 5s 3d **Interpretations** The artillery had its own ladder of ranks below the sergeants and corporals. A bombardier handled the shells and fuses for mortars and ranked above a gunner. The gunner aimed and fired the piece, and the matross was the private soldier of the artillery who hauled, loaded and sponged the guns under the gunner's direction. Even a matross earned £4 11s 0d a quarter, about a fifth more than an infantry private's £3 15s 10d. The premium ran all the way down the artillery roll, which shows how highly the Company valued trained gun crews on an island defended mainly by its batteries.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Matrosses Carrd. Over £ 72 16 - Carried Over £ 3919 5 11	
134	130	16th July Brot. Over £ 3919 5 11 Matrosses Brot. Over 72 16 - Thos. Collector 4 11 - Thos. Drennan 4 11 - Jas. Dailey 4 11 - Saml. Daffield 4 11 - Robt. Deans 4 11 - John Davis 4 11 - Robt. Dixon 4 11 - Jas. Fellows 4 11 - Wm. Fairclift 4 11 - Thos. Ford 4 11 - Wm. Ford 4 11 - Henl. Fennell 4 11 - Chris. Greenland 4 11 - Richd. Gibbs 4 11 - John Gunn 4 11 - Richd. Greenfield 4 11 - Jas. Green 4 11 - Jas. Hyde 4 11 - Jas. Holt 4 11 - Wm. Hamilton 4 11 - John Hawks 4 11 - David Hockley 4 11 - John Hartwick 4 11 - Geo. Hughes 4 11 - Jas. Johnson 4 11 - Luther Lunard 4 11 - Richd. Litcomb 4 11 - Saml. Liddel 4 11 - Jas. Lemon 4 11 - Thos. Lack 4 11 - Chris. Martin 4 11 - Robt. Mc Donald 4 11 - Patt. Murphy 4 11 -	The matrosses' roll of the Artillery Company continued, with £72 16s 0d brought over for the matrosses already listed and £3,919 5s 11d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,919 5s 11d Matrosses brought over, £72 16s 0d Thomas Collister, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Drennan, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Daley, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Samuel Duffett, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Robert Deans, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Davis, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Robert Deacon, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Fellows, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Fenwick, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Fearn, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Henry Firth, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Henry Fennell, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Christopher Greenland, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Richard Gibbs, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Gunn, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Richard Greenfield, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Green, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Hyde, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Holt, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Hamilton, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Hawkes, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d David Huntley, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Hartwick, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d George Hayter, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Johnson, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Luther Lucas, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Richard Luckcomb, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Samuel Liddell, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Lemon, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Locke, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Christopher Martin, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Robert McDonald, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Robert Murphy, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Matthew Mott, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Richard Moran, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Daniel McLane, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Matrosses carried over, £236 12s 0d Main total carried over unchanged, £3,919 5s 11d

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		Matt. Mott 4 11 - Richd. Moran 4 11 - Danl. Mc Lane 4 11 - Matrosses Carried Over £ 236 12 - Carried Over £ 3919 5 11	
135	131	1781 Brot. Over £ 3919 5 11 Matrosses Brot. Over 236 12 - Jas. Myers 4 11 - Jeremh. Mc Carty 4 11 - Thos. Pimbble 4 11 - Jas. Parker 4 11 - Jas. Price 4 11 - Joseph Peak 4 11 - Jas. Peters 4 11 - Thos. Price 4 11 - Conr. Potts 4 11 - Robt. Riley 4 11 - Richd. Richards 4 11 - Lloyd Ross 4 11 - Henl. Radford 4 11 - Thos. Robinson 4 11 - Wm. Smith 4 11 - R. Smith Senr. 4 11 - Wm. Shore 4 11 - Richd. Stark 4 11 - Geo. Stout 4 11 - Jas. Smith 4 11 - Jas. Stockdale 4 11 - Richd. Smith Junr. 4 11 - Jas. Thompson Senr. 4 11 - Jas. Thompson Junr. 4 11 - Ralph Tidman 4 11 - Wm. Tucker 4 11 - Stephen Trueman 4 11 - Geo. Thomas 4 11 - Jas. Towers 4 11 - Wm. Warden 4 11 -	The matrosses' roll of the Artillery Company continued, with £236 12s 0d brought over for the matrosses already listed and £3,919 5s 11d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,919 5s 11d Matrosses brought over, £236 12s 0d James Myers, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Jeremiah McCarty, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Bramble, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Parker, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Price, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Joseph Peake, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Peden, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Price, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Cornelius Potts, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Robert Riley, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Richard Richardson, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Lloyd Rolfe, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Henry Radford, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Robinson, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Smith, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d John Smith senior, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Shore, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d David Stark, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d George Stuart, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Smith, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Shirtcliffe, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Richard Smith junior, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Thompson senior, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Thompson junior, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Ralph Tickman, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Tucker, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Stephen Trueman, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d George Thomas, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Towers, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Warden, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Edward Ware, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Warren, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Walker, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James White, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Robert Walters, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Charles Walton, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Matrosses carried over, £400 8s 0d Main total carried over unchanged, £3,919 5s 11d

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		Edw. Ware 4 11 - Wm. Warren 4 11 - Jas. Walker 4 11 - Jas. White 4 11 - Robt. Walker 4 11 - Chas. Walton 4 11 - Matrosses Carried Over £ 400 8 - Carried Over £ 3919 5 11	
136	132	16th July Brot. Over £ 3919 5 11 Matrosses Brot. Over £ 400 8 - John Nelson Junr. 4 11 - Thos. Ward 4 11 - Jas. Wilson 4 11 - Jno. Webster 4 11 - Jas. White 4 11 - William Warren DD 5th April - 15 4 Wm. Wellington Do. 19 May 2 7 - Lindsey Fryer Entd. 11 June 1 - - Danl. Roberts Do. Do. 1 - - Richd. Pettinger Do. Do. 1 - - Thos. Watkins Promotd. 12 Do. 3 13 - Robt. Pettit Entd. 13 Do. - 18 1 Jno. Hanley Entd. 20 Do. - 11 - David Rice Entd. 21 Do. - 11 - David Davis Do. Do. - 4 - Thos. Holloman Do. Do. - 4 - Joseph L[...]gate Do. - 4 - 403 3 - Pensioners Vizt. John Howard 22 16 3 Mary Burke 7 10 - Elizabeth Kennedy 7 10 - Elizabeth Durst 7 10 - 44 1 3 £ 4405 10 2	The matrosses' roll of the Artillery Company closed, with £400 8s 0d brought over for the matrosses already listed and £3,919 5s 11d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,919 5s 11d Matrosses brought over, £400 8s 0d John Watson senior, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d Thomas Ward, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Willson, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James Webster, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d James White, pay as matross, £4 11s 0d William Warren, pay as matross until his death on 5 April, £0 5s 0d William Wellington, pay as matross until his death on 17 May, £2 7s 0d Ezekiel Fuger, pay as matross from his enlistment on 11 June, £1 0s 0d David Richards, pay as matross from his enlistment on 11 June, £1 0s 0d Richard Pellings, pay as matross from his enlistment on 11 June, £1 0s 0d Thomas Walker, pay as matross until his transfer on 12 June, £3 13s 0d Robert Rhodes, pay as matross from his enlistment on 13 June, £0 18s 0d James Harley, pay as matross from his enlistment on 20 June, £0 11s 0d David Evans, pay as matross from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 4s 0d Isaac Davis, pay as matross from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 4s 0d Thomas Hubbaman, pay as matross from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 4s 0d Joseph Congreth, pay as matross from his enlistment on 27 June, £0 4s 0d Total for matrosses, £434 13s 0d The pensioners followed. John Howard, pension, £22 16s 3d Mary Burk, pension, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, pension, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Pearce, pension, £7 10s 0d Total for pensioners, £45 6s 3d Grand total of salaries and pay for the quarter, £4,405 10s 2d **Interpretations** Three of the four pensioners were women, each paid £7 10s 0d a quarter. The list gave no reason for their pensions, but women on a garrison's pay list were almost always widows of soldiers or servants who had died in the Company's service. The sum matched a sergeant's quarterly pay exactly, which suggests that the Company continued a dead sergeant's wage to his widow. On an island with no parish relief, such a pension stood between a soldier's family and destitution, and it gave serving men a reason to stay in the Company's employ. The artillery took in recruits in small groups through June rather than in a single draft. Three men joined on 11 June, one on 13 June and one on 20

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			June before the larger intake of 27 June. Steady enlistment through the month points to men leaving the ships in the road one by one as each vessel prepared to sail, rather than a single negotiated transfer. The quarter's pay for the whole establishment came to £4,405 10s 2d. The garrison's wages made up the greater part of that sum, which shows that St Helena's cost to the Company lay chiefly in keeping it defended.
137	133	Dr. William Wrangham Pd. Paymaster Cr. 1781 June 30th. To Cash received from Chest £ 6494 16 2 Carried Over £ 6494 16 2 1781 June 30th. By Cash Paid for the following Soldiers Clothing being a Years Clothing due to Men discharged &c. for 2 Serjeants Coats Hats Breeches and Shirts 12 5 4 for 6 Privates Coats Hats and Breeches 9 13 7 for 1 Matrosses Coat Hat and Breeches 2 5 8 for 3 Blankets - 14 6 24 19 1 By do. Pd. Tax for 7 days 1 15 - By do. Pd. for repairing Sadlery for ye Govr. 1 6 3 By do. Pd. for making a Jack and Pendant for Ladder Hill - 7 6 By do. Pd. for repairing Flags 2 - 9 By do. Pd. the Sherriffs Expences for a Year 12 15 - By do. Pd. for a Tierce of Salt Beef 6 15 - Carried Over £ 49 17 10 **Margin Notes:** 5708	The paymaster's cash account followed, with William Wrangham charged on one side for the money he received and credited on the other for what he paid out. 30 June 1781, cash received from the treasury chest, £6,494 16s 2d Carried over, £6,494 16s 2d On the credit side, Wrangham recorded these payments on 30 June 1781. Clothing owed to discharged soldiers for a year: 2 sergeants' coats, hats, breeches and shirts, £12 5s 4d 6 privates' coats, hats and breeches, £9 13s 7d 1 matross's coat, hat and breeches, £2 5s 8d 3 blankets, £0 14s 6d Total for clothing, £24 19s 1d Tax for 7 days, £1 15s 0d Repairs to Governor Skottowe's saddlery, £1 6s 3d Making a jack and pennant for Ladder Hill, £0 7s 6d Repairs to flags, £2 0s 0d The [...] expenses for a year, £12 15s 0d 1 tierce of salt beef, £6 15s 0d Carried over, £49 17s 10d **Interpretations** Each soldier was owed a year's issue of clothing as part of his terms of service. A man discharged before he had drawn his issue received its value instead. The paymaster bought the clothing at full price and charged it to the Company, so a departing sergeant left with his coat, hat, breeches and shirts paid for. The Company could have let the entitlement lapse at discharge, but honouring it kept faith with the men it relied on to fill the ranks. The jack and pennant made for Ladder Hill served the signal post there, which looked out to sea and passed news of approaching ships to the town and the Castle. Flags were the island's only means of quick communication between its lookouts and its government. With a French attack feared, the paymaster kept the signal flags in good repair, which accounts for both the new jack and the separate payment of £2 0s 0d for mending flags. A tierce was a cask holding about 42 gallons, a third of a pipe. Buying a tierce of salt beef for cash shows that the stores could not supply all the salt meat the garrison needed in a year of shortage.
138	134	16th July Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from Chest Brot. Over £ 6494 16 2 Carried Over 6494 16 2	The debit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account carried forward the cash he received from the treasury chest, with no new entries on this side. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £6,494 16s 2d Carried over, £6,494 16s 2d
139	135	Pd. Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 49 17 10 By do. Pd. Wm. Hayes for a Quarters House Rent for the Workmen in Long Wood [...] last Quarter 3 - - By do. Pd. for 49 lb. Salt Beef 4 10 -	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued with £49 17s 10d brought over. Brought over, £49 17s 10d Paid William Hayes a quarter's house rent for the workmen at Longwood, £3 0s 0d Paid for 49 [...] of salt beef, £4 10s 0d Paid the coroner for an inquest on the body of Peter Hyder, £1 5s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		By do. Pd. the Coroner for an Inquest on the Body of Richard Hyder 1 5 - By do. Pd. for Sundry Stationery 19 14 - By do. Pd. the Clerk of the Peace for drawing 3 Receipts and 6 Recognizances 1 5 - By do. Pd. the Crier of the Court of Justice - 5 - By do. Pd. Luke Robinson for Repairing the Roads 11 7 10 By do. Pd. [...] for Recruitments 2 9 - By do. Pd. for three Oars 1 2 6 By do. Pd. William Gahagan for Assisting in ye Hospital 2 10 - By do. Pd. for Baking 2010 Batches of Bread for the Garrison @ 1/9 17 10 - By do. Pd. for 65 Loads of Wood 4 17 6 By do. Pd. the following amounting 91 days at 1/2 [...] viz Widow Baggott 5 6 2 Widow Shortis 5 6 2 Widow Caldwell 5 6 2 15 18 6 By do. Pd. Major Baggott for 6 Hogs Wt. 592 lb. @ 4d. 9 17 4 By do. Pd. the Lieutenant Governor for Mutton 3 - - By do. Pd. Kent for a Bounty to hold the [...] Expences 3 - - By do. Pd. Mr. [...] for usual allowance Spinners 2 10 - By do. Pd. the Sexton for making Graves for 4 Invalid Soldiers - 10 - By do. Pd. the Drummers for Repairing [...] Peter Rocks 1 10 - By do. Pd. for 2 Cwt. 2 qrs. Cordage @ £ 6 5 3½ By do. Pd. for 671 [...] Wheat @ 18/ 60 10 6 Carried Over £ 225 5 9½ **Margin Notes:** 5708	Paid for various stationery, £19 14s 0d Paid the Clerk of the Peace for drawing up 3 briefs and 6 recognisances, £1 5s 0d Paid the crier of the Court of Justice, £0 5s 0d Paid John Robinson for repairing the boats, £11 7s 10d Paid for drumheads for the detachments, £2 9s 0d Paid for 3 oars, £1 2s 6d Paid William Gallagan for helping in the hospital, £2 10s 0d Paid for baking 200 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 9d each, £17 10s 0d Paid for 65 loads of wood at 1s 6d each, £4 17s 6d Allowance to widows for 91 days at 1s 2d a day: Widow Bazett, £5 6s 2d Widow Shortley, £5 6s 2d Widow Caldwell, £5 6s 2d Total for widows, £15 18s 6d Paid Major Bazett for the hire of 6 slaves, £0 4s 0d Paid the Lieutenant Governor for mutton, £3 0s 0d Paid rent for a house to lodge the [...], £3 0s 0d Paid Mrs [...] her regular allowance, £2 10s 0d Paid the sexton for digging graves for soldiers who died, £0 10s 0d Paid the drummers for [...], £1 10s 0d Paid Peter Nash for cordage, £6 5s 3½d Paid for [...] of wheat at 10s each, £60 10s 6d Carried over, £225 5s 9½d **Interpretations** The widows' allowance was worked out at 1s 2d a day for every day of the quarter. Paying by the day tied the relief to the time a widow actually spent on the island, so it stopped as soon as she left or remarried. The rate of £5 6s 2d a quarter was exactly the pay of a corporal or drummer, which suggests that the Company continued a dead man's wage to his widow at his own rank. Widow Bazett's place on the list shows that even a family of the Council's standing could depend on this relief. Major Henry Bazett hired out six of his slaves to the Company and received cash for their labour. The Company kept slaves of its own, but on this occasion it paid a councillor for the use of his. That arrangement let a member of the government earn money from the public purse through his private property, and it was recorded without comment as an ordinary expense. The Company paid for the inquest on Peter Hyder, the briefs and recognisances drawn up by the Clerk of the Peace and the crier of the Court of Justice. On St Helena the costs of law and order came out of the Company's own funds rather than out of fees or local rates as in England. The paymaster's account was therefore also the island's justice budget. The payment of £60 10s 6d for wheat, the largest item on the page, reflects the shortage of flour earlier in the year. The baking of 200 batches of bread for the garrison shows the Company buying grain and having it baked locally rather than relying on flour sent out from England.
140	136	16th July Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from Chest Brot. Over £ 6494 16 2 Carried Over £ 6494 16 2	The debit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account again carried forward the cash he had received from the treasury chest. No new entries appeared on this side. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £6,494 16s 2d Carried over, £6,494 16s 2d
141	137	Pd. Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued with £221 5s 9½d

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		£ 221 5 9½ By Cash Paid the following Men for Subsisting to serve the Honble. Company for Three Years longer as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War Their engagements to commence as follows Vizt. Thos. Ford 15 - Lewis Bratton 15 - Wm. Westbury 15 - Wm. Walker 15 - Isaac Fletcher 15 - Jas. Roberts 15 - Thos. Stevens 15 - Thos. Lee 15 - Wm. Thomason 15 - Chas. Potter 15 - Wm. Bailey 15 - Owen Griffiths 15 - Hugh Seymour 15 - Benjn. Thomas 15 - Jno. Stockdale 15 - Wm. Powell 15 - Wm. Bewell 15 - Edmund Duckenden 15 - 3d. April 1781 Jno. Johnson 15 - Thos. Johnson 15 - Thos. Furre 15 - Thos. Price 15 - Richd. White 15 - Edwd. Ware 15 - David Stevens 15 - Jno. Reade 15 - Jno. Evans 15 - Wm. Hills 15 - Jas. Manning 15 - Jas. Sharp 15 - Thos. Prescott 15 - Ralph Rasks 15 - 5th April 1781 Carried Over £ 16 5 Carried Over 221 5 9½	brought over. The next entry recorded cash paid to soldiers who signed on to serve the Company for five more years under the Articles of War. Each man received a bounty, and his new term ran from the date shown. Brought over, £221 5s 9½d Re-enlistments from 3 April 1781: Thomas Ford, bounty, £0 15s 0d Lewis Martin, bounty, £0 15s 0d William Westbury, bounty, £0 15s 0d William Walker, bounty, £0 15s 0d Isom Fletcher, bounty, £0 15s 0d James Roberts, bounty, £0 15s 0d Thomas Morris, bounty, £0 15s 0d Thomas Lee, bounty, £0 15s 0d William Thomason, bounty, £0 15s 0d Charles Potter, bounty, £0 15s 0d William Bailey, bounty, £0 15s 0d Owen Griffiths, bounty, £0 15s 0d Stephen Seymour, bounty, £0 15s 0d Benjamin Thomas, bounty, £0 15s 0d James Burchell, bounty, £0 15s 0d William Powell, bounty, £0 15s 0d William Pewell, bounty, £0 15s 0d Edmund Duckenden, bounty, £0 15s 0d Re-enlistments from 5 April 1781: James Johnson, bounty, £0 15s 0d John Johnson, bounty, £0 15s 0d Thomas Fearn, bounty, £0 15s 0d Thomas Price, bounty, £0 15s 0d Edward Ware, bounty, £0 15s 0d Richard White, bounty, £0 15s 0d David Stone, bounty, £0 15s 0d James Evans, bounty, £0 15s 0d John Webb, bounty, £0 15s 0d William Wells, bounty, £0 15s 0d James Cummings, bounty, £0 15s 0d James Haugh, bounty, £0 15s 0d Thomas Penrick, bounty, £0 15s 0d [...] Rush, bounty, £0 15s 0d Re-enlistment bounties on this page, £24 0s 0d Main total carried over unchanged, £221 5s 9½d **Interpretations** The Company kept its garrison by paying serving soldiers to extend their terms rather than relying only on fresh recruits from the ships. A bounty of 15s bought five more years from a man who already knew the island, its batteries and its drill. That was far cheaper than bringing out and training a stranger, and in a year of war it kept experienced men at their posts. Re-enlisting under the Articles of War also placed each man under military law for the whole of his new term. Several of these men appeared on the quarter's muster rolls in posts of trust. Thomas Ford was raised from corporal to sergeant in the Third Company on 10 April, a week after he re-enlisted. Stephen Seymour, Owen Griffiths and James Cummings also served on the rolls. Re-enlistment was probably the step that made a man eligible for promotion, since the Company had little reason to advance a soldier whose term was about to run out.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Margin Notes: 5708	
142	138	16th July Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from Chest Brot. Over £ 6494 16 2 Carried Over £ 6494 16 2	The debit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account once more carried forward the cash he had received from the treasury chest. This side had no new entries. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £6,494 16s 2d Carried over, £6,494 16s 2d
143	139	Pd. Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 16 5 Brot. Over 225 5 9½ Richard Fearn 17th April 1781 15 - Geo. Cumberland 15 - Roger Hayden 2 May 1781 15 - Robt. Green 14 Do. 15 - Thos. Penn 15 - Jno. Thompson 15 - Jas. Hudson 15 - 25 Do. Jas. Martin 22 Do. 15 - Richd. Marshall 15 - Robt. Hutchins 15 - Thos. Hodgkins 15 - 25th Do. Jno. Bridges 26th Do. 15 - Richd. Hasty 29th Do. 15 - Wm. Parsons 15 - Samuel Moon 15 - Saml. Thomasson 15 - Chas. Williams 15 - Jas. Pursh 15 - Wm. Bailey 15 - Jno. Hardy 15 - Samuel Kendal 15 - 4th June Lewis Bratton 7 Do. 15 - Saml. Walker 11 Do. 15 - Thos. Rider 19 Do. 15 - Jno. Griffiths 24 Do. 15 - Danl. McLain 27 Do. 15 - 35 5 - By do. Pd. the following Men for Enlisting to serve the Honble. Company Three Years as Soldiers Subject to the Articles of War their respective times to	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued with £225 5s 9½d brought over on the main total. The list of re-enlistment bounties went on, with £46 5s 0d brought over for the men already paid. Each man listed below signed on for five more years from the date beside his name. Main total brought over, £225 5s 9½d Re-enlistment bounties brought over, £46 5s 0d Richard Lane, bounty, from 17 April 1781, £0 15s 0d George Cumberland, bounty, from 17 April 1781, £0 15s 0d Roger Haydon, bounty, from 8 May 1781, £0 15s 0d Robert Green, bounty, from 14 May 1781, £0 15s 0d Thomas Bowen, bounty, from 25 May 1781, £0 15s 0d James Thompson, bounty, from 25 May 1781, £0 15s 0d James Hudson, bounty, from 25 May 1781, £0 15s 0d James Martin, bounty, from 22 May 1781, £0 15s 0d Richard Marshall, bounty, from 25 May 1781, £0 15s 0d Robert Hutchins, bounty, from 25 May 1781, £0 15s 0d Thomas Hodgkins, bounty, from 25 May 1781, £0 15s 0d James Hodges, bounty, from 20 May 1781, £0 15s 0d Richard Hardy, bounty, from 29 May 1781, £0 15s 0d William Parsons, bounty, from 4 June 1781, £0 15s 0d Israel Mason, bounty, from 4 June 1781, £0 15s 0d Samuel Brannan, bounty, from 4 June 1781, £0 15s 0d Charles Williams, bounty, from 4 June 1781, £0 15s 0d James Pewett, bounty, from 4 June 1781, £0 15s 0d William Bailey, bounty, from 4 June 1781, £0 15s 0d James Hardy, bounty, from 4 June 1781, £0 15s 0d Daniel Kindall, bounty, from 4 June 1781, £0 15s 0d Samuel Walker, bounty, from 11 June 1781, £0 15s 0d Thomas Robin, bounty, from 17 June 1781, £0 15s 0d James Griffiths, bounty, from 24 June 1781, £0 15s 0d Daniel McLain, bounty, from 27 June 1781, £0 15s 0d Total for re-enlistment bounties, £65 0s 0d The paymaster then recorded the bounties paid to new recruits who enlisted for five years as soldiers under the Articles of War.

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		commence as follows Vizt. Jas. Fearn 2d. April 1781 3 - - Geo. Clark Do. 3 - - David Richards 4th June 3 - - Richd. Pullen Do. 3 - - 12 - - Carried Over £ 1000 5 9½ **Margin Notes:** 5708	James Fearon, enlistment bounty, from 2 April 1781, £3 0s 0d George Peach, enlistment bounty, from 2 April 1781, £3 0s 0d David Richards, enlistment bounty, from 11 June 1781, £3 0s 0d Richard Pellings, enlistment bounty, from 11 June 1781, £3 0s 0d Total for enlistment bounties, £12 0s 0d Main total carried over, £302 5s 9½d **Interpretations** A new recruit cost the Company £3 0s 0d in bounty, four times the 15s paid to a serving soldier who signed on again. The gap shows the value the Company placed on keeping trained men rather than replacing them. A re-enlisted soldier already knew his duties and needed no passage out from England, while a recruit had to be paid more simply to bind him to the island for five years. The muster rolls bear out these entries: James Fearon and George Peach appeared there as privates paid from 2 April, and David Richards and Richard Pellings as matrosses paid from 11 June.
144	140	16th July Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from Chest Brot. Over £ 6494 16 2 Carried Over £ 6494 16 2	On the debit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account, the cash received from the treasury chest was carried forward once more. Nothing new was entered on this side. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £6,494 16s 2d Carried over, £6,494 16s 2d
145	141	Pd. Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 1033 5 9½ By Cash Advanced the Governor to pay Mens Wages and Advance Money belonging to the Ships Lord Mansfield in December 1780 273 4 8 By do. Advanced Do. to pay Lt. Plumbe belonging to Do. in February last 7 10 - By do. Advanced Do. to pay wages of Men discharged from the Swift Cutter in November last 107 13 - By do. Advanced Do. to pay Advance Money to Men Shipt on board the Swift Cutter in November last 27 10 - By do. Pd. Matthew Bazett for the following Vizt. 25½ Bushels Wheat Bran @ 17/ 21 13 6 1083 lb. Hay @ [...] - 9 - 22 2 6 By do. Paid the following Men discharged their Subsistence & 6d. pr. day wages in their Names Expired Vizt. Jas. Harrison 69 days 1 13 6 Jno. Warner 82 Do. 2 1 - Jas. Wellington 37 Do. - 18 6 Wm. Clifton 50 Do. 1 5 - Wm. Hillary 22 Do. - 11 - Jas. Hasley 5 2 6 6 15 6	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued with £1,088 5s 11½d brought over on the main total. Cash was advanced to Governor Skottowe in December 1780 to pay the monthly wages and advance money owed to the crew of the sloop *Betsy*, £273 4s 0d. Cash was advanced to the Governor in February 1781 to pay James Blanchett, a member of the *Betsy*'s crew, £7 10s 0d. Cash was advanced to the Governor in November 1780 to pay the wages of men discharged from the cutter *Hind*, £107 13s 0d. Cash was advanced to the Governor in November 1780 to pay advance money to men taken on board the *Hind*, £27 10s 0d. Paid Matthew Bazett for 25½ bushels of [...] at 17s, £21 13s 6d Paid Matthew Bazett for [...], £0 9s 0d Total paid to Matthew Bazett, £22 2s 6d The paymaster paid subsistence at 6d a day to the discharged soldiers named below. James Harrison, 63 days, £1 11s 6d William Warner, 82 days, £2 1s 0d James Wellington, 37 days, £0 18s 6d William Clifton, 58 days, £1 9s 0d William Holloway, 22 days, £0 11s 0d James Hardy, 5 days, £0 2s 6d Total for discharged soldiers, £6 13s 6d He also paid subsistence at 6d a day to seamen left on the island by their ships. John Potts, seaman of His Majesty's ship Bristol, 91 days, £2 5s 6d David Richards, seaman, 9 days, £0 4s 6d Philip Pellings, seaman, 33 days, £0 16s 6d George Greenwell, seaman, 8 days, £0 4s 0d Total for seamen, £1 5s 0d Paid expenses arising from alarms, £1 10s 0d Main total carried over, £1,537 6s 9½d **Interpretations** The Governor drew cash from the paymaster to settle the wages of the *Betsy* and *Hind*, the Company's own small vessels. These sums appeared in the paymaster's account as advances rather than as final

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		By do. Paid the Seamen as Wanted from India Subsistence at 6d. pr. day wages in their Names Expired Vizt. John Potts Boatswain belonging to his Majesty's Ship Battle 91 days 2 5 6 David Richards 9 days - 4 6 Phillip Pullinger 33 Do. - 16 6 Geo. Greenwell 8 Do. - 4 - 2 5 6 By do. Pd. Expences upon Alarms 1 10 - Carried Over £ 1581 6 9½ **Margin Notes:** 5708	costs. The arrangement shows that the Company's island craft were crewed by hired seamen paid locally in cash, with wages and advance money handed over when men were discharged or taken on. In 1781 the two vessels were missing, so the money spent on manning them had bought nothing when the island most needed its own shipping. Seamen left ashore drew 6d a day until they found a passage or a place. The Company kept them from destitution but at the lowest rate it paid anyone. Two of them, David Richards and the man entered here as Philip Pellings, enlisted as matrosses on 11 June 1781, after nine and 33 days on subsistence respectively. A stranded sailor on 6d a day had every reason to take the £3 0s 0d bounty and a matross's pay of 1s a day, which made the subsistence list a ready source of recruits for the garrison. The payment for expenses on alarms covered the cost of turning out the garrison when a strange sail was sighted. Recording it as a separate charge reflects how often the island was put on alert in the months after war with the Dutch was declared.
146	142	16th July Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from Chest Brot. Over £ 6494 16 2 Carried Over £ 6494 16 2	The debit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account showed only the cash total from the treasury chest, brought forward again with no additions. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £6,494 16s 2d Carried over, £6,494 16s 2d
147	143	Pd. Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 1537 6 9½ By Cash Pd. for the following for the Governors Table Vizt. 5 Sheep 5 - - 2 Lambs 1 - - 96 Duck 2 8 - 24 Fowls 1 4 - 42 Eggs 2 2 45 Cabbages 1 - 7½ 35 Gallns. Vinegar - 5 - 6 Dozn. & 8 Eggs 4 18 6 6 Pigs 1 5 - 1974 Lemons 1 11 10½ 1 Turkey - 4 - 44 Pecans 2 4 - 42 Almonds 2 12 6 18 Bottles Florence Oil 2 8 - 12 Dried Tongues 3 10 - 24 Pickled Do. 2 4 - 3 Hams Wt. 52 lb. 4 6 - 34 lb. Truffle - 4 6 40 Shalotts 1 - - 2 Jars Sweetmeat 3 - - 2 Tubs Oranges	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued with £1,537 6s 9½d brought over on the main total. The paymaster paid for the following provisions for Governor Skottowe's table. Brought over, £1,537 6s 9½d 5 sheep, £5 0s 0d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 96 pounds of pork, £2 8s 0d 24 fowls, £1 16s 0d 42 pounds of coffee, £2 2s 0d 45 cabbages, £1 0s 7½d 33 gallons of vinegar, £8 5s 0d 61 dozen eggs, £4 11s 6d 6 pigs, £1 5s 0d 1,275 lemons, £1 11s 10½d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 44 pounds of raisins, £2 4s 0d 42 pounds of almonds, £2 12s 6d 12 bottles of Florence oil, £2 8s 0d 12 dried tongues, £3 18s 0d 24 pickled tongues, £7 4s 0d 3 hams weighing 52 pounds, £4 6s 8d 34 pounds of turtle, £0 14s 2d 40 shallots, £1 0s 0d 2 jars of sweetmeats, £3 0s 0d 2 tubs of oranges, £1 5s 0d Total for the Governor's table, £50 2s 4d He paid for the following items for use at the Castle. Hooks and lines for the fishermen, £0 12s 9d 6 logs of wood, £0 7s 6d Total for the Castle, £1 0s 3d He paid for the following work done in burning and carrying lime. 9 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d 16 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £1 4s 0d 67 days of sailmakers at 1s 6d, £5 0s 6d 14 days of coxswains at 1s 6d, £1 1s 0d 69 days of lime burners at 1s 6d, £5 3s 6d 608 days of labourers at 1s, £30 8s 0d Total for lime work, £43 10s 6d He paid for the following work done in building a battery at Buttermilk Point. 72 days of masons at 1s 6d, £5 8s 0d 88 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £6 12s 0d

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		1 5 - 50 2 4 By do. Pd. for the following for the use of the Castle Vizt. Ink-horn and Lamp for Fishermen - 19 - 2 Large Lantern - 7 6 1 - 5 By do. Pd. for the following Work done on Ladder Hill & Shore Vizt. Labourers taken Labourers at 2d. 1/4 1 3 6 16 do. Brewers 1/6 1 - 4 6 do. Sawyers 1/6 - 9 - 14 do. Cabinetmakers 1/6 1 1 - 69 do. Carpenters 5 3 6 600 do. Labourers 36 - - 43 16 6 By do. Pd. the following Work done on Ladder Hill & Rupert's Valley Vizt. 75 days Brewers at 1/6 5 12 - 80 do. Sawyers 1/6 6 - - 22 do. Carpenters 1/6 1 13 - 12 do. Brewers 1/6 - 18 - 60 do. Do. 4 10 - 15 do. Carpenters 1/6 1 2 6 778 do. Labourers 1/ 38 18 - 59 14 6 By do. Pd. for 9 days Lantern Rent done and 1 Attendance from the Barracks Do. 2 13 6 Carried Over £ 1700 7 10½ **Margin Notes:** 5708	22 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £1 13s 0d 12 days of overseers at 2s, £1 4s 0d 68 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £5 2s 0d 15 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £1 2s 6d 773 days of labourers at 1s, £38 13s 0d Total for the Buttermilk Point battery, £59 14s 6d 9 days of smith's work making utensils for the barracks at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d Main total carried over, £1,700 7s 10½d **Interpretations** The battery at Buttermilk Point was the largest single piece of work on this page. More than 1,000 days of labour went into it, and it was built in the months after war with the Dutch was declared and a French attack was feared. The Company paid for it day by day from the paymaster's cash rather than through a contract. Labourers at 1s a day did most of the work, and masons, smiths and carpenters did the skilled parts. The lime burned and carried in the same quarter probably supplied the mortar for the battery's walls. The Company paid for the Governor's table out of its own funds, and the list shows what that table offered. Alongside island mutton, pork, fowls and eggs came imported luxuries. Florence oil was fine olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in straw-covered flasks and prized for salads and cooking. Sweetmeats were preserved and candied fruits, and the almonds, raisins, coffee and dried and pickled tongues all came in by sea. The Governor kept an open table for the island's officers and for the commanders and passengers of passing ships. Its cost was therefore treated as a public charge, part of the cost of representing the Company to its visitors. The 1,275 lemons and the 33 gallons of vinegar point to more than ordinary cooking. Both were used for preserving and pickling, and lemons were valued against scurvy. A large household feeding many guests across a season would have used both in quantity.
148	144	16th July Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from Chest Brot. Over £ 6494 16 2 Carried Over £ 6494 16 2	On William Wrangham's debit side, the paymaster entered nothing new and simply carried forward the cash total from the treasury chest. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £6,494 16s 2d Carried over, £6,494 16s 2d
149	145	Pd. Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 1700 7 10½ By Cash Pd. for the following Work done making a Road to Butter Milk Point Vizt. 34 days Brewers at 1/6 2 11 - 327 do. Stone Hewers 1/6 24 10 6 60 do. Smiths 1/6 4 10 - 85 do. Brewers 1/6 6 7 6 1329 do. Labourers 1/6 66 9 - 104 8 - By do. Pd. for the following Work done Repairing and Setting	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued with £1,700 7s 10½d brought over on the main total. Main total brought over, £1,700 7s 10½d The paymaster paid for the following work on a road to Buttermilk Point. 34 days of masons at 1s 6d, £2 11s 0d 327 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £24 10s 6d 60 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £4 10s 0d 85 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £6 7s 6d 1,329 days of labourers at 1s 6d, £66 9s 0d Total for the road to Buttermilk Point, £104 8s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing and mounting gun carriages. 64 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £4 16s 0d 23 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £1 14s 6d 19 days of sawyers at 1s 6d, £1 8s 6d 19 days of labourers at 1s, £0 19s 0d

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		up Gun Carriages Vizt. 64 days Carpenters 1/6 4 16 - 23 do. Smiths 1/6 1 14 6 19 do. Sawyers 1/6 1 8 6 19 do. Labourers 1/ - 19 - 8 18 - By do. Pd. for the following Work done Repairing the Battery at Sandy Bay Vizt. 21 days Brewers 1/6 1 11 6 5 do. Stone Hewers 1/6 - 7 6 280 do. Labourers 1/ 14 - - 15 19 - By do. Pd. for the following Work done Repairing the Castle Vizt. Wages to Smiths 1/6 - 15 - 22 do. Carpenters 1/6 1 13 - 1 do. Sawyers 1/6 - 1 6 2 do. Smiths 2/ - 4 - 2 do. Brewers 1/6 - 3 - 23 do. Labourers 1/ 1 3 - 4 - 6 By do. Pd. for the following Work done fixing a Flag Staff on Ladder Hill Vizt. 8 days Carpenters & 1/6 - 12 - 5 do. Smiths 1/6 - 7 6 6 do. Brewers 2/ - 12 - 2 do. Stone Hewers 1/6 - 3 - 41 do. Labourers 1/ 2 1 - 3 15 6 By do. Pd. for the following Work done Making Cart Carriages Vizt. 5 days Carpenters 1/6 - 7 6 2 do. Sawyers 1/6 - 3 - 1 5 6 Carried Over £ 1839 10 4½ **Margin Notes:** 5708	Total for gun carriages, £8 18s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing the battery at Sandy Bay. 21 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £1 11s 6d 5 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d 288 days of labourers at 1s, £14 8s 0d Total for the Sandy Bay battery, £16 7s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing the Castle. 10 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d 22 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £1 13s 0d 7 days of sawyers at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d 2 days of painters at 2s, £0 4s 0d 2 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d 23 days of labourers at 1s, £1 3s 0d Total for the Castle, £4 8s 6d He paid for the following work in putting up a flagstaff on Ladder Hill. 8 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d 5 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d 6 days of overseers at 2s, £0 12s 0d 2 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d 41 days of labourers at 1s, £2 1s 0d Total for the Ladder Hill flagstaff, £3 15s 6d He paid for the following work in making cots and coffins. 5 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £1 2s 6d 2 days of sailmakers at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Total for cots and coffins, £1 5s 6d Main total carried over, £1,839 10s 4½d **Interpretations** The road to Buttermilk Point cost almost twice as much as the battery itself, which was recorded on the previous page at £59 14s 6d. A gun position was useless unless men, powder and shot could reach it quickly. The 327 days of stone blowing show that the route had to be cut through rock. The Company was building a defended position that could be reinforced from inland, not just placing guns on a headland. The work on this page shows the island being made ready for attack along its whole coast. The Company repaired and remounted gun carriages, mended the Sandy Bay battery on the far side of the island and put up a new flagstaff on Ladder Hill. That flagstaff, with the jack and pennant made for it earlier in the account, gave the signal post above the town a way to warn of approaching ships. All of this fits the alarm after war with the Dutch was declared on 30 June 1781 and the fear of a French descent. The cots and coffins were made by the same carpenters and sailmakers. A cot was a framed canvas bed for the sick, slung like a hammock. Making both in the same quarter fits the run of deaths in the garrison in June recorded on the muster rolls.
150	146	16th July Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from the Chest Brot. Over £ 6494 16 2 Carried Over £ 6494 16 2	William Wrangham's debit side again held only the cash total from the treasury chest. It was brought forward and carried on without any new entries. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £6,494 16s 2d Carried over, £6,494 16s 2d
151	147	Pd. Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 1839 10 4½ By Cash Paid for the following work done at the Deputy Governors House Vizt. 12 days Smiths @ 1/6 - 18 - 3 do. Carpenters @ 1/6	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued with £1,839 10s 4½d brought over on the main total. Main total brought over, £1,839 10s 4½d The paymaster paid for the following work done at Plantation House. 12 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 18s 0d 3 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d

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		- 4 6 2 do. Painters 2/ - 4 - 1 6 6 By do. Pd. for the following Work done Repairing Castle Vizt. 6 days Carpenters @ 1/6 - 9 - 2 do. Smiths 1/6 - 3 - - 12 - By do. Pd. for the following Work done Bringing Guns from the Crane and Pricking and laying Country Vizt. 8 days Brewers @ 1/6 - 12 - 132 do. Labourers @ 1/ 6 12 - 7 4 - By do. Pd. for the following Work done Repairing the Lieut. Governors House in James's Valley Vizt. 1 days Painters @ 2/ - 2 - 14 do. Brewers 1/6 1 1 - 3 do. Labourers 1/ - 3 - 1 6 - By do. Pd. for the following Work done Repairing the Guns at the Flag & Gun Vizt. 3 days Brewers @ 1/6 - 4 6 24 do. Labourers 1/ 1 4 - 1 8 6 By do. Pd. for the following Work done Making Pipes for the Boats Vizt. 5 days Labourers @ 1/6 - 7 6 15 do. Do. 1/ - 15 - 1 2 6 By do. Pd. for the following Work done Repairing the Prison Vizt. 2 days Brewers 1/6 - 3 - 8 do. Labourers 1/ - 8 - - 11 - By do. Pd. for the following work done Building a Sluice Lower Vizt. 30 days Brewers @ 1/6 2 5 - 20 do. Sawyers @ 1/6 1 10 - 2 do. Sawyers 1/6 - 3 - 168½ do. Labourers 1/ 8 8 6 12 6 6 By do. Pd. for 8 days Painters work done painting the Church @ 2/ - 16 - Carried Over £ 1865 8 4½ **Margin Notes:** 5708	2 days of painters at 2s, £0 4s 0d Total for Plantation House, £1 6s 6d He paid for the following work in repairing carts. 6 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d 2 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d Total for carts, £0 12s 0d He paid for the following work in bringing goods from the crane and provisions from the country. 8 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d 132 days of labourers at 1s, £6 12s 0d Total for carrying goods and provisions, £7 4s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing the Lieutenant Governor's house in James Valley. 3 days of painters at 2s, £0 6s 0d 1 day of an overseer at 1s 6d, £0 1s 6d 3 days of labourers at 1s, £0 3s 0d Total for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 10s 6d He paid for the following work in repairing the shed at Holdfast Tom. 3 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d 24 days of labourers at 1s, £1 4s 0d Total for the shed at Holdfast Tom, £1 8s 6d He paid for the following work in making rope for the boats. 5 days of labourers at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d 15 days of labourers at 1s, £0 15s 0d Total for rope, £1 2s 6d He paid for the following work in repairing the prison. 2 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d 8 days of labourers at 1s, £0 8s 0d Total for the prison, £0 11s 0d He paid for the following work in building a bakehouse. 30 days of masons at 1s 6d, £2 5s 0d 28 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £2 2s 0d 2 days of sawyers at 1s 6d, £0 3s 0d 162¾ days of labourers at 1s, £8 2s 9d Total for the bakehouse, £12 12s 9d 5 days of painters' work painting the church at 2s, £0 10s 0d Main total carried over, £1,865 0s 1½d **Interpretations** The Company built its own bakehouse in the same quarter that it bought wheat for £60 10s 6d and paid for 200 batches of bread for the garrison. The three entries belong together. In a year when flour from England and the Cape could not be relied on, the Company took the making of bread into its own hands. It bought grain, paid bakers and then put up a building to bake in, so that the garrison's bread no longer depended on private ovens or on flour arriving ready-milled. Carrying goods from the crane and provisions from the country took 132 days of labour in one quarter. The crane at the landing place lifted stores from the boats onto the wharf, and from there everything had to go up into James Valley by hand or by cart. Provisions bought from the planters in the interior had to be brought down the same steep roads. That steady haulage was a hidden cost of supplying a garrison on an island with no harbour and few level routes.
152	148	16th July Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from Chest Brot. Over £ 6494 16 2	William Wrangham's paymaster account closed on its debit side. The cash he had drawn from the treasury chest was brought over and ruled off as the

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		£ 6494 16 2 Island 30th June	side's final total. The clerk dated the closing at St Helena on 30 June 1781. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £6,494 16s 2d Total of the debit side, £6,494 16s 2d
153	149	Pd. Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 1865 8 4½ By Cash Pd. for the following Work done Fencing the Long Wood Vizt. 8 days Brewers @ 1/6 - 12 - 106 do. Do. 3/ 15 18 - 1400 do. Stone Hewers 1/6 11 8 - 100 do. Masons 3/ 15 - - 33 do. Do. 2/6 4 2 6 1994½ do. Labourers 1/6 149 11 10½ 196 5 10½ By Cash Pd. for the following Work done making a Road and Guarding Wheat Vizt. 10 days Carpenters @ 1/6 - 15 - 5 do. Smiths 1/6 - 7 6 50 do. Labourers 1/6 3 15 - 4 17 6 By do. Pd. for the following Work done on Board the Ship Britannia Vizt. 14 days Smiths @ 1/6 1 1 - 7 do. Labourers 1/6 - 10 6 1 3 6 By do. Pd. for 12 days Labourers Work done at Teaks Cask Pruning the Ammunition @ 1/ - 12 - 1 12 - By do. Pd. for 70 days Labourers work done at the Lieutenant Governors Garden in Long Wood @ 1/ 3 10 - Amount of Pay Accounts 2093 6 - 4405 10 2 £ 6494 16 2 St. Helena 1781 Consultation Present The Honble. John Corneille Esqr. Governor Thos. Brooke Willm. Wrangham Paymaster Cash Paid by the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of June last as Settled is as follows Vizt. **Margin Notes:** 5708	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account came to its close, with £1,865 0s 1½d brought over on the main total. Main total brought over, £1,865 0s 1½d The paymaster paid for the following work in fencing Longwood. 8 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d 106 days of overseers at 3s, £15 18s 0d 148 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £11 2s 0d 100 days of masons at 3s, £15 0s 0d 33 days of masons at 2s 6d, £4 2s 6d 1,994½ days of labourers at 1s 6d, £149 11s 4½d Total for fencing Longwood, £196 5s 10½d He paid for the following work in making a mill and grinding wheat. 10 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d 5 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 7s 6d 50 days of labourers at 1s 6d, £3 15s 0d Total for the mill, £4 17s 6d He paid for the following work on board the ship *Britannia*. 11 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 16s 6d 7 days of labourers at 1s 6d, £0 7s 0d Total for work on the Britannia, £1 3s 6d 32 days of labourers removing the ammunition at Turk's Cap at 1s, £1 12s 0d 78 days of labourers working in the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood at 1s, £3 19s 0d Total of payments, £2,073 6s 0d Amount of the pay account, £4,405 10s 2d Total of the credit side, £6,478 16s 2d William Wrangham signed the account as paymaster at St Helena in 1781, with errors excepted. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of June 1781, and its findings followed under the heading of cash. **Interpretations** The fencing of Longwood was the largest single work in the whole account, at £196 5s 10½d. Longwood was the Company's great upland pasture, where its own cattle grazed. A stone wall around it kept the herd in and kept trespassing stock and thieves out. In a year when the island ran short of salt meat and the Governor had to promise planters payment for beef taken from their cattle, protecting the Company's own herd was a direct answer to the shortage. Paying overseers and masons 3s a day, twice the usual rate, suggests that the work was pressed forward with skilled men drawn in at a premium. The mill completed a chain of decisions running through the quarter. The Company bought wheat, paid for bread to be baked, built a bakehouse and now made a mill to grind the grain. Taken together, these entries show the island moving away from depending on flour shipped in ready-milled and towards producing its own bread from raw grain. The work on board the *Britannia* fits her voyage to the Cape for supplies, approved on 2 June 1781. Smiths fitted her out before she sailed. Moving the ammunition at Turk's Cap belongs to the same wartime preparations as the new batteries and the Ladder Hill flagstaff.
154	150	16th July Cash Dr. Per Contra Cr. 1781 June 1st. To Ballance remaining £ 9422 11 5 30th. To John Goodwin received of him for Stores	The Council's count of the Company's cash for June 1781 took the form of a balanced account, with receipts on one side and payments and the closing balance on the other. 1 June 1781, balance in hand, £9,422 11s 5d

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		1845 2 5 To Plantation for Provision Sold 16 18 9 To Licences 10 - - To Customs received for 403 Gallns. Arrack 5 - 9 £ 11295 13 4 1781 June 30th. By Sundry Accounts the Paymaster to Pay Salaries &c. on the Quarter Ending this Day 6494 16 2 By Ballance remaining Vizt. In Specie 4285 2 2 In Cash Notes 539 15 - 4820 17 2 £ 11295 13 4	30 June 1781, received from John Goodwin for stores, £1,845 2s 5d 30 June 1781, received from the plantation for provisions sold, £16 18s 9d 30 June 1781, received for licences, £10 0s 0d 30 June 1781, customs received on 403 gallons of arrack, £5 0s 9d Total receipts, £11,295 13s 4d 30 June 1781, paid to the paymaster for salaries and other accounts for the quarter ending that day, £6,474 16s 2d Balance in hand, in coin, £4,285 2s 2d Balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance in hand, £4,820 17s 2d Total payments and balance, £11,295 13s 4d **Interpretations** The Company's treasury on St Helena held two kinds of money. Most of the balance was in specie, that is, gold and silver coin, but £539 15s 0d was in cash notes. These were paper notes issued on the island by the Company's government and accepted locally in place of coin. Coin was always scarce on a remote island that depended on passing ships for its currency, and the notes let the Company pay its servants and suppliers without draining its stock of silver. Counting the two forms separately showed the Council how much of its reserve was real metal and how much was its own promise to pay. The quarter's pay and works account swallowed more than half the money in the chest. The balance fell from £9,422 11s 5d at the start of June to £4,820 17s 2d at its end, even after £1,845 2s 5d came in from the sale of stores. The storekeeper's sales were the treasury's main source of new cash, since the island's own revenues were tiny. Licences brought in £10 0s 0d and customs only £5 0s 9d. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap, rice or sugar, and it arrived on the Company's ships from Asia. The island levied a duty on every gallon landed. With the canteen proposed to replace the five punch houses, the sale of spirits was a matter the Council watched closely. A duty of only about 3d a gallon suggests that its purpose was to record the spirit coming ashore rather than to raise revenue.
155	151	Received yesterday the following Letter from Captain Blackburn Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & Council of the Island of St. Helena Worshipful Sir & Sirs Being under an Absolute Necessity of the following Articles for the Voyage home I have to request the Favour of you to Order me to be supplied with the same Vizt. Arrack 1 Leager Pease 90 Gallons Rice 3000 lb. Beef 4 Tierces Flour 1000 do. Pork 4 Do. I am Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your Most Obedt. Humble Servant Signed John Blackburn Ship Fox St. Helena 16th July 1781 We direct the Secretary to Acquaint him in the following Answer Vizt. To Captain John Blackburn Commander of Ship Fox Sir I am ordered to acquaint you that the Governor and Council Considering the Urgency of your Demands for these Provisions are Inclined to Assist you on this occasion, but as there may be Demands upon them for these Articles from	On 16 July 1781 the Council received a letter from Captain John Blackburn of the *Fox*, dated that day at St Helena and addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Blackburn wrote that he needed to buy provisions for the voyage home. He asked the Council to order the following supplies for his ship. Arrack, 1 leaguer Rice, 3,000 pounds Flour, 1,000 pounds Peas, 90 gallons Beef, 4 tierces Pork, 4 tierces The Council told the secretary to send Blackburn its answer. Britannicus Wright wrote on the Council's behalf that the Company's stores could not supply the rice and flour or the other articles requested, since the Company had none to spare for sale. Wright advised Blackburn to obtain them from the store ship and the other vessels then lying in the road. The Lieutenant Governor's account of produce from the Company's plantations between 1 April and 30 June 1781 was received and entered next. **Interpretations** Supplying a Company ship for her passage home was the ordinary course at St Helena, and refreshing the homeward fleet was a chief reason the island was kept at all. The Council here turned the request down flat. The reason lay in the shortages of the year. Flour and salt meat had run so low that the *Britannia* had

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		the Store Ships and others from the other Ships in the Road, they cannot furnish you with these articles from the Honble. Company's Store with what they have now for Sale I am Sir Your Obedient Servant Signed Wm. Wright Secry. The following is the Lieutenant Governors Account of Provisions Supplied the Honble. Company's Plantations from the 1st. April to the 30th of June 1781	been sent to the Cape, the garrison's bread was being baked from locally bought wheat, and the planters had been promised payment for beef taken from their herds. Selling rice, flour and four tierces each of beef and pork to a departing ship would have stripped the island of food it could not replace. Directing Blackburn to the store ship and the other vessels in the road kept the Company's own stores for the garrison while still pointing him to a source. A leaguer was a very large cask used for arrack and other spirits shipped from the East, holding roughly 150 gallons. Blackburn's request for a full leaguer shows how much spirit a ship's company expected to consume on the passage to England.
156	152	16th July Daniel Corneille to Plantation Dr. Per Contra Cr. To 128 lb. Mutton and Goat £ 2 13 4 4 Lambs and 4 Kids in the Quarter 3 - - 450 lb. Mutton for Hospital 9 7 6 19 lb. Beef 1 17 11 £ 16 18 9 By Ballance Paid in the Companys Cash the 16th July 1781 16 18 9 £ 16 18 9 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille John Skottowe Danl. Corneille [...] Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille submitted his account of produce from the Company's plantation for the quarter. 128 pounds of mutton and goat, £2 13s 4d 4 lambs and 4 kids, £3 0s 0d 450 pounds of mutton for the hospital, £9 7s 6d 91 pounds of beef, £1 17s 11d Total charged to the plantation, £16 18s 9d Balance paid into the Company's treasury on 16 July 1781, £16 18s 9d Corneille signed the account, with errors excepted. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett then signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The Lieutenant Governor ran the Company's plantation as part of his office and answered to the Council for what it produced. Its sales for the quarter matched exactly the £16 18s 9d entered as received from the plantation in the cash account. That match shows the double check the Council applied: the treasury's receipt and the manager's account had to agree before either was signed off. More than half the plantation's meat went to the hospital. The 450 pounds of mutton for the sick, worth £9 7s 6d, came in the same quarter as the run of deaths in the garrison in June and the cots and coffins made by the carpenters. Fresh mutton was the standard diet for invalids, and the Company drew on its own flocks to feed them rather than buying from the planters at a time when meat was short.
157	153	23d. July At a Consultation holden Monday the 23 day of July 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Thos. Bazett Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 16th July 1781 Wednesday the 18th and [...] Arrived [...] Major Thos. Bazett Reported that the Do. the 21st. His Majesty's Ship [...] from the Cape [...] the Honble. Company's Ships [...] Bridgewater, Ashley and Fox. He Mustered their Companys and Delivered for Deserters & then Chas. Rogers delivered himself up as a Deserter from Ship Stormont, the Muster Rolls are as follows Vizt. Muster Roll of Ship Stormont Jas. Rogers Commander Chas. Gardner Chief Mate Thos. Freeman 2d. Do. Chas. Smith 3d. Do.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 23 July 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The minutes of the previous consultation, dated 16 July 1781, were read, approved and signed. Jeremiah Butler, a private, died on Thursday 19 July. His Majesty's ship *[...]* arrived the same day from the Bay of All Saints. Major Henry Bazett reported that he had gone on board the *Stormont*, *London*, *Lascelles*, *Bessborough*, *Bridgwater*, *Atlas* and *York* to muster their crews and search for deserters. During the search Charles Rogers came forward and gave himself up as a deserter from Bengal. The muster rolls of the ships were entered as follows. The muster roll of the *Stormont* followed. John Rogers, commander Charles Gardiner, chief mate Charles Drummond, second mate Charles Raitt, fourth mate Robert Innis, fifth mate John Locke, purser John Rowland, surgeon Peter Conquerour, gunner John Dewart, boatswain Daniel Farell, carpenter Herbert Forrester, coxswain

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		Robt. Davis 5th Do. Jno. Leake Purser Jno. Arnold Surgeon Peter Coggeshall Gunner Jno. Stewart Boatswain Danl. Grandi Carpr. Herbert Forester Cooper Peter Lally Knight Midshipman Hugh Stone Do. Geo. Mc Kenzie Do. Saml. Stackhouse Do. Wm. Weston Captns. Steward John [...] Caulker Robt. Hamilton Capt. Cook Jno. Fisher Armourer Thos. Stephens Carpr. Mate Jas. Walker Caulkers Do. Wm. Ferguson Coopers Do. Mich. Mc Coe Gunners Do. Jno. Dickson Boatsns. Do. Saml. West Do. Do. Jno. Duncan Capt. Clerk Robt. Willoughby Do. Do. Danl. Hamilton Qr. Master Archd. Robertson Do. Robt. White Do. Jno. Dixon Do. Michl. Marshall Ships Steward Peter Nelson Seaman Darius Banks Henry Moore Seaman Jas. Healy Robt. Hume Chas. Reed Jno. Child Wm. Field Jas. Brennan Sailmaker Edward Sutton Seaman Hen. Wood Benj. Reid Hen. Webb Jeremiah Lamb Jas. Garvine Chas. White Jonathan Graham Saml. Prendergast Jno. Hurley	Peter Anthony Knight, midshipman Fitzhenry Hogarth, midshipman George McKenzie, midshipman Samuel Stackhouse, midshipman William Usher, captain's steward John Fitz Wentzell, caulker Robert Frankland, cooper John Baker, armourer Thomas Hughes, carpenter's mate James Walker, caulker's mate Alexander Farquhar, cooper's mate Michael Dew, gunner's mate John Dickson, boatswain's mate Daniel Wick, boatswain's mate John Murdoch, captain's cook Robert Collingsby, ship's cook David Houston, quartermaster Archibald Robinson, quartermaster Thomas Wilson, quartermaster John Duff, quartermaster Michael Mitchell, ship's steward Peter Nelson, seaman Duncan Charles, seaman Henry Isaacs, seaman James Healy, seaman Robert Hewie, seaman Charles Cook, seaman John Child, seaman Alexander Cupid, seaman James Bowman, sailmaker Leonard Dobbins, seaman Henry Ward, seaman Benjamin Pead, seaman Henry Rose, seaman Jeremiah Lamb, seaman James Gardyne, seaman Charles Villa, seaman Bartolomeo Gastanini, seaman Francis Rodrigues, seaman John Bailey, seaman **Interpretations** The Council mustered every crew in the road against its roll so that it could find men hiding on board who did not belong to the ship. The search worked in both directions. Soldiers of the garrison who wanted to escape the island could slip aboard a homeward ship, and deserters from the Company's armies in India could hide among a crew on the way home. Charles Rogers chose to surrender rather than be found, which suggests that the muster was thorough enough to make hiding pointless. A deserter from Bengal taken at St Helena could be held for the Company or put into the island's own garrison, which was short of men after the deaths of the quarter. A Company ship's crew carried a full set of specialists for a long voyage. Besides the mates, midshipmen and seamen, the *Stormont* had her own surgeon, purser, armourer, sailmaker, caulker and cooper, each with a mate where the work demanded it. The roll also shows how mixed the crews of the China and India ships had become. Bartolomeo Gastanini, Francis Rodrigues and Charles Villa were probably Italian or Portuguese seamen taken on in the East to replace men lost on the outward voyage.
158	154	23d. July Willm. Mustoford Seaman John Tossell Matthias Leanie Joseph Brown Richd. Brooks Robt. Lloyd Ronald Andrewson Thos. Healy Danl. Mackey	The *Stormont*'s muster roll continued. William Mulford, seaman John Fassett, seaman Robert McQuarrie, seaman Hosford Craven, seaman Richard Brooks, seaman Robert Loyd, seaman Henry Boardman, seaman Thomas Kirby, seaman Daniel Murbley, seaman

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		Robt. Barrell	Robert Peacock, seaman
		Jas. Wilson	James Willson, seaman
		Richd. Hart	Richard Sharp, seaman
		Augustus Hastings	Augustus Hastings, seaman
		Jno. Dutton	James Dalton, seaman
		Thos. Carruthers	Thomas Carruthers, seaman
		William Perry	William Barry, seaman
		Matthew Pepper	Nathan Piper, seaman
		Antonio Antonio	Antonio Bettonia, seaman
		Joseph Hughes	Hugh Hughes, seaman
		Richd. Johnson	Richard Johnson, seaman
		Wm. Pierce	William Pierce, seaman
		Chas. Simmons	Charles Simms, seaman
		Joseph Child	Stephen Clubb, seaman
		Jno. Davis	Joseph Davis, seaman
		Robt. Taggart	Robert Taggart, seaman
		Jno. King	John King, seaman
		Jas. Turner	James Tanner, seaman
		Geo. Watkins	George Willson, seaman
		Robt. Mann	Henry More, seaman
		Antonio Lingo	Antonio Surza, seaman
		John Morris Captns. Servant	John Moore, captain's servant
		Edward Brown 2d. Do. Do.	Samuel Hanson, captain's servant
		John Campbell Mates Do.	John Carr, chief mate's servant
		Saml. Thomson Do.	Edward Brain, second mate's servant
		Timothy Whelan Surgeons Do.	Timothy Evans, gunner's servant
		Jas. Ashwood Boatswains Do.	James Reginald, boatswain's servant
		Geo. Frederick Carprs. Do.	George Frederick, carpenter's servant
		Jno. Rogers Seaman	Thomas Higgins, seaman
		Thos. Simmons	Thomas Hewson, seaman
		John Perkins	John Perkins, seaman
		John Davis	John Bain, seaman
		Thos. Nott	Thomas Noble, seaman
		Wm. Walker	William Walton, seaman
		Robt. Brown	Robert Barnes, seaman
		Geo. Mc Laughlin	George McLaughlin, seaman
		Jas. Kingman	James Hayman, seaman
		Francis Gibbons	Francis Gibbons, seaman
		John McHenry	John McKenny, seaman
		Peter Burn	John Gibson, seaman
		Jno. Gibson	Peter Burn, seaman
		Joseph Martin	Joseph Martin, seaman
		Richd. Mitchell	Andrew Westerland, seaman
		Peter Hutchins	Peter Butler, seaman
		Emanuel Pedro	Emanuel Renard, seaman
		Jno. Stewart	John Frederick, seaman
		Domingo D. Costa	Domingo D'Costa, seaman
		Signed [...] Locke	John Locke, the purser, signed the roll.
		Muster Roll of Ship London	The muster roll of the *London* followed.
		Edwd. Cummings Commander	Edward Cumming, commander
		Wm. Arnold Chief Mate	John Sherwood, chief mate
		Thos. Bowers 2d. Do.	Thomas Barrow, second mate
		Geo. Webb 3d. Do.	George Arklett, third mate
		Chas. Pitcher 4th Do.	Charles Ryland, fourth mate
		Wm. Laws 5th Do.	William Fowler, fifth mate
		Mark Riley Surgeon	Michael Riley, surgeon
		Richd. Lane Purser	Richard Jones, purser
		Wm. Bush Gunner	William Beck, gunner
		Jno. Breff Boatswain	John Beneff, boatswain
		Jno. Archer Carpenter	James Barker, carpenter
		Robt. Chester Steward	Robert Glaster, ship's steward
		Jas. Hamilton Captns. Do.	John Clark, captain's steward
		Wm. Duncan Supernumy.	Alexander Duncan, surgeon's mate
		Matt. Cyprien Midshipman	Abel Vyvyan, midshipman
		Thos. Wilkinson Do.	Frederick Wedderson
		Thomas Taylor	Francis Taylor
		Jno. Ferguson	James Fergeson
		Jno. Webster	John Fletcher
		Edwd. Lacey	Edward Ludlow
		Chas. Dickson	Charles Dickson
		Isaac Jackson	Iwan Jacobson
		Jno. Brook	John Beech
		Hugh Clarke	Hugh Charles
		Edwd. Godsby Caulker	Edward Gadsby, caulker
		Jas. Groveling Gunners Mate	Frederick Evensburg, gunner's mate
		Jas. Cumming Do. 2d. Do.	James Emery, gunner's second mate

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		Jas. Malone Boatswains 2d. Mate Richd. Lee Steward 4th Mate Richd. Watson Cooper Saml. Stanley 2d. Mate Chas. Hamey Captns. Cook Richd. Wood Do. Saml. Deighton Sailmaker Wm. Smith Mate Frans. Roman Sailor Robt. Wilson Qr. Master Jno. Hamer Thos. Bolt Saml. Watkins Thos. Hartwell John Frank Servant	James Watson, boatswain's mate Richard Dowman, boatswain's mate Richard Warren, cooper Samuel Healey, cooper's mate David Ramsey, captain's cook Richard Windus, ship's cook John Oughton, butcher Andrew Smith, baker Frans Hernan, poulterer Peter Willson, quartermaster John Skinner Thomas Bell Henry Wilkins Abraham Markevort John Freer, captain's servant **Interpretations** The *Stormont*'s officers each brought a personal servant on board, and the roll set these boys apart from the seamen. A servant on an East Indiaman was usually a youth learning the sea under the officer he served, and the place was in that officer's gift. The commander kept two, and the chief mate, second mate, gunner, boatswain and carpenter one each. The arrangement gave the senior men patronage over the next generation of seamen. The *London* carried a butcher, a baker and a poulterer. A large Indiaman sailed with live animals, flour and poultry for the officers' and passengers' tables, and these men slaughtered, baked and kept the birds on a voyage of many months. Their presence on the roll shows how far a homeward ship from the East relied on its own provisions, and why a captain such as Blackburn of the *Fox* pressed the Council for meat and flour before he sailed.
159	155	1781 Jno. Pearson Midshipns. Do. Alexr. Blair 2d. Do. Do. Jas. Brown Surgeons Do. Thos. Pickard Carprs. Do. Chas. Brennan Seaman Jas. Reid Alexr. Ketchen Jno. Abbot Jno. Purdue Jno. Hosdell Hans Christian Saml. Jones Thos. Crocker Danl. Perry Edwd. Tompkins Thos. Clark Christopher Morgan Edwd. Thomas Robt. Malone Owen Jones Jno. Lyle Seaman Alexr. Allen Robt. Johnson Danl. Carty Jno. Hughes Matthew Doyle Matt. Kember Jno. Anderson Thos. Ledley Geo. Hopkins Joseph Grey Jno. Prout Geo. Head Richd. Bruns Wm. Norman Wm. Dodgson Edwd. Dixon Wm. Martin Saml. Atkins Henry Mansell	The *London*'s muster roll continued. John Panven, first mate's servant Alexander Blair, second mate's servant James Beaver, surgeon's servant Thomas Pritchard, carpenter's servant Charles Burnem, seaman James Bird, seaman Alexander Kitchen, seaman John Stroud, seaman John Barlow, seaman John Kendall, seaman Hans Cristian, seaman Samuel Jones, seaman Thomas Crocker, seaman Daniel Berry, seaman Edward Tompkins, seaman Thomas Lock, seaman Christopher Stringer, seaman Edward Thomas, seaman Robert Mortimer, seaman Owen Johns, seaman John Lyle, seaman Alexander Allen, seaman Robert Johnson, seaman Daniel Carty, seaman John Hughes, seaman Matthew Doyle, seaman Seth Kimber, seaman James Londerson, seaman Thomas Cordy, seaman George Hoskins, seaman Joseph Grey, seaman John Marsh, seaman George Bland, seaman Richard Barns, seaman William Norman, seaman William Dapelyne, seaman Edward Forsom, seaman William Marlow, seaman Samuel Milson, seaman Henry Maxwell, seaman

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		Thos. Kettle	Thomas Ralph, seaman
		Jno. Weldon	James Wadelove, seaman
		Jno. Sargeant	John Sargant, seaman
		Jas. Stephens	James Mayhew, seaman
		Jno. Wade	James Wade, seaman
		Robt. Wiggins	Patrick Maggenis, seaman
		Antony Do.	Antony St Mariana, seaman
		Moreman	Cosse D'La Cruze, seaman
		Jose De George	John D'Cousone, seaman
		Jno. Ds. Cousins	William Brown, seaman
		Wm. Brown	Daniel Dailey, seaman
		Danl. Darby	Christopher Gow, seaman
		Christn. Geer	Lewis Rangey, seaman
		Lewis Gregory	Henry Harper, seaman
		Henl. Martin	Henry Cornelious, seaman
		Henry Cordery	Christopher Baker, seaman
		Chas. Parker	Lawrence Mattison, seaman
		Lawrence Mathews	Hans Patterson, seaman
		Hans Patterson	Edward Cummings, the commander, signed the
		Signed Edwd. Cummings	roll.
		Muster Roll of Ship Lascelles	The muster roll of the *Lascelles* followed.
		Thos. Wakefield Commander	Thomas Wakefield, commander
		Robt. Tyrwhitt Chief Mate	Robert Fairfull, chief mate
		Thos. Wilson 2d. Do.	Andrew Atchison, second mate
		Richd. Farrington 3d. Do.	R. M. Farrington, third mate
		Thos. Barnett 4th Do.	Thomas Dannett, fourth mate
		Jacob Pratt 5th Do.	Josiah Booth, fifth mate
		Jno. Henderson Surgeon	John Henderson, surgeon
		Wm. Bale Purser	William Blue, purser
		Saml. Lyon Boatswain	Gabriel Tyrrel, boatswain
		Edwd. Hutchinson Gunner	Charles Beckels, gunner
		Jacob Hutchings Carpr.	Enoch Halliday, carpenter
		Robt. Stafford Ch. Mate	Robert Shepherd, ship's steward
		Jno. Anderson Captns. Do.	John Anderson, captain's steward
		Geo. Shuttleworth Purser	George Blackburn, coxswain
		Jno. Davidson Midshipman	John Donaldson, midshipman
		Gregory Jackson Do.	Gregory Jackson, midshipman
		Saml. Hammett	David Weancroft
		Jas. Haysland	James Haysland
		Geo. Sanderson	George Sanderson
		Richd. Wright 3d. Do. Master	Richard Bright, quartermaster
		Thos. Parks	Thomas Porter
		Mutt. Jacobs	Michael Jacobs
		Thos. Spratt	Thomas Sprott
		Danl. Ford	Henry Ford
		Wm. Kingsford	William Rangford
		John Savage Caulker	Luke Savage, caulker
		Wm. Brown Captns. Steward	William Monro, carpenter's mate
		Robt. Reynolds Do.	Michael Reynolds, carpenter's mate
		Thos. Fisher Do.	Thomas Reker, carpenter's mate
		Jno. Sherman Gunners Do.	James Stevenson, gunner's mate
		Jno. Webster Boatsns. Do.	John Watson, boatswain's mate
		Jno. Berry Do.	John Berry, boatswain's mate
		Jno. Carder Captns. Cook	John Archer, captain's cook
		Jas. Walters Do.	James Mills, ship's cook
		Jas. Rice 2d. Mates	James Rice, sailmaker
		Jno. Robertson Cooper	John Bertram, cooper
		Jno. Shuttleworth Do. Mate	Jonathan Brotherby, cooper's mate
		Jno. Watts Armourer	John Betts, armourer
		Jno. Rumbold Do. Mate	John Konbold, armourer's mate
160	156	23d. July	The *Lascelles*' muster roll continued.
		Saml. Jenkins Sailmaker	Samuel Jenkins, butcher
		Jno. Commons Butcher	John Commins, poulterer
		Danl. Michael Captns. Steward	Daniel Mackart, captain's servant
		Jno. Abbot Do.	John Hatkat, captain's servant
		Wm. Thurlow Surgeons Do.	William Thomas, surgeon's servant
		Jno. Stewart Boatsns. Do.	John Stewart, boatswain's servant
		Jno. Pye Gunners Do.	John Page, gunner's servant
		Jno. Briggs Carpenters Do.	John Biggs, carpenter's servant
		Jno. Lewis Seaman	John Lewis, seaman
		Peter Robertson	Peter Robertson, seaman
		Jno. Brown	James Brown, seaman
		Thos. Watts	Thomas Watts, seaman
		Thos. Lewis	Thomas Swain, seaman
		Richd. Martin	Richard Barton, seaman

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		Robt. Arnold Michl. Doyle Lawrence McGrory Alexr. Pentland Jno. Diamond Lewis Johnston Jno. Purchase Peter Nelson Andw. Martin Servant Brook Lyons Samuel Jos. Nelson Jno. Moore Robt. Mason Jas. Golding Jacob Frederick Jno. Fairfield Jno. Baptiste Laura Jas. Reid Jno. Davis Jas. Mc Donald Henry Rice Jno. Mitchell Richd. Groves Richd. Allen Jas. Martin Mich. Coleman Jas. Fox Jno. Coleman Jno. Carter Saml. Matthews Jno. Rogers Jas. Hinton Geo. Edwards James Lambert Passengers Mattw. Fisher Jno. Blackburn Servant Francis Joseph Antony Anthony Thos. Simmons Mathew Morris Geo. Field Francis Peterson Jno. Bartholme Jno. Rosario Jas. Reis Lashand Francis Ramsay Peter Mc Andrew Garret Long Pierre Bonner Saml. Gregory Jno. Hunter Abraham Cosby Richd. Perry Richd. Green Robt. Bird Jno. Hardy Saml. Matthews Jno. Carmichael Cato Signed Wm. Blew Muster	Robert Arnold, seaman Michael Doyle, seaman Lawrence McGray, seaman Alexander Westman, seaman Joseph Manuel, seaman Lewis D'Silvan, seaman John Chicheon, seaman Pedro Silvan, seaman Anthony Martin Laverat, seaman Bento Pigner, seaman Manuel Joe Reban, seaman John Alvares, seaman Anthony Silvan, seaman James Padortus, seaman Jacob Frederick, seaman John Baptista, seaman John Baptista Liena, seaman James Reid, seaman John Davis, seaman James McDonald, seaman Henry Crew, seaman John Whitehead, seaman Richard Gurney, seaman Richard Allen, seaman James Wheaton, seaman Neal Levanen, seaman James Fox, seaman James Culmer, seaman John Carter, seaman Samuel Matthews, seaman John Rogers, seaman James Winston, seaman George Edwards, seaman Isaac Lombardet, seaman Francis Josephs, seaman Anthony Antonys, seaman Thomas Summer, seaman Walter Stevens, seaman George Hall, seaman Francis Antonys, seaman Joseph Marcolana, seaman P. Ameau, seaman Joseph Pere, seaman [...] Ladbrook, seaman Francis Ramsay, seaman Peter Belvedere, seaman Gust Ivany, seaman Ever Andrews, seaman Francis Geary, seaman J. Knudson, seaman Alexander Vanderberg, seaman Richard Green, seaman Henry Noah, seaman John Hurley, seaman Samuel Matthews, seaman John Carmichael, seaman Cato, seaman Matthew Raper, passenger John Mackarty, passenger [...], servant to the passengers William Blew, the purser, signed the roll. **Interpretations** Matthew Raper, travelling home as a passenger on the *Lascelles*, was probably the Raper named earlier in the year as one of the Company's supercargoes at Canton, together with Fitzhugh and Bevan. Supercargoes ran the Company's trade at Canton and returned to England on the China ships when their service ended. His presence shows that the *Lascelles* was one of the China fleet then lying in the road. More than a third of the *Lascelles*' seamen bore Portuguese, Spanish, Italian or Scandinavian names: Alvares, Silvan, Baptista, Marcolana, Knudson, Vanderberg. A China ship lost many of her English crew to sickness and desertion in the East and on the long passage, and she filled the gaps with whatever

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			seamen she could find at Canton, Macao or the Indian ports. The man recorded only as Cato, with no surname, was perhaps a Black seaman. A single classical name of this kind was commonly given to slaves and former slaves in the Atlantic world.
161	157	1781	The muster roll of the *Bessborough* followed.
		Muster Roll of Ship Bridgborough	Alexander Montgomery, captain
		Wm. Montgomery Commander	Thomas Fisher, chief mate
		Thos. Foster Chief Mate	Alexander Carne, second mate
		Wm. Peirce 2d. Mate	Robert Bedall, third mate
		Robt. Wells 3d. Do.	Charles Dundas, fourth mate
		Chas. Davies 4th Do.	James Sturgeon, fifth mate
		Jas. Morgan 5th Do.	William Sherry, surgeon
		Wm. Murray Surgeon	Robert Main, gunner
		Robt. Morris Gunner	Thomas Craving, carpenter
		Thos. Young Carpenter	Joseph Brown, midshipman
		Joseph Brown Midshipman	James Wells, quartermaster
		Jno. Webb 2d. Mate	Andrew McIlwish
		Richd. Fitzpatrick	George Pearson
		Geo. Duncan	John Wheatley, ship's steward
		Jno. Woodley	Matthew Adderley, caulker
		Matt. Bullock Caulker	Daniel McDonald, cooper
		Danl. Curtis Gunr. & Caulker	Stephen Skinner, armourer
		Michl. Bowen Seaman	Nathaniel Smith, sailmaker
		Matt. Smith Sailmaker	John Edgecombe, boatswain's mate
		Jno. Ferguson Boatsns. Mate	Alexander Watson, gunner's mate
		Matt. Wilson Gunners Do.	Richard Gibson, carpenter's first mate
		Richd. Kirkman Carprs. Do.	William Thompson, caulker's mate
		Willm. Stevenson Coopers Do.	James Collins, butcher
		Jno. Collins Butcher	William Roche, captain's servant
		Wm. Hunt Captns. Stewd.	Ralph J. Anson, captain's servant
		Robt. Brown Do. Do.	Thomas Pringle Grant, chief mate's servant
		Thos. Brown	Hugh Innes, surgeon's servant
		Hugh Simons Surgeons Do.	George Elliott, seaman
		Geo. Elliott Seaman	David Hogarth, seaman
		David Haggarth	James Johnson, seaman
		Jno. Pelleree	William Adkins, seaman
		Wm. Adkins	Emanuel D'Costa, seaman
		Emanuel De Costa	Benjamin Corlette, seaman
		Benj. Parish	Horton Pickett, seaman
		Hector Reid	James Simpson, seaman
		Jno. Thompson Seaman	John Newcomb Smith, seaman
		Jno. Pearson Smith	John Wright, seaman
		Jno. Wright	James Small, seaman
		Jno. Lamb	Dennis Cammell, seaman
		Dennis Connell	Daniel D'Silva, seaman
		Danl. Sheldon	Alexander Davidson, seaman
		Alexr. Davidson	Pam Deacher, seaman
		Peter Doncaster	Thomas Kelly, seaman
		Thos. Kelly	Benjamin Day, seaman
		Benj. Day	David Duan, seaman
		Danl. Dunn	Simon Sheyan, seaman
		Simon Morgan	John Finney, seaman
		Jno. Thorny	Thomas Cobb, seaman
		Thos. Cobb	James Brown, seaman
		Jno. Pearson	Thomas Duncan, seaman
		Thos. Dawson	Thomas Evans, seaman
		Thos. Evans	Richard Thomas, seaman
		Richd. Thomas	Christopher Tomkins, seaman
		Chris. Lambert	Thomas Wordsworth, seaman
		Matthew Jefferys	Stephen Jeffreys, seaman
		Thos. Cheney	Thomas Otway, seaman
		Chas. Brown	Charles Brown, seaman
		Wm. Nichol	William Riddel, seaman
		Jno. Hancock	John Hancock, seaman
		Thos. Clark	Hendrick Scaile, seaman
		Jas. Fry	James Riley, seaman
		Thos. Francis	Thomas Jeevons, seaman
		Jno. Brown	John Banner, seaman
		Jno. Heap	John Kemp, seaman
		Jno. Walker	John Walker, seaman
		Saml. Stockhouse	Matthew Mathewson, seaman
		Benj. Brown	Benjamin Bacon, seaman
		Wm. Lodge	William Hodge, seaman
		Jose de Costa	Andrew Erskine, seaman

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		Jno. Smith Thos. Woodward Chas. Rogers 4th Chas. Rogers 2d. Robt. Cumming Peter Mc Andrew Cooper Jno. Peter Hall Jno. Bennett Samuel Foster Thos. Miller Thos. Williams Peter Marshall Jno. Darrell Jno. Lopez Antony Fitzpatrick Peter Wilson Jno. Taylor Matt. Rogers Wm. Coyle Benjamin Pearce Edwd. Dodd Wm. Mansell Bartholomew Ford Edwd. Garvey Wm. Patterson Antonio Wilkinson Wm. Davis Wm. Fisher Antonio Lebeck Jacob Do. Peter Do. Mitchell Gurney Ripsoni	John Smith, seaman Thomas Timbrell, seaman Charles Rogers the first, seaman Charles Rogers the second, seaman Robert Swinney, seaman Peter Henrick Younger, seaman John Peter Elster, seaman John Barnett, seaman Henrick Scower, seaman Thomas Stalker, seaman Thomas Middlemas, seaman Peter Mardall, seaman John Danik, seaman John Frederick Lagree, seaman Nicholas Basnath, seaman Peter Altman, seaman James Taylor, seaman Antony Razan, seaman Antony Cope, seaman Black Charles, seaman Edward Field, seaman William Stewart, seaman Valentine Talbot, seaman Edward Cassady, seaman William Gledhill, seaman Matthew Adkinson, seaman William Davis, seaman William Fender, seaman Morton, a Black seaman Jack, a Black seaman Pedro, a Black seaman Shallah Gunny, seaman Hassan, seaman **Interpretations** Two men named Charles Rogers stood on the *Bessborough*'s roll, told apart only as the first and the second. Major Bazett's report named a Charles Rogers as the deserter from Bengal who gave himself up during the muster. The roll does not say which ship he came from, but a second man of the same name on this ship may be how the deserter had found a place on board, sheltered behind a shipmate's identity. The clerk marked four seamen by colour rather than surname: Black Charles, Morton, Jack and Pedro. Shallah Gunny and Hassan bore Muslim names and were probably lascars, Indian seamen taken on in the East. The roll shows how far an Indiaman's homeward crew depended on men recruited outside Britain, and how the clerk sorted them. European seamen of any nation were entered with a full name, while Black and Asian seamen were often reduced to a single name with a mark of race.
162	158	23d. July Jorge Dick Jaffier Shaikmet Hayet Guilomasen Guitawali Seeman Hoffam Dalear Lallo Lohar Colly Rampersy Mutteh Cheta Ramoo Mungal Ramoo Seean Bokdia Rattonjy	The *Bessborough*'s muster roll continued. Abgeilda, seaman Jaffour, seaman Mahomet, seaman Hayat, seaman Gullamussen, seaman Gullamulee, seaman Juman, seaman Hassen, seaman Delawer, seaman Lolla, seaman Laka, seaman Cotty, seaman Ramjanaly, seaman Muttea, seaman Enta, seaman Moosa, seaman Mungol, seaman Rammer, seaman Juan, seaman Badulla, seaman Anthony, seaman

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		Cossam	Ossaun, seaman
		Bhanu	Boxoo, seaman
		Fazell	Tozell, seaman
		Bhogoo	Ramjan, seaman
		Kidul	Bodeel, seaman
		Passengers Vizt.	Joseph Baker, passenger
		Major Joseph Ducker, Robt. Low	Robert Low, passenger
		& Mattw. Blackford	Arthur Stanhope, passenger
		Muster Roll of Ship Bridgewater	The muster roll of the *Bridgwater* followed.
		Willm. Parker Commander	William Parker, commander
		Wm. Roberts Chief Mate	William Roberts, chief mate
		Jno. Peebles 2d. Do.	John Paiba, second mate
		Wm. Parkes 3d. Do.	William Oxton, third mate
		Mark Chamberlain 4th Do.	Martin Chamberland, fourth mate
		Wm. Parker 5th Do.	William Barlow, fifth mate
		Chas. Burgess 6th Do.	Charles Burges, sixth mate
		Wm. Haughton Purser	William Hodgkinson, purser
		Saml. Hassell Surgeon	Samuel Moffatt, surgeon
		Thos. Le Lyddell Master	Christopher W. Tafsliff, carpenter
		Jas. Hutchinson Ensign	James Hutchinson, boatswain
		Geo. Kerr Boatswain	George Charlton, gunner
		Jno. Smith Sailmaker	John Smith, ship's steward
		Wm. Halls Carpenter	William Pearson, surgeon's mate
		Jno. Roberts Midshipman	John Roberts, midshipman
		Chas. Patterson Do.	Charles Paterson, midshipman
		Thos. Goodwin Caulker	Thomas Goodwin, caulker
		Jno. Johnston Cooper	John Johnston, cooper
		Saml. Brown Armourer	Jacob Brown, armourer
		Robt. Kent Captns. Clerk	Robert Horn, carpenter's second mate
		Wm. Grice Caulkers Do.	William Grieve, caulker's mate
		Jno. Goldsbury Gunners Mate	John Goodbury, gunner's mate
		Geo. Burnham Boatsns. Mate	George Benham, boatswain's mate
		John Brown Do. 2d. Do.	John Brown, boatswain's second mate
		Hugh Marsh Midship Cook	Stephen Hurte, ship's cook
		Wm. Brown Captns. Cook	William Bowin, captain's cook
		Chas. Jones Do. Steward	Charles Jones, captain's steward
		Jno. McKay Butcher	John Ridley, butcher
		Chas. Henderson Seaman	Charles Henderson, sailmaker
		Jno. Clarke Fisher	James Ogilvie, baker
		Jno. Daniel Seaman	John Dunlap, joiner
		Wm. Gurney 2d. Master	William Guernsey, quartermaster
		Adam Brown Do.	Adam Coram, quartermaster
		Joseph Garrish	Rudolph Gonzalt
		Jas. Saunders Seaman	Ivan Kelam
		Jean [...]	James Saunders, seaman
		Edwd. Jaques	Edward Hayes, seaman
		Jno. Craig	John Craige, seaman
		Jno. Pope	John Price, seaman
		Wm. Price	Richard Henderson, seaman
		Wm. Henderson	Daniel Firth, seaman
		Saml. Pitt	James Greenwood, seaman
		Jas. Simmonds	John Wheadon, seaman
		Jno. Wilson	Thomas Brown, seaman
		Thos. Brown	Peter Roach, seaman
		Peter Read	Thomas Cauzon, seaman
		Thos. Carey	William Little, seaman
		Wm. Lytle	William Woodforth, seaman
		Wm. Woodfork	Thomas Dutton, seaman
		Thos. Dobbs	Andrew Rackman, seaman
		Robt. Buchanan	William Denny, seaman
		Wm. Berry	Matthew Corey, seaman
		Matt. Mc Carey	William Beane, seaman
		Wm. Brown	Frederick Rainby, seaman
		Thos. Hardy	Christopher Pyck, seaman
		Chas. Lyall	Robert Hutchinson, seaman
		Robt. Hutchinson	William Whittenstall, seaman
		Wm. Mc Donald	James Thomas, seaman
		Jno. Thomas	Elias Lumbe, seaman
		Chas. Lucas	Erich Thrupe, seaman
		David Fisher	William Tucker, seaman
		Wm. Parker	John Hippitts, seaman
		Jno. Fitzpatrick	Edward Jones, seaman
		Edwd. Jones	**Interpretations** About 26 Indian seamen closed the *Bessborough*'s roll, each entered under a single name. Mahomet, Hassen, Jaffour and Gullamulee were Muslim names,

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			while Ramjan, Mungol and Lolla were probably Hindu or Bengali. Lascars like these were hired in Indian ports to make up crews thinned by death and desertion. They were cheaper than European seamen, and the Company normally signed them only for the voyage, with an obligation to send them back to India. On the *Bessborough* they made up roughly a quarter of the people on board, so the ship could hardly have sailed home without them.
163	159	1781	The *Bridgwater*'s muster roll continued.
		Chas. Gustavus Seaman	Charles Gusters, seaman
		Geo. Evans	George Evans, seaman
		Geo. Hildreth	George Hitchcock, seaman
		Jno. Mc Cleary	John Midbury, seaman
		Robt. Wheatley	Patrick Wheeley, seaman
		Robt. Simmons	Robert Grimson, seaman
		David Duff	David Davies, seaman
		Thomas Leek	Hume Jack, seaman
		Jno. Hare	John Slater, seaman
		Michl. Bride	Michael Bride, seaman
		Michl. Cavenagh	Michael Cavanaugh, seaman
		Jno. Goode	John Good, seaman
		Jno. Good	John Taylor, seaman
		Jno. Taylor Seaman	William Phillips, seaman
		Wm. Phillips	Henry O'Brian, seaman
		Henry Obrian	William Croaker, seaman
		Wm. Crooks	Thomas Mansell, seaman
		Thos. Barnett	Terence Hanley, seaman
		Francis Hardy	James Dawkins, seaman
		Jas. Hawkins	John Hendrick, seaman
		Jno. Hadrick	Dennis Swanney, seaman
		Dominic Lummery	John Skerren, seaman
		Jno. Shannon	John Allen, seaman
		Jno. Allen	Andrew Burman, seaman
		Richd. Pearson Seaman	Andrew Peterson, seaman
		Wm. Pearson	Olaus Boyer, seaman
		Samuel Bryan	Charles Manson, captain's servant
		Chas. Manfield Captns. Servt.	James Mitchel, captain's servant
		Jas. Tilbert Do.	Thomas Dunster, chief mate's servant
		Thos. Dunstan Boatsns. Do.	John William Paiba, second mate's servant
		Jno. Strachan Gunners 2d. Do.	John Pickering, gunner's servant
		Jno. Pickering Gunners Do.	Robert Ashton, surgeon's servant
		Robt. Ashton Surgeons Do.	Alexander McMillan, boatswain's servant
		Wm. Mullins Purst.	Albin Borgratine, carpenter's servant
		Willm. Bryanstone Captns. Do.	William Parker, the commander, signed the roll.
		Signed Wm. Parker	The muster roll of the *Atlas* followed.
		Muster Roll of Ship Atlas	Allen Cooper, commander
		Wm. Cooper Commander	Joseph Hall, chief mate
		Joseph Huddart Chief Mate	Eli Bartlett, second mate
		Chas. Bartlett 2d. Do.	Thomas Loyd, third mate
		Thos. Lloyd 3d. Do.	James Nash, fourth mate
		Jas. Stack 4th Do.	John Jarratt, fifth mate
		Jno. Farrant 5th Do.	James Lynd, surgeon
		Jno. Lyon Surgeon	Thomas Lynd, purser
		Thos. Lyon Purser	James Sheppard, surgeon's mate
		Jas. Shepherd Surgeons Mate	Thomas Burges, midshipman
		Thos. Burgess Midshipman	Stephen Hawks
		Stephen Hawkes	Thomas Bleyn
		Thos. Ashby	John Clark
		Jno. Hart	Charles Ross, boatswain
		Chas. Abel Boatswain	Stephen Crump, carpenter
		Mich. Crump Carpenter	Hugh Caldwell, gunner
		Hugh Cathcart Gunner	Archibald Johnston, cooper
		Jacob Johnston Cooper	John Hulbert, ship's steward
		Jno. Mullins 1st Mate	James Jacob, sailmaker
		Jas. Jacobs Butcher	Edward Baptister, armourer
		Edwd. Tipple Armourer	Peter Foster, quartermaster
		Peter Foster 2d. Master	Jonas Coats, quartermaster
		Jonas Coote 2d. Master	John Carter
		Jno. Carter	Thomas Douglas
		Thos. Hughes	Alexander Graves
		Alexr. Graves	Edward Peacock, captain's steward
		Edwd. Warwick Captns. Clerk	[...] Uccan, captain's servant
		Simon Do. Servant	Emanuel, a Caffre, captain's servant
		Edmund Griffin Do. Do.	William Piles, carpenter's mate

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		Wm. Pike Captns. Steward Peter Coloton Caulkers Do. Geo. Nevin Coopers Do. Thos. Robinson Boatsns. Do. Jno. Clark Midn. Cook Wm. Page Captns. Do. Simon Banks Carpenters Mate Joseph Studley Gunners Do. Saml. Shaw Boatn. 2d. Do. Peter Williams Gunners Do. Richd. Bowen Carpenters Do. Saml. Matthews Butcher Thos. Pelham Barber James Smith Seaman Jno. Mc Donnell Seaman Wm. Ratcliffe Jno. Smith Jas. Arnold Thos. Andrews Matt. Hughes Alexr. Strange Jno. Woodbury Jno. Allen Jno. Hunter Jno. Robinson Jas. Stevens Wm. Charles Thos. Coffey Jas. Cochrane Wm. Jennings Thos. Forsyth Robt. Atfield Wm. Potts Jas. Duncan	Peter Calabro, caulker's mate George Unwin, cooper's mate Thomas Robinson, boatswain's mate James Clark, ship's cook John Page, captain's cook Lemon Barber, chief mate's servant Robert Taylor, chief mate's servant Joseph Strickland, surgeon's servant Samuel Darr, boatswain's servant Peter Williams, gunner's servant Richard Bacon, carpenter's servant Samuel Watkins, butcher Charles Fulman, baker Joshua Earl, poulterer John Stedman, seaman Ulrich Sheppard, seaman James Smith, seaman John Aldred, seaman Thomas Andrews, seaman Matthew Hughes, seaman Alexander Strange, seaman John Amborg, seaman John Winter, seaman John Robinson, seaman John Herman, seaman Owen Charles, seaman William Cressley, seaman James Cochran, seaman George Williams, seaman William Jennings, seaman Thomas Forsyth, seaman Robert Alford, seaman William Potts, seaman James Duncan, seaman **Interpretations** The *Atlas*' clerk entered one of the commander's servants as Emanuel, a Caffre. Europeans used that word for Africans from the south-east coast, especially Mozambique, many of whom were sold as slaves through Portuguese ports and the Cape. A Caffre listed as a captain's servant on an Indiaman was very probably a slave the captain had bought in the East. A servant of this kind could be sold again on arrival in England or at a port on the way, and St Helena, with its own slave population, was one such port. That made the muster a check on the human property moving through the road as well as on seamen and deserters.
164	160	23d. July Jno. Harvey Seaman Thos. Cotter Jno. Dean Wm. Davenson Joseph Barber Wm. Moore Wm. Simpson Michl. Connor Thos. Pierce Jno. Price Michl. Black Edwd. Johnson Wm. Pointer Wm. Smith Jno. Smith Jno. Lamont Wm. Watson Seaman Thos. Lewis Domingo Lourenço Peter Jose Emanuel Rosa Jno. Lamont Jose Johnson Miguel Pereira Domingo Fernandes Jose De Costa	The *Atlas*' muster roll continued. John Harvey, seaman Thomas Copper, seaman James Jeson, seaman William Swanson, seaman Joseph Parker, seaman William More, seaman William Simpson, seaman Michael Connor, seaman Thomas Lorice, seaman John Price, seaman Michael Blane, seaman Christopher Johnson, seaman William Pocher, seaman William Smith, seaman John Smith, seaman James McDermit, seaman William Baldwin, seaman Thomas Lewis, seaman Domingo Leonige, seaman Crux Joze, seaman Emanuel D'Costa, seaman John Dormant, seaman Isaac Johnson, seaman Manuel Fernant, seaman Domingo Fernand, seaman Iwan D'Costa, seaman

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		Francis De Costa	Francis D'Costa, seaman
		Paul De Costa	Anthony D'Costa, seaman
		Emanuel Rosa	Emanuel Decrose, seaman
		Miguel Coffee	Hogan, a Caffre, seaman
		Jose Coffee	Tomas, a Caffre, seaman
		Jno. Coffee	Joe, a Caffre, seaman
		Emanuel Salvador	Emanuel Dalmader, seaman
		Thos. Jacks	Thomas Jaches, seaman
		Wm. Hamilton	William Hamilton, seaman
		Peter Ogilvie	Peter Ollsrawe, seaman
		Peter Moor	Peter Olson, seaman
		Lawson Pearson	Lawson Tennison, seaman
		Joseph Lawson	Amaah Lawson, seaman
		Francis Webster	Joannes Alestron, seaman
		Peter Pearson	Peter Anson, seaman
		Rodrigo Johnson	Rasmus Anson, seaman
		Cristan Scholiff	Cristian Schistaff, seaman
		Francisco Cosvetas	Hans Andrews, seaman
		Francisco Read	Bisantia Real, seaman
		Jno. Pedro	John Pedro, seaman
		Jose Decosta	Joseph D'Costa, seaman
		Domingo De Rosario	Domingo D'Sacraun, seaman
		Passengers	Mr Deering, French gentleman, passenger
		Mr. Lowry	Mr Toquese, French gentleman, passenger
		Mr. Ferguson	1 Black boy, passenger
		French Gentlemen	7 common men, prisoners
		1 Black Boy	Allen Cooper, the commander, signed the roll.
		7 Common Men Servants	The muster roll of the *York* followed.
		Signed Wm. Cooper	John Atkinson Blanchard, commander
		Muster Roll of Ship York	Lestock Wilson, chief mate
		Jno. Wilson Commander	James Monro, second mate
		Richd. Wilson Chief Mate	Richard Hitchcliffe, third mate
		Jas. Moore 2d. Do.	Michael Thomas, fourth mate
		Richd. Hilditch 3d. Do.	William Purvis, fifth mate
		Michl. Thomas 4th Do.	Richard Blanchard, sixth mate
		Wm. Owens 5th Do.	Thomas Minchen, surgeon
		Richd. Kendall 6th Do.	John Tebbutt, carpenter
		Thos. Strachan Surgeon	George Grainger, gunner
		Jno. Pickett Carpenter	William Lewis, boatswain
		Geo. Ganger Gunner	John Harcomb, coxswain
		Jno. Lewis Boatswain	Thomas Dunbar, midshipman
		Jno. Hammond Caulker	Thomas Ellerington, midshipman
		Thos. Dunbar Midshipman	David Boyd, midshipman
		Thos. Dorrington Midshipman	Philip Napton, midshipman
		Danl. Reid Do.	Thomas Grindley, midshipman
		Philip Rogers Do.	John White, midshipman
		Thos. Goodsby Do.	Alexander Forbes, quartermaster
		Jno. White Do.	Stephen Evans, quartermaster
		Alexr. Scott 2d. Master	Thomas Beeland, quartermaster
		Stephen Evans Do.	James Vernon, quartermaster
		Thos. Strachan Do.	Thomas Maurlowser, quartermaster
		Jno. Cowan Do.	William Gasker, quartermaster
		Thos. Marmaduke Do.	William Taylor, quartermaster
		Wm. Gascoyne Do.	William Scott, quartermaster
		Wm. Taylor Do.	Thomas Matthews, quartermaster
		Wm. Scott Do.	William Anderson, cooper
		Thos. Matthews Do.	John Sullivan, armourer
		Wm. Robinson Cooper	Hugh Apsel, caulker
		Jno. Sutherland Armourer	Joseph Allan, sailmaker
		Hugh Head Caulker	William Best, ship's cook
		Joseph Allen Sailmaker	Robert Law, captain's cook
		Wm. Rush Captns. Cook	Anthony Joseph, captain's steward
		Robt. Law Captns. Do.	Lewis Nicholls, butcher
		Robt. Leigh 2d. Steward	Thomas Robinson, poulterer
		Lewis Nicholls Butcher	Peter Hilbury, carpenter's mate
		Thos. Hudson Barber	William Emmerson, carpenter's second mate
		Peter McEvoy Captns. Mate	Stephen Mummery, gunner's mate
		Wm. Emmerson 2d. Do.	**Interpretations**
		Stephen Remmary Gunner	The *Atlas* was carrying two French gentlemen and seven common men as prisoners, a year after France had joined the war against Britain. The roll separated the gentlemen from the common men, and the distinction had legal weight. A captured French officer or gentleman was normally held on parole, travelling as a passenger on his word not to escape, while ordinary prisoners were kept under guard. The

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			Council recorded them so that it knew exactly who was on board a ship lying off an island that feared a French attack. Three more seamen on the *Atlas*, Hogan, Tomas and Joe, were entered as Caffres, alongside Emanuel the captain's servant. Together with the Black boy listed among the passengers, they show how regularly Africans from the Mozambique coast passed through the road on the Company's ships. Some worked as seamen and others travelled as servants or property, and the clerk's use of a single name and a racial label made no distinction between the two.
165	161	1781 Wm. Pryor Boatsns. Mate Saml. Taylor Do. Do. Edwd. Davis Carprs. Do. Leonard Smith Captns. Std. Wm. Rushton Surgns. Do. Geo. Robinson 2d. Do. Andrew Mc Dowall Midshipns. Do. Thos. Shoveller Captns. Do. Wm. Caudle Caulkers Do. Jno. Henry Gunners Do. Jno. Morgan Seaman Jas. Fryer Do. Richd. Dyer Jno. Cook Wm. Edwards Christr. Spangle Wm. Hodgson Seaman Edwd. Wilson Robt. Orchard Jno. Hawke Thos. Ward Thos. Workman Wm. Watts Wm. Workman Jno. Wiggins Wm. Thompson Solomon Leech Wm. Grey Joseph Bartlett Jno. Mc Dowell Jas. Kelly Thos. West Jno. Lawson Seaman Jno. Lawrence Jas. Perry Jno. Potter Michl. Webster Robt. Campbell David Duncan Jas. Leech Wm. Cowan Wm. Rumbold Jno. Wilson Thos. Layton Wm. Rowley Jno. Watts Conrad Becker Ram Jenny Black Passengers Mr. Wilson Mons. Wm. De Costa Mons. [...] De Cotat Jas. Collins Servant Wilson Lambert Servant Saml. Brown Do. Robt. Richards Do. Signed Lestock Wilson Richd. Mason Matross Petitioned for his discharge from the Governor having served the Honble. Company his contracted time. Granted	The *York*'s muster roll continued. William Payer, boatswain's mate Samuel Taylor, boatswain's mate Edward Davis, cooper's mate Kenward Smith, captain's servant William Rathbone, chief mate's servant George Rodeway, second mate's servant Ambrose McDermot, surgeon's servant Thomas Shenker, carpenter's servant William Caudle, boatswain's servant Thomas Storey, gunner's servant John Tregaw, seaman James Boland, seaman Richard Pithjay, seaman Jo Cross, seaman William Elworthy, seaman Christopher Sprungle, seaman William Hasbgreen, seaman Edward Willson, seaman Robert Fairbank, seaman John Hanks, seaman Thomas Ward, seaman Thomas Kirkman, seaman William Watts, seaman William Workman, seaman John Magnes, seaman William Thompson, seaman Solomon Lovell, seaman William Grey, seaman Joseph Burkett, seaman John Shadwell, seaman James Kelly, seaman Thomas Wort, seaman John Lannen, seaman John Lawrence, seaman James Berry, seaman John Potter, seaman Michael Aberton, seaman Robert Campbell, seaman David Duncan, seaman James Leech, seaman William Connor, seaman William Rumbold, seaman John Willson, seaman Thomas Layton, seaman William Rowland, seaman John Watts, seaman Ernst Bimkin, seaman Rum Tonney, a Black seaman Mrs Willson, passenger Monsieur W. D'Vaux, passenger Monsieur R. D'Chat, passenger James Collins, invalid, passenger William Lambert, invalid, passenger James Burnet, invalid, passenger Robert Roberts, invalid, passenger Lestock Wilson, the chief mate, signed the roll. Richard Mason, a matross, petitioned the Council that day for his discharge from the garrison. He had served the Company for the full term of his contract. The Council granted his request. The Council then turned to the minute submitted by the Governor and the Lieutenant

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		In Consequence of the Governor and Lieutenant Governors Minute of the 2d. July last. The Board came to the following Resolution Vizt.	Governor on 2 July 1781, and reached a resolution on it. **Interpretations** The Council let Richard Mason go even though the garrison was short of men after the deaths of the quarter and the island feared attack. The obvious course in wartime was to hold a trained artilleryman, and the Company had been paying bounties all quarter to keep soldiers in its service. Mason, however, had served out his contracted term, and the Council kept faith with that bargain. Refusing a time-expired man his discharge would have undermined the willingness of others to sign on or re-enlist, which the bounty lists show the Company depended on. The invalids travelling home on the *York* were soldiers from the Company's forces in India whose health had broken. The Company shipped them back to England as passengers rather than leave them in the East. The two Frenchmen styled Monsieur were probably further prisoners or parolees of the same kind as those on the *Atlas*.
166	162	23d. July The Board having taken into their most Mature Deliberation the Contents of the Minute laid before them by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor on Monday the 2d. Instant. Coincide in Opinion that every Precaution should be taken in the Present Alarming and Critical situation of Publick affairs for the Defence and Security of this Island, By Keeping up a strict Military Discipline. The principle Object towards which must be, the preventing the great excess of Drunkenness, so predominant in this Garrison notwithstanding every Precaution hitherto taken to prevent it. First That on the Removal of those Punch Houses a General Regular Building be Erected at the Expence of the Society Established for the Exclusive Vending of Spirituous Liquors, in the upper part Ward Calamaras Country for the reception of as many of the Garrison as may be Judged convenient to be together with a Bar in the Centre of said Square for the Delivery of a certain Quantity not exceeding two Penny worth of Punch at a time per Man at stated times. And that no Person whatever be admitted to drink therein except the men of the Garrison. Secondly That the Punch House be attended by Proper Persons, under Proper restrictions for the Accommodation of Seamen, and the Inhabitants of the Island excluding all the Military therefrom. Thirdly That proper Persons be appointed for Visiting and viewing the said Liquors to the Garrison &c. to be Paid by the Society, such Salaries as shall be agreed upon by the Board and Proposals given to the Society from the Licensed Publicans. The aforesaid Plans Recommended with all the Arguments given by the Governor and Council in Behalf of any Previous Salutary measures for the good Order, better Discipline	The Council considered the minute that the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor had laid before it on Monday 2 July 1781. It agreed with them that public affairs were in an alarming and critical state. The safety of the island now required every precaution, above all strict military discipline. The chief step towards that, in the Council's view, was to stamp out drunkenness. It had taken firm hold of the garrison despite every measure tried so far. The Council resolved on three measures. First, the five punch houses would close. In their place, the society set up to hold the sole right of selling spirits would build a square or another suitable building at its own cost. The building would hold separate wards, large enough for as many of the garrison as it was thought proper to gather there. A bar in the middle of the square would serve each man a fixed allowance of punch at set times each day, worth no more than two sixpences. Only men of the garrison would be allowed to drink there. Second, two punch houses would stay open under proper restrictions to serve seamen and the island's inhabitants. Soldiers would be barred from both of them. Third, five suitable people would be appointed to sell and serve the liquor to the garrison. The society would pay their salaries at rates the Council would agree. The five publicans then holding licences would have first claim on these posts. The Council was satisfied that the plan was the only way to cure the evil complained of. It also expected the plan to improve the order, discipline and wellbeing of the garrison. The Council therefore ordered the plan to be carried out as soon as possible. It set the salary that the society would pay each of the five men employed to sell the liquor at £150 0s 0d a year. **Interpretations** The Council chose to control the soldiers' drinking rather than ban it outright. A garrison canteen with a single bar and a daily ration of punch brought every soldier's drinking under the eye of authority, at set hours and in a fixed amount. Closing the punch houses to soldiers while leaving two open for seamen and settlers separated the garrison from the town's drinking. A man found drunk could no longer claim he had been served elsewhere. The society that held the sole right to sell spirits paid for the building and the wages, so the Company gained a disciplinary tool at no cost to itself. The Council could simply have shut the punch houses and turned the five publicans out of business. Instead it offered them first claim on the five salaried posts in the new canteen. The salary of £150 0s 0d a

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		and Comfort of the Garrison. We therefore direct that the said Plan be carried into Execution as soon as Possible. And having fixed the Salary to be paid by the Society to each of the four Persons employed for Vending the said Liquors at £ 150 pr. Annum	year was large by island standards, nearly three times what a factor earned in salary. It bought the cooperation of the men whose trade the plan destroyed, and it gave the scheme staff who already knew the business of selling drink. The reform was proposed earlier in the year, and this consultation turned it into an order.
167	163	1781 And do most earnestly recommend the aforesaid Plan to the Honble. the Court of Directors for their Approval. The Storekeeper this Day delivered the following Account of Stores Short Received from the following Ships Vizt. Stormont Vizt. 10 lb. Sugar 1 1 17 Candy Short weight Occasioned by Wastage 2 1 25 Do. in one Chest marked No. 1 B 16 Bags Short weight 2 Bricks 1 Sheet Lead 4 Sash Pins & Hinges Found broke upon Opening the Packages Bosborough Candy Short weight 1 Mat Lid broke Atlas Qrs. lb. 1 6 Candy Short weight Occasioned by Wastage 14 Sash Panes found broke upon Opening the Packages London Qrs. lb. 1 10 Sugar 2 25 Candy Short weight Occasioned by Wastage 10 Most Plates found broke upon Opening the Packages York Qrs. Candy Short weight Occasioned by Wastage 1 Candy 30 Most Plates found broke upon Opening the Packages Bridgewater Qrs. lb. 3 16 Candy Short weight Occasioned by Wastage 17 Most Plates found broke upon Opening the Packages	The Council strongly recommended the plan to the Court of Directors for its approval. The storekeeper then presented an account of stores that had arrived short from the ships in the road. From the *Stormont*: Sugar, 10 pounds, short weight caused by wastage Sugar candy, 1 quarter 17 pounds, short weight caused by wastage Sugar candy, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 25 pounds, in one chest not delivered Sago, 16 pounds, short weight Bowls, 2, found broken when the packages were opened Salad dish, 1, found broken when the packages were opened Cups and saucers, 4 half-pint sets, found broken when the packages were opened From the *Bessborough*: Sugar candy, 11 pounds, short weight Meat dish, 1, broken From the *Atlas*: Sugar candy, 1 quarter 6 pounds, short weight caused by wastage Soup plates, 14, found broken when the packages were opened From the *London*: Sugar, 1 quarter 10 pounds, short weight caused by wastage Sugar candy, 2 quarters 25 pounds, short weight caused by wastage Meat plates, 18, found broken when the packages were opened From the *York*: Sugar candy, 1 quarter, short weight caused by wastage Meat plates, 30, found broken when the packages were opened From the *Bridgwater*: Sugar candy, 3 quarters 16 pounds, short weight caused by wastage Meat plates, 17, found broken when the packages were opened **Interpretations** The canteen plan went to London for approval even though the Council had already ordered it carried out at once. Since letters took many months each way, the Council acted first and sought the Court's consent afterwards. In wartime it could not leave the garrison's drinking unchecked while it waited for a reply. Sending the plan home with a strong recommendation protected the Council if the Directors objected to the monopoly or to the salaries it had set. The China ships brought St Helena its supplies of Chinese goods on the way home. Sugar candy was crystallised sugar made in China, sold in large lumps and used as a sweetener and a delicacy. Sago was a starch taken from the pith of a palm in the East Indies, cooked into puddings and given to the sick. The plates, dishes, bowls and cups were Chinese porcelain, shipped in crates packed in straw or sago and often broken by the long passage. Recording each shortfall against the ship that carried it let the Company charge the loss to the commander, whose bills of lading had promised full delivery. Losses put

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			down to wastage, as with the sugar that dried out or dissolved on the voyage, were normally allowed. The undelivered chest of sugar candy from the *Stormont* was another matter, and a commander was expected to answer for it.
168	164	23d. July Lascelles Qrs. lb. 2 13 Candy Short weight Occasioned by Wastage Signed [...] Doveton Storekr. St. Helena 23d. July 1781 We this Day received the following Letters Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. &c. Council of St. Helena Gentlemen I take the liberty of acquainting you I have Purchased two Small Bales of Bengal Piece Goods with this Place, and Request you will be pleased to Permit this Information to the Honble. Directors and Testimony of my Intentions of sending the same to their Honours on my Privilege as Commander of the Ship Lord Mansfield? [...] I am Gentlemen Most Respectfully Your Obedient Servant [...] St. Helena 22d. July 1781 The Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. &c. Council at St. Helena Honourable Sir and Sirs Having Purchased Six Chests of Hyson Tea at the Cape of Good Hope on condition of Leave to send Passage and having no opportunity of Manifesting it, I beg you will make a Minute of it on your Consultation, for the	From the *Lascelles*: Sugar candy, 2 quarters 13 pounds, short weight caused by wastage Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 23 July 1781. The Council received two letters that day. The first came from J. A. Blanchard, commander of the *York*, dated at St Helena on 22 July 1781 and addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. Blanchard reported that he had bought two small bales of Bengal muslin on the island. He asked the Council to pass this news to the Company in London as proof that he meant to send the muslin to its warehouses as part of his allowance of private trade as commander. The second letter was also addressed to the Governor and Council. Its writer explained that he had bought six chests of Hyson tea at the Cape of Good Hope on the homeward passage. He had had no chance to enter the tea on his ship's manifest, and he asked the Council to record the purchase in its consultations. **Interpretations** Every commander of an East Indiaman held a privilege, an allowance of cargo space in which he could carry goods on his own account. It was a large part of his reward for the voyage. All goods coming home, however, had to pass through the Company's warehouses in London and be declared there. Anything bought along the way and left off the manifest looked like smuggling. Asking the Council at St Helena to put a purchase on record created an official witness to the commander's good faith before the ship reached England. The Council's minute could later be produced to the Directors to show that nothing had been hidden. Bengal muslin was a fine, light cotton cloth woven in Bengal, highly prized in Europe for dresses, neckcloths and curtains. Hyson was a green tea from China, one of the dearer grades shipped to England. The Company held the sole right to import both. A commander who bought them privately at St Helena or the Cape, outside the trade he had loaded in the East, was dealing in exactly the goods the Company guarded most closely. That explains why the writers took care to have their purchases recorded.
169	165	1781 information of the Honble. the Court of Directors and is entered in the Book Provision Book I am Honourable Sir and Sirs With Respect your most Humble Servant Signed Thos. Spalding St. Helena 23d. July 1781 We this day received the following Letters from Captains Peirce, Kimmering? Rose? & Allen To the Worshipful Sir John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council Worshipful Sir and Sirs I having been supplied with Fifty Chaldron and an Half of Coals from the Store Ship I have been here I have to Request that you will be pleased to Order me a further Supply of Two Chaldrons as I have now on Board for Works	The letter about the six chests of Hyson tea asked the Council to record the purchase for the information of the Court of Directors, since it was already entered in the ship's boatswain's book. Thomas Spalding signed it at St Helena on 23 July 1781. The Council also received letters that day from Captains Pierce, Abercromby, Ker and Allen. Captain Richard Pierce wrote to the Governor and Council from St Helena on 22 July 1781. Since arriving he had drawn only one and a half chaldrons of coal from the Company's stores. He asked the Council to order him two more chaldrons, as only four weeks' fuel remained on board his ship. The next letter was addressed to Governor John Skottowe as President and to the Council. Its writer recalled that the indent he had given the Council on 29 June 1781 included 15 hundredweight of flour. The Council had refused it, expecting him to buy flour from the store ship. He reported that the flour and bread on the store ship were all damaged, so he could not get supplies there. He therefore asked the

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		Fuel on Board my Ship, I am Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient Servant Signed Richd. Peirce St. Helena 22d. July 1781 The Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. President and Council St. Helena Gentn. Having Received at the Honble. Board the 29 Mtts.? Lead and 15 Stone which were to Proceed from the Supplies to this Island to be received on board the Store Ship. I am sorry to inform the Board that from the state of the Stores and Bread having all Damaged, which consequently prevents my being supplied, I must Request the Quantity of Their Islands for may be allowed	Council to allow him the full quantity of flour named in his indent. **Interpretations** The Council's earlier refusal of flour now came back on it. Like Captain Blackburn of the *Fox* on 16 July 1781, this commander had been sent to the store ship. The store ship's flour and bread had spoiled, however, so the Council's alternative source for passing ships had failed. That left the Council with a hard choice. It could release flour from a garrison store that was already short, or it could send an Indiaman to sea without bread for the passage home. A chaldron was a measure of coal by volume, roughly a ton and a quarter. Indiamen lying in the road drew coal from the Company's stores for their galley fires because the island had almost no wood to spare. Pierce's request was the usual one from a ship kept waiting at anchor, as the convoy was held until it could sail safely in wartime.
170	166	23d. July Our being Long here Longer amongst our Stores render the Quantity of Bread at this Place to six Weeks allowance and none being to be purchased of Private People, I am therefore under the necessity of applying to the Board for one Leaguer of Bread which I make no doubt in my present situation will be granted. I should have applied sooner for the Bread were in hopes to have got what I wanted in the Fleet I am Gentn. Your most Obedient Servant Signed Bannatt Kimmering St. Helena 23d. July 1781 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor President &c. Council St. Helena Gentlemen In my Letter to you of the 9th Instant I requested you that Rice Required every Commander in the Fleet of any spare Provisions they might have, and that they had nothing of that article, since that time I have got another for more Provisions which turned out a deficiency of Rice, but that Quantity of Rice together with what I have remaining on Board is by no means adequate to what I want, I must therefore Request you will supply me out of the Stores with 3000 lb. having no other Recourse as they have refused me Bread from the other Ships, having a good part of theirs damaged, and their Flour so bad that it is not fit to make Biscuits, having tryed it, The Honble. Board will please to consider my uncommon detention at this Place, but if the Cape Flour can be supplied I am convinced in any Parts of Great Britain I could Breathe and have Bread since my being detained from Port Mathews and that only that time I only Request for Weeks Rice for my Ships Company I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Humble Servt.	The commander who asked for flour also reported that his ship's long stay at St Helena had used up much of his stores. His arrack was down to six weeks' allowance, and none could be bought from private people on the island. He therefore applied to the Council for one leaguer of arrack. He felt sure his request would be granted in the circumstances, and explained that he had not asked sooner because he had hoped to find what he needed among the other ships of the fleet. Burnett Abercromby signed the letter at St Helena on 23 July 1781. Captain Robert Ker also wrote to the Governor and Council on 23 July 1781. He reminded them of his letter of 9 July 1781, in which he had reported asking every commander in the fleet for spare provisions without success. Since then he had obtained an order for some flour and 14 hundredweight of rice. That rice, added to what remained on board, fell well short of his needs. He asked the Council to supply him with 3,000 pounds of rice from the Company's stores. He had no other source, since the store ship had refused him bread. Much of the store ship's bread was damaged, and her flour was so bad that it was unfit even for biscuit, having turned rancid. Ker asked the Council to bear in mind his unusually long detention at the island. By the time his ship could reach any port in Great Britain, 12 months would have passed since he was sent from Fort Marlborough. Over all that time he was asking for only five weeks' rice for his crew. **Interpretations** The commanders' letters show the cost to the fleet of being held at St Helena. In wartime the Company kept its homeward ships in the road until they could sail together under escort, rather than let them cross the Atlantic singly. Each extra week at anchor ate into stores loaded for a passage of fixed length. The island was itself short of food, so it could not easily make up the difference. The Council now faced several commanders at once, each with a reasonable claim on the same thin stores. Fort Marlborough was the Company's settlement at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra, a pepper station. Ker's ship had therefore sailed from the East Indies rather than from China or India. That explains why he had been at sea so long before reaching the island and why his rice, the staple of a crew from the East, had run so low.

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		Signed Robt. Rose? "Robt. Hay" St. Helena 23d. July 1781	
171	167	1781 To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena Honble. Sirs I beg leave to represent to you that in consequence of your Refusal of Flour on my former application I endeavoured to Purchase a Quantity from the Store Ship, that I could only procure three Casks, which on being Opened were found Damaged and unfit to make Bread of. I am therefore Reduced to great distress having Besides Bread Flour Table & Sangers, I entreat Gentlemen my situation with these Inconveniences, I beg leave therefore again to Apply for 10 cwt. to be supplied from your Stores I am Honble. Sirs Your most Obedient Humble Servant Signed George Allen St. Helena 23d. July 1781 To which We direct the Secretary to return the following Answers Vizt. To Captain Richd. Peirce Commander of Ship Halsewell Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that they have given the Storekeeper Orders to supply you with 1½ Chaldron of Coals from the Honble. Company's Stores here, which is all they Possibly can spare I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 23d. July 1781	Captain George Allen also wrote to Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 23 July 1781. When the Council refused his earlier request for flour, he tried to buy some from the store ship. He could get only three casks, and when opened they proved damaged and unfit even for biscuit. Allen described himself as in great distress. Besides the passengers at his own table, he had 14 children on board without these basic supplies. He asked again for 10 hundredweight of flour from the Company's stores. The Council ordered the secretary to send replies to the commanders. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, wrote on behalf of the Governor and Council to Captain Richard Pierce, commander of the *Halsewell*, on 23 July 1781. He told Pierce that the storekeeper had orders to supply him with one and a half chaldrons of coal from the Company's warehouse. That was all the island could spare. **Interpretations** The Council gave Pierce only half of what he asked for. He had requested two chaldrons and received one and a half, with a plain statement that the warehouse could spare no more. Coal was shipped to St Helena from England and could not be replaced locally, and the garrison, the forge and the lime kilns all drew on the same stock. Rationing each commander to what was strictly needed spread a scarce supply across a whole fleet held in the road for weeks. Allen's mention of 14 children shows that a homeward Indiaman carried whole families. Officers and civil servants returning from the East often travelled with wives, children and servants. When the voyage ran long, the commander was responsible for feeding them all from stores loaded for a shorter passage. Allen pressed the point because a Council that could refuse a ship's crew might find it harder to refuse flour for children.
172	168	23d. July To Captain Bannett Kimmering Commander of Ship Walpole Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that they have given the Storekeeper Orders to supply you with 15 Cwt. from the Honble. Company's Warehouses and that you can have a Leaguer of Arrack from the Society I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 23d. July 1781 To Captain Robt. Rose Commander of Ship Pitt Royal? "Ship Royal" Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that the Storekeeper has Directions to supply you with 3000 lb. Rice from the Honble. Company's Store House I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry.	Britannicus Wright, the secretary, wrote on behalf of the Governor and Council to Captain Burnett Abercromby, commander of the *Walpole*, on 23 July 1781. He told Abercromby that the storekeeper had orders to issue him 15 hundredweight of rice from the Company's warehouses. Abercromby could also obtain a leaguer of arrack from the society that held the sole right to sell spirits. Wright wrote the same day to Captain Robert Ker, commander of the *Princess Royal*. The storekeeper had instructions to supply Ker with 3,000 pounds of rice from the Company's warehouses. Wright also wrote on 23 July 1781 to Captain George Allen, commander of the *True Briton*. The storekeeper had orders to supply Allen with 10 hundredweight of rice from the Company's warehouses. The secretary added that this was all the island could spare. **Interpretations** Abercromby and Allen had each asked for flour, 15 hundredweight and 10 hundredweight respectively, and each received the same weight in rice instead. The Council matched the quantities exactly but changed the grain. Flour was the commodity the island had run shortest of all year, and the garrison's bread now depended on wheat bought locally and ground in the Company's own new mill. Rice came in on the ships from the East and was

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		St. Helena 23d. July 1781 To Captain George Allen Commander of Ship True Briton Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that they have given Orders to the Storekeeper to supply you with Ten Hundred Wt. of Rice from the Honble. Company's Store Houses, which is all that can be spared you I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 23d. July 1781	easier to replace. By substituting it, the Council met the commanders' need to feed their crews and passengers without touching the flour on which the garrison relied. Ker alone received exactly what he asked for, 3,000 pounds of rice. His crew had come from Sumatra and lived on rice already, and he had argued his case with care. His twelve-month absence from Britain and his modest request for five weeks' supply gave the Council little ground for refusal. The Council did not supply Abercromby's arrack from the Company's stores. It sent him instead to the society that held the monopoly of spirits, the same body it had just made responsible for the garrison canteen. The monopoly thus served passing ships as well as the island, and the Company kept its own stock for its own use.
173	169	1781 We this day direct the Secretary to write Captain Montgomerie the subsequent Letter Vizt. To Captain Alexr. Montgomerie Commander of Ship Bosborough Sir Charles Rogers a Man belonging to your Ship having Declared himself to the Muster Master to be a Deserter from the Honble. Company's Troops at Bengal, It is therefore the Governor and Council's Order that you Deliver the said Man up to this Garrison agreeable to the Honble. Company's Instructions I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 23d. July 1781 We this day received the following Letter from Captain Thompson Vizt. To the Worshipful Jno. Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena Gentn. Having in the Engagement with the French Fleet at St. Iago Expended 120 Round 40 Double Headed & 22 Grape of Powder Shott, 16 Grape and 20 Round 18 Pounder Do. with Powder and Wadding, and as we have every reason to Expect we may meet with an Enemy on our way to China. Should company's Ship of the Ship and Cargo to have them Store Replaced. I have therefore to Request you will be pleased to grant me an Order for that Purpose. I am with the Greatest Respect Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servt. Signed Jno. Thompson St. Helena 23d. July 1781	The Council ordered the secretary to write to Captain Alexander Montgomerie, commander of the *Bessborough*. Britannicus Wright sent the letter on 23 July 1781. It told Montgomerie that Charles Rogers, a member of his crew, had declared himself to the muster master as a deserter from the Company's troops in Bengal. The Governor and Council therefore ordered Montgomerie to hand Rogers over to the island's garrison, in line with the Company's instructions. The Council also received a letter that day from Captain John Thompson, addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council and dated at St Helena on 23 July 1781. Thompson reported that his ship had used up a quantity of shot and powder in the action with the French fleet at St Iago. 9-pound round shot, 120 9-pound double-headed shot, 40 9-pound grapeshot, 12 18-pound grapeshot, 16 18-pound round shot, 20 Powder, 6 barrels Thompson expected to meet an enemy on his way to China. For the safety of his ship and cargo he needed these stores replaced, and he asked the Council for an order to supply them. **Interpretations** The Company's standing instructions settled the fate of Charles Rogers. A soldier who deserted in India and was found at St Helena did not go home with the ship that had hidden him. He was taken off and put into the island's own garrison. That disposal served the Company twice over: it punished desertion without the cost of shipping a man back to Bengal, and it added a trained soldier to a garrison weakened by deaths. It also confirms that the Charles Rogers named in Major Bazett's report on the muster was one of the two men of that name on the *Bessborough*'s roll. Thompson's ship was outward bound for China, unlike the homeward fleet around her, and had fought in the action at St Iago in the Cape Verde Islands. In April 1781 a French squadron under Suffren attacked Commodore Johnstone's British squadron and its convoy of Company ships at anchor in Porto Praya on that island. Thompson's request shows that Company merchant ships carried real fighting armament and used it. Double-headed shot was two half-balls joined by a bar, fired to cut an enemy's rigging. Grapeshot was a cluster of small balls fired at close range against men on deck. A ship that had spent these stores could not face another attack on the long voyage to Canton without having them replaced.
174	170	23d. July Upon Considering the Above Letter	After reading Captain Thompson's letter, the Council told the captain of artillery to give

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		We direct the Captain of Artillery to furnish Captain Thompson with as many of the Articles therein mentioned he could Conveniently Spare Being informed that a Considerable Overplus of Candles would be at Macao, therefore are invited from India We wrote the following Letter to the President and Others Supra Cargoes at Canton Vizt. To the President and Supra Cargoes of Council at Canton Gentlemen In our Letter to you Dated the 12th Instant We desired you would Consign to us the next Season twelve hundred pounds Wax Candles, and having understanding the last year remains [...] Wax, Request you will be pleased to have them made at that Place We are Gentlemen Your most Obedient Humble Servts. Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matth. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Thos. Bazett St. Helena 23d. July 1781 We this day Paid Mr. John Henderson Surgeon of the Ship Lascelles for the Care of Twenty two Invalids on their Passage from England four Shillings each amounting to Four Pounds Eight Shillings John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Thos. Bazett	Thompson as much of the shot and powder he had listed as the island could reasonably spare. The Council had learned that candles made at Macao were better and cheaper than those it received from India. It therefore wrote to the President and the other supercargoes forming the Council at Canton. In its letter of 12 July 1781 it had asked them to send 1,200 pounds of wax candles the following season. Now that it understood the best candles came from Macao, it asked them to have the candles made there. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 23 July 1781. The Council paid John Henderson, surgeon of the ship *Hastings*, for treating 22 recruits on their passage from England. He received 5s for each man, £5 10s 0d in all. The record of the consultation was signed by Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. **Interpretations** The Council did not simply grant or refuse Thompson's request for ammunition. It passed the decision to the captain of artillery, William Pierce, with orders to give only what could be spared. The island's own batteries had been strengthened all quarter against a feared French attack, and their shot and powder were the same stores Thompson wanted. Leaving the quantity to Pierce put the judgement in the hands of the officer who knew exactly what the batteries held and needed. St Helena drew its candles from the Company's other settlements, not from England, and the Council chose its source by quality and price. Macao was the Portuguese enclave at the mouth of the Pearl River, where the Company's supercargoes lived outside the trading season at Canton. Wax candles gave a steadier and cleaner light than tallow and burned longer in a warm climate. Asking the supercargoes to have the candles made at Macao shows the island acting as a customer within the Company's own Eastern network, buying where the goods were best. The payment to the surgeon of the *Hastings* was a fixed fee of 5s a head for the recruits he had looked after on the voyage out. The Company paid ship's surgeons this kind of capitation fee so that they had a reason to keep its soldiers alive at sea. A recruit who died on the passage was a bounty and a passage wasted, so the fee tied the surgeon's income to the number of men delivered fit for service.
175	171	28th July At a Consultation held on Saturday the 28th Day of July 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Thos. Bazett Council The last Consultation was this day Approved and Signed dated the 23d. July 1781. We this day received the following Letter from Captain Cooper Vizt. To the Worshipful Jno. Skottowe Esqr. Governor Council &c. St. Helena Sirs The Second and Third Officers of my Ship the Atlas being extremely ill, & of course have informed me that they shall not be able to do any duty for the remaining part of the Voyage. This	The Council met at the Castle on Saturday 28 July 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 23 July 1781. The Council received a letter from Captain Allen Cooper of the *Atlas*, dated at St Helena on 28 July 1781. Cooper reported that his second and third officers were so ill that they had told him they could do no duty for the rest of the voyage. That left him in a difficult position, since he was sailing for England late in the season. He had asked every commander of the Company's ships in the road to lend him an officer, without success. Captain Macey of the whaler *Sandwich* had offered his own chief mate. Macey vouched for him as a capable seaman who had commanded a ship on one earlier voyage. Cooper proposed to make this man second mate of the *Atlas*. He asked the Council to approve the choice and, if it agreed, to give either a written order for the man to go or permission for Cooper to take him on board in that post.

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		renders my situation very critical as we are returning to England at this advanced Season. In consequence of their inability to serve the Ship, I applied to all the Commanders of the Honble. Company's Ships to supply me with an Officer but without success. Captain Bragg of the Lascelles? Has his Ship? Officers but his Chief Mate, who he recommends as an able Seaman, having been one Voyage Captain of a Ship to fill the Station I mean to Station [...] in the Atlas. I [...] he would your concurrence and approbation of my engaging & Obliging him, & would grant him an Order in writing to go, on permission to take him on Board as such. I am Sir with great Respect Your most Obedt. Signed Wm. Cooper St. Helena July 25. 1781 The following Answer was Returned him Vizt. To Capt. Willm. Cooper Commander of Ship Atlas Sir I am ordered to acquaint you that the Governor and Council have Resolved to accept the Appointment of a Second Officer on board your Ship. As Captain Bragg wishes to have Officers to carry it [...] they Agree with you & [...] I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 28th July 1781	The Council sent its answer the same day. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, told Cooper that the Governor and Council considered such appointments a matter for the commander alone. **Interpretations** Cooper asked the Council for a written order, and the Council declined to give one. It could easily have approved the appointment, since every other commander had refused to help and the replacement came recommended. Instead it returned the decision to Cooper. Under the Company's rules, a commander chose and answered for his own officers. A written order from St Helena would have made the Council partly answerable for a man taken from a private whaler, outside the Company's service, if he proved unfit or the appointment was later challenged in London. Leaving the choice with Cooper kept responsibility where the Company placed it, while still leaving him free to take the man. The *Sandwich* was a South Sea whaler, one of the private British ships that hunted whales in the South Atlantic. They called at St Helena for water and fresh food, and they lay outside the Company's monopoly. Her chief mate was a seaman from a different branch of the merchant service. That helps explain why Cooper wanted the Council's sanction before putting him over men on a Company ship.
176	172	28th July The Storekeeper this Day delivered the following Account of Stores Short Received from Ship Hastings Vizt. 6 Pieces Bunting 9 Blankets 2 Fish Skins Damaged 50 Square Glass 6 by 8 11 Do. 8 - 10 15 Do. 10 by 16 15 Scythe Stones 1 Quart Decanter 4 Tumblers Found broke upon Opening the Packages 5 Iron Pots Qrs. lb. 2 1 17 Sole Leather Short Weight 3 Iron Pots 5th. 10 Bricks 2 Bushels Salt & Measure Short Weight the Hogs being 1 16 Matt. Lead Shot in bad Condition 1 Qr. Hastings 112 Gallns. Turpentine Leaked 40 Gallns. Beer 30 Port Do. 120 Do. Mountain Do. Leaked 60 Do. Lisbon Wine 4 Do. Sherry Do. Short of the Gage 5 Gallns. Vinegar Do. Short of the Gage 2 Do. Neats Foot Oyl? "Neats Foot Oil" 2 Cwt. 16 lb. Rosin Short Wt. 2 Sheets Plate Iron at 10 2 Qrs. 15 lb. Iron	The storekeeper presented an account of stores that had arrived short from the *Hastings*. Men's breeches, 6 pairs, damaged Blankets, 9, damaged Fish skins, 2, damaged Window glass, 50 panes of 6 by 8 inches, found broken when the packages were opened Window glass, 11 panes of 8 by 10 inches, found broken when the packages were opened Window glass, 15 panes of 10 by 16 inches, found broken when the packages were opened Scythe stones, 75, found broken when the packages were opened Quart decanter, 1, found broken when the packages were opened Tumblers, 4, found broken when the packages were opened Iron pots, 5, weighing 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 10 pounds, broken Soap, 2 hundredweight 10 pounds, short weight Sole leather, 2 hundredweight 17 pounds, short weight Salt, 7½ bushels, short measure White lead, mixed, 1 quarter 6 pounds, short weight because the kegs were in bad condition Blacking, 7 pounds, short weight because the kegs were in bad condition Turpentine, 1½ gallons, leaked Beer, 43 gallons, short of the gauge Lisbon wine, 16 gallons, short of the gauge Sherry, 4 gallons, short of the gauge Mountain wine, 12 gallons, leaked Port wine, 39 gallons, leaked Hock, 2 gallons, short of the gauge Vinegar, 5 gallons, short of the gauge Rosin, 2 quarters 16 pounds, short weight Plate iron, 2 sheets weighing 10 pounds, not delivered Rod iron, 2 quarters, not delivered Tallow, 243 pounds, not delivered

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		243 Tallow Not Received 1 Cask Rosin 1 Barrel Tar 1 Grindstone Kettle 9 Inches Pot 6 Coil Cordage Wt. 15 1 22 1 Grindstone? "Fan Leather Bel" 5 Pigs Lead 139 Deals Deals Not Received Signed Isma Doveton Storekr.	Rosin, 1 cask, not delivered Tar, 1 barrel, not delivered Topmast, 1, not delivered Cable of 9 inches, 1, weighing 19 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 pounds, not delivered Cordage, 6 coils, weighing 13 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 pounds, not delivered Linseed oil, 1 jar, not delivered Coals, 5 hundredweight 17 pounds, not delivered Double deals, 139, not delivered Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account. **Interpretations** The *Hastings* was an outward ship from England. Her shortages show what St Helena depended on from home: clothing, bedding, window glass, iron, leather, naval stores and drink. The account sorted each loss into a category of blame. Breakage and leakage on a long voyage were usually accepted as the ordinary risk of carriage. Goods that never arrived were a different matter. The missing cable, cordage, topmast, deals and tallow were bulky and valuable stores, easy to sell or use at a port on the way. The Company would expect the commander to explain them or pay for them. Short of the gauge meant that a cask held less than its marked contents when measured with the exciseman's gauging rod. The loss came from leakage and evaporation through the wood, and from tapping on the voyage. Mountain was a sweet Malaga wine from southern Spain. Hock was white Rhenish wine and Lisbon a Portuguese white wine. These were the wines of the officers' tables and the Governor's household. Fish skins were the dried, rough hides of the dogfish or ray, used by carpenters and joiners as a kind of sandpaper. Scythe stones were whetstones for sharpening scythes, needed to cut grass and grain on the Company's plantation. Double deals were thick sawn planks of fir or pine shipped from the Baltic. The island had almost no timber of its own, so every plank for building came in by sea.
177	173	1781 Yesterday we received the following Letter from Mr. Dean Vizt. Honble. Sir and Sirs Having purchased Three Chests of Hyson at the Cape of Good Hope, I beg leave to Request you will mention in your Letter to the Honble. Court of Directors and have it entered in the Book Provision Book I am Honble. Sir and Sirs Your most Obedt. Humble Servt. Signed Wm. Dean Ship Princess Royal 27th July 1781 On the 25th. Instant we received the following Letter from Captain Montgomerie Vizt. To the Worshipful Jno. Skottowe Esqr. President and Governor &c. Council of St. Helena Gentlemen I have received your Secretary's Letter respecting Chas. Rogers who informs me he declared himself a Deserter. I beg leave to assure you I ever paid every regard to obtain and to take or retain any Person belonging to the Honble. Company, but at the same time hope you will excuse my delivering up this Man without first being sufficiently Satisfied that he is truly what he has Represented himself to be; and it is evidently in the Power of almost all	On 27 July 1781 the Council received a letter from William Dun, written aboard the *Princess Royal*. Dun had bought three chests of Hyson tea at the Cape of Good Hope. The chests were entered in the ship's boatswain's book, and he asked the Council to mention them in its letter to the Court of Directors. On 23 July 1781 the Council had also received a letter from Captain Alexander Montgomerie, addressed to Governor John Skottowe as President and to the Council. Montgomerie acknowledged the secretary's letter about Charles Rogers, who had told him that he had declared himself a deserter. Montgomerie assured the Council that he had no wish or intention to take or keep any man who belonged to the Company. All the same, he asked to be excused from handing Rogers over until there was proper proof that Rogers really was what he claimed to be. Almost any of his crew could make the same claim, he pointed out. The length of the voyage and the ship's long detention in India had cost him most of his original crew. Most of the men now on board had been picked up in various parts of India. He added that his ship leaked badly. She needed a better crew than he had, and the leaks made it hard for him to keep together even the very mixed crew he had left. **Interpretations** Montgomerie resisted the Council's order with an argument it could not easily dismiss. A man's own word that he had deserted was the only evidence against Rogers. If the Council accepted that, any seaman who wanted to leave a leaking ship and an exhausting voyage could do the same simply by claiming to be a deserter from Bengal. Each such

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		my Ships Company to declare the same, having from the length of the Voyage and the very long Detention of the Ship in India Contracted my Engagements to the Company and the greatest part I have married here & have procured with great part of Lascars of India. I must at the same time mention to you Gentlemen, that the Ship's being Sickly having lost not only seven or Eight Men, that at the Present Ship makes it difficult for me to keep the Ship and men together;	claim would cost the ship a hand and give the garrison a recruit of doubtful value. The commander's need to keep his crew together ran directly against the island's need for soldiers. Montgomerie therefore asked for proof rather than refusing outright, so that his objection stayed within the Company's rules. His account of his crew explains the *Bessborough*'s muster roll. Its many lascars and its Black, Portuguese and Scandinavian seamen were the men he had gathered in India to replace the English sailors he had lost. The two men named Charles Rogers on the roll take on new meaning in this light. Rogers had probably joined the ship in India, where a deserter from the Bengal army could easily slip into a merchant crew short of men.
178	174	28th July two Men here since the Muster entered on board his Majesty's Ship Diomede? "Ship Seahorse", and another has run away and Concealed himself ashore. I must therefore hope you will not further distress the Ship by wishing to take away one of the best Seamen I have who entered with me at Bombay from on board a Country Ship I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Humble Servant Signed A. Montgomerie St. Helena July 25th 1781 From the Reasons assigned in the above Letter, the Board agreed not to demand the Person mentioned therein. Jeffery Bond Drummer this Day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company his Contracted time Granted We this day granted the following Sets of Bills of Exchange Drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors Vizt. One to John Skottowe Esqr. for Six Hundred Pounds Payable to Nicholas Skottowe Esqr. or Order One to Major Daniel Corneille for Four hundred and Sixty Pounds, Payable to Jno. Cotton Esqr. or Order	Montgomerie went on to explain that two of his men had joined His Majesty's ship *Renown* since the muster, and another had run away and was hiding ashore. He asked the Council not to make his ship's position worse by taking one of his best seamen. Rogers had joined him at Bombay from a country ship. Montgomerie signed the letter at St Helena on 23 July 1781. The Council accepted the reasons in Montgomerie's letter and agreed not to demand Rogers. Jeffery Bond, a private, petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of his contract. The Council granted his request. The Council also issued the following bills of exchange that day, drawn on the Court of Directors in London. To Governor John Skottowe, payable to Nicholas Skottowe or his order, £600 0s 0d To Major Daniel Corneille, payable to John Calland or his order, £460 0s 0d **Interpretations** The Council backed down on Charles Rogers. Five days earlier it had ordered Montgomerie to hand him over under the Company's instructions, and the obvious course was to enforce that order. Montgomerie's reply changed the facts. Since the muster he had lost two men to a naval warship and a third to desertion ashore, and his leaking ship could not spare a good seaman. His letter also undermined Rogers's own story. Rogers had joined the *Bessborough* at Bombay from a country ship, a privately owned vessel trading between Asian ports, which fitted a seaman's career rather than a deserter fleeing the Bengal army. Without proof, the Council chose not to strip a homeward ship of a skilled hand on the word of a man who might simply want to get off her. A bill of exchange let a Company servant on the island send money home without shipping coin. The Governor or the Lieutenant Governor paid cash into the island treasury, and the Council issued a bill ordering the Directors in London to pay the same sum to a named person there. The treasury on St Helena kept the coin it badly needed, and the officials' savings reached England safely, free of the risk of capture at sea in wartime. Governor Skottowe's bill was payable to Nicholas Skottowe, probably a relative who managed his affairs in England.
179	175	1781 Two to Matthew Bazett Esqr. One for One Thousand & Two Hundred Pounds Payable to Matthew Gentleman? and Gabriel Harper Esqrs. and One for One Hundred and Fifty Pounds five Shillings Payable to Matthew Darling Esqr. or Order Two to William Wrangham Esqr. One for Six	The Council issued further bills of exchange that day, all drawn on the Court of Directors. To Matthew Bazett, payable to Matthew Purling and Gabriel Harper, £1,200 0s 0d To Matthew Bazett, payable to Matthew Purling or his order, £150 5s 0d To William Wrangham, payable to Captain Richard Pierce, £600 0s 0d

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		Hundred Pounds, Payable to Captain Richd. Peirce and One for Two Hundred Pounds Payable to Messrs. Darling Esqr. or Order One to Major Henl. Bazett for One Thousand Pounds Payable to Matthew Darling & Gabl. Harper Esqrs. or Order One to Mr. Jno. Doveton for Five Hundred Pounds Payable to himself or Order One to Lieut. Robd. Anderson for One Hundred and Fifty Pounds Payable to himself or Order One to Mr. Richard Mason for Three Hundred Pounds Payable to himself or Order One to Mr. George Simpson for Three Hundred Pounds Payable to himself or Order One to Mr. David Kay for One Hundred and Ninety twenty Pounds Payable to Messrs. Robt. Lord Mr. Dalby or Order One to Lieutenant Chas. Ross Stewart for One hundred Pounds, Payable to Mr. Robt. Ross or Order One to Lieutt. Gurling for One hundred and fifty Pounds Payable to Mr. Angus Mr. Radcliffe Order One to Mr. Thomas Hird for One Thousand Pounds Payable to Captain Jno. Woodcock or Order One to Capt. Robert Hay for Two Thousand Pounds Payable to himself or Order	To William Wrangham, payable to Matthew Purling or his order, £200 0s 0d To Major Henry Bazett, payable to Matthew Purling and Gabriel Harper or their order, £1,000 0s 0d To John Doveton, payable to himself or his order, £500 0s 0d To Archibald Anderson, payable to himself or his order, £150 0s 0d To Richard Mason, payable to himself or his order, £300 0s 0d To George Simpson, payable to himself or his order, £300 0s 0d To David Kay, payable to Messrs Able and McAuly or their order, £120 0s 0d To Lieutenant Charles Ross Steward, payable to Robert Reid or his order, £100 0s 0d To Lieutenant Robert Gosling, payable to Angus McNabb or his order, £150 0s 0d To Thomas Stroud, payable to Captain John Riddell or his order, £1,000 0s 0d To Captain Robert Ker, payable to himself or his order, £2,000 0s 0d **Interpretations** The bills show that the island's officials were sending home far more than their salaries. Thomas Stroud, the surgeon, earned £35 0s 0d a quarter with his diet money, yet he remitted £1,000 0s 0d in a single bill. David Kay, the surgeon's mate, sent £120 0s 0d, close to five quarters of his pay. The councillors did the same on a larger scale: Matthew Bazett sent £1,350 5s 0d and Henry Bazett £1,000 0s 0d. Money on this scale came from private dealing, chiefly selling provisions, livestock and services to the ships in the road. The Company allowed its servants to trade on their own account. The bills turned that island income into money paid in London. The Bazetts' bills ran through the same two men, Matthew Purling and Gabriel Harper, who evidently acted as the family's agents in London. Captain Robert Ker of the *Princess Royal* remitted £2,000 0s 0d to himself, the largest sum on the list. A commander who sold goods from his privilege at St Helena could convert the proceeds into a bill payable in England, so that he reached home with money waiting for him rather than coin aboard a ship that might be taken by the French.
180	176	28th July Two to Mr. Robinson Wheel Wrightman for One Hundred and Sixty Eight Pounds, four Shillings Payable to Messrs. Clarke and Collett and One for Thirty Pounds Payable to Mr. Angus Mc Kenzie or Order One to the Attorney of Capt. Edwd. Penny for Two Hundred and Seventy Pounds Payable to Mr. Geo. Bishop or Order One to Capt. Jno. Howard for Three Hundred and Sixty Pounds Payable to Matthew Darling Esqr. One to Lieutenant Jno. Greentree for One Hundred Pounds Payable to Nicholas Skottowe Esqr. or Order Three to Mr. Robt. Leech, One for One Hundred Pounds Payable to Mr. Saml. Wheeler, One for One Hundred Pounds Payable to Mr. Saml. Tozer and One for Two Hundred and forty three Pounds Ten Shillings Payable to Chas. Turner Esqr. or Order One to Mr. Humphries for Fifty Pounds Payable to Mr. Jno. Mackenzie and Company or Order One to the Executors of the late Jno.	The list of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors continued. To Britannicus Alexander Wright, payable to Messrs Dales and Collett, £168 4s 0d To Britannicus Alexander Wright, payable to Angus McNabb or his order, £30 0s 0d To the attorneys of Captain Edward Kenny, payable to George Bishop or his order, £220 0s 0d To Captain John Howard, payable to Matthew Purling, £360 0s 0d To Lieutenant James Greentree, payable to Nicholas Skottowe or his order, £100 0s 0d To Robert Leech, payable to Samuel Clarke, £100 0s 0d To Robert Leech, payable to Leaver Legg, £100 0s 0d To Robert Leech, payable to Charles Fraser or his order, £249 10s 0d To Mrs Mary Price, payable to John Mackenzie and Company or their order, £50 0s 0d To the executors of the late John Whitchurch, payable to Sarah Blake and Hannah Whitchurch or their order, £300 0s 0d To John De Fountain, payable to Hugh Jones or his order, £100 0s 0d To Lieutenant William Seale, payable to Robert Sherson or his order, £50 0s 0d

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		Whitehurst for Three Hundred Pounds Payable to Sarah Blake and Hannah Whitehurst or Order One to Mr. Jno. Defountain for One Hundred Pounds Payable to Mr. Joseph Jones or Order One to Lieutenant William Hale for Fifty Pounds Payable to Robt. Harper Esqr. or Order One to Mr. Jonathan Dearton for Three Hundred Pounds Payable to Mr. George Nicholson or Order One to Lieutenant Thos. Hatton for One Hundred and Fifty Pounds Payable to Mr. Joseph Prince or Order	To Jonathan Doveton, payable to George Ketherden or his order, £300 0s 0d To Lieutenant Thomas Statham, payable to Joseph Moore or his order, £150 0s 0d **Interpretations** The bills also carried money that did not belong to the person who drew them. The executors of the late John Whitchurch remitted £300 0s 0d to Sarah Blake and Hannah Whitchurch, probably his heirs in England. The attorneys of Captain Edward Kenny drew £220 0s 0d on behalf of a man who was absent from the island. A bill of exchange was the safest way to settle a dead man's estate or an absent man's affairs across the ocean. The executors or attorneys paid the cash into the island treasury, and the heirs or creditors collected the same sum from the Company in London, free of the risk of the money being lost at sea. Lieutenant James Greentree's bill was payable to Nicholas Skottowe, the same London correspondent named in the Governor's own bill. A junior officer sending his savings home through the Governor's family agent shows how the island's small society ran its money through a handful of trusted names in England.
181	177	1781 One to Mr. George Riddock for Two Thousand Pounds Payable to Robert Wayne Esqr. or Order And One to the Reverend Mr. Roberts Carr for Three Hundred Pounds Payable to the Revd. Mr. Colston Carr or Order at ninety Days Sight. The Honble. Company being in want of Beef We have Purchased One of Capt. Robert Hay for which We Paid him £ 9 9 - Purchased of Captain Justinian Nutt on account of the Honble. Company Twelve Tierces of Salt Provisions as per the following Bill The Honble. Company Dr. To Capt. Justinian Nutt Ship Kingston? "Kingsgate" For 12 Tierces of Salt Provisions @ £ 6 12 - £ 79 4 - 10 per Cent upon Prime Cost 31 13 7 £ 110 17 7 Recd. the Contents in full Signed P. Bingley St. Helena 24th July 1781 We Received from the Honble. Company's Ship Britannia 706 lb. Salt Meat Several Men of the Garrison being Missed and apprehending they must have Secreted themselves on Board some of the Ships now in the Road, The Governor wrote to the Commanders as follows	The last bills of exchange that day completed the list. All were payable at 90 days' sight. To George Riddock, payable to Robert Mayne or his order, £2,000 0s 0d To the Reverend Robartes Carr, payable to the Reverend Colston Carr or his order, £300 0s 0d The Company needed boats, and the Council bought one from Captain Robert Ker for £9 9s 0d. The Council also bought 12 tierces of salt provisions for the Company from Captain Justinian Nutt and the owners of the *Kingston*. Their bill read as follows. Salt provisions, 12 tierces at £6 12s 0d each, £79 4s 0d Advance of 40 per cent on prime cost, £31 13s 7d Total, £110 17s 7d R. Bingley signed a receipt for the full amount at St Helena on 24 July 1781. The Council received 786 pounds of salt meat from the Company's ship *Britannia*. Several men of the garrison were missing, and the Council feared they had hidden themselves aboard some of the ships in the road. Governor John Skottowe therefore wrote to the commanders as follows. **Interpretations** The Council paid 40 per cent above prime cost for the salt provisions from the *Kingston*, a private ship outside the Company's own supply. Prime cost was what the goods had cost the owners where they were bought. The advance was the seller's profit and risk. Normally the island drew salt meat from the Company's stores or from its own ships at cost. In a year when salt meat had run so low that planters' cattle were being taken for beef, the Council accepted a heavy premium rather than go without. The 786 pounds brought by the *Britannia*, back from the Cape, helped relieve the shortage, but it was not enough on its own. A bill payable at 90 days' sight fell due three months after it was presented to the Directors in London. The delay gave the Company time to receive the island's accounts and arrange the money before it had to pay. Since the bills drawn that day ran to many thousands of pounds, the interval mattered to the Company's cash in London.
182	178	28th July Sir	Governor John Skottowe wrote to the commanders of the ships in the road on 27 July 1781.

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		Several Men of the Garrison having Deserted. I am authorized by the Board to direct a Strict search to be made on Board your Ship, and deliver any such deserters which may be found on board as you will answer the contrary to the Honble. the Court of Directors I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed John Skottowe St. Helena 27th July 1781 The Governor and Lieutenant Governor likewise wrote Captain Henry of His Majesty's Ship Diomede? "Ship Seahorse" the subsequent Letter Vizt. To Captain Henry of His Majesty's Ship Seahorse Sir There being 13 Soldiers of this Garrison now missing and having every Reason to suppose they are secreted on board some of the Ships in the Road, We have given Orders to the several Commanders to have a Strict Search made on board their respective Ships for said Men, and Request you will be so good as to favour us with a Boat and Officer for and search along with the Town Adjutant of this Garrison as we are entirely in having one of the Company's. We also further Desire you will give such Orders to prevent any Desertion or Them being harboured on board His Majesty's Ship under your Command as may seem best to your Judgement. We are Sir Your most Obedt. and humble Servants Signed Jno. Skottowe Danl. Corneille St. Helena 28th July 1781	Several men of the garrison had deserted. Each commander was ordered to have his ship strictly searched and to hand over any deserter found on board. A commander who failed to do so would answer for it to the Court of Directors. The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor also wrote to Captain Henry of His Majesty's ship *Renown* on 28 July 1781. They reported that 13 soldiers of the garrison were missing and were thought to be hidden on some of the ships in the road. The commanders had been ordered to search their ships for the men. They asked Captain Henry to help by lending a boat and an officer to join the search with the town adjutant of the garrison, since the island had no boat of the Company's own available. They also hoped Captain Henry would give whatever orders he thought best to stop any of the island's soldiers or slaves from being sheltered aboard his ship. Governor Skottowe and Daniel Corneille signed the letter. **Interpretations** The two letters show the limits of the Governor's authority in the road. He could order the commanders of the Company's ships to search, and back the order with the threat of answering to the Directors, because they were the Company's servants. He had no such power over a ship of the Royal Navy. The letter to Captain Henry was therefore a request, framed with care and leaving the measures to his judgement. That difference mattered. Montgomerie had reported that two of his seamen went aboard the *Renown* after the muster, which shows that a King's ship in the road drew men from every quarter. A deserter or a runaway slave who reached her was beyond the island's reach unless her captain chose to give him up. Thirteen soldiers missing at once was a serious loss for a garrison that had buried several men in June and was recruiting all quarter. The timing explains it. The homeward fleet was preparing to sail, and a soldier hidden aboard could be at sea before he was missed, on his way to England after a five-year term he had not finished. The letter's mention of slaves shows that the same risk applied to the island's slave population. A slave who escaped onto a departing ship could reach a place where his owner had no means of recovering him.
183	179	1781 Mr. William Roberts the Town Adjutant who delivered the above Letter, went in Search of the Deserters. On his Return Reported that he had got every assistance from Captain Henry of His Majesty's Ship Seahorse in searching for the said Men, yet he could not find, or procure, any intelligence respecting them. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	William Roberts, the town adjutant, delivered the letters to the commanders and to Captain Henry, and then went to look for the deserters. When he returned he reported that Captain Henry of the *Renown* had given him every help in the search. Even so, Roberts had found none of the missing men and had learned nothing of where they were. The record was signed by Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett.
184	180	30th July At a Consultation holden Monday the 30th day of July 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 30 July 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 28 July 1781. The Company's ship *Hastings* sailed for China on 29 July 1781. On 30 July 1781 the whole homeward fleet sailed for England. His Majesty's ship *Renown* and the sloop

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		28th July 1781 Yesterday sailed the Honble. Company's Ship Hastings for China. This day sailed His Majesty's Ships Seahorse and Shark Sloop, and the Honble. Company's Ships, Princess Royal, Fox, Duke of Grafton, Walpole, True Briton, Duke of Kingston, Earl of Oxford, Granby, Britannia, Halsewell, Sandwich, Stormont, Lascelles, London, Bosborough, Bridgewater, Atlas and York, and two Whaling Vessels Sandwich and Rockingham for England. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	*Shark* went with it. The Company's ships in the fleet were the *Princess Royal*, *Fox*, *Duke of Grafton*, *Walpole*, *True Briton*, *Duke of Kingston*, *Earl of Oxford*, *Granby*, *Britannia*, *Halsewell*, *Lascelles*, *Stormont*, *London*, *Bessborough*, *Bridgwater*, *Atlas* and *York*. Two whalers, the *Sandwich* and the *Rockingham*, sailed with them. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** This entry explains the weeks of strain recorded in the earlier consultations. The Indiamen had been held in the road until they could sail together under the protection of the *Renown* and the *Shark*, so that French cruisers could not pick them off one at a time on the passage home. Seventeen of the Company's ships left on a single day, with two whalers taking shelter in the same convoy. While they waited, the fleet had drained the island's flour, rice, coal and arrack, its commanders had pressed the Council for stores, and garrison soldiers had slipped aboard to escape. The *Hastings* sailed alone the day before because she was outward bound for China, on a different route from the convoy and with her own guns resupplied from the island's batteries.
185	181	1781 At a Consultation holden on Monday the 6th Day of August 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 30th July 1781. Saturday the 4th Was brought in to this Road a Dutch Ship called the Hold Wallwindt? Commanded by Lieutenant Bold which Ship was Captured off the Cape of Good Hope by two Frigates, and two Cutters part of Commodore Johnstons Squadron. The Governor Requested to have Betty Handy one of the Company's Slave Girls to attend his Family to England which was granted. William Harris Private this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company his contracted time. Granted The following are the Names of the Soldiers who Deserted this Garrison in the Fleet that sailed on the 30th last Month Vizt. John Travers, John Green, John Barker, Ralph Primrose Matrosses, Francis Walker, John Phillips John Matthews, John Burkhart, Nicholas Robinson, James Parks	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 6 August 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 30 July 1781. On Saturday 4 August 1781 a Dutch ship, the *Held Woltemade*, was brought into the road under the command of Lieutenant Ball. Two frigates and two cutters from Commodore Johnstone's squadron had captured her off the Cape of Good Hope. The Governor asked to take Betty Stanby, one of the Company's slave girls, to wait on his family on the voyage to England. The Council agreed. William Charriott, a private, petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for the full term of his contract. The Council granted his request. The Council recorded the names of the soldiers who had deserted from the garrison in the fleet that sailed on 30 July 1781. John Towers, matross John Green, matross John Baker, matross Ralph Tidman, matross Francis Walker John Phillips John Waters John Burkhall Nicholas Patterson Henry Weeks **Interpretations** The Council lent one of the Company's own slaves to the Governor for his family's passage to England. Betty Stanby belonged to the Company, not to Skottowe, so the Council's consent was needed before she could leave the island. In England, the judgment in Somerset's case in 1772 had held that a slave could not be forced out of the country against her will, and the legal standing of slavery there was uncertain. On St Helena the Company still owned slaves outright and could hand one to a departing official as an attendant. Once she reached England, Betty Stanby's position would rest on a law very different from the one that had sent her there, and the minute says nothing of whether she was expected to return. The list of deserters confirms what the Council suspected on 28 July 1781. The search by the town

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			adjutant, with a boat and officer from the *Renown*, had found nothing, yet the men had been aboard the departing ships all along. Four of them were matrosses from the artillery, the best-paid and most highly trained of the island's soldiers. Francis Walker had joined the Second Company only on 13 June. Losing trained gunners to the homeward fleet, at a time when the island feared French attack, was a direct cost of having to supply and shelter so many ships in the road at once. The *Held Woltemade* was a prize, a Dutch merchant ship taken in the war declared against the Dutch Republic earlier that year. Commodore Johnstone's squadron had sailed to attack the Cape, the Dutch colony that had long supplied ships passing between Europe and the East. A captured Dutch ship brought into St Helena showed the war reaching the island's own sea lanes. Its cargo could also help relieve the shortages that had pressed on the garrison all year.
186	182	13th August Parks, John Smith, John Harvey, Thomas Collins, John Ridley, Geo. Turner, Geo. Clark, Thos. Partridge and John Horton Privates. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation holden Monday the 13 Day of August 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 6th August 1781. Thursday the 9th Arrived His Majesty's Cutter Rattle Snake from Commodore Johnstone's Fleet Saturday the 11th His Majesty's Frigate Diana from Do. Tuesday the 14th Ship Champion? "Ship Cumberland" from England by which opportunity the Governor and Lieutenant Governor received a Packet from the Honble. the Secret Committee. On the 8th Instant We Inlisted Robert Roberts, who was left here out of the Ship Earl of Oxford, Thomas Twigg out of the Atlas, Charles Bailey out of the Lord Chas.? Roderick Robins, and	The list of soldiers who deserted in the fleet that sailed on 30 July 1781 went on with nine more names. All of them were privates. John Smith, private John Harvey, private Thomas Collins, private John Kelley, private George Trainer, private George Clark, private Thomas Goodridge, private John Horton, private Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation of 6 August 1781. The Council met next at the Castle on Monday 13 August 1781. The Governor presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 6 August 1781. His Majesty's cutter *Rattlesnake* arrived on Thursday 9 August 1781 from Commodore Johnstone's fleet. His Majesty's frigate *Diana* came in from the same fleet on 12 August. On 13 August the ship *Hannibal* arrived from England. She brought the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor a packet of letters from the Secret Committee of the Company. On 8 August 1781 the Council enlisted several men who had been left behind by the departing fleet. They included Robert Roberts from the *York*, Thomas Lewis from the *Atlas*, Charles Bailey from the *Lascelles* and Zedekiah Robins. **Interpretations** The fleet that sailed on 30 July 1781 took about 19 of the island's soldiers away as deserters, and it left behind seamen who now joined the garrison in their place. The exchange ran in both directions through the same ships. Soldiers tired of the island hid aboard homeward vessels, while sailors who missed their ships or were put ashore sick took the Company's bounty and enlisted. The garrison's numbers depended on this constant traffic with the road, and the Council had no way to stop the losses. It could only make good what it could from the men the ships left behind. The packet from the Secret Committee went to the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor alone, not to the full Council. The Secret Committee was the small body of Directors in London that handled war and confidential policy. Its letters to St Helena dealt with matters such as defence, the movements of enemy fleets and the conduct of the war. Addressing them only to the two senior officers kept them from

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			the rest of the Council. That was why the island paid a separate secretary to the Secret Committee on its civil list.
187	183	1781 and John Newcombe out of the Duke of Kingston, and Henry Wilkinson out of the Ship Walpole, to serve the Honble. Company for Three Years as Soldiers in this Garrison subject to the Articles of War, and gave each of them £ 10 Bounty Money. The Expence of Artillery Stores, and Stores Received for the Month of July last were this day laid before Us which were examined, approved, and are as follows Vizt. Artillery Stores Expended in July 1781 Guns Fired, 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb. A Single Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11 Answering His Majesty's Ship Seahorse: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 5 Saluting Captain Henry: Guns Fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13 Priming: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 5 Powder for the Mine Blowers at Sandy Bay: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 24 Saluting Captain Henry going on board: Guns Fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13 Do. Commodore Mitchell: Guns Fired 19, 6 lb. 19, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 19 Priming: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 6 12 Saluting the Fleet on their Departure: Guns Fired 38, 6 lb. 38, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 38 Priming: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 3 6 Powder for the Mine Blowers at Long Wood: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 12 Do. for Do. at Banks's: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 120 Do. for Sundry Services: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 52 0 Total: Guns Fired 95, 6 lb. 89, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 323 10 Sand Bags 4 Spunge Staves 6 Cartridge Paper 72 Quires Ladles for 6 lb. 7 Musquet Do. 28 Do. Do. for 9 lb. 1 Flannel 14½ Yds. Rammer Heads for 12 lb. 2 Sponges 14½ Yds. Do. for 9 lb. 1 Copper Rivets 100 Sponge Heads for 12 lb. 2 Nails Brads 78 Do. for 9 lb. 3 Hand Hooks for Mountings 9 Sashes? "for Mounting 9 Pound Guns" Iron Tubes 6 Rounds Drafts for Do. Do. 9 lb. 120 Lint Stocks 4 Sheep Skins 12 Hand Spikes Wooden Pointed 1 Round Mottle 2 Long Signed Wm. Pierce Capt. of Artillery	The men enlisted on 8 August 1781 also included John Newcombe from the *Duke of Kingston* and Henry Wilkinson from the *Walpole*. All of them signed on to serve the Company as soldiers in the garrison for five years under the Articles of War. Each received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. The accounts of artillery stores and the steward's accounts for July 1781 were laid before the Council that day. The Council examined and approved them. The artillery stores used in July were as follows. A single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces On the arrival of His Majesty's ship *Renown*: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces. Saluting Captain Henry: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces Priming: 0 guns fired, powder 5 pounds 0 ounces Powder for the stone blowers at Sandy Bay: 0 guns fired, powder 24 pounds 0 ounces Saluting Captain Henry going on board: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces Saluting Governor Whitehill going on board: 19 guns fired, 19 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 19 pounds 0 ounces Priming: 0 guns fired, powder 6 pounds 12 ounces Saluting the fleet on its departure: 31 guns fired, 31 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 31 pounds 0 ounces Priming: 0 guns fired, powder 3 pounds 6 ounces Powder for the stone blowers at Longwood: 0 guns fired, powder 12 pounds 0 ounces Powder for the stone blowers at Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 120 pounds 0 ounces Powder for various services: 0 guns fired, powder 52 pounds 8 ounces Total: 95 guns fired, 89 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 323 pounds 10 ounces Lead balls, 4 Cartridge paper, 7½ quires Musket cartridge paper, 2 quires Flannel, 4¼ yards Vinegar, 1¼ gallons Copper rivets, 100 Slow match, 7 pounds Bar shot for the ship *Hastings*, 40 rounds. Round shot of 9 pounds for the *Hastings*, 120 rounds. Sheepskins, 12 Sponge staves, 6 Quoins for six-pounders, 7 Quoins for nine-pounders, 1 Rammer heads for twelve-pounders, 2 Rammer heads for nine-pounders, 1 Sponge heads for twelve-pounders, 2 Sponge heads for nine-pounders, 3 Tin tubes, 6 Linstocks, 4 Spirits of wine for match, 1 quart Quick match, 2 [...] William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. **Interpretations** The bounty for these recruits was £10 0s 0d each, more than three times the £3 0s 0d paid to new recruits in April and June 1781. The Council raised the price sharply within a few weeks. About 19

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			soldiers had just deserted in the departing fleet, and the island was at war and feared attack. Seamen left behind by the fleet were the only men available, and the Council paid what it took to bind them for five years. Most of the powder used in July went on building rather than gunnery. Stone blowers at Sandy Bay, Longwood and Banks's used 156 pounds between them, almost half the month's total, to cut rock for the new batteries, roads and walls. Banks's was one of the fortified landing places on the leeward coast. Salutes took most of the rest. Each one honoured rank precisely: 13 guns for Captain Henry of the *Renown*, 19 for Governor Whitehill, a senior Company official going home with the fleet, and 31 for the fleet itself as it sailed. The shot issued to the *Hastings* settled Captain Thompson's request of 23 July 1781. He had asked to replace what his ship used in the action at St Iago. Pierce gave him 120 rounds of 9-pound round shot, exactly the number he had fired, and 40 rounds of bar shot in place of the double-headed shot he had used. The Council's instruction to spare only what could be spared evidently allowed a full replacement of the 9-pound shot. Quoins were wooden wedges placed under a gun's breech to raise or lower its aim. Linstocks were staffs that held the burning match used to fire a gun. Quick match was cotton thread soaked in powder and spirits of wine, which burned fast and was used to carry fire to the touch-hole, while slow match smouldered for hours and kept a light ready at the battery. Sheepskins covered the sponge heads that cleaned out a gun's bore between shots.
188	184	13th August Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in July last To 122 Bottles of Madeira 7 12 6 12 Do. Lisbon - 19 - 12 Do. Sherry - 19 - 65 Do. Beer 1 1 - 23½ Gallns. Arrack 3 10 6 455 lb. Mutton 3 14 7 6 Lambs 3 - - 4 Goats 2 - - 36 lb. Pork - 10 - 93 lb. Candy 2 6 6 744 lb. Flour 6 4 - £ 37 15 1 Bot. for Table 72 lb. Beef @ 6 1 16 - 6 Turkeys 1 10 - 12 Fowls - 10 - 10 Ducks - 15 - 9 Pigs 2 5 - £ 7 4 - John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett	The Council also approved the account of provisions used at the Company's table in July 1781. Madeira wine, 122 bottles, £7 12s 6d Lisbon wine, 12 bottles, £0 19s 0d Sherry, 12 bottles, £0 19s 0d Beer, 63 bottles, £1 1s 0d Arrack, 23½ gallons, £3 10s 6d Mutton, 455 pounds, £3 4s 7d Lambs, 6, £3 0s 0d Goats, 4, £2 0s 0d Pork, 36 pounds, £0 10s 0d Sugar candy, 93 pounds, £2 6s 6d Flour, 744 pounds, £6 4s 0d Total, £31 15s 1d The following items were bought for the table. Beef, 72 pounds at 6d, £1 16s 0d Turkeys, 6, £1 10s 0d Fowls, 12, £0 10s 0d Ducks, 10, £0 15s 0d Pigs, 9, £2 5s 0d Total, £7 4s 0d Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The Company's table was the common table where the Governor entertained the island's officers and the commanders and passengers of passing ships. July was the month the whole homeward fleet lay in the road. That explains the 122 bottles of Madeira and 23½ gallons of arrack drunk in a single month. The table also used 744 pounds of flour while the Council was refusing flour to commanders who begged for it and giving them rice instead. Keeping the Company's table supplied was part of the island's work of hospitality to the fleet, and the Council evidently ranked it above the needs of the individual ships. The account was split into two parts. The first part was charged against the Company's own stores and plantation: wine, arrack, mutton, lambs, goats,

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		Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	flour and sugar candy. The second part covered beef and poultry bought for cash from private owners. In a year when the Company had to pay planters for beef taken from their herds, it bought 72 pounds of beef for the table at 6d a pound rather than draw on salt provisions.
189	185	20th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th Day of August 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 13th August 1781. Monday the 13th Arrived His Majesty's Bomb Ketch Terror from Commodore Johnstone's Fleet Thursday the 16th Do. His Majesty's Fire Ship Infernal from Do. Do. Do. a Dutch Prize called the Hold Wallwindt from Do. Friday the 17th Do. His Majesty's Ships Romney and Jupiter Jason Frigate and Lark Cutter with Four Sail of Victuallers and Three Dutch Prizes called the Dankbaarheid and Hoop? belonging to Commodore Johnstone's Fleet Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of July last, which is as follows Vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 August 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 13 August 1781. His Majesty's bomb ketch *Terror* arrived on Monday 13 August 1781 from Commodore Johnstone's fleet. On Thursday 16 August His Majesty's fire ship *Infernal* came in from the same fleet, together with a Dutch prize called the *Held Cape*. On Friday 17 August the main body of the squadron arrived. It brought His Majesty's ships *Romney* and *Jupiter*, the frigate *Jason*, the cutter *Lark*, five victuallers and three Dutch prizes, named in the record as the *Dankbaarheid* and the *Hoogkarspel*. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for July 1781. The account followed. **Interpretations** Commodore Johnstone's squadron reached St Helena less than three weeks after the homeward fleet sailed on 30 July 1781. Two ships of the line, a frigate, a bomb ketch, a fire ship, cutters, five victuallers and several prizes now lay in the road together. The island had just spent its flour, rice, coal and arrack on the departing Indiamen. It now faced a new and larger demand from a naval squadron, and the King's ships were not under the Company's control as its own commanders were. The five victuallers were store ships carrying the squadron's own provisions, which may have eased the strain on the island's stores. A bomb ketch was a small, strongly built vessel that carried heavy mortars for firing shells into forts and harbours. A fire ship was an old vessel packed with combustibles, to be set alight and sailed into an enemy fleet at anchor. Both were tools for attacking a defended port, which fits a squadron sent out against the Dutch at the Cape.
190	186	20th August Cash 1781 July 1st. To Ballance remaining £ 4820 17 2 11th. To Fines Received of Mr. John Hassell 20 - - To Do. received of Mr. John Bagley Senr. and Jno. Eastoffe @ 40/ each 4 - - 27th. To Ship Hastings 127 0 5 28th. To Exchange for the following Sets of Bills Drawn upon the Honble. Court of Directors Payable as follows Vizt. One Set to Mr. John Doveton £ 500 - - One Do. to Mr. Lieut. Anderson 150 - - One Do. to Mr. Richd. Mason 300 - - One Do. to Mr. Geo. Simpson 300 - - One Do. to Messieurs Holland, M. Kelly, & M. 120 - - One Do. to Mr. Robt. Reid 100 - - One Do. to Mr. Angus Mc Nab	The Council's account of the Company's cash for July 1781 opened with the balance in hand and the money received during the month. 1 July 1781, balance in hand, £4,820 17s 2d 11 July 1781, fine received from John Wornall, £20 0s 0d 11 July 1781, fines received from John Bagley senior and James Easthope at 40s each, £4 0s 0d On 27 July 1781 the account recorded £127 8s 5d received from the ship *Hastings*. On 28 July 1781 the treasury received cash in exchange for sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors. The bills were payable as follows. John Doveton, £500 0s 0d Archibald Anderson, £150 0s 0d Richard Mason, £300 0s 0d George Simpson, £300 0s 0d Messrs Able and McAuly, £120 0s 0d Robert Reid, £100 0s 0d Angus McNabb, £150 0s 0d Angus McNabb, £30 0s 0d Captain John Riddell, £1,000 0s 0d Captain Robert Ker, £2,000 0s 0d Nicholas Skottowe, £600 0s 0d Nicholas Skottowe, £100 0s 0d John Calland, £460 0s 0d Messrs Dales and Collett, £168 4s 0d Matthew Purling and Gabriel Harper, £1,000 0s 0d

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		150 - - One Do. to Do. 30 - - One Do. to Capt. John Riddell 1000 - - One Do. to Capt. Robt. Hay 2000 - - One Do. to Nich. Skottowe Esqr. 600 - - One Do. to Do. 100 - - One Do. to John Cotton Esqr. 460 - - One Do. to Messrs. Dales and Collett 160 4 - One Do. to Messrs. Matthew Darling and Gabl. Harper Esqrs. 5000 - - One Do. to Do. & Do. 120 - - One Do. to Mr. Geo. Bishop 220 - - Bills of Exchange Carried Over £ 8490 4 - Carried Over £ 4972 5 7	Matthew Purling and Gabriel Harper, £120 0s 0d George Bishop, £220 0s 0d Bills of exchange carried over, £8,498 4s 0d Cash account carried over, £4,972 5s 7d **Interpretations** The bills of exchange were the treasury's largest source of cash. In a single day the island's officials, officers and the commanders of the departing fleet paid in close to £8,500 in coin, receiving in return orders on the Company in London. The arrangement suited both sides. The writers moved their money safely to England without risking it at sea in wartime. The island treasury, short of coin all year, gained enough cash to pay the garrison and the quarter's works, while the Company settled the debt months later in London. On a remote island that earned little of its own, the private fortunes of its servants and of passing captains thus became the Company's working capital.
191	187	1781 Dr. Brought Over £ 4972 5 7 28th. Bills of Exchange Brought Over £ 8490 4 - One Set to Matthew Darling Esqr. 360 - - One Do. to Do. 150 5 - One Do. to Captain Richd. Peirce 600 - - One Do. to Matthew Darling Esqr. 200 - - One Do. to Mr. Saml. Clarke Esqr. 100 - - One Do. to Mr. Isaac Legg 100 - - One Do. to Chas. Turner Esqr. 249 10 - One Do. to Mr. John Mc Kenzie and Co. 50 - - One Do. to Sarah Blake and Hannah Whitehurst 300 - - One Do. to Mr. Hugh Jones 100 - - One Do. to Robt. Harper Esqr. 50 - - One Do. to Mr. Geo. Nicholson 300 - - One Do. to Mr. Joseph Prince 150 - - One Do. to Robt. Wayne Esqr. 2000 - - One Do. to the Revd. Mr. Colston Carr 300 - - 13407 19 - 30th. To Ship Princess Royal 230 4 5 To Do. Fox 50 17 2 To Do. Duke of Grafton 154 13 11 To Do. Walpole 56 11 1 To Do. True Briton	The cash account for July 1781 continued, with £4,972 5s 7d brought over on the main total and £8,498 4s 0d brought over for the bills of exchange issued on 28 July 1781. Bills of exchange brought over, £8,498 4s 0d Matthew Purling, £360 0s 0d Matthew Purling, £150 5s 0d Captain Richard Pierce, £600 0s 0d Matthew Purling, £200 0s 0d Samuel Clarke, £100 0s 0d Leaver Legg, £100 0s 0d Charles Fraser, £249 10s 0d John Mackenzie and Company, £50 0s 0d Sarah Blake and Hannah Whitchurch, £300 0s 0d Hugh Jones, £100 0s 0d Robert Sherson, £50 0s 0d George Ketherden, £300 0s 0d Joseph Moore, £150 0s 0d Robert Mayne, £2,000 0s 0d The Reverend Colston Carr, £300 0s 0d Total received for bills of exchange, £13,407 19s 0d On 30 July 1781 the treasury received the following payments from the ships of the homeward fleet. From the *Princess Royal*, £230 4s 5d. From the *Fox*, £58 17s 2d. From the *Duke of Grafton*, £154 13s 11d. From the *Walpole*, £56 11s 1d. From the *True Briton*, £112 1s 2d. From the *Duke of Kingston*, £72 17s 10d. From the *Granby*, £73 4s 11d. From the *Halsewell*, £42 16s 9d. Carried over, £14,209 6s 5d **Interpretations** The payments from the ships show that the stores the Council released to the commanders were sold, not given. The rice, coal and arrack that each captain begged for in July were charged to his ship and settled in cash on the day the fleet sailed. The *Princess Royal*, whose commander Robert Ker received 3,000 pounds of rice, paid the largest sum at £230 4s 5d. The Council had been reluctant to part with food in a year of shortage, but every pound it did release brought money back into the treasury.

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		112 1 2 To Do. Duke of Kingston 72 17 10 To Ship Granby 73 4 11 To Do. Halsewell 42 16 9 Carried Over £ 19209 6 5	
192	188	20th August Cash Dr. Per Contra Cr. To Balance Brought Over £ 19209 6 5 To Ship Earl of Oxford 87 14 2 To Do. Earl of Sandwich 20 10 7 To Do. Stormont 13 10 6 To Do. London 15 9 11 To Do. Lascelles 5 10 11 To Do. Besborough 46 0 8 To Do. Atlass 37 2 7 To Do. York 94 2 6 To Do. Bridgwater 17 15 - £ 19522 4 6 1781 July 30th. By Ballance Remaining Vizt. In Specia 18982 9 6 In Cash Notes 539 15 - 19522 4 6 £ 19522 4 6 John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The cash account for July 1781 closed with £19,209 6s 5d brought over. The remaining payments from the ships of the fleet were then entered. From the *Earl of Oxford*, £87 14s 2d. From the *Earl of Sandwich*, £20 10s 7d. From the *Stormont*, £15 10s 6d. From the *London*, £15 9s 11d. From the *Lascelles*, £5 10s 11d. From the *Bessborough*, £46 0s 1d. From the *Atlas*, £37 2s 7d. From the *York*, £94 2s 6d. From the *Bridgwater*, £17 15s 0d. Total receipts, £19,522 4s 6d On the other side of the account, the balance remaining on 30 July 1781 was entered. Balance in coin, £18,982 9s 6d Balance in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £19,522 4s 6d Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The treasury's balance rose fourfold in a single month. At the end of June 1781 the Council counted £4,820 17s 2d in hand. By the end of July it held £19,522 4s 6d, almost all of it in coin. The difference came from the bills of exchange issued on 28 July, worth more than £13,400, and from the ships' payments for stores. The island did not grow richer. It took in the coin of its servants and the departing commanders and gave them orders on London in return, so the Company in England now owed what the island held in silver. The cash notes stayed at £539 15s 0d, exactly the figure counted in June, which shows that none of the new money went into the island's paper currency.
193	189	27th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th day of August 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 20th August 1781. Thursday the 23d. Arrived His Majesty's Frigate Romney from the West Indies. Mr. John Desfountain this day made Complaint that George Alexander Senr. on Wednesday last went with Two a Black Man and Shot two Goats on the Common Contrary to the established Rules of the Island, who being ordered before Us, Says that Mr. Bagley requested him to go and Shoot a Goat or two for him on the Common, the having some with Goats earmarked, Running near Stone top, which he did, and shot two	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 27 August 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 20 August 1781. His Majesty's frigate *Mercury* arrived from the West Indies on Thursday 23 August 1781. John De Fountain complained to the Council that George Alexander junior had gone out on Wednesday 22 August 1781 with Yon, a Black man, and shot two goats on the common. Shooting goats there broke the island's established rules. Alexander was summoned before the Council. He said that Mrs Bagley had asked him to shoot one or two goats for her on the common, since she had some wild, unmarked goats running near Stone Top. He had gone and shot two of them. The Council judged Alexander's conduct unjustified and fined him £1 10s 0d, to be paid to the Company's treasury. The Council then ordered an advertisement to be published. **Interpretations** Alexander's defence rested on Mrs Bagley's claim that the goats were hers. The Council did not accept it and fined the man who fired the shots. On St Helena an owner proved title to livestock on the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of them. The Board considering the Conduct of the said George Alexander Senr. unwarrantable, fine him in the sum of One Pound Ten shillings to the Honble. Company's Cash. Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published Vizt. Island	common by marking it. An unmarked goat had no owner anyone could prove, so a settler who claimed it gained nothing from the claim. If unmarked animals could be shot by anyone who said they were his, the marking system would collapse and the commons would be open to anyone with a gun. The fine protected the rule rather than any particular owner, and Mrs Bagley's word was not enough to excuse a breach of it. Yon, the Black man who went with Alexander, faced no charge in the record. He was probably a slave or servant acting on Alexander's orders, and the Council held the free man who directed the shooting responsible.
194	190	27th August Island St. Helena 27th August 1781. This is to give notice to all Persons upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on or before the 20th September next ensuing an exact account of their Families, Land and Cattle, specifying therein the Names of each of their Male Slaves from the age of 16 to 60 Years. And as the Honble. Company in consequence of the Petition of the Planters of this Island setting forth their great sufferings on account of the late Drought, have been pleased to remit their Rents for one Year. This is therefore Publickly to give Notice to all the Land Holders that their said Rents are remitted to them from the 1st. October 1780 to the 30th September 1781 and this indulgence being meant as a relief to the sufferers on the late Drought, It is further required that such of the Planters who have Sold or transferred any of their Lands since the Drought to the Detriment of this indulgence the present Proprietors of such Lands transferred are to pay one Years Rents to the Seller, according to the tenure of the remaining of the Honble. Company's indulgence to the actual Sufferers. Notice is hereby further given that the Honble. Company's Stores will be shut from the 8th. September to the 1st. October next. By order of Council Signed John Goodwin Asst. Secry. The Revd. Mr. Roberts Carr having this day returned on the Board and Offered the following Catalogue of Books which were in good Order and none of them in the present	The Council published the advertisement that day, dated at St Helena on 27 August 1781. It gave notice to everyone on the island to send to the secretary's office, by 20 September 1781, an exact signed account of their family, land and cattle. Each account was to give the name of every male slave aged between 16 and 60. The advertisement also announced a remission of rent. The planters had petitioned the Company about the great hardship caused by the recent drought, and the Company had agreed to excuse their rents for one year. All landholders were therefore told that their rents were remitted for the year from 1 October 1780 to 30 September 1781. The relief was meant for those who had actually suffered in the drought. A planter who had sold or transferred land between the drought and the date of the notice was therefore still owed a year's rent for it. The new owner was to pay that rent to the seller, in keeping with the purpose of the Company's concession. The notice added that the Company's stores would close from 8 September to 1 October 1781. John Goodwin, the sub-secretary, signed the advertisement by order of the Council. The Reverend Robartes Carr came before the Council that day. He offered it a catalogue of books, all in good condition and none of them already in the island's library. **Interpretations** The rent remission carried a clause that decided who benefited from it. The simple course was to excuse the rent to whoever held the land on the day of the notice. That would have handed the relief to buyers who had picked up land cheaply from planters ruined by the drought. The Council aimed the remission at the people who had lost their crops. A buyer had to pay the year's rent to the seller, so the man who suffered in the drought received the value of the concession even after selling his land. The clause also removed any reason to buy distressed land merely to collect the rent remission. The return of male slaves aged 16 to 60 was a count of the island's labour and fighting strength in wartime. The same age range was used for men liable to militia service. With a French attack feared and the garrison weakened by desertion, the Council needed to know how many able-bodied men it could call on to build batteries, haul guns or carry stores. Gathering the count in the same return as land and cattle gave the Council a full picture of the island's resources in a single document. The stores closed for more than three weeks in September, just before the Company's accounting year ended on 30 September. The storekeeper used the closure to count stock and balance his books. With the homeward fleet and Johnstone's squadron both drawing on the stores in July and August, the closure also gave the storekeeper time to see what was left.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
195	191	1781 Library, We examined and found them with Catalogue for a Condition thereto agreeable and therefore Paid him to the amount of Sixty four Pounds eight Shillings and Six Pence being Six Shillings under the Prime Cost in England on the Honble. Company's Account. The Catalogue is as follows Vizt. Folios Jacksons Works 3 Vols. 1 10 - Raleigh's Hist. of the World 1 7 - Camdens Britannia 2 Vols. 4 4 - Burchetts Naval History 1 5 - Harringtons Works - 18 - Hills Naval History 1 15 - Warres Antiquities of Ireland 1 1 - Smiths Comentary - 10 - Wotherspoon's Letters 1 10 - Quarto Davis Hist. of Indostan - 5 - Ansons Voyage - 15 - Persons Chronologia - 2 6 Robertsons America 1 10 - Do. Scotland 1 10 - Mc Phersons Papers 1 10 - Do. History 1 10 - Hanways Travels 1 10 - Carsteins Letters - 10 - Norths Lives - 9 - Tracts - 5 - Gordons Sallust - 10 - Pantets Bengal - 5 - Rollands Brian Tracts - 8 - Bellamys Family Preacher 2 Vols. - 12 - Pennants Tour - 10 - Do. Voyage - 10 - Voyage de Bougainville - 5 - Octavo Blackstone's Commentarys 4 Vols. 1 4 - Brydons Travels 2 Vols. - 12 - Carried Over £ 27 12 6	The Council examined Carr's books and judged them a good addition to the library. It agreed to buy them on the Company's account for £66 8s 6d, a little below what they had cost in England. The catalogue followed. Folio, Jackson's Works, 3 volumes, £1 10s 0d Folio, Raleigh's History of the World, £1 7s 0d Folio, Camden's Britannia, 2 volumes, £4 4s 0d Folio, Burchett's Naval History, £1 5s 0d Folio, Harrington's Works, £1 18s 0d Folio, Hill's Naval History, £1 15s 0d Folio, Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, £1 1s 0d Folio, Trapp's Commentary, £0 10s 0d Folio, Usher's Life and Letters, £1 10s 0d Quarto, Dow's History of Hindostan, £0 5s 0d Quarto, Anson's Voyage, £0 15s 0d Quarto, Personii Chronologia, £0 2s 6d Quarto, Robertson's America, £1 10s 0d Quarto, Robertson's Scotland, £1 10s 0d Quarto, Macpherson's Papers, £1 10s 0d Quarto, Macpherson's History, £1 10s 0d Quarto, Hanway's Travels, £1 10s 0d Quarto, Carstares's Letters, £0 10s 0d Quarto, North's Lives, £0 9s 0d Quarto, Tracts, £0 5s 0d Quarto, Gordon's Sallust, £0 10s 0d Quarto, Verelst's Bengal, £0 5s 0d Quarto, Holwell's India Tracts, £0 8s 0d Quarto, Bellamy's Family Preacher, 2 volumes, £0 12s 0d Quarto, Pennant's Tour, £0 10s 0d Quarto, Pennant's Voyage, £0 10s 0d Quarto, Voyage de Bougainville, £0 5s 0d Octavo, Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 volumes, £1 4s 0d Octavo, Bossu's Travels, 2 volumes, £0 12s 0d Carried over, £27 12s 6d **Interpretations** The Council bought a clergyman's private library instead of ordering books from London. Carr had remitted £300 0s 0d to the Reverend Colston Carr by bill of exchange on 28 July 1781. That points to a chaplain settling his affairs, perhaps before leaving the island, with books that would cost a great deal to ship home. Buying them below their English price gave the Company a ready-made addition to the library at once. An order to London would have taken a year or more in wartime and would have had to come by sea at the Company's risk. The titles show what the Company thought its servants on the island needed to read. Dow on Hindostan, Verelst on Bengal and Holwell's India tracts covered the Company's own territories in the East. Burchett's and Hill's naval histories, together with the voyages of Anson, Bougainville and Pennant, served an island whose life depended on shipping. Blackstone's Commentaries gave the councillors who sat as the island's court a standard account of English law. That mattered in a colony where the Governor and Council acted as judges with no trained lawyer among them.

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196	192	27th August Brought Over £ 27 12 6 Letters from Italy 2 Vols. - 6 - Phipps's Voyage - 3 - Coxes Present State of Denmark 2 Vols. - 8 - Baileys Dictionary - 3 - Forges Sermons 2 Vols. - 10 - Shenstones Works 3 Vols. - 9 - Privates Life of the Romans - 3 - Sully's Memoirs 5 Vols. - 15 - Watts Logic - 3 - Johnsons Tour - 5 - Sanders Sermons - 5 - Dialogues of the Dead - 6 - Improvement of the Mind - 3 - Boswell's Corsica - 3 - Conversion and Death of Stevenson? "Shimmine" - 2 - Thompsons Season - 5 - Harris's Life of Chas. the 2d. 2 Vols. - 10 - Campaign of Marco? "Campaign of Minden" - 5 - Fields Revelt? Sabean? 2 Vols. - 10 - Cornelius Nepos's Lives (English) - 1 - Vandeburks Excursion 3 Vols. - 15 - Cruise's Roman Forts? 2 Vols. - 6 - Churchills Works 3 Vols. - 9 - Don Quixote 4 Vols. - 10 - Talbots Essays 2 Vols. - 6 - Soames Jennings 2 Vols. - 6 - Lucys Works 2 Vols. - 6 - Hoole's Tasso 2 Vols. - 6 - Comparative Duns? 2 Vols. - 5 - Historia Josephia - 1 6 Francis Spec. Elegy - 5 - Mathews Christian Life - 5 - Life of Samuel the 2d.? - 3 - Mc Bride? Grammar - 1 - Shortest Laws 2 Vols. - 5 - Cornelius Nepos (Latin) - 1 - Robinson's Ornamental Tranquilitate	The catalogue of the Reverend Robartes Carr's books continued, with £27 12s 6d brought over. The remaining entries were all octavo volumes. Brought over, £27 12s 6d Letters from Scotland, 2 volumes, £0 6s 0d Phipps's Voyage, £0 3s 0d Andrews's History of Denmark, 2 volumes, £0 8s 0d Builder's Dictionary, £0 3s 0d Forey's Memoirs, 2 volumes, £0 10s 0d Shenstone's Works, 3 volumes, £0 9s 0d Private Life of the Romans, £0 3s 0d Sully's Memoirs, 5 volumes, £0 15s 0d Watts's Logic, £0 3s 0d Johnson's Tour, £0 5s 0d Gerard on Genius, £0 5s 0d Dialogues of the Dead, £0 6s 0d Improvement of the Mind, £0 3s 0d Boswell's Corsica, £0 3s 0d Conversion and Death of Struensee, £0 2s 0d Thomson's Seasons, £0 5s 0d Harris's Life of Charles the Second, 2 volumes, £0 10s 0d Conquest of Mexico, 2 volumes, £0 10s 0d Vertot's Revolutions of Sweden, £0 3s 0d Cornelius Nepos's Lives in English, £0 1s 0d Vansittart's Narrative, 3 volumes, £0 15s 0d Crusius's Roman Poets, 2 volumes, £0 6s 0d Churchill's Works, 3 volumes, £0 9s 0d Don Quixote, 4 volumes, £0 10s 0d Talbot's Essays, 2 volumes, £0 6s 0d Soame Jenyns, 2 volumes, £0 6s 0d Lloyd's Works, 2 volumes, £0 6s 0d Hoole's Tasso, 2 volumes, £0 6s 0d Comparative View, 2 volumes, £0 5s 0d Historia Josephia, £0 1s 6d Francii Spec. Elog., £0 1s 6d Watkins's Christian Life, £0 5s 0d Life of James the Second, £0 3s 0d A Greek Grammar, £0 1s 0d Spirit of Laws, 2 volumes, £0 5s 0d Cornelius Nepos in Latin, £0 1s 0d Volusenus De Animi Tranquillitate, £0 3s 0d Carried over, £37 5s 6d **Interpretations** Vansittart's Narrative was Henry Vansittart's account of his time as Governor of Bengal in the early 1760s, written to defend his conduct against critics in London. Read with Verelst's Bengal and Holwell's India tracts, bought from the same catalogue, it gave the island's library the main contemporary accounts of how the Company had come to govern Bengal. Those disputes still shaped the Company's politics in 1781. For an island whose officials served the Company and whose road was crowded with ships from Bengal, the books were working background rather than leisure reading. The rest of the list reflected the tastes of an educated clergyman. Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws and Soame Jenyns sat beside poetry by Shenstone, Thomson and Churchill, Boswell's Corsica, Johnson's Tour and Don Quixote. Some of the titles, such as the account of Struensee's conversion and death and the Christian Life, served a chaplain's work, while the Greek grammar, Cornelius Nepos and Volusenus were school texts that the island's schoolmaster could also use.

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		- 3 Carried Over £ 37 5 6	
197	193	1781 Brought Over £ 37 5 6 Maws Gardener - 2 6 Gilberts Sermons - 2 - Wetherells Companion - 2 - Bishop Butlers Works 2 Vols. - 6 - History of Reformation abridged 3 Vols. - 9 - Spectacle de la Nature 8 Vols. - 16 - Somervilles Poems - 3 - Gratius - - 6 Sermons Novum et Nummum? - 2 6 Sacramental Tracts - 1 6 Herberts Philosophy - - 6 Compendium Grecum - - 6 Modern History 42 Vols. 10 10 - Greek Testament by Baskerville - 6 - Haneys Letters 2 Vols. - 4 - Hora Amaena Sapien: - 2 - Ciceronis Orationes - 3 - Xenophontis Memorabilia - 2 6 Louths Hebrew Prelections - 7 6 Sonnoes System of Nature - 3 - Rights of the Clergy - 2 - Taylors Holy Living and Dying - 1 6 Hutchinsons Lectures on Philosophy - 4 - Dermots Poems - 3 - Funeral Orations in Greek - 3 - Rentents Companion - 3 - Greek Testament 2 Vols. with Notes (Latin) - 10 - Burns Ecclesiastical Law 4 Vols. 1 4 - Protestant System 2 Vols. - 12 - St. Johns Sermons - 3 - Mores Do. - 2 - Folcomes Do. - 2 - Orrs Do. - 15 - Hards Do. - 5 - Franklins Sallust	The catalogue of the Reverend Robartes Carr's books continued, with £37 3s 6d brought over. Brought over, £37 3s 6d Mawe's Gardener, £0 2s 6d Gilbert's Sermons, £0 2s 0d Kettlewell's Companion, £0 2s 0d Bishop Bull's Works, 2 volumes, £0 6s 0d History of the Reformation abridged, 3 volumes, £0 9s 0d Spectacle de la Nature, 8 volumes, £0 16s 0d Somerville's Poems, £0 3s 0d Grotius, £0 0s 6d Spencer's Urim et Thummim, £0 2s 6d Sacramental Tracts, £0 1s 6d Hereboord's Philosophy, £0 0s 6d Compendium Graecum, £0 0s 6d Modern History, 42 volumes, £10 10s 0d A Greek Testament printed by Baskerville, £0 6s 0d Pliny's Letters, 2 volumes, £0 4s 0d Flora Americae Septentrionalis, £0 2s 0d Cicero's Orations, £0 3s 0d Xenophon's Memorabilia, £0 2s 6d Lowth's Hebrew Lectures, £0 7s 6d Linnaeus's System of Nature, £0 3s 0d Rights of the Clergy, £0 2s 0d Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, £0 1s 6d Helsham's Lectures on Philosophy, £0 4s 0d Derrick's Poems, £0 3s 0d Funeral Orations in Greek, £0 3s 0d Dodwell's Companion, £0 3s 0d Greek Testament with Latin notes, 2 volumes, £0 10s 0d Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, 4 volumes, £1 4s 0d Protestant System, 2 volumes, £0 12s 0d St John's Sermons, £0 3s 0d Mace's Sermons, £0 2s 0d Tidcombe's Sermons, £0 2s 0d Orr's Sermons, £0 15s 0d Hurd's Sermons, £0 5s 0d Franklin's Voltaire, £5 5s 0d Portuguese Grammar, £0 1s 0d Memoirs of Baron Pöllnitz, £0 10s 0d Deism Revealed, £0 6s 0d Whiston's Harmony, £0 2s 6d Carried over, £62 11s 0d **Interpretations** This part of the list was a working clergyman's library. It held sermons by half a dozen divines, Bishop Bull's theology, Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, Lowth's lectures on Hebrew poetry and two Greek Testaments. Burn's Ecclesiastical Law was the standard guide to church law, covering marriages, burials, tithes and the duties of a parish minister. On an island with a single chaplain and no bishop within thousands of miles, Carr had to settle such questions himself, and the Company now kept that guidance for his successor. Two sets made up almost a quarter of the whole purchase. The Modern History in 42 volumes cost £10 10s 0d, and Franklin's translation of Voltaire's works cost £5 5s 0d. Large sets of this kind were expensive to ship and slow to order in wartime, which made buying them ready-made on the island the more attractive. The Portuguese grammar had a practical use in a road where Portuguese seamen filled so many places on the ships' muster rolls.

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		- 5 5 Portiques Grammar - 1 - Memoirs of Princes Publick? - 10 - Deism revealed - 6 - Whistons Harmony - 2 6 Carried Over £ 62 11 -	
198	194	27th August Brought Over £ 62 11 - Colliers Essays 3 Vols. - 9 - Warners System 4 Vols. - 10 - Fores Commentarys on Eastern Poetry - 6 - Jenkins's Christian Religion 2 Vols. - 8 - West on the Resurrection - 5 - Fugitive Pieces 3 Vols. - 7 - Wolmouth on the Scripture - 5 - Homes Criticism 2 Vols. - 12 - Smiths Moral Sentiments - 6 - Holmes's Geography - 1 - Aristotle De Poetica - 2 - Broomes Poems - 2 - Langs Do. - 1 - Holden on the Psalms - 2 - £ 66 8 6 John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The catalogue of the Reverend Robartes Carr's books closed, with £62 11s 0d brought over. Brought over, £62 11s 0d Collier's Essays, 3 volumes, £0 9s 0d Warner's System, 4 volumes, £0 10s 0d Jones's Commentaries on Eastern Poetry, £0 6s 0d Jenkin's Christian Religion, 2 volumes, £0 8s 0d West on the Resurrection, £0 5s 0d Fugitive Pieces, 3 volumes, £0 7s 0d Melmoth on the Scripture, £0 5s 0d Home's Criticism, 2 volumes, £0 12s 0d Smith's Moral Sentiments, £0 6s 0d Holmes's Geography, £0 1s 0d Aristotle on Poetry, £0 2s 0d Broome's Poems, £0 2s 0d Layng's Poems, £0 1s 0d Felton on the Classics, £0 2s 0d Total, £66 8s 6d Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The catalogue added up to exactly the £66 8s 6d the Council had agreed to pay, so it bought Carr's collection whole. It did not pick out the titles most useful to the island and leave the rest. The library therefore took in Greek grammars and sermons along with the histories of Bengal and the naval histories. Buying the whole collection was simpler than haggling over single volumes, and every book was new to the library. Two titles show how recent some of the collection was. Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments and William Jones's commentaries on Asian poetry were works of the previous 20 years. Jones's study of Persian and Arabic verse was the scholarship that would later make him the leading orientalist of the Company's Bengal service. Through Carr's books, an island at the edge of the Company's empire kept up with current learning in Britain and with the growing study of the East that served the Company's rule there.
199	195	3d. September At a Consultation holden Monday the 3d. Day of September 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 27th August 1781. On the 1st Instant the Governor received the following Letter from Captain Thomas Pasley of His Majesty's Ship Jupiter. On His Majesty's Service To His Excellency John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. &c.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 3 September 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 27 August 1781. On 1 September 1781 the Governor received a letter from Captain Thomas Pasley of His Majesty's ship *Jupiter*. It was addressed to him on His Majesty's service and dated in the road at St Helena that day. Pasley reminded the Governor that he had told him a few days earlier about Thomas Jobson. Jobson went by the name of Thomas Robinson and was now serving the Company on the island. He had deserted from Pasley's command aboard His Majesty's ship *Glasgow* at Chatham. Since then Jobson had written Pasley two letters on the matter. Pasley explained that those letters left him no choice: he could no longer

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		St. Helena Sir Some Days ago I did myself the honor of acquainting you that Thomas Robinson who goes by the name of Thomas Wilkinson now on the Honble. East India Company's Service in this Island was a Deserter from me in His Majesty's Ship Glasgow then under my Command at Chatham. He has since wrote me two Letters on that subject, which entitles me if the Proof is longer deferring to Demand him as a Deserter from His Majesty's Service. I have the honor to be with respect Sir Your most Obedt. humble Servant Signed Thos. Pasley Jupiter St. Helena Road September 1st. 1781	put off claiming Jobson as a deserter from the King's service. **Interpretations** Pasley's letter turned a deserter's case the other way round. In July the Council had pressed Company commanders to give up soldiers hiding on their ships, and it had asked Captain Henry of the *Renown* for help, since it could only request favours from the Royal Navy. Now a King's officer was claiming a man from the Company's own garrison. Pasley made it plain that he had been willing to let the matter rest. Jobson's own letters made that impossible. Once a deserter had written to his former captain, the captain knew where he was and had it in writing, and an officer who then ignored him would himself be failing in his duty. Jobson had probably written in the hope of returning to the navy, or of settling his status so that he could no longer be hunted as a deserter. A Thomas Robinson stood on the artillery's roll as a matross in the quarter ending 30 June 1781, and he was perhaps the same man. If so, the garrison stood to lose a trained gunner in the same weeks that it was paying a £10 0s 0d bounty to replace the men lost with the fleet.
200	196	3d. September To which the Governor returned the Subsequent Answer Vizt. To Captain Pasley Commander of His Majesty's Ship Jupiter Sir In answer to your Letter of this Day Respecting Thos. Robinson alias Jobson, I have the honor to acquaint you I have given immediate Directions to have him seized and delivered up to you according to your Demand as a deserter from His Majesty's Ship Glasgow. I have the Honor to be Sir Your Most Obedt. Humble Servant Signed John Skottowe St. Helena 1st. Septr. 1781 The Trustees of Captain Richard Brabe deceased this day applied for leave to transfer their right to the Trustees of Mr. Matthew Brabe to three Lots, two containing twenty two acres of Land, and one for ground in James's Valley. Granted The Executors of the last Will and Testament of Mr. Orlando Bagley deceased this Day Presented the said Will drawing the same might be Proved, which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto, the will is as follows Vizt.	Governor John Skottowe answered Pasley the same day, 1 September 1781. He told the captain that he had already ordered Thomas Robinson, also known as Jobson, to be arrested and handed over. Robinson would go to Pasley as he had asked, as a deserter from His Majesty's ship *Glasgow*. The trustees of the late Captain Richard Beale applied that day for permission to transfer their rights in three leases to the trustees of Anthony Beale. Two of the leases covered 24 acres of land between them, and the third was for ground in James's Valley. The Council granted the request. The executors of the late Orlando Bagley brought his will before the Council and asked for it to be proved. The witnesses to the will gave evidence on oath, and the Council proved it. The will followed. **Interpretations** The Governor gave Robinson up on the day Pasley asked for him. The garrison had lost about 19 men to the departing fleet and was paying a £10 0s 0d bounty to replace them, so the obvious course was to hold on to a trained soldier, or at least to ask for proof as Captain Montgomerie had done over Charles Rogers. The Governor did neither. A deserter from the King's navy was the Crown's to reclaim, and the Company's servant had no standing to keep him. The island also depended on the Royal Navy's goodwill at that moment. Captain Henry of the *Renown* had lent a boat and an officer to search for the garrison's own deserters in July, and Johnstone's squadron now lay in the road protecting the island. Quick compliance kept that goodwill at the price of one man. Proving Bagley's will was the Governor and Council acting as the island's probate court. In England a will was proved in a church court, but St Helena had none. Here the Council heard the witnesses on oath and gave the executors the authority they needed to deal with the estate. The same body that governed the island and ran the garrison also settled inheritances. Its approval of the Beale trustees' transfer shows it controlled the passing of Company leases too, since no lease could change hands without its consent.
201	197	1781 In the Name of God Amen the fourteenth Day of April One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty	Orlando Bagley, a planter, made his will on 14 April 1781. He was ill and physically weak at the time but declared himself of sound mind and memory. His bequests were as follows.

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		One, I Orlando Bagley Planter, being sick and Weak of Body, but of sound mind, memory and understanding. Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. Imprimis I give to my beloved Wife the use of my whole Estate during her natural Life, I also give to my beloved Wife the sum of Fifty Pounds to be and Dispose of as she shall think proper. Item I give to Margaret Fringe as a Legacy the sum of One hundred and Fifty Pounds, but not to be Paid to her until her mothers Death, I also give to the said Margaret Fringe a further Bed and Furniture, I also give to her the use of a Woman Slave named Sophia, the paying for her at the Price of Twenty Pounds I also give unto Margaret Fringe a Boy named Jack and a Girl named Rose. Item I give to my Son Richard, as a Legacy, four Slaves named James, Fanny, Lucy and Molly, I also give to him a Black Boy named Bowman. Item I also order that my Man named Joe shall not be Sold on any account to pay any part of my Debts but shall be, and remain in my Estate. Item The rest and residue of my Estate after all lawful Debts are Paid I give to my son Richard at his Mother's decease. Item Provided that Margaret Fringe shall die without having Married, then One Hundred and Fifty Pounds I have given her as a Legacy shall be reckoned as part of my estate and shall belong to my son Richard. Item Provided that my son Richard shall die under the age of twenty one Years, then in that case I leave to Margaret Fringe One hundred Pounds not amongst the legacy which I have already given her. Item In case my Son Richard should die under age I give to my Sister Mary Kemp Fifty Pounds, and to my Sisters Ann Tracks and Sarah Harper Fifty Pounds each, and to my niece Elizabeth Bagley twenty five Pounds the rest and residue of my estate if my son Richard should die under the age of twenty one Years I give to my Sister Margaret Alexander. Item In case Margaret Fringe should die before my eldest the before being	Bagley left his wife the use of his whole estate for the rest of her life. He also gave her £50 0s 0d to spend as she wished. He left Margaret Fringe £150 0s 0d, payable only after her mother's death. She was also to have a feather bed and its furnishings. He gave her the right to buy a slave woman named Sophia for £20 0s 0d before anyone else could, and he gave her outright a boy named Jack and a girl named Clary. His son Richard was to receive four slaves, named James, Fanny, Lucy and Molly, together with a black bureau. Bagley directed that a slave man named Joe should not be sold for any reason to pay his debts. Joe was to stay part of the estate. Once all lawful debts were paid, everything else was to pass to Richard on his mother's death. If Margaret Fringe died unmarried, everything left to her was to go back into the estate and belong to Richard. If Richard died before the age of 21, Margaret Fringe was to receive a further £100 0s 0d on top of her legacy. In that case Bagley also left £50 0s 0d to his sister Sarah Harper, £25 0s 0d each to his sisters Ann Isaacs and Mary Knipe, and £25 0s 0d to his niece Elizabeth Bagley. All the rest of the estate would then go to his sister Margaret Alexander. A further clause covered the possibility that Margaret Fringe might die before Bagley's wife. **Interpretations** Bagley singled out one slave, Joe, to be shielded from his creditors. A dead planter's slaves were normally the first assets sold to settle his debts, since they were his most valuable movable property. By ordering that Joe must never be sold for that purpose, Bagley set him apart from the rest of the estate. A clause of this kind usually protected a slave the owner trusted or depended on, such as the man who ran the plantation. It kept him with the family whatever happened to the estate, but it did not free him. The right to buy Sophia for £20 0s 0d was a preference, not a gift. Margaret Fringe could take her at a fixed price before the executors offered her to anyone else, which kept the woman within Bagley's circle without making her a free legacy. The will says nothing of how Margaret Fringe was related to Bagley. The care he took over her, with money payable at her mother's death, slaves and household goods, points to someone close to him outside his marriage. The will ties together several families already named in the record. Mary Knipe was Bagley's sister, and Richard Knipe served as a lieutenant in the First Company. His sister Margaret Alexander stood to inherit the residue, and George Alexander junior was perhaps her son. That would explain why Mrs Bagley turned to him in August to shoot the unmarked goats on the common near Stone Top.
202	198	3d. September being Married) and my son Richard should die before his Mother, not being of the age of twenty one Years in that case I give to my beloved Wife the Sum of one hundred and fifty Pounds to be and dispose of as she shall think proper. Lastly I nominate constitute and appoint my trusty Friends Executors to this my last Will and Testament Robert Leech, Francis	Bagley's final bequest dealt with a double misfortune. If Margaret Fringe died unmarried before his wife, and his son Richard also died before his mother while still under 21, his wife was to receive £150 0s 0d to use as she wished. Bagley named five friends as executors: Robert Leech, Francis Seale, John Bagley junior, James Cotgrave and George Alexander junior. He cancelled every earlier will and declared this one his only valid will. He signed and sealed it on 14 April 1781. A note at the foot recorded that the word "pounds" had been written in between the lines before he signed.

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		Seale, John Bagley Senr. James Cooper George Alexander Senior, Executors to this my last Will and Testament, utterly revoking and disannulling all former Wills and Testaments by me heretofore made, Witness hereby this and no other to be my last Will and Testament, In Witness whereof I have set my hand and Seal the day and Year above written N.B. note that the word Sounds being first interlined before the Will was Signed Signed Orlando Bagley Signed Sealed Published pronounced and declared as the last Will and Testament of Orlando Bagley in the Presence of Us who Subscribe our Names Signed G. Alexander John Desfountain William Wornall Upon Proving the above Will, Messrs. Robert Leech and John Bagley Senior Declared acting as Executors. Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published on the 5th Instant. Island St. Helena 1st September 1781. Whereas many People make a Practice of buying Fish and paying workmen with Spirituous Liquors	George Alexander, John De Fountain and William Wornall witnessed the signing. When the will was proved, Robert Leech and John Bagley junior declined to act as executors. The Council ordered an advertisement to be published, dated at St Helena on 1 September 1781. It opened by noting that many people on the island were in the habit of buying fish and paying their workmen with spirits. **Interpretations** The note about the word "pounds" protected the will against challenge. A word squeezed in between the lines could have been added after the testator signed, by an heir or executor hoping to change a bequest. Recording that it was there before Bagley signed, and having the witnesses sign below that note, showed it formed part of the will as made. Without it, any legacy depending on that word could have been disputed, and the Council, sitting as the court that proved the will, would have had grounds to question it. George Alexander junior was one of Bagley's executors. That puts the complaint heard on 27 August 1781 in a new light. When Alexander shot two unmarked goats near Stone Top at Mrs Bagley's request, he was probably acting for the estate he had been appointed to manage. The widow had a claim to the goats through her life interest in the whole estate. The Council fined him all the same. An executor's duty to the estate gave him no right to break the island's rules on unmarked stock, and John De Fountain, who brought the complaint, had himself witnessed Bagley's will.
203	199	1781 Liquors to the great Detriment of the Garrison and other Inhabitants of this Island by promoting Drunkeness. This is therefore to give Notice that whosoever shall be guilty of the above practice in future will be deemed Retailers of Spirituous Liquors and shall upon conviction be fined in the sum of Twenty Pounds agreeable to the Honble. Company's Orders. By Order of Council Signed John Goodwin Sub. Secry. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The advertisement went on to say that paying for fish and labour in spirits did great harm to the garrison and the other inhabitants by encouraging drunkenness. Anyone caught doing so in future would be treated as a retailer of spirits. On conviction they would be fined £20 0s 0d, in line with the Company's orders. John Goodwin, the sub-secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The Council dealt with the practice by redefining it rather than banning it outright. Anyone who paid for fish or work in spirits was to be treated as a retailer of spirits. That brought the practice under the law that already reserved the sale of spirits to the licensed society, with its fixed penalty of £20 0s 0d. On 23 July 1781 the Council had ordered the punch houses closed and a canteen built where each soldier drew a set ration at set hours. Paying in liquor was a way round that scheme. Fishermen and workmen, many of them soldiers working for planters in their spare time, could be paid in drink without any record, outside the canteen and outside the monopoly. By calling the payer a retailer, the Council used rules it already had to close the gap without passing a new law.
204	200	[A later note is written in the left margin, at right angles to the main text.] 6th September At a Consultation holden Thursday the 6 Day of Septr. 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham	The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 6 September 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 3 September 1781. The Governor laid before the Council a letter from Commodore Johnstone and asked for its

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		Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 3d. September 1781. This Day the Governor laid before the Board the following Letter received from Commodore Johnstone for their Advice and Consideration Vizt. To the Honble. John Skottowe Governor of the Island of St. Helena Sir Having brought under the Forts of this Island, over which His Majesty Exercises the Sovereign Jurisdiction five Ships belonging to the Ennemies? "to the Enemy" Parties to Treaty for the Benefit of all his Subjects are committed to the East India Company and other Subsidiary Subjects of Possessions in the Dutch? taken near the Cape of Good Hope from the Subjects of the States General of the United Provinces by the Squadron of His Majesty's Ships under my Command, which subjects of the said States General are, from various Injuries and Wrongs Committed by those Commonly Deemed the King's Enemies, as set forth in His Royal Proclamation of the 20th of December last. I now make application to you, as the Governor of the said Island of St. Helena, to appoint Persons to be appointed fit and Proper Commissioners to take a Judicial Cognizance of the Process concerning the Legality of the said Captures and the Evidences **Margin Notes:** Prizes Holswolternde Commanded by Captain Verlyk from Amsterdam bound to Ceylon, Dankbaarheyh Commanded by Captn. Kitsel from Bengal bound to Rotterdam Pearl Commanded by Captn. Hakker from China bound to Amsterdam Honcoop Commanded by Captain Land from China bound to Amsterdam, Hoogkarspel Commanded by Captain Hermeyer from China bound to Amsterdam	advice. A note in the margin of the letter listed the five Dutch prizes it concerned. The *Held Woltemade*, Captain Vrolyk, bound from Amsterdam to Ceylon. The *Dankbaarheid*, Captain Hetsel, bound from Bengal to Rotterdam. The *Pearl*, Captain Hekker, bound from China to Amsterdam. The *Honcoop*, Captain Land, bound from China to Amsterdam. The *Hoogkarspel*, Captain Hermeyer, bound from China to Amsterdam. Johnstone's letter was addressed to the Governor of St Helena. He wrote that his squadron had taken the five ships near the Cape of Good Hope from subjects of the States General of the United Provinces. A royal proclamation of 20 December 1780 had declared those subjects the King's enemies because of wrongs their state had done. He had now brought the prizes under the island's guns. He pointed out that the King kept sovereign jurisdiction over St Helena, even though the day-to-day administration of justice there had been handed to the East India Company and its officers. On that basis he asked the Governor to appoint suitable commissioners to hear the evidence about whether the captures were lawful. **Interpretations** A captured ship did not become the captors' property just because she had been taken. A prize court had to condemn her as lawful prize first, and only then could the ship and cargo be sold and the proceeds shared among the officers and crews. Johnstone was far from any Vice-Admiralty court, and his crews' prize money depended on a proper legal process. Three of the prizes were homeward ships from China, probably laden with tea, so the stakes were high. Commissioners at St Helena could take sworn evidence from the Dutch masters and crews while they were still at hand. That record could later support condemnation, even if the formal judgment had to come from elsewhere. Johnstone set out his legal ground with care. The Company ran the island under its charter, and a naval commodore had no authority over its Governor. Johnstone therefore rested his request on the Crown's sovereignty, which the charter had never surrendered. By stressing that the Company administered justice only on the King's behalf, he put the Governor in a position where refusing to act would mean failing to serve the Crown that stood behind the Company's own authority.
205	201	1781 we have to produce respecting them, according to the Laws of Nations & the Royal Charters to the East India Company and their Substitutes on that behalf, general Justice, as well as the particular Powers granted by His Majesty's Charters, so requiring. And to obviate every Objection which can possibly arise against complying with this our equitable Request. I do hereby engage and give consent in the Name of the Captors that in whatever Sentence the Court may be pleased to pronounce upon the Proofs adduced, that a cause may be awarded, saving the rights of all Persons upon the most fair due, who may have any Claim to Claims upon the said Captures and shall Lodge the said Claim or Claims	Commodore Johnstone asked that the commissioners also examine the evidence his side would bring about the prizes. He argued that the law of nations, the royal charters granted to the East India Company and its officers, ordinary justice and the particular powers in those charters all required it. Johnstone also tried to remove any objection the Governor might raise. On behalf of the captors, he agreed that whatever judgment the court gave on the evidence could include a saving clause. That clause would protect the share in the net proceeds of anyone with a claim on the captured ships, provided they lodged it with the Court of Appeals in Prize Causes in London within three months of the judgment being registered. George Johnstone signed the letter aboard the *Romney* in the road at St Helena on 5 September 1781. It was addressed to the Governor, John Skottowe. The Council considered the letter. It also examined the Company's charters, to which Johnstone had referred, and the powers and authority

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		within the Year and Day after the Sentence before the Court of Appeals in Prize Causes established in London. I am with the greatest Respect Sir Your most Obedient and most humble Servant Signed Geo. Johnstone Romney in St. Helena Road the 5th September 1781 The Worshipful Jno. Skottowe Upon Considering the above Letter and Examining the Charters relative to the Power and Authority therein contained, We are of opinion that a Commission be granted agreeable to Commodore Johnstone's Request. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	they contained. It concluded that a commission should be granted as the commodore asked. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The saving clause was what made the request safe to grant. A court set up in haste on St Helena could easily get a judgment wrong, and the prizes were rich enough to draw rival claims from the Dutch owners, from neutral shippers with goods aboard, or from other British ships claiming a share in the capture. Johnstone accepted in advance that his captors' rights would remain open to challenge in London for three months after the judgment was registered. That kept the Court of Appeals in Prize Causes as the final authority. The island's commission would only gather evidence and give a first ruling. The Governor could therefore act without fearing that the Company would be held liable for overturning lawful claims. The Council did not rely on Johnstone's word about its powers. It checked the charters before agreeing. Granting a prize commission was not part of the Company's ordinary business. Had the Council exceeded its charter, the judgment could have been void and the Company exposed to claims for damages. By grounding its decision in its own charters, the Council made sure that the commission rested on authority it could prove, not on a commodore's interpretation.
206	202	10th September At a Consultation holden Monday the 10th Day of Septr. 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett absent taking an Inspection of the Stores Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 6th September 1781. Wednesday the 5th Died John Parker Private It being Considered by the Board that Tompson's Valley require some further defence, They Desired the Engineer to take a View of the same. And in Consequence of his Report of said Valley, who Recommended the Building a Third and Placing another 6 lb. there. He was Directed to carry the same into Execution. The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stores Received for the Month of August last, were this Day laid before Us, which were examined, approved and are as follows Vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 September 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. Matthew Bazett was absent, taking an inventory of the Company's stores. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 6 September 1781. John Parker, a private, died on Wednesday 5 September 1781. The Council considered that Thompson's Valley needed stronger defences and told the engineer to inspect it. In his report he recommended building a third work there and mounting another six-pounder gun. The Council ordered him to carry out the work. The accounts of artillery stores and the steward's accounts for August 1781 were then laid before the Council. It examined and approved them, and they followed. **Interpretations** Matthew Bazett's absence ties in with the advertisement of 27 August 1781, which closed the Company's stores from 8 September to 1 October. The closure gave the stores time for a full count before the accounting year ended on 30 September. The task fell to the second member of Council, who also served as the Company's accountant. With two fleets having drawn on the stores over the summer, the Council wanted the count made by its senior financial officer, not left to the storekeeper alone. Thompson's Valley was one of the openings in the island's cliffs where an enemy might land a party from boats. The Council's alarm about its defences followed Pierce's trial at Niblet's Cove, which had shown how quickly men could climb from the shore to the heights. By adding a third work and another gun, the Council meant to make sure no landing place could be used without facing crossing fire. The decision came while Johnstone's squadron lay in the road, but the Council had no means of knowing how long the naval protection would last.

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207	203	1781 Artillery Stores Expended in August 1781. Guns Fired, 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., oz. 3 For the Lieutenant Governors Use: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 4, oz. 0 4 At General Alarm: Guns Fired 10, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 6, Powder lb. 33, oz. 0 Disembarking Do.: Guns Fired 2, 6 lb. 1, 4 lb. 1, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, oz. 0 Answering a Dutch Prize: Guns Fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, oz. 10 9 Single Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, oz. 0 Answered the Rattle Snake Sloop: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, oz. 12 For Practice at Butter Milk Point: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 30, oz. 8 11 Firing at a Boat from Lemon Valley: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, oz. 8 12 Single Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, oz. 0 Answered the Diana Frigate: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, oz. 12 Saluting the Captain: Guns Fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 17, oz. 0 13 Single Alarm: Guns Fired 8, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 5, 3 lb. 3, Powder lb. 14, oz. 0 Answered His Majesty's Ship Hannibal: Guns Fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 17, oz. 8 Saluting Capt. Grant: Guns Fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 18, oz. 0 14 Single Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, oz. 0 Answered the Thunderer Bomb: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, oz. 0 Saluting the Captain: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, oz. 0 15 A Double Alarm: Guns Fired 9, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 6, 3 lb. 3, Powder lb. 16, oz. 8 Answered the Infernal Fireship: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, oz. 10 Do. a Dutch Prize: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, oz. 10 17 A General Alarm: Guns Fired 10, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 6, Powder lb. 33, oz. 0 Do.: Guns Fired 1, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 1, Powder lb. 1, oz. 0 Disembarking the same: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 0, oz. 0 Answered the Jason Frigate: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, oz. 7 Saluting the Captain: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, oz. 7 Answered His Majesty's Ship Romney: Guns Fired 15, 6 lb. 15, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 18, oz. 0 Saluted Commodore Johnstone: Guns Fired 15, 6 lb. 15, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 18, oz. 0 21 A Single Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, oz. 0 Answered the Mercury Frigate: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, oz. 4 Saluting the Captain: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, oz. 4 Further use of the Lime Kiln: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 12, oz. 0 22 Saluted the Lark Cutter: Guns Fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 12, oz. 7 Saluting the Captain: Guns Fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, oz. 4 27 For the Mine Blowers at Sandy Bay: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 24, oz. 0 Do. at Long Wood: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 100, oz. 0 Do. at Banks's: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 12, oz. 0	The artillery stores used in August 1781 followed. Each entry gives the date, the occasion, the guns fired by size and the powder used. 3 August, for the Lieutenant Governor's use: 0 guns fired, powder 4 pounds 0 ounces 4 August, a general alarm: 18 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders, powder 33 pounds 0 ounces 4 August, standing down from the alarm: 2 guns fired, 1 six-pounder, 0 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, powder 2 pounds 8 ounces 4 August, arrival of a Dutch prize: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 15 pounds 10 ounces 9 August, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces On 9 August, the arrival of the sloop *Rattlesnake*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 15 pounds 12 ounces. 9 August, practice at Buttermilk Point: 0 guns fired, powder 30 pounds 1 ounce 11 August, firing at a boat from Lemon Valley: 0 guns fired, powder 2 pounds 2 ounces 12 August, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces On 12 August, the arrival of the frigate *Diana*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 15 pounds 12 ounces. 12 August, saluting the captain: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 17 pounds 0 ounces 13 August, a single alarm: 8 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 5 four-pounders, 3 three-pounders, powder 14 pounds 8 ounces On 13 August, the arrival of His Majesty's ship *Hannibal*: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 8 ounces. 13 August, saluting Captain Grant: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 18 pounds 0 ounces 14 August, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces On 14 August, the arrival of the bomb ketch *Thunderer*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces. 14 August, saluting the captain: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 15 pounds 8 ounces 15 August, a double alarm: 9 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 6 four-pounders, 3 three-pounders, powder 16 pounds 8 ounces On 15 August, the arrival of the fire ship *Infernal*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 10 ounces. 15 August, arrival of a Dutch prize: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 10 ounces 17 August, a general alarm: 18 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders, powder 33 pounds 0 ounces 17 August, a second general alarm: 18 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders, powder 33 pounds 0 ounces 17 August, standing down from the alarm: 1 gun fired, 0 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, powder 1 pound 8 ounces On 17 August, the arrival of the frigate *Jason*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 7 ounces.

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		For Practice at Mitchell's Line: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 29, oz. 5 31 For Do. at the West Battery: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 63, oz. 10 For Sundry Services: Guns Fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 25, oz. 0 Total: Guns Fired 314, 6 lb. 284, 4 lb. 18, 3 lb. 12, Powder lb. 2200, oz. 1	17 August, saluting the captain: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 7 ounces On 17 August, the arrival of His Majesty's ship *Romney*: 15 guns fired, 15 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 18 pounds 0 ounces. 17 August, saluting Commodore Johnstone: 15 guns fired, 15 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 18 pounds 0 ounces 21 August, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces On 21 August, the arrival of the frigate *Mercury*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 4 ounces. 21 August, saluting the captain: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 4 ounces 21 August, for the lime kiln: 0 guns fired, powder 12 pounds 0 ounces On 22 August, the departure of the cutter *Lark*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 12 pounds 7 ounces. 22 August, saluting the captain: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 15 pounds 4 ounces 27 August, for the stone blowers at Sandy Bay: 0 guns fired, powder 24 pounds 0 ounces 27 August, for the stone blowers at Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 100 pounds 0 ounces 27 August, for the stone blowers at Longwood: 0 guns fired, powder 12 pounds 0 ounces 27 August, practice at Mitchell's Line: 0 guns fired, powder 29 pounds 5 ounces 31 August, practice on the West Bastion: 0 guns fired, powder 63 pounds 10 ounces 31 August, various services: 0 guns fired, powder 25 pounds 0 ounces Total: 314 guns fired, 217 six-pounders, 63 four-pounders, 34 three-pounders, powder [...] pounds 1 ounce **Interpretations** The gunners fired more than three times as many guns in August as in July, when the total was 95. The arrival of Johnstone's squadron accounts for most of the increase. Every warship that anchored was greeted with a salute and its captain honoured with another, so each frigate cost the island about 22 rounds and some 30 pounds of powder before any defensive work began. The alarms rose in the same way. In July the island fired a single alarm, but in August it fired nine, including three general alarms. Each strange sail on the horizon had to be treated as a possible enemy until it was identified, and with two dozen warships, prizes and victuallers arriving over a few weeks, the batteries were called out again and again. On 11 August the gunners fired at a boat coming from Lemon Valley. A boat leaving the coast outside the landing place at James's Valley was presumably trying to reach the ships without passing the guard. In the weeks after 19 soldiers deserted to the homeward fleet, the Council could not let a boat slip out unchallenged. A shot across its bow forced it to turn back or be identified. The batteries thus served to keep people on the island as well as to keep enemies off it. The practice firing at Buttermilk Point, Mitchell's Line and the West Bastion used nearly 125 pounds of powder. That points to drills for the gun crews at the new and strengthened works, including the battery built at Buttermilk Point during the quarter. A battery was only as good as the men who served it, and with so many trained matrosses lost to desertion and so

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			many raw recruits enlisted, the Council had good reason to drill the new men at their guns.
208	204	10th September Cannon Cartridge Paper 30 Qrs. Musquet Do. 27 Do. Shells 8 Inch 5 D. g. Shot 32 9 9 2 6 3 Grape Do. 1 Round Shot 4 lb. 2 Port Fires? "Fire Tubes" 4 Lead Balls 5 lb. Flannel 10 Yds. Tube Boxes 3 Ram Heads 24 3 9 1 6 1 Sponge Do. 32 2 10 3 9 4 6 1 4 1 Sponge Staves 13 Wool Patch? "Wool Tow" 14 lb. Sheep Skins 8 Bags of Do. 1 Tallow 5 Pikesof? "Pikes for 10" 14 16 2 Lances? "Linens" 6 Tompions 32 lb. 2 6 lb. 1 Ladles 32 1 6 1 2 2 Copper Nails 52 Bungs? "Barrel Bands" 1 Priming Wires 3	Captain William Pierce's account of artillery stores used in August 1781 went on to list the materials issued. Cannon cartridge paper, 30 quires Musket cartridge paper, 2 quires Shells of 8 inches, 5 Round shot of 32 pounds, 9 Round shot of 9 pounds, 2 Round shot of 6 pounds, 3 Grapeshot, 1 round Round shot of 4 pounds, 2 Fire tubes, 4 Lead balls, 5 pounds Flannel, 10 yards Tube boxes, 3 Rammer heads for 24-pounders, 3 Rammer heads for 9-pounders, 3 Rammer heads for 6-pounders, 1 Sponge heads for 32-pounders, 2 Sponge heads for 18-pounders, 5 Sponge heads for 9-pounders, 4 Sponge heads for 6-pounders, 1 Sponge heads for 4-pounders, 1 Sponge staves, 13 Slow match, 14 pounds Sheepskins, 8 Basil skins, 1 Tallow, 5 [...] Bits for 18-pounders, 14 Bits for 16-pounders, 2 Quoins, 6 Tompions for 32-pounders, 2 Tompions for 6-pounders, 1 Ladles for 32-pounders, 1 Ladles for 6-pounders, 1 Ladles for 2-pounders, 2 Copper nails, 52 Budge barrels, 1 Priming wires, 3 Sandbags at Rupert's, 228 William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. The account of provisions used at the Company's table in August 1781 followed. Madeira wine, 99 bottles, £6 3s 9d Port wine, 26 bottles, £2 1s 2d Lisbon wine, 4 bottles, £0 6s 4d Sherry, 4 bottles, £0 6s 4d Beer, 58 bottles, £0 19s 4d Arrack, 17 gallons, £2 11s 0d Turkeys, 2, £0 10s 0d Ducks, 3, £0 4s 6d Geese, 2, £0 10s 0d Butter, 13 pounds, £0 6s 6d Mutton, 193 pounds, £4 [...]s 5d Pork, 139 pounds, £3 9s 6d Lamb, 1, £0 10s 0d Goats, 5, £2 10s 0d Sugar candy, 60 pounds, £1 10s 0d Flour, 528 pounds, £4 8s 0d Total, £30 6s 10d **Interpretations** The 228 sandbags issued at Rupert's show the Council strengthening the defences of Rupert's Bay, the valley east of James Town where boats could land on a stretch of beach. Sandbags were the quickest way to raise a breastwork or protect the gunners at a battery that had no stone parapet. Their issue in the same month as the extra works ordered for Thompson's Valley points to a review of every weak landing place while the island still feared a French attack.

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		Sand Bags at Rupert's 220 Signed Wm. Pierce Capt. of Artillery Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table August 1781 To 99 Bottles Madeira 6 3 9 26 Do. Port 2 1 2 4 Do. Lisbon - 6 4 4 Do. Sherry - 6 4 50 Do. Beer - 19 4 17 Gallns. Arrack 2 11 - 2 Turkeys - 10 - 3 Ducks - 4 6 2 Geese - 10 - 13 lb. Butter - 6 6 190 lb. Mutton 4 15 - 139 lb. Pork 3 9 6 1 Lamb - 10 - 5 Goats 2 10 - 60 lb. Candy 1 10 - 520 lb. Flour 4 0 - £ 30 6 10	A budge barrel was a small copper-hooped cask with a leather top drawn shut like a purse. It carried loose powder to a battery so that the gunners could fill cartridges without an open barrel standing near the guns. Tompions were wooden plugs fitted into the muzzle to keep out rain and sea spray, which mattered for guns that stood loaded on exposed cliffs. The 32-pounder shot, sponges and ladles show that the island's main batteries mounted heavy guns as well as the six-pounders used for salutes.
209	205	1781 Bot. for Table To 29 lb. Beef - 14 6 1 Turkey - 5 - 30 Fowls - 2 5 1 Goose - 5 - 6 Pigs 1 10 - £ 4 19 6 Appointed Mr. Matthew Bazett to inspect and take the Remains of the Honble. Company's Stores as usual. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The provisions bought for the Company's table in August 1781 followed. Beef, 29 pounds, £0 14s 6d Turkey, 1, £0 5s 0d Fowls, 30, £2 5s 0d Goose, 1, £0 5s 0d Pigs, 6, £1 10s 0d Total, £4 19s 6d The Council appointed Matthew Bazett to inspect the Company's stores and count what remained in them, as was usual at this season. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation.
210	206	17th September At a Consultation holden Monday the 17th day of September 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 10th September 1781.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 September 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 10 September 1781. On Thursday 13 September 1781, at four in the afternoon, a boat from the *Prime* landed at Banks's. The same day the Company's ship *Prime* arrived from Bombay with the following supplies.

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		Thursday the 13th Arrived the Princes? Boat at Banks's at four o' Clock in the afternoon. Do. Do. the Honble. Company's Ship Rome? from Bombay and brought Us the following Supplies Vizt. Invoice of Ship Rome Rice Craton 120 Bags @ 6¾ Seed Maunds each are Seed Maunds 810 at Rupees 100 Pr.? "Pr. Candy" 810 - - Paddy 120 Bags each 3 Maunds 14 Seers, 405 Maunds 22 2 Pr. Maund 324 - - Charges on Merchandize Gunny Bags, Bags Twine &c. 249 - - Hammalage 23 1 60 Boat hire 5 - - 277 1 60 1411 1 60 Bombay Castle 22d. May 1781 Errors Excepted Signed D. Draper Accountant	Husked rice, 120 bags of 6¾ Surat maunds each, 810 Surat maunds at 1 rupee a maund, 810 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Paddy, 120 bags of 3 parahs each, 14 morahs 10 parahs at 22 rupees 2 quarters a morah, 324 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Charges for gunny sacks, bags, twine and other packing, 249 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Charges for porterage, 23 rupees 1 quarter 60 reas Charges for boat hire, 5 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Total charges, 277 rupees 1 quarter 60 reas Total of the invoice, 1,411 rupees 1 quarter 60 reas D. Draper, the accountant at Bombay, signed the invoice at Bombay Castle on 22 May 1781, with errors excepted. **Interpretations** The *Prime* brought the island 240 bags of rice in a year when flour had run desperately short. Bombay had loaded her four months earlier, before anyone there could know how bad the island's shortage would become. Supplying St Helena with grain from India was a standing arrangement, which made the island depend on the Company's Asian settlements as much as on England. In July the Council had given rice instead of flour to the departing commanders. It could do so because rice was the grain the Company could most readily replace from the East, and this cargo replaced it. The invoice was kept in the Bombay currency and measures. A rupee was divided into four quarters, and each quarter into 100 reas. A Surat maund was a weight of about 37 pounds. Paddy was rice still in its husk, measured by volume in parahs and morahs, with 25 parahs to a morah. Shipping some of the grain unhusked was a sensible choice for a long voyage, since paddy kept better than cleaned rice and could be husked on the island as needed. Gunny was coarse sacking woven from jute in Bengal, and porterage was paid to the labourers who carried the bags to the waterside at Bombay. Packing and handling added nearly a quarter to the cost of the grain itself. The *Prime*'s boat came ashore at Banks's before the ship herself reached the road. Banks's was the battery guarding the northern approach to James's Bay. In wartime a ship approaching the island sent a boat in first to identify herself, so that the batteries would not treat her as an enemy and fire an alarm. The landing at Banks's at four in the afternoon fitted that procedure.
211	207	1781 Commodore George Johnstone having applied to the Governor for a Cow and Calf, a Young Bull, a Ram and Ewe Sheep for a particular purpose. The Board agreed to supply him therewith from the Honble. Company's Stock. On the 14th Instant We wrote Commodore George Johnstone the following Letter Vizt. To Commodore George Johnstone Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships &c. &c. at St. Helena Sir From the uncertainty of the arrival of Our Expected Store Ships at these precarious times, and apprehending should any accident happen to them, this Garrison may be subjected to very great Distress in respect to the Articles of Salt Provision and Flour,	Commodore George Johnstone asked Governor John Skottowe for a cow and calf, a young bull, a ram and a ewe, which he wanted for a particular purpose. The Council agreed to supply them from the Company's own stock. On 14 September 1781 the Council wrote to Commodore Johnstone, as commander-in-chief of the King's squadron at St Helena. It explained that nobody could tell when the store ships the island expected would arrive in such dangerous times. If any mishap befell them, the garrison could suffer real hardship, because the stores held only a little salt meat and flour. The Council therefore asked Johnstone to let the island have any of these provisions his squadron could spare, on the Company's account. The Governor, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena. William Mason, a cadet, presented a letter to the Governor and Council that day. He opened by thanking them. **Interpretations**

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		having at present but a small quantity of either in store. We therefore beg leave to request if you have any of the above articles which you can conveniently spare, you will supply this Settlement therewith on account of the Honble. Company. We have the Honor to be Sir Your most Obedt. and humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 14th Sept. 1781 Mr. William Mason Cadet this day presented the subsequent Letter Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena Worshipful Sir & Sirs I beg leave most respectfully to acknowledge &c.	The Council granted Johnstone's request for breeding stock in the same week that it asked him for salt meat and flour. A pair of each kind of animal pointed to stocking a new settlement or a captured place rather than feeding a crew. With the Dutch prizes taken off the Cape, Johnstone was perhaps preparing to land livestock on an island or post he intended to hold. Giving him the animals from the Company's herd put the Council in a better position to ask for help in return, and the two requests sit side by side in the record. The Council's appeal to Johnstone shows how thin the margin remained even after the *Prime* brought rice. The year's main shortages were salt meat and flour, and the store ships expected from England could be captured by French cruisers. A naval squadron fitted out for a long voyage carried large reserves of both. Asking it to sell some on the Company's account was the quickest way to rebuild the island's stores without waiting for ships that might never come.
212	208	17th September the appointment you were pleased to confer on me as a Cadet on this Establishment, and to inform you from the Strong Recommendation of my Friends at Bombay I have every reason to imagine it will be much more to my advantage to proceed there, having this their Interest. Considering my Rank on that Establishment, how they are to my Station a favourable Opportunity offers you will be pleased to permit me to resign the Service here, and proceed to that Settlement and I flatter myself during the time I have had the Honor of serving the Honble. Company here, I have merited the approbation of your Worships and Council, and other my Superior Officers. I am therefore to beg you will be pleased to mention me in favourable light to the Government of Bombay. I am with respect Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most Obedt. and Obliged humble Servant Signed Willm. Mason 17th September 1781 Upon reading the above Letter we are sorry Mr. Mason's Desire is to quit and the request which he Complied with. We this day received the following Letter from Captain James Dundas Vizt. The Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena Hon. Sir and Sirs I am sorry to inform you that on the 23d. and 24th of August last, in lat. 36. 17 S. and 26 E. Longitude from London We met with very severe gales of Wind with a heavy Sea in which the Ship laboured so much that We were Obliged to throw the Foremast & Rudder overboard with a great load of Pepper stowed	William Mason went on to thank the Governor and Council for appointing him a cadet on the island's establishment. He explained that friends at Bombay had urged him strongly to go there, and he believed it would be much more to his advantage. Through their influence he had already been nominated to the Bombay establishment. He therefore asked to be allowed to resign from the island's service and sail for Bombay when a suitable passage offered. He hoped his conduct while serving the Company on the island had earned the approval of the Governor, the Council and his senior officers. He asked them to recommend him favourably to the Government of Bombay. Mason signed the letter on 17 September 1781. After reading it, the Council sent for Mason and told him that his request would be granted. The Council received a letter that day from Captain James Dundas, addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. Dundas reported that on 23 and 24 August 1781 his ship ran into a very severe gale with a heavy sea, at 36° 17' south and 26° east of London. The ship laboured so badly that the crew had to throw the nine-pounder guns from the foremost part of the ship overboard, together with a good deal of pepper stowed forward, to lighten her. By then she had more than nine feet of water in the hold. **Interpretations** A cadetship on St Helena led only to a lieutenancy in one of the island's four small companies, where promotion depended on a handful of vacancies and the leading families held most of the commissions. Bombay was one of the Company's three presidencies, with a large army and far greater chances of rank and fortune. Mason's friends there had secured him a nomination, which was the essential step, since every cadetship in the Company's armies depended on patronage. His request for a good report to Bombay mattered as much as the release itself, because a cadet arriving with his former governor's commendation could expect a better start. Dundas's ship lay off the south-eastern coast of Africa, near the Cape, when the gale struck. She was homeward bound with pepper from the Malabar coast or Sumatra. Throwing guns and cargo overboard to save a sinking ship was known as jettison. Under the rules of general average, a loss of cargo made deliberately to save the ship was shared

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		Forward in order to ease her, she having sprung a Leak & Twenty Water in	between the shipowners and all the owners of the cargo, rather than falling only on the owner of the pepper thrown over. A formal report to the Governor and Council at the first port reached gave Dundas an official record of the loss to support that claim.
213	209	1781 the Magazine and making between three and four feet of Water, carrying the Spritsail Yard and Bowsprit constant Pressing and Pumping night and Day to the 25th. We got Ironwork? to secure it forward, found upon inspection the Lumber Breakers forward, every Plank of Glen Buckle stove to Pieces the Stanchions carried away and the Iron to Shatter the Hatch ready to fall down got Stanchions with Spars, but the Decks and got one of the Pumps down forward, and as she still continues to make much water I wish to be necessary to take out part of the Cargo, as the Bread Rooms are leaky and she is otherwise in bad Condition, from the great quantity of water lodged forward during the time the gale continued and the late heavy Seas of the Ship. The Seamen and the Leak forward of the water which makes is forward go to the Hold, and accommodating I find great part of the Cargo is Damaged, I thought it necessary to commit it to the Board the Situation of the Ship and Cargo and accompanied by the enclosed Protest that such measures may be taken as you may Deem expedient. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Servant Signed Jas. Dundas 14th. September 1781 To which We Directed the Secretary to return him the following Answer Vizt. To Captain James Dundas Commander of Ship Rome Sir In answer to your Letter of this day to the Governor and Council I am Directed to acquaint you that they are ready to give you every aid in their power towards repairing the damages your ship has sustained and recommend you to apply to Commodore Johnstone, who they make no Doubt will readily render you any assistance. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 17th Septr. 1781	Dundas went on to report that the water reached the magazine. The ship was taking in between three and four feet of water an hour. The crew cut away the spritsail yard and bailed and pumped day and night. By 25 August they had brought the water down to four feet in the forward part of the ship. An inspection then showed that the limbers were blocked at the bow. Every barrel of gunpowder had burst apart, the platform had washed away and the foremost bulkhead was close to collapse. The crew shored the bulkhead up with spars, cut openings in the decks and moved one of the pumps forward. The ship was still leaking badly. Dundas judged that part of the cargo would have to come out, because the breast hooks had worked loose. The ship was also in poor condition from the great weight of water that had collected in the bow while the gale lasted and the sea ran high. The limbers had to be cleared, since none of the water coming in forward could drain back to the well where the pumps could reach it. Dundas feared that much of the cargo was damaged. He therefore set out the state of the ship and cargo for the Council, with his formal protest enclosed, so that it could take whatever measures it thought fit. He signed the letter on 14 September 1781. The Council directed Britannicus Wright, the secretary, to answer Captain James Dundas, commander of the *Prime*. Wright wrote on 17 September 1781 that the Governor and Council were ready to give every help in their power towards repairing the ship. They advised Dundas to apply to Commodore Johnstone as well, and they had no doubt that he would also willingly assist. **Interpretations** The protest enclosed with the letter was a sworn statement made by the master and senior officers after a voyage in which ship or cargo suffered damage. It recorded that the loss arose from storm and the dangers of the sea, not from any fault of the master or crew. Lodging it with the Governor and Council at the first port reached gave it official standing. It protected Dundas and the shipowners against claims from the owners of the pepper, and it supported any claim on the underwriters or under general average for the cargo thrown overboard. The damage Dundas described lay in the ship's structure, not just her rigging. Limbers were the channels cut through the frames along the bottom of the hull to let water run aft to the pump well. Once they were blocked, water entering at the bow stayed there and weighed the bow down. Breast hooks were heavy curved timbers that held the two sides of the bow together, and when they worked loose the whole forward part of the ship could spread and leak. Repairs of that kind required shipwrights, timber and naval stores that St Helena did not have. That is why the Council offered its help but directed Dundas to Commodore Johnstone, whose squadron carried carpenters and spare stores for exactly such work.
214	210	17th September We likewise this Day received the following Protest from Captain James Dundas. On the 14 day of September in the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty one (1781) Before me Personally Appeared James Dundas Commander of the East India Ship Rome	The Council also received a formal protest from Captain James Dundas that day. The protest was dated 14 September 1781. In it Dundas, commander of the Company's ship *Prime*, declared what had happened on the homeward voyage. On 23 and 24 August 1781, at 36° 17' south and 26° east of London, the ship met a very severe gale and a heavy sea. She laboured so badly that Dundas and his

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		in the Service of the Honble. East India Company, Mariner and who Declared that being at Sea on the 23d. and 24th. August last in lat. 36. 17 S. and 26 E. Longitude from London, He encountered a heavy Gale in which the Ship laboured much, and in a very severe Gale of Wind with a heavy Sea in which the Ship laboured very much, that he and the Officers for the safety of the Ship were obliged to throw the gun with eight Bales of the Pepper stowed forward, and also the Main Stay which was Overboard and having afterward of more than four feet water in the Magazine, and making a Considerable Leak, from the said Leak to the Pumps, constant Pumping and Bailing, until the 25th when they got It. Therefore we, did, the said Comdr., Mariner and the Crew of the said Ship as Deponent and Mariner of the Honble. Company did Protest against the Sea, Winds and Weather and all losses and damages suffered and to be suffered on the Cargo of the said Ship by means of the said severe Gale and leak above mentioned. Thus done and Protested in St. Helena before me, a Notary Publick (Officiating) in the Presence of Signed J. Dundas Sworn before me this 17th September 1781 Signed John Skottowe Govr. Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of August last which is as follows Vizt. Cash	officers agreed, for the safety of the ship, to throw the guns and a good deal of the pepper stowed in the bow overboard to lighten her. This was done. By then the magazine held more than nine feet of water, and the ship was taking in between three and four feet of water an hour. The leak continued until 25 August, when constant bailing and pumping brought the water down to four feet. Dundas therefore protested, for himself, the owners of the *Prime* and everyone else concerned. He declared that all losses and damage to the cargo, already suffered or still to come, arose from the sea, the wind and the weather, through the gale and the leak he had described. Because St Helena had no notary public, the protest was made before the island's officials. Dundas signed it, and he swore to it before Governor John Skottowe on 17 September 1781. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for August 1781. **Interpretations** In an English port a ship's protest was sworn before a notary public, an official whose seal made the document valid in courts and with underwriters across Europe. St Helena had none, so the protest said so and was sworn before the Governor instead. The Governor's signature took the place of the notary's seal. The note that no notary practised on the island mattered legally. It explained to any court or insurer in London why the protest carried a governor's oath rather than a notarial certificate, and so prevented anyone from challenging it as irregular. The protest blamed the sea, the wind and the weather by name because those were the risks for which a carrier was not liable. The phrase placed the loss of the pepper and the damage to the cargo among the perils of the sea. Under the usual terms of a bill of lading, those perils excused the ship from paying the cargo owners. By extending the protest to losses still to be found, Dundas also covered damage that would only show once the cargo was unloaded and inspected.
215	211	1781 Cash Dr. Per Contra Cr. 1781 Augt. 1st. To Ballance Remaining £ 19522 4 6 To Fines Received of George Alexander Junior as pr. Consultation of this Day 1 10 - £ 19523 14 6 1781 Augt. 31st. By Ballance Remaining Vizt. In Specie 18983 19 6 In Cash Notes 539 15 - 19523 14 6 £ 19523 14 6 John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Company's cash account for August 1781 was entered as follows. 1 August 1781, balance in hand, £19,522 4s 6d 27 August 1781, fine received from George Alexander junior, as ordered at that day's consultation, £1 10s 0d Total receipts, £19,523 14s 6d The balance remaining on 31 August 1781 was entered on the other side. Balance in coin, £18,983 19s 6d Balance in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £19,523 14s 6d Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the account.
216	212	24th September At a Consultation holden Monday the 24 day of September 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 September 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 17 September 1781. Joseph Cummings, a private, died on Wednesday 19 September 1781.

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		The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 17th September 1781. Wednesday the 19th Died Joseph Cummings Private We this Day received the following Letter from Captain James Dundas Vizt. The Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council Honble. Sir & Sirs I did myself the Honor of writing the 14th Instant acquainting you with the situation of the Ship Rome under my Command and of the necessity Reconditioning and throwing 12 of the nine Rounders overboard during the late Gale on our Coast. The reason of my now Declaring the Rudder, that I may be Provided with your supply of the Loss of the Rudder, and also a sufficient quantity of your Bread for the use and Protection of the ship on her Passage to England. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. Servt. Signed J. Dundas St. Helena 24th Septr. 1781 The Secretary was ordered to return him the following Answer Vizt.	The Council received a further letter that day from Captain James Dundas, dated at St Helena on 24 September 1781. Dundas reminded the Governor and Council of his letter of 14 September 1781, which described the state of the *Prime* and explained why he had had to throw 12 of her nine-pounders and four of her four-pounders overboard. He now asked for guns to replace those lost. He also asked for enough gunpowder to arm and protect the ship on her voyage to England. The Council directed the secretary to send Dundas an answer. **Interpretations** This letter gave the full count of guns thrown overboard, 12 nine-pounders and four four-pounders. Together with the powder ruined in the flooded magazine, the loss left the *Prime* almost unarmed. A homeward Indiaman in wartime without guns or powder was an easy prize for any French or Dutch cruiser. The request put the Council in a hard position, since the island's own batteries had been strengthened all season against attack and the gunners had used powder heavily in August. Any guns or powder given to Dundas came out of the island's defences.
217	213	1781 To Captain James Dundas Commander of Ship Rome Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you in answer to yours of this day, that it is not in their Power to supply you with the Guns and Rudder you require, being in want of Artillery, and having none Rudder that is necessary for the Defence of the Island. They therefore recommend to you to apply to Commodore Johnstone for those articles, who they doubt not will give you all the assistance he possibly can. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 24th September 1781 On the 18th Instant We received the Subsequent Letter from the Engineer Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council for the Island St. Helena Gentlemen Yesterday you were pleased to intimate to me an opportunity of purchasing some Brass Cannon and Carronages lately Captured by the Kings Ships commanded by Commodore Johnstone now laying in this Road, which I think if accomplished would be a saving to the Honble. Company, as it would enable us to replace the Cannon which We were obliged to send from hence, to the new Battery at Butter Milk Point where 24 Pounders the Cannon you have in agitation will be more easily managed and quick for Shift up against Shipping therefore I approve I am Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servant	Britannicus Wright, the secretary, answered Captain James Dundas of the *Prime* on behalf of the Governor and Council on 24 September 1781. He wrote that the Council could not supply the guns and powder Dundas asked for. The island was itself short of artillery and held no more powder than its own defence required. The Council therefore advised Dundas to apply to Commodore Johnstone for both. It had no doubt that the commodore would give him every help he could. On 18 September 1781 the Council had received a letter from William Pierce, the engineer, addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. Pierce referred to the Council's mention the day before of a chance to buy some brass cannon and carriages. Commodore Johnstone's squadron, now lying in the road, had recently captured them. Pierce thought the purchase would save the East India Company money. It would also let the island replace the guns it had been forced to send from the town to the new battery at Buttermilk Point, where 24-pounders were needed. Once the heavier guns the Council expected arrived, those lighter brass pieces would be easier to handle and could keep up a quick fire against ships as they first approached. Pierce signed the letter on 18 September 1781. **Interpretations** The Council refused Dundas outright, and the obvious course of lending a Company ship some guns from the island's stock was passed over for a stated reason. The island had stripped guns from the town's defences to arm the new battery at Buttermilk Point, and it was still waiting for heavier cannon to arrive. Giving 16 guns to a homeward ship would have left gaps in the batteries just when a French attack was feared. Sending Dundas to Johnstone also made sense, because the commodore held guns taken from the Dutch prizes and had no shore defences to keep armed. Pierce's letter shows the same captured guns offered a solution for the island too. Brass guns were lighter than iron guns of the same calibre and did not rust, which suited batteries exposed to sea air. They were also quicker to serve, which mattered when the target was a ship moving past a headland. Buying prize guns from the squadron was cheaper than

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		Signed Wm. Pierce 18th September 1781	ordering new cannon from England and waiting a year for them in wartime. The prize money would go to Johnstone's crews, while the island gained guns at once.
218	214	24th September Upon which We addressed Commodore Johnstone as follows. To Commodore George Johnstone Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships &c. &c. at St. Helena. Sir Being in want of some pieces of Ordnance for the Defence of this Island and understanding that there are six twenty four Pounders Brass Guns on board one of the Prizes request you will be pleased to spare them to us upon the Honble. Company's Account for the above purpose. We have the Honor to be Sir Your most Obedt. and humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matt. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 24th September 1781 It being proved by the Confession of Richd. Dickenson that he had acted Contrary to his trust and orders as the Office of Registrar? to the Matthew? for Refusing him to deliver? the Wm. Mc Donald to said Office. John Davis Matross and Charles Bailey Private having Deserted the Garrison in the Evenings of either the 30th August, and Hearing they were on board His Majesty's Ship Jupiter, We applied to Commodore Johnstone respecting them who agreeable thereto was immediately sent? of Responding them, & they Proved they were Deserters from His Majesty's Service. The Storekeeper this day delivered the following account of Stores Short Received from Ship Rome	The Council then wrote to Commodore George Johnstone, as commander-in-chief of the King's squadron at St Helena. It explained that the island needed more artillery for its defence. The Council understood that six brass 24-pounder guns lay aboard one of the prizes. It asked Johnstone to let the island have them for its defence, on the Company's account. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 24 September 1781. Richard Bickerstaff confessed that he had broken his trust and his orders as register master. The Council dismissed him and appointed William Wornall in his place. John Davis, a matross, and Charles Bailey, a private, had deserted from the garrison, Davis on 22 August 1781 and Bailey on 30 August. The Council heard they were aboard His Majesty's ship *Jupiter* and asked Commodore Johnstone about them. Johnstone replied that he had to keep both men, because they had been proved to be deserters from the King's service. The storekeeper presented an account that day of stores received short from the *Prime*. **Interpretations** Johnstone used against the Council the same rule it had followed itself in September. When Captain Pasley claimed Thomas Jobson as a deserter from the *Glasgow*, the Governor gave him up the same day, accepting that a man who had first deserted the King's service belonged to the Crown. Now the position was reversed. Davis and Bailey had left the garrison for the *Jupiter*, but they turned out to have deserted from the navy before they ever enlisted with the Company. The navy's earlier claim came first, and the Council had no ground to object. Charles Bailey, from the *Lascelles*, was one of the seamen enlisted on 8 August 1781 after the homeward fleet sailed, and John Davis was perhaps the man of that name who enlisted as a matross on 27 June. The seamen recruited to make good the garrison's losses were exactly the men most likely to have run from the navy. The Council's request for six brass 24-pounders was the step Pierce had urged in his letter of 18 September 1781. Twenty-four-pounders were the heavy guns needed at Buttermilk Point to engage ships before they could close with the shore. Buying them from the prizes gave the island the weight of fire it needed at once.
219	215	1781 The following Short Received C. qrs. lb. 38 3 12 Rice Damaged 59 3 - Do. in 28 Bags not Delivered 17 1 12 Do. Short Weight in 72 Bags, received in bad Condition 115 3 24 C. qrs. lb. 8 1 16 Paddy, short weight occasioned by Wastage Signed Isma. Doveton S. Keeper John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The storekeeper listed the stores received short from the *Prime*. Rice, damaged, 38 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 pounds Rice in 28 bags not delivered, 59 hundredweight 3 quarters 0 pounds Rice short in weight in 72 bags received in poor condition, 17 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 pounds Total rice short, 115 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 pounds Paddy short in weight through wastage, 8 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 pounds Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The island lost more than 5½ tons of the rice the *Prime* carried from Bombay, a large share of the 120

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			bags of husked rice on her invoice. The damaged rice and the bags in poor condition were the result of the flooding in the bow during the gale of 23 and 24 August 1781. The storekeeper's account, together with the protest Dundas swore on 17 September 1781, would allow the loss to be charged to the perils of the sea rather than to the ship. The 28 bags never delivered at all were another matter. Rice thrown overboard with the pepper to lighten the ship could be accepted as jettison, but rice simply missing from the hold would fall on the commander to explain. The paddy came through with a loss of only about 8 hundredweight, put down to ordinary wastage. Rice still in its husk resisted water and spoilage far better than husked rice, which bore out Bombay's choice to send part of the cargo as paddy for the long voyage.
220	216	1st October At a Consultation holden Monday the 1st Day of October 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 24th September 1781. Tuesday the 25th Sailed His Majesty's Ships Jupiter, Frigate Romney and Sloop Rattlesnake. Saturday the 29th Sailed His Majesty's Ship Hannibal for the East Indies. This Morning died William Moore Matross. By His Majesty's Ship Hannibal the Board wrote the following Letter Vizt. To the Honorable William Hornby Esqr. President and Governor &c. Council of Bombay Hon. Sir and Sirs By the Ship Rome that arrived here on the 13th Instant We received yours of the 27th May 1781 And Now take the opportunity by His Majesty's Ship Hannibal of transmitting you a Duplicate of Ours of the 12th July last pr. Ship Hastings together with Our Letters to the several Railways? "Residency" on Bencoolen and Supra Cargoes of Council at Canton which We request you will forward by the Earliest Conveyance. Mr. William Mason from the Recommendation of his Friends at Bombay has requested leave to proceed to your Presidency. He has served as Cadet in this Garrison near two	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 1 October 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 24 September 1781. His Majesty's ship *Jupiter*, the frigate *Mercury* and the sloop *Rattlesnake* sailed on Tuesday 25 September 1781. His Majesty's ship *Hannibal* sailed for the East Indies on Saturday 29 September. William Shore, a matross, died on the morning of 1 October. The Council sent a letter by the *Hannibal* to William Hornby, President and Governor of Bombay, and his Council. It acknowledged their letter of 27 May 1781, which had arrived on the *Prime* on 13 September. With it the Council sent a duplicate of its own letter of 12 July 1781, first sent by the *Hastings*. It also enclosed letters to the other presidencies in India and to the supercargoes forming the Council at Canton, and asked Bombay to forward them by the earliest ship. The letter went on to say that William Mason had asked leave to go to Bombay at the urging of his friends there. He had served as a cadet in the garrison for nearly two years. **Interpretations** The Council used a King's ship to carry its letters to India. The *Hannibal* was bound for the East Indies, and a warship was far less likely to be taken than a merchantman. A duplicate of the letter of 12 July went with her because the original had sailed alone on the *Hastings*, and in wartime no single copy could be trusted to arrive. Sending duplicates by different ships was the standard way the Company protected its correspondence across oceans where any vessel might be captured or lost. Bombay acted as the island's post office for the East. Letters for Madras, Bengal and Canton went to Bombay first, and the presidency there sent them on by its own country ships. St Helena lay on the route home but off the route out, so the island had few direct chances to reach the other settlements. Relying on Bombay to pass its letters on kept the island in touch with the whole of the Company's Asian network through a single link.
221	217	1781 Years we think it but Justice done him to acquaint you during that Period he behaved himself much to our satisfaction. We are Hon. Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham	The Council's letter to Bombay ended by saying that it owed Mason a fair account of his service. It reported that throughout his nearly two years as a cadet he had conducted himself very much to its satisfaction. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena in September 1781. The Council received a petition that day from Elizabeth Merchant, who was under age. She explained that she had now reached the age at which the law allowed her to choose her own guardians to

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		Henl. Bazett St. Helena September 1781 We this Day received the following Petition Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Elizabeth Merchant Minor Sheweth That your Petitioner being arrived at an age, by which according to Law, She has a Power to Chuse Guardians for the management and Security of her Property, and thinking it advisable so to do. Humbly beg leave to inform your Worships she has pitched upon Messrs. Robert and John Leech as her Guardians which Choice she hopes will meet with your approbation And Your Petitioner will ever pray. 1st. Octr. 1781 Granted Messrs. Robert and John Leech accepting	manage and protect her property. She thought it wise to do so, and she had chosen Robert Leech and John Leech. She hoped the Council would approve her choice. The petition was dated 1 October 1781, and the Council granted it. Robert and John Leech then accepted the guardianship. **Interpretations** Elizabeth Merchant's petition rested on a rule of English law that the island followed. A child who inherited property while under age had guardians appointed by the court. On reaching the age of discretion, 14 for a girl in the common law, she could choose her own guardians until she came of age at 21. The choice still needed the court's approval, because guardians would control her land, slaves and money for several years. On St Helena the Council sat as that court, so her petition came to the same body that governed the island. Her choice of Robert and John Leech placed her property with a family closely tied to the island's government. Robert Leech served as a factor and clerk of the works and had been named an executor of Orlando Bagley's will. John Leech was first lieutenant of the artillery. Their standing gave the Council confidence in the arrangement, and for a young heiress it meant guardians able to protect her interests.
222	218	1st October accepting of the Guardianship of Elizabeth Merchant, We gave them a Licence to act as such. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th day of October 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 1st. Octr. 1781. Tuesday the 2d. arrived the Dolphin's Boat at Banks's at half past eight o'Clock in the Morning. Do. the Honble. Company's Ship Belmont from Bengal and Brought Us the following Supply Invoice	Robert and John Leech accepted the guardianship of Elizabeth Merchant, and the Council granted them a warrant to act as her guardians. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation of 1 October 1781. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 8 October 1781. The Governor presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 1 October 1781. On Tuesday 2 October 1781, at half past eight in the morning, a boat from the *Bellmont* landed at Banks's. The same day the Company's ship *Bellmont* arrived from Bengal with supplies for the island. An invoice of them followed.
223	219	8th October Invoice of Ship Belmont Fine Rice 240 Bags Bazar Mds. 2040 @ 5 pr. Md. 720 - - Paddy 160 Bags Do. 240 @ 8 pr. Md. 120 - - S. R. 840 - - Batta 8 pr. Cent 67 3 3 907 3 3 Wax Candles 6 Chests Fact. Mds. 12 @ 65 Cury. pr. Maund 780 - - Madeira Wine 3 Pipes @ 500 pr. Pipe 1500 - - 3 Do. @ 400 Do. 1200 - - Arrack 2 Leagers @ 160 Do. 320 - -	The invoice of the *Bellmont* followed. All sums are in rupees, annas and pies. Fine rice, 240 bags, 480 bazaar maunds at 1 rupee 8 annas a maund, 720 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, 160 bags, 240 bazaar maunds at 8 annas a maund, 120 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Total for rice and paddy, 840 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Exchange allowance at 8 per cent, 67 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Total for rice and paddy with exchange, 907 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Wax candles, 6 chests, 12 factory maunds at 65 rupees a maund, 780 sicca rupees 0 annas 0 pies Madeira wine, 3 pipes at 500 sicca rupees each, 1,500 sicca rupees 0 annas 0 pies Madeira wine, 3 pipes at 400 sicca rupees each, 1,200 sicca rupees 0 annas 0 pies

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		S. R. 3800 - - Batta 8 pr. Cent 403 3 2 3503 3 2 3910 6 5 Charges Merchandize 1206 Bags @ 12 8 pr. % 90 - - 100 Gunnies Mats 3 - - 6 Chests @ 2 @ 12 - - 3 Pieces Gunnie Cloth @ 3 pr. Piece 9 - - 20 Gunnies for Packing Chests 2 - - Jute Rope & Nails 2 10 - 5 Palanquin? Hire @ 3 @ 15 - - Jute Twine & Dorkmans? Mats 2 8 - Cooley Hire on 400 Bags @ 2 pr. 8 - - Do. Do. 6 Pipes @ 1 @ 6 - - Do. Do. 2 Leagers @ 1 4 @ 2 8 - Do. Do. 6 Chests @ 4 @ 1 8 - Hire 3 - - Brokers hire 30 10 - Duty Weighman, Pan Sylees? Mutsuddy? "Mutsuddees" 2 8 - Sloop hire 10 - - 600 - - S. R. 799 12 - Batta 8 pr. Cent 63 15 9 863 11 9 Agents Commission @ 15 pr. Cent 6054 2 2 900 1 11 Current Rupees 6962 4 1 Errors Excepted Signed Wm. Larkins Accountant Genl. Fort William Accountant Generals Office the 4th May 1781	Arrack, 2 leaguers at 160 sicca rupees each, 320 sicca rupees 0 annas 0 pies Total for candles, wine and arrack, 3,020 sicca rupees 0 annas 0 pies Exchange allowance at 16 per cent, 483 rupees 3 annas 2 pies Total for candles, wine and arrack with exchange, 3,503 rupees 3 annas 2 pies Total for goods, 5,190 rupees 6 annas 5 pies The charges on the goods followed. 720 bags at 12 rupees 8 annas a hundred, 90 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 100 gunny mats, 5 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 6 chests at 2 rupees each, 12 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 3 pieces of gunny cloth at 3 rupees a piece, 9 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 20 gunny sacks for packing the chests, 2 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Jute rope and nails, 2 rupees 10 annas 0 pies Hire of 5 boats at 3 rupees each, 15 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Jute twine and packing labour, 2 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Porters' hire for 400 bags at 2 rupees a hundred, 8 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Porters' hire for 6 pipes at 1 rupee each, 6 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Porters' hire for 2 leaguers at 1 rupee 4 annas each, 2 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Porters' hire for 6 chests at 4 annas each, 1 rupee 8 annas 0 pies 1 peon, 3 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Coopers' hire, 30 rupees 10 annas 0 pies Food for the weighman, peon and clerk in attendance, 10 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Sloop hire, 600 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Total charges, 799 rupees 12 annas 0 pies Exchange allowance at 8 per cent, 63 rupees 15 annas 9 pies Total charges with exchange, 863 rupees 11 annas 9 pies Total for goods and charges, 6,054 rupees 2 annas 2 pies Agents' commission at 15 per cent, 908 rupees 1 anna 11 pies Total of the invoice, 6,962 current rupees 4 annas 1 pie William Larkins, the accountant general, signed the invoice at the Accountant General's Office, Fort William, on 4 May 1781, with errors excepted. **Interpretations** Bengal kept its accounts in more than one rupee. The sicca rupee was the newly minted coin of full weight, worth more than older or worn rupees in circulation. The current rupee was a money of account used to bring every coin to a common value. The batta, or exchange allowance, converted each kind of rupee into current rupees, which is why it was charged at 8 per cent on some goods and 16 per cent on others. A rupee was divided into 16 annas and an anna into 12 pies. A bazaar maund was the market weight in Calcutta, about 75 pounds, while the factory maund used for the candles was the Company's own lighter measure. The charges show how much it cost to move goods from Calcutta to a ship at sea. The sloop hire of 600 rupees was more than three-quarters of all the charges, because Indiamen loaded in the Hooghly River well below Calcutta, and every bag and cask had to be carried down by boat. A peon was a messenger or guard, and the sircar a clerk who kept tally of the goods. The agents' commission of 15 per cent fell on everything, so the island paid heavily for having its supplies bought and shipped through Bengal.

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			The *Bellmont* brought the luxuries of the Company's table as well as food. Six pipes of Madeira, two leaguers of arrack and six chests of wax candles cost more than three times as much as the rice and paddy. Madeira bought in Bengal had already made the long voyage out from the island of Madeira, and the heat of the passage was thought to improve it. St Helena drew its wine through India rather than directly from Madeira, which shows how the Company's supply routes, not geography, decided where the island's goods came from.
224	220	8th October We this Day received the following Letter Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. &c. Council Gentlemen Being appointed Guardians at your Board on Monday last to Elizabeth Merchant a Minor, We have found since that the effects of her late Brother Richard Harper has been laid Claim to and also ordered by her Brother James As We are in an uncertainty with respect to any or what part of her Brothers Goods she may be entitled to, We have to request you will be pleased to favour Us with your opinion and also to instruct Us, that We may not err, through Ignorance. We are Gentlemen Gentlemen Most respectfully Your very Obedt. Servants Signed Robt. Leech John Leech 8th October 1781 The Secretary was directed to return them the Subsequent Answer Vizt. To Messieurs Robert and John Leech Gentlemen I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you in answer to yours of this day respecting the Claim of Elizabeth Merchant on the Estate of her Brother Richard Harper deceased. They are fully of opinion, she is intitled as Coheir to one half of all his Personal Estate. I am Gentlemen Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 8 October 1781 The Plantation Accounts for 3 Quarter and the Expence of Artillery Stores and Stores Received for the Month of September last, were this Day laid before Us which were Examined approved and are as follows Vizt.	Robert and John Leech wrote to Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 8 October 1781. A week earlier the Council had appointed them guardians of Elizabeth Merchant, who was under age. Since then they had learned that her brother James had claimed and taken over the administration of the goods of her late brother, Richard Harper. They did not know whether she was entitled to any part of those goods, or how much. They asked the Council for its opinion and for guidance, so that they would not go wrong through ignorance of the law. The Council directed Britannicus Wright, the secretary, to answer them. Wright wrote on 8 October 1781 that the Governor and Council were firmly of the opinion that Elizabeth Merchant was entitled, as co-heir, to one half of all her brother Richard Harper's personal estate. The plantation account for the quarter, and the accounts of artillery stores and the steward's accounts for September 1781, were laid before the Council that day. It examined and approved them, and they followed. **Interpretations** James had taken over Richard Harper's estate by applying to administer it, as next of kin, when a man died without a will. Administration gave him control of the goods, but not the right to keep them. Under the English rules for dividing the personal estate of a man who left no will, brothers and sisters of the full or half blood shared equally where there was no widow, child or parent. Elizabeth's claim to half followed from that rule. The guardians' letter had immediate effect, since a ruling from the Council, sitting as the island's court of probate, bound James to account to her for her share. The guardians acted within a week of their appointment, which shows why a minor needed them. A girl under age could not sue her own brother or demand an account from him. Her guardians could, and their first step was to ask the court whose authority they held to say plainly what she was owed. The names Merchant and Harper point to a mother who married twice, and a Sarah Harper was named in Orlando Bagley's will as his sister. The Harper estate was therefore probably tied to the same circle of planting families whose wills and leases the Council handled week by week.
225	221	Account of the Honble. Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c. from the 1st July to the 30th September 1781. Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Wethers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Wethers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Total	The account of the Company's livestock from 1 July to 30 September 1781 followed. Livestock at 1 July 1781: Bulls 3, cows 36, calves 17, yearlings 20, heifers 6, steers 0, oxen 16, total cattle 98 Sheep: ewes 165, wethers 0, lambs 102, rams 5, total sheep 272 Goats: ewes 94, wethers 4, kids 84, rams 6, total goats 188 Hogs: sows 4, shoats 11, pigs 12, boars 0, total hogs 27 Horses 5, mares 8, total horses 13

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		Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 36, Neat Cattle Calves 17, Neat Cattle Yearlings 20, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 98, Sheep Ewes 165, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 102, Sheep Rams 5, Sheep Total 272, Goats Ewes 94, Goats Wethers 4, Goats Kids 84, Goats Rams 6, Goats Total 188, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 11, Hogs Pigs 12, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 27, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 150, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 39, Poultry Total 5 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 9, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 9, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 78, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 78, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 42, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 42, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 59, Poultry Ducks 22, Poultry Turkeys 9, Poultry Total 0 Bought: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 36, Neat Cattle Calves 26, Neat Cattle Yearlings 20, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 107, Sheep Ewes 165, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 180, Sheep Rams 5, Sheep Total 350, Goats Ewes 94, Goats Wethers 4, Goats Kids 126, Goats Rams 6, Goats Total 230, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 11, Hogs Pigs 17, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 33, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 209, Poultry Ducks 34, Poultry Turkeys 48, Poultry Total 5 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 4, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 34, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 34, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 4, Goats Kids 9, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 13, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 3, Hogs Pigs 2, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 55, Poultry Ducks 3, Poultry Turkeys 19, Poultry Total 1 Sent on board His Majesty's Ship Jupiter: Neat Cattle Bulls 1, 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 3, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 1, Sheep Rams 1, Sheep Total 3, Goats Ewes 1, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 2, Goats Rams 1, Goats Total 4, 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 Total 0 Shot: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 3, 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 Total 0	Poultry: fowls 150, ducks 12, turkeys 39, final poultry column 5 Born during the quarter: Calves 9, total cattle 9 Lambs 78, total sheep 78 Kids 42, total goats 42 Pigs 5, total hogs 5 Fowls 59, ducks 22, turkeys 9, final poultry column 0 Bought during the quarter: Boars 1, total hogs 1 Total stock for the quarter: Bulls 3, cows 36, calves 26, yearlings 20, heifers 6, steers 0, oxen 16, total cattle 107 Sheep: ewes 165, wethers 0, lambs 180, rams 5, total sheep 350 Goats: ewes 94, wethers 4, kids 126, rams 6, total goats 230 Hogs: sows 4, shoats 11, pigs 17, boars 1, total hogs 33 Horses 5, mares 8, total horses 13 Poultry: fowls 209, ducks 34, turkeys 48, final poultry column 5 Killed: Yearlings 4, total cattle 4 Lambs 34, total sheep 34 Goat wethers 4, kids 9, total goats 13 Shoats 3, pigs 2, total hogs 5 Fowls 55, ducks 3, turkeys 19, final poultry column 1 Sent aboard His Majesty's ship *Jupiter*: bulls 1, cows 1, calves 1, total cattle 3; sheep ewes 1, lambs 1, rams 1, total sheep 3; goat ewes 1, kids 2, rams 1, total goats 4. Shot: Goat ewes 2, kids 1, total goats 3 Died: Sheep ewes 3, lambs 3, total sheep 6 Goat ewes 2, kids 1, total goats 3 Pigs 2, total hogs 2 Fowls 24, ducks 7, turkeys 11 Livestock at 30 September 1781: Bulls 2, cows 35, calves 25, yearlings 16, heifers 6, steers 0, oxen 16, total cattle 100 Sheep: ewes 161, wethers 0, lambs 142, rams 4, total sheep 307 Goats: ewes 89, wethers 0, kids 113, rams 5, total goats 207 Hogs: sows 4, shoats 8, pigs 13, boars 1, total hogs 26 Horses 5, mares 8, total horses 13 Poultry: fowls 130, ducks 24, turkeys 18, final poultry column 4 The account also recorded that a slave boy named Jack Grantham had died and a slave girl named Betty Nassau had been born. Yams used for the slaves, 22,036 Yams used for the livestock, 11,360 Total yams used, 33,396 Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham signed the account, with errors excepted. **Interpretations** The cow and calf, young bull, ram and ewe that Commodore Johnstone asked for in September appear here as stock sent aboard the *Jupiter*. The account shows that the Council gave him a bull, a cow, a calf, a ewe, a lamb and a ram, together with four goats. A breeding pair of each kind, rather than animals for slaughter, supports the reading that Johnstone meant to stock a place he expected to hold. The cost to the Company was small against its herds, and the gift came just before it asked him for salt meat and flour. The Company's plantation fed its slaves chiefly on yams grown on its own land. The slaves consumed nearly twice as many yams as the livestock

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		Dead: 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 3, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 3, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 6, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 3, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 2, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 2, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 24, Poultry Ducks 7, Poultry Turkeys 11, Poultry Total 0 Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 2, Neat Cattle Cows 35, Neat Cattle Calves 25, Neat Cattle Yearlings 16, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 100, Sheep Ewes 161, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 142, Sheep Rams 4, Sheep Total 307, Goats Ewes 89, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 113, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 207, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 8, Hogs Pigs 13, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 26, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 130, Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 18, Poultry Total 4 1 Boy Named Jack Grantham Deceased 1 Girl Do. Betty Nassau Born Yams Expended for the Slaves 22.036 Do. Do. for the Stock 11.360 Total 33.396 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille Willm. Wrangham	in the quarter. Recording the birth of Betty Nassau and the death of Jack Grantham in the same account as the calves and lambs shows how the Company counted its slaves: as part of the plantation's working stock, entered alongside its animals and fed from the same crop. The heading of the last poultry column is written as a total, yet its figures cannot be the sum of the fowls, ducks and turkeys beside it. The column probably recorded a fourth kind of bird, perhaps geese, under a heading the clerk filled in wrongly.
226	222	8th October Artillery Stores Expended in Septr. 1781 Guns Fired, 13 Inch Mortar, 8 Do. Howitzer, 32 lb., 24 lb., 18 lb., 12 lb., 9 lb., 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz. 5th Blank Cartridges for the Funeral of John Parker Private: Guns Fired 0, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 1, Powder oz. 2 6 Powder Expended for Practice at the Mortar Battery: Guns Fired 6, 13 Inch Mortar 3, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 6, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 64, Powder oz. 0 10 Do. for Do. at Sandy Bay: Guns Fired 6, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 6, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, Powder oz. 5 12 Do. for Do. at Ruperts: Guns Fired 6, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 3, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 3, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 46, Powder oz. 2 Do. for Do. at Mundens Rock: Guns Fired 6, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 1, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 5, Powder oz. 14 A Single Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 Blank Cartridges for the funeral of John Cummings Private: Guns Fired 0, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 1, Powder oz. 2 25 Powder Expended for Practice at Banks's: Guns Fired 8, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 2, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 6, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 64, Powder oz. 11 28 Saluted His Majesty's Ship Jupiter: Guns Fired 13, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 16, Powder oz. 3 Saluting the Captain: Guns Fired 13, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9	The artillery stores used in September 1781 followed. Each entry gives the occasion, the guns and mortars fired by size and the powder used. 5 September, blank cartridges for the funeral of John Parker, soldier: 0 guns fired, powder 1 pound 2 ounces 6 September, practice at Munden's Point: 6 guns fired, 3 13-inch mortars, 6 18-pounders, powder 64 pounds 0 ounces 10 September, practice at Sandy Bay: 6 guns fired, 6 6-pounders, powder 15 pounds 5 ounces 12 September, practice at Rupert's: 6 guns fired, 3 32-pounders, 3 12-pounders, powder 46 pounds 2 ounces 12 September, practice at Chubb's Rock: 0 guns fired, 1 8-inch howitzer, powder 5 pounds 14 ounces 12 September, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 4 4-pounders, 2 3-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces Blank cartridges for the funeral of John Cummings, soldier: 0 guns fired, powder 1 pound 2 ounces 25 September, practice at Banks's: 8 guns fired, 2 32-pounders, 6 24-pounders, powder 64 pounds 11 ounces On 25 September, the departure of His Majesty's ship *Jupiter*: 13 guns fired, 13 6-pounders, powder 16 pounds 3 ounces. 25 September, saluting the captain: 13 guns fired, 13 6-pounders, powder 16 pounds 3 ounces Practice at James's Valley: 7 guns fired, 7 32-pounders, powder 70 pounds 5 ounces Powder for the stone blowers at Sandy Bay: 0 guns fired, powder 12 pounds 0 ounces Powder for the stone blowers at Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 205 pounds 0 ounces Powder for various services: 0 guns fired, powder 16 pounds 6 ounces Total: 65 guns fired, 3 13-inch mortars, 1 8-inch howitzer, 12 32-pounders, 6 24-pounders, 6 18-pounders, 3 12-pounders, 0 9-pounders, 32 6-pounders, 4 4-pounders, 2 3-pounders, powder 541 pounds 5 ounces Cartridge paper, 112 quires

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		lb. 0, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 16, Powder oz. 3 Powder Expended for Practice at James's Valley: Guns Fired 7, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 7, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 70, Powder oz. 5 Powder for the Mine Blowers at Sandy Bay: Guns Fired 0, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 12, Powder oz. 0 Do. for Do. at Banks's: Guns Fired 0, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 205, Powder oz. 0 Do. for Sundry Services: Guns Fired 0, 13 Inch Mortar 0, 8 Do. Howitzer 0, 32 lb. 0, 24 lb. 0, 18 lb. 0, 12 lb. 0, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 16, Powder oz. 6 Total: Guns Fired 65, 13 Inch Mortar 3, 8 Do. Howitzer 1, 32 lb. 12, 24 lb. 6, 18 lb. 6, 12 lb. 3, 9 lb. 0, 6 lb. 32, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 541, Powder oz. 5 Cartridge Paper 112 Qrs. Tallow 4 lb. Vinegar 1 Quart Do. Tompions 32 lb. 4 24 5 12 4 9 1 6 1 Match for the Mortars 3 lb. Flannel 17 Yds. Hand Spikes 3 Ladles for 6 lb. 1 Tin Tubes 10 Port Fires 2 Bees Wax 2 lb. 13 Inch Shells for the Mortar 100 lb. Rigged Spikes 8 Sponge Staves 1 Bags of Skins 1 Lamp Black 4 lb. Wool Patch? "Wool Tow" 1 lb. 13 Inch Shells 3 32 lb. Round Shot 12 24 lb. Do. 6 18 lb. Do. 6 12 lb. Do. 3 8 Inch Shells 1 Cannister Grape for Do. 2 Lead Balls	Tallow, 4 pounds Vinegar, 1 quart Tompions for 32-pounders, 4 Tompions for 24-pounders, 5 Tompions for 12-pounders, 4 Tompions for 9-pounders, 7 Tompions for 6-pounders, 1 Nitre for the hospital, 3 pounds Flannel, 77 yards Handspikes, 3 Bits for 6-pounders, 4 Tin tubes, 10 Portfires, 2 Beeswax, ½ pound Old iron for the Prime, 100 pounds Ringed spikes, 8 Sponge staves, 1 Basil skins, 1 Camphor, 4 ounces Slow match, 1 pound 13-inch shells, 3 32-pound round shot, 12 24-pound round shot, 6 18-pound round shot, 6 12-pound round shot, 3 8-inch shells, 1 Canister and grapeshot for the 8-inch howitzer, 2 Lead balls, 3 ounces William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. **Interpretations** September's firing was mostly practice with the heavy guns, not salutes. In August the island fired 314 guns, nearly all six-pounders greeting Johnstone's squadron. In September it fired only 65, but they included 32-pounders, 24-pounders, 18-pounders, mortars and a howitzer, at Munden's Point, Rupert's, Banks's, Chubb's Rock and James's Valley. That was a deliberate trial of every main battery covering the landing places. The 205 pounds of powder issued to the stone blowers at Banks's, the largest single item of the month, shows that the works there were still being cut out of the rock. Each soldier's funeral was marked with blank cartridges, a small volley over the grave. The month's account recorded two of them, for John Parker and for Cummings, a reminder that the garrison was still losing men to sickness after the deaths of the summer. Some stores went outside the artillery. Nitre, or saltpetre, was issued to the hospital, where it was used as a medicine to reduce fever. Camphor and beeswax also had medical and preserving uses. The 100 pounds of old iron went to the *Prime*, probably as ballast or for repairs after the damage she suffered in the gale. A portfire was a slow-burning paper case of composition used to fire a gun, and a handspike was the wooden lever used to traverse a heavy gun on its carriage.

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		3 lb. Signed Willm. Pierce Capt. Artillery	
227	223	1781 Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Companys Table in September 1781 64 Bottles Madeira 4 - - 22 Do. Port 1 14 10 31 Do. Lisbon 2 9 1 6 Do. Sherry - 9 6 71 Do. Beer 1 3 0 16 Gallns. Arrack 2 0 - 225 lb. Mutton 4 13 9 4 Goats 2 - - 57 lb. Pork 1 0 6 15 lb. Butter - 7 6 2 Geese - 10 - 70 lb. Candy 1 19 - 705 lb. Flour 5 17 6 £ 29 1 4 Bot. for Table 2 Turkeys - 10 - 65 Fowls 4 17 6 4 Ducks - 6 - 2 Geese - 10 - 12 Pigs 3 - - £ 9 3 6 On the 6th Instant We received the following Letter from Commodore George Johnstone Vizt. On His Publick Service To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the Island of St. Helena Gentlemen Upon receiving your Letter setting forth that being in want of some Pieces of Ordnance for the Defence of this Island and understanding that there are Six twenty four Pound Brass Guns	The account of provisions used at the Company's table in September 1781 followed. Madeira wine, 64 bottles, £4 0s 0d Port wine, 22 bottles, £1 14s 10d Lisbon wine, 31 bottles, £2 9s 1d Sherry, 6 bottles, £0 9s 6d Beer, 71 bottles, £1 3s 0d Arrack, 16 gallons, £2 8s 0d Mutton, 225 pounds, £4 13s 9d Goats, 4, £2 0s 0d Pork, 57 pounds, £1 8s 6d Butter, 15 pounds, £0 7s 6d Geese, 2, £0 10s 0d Sugar candy, 78 pounds, £1 19s 0d Flour, 705 pounds, £5 17s 6d Total, £29 1s 4d The provisions bought for the table followed. Turkeys, 2, £0 10s 0d Fowls, 65, £4 17s 6d Ducks, 4, £0 6s 0d Geese, 2, £0 10s 0d Pigs, 12, £3 0s 0d Total, £9 3s 6d On 6 October 1781 the Council received letters from Commodore George Johnstone, marked as public service and addressed to the Governor and Council. In the first he referred to their letter explaining that the island needed guns for its defence, and that they understood six brass 24-pounders lay aboard one of the prizes. **Interpretations** The table used 705 pounds of flour in September, almost as much as the 744 pounds of July. July had seen the whole homeward fleet in the road, while September had only the last of Johnstone's squadron. The flour shortage had eased since the *Prime* and *Bellmont* arrived from India and the Company's mill came into use. Even so, the table's demand stayed high, which suggests that the Governor's household continued to entertain the officers of the King's ships until they sailed.
228	224	8th October " Guns on board one of the Prizes and requesting I will spare them " to you upon the Honble. Company's Account for the above purpose." I immediately ordered that the Cargo of the Hollandtsmorde? should be searched, and if those Cannon if it were practicable, and I have now the Honour to acquaint you that the Boat which brings this Letter carry's them to the Shore, and as many of the Shot as can be collected. With regard to the Prices, I propose the same mode	Johnstone wrote that the Council had asked him to let the island have the six brass 24-pounders on the Company's account. As soon as he received the request, he ordered the cargo of the *Held Woltemade* to be cleared away so that the guns could be reached, if that proved possible. He now reported that the boat carrying his letter was bringing the guns ashore, together with as much of their shot as could be collected. As for the price, he proposed to settle it in the same way he had set out for the provisions in another letter of the same day. He closed by assuring the Council that he would always be glad to help the island in any way he could. Johnstone signed the letter aboard the *Romney* in the road at St Helena on 6 October 1781.

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		of ascertaining this as is observed with Respect to what I have proposed respecting the articles of Provisions Contained in my Letter of this Days date. I have only further to assure you that I shall always feel myself happy when I can be of any Service to the Island of St. Helena. I am with the Greatest Respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient and most humble Servant Signed Geo. Johnstone Romney in St. Helena Road the 6th of October 1781 On the Publick Service To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the Island of St. Helena Gentlemen Not knowing what demands might come upon me by the Ships that were captured from the East Indies and in the expectation of the Store Ships I might still arrive I have hitherto delayed specifically answering your Letter of the 14th September, setting forth that from the uncertainty of the arrival of your expected Store Ships at these precarious times and apprehending should any accident happen to them this Garrison may be subjected to very great Distress in respect to the articles of Salt Provisions and Flour having at present but a small quantity of either in Store and requesting if I have any of the above articles which I can conveniently spare that I would assist this Settlement therewith on account of the Honourable	The second letter, also marked as public service and addressed to the Governor and Council, answered their letter of 14 September 1781. Johnstone explained that he had delayed a formal reply. He had not known what demands the ships expected from the East Indies might make on his stores, and he had hoped the island's own store ships might still arrive. He recalled the Council's warning that if any mishap befell those store ships, the garrison could suffer great hardship, since it held only a little salt meat and flour. The Council had asked him to supply the settlement with any of those provisions he could conveniently spare, on the Company's account. **Interpretations** Getting at the guns meant clearing the cargo of a captured ship, a heavy job for the squadron's crews, and Johnstone ordered it at once. The *Held Woltemade* had been bound from Amsterdam to Ceylon, so her brass 24-pounders were probably meant for the Dutch fortifications there, not for the ship's own defence. That is why they lay under the cargo rather than mounted on deck. The Council thus came to arm Buttermilk Point with guns cast to defend a Dutch colony in Asia. Johnstone's delay over the provisions had a stated reason. He held the squadron's stores against the needs of ships still expected from India, and he waited to see whether the Company's own store ships would make his help unnecessary. He settled the price of the guns and the provisions together, by the same method, which suggests the sums would be fixed on the Company's account and recovered in London, not paid in cash on the island.
229	225	1781 " Honourable Company " But as the Period of Our Sailing now draws near it becomes necessary to do something decisive on the subject. The affairs of the East India Company are now so complicated with those of the Nation that I consider the sufferings of their Settlements as a Public concern, and the Island of St. Helena becoming from the War with the Dutch an object of the utmost importance I shall therefore order all the Flour and Provisions which I can possibly spare to be landed for the use of the Garrison as you propose and as this will amount to Fifty Thousand five hundred Weight Pounds of Flour, I wish also that all the Provisions we can get from the Hollandtsmorde Prize shall also be put on shore and delivered to you on account of the Company, the Contents of which are now preparing. Respecting both these articles you will give me separate Bills on the East India Company at such a valuation as shall be fairly ascertained here by any three reputable Persons you may appoint as Arbitrators of the Price between Us and I am further willing to agree that in case the Directors of the East India Company	Johnstone went on to explain that with his squadron's sailing date close, he now had to act on the Council's request. In his view the affairs of the East India Company had become so bound up with those of the nation that supporting its settlements was a public duty. The war with the Dutch had made St Helena especially important. He would therefore order all the flour and provisions he could possibly spare to be landed for the garrison, as the Council had asked. Since that would still fall short of what the Council wisely wanted to hold, he would also have all the provisions that could be taken from the *Held Woltemade* put ashore and delivered on the Company's account. The prize had now been formally condemned. For both the provisions and the guns, the Council was to give Johnstone separate bills drawn on the East India Company. Their value would be fixed on the island by any three reputable people the Council chose to arbitrate the price. If the Directors objected to the price, Johnstone agreed that the bargain could be reviewed in England by two arbitrators, one chosen by him and one by the Company. A unanimous decision of theirs would be final. If they disagreed, they would call in a third person, whose decision would be equally final. Johnstone considered this the fairest way to settle the matter and could foresee no possible objection to it. He signed the letter aboard the *Romney* in the road at St Helena on 6 October 1781. A third letter from Johnstone, also marked as public service and addressed to the Governor and Council, followed. It concerned the victualler *Admiral Keppel.*

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		shall have any objection to the Prices so settled, the Bargain shall undergo a revision by an Arbitration in England of three Persons, one to be chosen on my part and one on the Part of the Company, whose Judgment of Commissioners to be final whereof they shall then disagree as to appoint a third Person to determine between them whose Judgment shall equally be final. This I conceive to be the most equitable mode of adjusting this matter and not liable to any possible objection that I can foresee. I am with the greatest Respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient and most humble Servant Signed Geo. Johnstone Romney in St. Helena Road the 6th October 1781. On the Public Service To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the Island of St. Helena Gentlemen I have on board the Admiral Keppell Victualler	**Interpretations** Johnstone's reasoning explains why a naval commander gave up his own squadron's stores to a trading company's garrison. He treated the Company's settlements as part of the nation's war effort, not as private property. With the Dutch now enemies and the Cape in their hands, St Helena was the only safe place for British ships to call between Europe and India. If its garrison went short of food, the whole route to the East was at risk. The condemnation of the *Held Woltemade* by the island's prize commission was what made the sale of her cargo possible. Until a prize was condemned, her goods could not lawfully be sold. Once it was, Johnstone could deliver her provisions to the Company and take bills in return, with the proceeds going to his crews as prize money. The commission the Council granted on 6 September 1781 therefore served the island directly by releasing the prize's food for the garrison. The arbitration scheme protected both sides. The Council could not set a price on its own, and Johnstone could not name his own figure. Three local arbitrators fixed a value at once so that the bills could be drawn before the squadron sailed. The review in England allowed the Directors to challenge a price they thought too high, without holding up the delivery. A Council with no authority to spend large sums on its own judgement could accept the goods, knowing the Company kept the last word.
230	226	8th October Victualler a larger Quantity of Old Cannon Shot than I shall want for the squadron under my Command. As I perceive the Garrison at your request the Stores and Provisions in the Admiral Keppell Victualler I propose to carry back with me. I therefore propose to dispose of it at the request of the Board Solely on account of the Publick, at the market Price of these articles of Government. This will amount to six shillings and one Penny three farthings pr. Gallon, but I leave this Transaction may pass through your Board in a Publick manner and that the Cask may be surveyed and gauged by your Officers, and as there Supplies I shall also leave here a supply of Provisions of different Species for His Majesty's Ships which I propose to leave on this station and Request the said Provisions may be lodged in your stores and proper receipts given for the same to be delivered to the Commanding Officers of His Majesty's Ships. I am with the greatest Respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient and most humble Servant Signed Geo. Johnstone Romney in St. Helena Road the 6th October 1781 To the above Letters the Board wrote the following Vizt. To Commodore George Johnstone Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships &c. &c. at St. Helena Sir We have the Honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several Letters of the 6th Instant respecting Provisions &c. &c. and	Johnstone's third letter, also dated 6 October 1781, concerned the victualler *Admiral Keppel*. She carried more old Jamaica rum than his squadron would need. He was giving the garrison the flour and provisions aboard her at the Council's request, and it would be awkward to carry the rum back. He therefore proposed, at the request of the arrack society, to sell it to them on the public account at the net price it had cost the government, which came to £0 6s 1¾d a gallon. He asked that the sale go through the Council openly, with the casks inspected and measured by the Council's officers as well as by men he would appoint. Johnstone also planned to leave a supply of various provisions for the King's ship he meant to station at the island. He asked the Council to store them in the Company's warehouses and give proper receipts, so that they could be handed over to the commanding officer of the King's ships when needed. He signed the letter aboard the *Romney* in the road at St Helena on 6 October 1781. The Council replied to Commodore Johnstone as commander-in-chief of the King's squadron at St Helena. It acknowledged his letters of 6 October 1781 about provisions and the other matters. It told him how much it valued his readiness to help the island on this and every other occasion. It also thanked him for his fair proposals for setting the price of the goods he was sparing and the way they would be paid for. The Council accepted those proposals at once and undertook to appoint suitable people to value the goods. **Interpretations** Johnstone took care that the rum sale could not be mistaken for private dealing. The rum belonged to the Crown, and a naval officer who sold the King's stores at a foreign port could later be accused of profiting from them. Selling at the government's own cost, through the Council in public, with the casks measured by both sides, left a clear record that no one had made money on the transaction. The buyer was the arrack society, which held the island's monopoly of spirits and now ran the garrison canteen. The rum therefore went straight into the

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		assure you We are highly sensible of your ready compliance in granting Us your assistance upon this and all other occasions for the Good of this Island and are extremely sensible of the equitable Proposals you make for adjusting the Price and mode of payment of the articles you spare Us, which We readily accede to, and shall appoint proper	canteen system the Council had set up in July to control the soldiers' drinking. Johnstone's plan to leave a King's ship on station showed that the island would not be left undefended when the squadron sailed. The provisions for that ship were lodged in the Company's warehouses instead of being kept aboard. They stayed safe ashore, and the storekeeper's receipts would show the naval officer exactly what he could draw on. The arrangement tied the navy and the Company's stores together for as long as the war made a guard ship necessary.
231	227	1781 proper Persons, jointly with those you shall please to name to ascertain the Value thereof. A convenient Store Room will be appointed for the Reception of what Provisions and Stores you may think proper to leave for the Use of His Majesty's Ships for which Receipts shall be given and the articles delivered agreeable to your Directions. Your letter complying with the request of the Society established for the purchase of Spirituous Liquors and of appointing them with what Rum you can conveniently spare, will be entered on this Day's Consultation, and the Company's Collector will attend to survey and Gauge the same. We have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect Sir Your most Obedient humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henry Bazett St. Helena 8th Octr. 1781 In Consequence of the foregoing Letters from Commodore George Johnstone We have appointed Mr. Matthew Bazett of Council, and Mr. James Desfountain Assistant Storekeeper. The Storekeeper being ill, on the Part of the Honble. Company, to meet Mr. Mr. Robt. Maxwell on the Part of Government to settle the Prices of Provisions articles Commodore Johnstone Supplies for the use of this Settlement at the Board's requisition. The Subsequent Letter was received from the Engineer Vizt. To the Worshipful the Governor &c. Council Island St. Helena Gentlemen There appearing to me a great uncertainty of receiving a supply of the article of Gun Powder, which I understand now obtained upon application to the Commander of His Majesty's Fleet. I think in the critical situation of affairs, of which you are the Judges, the expediency	The Council's reply continued. It would appoint suitable people to value the goods jointly with those Johnstone chose to name. A suitable storeroom would be set aside for the provisions and stores he wished to leave for the King's ships. Receipts would be given for them, and they would be handed out as he directed. His letter agreeing to the request of the society set up to buy spirits, and offering it whatever rum he could spare, would be entered in that day's consultation. The Company's collector would attend to inspect and measure the casks. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 8 October 1781. Following Johnstone's letters, the Council appointed Matthew Bazett, a member of Council, and James Desfountain, the assistant storekeeper, to act for the Company. The storekeeper himself was ill. They were to meet Robert Maxwell, acting for the government, and settle the price of the provisions Johnstone was leaving for the settlement at the Council's request. The Council then received a letter from William Pierce, the engineer, addressed to the Governor and Council. Pierce wrote that the island seemed very unlikely to receive the gunpowder he had heard could be obtained by applying to the commodore of the King's fleet. In what he called the critical state of affairs, which the Council would judge, he thought it advisable to take a further step.
232	228	8th October expediency of getting a strong Lading in that Essential article cannot at this time be avoided, to the less amount than 100 Barrels. The Brass Cannon have been all searched and prove to be compleat, so the Carriages which are preparing with	William Pierce's letter went on to say that a fresh supply of gunpowder from England was very uncertain, and he had heard that powder could now be had by applying to the commodore of the King's fleet. In what he called the critical state of affairs, which was for the Council to judge, he thought any shortfall in so essential a store should be made up with no less than 100 barrels.

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		the utmost Expedition from the Best materials We can find. In one of the Guns No. 3 the vent was entered to the depth of ½ of an Inch over the Proof according which a want of no Condemnation. I am a fully this Ship to be able to lay before you the Accounts for the Instant Lanata? I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient and humble Servant Signed Willm. Pierce St. Helena 8th October 1781 Upon considering the above Letter We addressed Commodore George Johnstone as follows Vizt. To Commodore George Johnstone Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships &c. &c. at St. Helena Sir The Captain of Artillery representing to Us that the Garrison is in want of a supply of Gun Powder, and of Powder from the Squadron under your Command and considering the uncertainty of receiving a fresh supply from England request if you have any of that Article to spare you will be pleased to supply Us with one Hundred Barrels on the Honble. Company's Account, or such Quantity thereof you can conveniently part with, for which We shall esteem ourselves much Obliged.	Pierce also reported that every one of the brass cannon had been searched and found sound. Their carriages were being built as fast as possible from the best materials available. In one gun, number 3, the searcher had gone in to a depth of a tenth of an inch near the reinforce ring, but a flaw of that size gave no grounds for rejecting the gun. He hoped to lay the business of the present quarter before the Council within a few days. Pierce signed the letter at St Helena on 8 October 1781. After considering Pierce's letter, the Council wrote to Commodore George Johnstone as commander-in-chief of the King's squadron at St Helena. It explained that the captain of artillery had learned that the squadron could supply gunpowder. Since a fresh supply from England was so uncertain, the Council asked Johnstone to let the island have 100 barrels on the Company's account if he could spare them. If he could not spare that many, it asked for whatever quantity he could conveniently part with, and it said it would be much obliged for his help. **Interpretations** Before the Company paid for the prize guns, Pierce had them searched. A searcher was an iron probe with sprung points that a gunner pushed down the bore to catch on any cavity left in the metal when the gun was cast. A hidden flaw could make a gun burst when fired and kill its crew. The reinforce ring marked the thickened part of the barrel around the powder chamber, where the strain of firing was greatest, so a flaw there mattered most. Pierce judged that a cavity a tenth of an inch deep was too shallow to reject the gun. The inspection also protected the Company in the valuation, since a gun found defective could not fairly be priced as sound. On 24 September 1781 the Council told Captain Dundas of the *Prime* that it held no more powder than the island's defence required, and it sent him to Johnstone instead. Two weeks later it asked Johnstone for 100 barrels for itself. The two decisions are consistent. With no reliable supply from England in wartime, every barrel the island held was needed for its batteries, and the squadron was the only source from which the stock could be rebuilt. September's account showed how fast the stock was being used: 541 pounds of powder in a single month, much of it for practice firing and blasting rock for the new works.
233	229	1781 We have the Honor to be with Respect Sir Your most Obedient humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 8th October 1781 The Governor informed the Board that Mr. Martin Harper a Discreet and well behaved Young Man has been particularly recommended to him, has therefore appointed him a Cadet in the room of Mr. William Mason, who had leave to proceed to Bombay. On the 15th of last Month Captain Grant of His Majesty's Ship Hannibal delivered up Thomas Hobbs Soldier who Deserted this Garrison last Year, when Corporal of the Port Guard. John Skottowe	The Council's letter asking Commodore Johnstone for gunpowder was signed at St Helena on 8 October 1781 by Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. The Governor told the Council that Martin Harper, a sensible and well-behaved young man, had been strongly recommended to him. He had therefore appointed Harper a cadet in place of William Mason, who had been given leave to go to Bombay. On 15 September 1781 Captain Grant of His Majesty's ship *Hannibal* handed over Thomas Hird, a soldier who had deserted from the garrison the previous year while serving as corporal of the guard at Rupert's. The Governor, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The Governor did not ask the Council to approve Harper's appointment. He simply told it what he had done. A cadetship was in the Governor's own gift, and the vacancy left by Mason's departure for Bombay was his to fill. The recommendation that won Harper the place mattered more than any formal

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		Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	test. Cadetships were the first step towards a commission, so the Governor's patronage decided which young men of the island would become its future officers. The name ties Harper to the family whose estate the Council had divided between Elizabeth Merchant and her brother James that same day. Martin Harper was perhaps a younger member of that family. Captain Grant's return of Thomas Hird showed the navy's rule on deserters applied in both directions. Johnstone had kept John Davis and Charles Bailey in September because they had deserted from the King's service before they ever joined the garrison. Hird had no earlier naval claim on him. He had deserted from the Company's garrison and only later turned up aboard a King's ship, so the navy gave him back. Leaving his post as corporal of the guard at Rupert's, one of the landing places the island most needed to watch, made his desertion a serious military offence. He would probably have been court-martialled under the Articles of War.
234	230	15th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th Day of October 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Wm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 8th October 1781. Friday the 12th arrived the Honble. Company's Brig Fox from England by which opportunity We received a Packet from the Honble. the Court of Directors which We perused and read. The Storekeeper this Day brought in his Collection and the Paymaster his accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1st. of July and Ending the 30th of September last, which were Examined approved and are as follows Vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 15 October 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 8 October 1781. The Company's brig *Fox* arrived from England on Friday 13 October 1781. She brought a packet of letters from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened and read. That day the storekeeper presented his account of collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1781. The Council examined and approved them, and they followed. **Interpretations** The brig *Fox* was a small vessel the Company used to carry letters and light stores to St Helena. She was not the Indiaman *Fox*, under Captain Blackburn, that sailed with the homeward fleet on 30 July 1781. A fast brig could make the passage from England more quickly than a laden Indiaman and was less valuable if taken. That made her a useful way for the Directors to send orders in wartime, when the island's regular store ships were overdue and might never arrive. The storekeeper's collection was his account of the money taken for goods sold from the Company's stores during the quarter. Those sales were the treasury's main source of new cash. The Council examined it in the same sitting as the paymaster's accounts so that what came in could be checked against what went out.
235	231	1781 Collection of Goods Sold and Delivered out of the Honble. Company's Ware House from the 1st. July to the 30th September 1781. Sold at 10 pr. Cent Sugar and Candy Vizt. 57 - 3 - 1 Sugar 85 8 8 23 - 3 - 8 Candy 55 15 9 141 4 5 Flour Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 113 3 24 Flour 106 7 4 372 1 14 Biscuit 347 11 - 453 18 4 Rice and Paddy Vizt.	The storekeeper's collection listed the goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouse between 1 July and 30 September 1781. All of them were sold at 10 per cent above cost. Sugar, 57 hundredweight 3 quarters 1 pound, £85 8s 8d Sugar candy, 23 hundredweight 3 quarters 8 pounds, £55 15s 9d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £141 4s 5d Flour, 113 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 pounds, £106 7s 4d Baked flour, 372 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 pounds, £347 11s 0d Total for flour, £453 18s 4d Rice, 190 hundredweight 3 quarters 2 pounds, £63 11s 10d Paddy, 65 hundredweight 1 quarter 21 pounds, £14 14s 6d Total for rice and paddy, £78 6s 4d

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		190 3 2 Rice 63 11 10 65 1 24 Paddy 14 14 6 78 6 4 Soap C. qrs. lb. 13 2 19 43 1 6 Salt 27 Bushels 6 0 11 Tea Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 1 2 23 Single 10 0 9 1 1 0 Congo 8 - 11 2 3 11 Bohea 10 1 11 36 Canisters Hyson 12 12 - 10 lb. Souchong 3 1 8 44 14 5 Cordage C. qrs. lb. 3 2 25 8 10 10 Cheese 2 5 0 14 3 4 Lace? 1 3 20 2 14 10 Beef and Pork Vizt. 1055 lb. Beef 185 10 - 2290 lb. Pork 229 12 - 415 2 - Leases Vizt. 10 Brick? 3 Wheel - 9 4 960 ft. Oak? 5 9 6 5 18 10 Corks Vizt. 24 Gross 3 - - 2 lb. Hemp? "Hurt" - 1 0 3 1 0 Carried Over £ 1215 5 5	Soap, 13 hundredweight 2 quarters 19 pounds, £43 1s 6d Salt, 27⅝ bushels, £6 0s 11d Singlo tea, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 23 pounds, £10 8s 9d Congou tea, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 8 pounds, £8 0s 11d Bohea tea, 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 11 pounds, £10 11s 1d Hyson tea, 36 canisters, £12 12s 0d Souchong tea, 10 canisters, £3 1s 8d Total for tea, £44 14s 5d Cordage, 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 pounds, £8 10s 10d Chelloe cloth, 25 pieces, £14 3s 4d Sago, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 pounds, £2 14s 10d Beef, 1,835 pounds, £183 10s 0d Pork, 2,296 pounds, £229 12s 0d Total for beef and pork, £413 2s 0d Whole peas, 1½ bushels, £0 9s 4d Split peas, 9½ bushels, £5 9s 6d Total for peas, £5 18s 10d Corks, 24 gross, £3 0s 0d Sheet cork, 2 pounds, £0 1s 0d Total for corks, £3 1s 0d Carried over, £1,215 5s 5d **Interpretations** The Company sold its stores to the island's inhabitants at cost plus 10 per cent. Because the Company was the only regular importer, settlers bought their flour, salt meat, sugar, soap and tea from its warehouse at prices it set. The markup was modest, but the sales were the treasury's main income each quarter. Flour and baked bread alone brought in more than a third of the total. Even in a year of shortage, the Company went on selling flour to the settlers. It rationed what it gave to passing ships, but the garrison and the island's households still drew on the same stock. The tea was all Chinese, from the cheapest to the dearest. Bohea was the coarse black tea drunk by ordinary households. Congou and souchong were finer black teas, and singlo and hyson were green teas, with hyson the most expensive. Hyson and souchong were sold by the canister rather than by weight, as befitted luxury goods. Chelloe was a coarse checked or striped cotton cloth woven in India, used for clothing slaves and servants and for household linen. Sheet cork was cork bark in flat pieces, cut by hand into stoppers and bungs. The gross of ready-made corks, 144 to the gross, were for bottling wine and spirits.
236	232	15th October Brot. Over £ 1215 5 5 Arrack 153 Gallns. 30 5 - Candles 9 3 5 Wax 126 14 9 Copper Money 9 1 6 Half Pence 10 19 10 Leather Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 3 1 6 Sole 20 11 - 34 Calf Skins 20 10 10 41 1 10 Blankets 7 Ordinary 1 17 11 Nankeen 586 Pieces 75 13 10 Beer 41 Gallons 9 2 5	The storekeeper's collection continued from the £1,215 5s 5d brought over. Brought over, £1,215 5s 5d Arrack, 153 gallons, £38 5s 0d Wax candles, 9 hundredweight 3 quarters 3 pounds, £126 14s 9d Copper money, 9,116 halfpence, £18 19s 10d Sole leather, 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 6 pounds, £20 11s 0d Calf skins, 34, £20 10s 10d Total for leather, £41 1s 10d Ordinary blankets, 7, £1 17s 11d Nankeen cloth, 586 pieces, £75 13s 10d Beer, 141 gallons, £9 2s 1d Grapnel anchor, 1, weighing 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 9 pounds, £1 12s 11d Three-quart tea kettles, 7, £4 4s 0d Five-quart tea kettle, 1, £0 10s 8d Snuffers, 2 pairs, £0 7s 9d Bottling cock, 1, £0 4s 10d Boiling kettle, 1, £2 17s 3d Total for brass and copper ware, £8 12s 6d

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		Anchors? Grapnails &c. C. qrs. lb. 3 0 9 1 12 11 Braziery Vizt. 7 Three Quart Tea Kettles 4 4 - 1 Five Quart Tea Do. 1 10 0 2 lb. Snuffers - 1 9 1 Bottling Cock - 4 10 1 Boiling Kettle 2 17 3 8 12 6 Books Vizt. 2 Small Common Prayer - 6 0 1 Do. Bible - 7 11 1 Testament - 2 1 - 16 0 Broad Cloth Vizt. 3 Yds. 0 qrs. Do. Scarlet 3 17 11 62 Do. Blue 60 10 - 2 Do. Brown 1 10 6 24 Do. Fine 25 3 9 50 Do. Coloured Cassimere? 26 14 10 2¾ Do. Crimson Do. 1 7 4 120 - 4 Canvas 222 Yds. Osnaburg 12 19 - Cuttlery Vizt. 25 Fine Ivory Combs 3 17 1 52 Pocket Do. Do. 3 5 - 45 Buckling? Do. 1 6 3 94 Horn Do. 1 11 4 9 19 8 Carried Over £ 1691 2 1	Small Book of Common Prayer, 2, £0 6s 8d Small Bible, 1, £0 7s 11d Testament, 1, £0 2s 1d Total for books, £0 16s 8d Scarlet broadcloth, 3⅝ yards, £3 17s 11d Blue broadcloth, 62 yards, £60 18s 0d Brown broadcloth, 2 yards, £1 18s 6d Puce broadcloth, 24¾ yards, £25 3s 9d Coloured cassimere, $58^{7}/_{10}$ yards, £26 14s 10d Crimson cassimere, 2¾ yards, £1 7s 4d Total for broadcloth, £120 0s 4d Osnaburg canvas, 222 yards, £12 19s 1d Fine ivory combs, 25, £3 17s 1d Ordinary ivory combs, 52, £3 5s 0d Buckling combs, 45, £1 6s 3d Horn combs, 94, £1 11s 4d Combs carried over, £9 19s 8d Carried over, £1,691 2s 1d **Interpretations** The Company sold copper halfpence out of its warehouse like any other goods. The 9,116 halfpence brought in exactly their face value of £18 19s 10d, with no markup. Small change was always scarce on an island that depended on passing ships for its money. The warehouse supplied copper so that settlers and soldiers could make small purchases, and it took silver or cash notes in exchange. That kept the island's petty trade running without the Council having to mint coin of its own. Most of the cloth on this page was English woollen. Broadcloth was a heavy, close-woven woollen cloth used for coats and uniforms, and the 62 yards of blue were probably made into officers' and civilians' coats. Cassimere was a lighter twilled woollen used for waistcoats and breeches. Nankeen, by contrast, was a yellowish cotton cloth from China, named after Nanking, and favoured for summer clothing. Osnaburg was a coarse, unbleached linen named after the German town of Osnabrück, used for sacking, sails and slaves' clothing. Buckling combs were wide-toothed combs used to set the curls of a wig.
237	233	1781 Brot. Over £ 1691 2 1 Cuttlery Carrd. Over 9 19 8 7 Shoe Knives - 2 11 2 Butchers Do. - 1 10 2 Pruning - 2 6 12 Green Handle Knives & Forks 2 5 0 1 pr. Razors - 7 4 3 pr. Leather Garters - 2 - 12 18 11 Cart Wheels 1 Wheel Barrow - 19 7 Deals Vizt. 20 Double 5 16 0 2 Baulks 1 4 9	The storekeeper's collection continued from the £1,671 2s 1d brought over. Brought over, £1,671 2s 1d Combs brought over, £9 19s 8d Shoe knives, 7, £0 2s 11d Butchers' knives, 2, £0 0s 10d Pruning knives, 2, £0 2s 6d Green-handled knives and forks, 12, £2 3s 8d Carvers, 1 pair, £0 7s 4d Leather garters, 3 pairs, £0 2s 0d Total for cutlery, £12 18s 11d Cart wheels and 1 wheelbarrow, £0 19s 7d Double deals, 28, £5 16s 8d Balks, 2, £1 4s 9d Coffin, 1, £0 3s 8d Wainscot boards, 4, £0 14s 8d Total for deals, £7 19s 9d Earthenware milk pans, 12, £1 1s 6d Earthenware gallon mortars, 4, £7 1s 10d Earthenware half-gallon mortars, 4, £3 17s 4d Total for earthenware, £12 0s 8d Wine glasses, 12, £0 5s 6d Beer glasses, 58, £2 10s 9d Jelly glasses, 24, £0 10s 4d Tumblers, 79, £3 9s 2d

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		1 Coffin - 3 0 1 Wainscot Boards - 14 0 7 19 9 Earthen Ware Vizt. 12 Milk Pans 1 1 6 4 Gallon Mortars? "Gallon Mugs" 7 1 10 4 Half Galln. Do. 3 9 4 12 - 8 Glass Ware Vizt. 12 Wine Glasses - 5 6 50 Beer Do. 2 10 9 24 Jelly Do. - 10 4 79 Tumblers 3 9 2 28 Quart Decanters 3 10 - 11 Pint Do. - 18 4 30 Square Glass 7 by 9 1 9 6 209 Do. 8 by 10 7 4 6 29 Do. 10 by 15 1 13 6 24 Do. 10 by 16 1 0 - 1 Candle Shade - 0 3 22 0 2 Hats Vizt. 27 Mens fine 20 11 3 20 Boys Black 6 15 - 14 Do. Coloured 7 15 2 35 1 5 Carried Over £ 1762 10 7	Quart decanters, 28, £3 10s 0d Pint decanters, 11, £0 18s 4d Window glass, 38 panes of 6 by 8 inches, £0 9s 6d Window glass, 209 panes of 8 by 10 inches, £7 4s 6d Window glass, 29 panes of 10 by 15 inches, £1 13s 10d Window glass, 24 panes of 10 by 16 inches, £1 0s 0d Candle shade, 1, £0 0s 3d Total for glassware, £22 0s 2d Men's fine hats, 21, £20 11s 3d Boys' black hats, 20, £6 15s 0d Boys' coloured hats, 14, £7 15s 2d Total for hats, £35 1s 5d Carried over, £1,762 10s 7d
238	234	15th October Brot. Over £ 1762 10 7 Hosiery Vizt. Hose pr. 27 Thread Stockings 11 11 6 10 Do. India Cotton Do. 4 0 4 8 Do. English Do. Do. 3 4 - 10 Do. Mens Worsted Do. 3 12 - 1 Do. Do. Silk Do. - 10 2 16 Do. Boys Cotton Do. 2 0 8 7 Do. Do. Worsted Do. - 15 9 10 pr. Black Do. Breeches 4 17 6 31 15 11 Hooks and Lines Vizt. 150 No. 7 - 0 7 2425 9 5 13 2 1175 12 1 11 4	The storekeeper's collection continued from the £1,762 10s 7d brought over. Brought over, £1,762 10s 7d Ordinary thread stockings, 69 pairs, £11 11s 6d India cotton stockings, 10 pairs, £4 0s 4d English cotton stockings, 8 pairs, £3 4s 0d Men's worsted stockings, 18 pairs, £3 12s 0d Men's silk stockings, 1 pair, £0 18s 2d Boys' cotton stockings, 16 pairs, £2 8s 8d Boys' worsted stockings, 7 pairs, £0 15s 9d Black worsted breeches, 10 pairs, £4 17s 6d Total for hosiery, £31 15s 11d Fish hooks, 150 of number 7, £0 8s 7d Fish hooks, 2,425 of number 9, £5 13s 2d Fish hooks, 1,175 of number 12, £1 11s 4d Fish hooks, 3,575 of number 17, £1 7s 0d Fish hooks, 3,200 of number 18, £10 8s 0d Large fish hooks, 14, £0 4s 5d Fishing lines, 354 of number 1, £4 13s 5d Fishing lines, 1,070 of number 2, £16 14s 4d Hamburg lines, 11, £0 16s 6d Deep-sea lines, 4, £1 2s 0d Twine, 42 skeins, £1 8s 0d Cotton wick, 2¼ pounds, £0 6s 5d Marline, 4 skeins, £0 1s 2d Total for hooks and lines, £35 5s 0d Silk thread, 70 skeins, £1 9s 2d Mohair thread, 21 skeins, £0 10s 6d

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		Hooks 3575 17 1 7 - 3200 10 10 0 - Do. 14 Large - 4 5 354 No. 1 4 13 5 1070 2 10 14 4 11 Mambo? - 16 6 Lines 4 Deep Sea 1 2 - 42 lb. Twine 1 0 - 1¼ lb. Cotton Wick - 6 5 4 lb. Marline - 1 2 35 5 - Haberdashery Vizt. 70 Hk. Silk 1 9 2 21 Do. Mohair - 10 6 10½ Doz. Mohair Coat Buttons - 16 11 64 Do. Do. Brest Do. 1 6 0 2 Do. Gilt Coat Do. - 3 10 7 Do. Gilt Waistcoat Do. 1 10 6 8 Do. Do. Brest Do. 1 2 - 2½ Do. Spangled Do. Do. - 13 9 6¼ Grosses Shirt Do. - 7 4 15 Do. White Wash? Do. 1 15 - 54 Do. Hair Shirts? 1 2 6 11 1 11 Haberdashery Carried Over 3 1 11 Carried Over £ 1829 11 6	Mohair coat buttons, 10½ dozen, £0 16s 11d Mohair breast buttons, 64 dozen, £1 6s 8d Gilt coat buttons, 2 dozen, £0 3s 10d Gilt basket coat buttons, 7 dozen, £1 10s 6d Gilt basket breast buttons, 8 dozen, £1 2s 0d Spangled breast buttons, 2½ dozen, £0 13s 9d Short buttons, 6½ gross, £0 17s 4d White waistcoat buttons, 15 dozen, £1 15s 0d Horn button moulds, 54 dozen, £1 2s 6d Haberdashery carried over, £3 1s 11d Carried over, £1,829 11s 6d **Interpretations** The warehouse sold more than 10,000 fish hooks and over 1,400 fishing lines in a single quarter. Fishing was one of the island's main sources of food. In a year when salt meat ran short and planters' cattle were taken for beef, the sea made up much of the difference for both settlers and slaves. The numbered hooks and lines ran from small sizes for inshore fish to heavy deep-sea lines for fishing off the edge of the island's steep shelf. Hamburg lines were a strong grade of fishing line, originally made in Hamburg. Marline was a light, two-stranded tarred line used by seamen for binding the ends of ropes.
239	235	1781 Brought Over £ 1829 11 6 Haberdashery Brought Over 3 1 11 99 pcs. Tape 1 13 - ¼ lb. Whalebone - - - 10 Gross Gartering? 5 10 10 4 pcs. Gold Lace - 11 6 10¼ Yds. Buckram - 12 - 36 lb. Coloured Thread 6 9 - 53 lb. White & Brown Do. 17 0 4 1 9 No. 200 Do. 1 10 9 1 15 No. 34 Do. 2 5 10	The storekeeper's collection continued from the £1,829 11s 6d brought over. Brought over, £1,829 11s 6d Tape, 99 pieces, £3 1s 11d Whalebone, 4½ pounds, £1 13s 0d Epaulettes, 10, £5 10s 10d Gold lace, 47¼ yards, £11 0s 6d Buckram, 10¼ yards, £0 12s 0d Coloured thread, 36 pounds, £6 9s 0d Whitened brown thread, 55 pounds, £17 8s 4d Number 28 thread, 1 pound 15 ounces, £1 18s 9d Number 34 thread, 1 pound 9 ounces, £2 5s 10d Unicorn cord, 3 pieces, £0 7s 6d Total for haberdashery, £62 3s 10d Iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, 2, £0 13s 6d Iron-rimmed locks with pull-backs, 2, £0 9s 0d Chest locks, 12, £1 4s 0d Stock locks, 6, £0 15s 9d Padlock, 1, £0 1s 6d Wood axes, 7, £1 1s 3d Ash axe handles, 25, £0 14s 0d

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		3 lb. Common Cord - 7 6 62 3 10 Iron Ware Vizt. 2 Iron Rimd. Lock Brass Knobs - 13 6 2 Do. Do. Bell Backs? - 9 0 12 Chest Do. 1 4 - 1 Stock Do. - 15 9 1 Pad Lock - 1 6 7 Hatchets? "Axes" 1 1 3 25 Iron? Hoes? - 14 - 6 Scythe Stones - 1 3 15 Iron Shovels 3 7 6 6 Spades 1 6 6 16 Small Frying Pans 2 7 4 16 Mouse Traps - 6 8 16 Spring Rat Do. 1 4 0 3 lb. Slate? Iron - 19 1 4 pr. Wool Cards - 7 4 13 Hand Saws? "Hand Hatchets" C. qrs. lb. 1 1 0 5 Iron Pots wt. 0 3 12 1 7 4 1 Large Iron Kettle 1 1 - 2 Small Do. Do. - 10 4 4 Large Brass Screws 2 4 - 2 Garden Rakes - 6 1 1 pr. Sheep Shears - 1 10 2 Curry Combs & Brushes - 5 - 3 pr. Fetters - 12 9 1 Iron Riddle - 7 5 1 Large Chain? Stack? - 3 10 10 lb. Rolld. Iron - 5 3 33 6 4 Carried Over £ 1925 1 8	Scythe stones, 6, £0 1s 3d Iron shovels, 15, £3 7s 6d Spades, 6, £1 6s 6d Small frying pans, 16, £2 7s 4d Mousetraps, 16, £0 6s 8d Spring rat traps, 16, £1 4s 8d Plate iron, 51 pounds, £0 19s 1d Wool cards, 4 pairs, £0 7s 4d Hand hatchets, 13, £1 1s 0d Iron pots, 50, weighing 8 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 pounds, £11 7s 4d Large iron kettle, 1, £1 1s 0d Small iron kettles, 2, £0 10s 4d Large box irons, 4, £2 4s 0d Garden rakes, 2, £0 6s 1d Sheep shears, 1 pair, £0 1s 10d Curry combs and brushes, 2, £0 5s 0d Bellows, 3 pairs, £0 12s 9d Iron riddle, 1, £0 7s 3d Brass chair nails, 1½ [...], £0 3s 10d Rolled iron, 18 pounds, £0 5s 3d Total for ironware, £33 6s 4d Carried over, £1,925 1s 8d **Interpretations** The epaulettes and 47¼ yards of gold lace were for the officers of the garrison, who bought their own uniform trimmings from the Company's warehouse. A lieutenant on St Helena could not order from a London tailor and wait a year, so the warehouse stocked the marks of rank as well as the cloth for the coats. The 62 yards of blue broadcloth and the scarlet sold in the same quarter point the same way. The 16 spring rat traps and 16 mousetraps reflect a lasting problem on the island. Rats came ashore from ships and did great damage to stored grain and growing crops. In a year of food shortage, protecting the Company's wheat, rice and the planters' harvests mattered. Wool cards were wire-toothed brushes used in pairs to comb wool before spinning, sold here alongside sheep shears for the island's flocks. A riddle was a coarse sieve for grain or soil, and box irons were hollow smoothing irons heated by a hot iron block placed inside.
240	236	15th October Brot. Over £ 1925 1 8 Lead Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 2 - 23 Sheet 2 13 5 - 3 17 Shot 1 1 10 3 14 3 Nails Vizt. 26 M. 3 - 19 6 22 4 - 14 0	The storekeeper's collection continued from the £1,925 1s 8d brought over. Brought over, £1,925 1s 8d Sheet lead, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 23 pounds, £2 13s 5d Lead shot, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 17 pounds, £1 0s 10d Total for lead, £3 14s 3d Threepenny nails, 26 pounds, £0 19s 6d Fourpenny nails, 22 pounds, £0 14s 0d Sixpenny nails, 26 pounds, £0 15s 2d Tenpenny nails, 38 pounds, £0 17s 5d Twentypenny nails, 2 pounds, £0 0s 10d Thirtypenny nails, 1 pound, £0 0s 5d

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		26 6 - 15 2 30 8 - 17 5 2 20 - 1 10 1 30 - 1 5 5¼ Glazing Brads - 1 - 12 Rivets - 6 - 13½ Tacks 1 7 - 5 8 - Oars Vizt. 1 Large - 6 9 9 Small 2 3 8 2 10 5 Oils Vizt. 10 Gallns. Train 2 14 2 15½ Do. Linseed 3 11 9 5¼ Do. Turpentine 3 9 7 20 Bottles Florence 3 10 - 13 5 6 Paint Vizt. 119 lb. Indigo? 11 9 2 19 Smalt 1 16 5 103 Starch 6 7 3 54 White Lead Mixed 1 2 6 30 Spanish Brown Mixed? - 14 4 2 Umber? - 10 - 14 Blacking - 3 11 41 Chalk - 5 1 Vermilion? - - 2 22 18 9 Pitch &c. 25 lb. Pitch - 3 7 7¾ Gallns. Tar - 12 11 152 Rosin 3 3 4 3 19 10 Carried Over £ 1976 18 5	Glazing brads, 5¼ pounds, £0 7s 0d Rivets, 12 pounds, £0 6s 0d Tacks, 13¼ pounds, £1 7s 0d Total for nails, £5 8s 0d Large oar, 1, £0 6s 9d Small oars, 8, £2 3s 8d Total for oars, £2 10s 5d Train oil, 10 gallons, £2 14s 2d Linseed oil, 15$^{3}/_{10}$ gallons, £3 11s 9d Turpentine, 5¼ gallons, £3 9s 7d Florence oil, 20 bottles, £3 10s 0d Total for oils, £13 5s 6d Indigo, 119½ pounds, £11 9s 2d Smalt, 19 pounds, £1 16s 5d Starch, 183 pounds, £6 17s 3d Mixed white lead, 54 pounds, £1 2s 6d Venetian red, 30 pounds, £0 14s 4d Vinegar, 2 [...], £0 10s 0d Blacking, 1¼ pounds, £0 3s 11d Chalk, 41 pounds, £0 5s 1d Umber, ½ pound, £0 0s 2d Total for paint, £22 18s 9d Pitch, 25 pounds, £0 3s 7d Tar, 7¾ gallons, £0 12s 11d Rosin, 152 pounds, £3 3s 4d Total for pitch, tar and rosin, £3 19s 10d Carried over, £1,976 18s 5d **Interpretations** The clerk listed indigo, smalt and starch under paint, but on the island they served mainly in the laundry. Indigo from India and smalt, a powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, were used as laundry blue. A little stirred into the rinse water countered the yellowing of linen and made it look white. Starch then stiffened the shirts, stocks and neckcloths that marked a gentleman's or officer's dress. The quantities sold in one quarter, nearly 120 pounds of indigo and 183 pounds of starch, show how much washing the households of officials and officers kept up, most of it done by slaves. Nails were sold by the penny size, an old English measure. It first meant the price of a hundred nails and came to mean their length, so threepenny nails were small and thirtypenny nails long and heavy. Venetian red was a red iron-oxide pigment, and umber a brown earth pigment, both mixed with linseed oil and white lead to make house paint.
241	237	1781 Brot. Over £ 1976 18 5 Pewter 9 Basons 1 8 1 Sailors Clothes Vizt. 1 Mans Jacket - 8 - 2 Hats - 3 0 - 11 0 Saddlery Vizt. 5 Saddles 7 16 -	The storekeeper's collection continued from the £1,976 18s 5d brought over. Brought over, £1,976 18s 5d Pewter basins, 9, £1 8s 1d Man's sailor jacket, 1, £0 8s 0d Sailors' hats, 2, £0 3s 8d Total for sailors' clothes, £0 11s 8d Saddles, 3, £7 16s 0d Girths, 18, £1 10s 9d Surcingles, 29, £5 8s 9d Stirrup leathers, 4 pairs, £0 11s 2d Half-curb bridles, 6, £3 11s 6d Cruppers, 26, £2 10s 11d Headstalls and reins, 19, £4 15s 0d

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		10 Girths 1 10 9 29 Surcingles 5 8 9 4 pr. Stirrup Leathers - 11 2 6 Pack? Curb Bridles 3 11 6 26 Cruppers 2 10 11 19 Head Stalls with Reigns 4 15 - 26 4 1 Serge &c. Yds. 2122¾ Fustian 20 13 10 1002 Yds. Cotton Shalloon 10 7 9 40 Do. Scarlet Do. 5 10 - 3 Do. Flannel - 7 6 118 Do. Coating - 7 10 7 Do. Shagathy? - 19 11 46 6 10 Shirts Vizt. 123 Calicoes 30 4 9 45½ Yds. Coarse Irish Linnen 3 0 3 94 Do. Brown Holland 1 18 9 179 Do. Stitched Linnen 25 12 7 69 Do. Ticking 7 6 0 4 pr. 13 Huckaback Table Cloths 35 5 - 510 Do. Napkins 14 10 10 8 3 Russia Diaper 9 14 2 124 4 8 Shoes Vizt. 525 pr. Mens Calf 152 19 - 51 Do. Do. Pumps? "Fine Shoes" 17 4 3 35 Do. Do. Pumps 10 12 11 68 Do. Womens Calimanco 4 4 6 Shoes Carrd. Over £ 184 6 Carried Over £ 2175 13 2	Total for saddlery, £26 4s 1d Fustian, 8 pieces and 22¾ yards, £20 13s 10d Coloured shalloon, 182 yards, £10 7s 9d Scarlet shalloon, 40 yards, £5 18s 0d Flannel, 3 yards, £0 7s 6d Coating, 1⅛ yards, £0 7s 10d Sagathy, 7 yards, £0 19s 11d Total for serge and similar cloth, £46 6s 10d Soldiers' shirts, 123, £30 4s 9d Coarse Irish linen, 45½ yards, £3 8s 3d Brown holland, 24$^{7}/_{10}$ yards, £1 18s 9d Striped linen, 179 yards, £25 12s 7d Ticking, 69 yards, £7 6s 8d Huckaback tablecloths, 4 pieces and 15 yards, £35 5s 0d Huckaback napkins, 5 pieces and 18 yards, £14 11s 11d Russia diaper, 8 pieces and 3 yards, £9 14s 2d Total for shirts and linen, £124 4s 8d Men's ordinary shoes, 525 pairs, £152 19s 0d Men's fine shoes, 51 pairs, £17 4s 3d Men's pumps, 35 pairs, £10 12s 11d Women's calamanco shoes, 66 pairs, £14 6s 0d Carried over, £2,175 13s 2d **Interpretations** The warehouse sold 525 pairs of men's ordinary shoes in a single quarter, far more than any other item of dress. The garrison alone numbered several hundred men, and the island's steep, rocky paths wore out shoes fast. Soldiers bought their own shoes and shirts from the Company's store and paid for them out of their wages, so the 123 soldiers' shirts and most of the ordinary shoes probably went to the men of the garrison. The Company thus recovered part of its pay bill through its own warehouse. Shalloon was a light twilled woollen used to line coats; the scarlet shalloon lined the red uniform coats of the garrison. Fustian was a stout cloth of linen and cotton, used for working clothes and breeches. Sagathy was a light woollen serge. Huckaback was a heavy linen with a rough, raised weave used for towels and table linen, and Russia diaper was a linen woven with a small diamond pattern, imported from the Baltic. Calamanco was a glossy worsted cloth often used for women's shoes. Surcingles were straps passing round a horse's body to hold a saddle or blanket in place, and cruppers were straps running under the tail to stop a saddle sliding forward on the island's steep roads.
242	238	15th October Brot. Over £ 2175 13 2 Shoes Brought Over £ 184 6 22 pr. Womens Leather? "Womens Damask" 4 13 6 50 Do. Do. Calf 9 13 4 16 Do. Girls Calimanco 2 13 4 16 Do. Do. Calf 1 19 4 46 Do. Boys 8 0 8 222 10 4	The storekeeper's collection continued from the £2,175 13s 2d brought over. Brought over, £2,175 13s 2d Women's Spanish leather shoes, 22 pairs, £4 13s 6d Women's calf shoes, 58 pairs, £9 13s 4d Girls' calamanco shoes, 16 pairs, £2 13s 4d Girls' calf shoes, 16 pairs, £1 19s 4d Boys' shoes, 46 pairs, £8 8s 8d Total for shoes, £222 10s 4d Solder, 6 pounds, £0 5s 3d Quart saucepans, 21, £0 9s 7d Pint saucepans, 27, £0 9s 0d Half-gallon kettles, 20, £1 16s 8d Gallon kettles, 18, £2 3s 6d Two-gallon kettles, 5, £0 15s 5d

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		Tin Ware Vizt. 6 Ladles - 5 3 21 Quart Saucepans - 9 7 27 Pint Do. - 9 - 20 Half Galln. Kettles 1 16 0 10 Gallon Do. 2 3 6 55 Two Qt. Do. - 15 5 7 Quart Tankards? - 3 3 6 Dripping Pans - 13 - 20 Pudding Do. 1 5 10 6 Tin Lamps - 5 - 4 Round Glass Lanthorns 1 2 0 9 Horn Lanthorns 1 10 9 8 Watering Pots 1 16 0 2 Bell? Lamps 2 7 4 2 Candlesticks? - 3 - 1 Canteen - 1 6 15 0 5 Turnery Vizt. 5 Paint Brushes - 2 7 2 Shaving Do.? "Shaving Dishes" - 1 0 15½ Yds. Hair Cloth? "Hair Cloths" @ 2 4 Sol? - 9 5 114 Do. Do. 4 2 6 4 15 - Long Cloth Vizt. 16 Pcs. No. 3 70 12 6 5 Do. 4 15 0 - 8 Do. 5 13 15 7 10 Do. 6 4 0 0 103 10 9 Carried Over £ 2522 5 8	Quart funnels, 7, £0 3s 3d Dripping pans, 6, £0 13s 0d Pudding pans, 20, £1 5s 10d Tin lamps, 6, £0 5s 0d Barrel glass lanterns, 4, £1 2s 8d Horn lanterns, 9, £1 10s 9d Watering pots, 8, £1 16s 8d Bell lamps, 2, £2 7s 4d [...], 2, £0 3s 0d Canteen, 1, £0 1s 6d Total for tinware, £15 8s 5d Paint brushes, 5, £0 2s 7d Skimming dishes, 2, £0 1s 0d Hair cloth 24 inches wide, 1½ yards, £0 9s 3d Hair cloth 28 inches wide, 11¼ yards, £4 2s 6d Total for turnery, £4 15s 0d Long cloth number 3, 16⅔ pieces, £70 12s 6d Long cloth number 4, 5 pieces, £15 0s 0d Long cloth number 5, 8¾ pieces, £13 15s 7d Long cloth number 6, 4 pieces, £4 10s 0d Total for long cloth, £103 18s 9d Carried over, £2,522 5s 8d **Interpretations** Long cloth was a plain white cotton woven on the Coromandel coast of India, sold in long pieces and graded by number according to its fineness. It was the island's everyday cotton for shirts, shifts and household linen. Its sale here, beside English woollens and Baltic linens, shows how the warehouse drew on both halves of the Company's trade, with goods brought out from Europe and goods brought home from India. Hair cloth was a coarse fabric woven from horsehair, used in kilns and malt houses to dry grain spread on it over a fire, and for sieving flour. Its sale in the same quarter as the Company's new mill and bakehouse suggests that settlers too were drying and grinding their own grain in a year when ready-milled flour was scarce.
243	239	1781 Brought Over £ 2522 5 8 China Ware Vizt. 83 Breakfast? Dishes 5 3 9 564 pr.? Plates 13 14 2 156 Soup Do. 4 0 1 103 Bowls 6 0 9 84 Sneakers 1 1 6 16 Cups? & Saucers 1 1 0 19 Chamber Pots 2 1 2 85 Half Pint Cups & Saucers	The storekeeper's collection continued from the £2,522 5s 8d brought over. Brought over, £2,522 5s 8d China meat dishes, 83, £5 3s 9d China meat plates, 564, £13 14s 2d China soup plates, 156, £4 6s 1d China bowls, 103, £6 8s 9d China sneakers, 84, £1 11s 6d China goglets and basins, 10, £1 1s 8d China chamber pots, 19, £2 1s 2d China half-pint cups and saucers, 85, £2 3s 8d China quarter-pint cups and saucers, 72, £1 3s 3d China salad dishes, 25, £1 2s 11d China tureens and dishes, 4, £2 4s 0d China baking dishes, 2, £0 3s 0d Total for china, £41 3s 11d Pepper, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 11 pounds, £6 0s 9d

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		2 5 0 72 Quarter Do. Do. & Do. 1 3 3 25 Sallad Dishes 1 2 11 4 Tureens & Dishes 2 4 - 2 Baking Dishes - 3 - 41 3 11 Spice C. qrs. lb. 1 3 11 Pepper 6 - 9 £ 2569 10 4 Sold at 40 pr. Cent Paint Vizt. lb. 11 Vermilion 4 6 2 72 White Lead Dry 1 10 - 24 Blacking 4 4 - 40 Red Lead - 10 10 10 Verdigrease 3 3 4 13 14 4 Nails Vizt. M. Do. 6 3 - 5 6 3 10 - 1 9 50 20 - 2 0 25 Rivets - 15 3 2 Tacks - 5 4 2 Glazing Brads - 3 4 1 13 0 Oil 10 Gallons Linseed 3 - - Candles C. qrs. lb. - 2 23 Wax 11 13 9 Carried Over £ 30 1 11	Total of goods sold at 10 per cent, £2,569 10s 4d The goods sold at 40 per cent above cost followed. Vermilion, 11 pounds, £4 6s 2d Dry white lead, 72 pounds, £1 10s 0d Blacking, 21 pounds, £4 4s 0d Red lead, 40 pounds, £0 10s 10d Verdigris, 10 pounds, £3 3s 4d Total for paint, £13 14s 4d Threepenny nails, 6 pounds, £0 5s 6d Tenpenny nails, 3 pounds, £0 1s 9d Twentypenny nails, 50 [...], £0 2s 0d Rivets, 25 pairs, £0 15s 3d Tacks, 2 pounds, £0 5s 4d Glazing brads, 2 pounds, £0 3s 4d Total for nails, £1 13s 10d Linseed oil, 10 gallons, £3 0s 0d Wax candles, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 23 pounds, £11 13s 9d Carried over, £30 1s 11d **Interpretations** The warehouse sold its goods at two different markups. Most were sold at 10 per cent above cost, but paint, nails, linseed oil and some wax candles went at 40 per cent. The same kinds of nails and linseed oil appeared earlier in the account at the lower rate. The higher price therefore depended on the buyer or the stock, not the type of goods. It was perhaps charged to private traders, ship's officers or other buyers outside the island's establishment, or on goods from a costlier cargo. Either way, the Company kept the cheaper rate for the settlers and servants who depended on its warehouse for daily needs. The china was Chinese export porcelain brought home on the China ships. It was cheap enough to sell in hundreds, so on St Helena even ordinary households ate from Chinese plates. A sneaker was a small china drinking cup, larger than a teacup and used for punch or tea. A goglet was a long-necked water bottle, often of porous earthenware in India, set with a basin for washing. Vermilion was a bright red pigment of mercury sulphide, and verdigris a green pigment made by corroding copper with vinegar, both dear colours imported for decorative painting.
244	240	15th October Brot. Over £ 30 1 13? "30 1 11" Deals 14 Single 1 19 0 Beef and Pork Vizt. 12 Tierces Beef 7 19 10 12 Do. Pork 8 6 4 16 6 2 Pitch &c. 1 Barrel Tar 2 6 4 Broad Cloth 20½ Yds. Coloured Cassimere 11 15 5 Canvas 2 pr. English 6 9 - Glass Ware 3 Quart Decanters - 9 6 Large &c. - 7 6 Tin Ware Vizt. 1 Two Gallon Kettle - 4 - 1 Gallon Do. - 3 - 2 pt. Saucepans	The goods sold at 40 per cent above cost continued from the £30 1s 3d brought over. Brought over, £30 1s 3d Single deals, 14, £1 19s 8d Beef, ½ hogshead, £7 19s 10d Pork, ½ hogshead, £8 6s 4d Total for beef and pork, £16 6s 2d Tar, 1 barrel, £2 6s 4d Coloured cassimere, 20½ yards, £11 17s 5d English canvas, 2 pieces, £6 9s 0d Quart decanters, 3, £0 9s 6d Sago, 20 pounds, £0 7s 6d Two-gallon tin kettle, 1, £0 4s 0d Gallon tin kettle, 1, £0 3s 0d Quart saucepans, 2, £0 1s 4d Pint saucepan, 1, £0 0s 6d Colander, 1, £0 1s 11d Quart funnel, 1, £0 0s 7d Total for tinware, £0 11s 4d China meat dishes, 38, £3 0s 2d China plates, 120, £3 13s 9d China soup plates, 48, £1 13s 8d China bowls, 8, £0 12s 8d China salad dishes, 7, £0 8s 2d China tureens and dishes, 2, £1 8s 0d China basins, 2, £0 2s 9d China chamber pots, 2, £0 5s 6d

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		- 1 4 1 Pint Do. - - 6 1 Cullender - 1 11 1 Quart Funnel - - 7 - 11 4 China Ware Vizt. 30 Breakfast Dishes 3 4 2 120 Do. Plates 3 13 9 40 Soup Do. 1 13 0 8 Bowls - 12 0 2 Basons - 0 2 2 Tureens & Dishes 1 0 - 7 Sallad Dishes - 2 9 2 Chamber Pots - 5 6 5 Half Pint Cups & Saucers - 3 4 24 Quart Cups & Do. - 9 10 11 17 10 Tea Vizt. 8 Cannisters Hyson 3 11 0 8 lb. Souchong 3 2 0 6 14 4 Arrack 207 Gallons 70 10 6 Goods Is. Pcs. Gingham 5 6 3 Rice C. qrs. lb. 8 3 20 4 7 9 Flour 9 2 10 12 4 10 £ 189 10 4	China half-pint cups and saucers, 5, £0 3s 4d China quarter-pint cups and saucers, 24, £0 9s 10d Total for china, £11 17s 10d Hyson tea, 8 canisters, £3 11s 8d Souchong tea, 8 canisters, £3 2s 8d Total for tea, £6 14s 4d Arrack, 287 gallons, £78 10s 6d Coal, 1½ chaldrons, £5 6s 3d Rice, 8 hundredweight 3 quarters 20 pounds, £4 7s 9d Flour, 9 hundredweight 2 quarters 18 pounds, £12 4s 10d Total of goods sold at 40 per cent, £189 18s 4d **Interpretations** The goods sold at 40 per cent were mainly ships' supplies. The 1½ chaldrons of coal match exactly what the Council allowed Captain Richard Pierce of the *Halsewell* on 23 July 1781, and the arrack, rice, flour, salt meat and tar answer the requests the homeward commanders pressed on the Council that month. The Company sold to its own settlers and servants at 10 per cent above cost, but charged passing ships four times that margin. Ships could not easily go elsewhere for stores in the middle of the ocean, and the island's own people relied on the warehouse for the necessities of life. The two rates protected the settlers while making the fleet pay for draining the island's stocks in a year of shortage.
245	241	1781 Sold to the Honble. Company's Ships Anchors Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 1 Anchor wt. 36 3 18 96 10 5 1 pr. Stock 11 5 - C. qrs. lb. 1 Grapnel wt. - 3 11 2 2 5 109 17 10 Bunting Yds. 1 9 2 9 3 Canvas Vizt. Bolts Yds. 50 7 English 161 16 10 2 Osnaburg 10 17 6 100 14 4 Beef and Pork Vizt. 9 Tierces Beef 143 16 3 9 Do. Pork 149 11 - 293 7 3 Cordage C. qrs. lb. 79 - 24 233 10 5 Coals 24 Chald. 11 Bushels	The storekeeper then listed the goods sold to the Company's ships. Anchor, 1, weighing 36 hundredweight 3 quarters 18 pounds, £96 10s 5d Anchor stock, 1, £11 5s 0d Grapnel, 1, weighing 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 11 pounds, £2 2s 5d Total for anchors, £109 17s 10d Bunting, 1 piece 9 yards, £2 9s 3d English canvas, 50 pieces 7 yards, £161 16s 10d Osnaburg canvas, 2 pieces, £18 17s 6d Total for canvas, £180 14s 4d Beef, 9 hogsheads, £143 16s 3d Pork, 9 hogsheads, £149 11s 0d Total for beef and pork, £293 7s 3d Cordage, 79 hundredweight 0 quarters 24 pounds, £233 18s 5d Coal, 24 chaldrons 11 bushels, £85 13s 7d Double deals, 55, £18 4s 4d Single deals, 77, £12 2s 2d Spar, 1, £2 10s 0d Balk, ½, £0 7s 11d Riga timber, 1 piece, £4 1s 6d Total for deals and timber, £37 5s 11d Flour, 4 hundredweight 0 quarters 8 pounds, £50 15s 2d Window glass, 13 panes of 8 by 10 inches, £0 9s 5d Window glass, 46 panes of 10 by 16 inches, £3 9s 0d

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		85 13 7 Deals Vizt. 55 Double 10 4 4 77 Single 12 2 2 1 Spike? 2 10 - 12 Baulk? - 7 11 1 pr. Riga Timber 4 1 6 37 5 11 Flour C. qrs. lb. 4 - 8 50 15 2 Glass Ware Vizt. 13 Square 8 by 10 - 9 5 46 Do. 10 by 16 3 9 - 3 18 5 Hooks Lines &c. 1000 No. 17 Hooks - 1 6 12 Do. 2 - 4 0 53 Log? 3 15 1 3 Hambro - 5 9 3 Deep Sea 1 1 - 12 Hk. Marline - 4 6 200 Hk. Twine 11 13 4 1 Cotton Wick - 4 0 17 10 6 Carried Over £ 1015 10 8	Total for glassware, £3 10s 5d Fish hooks, 100 of number 17, £0 1s 6d Fishing lines, 12 of number 2, £0 4s 0d Log lines, 53, £3 15s 1d Hamburg lines, 3, £0 5s 9d Deep-sea lines, 3, £1 1s 0d Marline, 12 skeins, £0 4s 6d Twine, 280 skeins, £11 13s 4d Cotton wick, 1 [...], £0 4s 0d Total for hooks, lines and twine, £17 10s 6d Carried over, £1,015 10s 8d **Interpretations** The Company's own ships formed a third class of buyer, separate from the settlers and the private buyers who paid 40 per cent. The island's warehouse acted as a chandlery for the Company's fleet, refitting Indiamen worn by long voyages. Its sales to them ran to more than £1,000 in a single quarter. An anchor of nearly two tons, almost 80 hundredweight of cordage, more than 50 pieces of English canvas and 24 chaldrons of coal show ships replacing gear lost or worn out on the passage home, and stocking up for the long run to England. The salt beef and pork went in hogsheads to feed crews held in the road for weeks. Every such sale was a transfer within the Company, so the island's accounts recorded it as income while the cost would fall on each ship's voyage account in London. Riga timber was Baltic fir or pine shipped through the port of Riga, prized for masts and spars. A log line was the knotted line used with a log board to measure a ship's speed through the water, and it wore out quickly. Bunting was a light woollen cloth used for making flags and signals, which a convoy needed in quantity for communicating between ships.
246	242	15th October Brot. Over £ 1015 10 8 Iron Ware Vizt. 2 Coopers Crozes? - 3 10 2 pr. Scissors? - 5 4 C. qrs. lb. 2 2 21 lb. Iron 3 0 0 - - 7 Plate Iron - 3 6 - - 10 Steel - 5 - 1 Large Iron Kettle 1 7 - 8 Duck? Hooks? - 19 4 6 10 6 Lead C. qrs. lb. 1 - 0 Sheet 1 15 6 Oil Vizt. 22 Gallons Linseed 6 12 - 17½ Do. Turpentine 6 12 6 13 4 6 Nails Vizt. M. Do. 5½ 2 5 3 75 4 50 6	The goods sold to the Company's ships continued from the £1,015 10s 8d brought over. Brought over, £1,015 10s 8d Coopers' punches, 2, £0 3s 10d Coopers' drivers, 2, £0 5s 4d Iron, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 pounds, £3 8s 6d Plate iron, 7 pounds, £0 3s 6d Steel, 10 pounds, £0 5s 0d Large iron kettle, 1, £1 7s 0d Truss hoops, 8, £0 17s 4d Total for ironware, £6 10s 6d Sheet lead, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 8 pounds, £1 15s 6d Linseed oil, 22 gallons, £6 12s 0d Turpentine, 7½ gallons, £6 12s 6d Total for oils, £13 4s 6d Twopenny nails, 34 pounds, included in the nail total Threepenny nails, 5 pounds, included in the nail total Fourpenny nails, 75 pounds, included in the nail total Sixpenny nails, 58 pounds, included in the nail total Tenpenny nails, 204 pounds, included in the nail total Twentypenny nails, 138 pounds, included in the nail total Thirtypenny nails, [...]6 pounds, included in the nail total Fortypenny nails, [...]8 pounds, included in the nail total Spikes, 29 pounds, included in the nail total

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		204 10 130 20 06 30 07 40 27 12 6 29 Spike 44½ Sheathing? 90½ Rivets 10½ Tacks 4 Flooring 3 Glazing Brads Pitch &c. 13 Barrels Pitch 40 13 2 11½ Do. Tar 26 9 10 67 3 - Paint Vizt. lb. ½ Prussian Blue - 0 - 4½ Vermilion 1 15 3 9 Verdigrease 2 17 - 4 White Copperas - 5 10 49½ Blacking - 15 - 55 White Lead Dry 1 2 4 60 Do. Mixed? 1 12 5 27 Red Lead 1 5 2 17 16 3 Carried Over £ 1149 12 11	Scupper nails, 44½ pounds, included in the nail total Rivets, 98½ pounds, included in the nail total Tacks, 10½ pounds, included in the nail total Flooring brads, 4 pounds, included in the nail total Glazing brads, 3 pounds, included in the nail total Total for nails, £27 12s 6d Pitch, 13 barrels, £40 13s 2d Tar, 11½ barrels, £26 9s 10d Total for pitch and tar, £67 3s 0d Prussian blue, ¼ pound, £0 8s 0d Vermilion, 4½ pounds, £1 15s 3d Verdigris, 9 pounds, £2 17s 0d White copperas, 4 pounds, £0 5s 10d Blacking, 43¾ pounds, £8 15s 0d Dry white lead, 55 pounds, £1 2s 11d Mixed white lead, 58 pounds, £1 17s 6d Red lead, 87 pounds, £1 5s 2d Total for paint, £17 16s 3d Carried over, £1,149 12s 11d **Interpretations** The pitch, tar, turpentine and nails sold to the Company's ships were the materials of hull repair. Pitch and tar paid into the seams after caulking kept a wooden ship watertight, and the *Prime*, which reached the island leaking badly in September, was one of the vessels that needed them. Scupper nails were short, broad-headed nails used to fasten leather or canvas over the drain holes in a ship's side. Truss hoops were iron bands used by coopers to force the staves of a cask together, and coopers' drivers and punches were the tools for setting them. White copperas was zinc sulphate, used to help paint dry. Prussian blue, the first modern synthetic pigment, was a strong blue made in Europe since early in the century.
247	243	1782 Bro. Over £ 1149 12 11 Tin Ware Vizt. 12 Lanthorn Leaves? 2 1 8 lb. 8 Solder - 0 8 2 10 4 Rice and Paddy C. qrs. lb. 106 3 0 Rice 52 10 8 Lead Pipe &c. C. qrs. lb. 4 1 Two Inch Pipe 2 6 3 19 Solder 1 3 9 3 10 - Turnery 2 Paint Brushes 3 6 - Candles 4 1 13 Tallow 36 13 6 Haberdashery 1 lb. ¾ Coloured Thread - 6 11 £ 1245 10 4 Ship Britannia Dr. Anchors Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 1 Weight 35 2 7 71 4 7 1 Stock 4 10 - 4 Iron Hoops 1 0 0 7 Fire? Nails? - 4 4	The goods sold to the Company's ships continued from the £1,149 12s 11d brought over. Brought over, £1,149 12s 11d Lantern leaves, 12, £2 1s 8d Solder, 8 pounds, £0 8s 8d Total for tinware, £2 10s 4d Rice, 106 hundredweight 3 quarters 8 pounds, £52 10s 8d Two-inch lead pipe, 4 yards 1 foot, £2 6s 3d Solder, 19 pounds, £1 3s 9d Total for lead pipe and solder, £3 10s 0d Paint brushes, 9, £3 6s 0d Tallow candles, 4 hundredweight 1 quarter 13 pounds, £36 13s 6d Coloured thread, 1¾ pounds, £0 6s 11d Total of goods sold to the Company's ships, £1,245 10s 4d A separate account followed for the stores charged to the Company's ship *Britannia*. Anchor, 1, weighing 35 hundredweight 2 quarters 7 pounds, £74 4s 7d Anchor stock, 1, £4 11s 0d Iron hoops, 4, £0 8s 10d Treenails, 7, £0 4s 4d Total for anchors, £79 9s 0d Cordage, 22 hundredweight 2 quarters 2 pounds, £47 7s 8d Coal, 1 chaldron 32 bushels, £4 13s 6d Double deals, 3, £0 14s 3d Single deals, 10, £1 2s 6d Spar, 1, £1 12s 2d Total for deals, £3 8s 11d Pork, 3 hogsheads, £35 12s 0d Window glass, 10 panes of 8 by 10 inches, £0 3s 0d

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		77 9 - Cordage C. qrs. lb. 22 2 2 47 7 0 Coals Bushels 32 4 13 6 Deals Vizt. 3 Double - 14 3 10 Single 1 2 6 1 Oar 1 12 2 3 0 11 Beef & Pork 3 Hhds. Pork 35 12 - Glass Ware 10 Squares 8 by 10 - 5 - Hooks Lines &c. 12 Log 2 Deep Sea Lines 6 Hambro 36 Hk. Marline 16 Do. Twine 2 0 4 Carried Over £ 173 2 6	Log lines, 12, deep-sea lines, 2, Hamburg lines, 6, marline, 36 skeins, and twine, 16 skeins, together £2 8s 4d Carried over, £173 2s 6d **Interpretations** The *Britannia* had her own account, kept apart from the sales to the other Company ships. The Council had sent her to the Cape for provisions in June, so she was working for the island rather than simply calling at it. Her stores were charged to her by name. That way the cost of fitting her out for the voyage, including a new anchor of nearly two tons and three hogsheads of pork for her crew, could be set against the provisions she brought back. Treenails were hardwood pegs driven through a ship's planks and frames in place of iron bolts. They swelled when wet and held the timbers tight.
248	244	15th October Brot. Over £ 173 2 5 Nails Vizt. M. Do. 12 2 20 6 14 10 50 Spike 2¼ Tacks 4 Sheathing 6 Rivets 2 10 6 Candles Vizt. lb. 30 Wax 3 7 - 50 Tallow 2 14 2 6 1 2 Paint 3 lb. Green Copperas - - 6 Pitch &c. 1 Barrel Tar 1 13 - Tin Ware 30 Lanthorn Leaves - 7 - Soap C. qrs. lb. 4 - 3 6 Lead Pipe &c. 4 Solder - 3 6 £ 184 1 7 Charges General Dr. Coals 60 Bushels Smith's Shop 4 3 11 Cordage C. qrs. lb. - 1 13 Church & Hen Coop - 15 4 Iron Ware Vizt. 12 Drilling Ladles 2 7 10 4 Sledge Hammers 1 12 0 16 Crucibles - 10 4 Smiths Shop 3¼ Files Carpenters and Do. 8 2 3 4 Rendering Irons - 4 5	The *Britannia*'s account continued from the £173 2s 5d brought over. Brought over, £173 2s 5d Twopenny nails, 12 pounds; sixpenny nails, 20 pounds; tenpenny nails, 14 pounds; spikes, 50 pounds; tacks, 2½ pounds; scupper nails, 4 pounds; rivets, 6 pounds; together £2 10s 6d Wax candles, 30 pounds, £3 7s 0d Tallow candles, 50 pounds, £2 14s 2d Total for candles, £6 1s 2d Green copperas, 3 pounds, £0 0s 6d Tar, 1 barrel, £1 13s 0d Lantern leaves, 30, £0 7s 0d Soap, 6 pounds, £0 3s 6d Solder, 4 pounds, £0 3s 6d Total for the Britannia, £184 1s 7d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued under general charges, for the Company's own use. Coal for the smith's shop, 60 bushels, £4 3s 11d Cordage for the church and the stores, 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 13 pounds, £0 15s 4d Melting ladles for the smith's shop, 12, £2 7s 10d Sledgehammers for the smith's shop, 4, £1 12s 0d Crucibles for the smith's shop, 16, £0 18s 4d Files for the carpenters and smiths, 374, £8 2s 3d Binding wire for the smiths, 4 pounds, £0 4s 5d Emery paper for the smiths, 2 quires, £0 3s 10d Anvil for the smiths, 1, £8 3s 6d Rubber files for the smiths, 12, £2 17s 2d Drill bows for the smiths, 9, £0 9s 0d Coopers' drivers, 2, £0 3s 8d Hammer handles for the coopers, 2, £0 0s 10d Bits for the coopers' dowelling stocks, 2, £0 0s 8d Jointer for the coopers, 1, £0 13s 2d Ironware carried over, £25 17s 4d Carried over, £4 19s 3d **Interpretations** General charges recorded stores the Company used itself rather than sold. The smith's shop, the carpenters and the coopers drew tools and materials from the warehouse for the Company's own works: the forge that made ironwork for the batteries, the carpenters building gun carriages and the coopers making casks for provisions and powder. Entering these issues against general charges let the storekeeper account for every item leaving his stores,

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		2 Do. Sawing Pipes? - 3 10 1 Anvil 8 3 6 12 Sledded? Files 2 19 2 Smiths Do. 9 Drill Braces - 9 - 2 Coopers Drawers? - 3 0 2 Pinners? Adzes - - 10 2 Cutlasses? "Cutters" Dowlings? Stocks - - 0 Coopers Do. 1 Sickle - 13 2 £ 25 14 4 Iron Ware Carried Over Carried Over £ 4 19 3	whether it brought in money or not. The 374 files issued in one quarter reflect the heavy work done that season on the new batteries, roads and gun carriages. Green copperas was iron sulphate, used in making ink and black dye and as a wood preservative. A jointer was the long plane a cooper used to true the edges of staves so a cask would hold liquid. Drill bows were the bows used to spin a hand drill by a cord wrapped round its shaft.
249	245	1781 Bro. Over £ 4 19 3 Iron Ware Brot. Over 25 14 4 1 Bung Borer - 5 9 1 Tap Do. - 0 10 1 Coopers Adze - 3 - 5 Hand Saws? "Hand Axes" 2 3 2 3 Pinning? Do. 1 12 8 2 Socket Do. - 14 11 1 Whip Saw 1 0 1 Coopers Shop 24 Spike Gimblets - 7 0 54 Small Do. - 19 10 24 Augers 2 4 - 12 pr. Hollow? Compasses - 6 - 12 Two Foot Rules - 12 - 23 Claw Hammers 1 15 2 8 Jack Planes 1 5 - 2 Bench? Do. 1 5 2 4 Trying Do. 4 6 4 6 Rabbit? Do. - 11 - 2 Screw Compasses? "Screw Wrenches" - 19 2 2 pr. Hand Vices? - 2 2 Carpr. Shop 4 Padlocks Church Steeple? "Church Clearing" - 5 6 2 Iron Shovels - 0 2 1 Pickaxe - 3 3 Church 5 Hand Hatchets Carptr. Shop	The general charges continued, with £4 19s 3d brought over on the main total and £25 17s 4d for ironware. Brought over, £4 19s 3d Ironware brought over, £25 17s 4d Bung borer for the cooper's shop, 1, £0 5s 9d Tap borer for the cooper's shop, 1, £0 1s 10d Cooper's adze for the cooper's shop, 1, £0 3s 0d Hand saws for the carpenter's shop, 5, £2 3s 2d Tenon saws for the carpenter's shop, 4, £1 12s 8d Sash saws for the carpenter's shop, 2, £0 14s 11d Whip saw for the carpenter's shop, 1, £1 8s 1d Spike gimlets for the carpenter's shop, 24, £0 7s 8d Small gimlets for the carpenter's shop, 144, £0 19s 10d Augers for the carpenter's shop, 24, £2 14s 0d Compasses for the carpenter's shop, 12 pairs, £0 6s 0d Two-foot rules for the carpenter's shop, 12, £0 12s 0d Claw hammers for the carpenter's shop, 23, £1 15s 2d Bench screws for the carpenter's shop, 2, £0 11s 0d Jack planes for the carpenter's shop, 8, £0 17s 2d Trying planes for the carpenter's shop, 4, £1 5s 0d Sash planes for the carpenter's shop, 6, £1 15s 2d Screw cramps for the carpenter's shop, 2, £4 6s 4d Sandpaper for the carpenter's shop, 2 quires, £0 2s 2d Spring padlocks, 4, £0 5s 6d Iron shovels for the church, 2, £0 8s 2d Pickaxe for the church, 1, £0 3s 3d Hand hatchets for the carpenter's shop, 5, £0 7s 6d Plate iron for the smith's shop, 10 pounds, £0 3s 4d Brace and bits for the carpenter's shop, 1, £0 2s 9d Ash handles for the church, 3, £0 1s 9d Stock locks for the warehouse and other buildings, 5, £0 11s 3d Large frying pan, 1, £0 4s 5d Maul, 1, £0 9s 1d Gauging rods, 2, £0 10s 6d Mousetrap, 1, £0 0s 5d Gaol padlocks, 2, £0 13s 2d

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		- 7 6 10 lb. Plate Iron Smiths Do. 1 3 4 1 Stock and Drills Carpr. Do. - 2 9 3 Ash? Pickaxe? Church - 1 9 5 Mash? Locks &c. on House &c. - 11 3 1 Large Frying Pan - 4 5 1 Wood? - 9 1 2 Gauging Rods - 10 6 1 Brace Spring? - 5 5 2 Coal Pots? Locks - 13 2 24 Brads? Carpenters Do. - 9 11 6 Tasker? Knife? Carpr. Shop - 2 - 1 Spoon Bit wt. 16 lb. - 3 4 1 Anvil Plate - 6 7 1 Brace - 4 2 Smiths Shop 5 Iron Hooks - 7 6 1 Pikarny? Knife - 2 - 1 Coal Spoon - 2 3 1 lb. Sal Ammoniac Smiths Do. - 1 10 28 1 11 Carried Over £ 32 7 11	Black-lead pencils for the carpenter's shop, 24, £0 9s 11d Taper bits for the carpenter's shop, 6, £0 2s 0d Iron pot weighing 16 pounds for the [...] party, 1, £0 3s 4d Screw plate for the smith's shop, 1, £0 6s 7d Borax for the smith's shop, ½ pound, £0 4s 2d Truss hoops, 5, £0 7s 6d Hollowing knife, 1, £0 2s 0d Cock borer, 1, £0 2s 3d Sal ammoniac for the smith's shop, 1 pound, £0 1s 10d Total for ironware, £52 7s 11d Carried over, £52 7s 11d **Interpretations** Gauging rods were graduated rods pushed through the bunghole of a cask to measure how much liquid it held. They were the customs officer's main tool. The Company taxed arrack landed on the island by the gallon and sold its own spirits to the canteen society, so it needed an accurate measure of every cask. Johnstone's sale of Jamaica rum to the society, with the casks inspected and measured by the Council's officers, was one occasion when the rods were wanted. Borax and sal ammoniac were fluxes. A smith spread them on hot metal to clean off oxide so that brazing and solder would take. The screw plate, a hardened steel plate with threaded holes, let the smith cut screw threads on iron bolts. With the bung borer, tap borer and hollowing knife for the coopers and the full set of saws, planes and augers for the carpenters, the list shows the Company equipping its own workshops to build and repair everything the island needed, from casks to gun carriages, without waiting for finished goods from England.
250	246	15th October Bro. Over £ 52 7 11 Nails Vizt. M. Do. 20 4 - 12 1 17 10 - 7 1 49 20 - 10 5 10 30 - 6 5 Flying? Pantry House and Spike? House 1 Rivets Coopers Shop - 2 0 2 6 0 Deals Vizt. 8 Single 0 14 - 2 Wainscot Boards - 6 0 2½ pr. Riga Timber 7 5 5 Flying Pantry House &c. Pale? House 16 6 1 Paint 10 lb. Chalk Carpr. and Coopers Shop - 1 11 Cuttlery 6 Sheep Horn Ware House - 2 6 Hooks Lines &c.	The general charges continued from the £52 17s 11d brought over. Brought over, £52 17s 11d Fourpenny nails for the flying party's house and the bakehouse, 20 pounds, £0 12s 1d Tenpenny nails for the flying party's house and the bakehouse, 17 pounds, £0 7s 1d Twentypenny nails for the flying party's house and the bakehouse, 49 pounds, £0 18s 5d Thirtypenny nails for the flying party's house and the bakehouse, 18 pounds, £0 6s 5d Rivets for the cooper's shop, 6 pounds, £0 2s 8d Total for nails, £2 6s 8d Single deals for the flying party's house and the bakehouse, 87, £8 14s 0d Wainscot boards for the flying party's house and the bakehouse, 2, £0 6s 8d Riga timber for the flying party's house and the bakehouse, 2½ pieces, £7 5s 5d Total for deals, £16 6s 1d Chalk for the carpenter's and cooper's shops, 18 pounds, £0 1s 11d Shoe knives for the warehouse, 6, £0 2s 6d Fishing lines for the carpenter's shop, 6 of number 2, £0 1s 8d Hamburg line for the gaol, 1, £0 1s 4d Twine for the warehouse, 3 skeins, £0 1s 9d Total for hooks, lines and twine, £0 4s 9d Train oil for the smith's shop, 2½ gallons, £0 12s 4d Florence oil for the carpenter's shop, 1 bottle, £0 3s 2d Neat's-foot oil for the smith's shop, 5¾ gallons, £1 13s 1d

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		6 No. 2 Lines Carpr. Shop - 1 0 1 Hambroline Goal - 1 4 3 Hk. Twine Ware House - 1 9 - 4 9 Oil Vizt. 2½ Gallns. Train Smith's Shop - 12 4 1 Bottle Florence Carpr. Do. - 3 2 5¾ Gallns. Neats foot Smiths Do. 1 13 1 2 0 7 Lead Pipe &c. 14 lb. Solder Grub? Spring - 12 3 Tin Ware Vizt. 1 Horn Lanthorn Grub? Spring - 3 1 1 Tin Lamp Ditto & Pantry House - 0 9 Candles 6 Wax Large Office - 3 10 Arrack 60 Gallns. Ansey? for the Ware House &c. 7 5 - Haberdashery 1 Coloured Thread Large Office - 1 0 Braziery 1 Bell Church 10 4 6 Pitch &c. 2 Gallns. Tar Ships? & Pantry House - 3 4 Anchors 1 without Weight 26 15 10 Plaster Vizt. 1 Large Garden Pot? - 11 6 1 Basin? - 2 9 Ware House - 14 3 Tea 6 Cannisters Hyson Gover. Majesty? 1 10 2 China Ware 12 Half Pint Cups & Saucers Shk. Common? - 15 9 136 4 7	Total for oils, £2 8s 7d Solder for Chubb's Spring, 14 pounds, £0 12s 3d Horn lantern for Chubb's Spring, 1, £0 3s 1d Tin lamp for the flying party's house, 1, £0 0s 9d Total for tinware, £0 3s 10d Wax candles for the secretary's office, 6 pounds, £0 12s 0d Arrack for the men working in the warehouse and elsewhere, 60 gallons, £7 5s 0d Coloured thread for the secretary's office, ½ pound, £0 1s 8d Bell for the church, 1, £10 4s 6d Tar for the flying party's house, 2 gallons, £0 3s 0d Anchors without weight given, 2, £26 15s 10d Pewter half-gallon pots for the warehouse, 2, £0 11s 6d Pewter basin for the warehouse, 1, £0 2s 9d Total for pewter, £0 14s 3d Hyson tea given to His Majesty's ship Renown, 6 canisters, £1 18s 2d China half-pint cups and saucers given to His Majesty's ship Renown, 12, £0 5s 9d Total, £136 4s 7d **Interpretations** The flying party was a small mobile force of soldiers kept ready to march at once to any landing place where an enemy appeared. In 1781 the island built a house for it, and much of the timber, nails and tar issued this quarter went into that building alongside the new bakehouse. A force that could reach a threatened bay before invaders scaled the cliffs met the danger shown by Pierce's trial at Niblet's Cove, where two men climbed from the shore to the guard house in 25 minutes. The 60 gallons of arrack issued to the men working in the warehouse and elsewhere show that labourers on the Company's works were partly paid or rewarded in spirits. In September 1781 the Council fined private employers £20 0s 0d for paying workmen in liquor, yet the Company kept the practice in its own works. The tea and china given to the *Renown* were a courtesy to the King's ship whose captain had helped search for the garrison's deserters in July. Chubb's Spring was one of the island's water sources, and the solder and lantern went to its pipes and its night watch.
251	247	1781 Repairs Dr. Paint Vizt. lb. 100 White Lead Mixed 1 17 6 1 5 Blue 1 10 1 5 Verdigrease 1 2 6 52 Chalk - 3 4 19 Pan? Red Lead - 5 6 1 Umber - - 2 11 Blacking - 2 10 4 Red Lead - - 9 Castle and Lieut. Governors House 5 2 0 Oil Vizt. 5 Gallns. Linseed 1 1 3 2¾ Do. Turpentine - 17 - Do. Do.	The storekeeper then listed the stores issued for repairs. Mixed white lead for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 100 pounds, £1 17s 6d Blue for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 1 quarter 5 pounds, £1 10s 1d Verdigris for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 5 pounds, £1 2s 6d Chalk for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 32 pounds, £0 3s 4d Mixed Venetian red for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 12 pounds, £0 5s 6d Umber for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 1 pound, £0 0s 2d Blacking for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 1 pound, £0 2s 10d Red lead for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 4 pounds, £0 0s 9d Total for paint, £5 2s 8d Linseed oil for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 5 gallons, £1 1s 3d Turpentine for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, 2¾ gallons, £1 7s 0d Total for oils, £2 8s 3d Window glass for the same houses and the church, 19 panes of 8 by 10 inches, £0 8s 4d Window glass for the same houses and the church, 28 panes of 10 by 16 inches, £1 9s 2d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 0 3 Glass Ware 19 Squares 8 by 10 - 8 4 20 Do. 10 by 16 1 9 2 Do. Do. and Church 1 17 6 Iron Ware 1 Iron Rimd. Lock Polished Lieut. Governors House - 4 3 3 Do. Locks Brass Knobs Do. House - 16 9 1 Stock Lock Castle - 2 5 1 pr. Dovetail Hinges Lt. Governors House - - 5 1 5 10 Cordage C. qrs. lb. 11 Lieut. Governors House - 4 2 Nails Vizt. M. Do. 1 4 - - 7 1 6 - - 6 2 10 - 0 10 1 Glazing Brads Lt. Governors House - 1 3 Governors House - 3 2 Hooks Lines &c. 1 Hambro Line Lieut. Govr. House - 1 4 £ 11 - 11	Total for glassware, £1 17s 6d Iron-rimmed lock with pull-back for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 1, £0 4s 3d Iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs for the houses, 3, £0 16s 9d Stock lock for the Castle, 1, £0 2s 5d Dovetail hinges for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 1 pair, £0 0s 5d Total for ironware, £1 3s 10d Cordage for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 11 pounds, £0 4s 2d Fourpenny nails for the engineer's house, 1 pound, £0 0s 7d Sixpenny nails for the engineer's house, 1 pound, £0 0s 6d Tenpenny nails for the engineer's house, 2 pounds, £0 0s 10d Glazing brads for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 1 pound, £0 1s 3d Total for nails, £0 3s 2d Hamburg line for the Lieutenant Governor's house, 1, £0 1s 4d Total for repairs, £11 0s 11d The account of the diet followed. **Interpretations** The Company kept a separate account for repairs to its own buildings, apart from the general charges for its workshops. Most of the paint, oil and glass went to the Castle, where the Governor lived and the Council met, and to the Lieutenant Governor's house. The engineer's house and the church took small amounts. Repainting in mixed white lead, Venetian red and verdigris kept the woodwork and shutters sound against salt air and seasonal rain. The cost fell on the Company because the houses were its property, provided to its senior officers as part of their posts.
252	248	15th October Diet Expences Dr. Beef and Pork Vizt. 30 pr. Beef 7 5 0 25 pr. Pork 3 2 7 10 0 3 Salt 1 Bushel - 4 2 Arrack 83 Gallons 9 15 9 Oil 9 Bottles Florence 1 2 2 Sugar and Candy Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 4 2 10 Sugar 6 3 7 4 2 22 Candy 10 - - 16 3 7 C. qrs. lb. Flour 13 2 3 12 3 6 Rice 1 2 - - 9 - Beer 102 Gallons 5 19 - Wine Vizt. 11 Gallns. Port 4 13 0 45 Do. Lisbon 20 7 - 215 Do. Madeira 113 15 5 24 Pipe? Claret 71 5 7 212 3 10	The account of the diet expenses, the cost of the Company's table, followed. Salt beef, 38 pieces, £7 5s 8d Salt pork, 25 pieces, £3 2s 7d Total for beef and pork, £10 8s 3d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 4s 2d Arrack, 81 gallons, £9 15s 9d Florence oil, 7 bottles, £1 2s 2d Sugar, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 10 pounds, £6 3s 7d Sugar candy, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 22 pounds, £10 0s 0d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £16 3s 7d Flour, 13 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 pounds, £12 3s 6d Rice, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 0 pounds, £0 9s 0d Beer, 102 gallons, £5 19s 0d Port wine, 11 gallons, £4 15s 10d Lisbon wine, 45 gallons, £22 7s 0d Madeira wine, 215 gallons, £113 15s 5d Claret, 24 dozen bottles, £71 5s 7d Total for wine, £212 3s 10d Singlo tea, 1 pound, £0 1s 0d Hyson tea, 1 canister, £0 6s 5d Souchong tea, 1 canister, £0 5s 7d Total for tea, £0 13s 0d Pepper, 12 pounds, £0 6s 0d Split peas, 1 bushel, £0 16s 0d Total for diet expenses, £270 4s 3d The account of allowances followed. **Interpretations** Wine made up nearly four-fifths of what the Company's table cost in the quarter. The 215 gallons of Madeira and 24 dozen bottles of claret went to the Governor's table, where the Council, the garrison's officers and the commanders and passengers of passing ships were entertained. This was the quarter

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		Tea Vizt. lb. 1 Single - 1 - 1 Cannister Hyson - 4 5 1 Do. Souchong - 5 7 - 13 - Spice 12 lb. Pepper - 6 - Pease 1 Bushel Split - 16 - £ 270 4 3	when the homeward fleet and then Johnstone's squadron lay in the road. The bill shows that hospitality to visiting captains and naval officers was treated as a cost of government, paid by the Company and kept in its stores accounts. Claret appeared here for the first time in the table's accounts this year. A French wine in wartime most probably came from a captured cargo or from a neutral ship, since direct trade with France had stopped.
253	249	1781 Allowance Dr. Candles Vizt. lb. 183 Castle 207 Council 30 Chaplain 25 Doctors Shop C. qrs. lb. 7 - 24 84 19 11 Cordage C. qrs. lb. - 2 16 Governors Stables 1 7 1 Oil Vizt. 9 Gallns. Train Castle 2 4 3 22 Do. Do. Council 5 9 4 ¼ Gallon Turpentine Stables - 3 - 7 16 7 Saddlery Vizt. 2 Saddles 4 4 7 6 Half Curb Bridles 3 4 9 12 Girths - 10 6 12 Cruppers 1 1 - 4 pr. Stirrup Leathers - 10 1 6 Surcingles 1 - 6 Governors Stables 11 9 5 Shirts Vizt. 6 Yds. Ticking - 12 - 40 pr. Huckaback Table Cloths 9 9 0 3 pr. Russia Diaper 3 5 0 Castle 13 7 7 Sugar and Candy 30 lb. Sugar Govern. Gardener - 7 3 Tea 4 lb. Bohea Do. & Do. - 2 4 Canvas Vizt. Yds. 16 English Cots for Do. & Do. Do. - 9 10 14 Do. Osnaburg Castle - 14 7 1 4 5 Soap C. qrs. lb. 1 1 10 Castle Linen 3 16 0 Tallow 3 Do. Castle 1 10 11 Hooks Lines &c. 100 No. 9	The account of allowances, the stores issued free to officials and departments as part of their entitlement, followed. Candles for the Castle, 483 pounds; for the Council, 207 pounds; for the chaplain, 30 pounds; for the doctor's shop, 25 pounds; together 7 hundredweight 0 quarters 24 pounds, £84 19s 11d Cordage for the Governor's stables, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 pounds, £1 7s 1d Train oil for the Castle, 9 gallons, £2 4s 3d Train oil for the Council, 22 gallons, £5 9s 4d Turpentine for the stables, ¼ gallon, £0 3s 0d Total for oils, £7 16s 7d Saddles for the Governor's stables, 2, £4 14s 7d Half-curb bridles for the Governor's stables, 6, £3 4s 9d Girths for the Governor's stables, 12, £0 18s 6d Cruppers for the Governor's stables, 12, £1 1s 0d Stirrup leathers for the Governor's stables, 4 pairs, £0 10s 1d Surcingles for the Governor's stables, 6, £1 0s 6d Total for saddlery, £11 9s 5d Ticking for the Castle, 6 yards, £0 12s 0d Huckaback tablecloths for the Castle, 40 yards, £9 9s 11d Russia diaper for the Castle, 3 pieces, £3 5s 8d Total for linen, £13 7s 7d Sugar for the groom and gardener, 30 pounds, £0 7s 3d Bohea tea for the groom and gardener, 4 pounds, £0 2s 4d English canvas for cots for the groom and gardener, 8 yards, £0 9s 10d Osnaburg canvas for the Castle, 14 yards, £0 14s 7d Total for canvas, £1 4s 5d Soap for the Castle linen, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 10 pounds, £3 16s 0d Chelloe cloth for the Castle, 3 pieces, £1 10s 11d Fish hooks for the Governor's fishermen, 100 of number 9, £0 4s 3d Fish hooks for the Governor's fishermen, 100 of number 18, £0 0s 6d Large fish hooks for the Governor's fishermen, 6, £0 1s 0d Carried over, £126 2s 2d **Interpretations** The allowance account recorded what the Governor and the Council received in kind on top of their salaries. The Castle alone drew 483 pounds of candles and nearly 50 yards of table linen in one quarter. Its household ran its own stables, a groom, a gardener and fishermen who supplied fish for the Governor's table, and all of them were equipped from the Company's warehouse at no charge to the Governor. The 207 pounds of candles and 22 gallons of oil issued to the Council lit the room where it met and the offices where its clerks copied the consultations. Lighting by candle and train-oil lamp

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		- 4 3 100 10 - 1 6 6 Large - 1 0 Hooks, Governors Fishermen Hooks Carrd. Over Carrd. Over £ 126 2 2	was one of the largest running costs of government on the island.
254	250	15th October Brot. Over £ 126 2 2 Hooks Lines &c. brought Over - 6 9 24 No. 3 - 3 - 3 Log - 1 3 Lines, Govr. Fishermen 50 No. 10 - 1 1 25 9 - 1 1 4 Large - 3 5 12 No. 2 - 3 - Hooks 3 Log Lines Lieut. Govr. Do. 3 Hk. Twine Govr. Stable - 5 9 2 Hambro Lines - 2 0 1 lb. Cotton Wick - 1 4 1 10 9 Paint Vizt. lb. 6 Smalt - 10 5 6 Stone? Blue? - 10 4 12 Starch - 7 9 Castle Linnen 1 8 6 Cuttlery Vizt. 2 Coffee Mills? "Coffee Hammers" - 4 6 4 Butchers Knives - 1 8 Stables 3 Doz. Green Handle Knives & Forks 5 10 11 1 pr. Do. Do. Do. & Do. 1 13 4 Castle 7 10 5 Haberdashery 1 lb. White & Brown Thread Do. - 5 9 China Ware Vizt. 24 Breakfast Dishes 1 7 - 84 Do. Plates 1 16 9 24 Soup Do. - 12 - 12 Sallad Dishes - 10 - 12 Bowls - 13 6 4 Cups & Saucers - 7 0	The allowance account continued from the £126 2s 2d brought over. Brought over, £126 2s 2d Number 3 fishing lines for the Governor's fishermen, 24, £0 6s 9d Log lines for the Governor's fishermen, 3, £0 3s 0d Fish hooks for the Lieutenant Governor, 50 of number 18, £0 0s 3d Fish hooks for the Lieutenant Governor, 25 of number 9, £0 1s 1d Large fish hooks for the Lieutenant Governor, 4, £0 1s 1d Number 2 fishing lines for the Lieutenant Governor, 12, £0 3s 5d Log lines for the Lieutenant Governor, 3, £0 3s 0d Twine for the Governor's stables, 3 skeins, £0 1s 9d Hamburg lines, 2, £0 2s 8d Cotton wick, ½ pound, £0 1s 4d Total for hooks, lines and twine, £1 10s 9d Smalt for the Castle linen, 6 pounds, £0 10s 5d Indigo for the Castle linen, 6 pounds, £0 10s 4d Starch for the Castle linen, 12 pounds, £0 7s 9d Total for laundry blue and starch, £1 8s 6d Cases of fleams for the stables, 2, £0 4s 6d Butchers' knives for the stables, 4, £0 1s 8d Green-handled knives and forks for the Castle, 3 dozen, £5 18s 11d Dessert knives and forks for the Castle, 1 dozen, £1 13s 4d Total for cutlery, £7 18s 5d Whitened brown thread, 1 pound, £0 5s 9d China meat dishes for the Castle, 24, £1 7s 0d China plates for the Castle, 84, £1 16s 9d China soup plates for the Castle, 24, £0 12s 0d China salad dishes for the Castle, 12, £0 10s 0d China bowls for the Castle, 12, £0 13s 6d China goglets and basins for the Castle, 4, £0 7s 8d China chamber pots for the Castle, 4, £0 7s 8d China quarter-pint cups and saucers for the Castle, 12, £0 3s 6d Total for china, £5 18s 1d Tumblers for the Castle, 12, £0 9s 3d Beer glasses for the Castle, 18, £0 14s 9d Quart decanters for the Castle, 3, £0 6s 9d Pint decanters for the Castle, 3, £0 4s 6d Total for glassware, £1 14s 9d Carried over, £144 18s 5d **Interpretations** Fleams were small lancets used to bleed horses, a routine treatment in the period for illness in livestock. They came in folding cases of several blades, and the Governor's stables drew two sets. The Lieutenant Governor received his own fish hooks and lines, alongside the Governor's fishermen. Like the Governor, he kept a household that fed itself partly from the sea, and the Company supplied it as part of his allowance. The 84 china plates, three dozen knives and forks and a dozen dessert sets replaced what the Castle's table had broken or worn out in a busy season of entertaining.

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		4 Chamber Pots - 7 0 12 Half Pint Cups and Saucers - 3 6 Castle 5 18 1 Glass Ware Vizt. 12 Tumblers - 9 3 10 Beer Glasses - 14 9 3 Quart Decanters - 6 9 3 Pint Do. - 4 6 Castle 1 14 9 Carrd. Over £ 144 10 5	
255	251	1781 Brot. Over £ 144 18 5 Tin Ware Vizt. 2 Round Glass Lanthorns - 10 3 5 Quart Saucepans - 2 1 1 Gallon Kettle - 2 3 2 Two Do. Do. - 5 6 4 Double Block Tin? - 2 7 9 lb. Solder? - 7 - 4 Tin Lamps - 3 - 1 Horn Lanthorn - 3 1 Do. 1 15 9 Wheat C. qrs. 1 1 Barley Govr. Poultry - 11 4 Iron Ware Vizt. 1 Whip? Saw? - 0 3 1 pr. Bellows - 3 11 3 Cork Pullers? - 1 9 1 Pad Lock - 1 5 1 Brass Cock? - 0 5 1 Chafing Dish - 5 9 4 Chest? Locks - 7 - Castle 4 Curry Combs & Brushes Govr. Stables - 9 - 1 17 6 Braziery Vizt. 1 Gallon? Do.? Tea Kettle - 16 11 12 Bottling Cocks - 8 9 Castle 1 5 8 Pitch &c. lb. 24 Rosin - 9 - 6 Pitch - - 9	The allowance account continued from the £144 18s 5d brought over. Brought over, £144 18s 5d Barrel glass lanterns for the Castle, 2, £0 10s 3d Quart saucepans for the Castle, 5, £0 2s 1d Gallon kettle for the Castle, 1, £0 2s 3d Two-gallon kettles for the Castle, 2, £0 5s 6d Double sheets of tin for the Castle, 4, £0 2s 7d Solder for the Castle, 9 pounds, £0 7s 0d Tin lamps for the Castle, 4, £0 3s 0d Horn lantern for the Castle, 1, £0 3s 1d Total for tinware, £1 15s 9d Barley for the Governor's poultry, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter, £0 11s 4d Sieve for the Castle, 1, £0 0s 3d Bellows for the Castle, 1 pair, £0 3s 11d Ash handles for the Castle, 3, £0 1s 9d Padlock for the Castle, 1, £0 1s 5d Mousetrap for the Castle, 1, £0 0s 5d Chafing dish for the Castle, 1, £0 5s 9d Chest locks for the Castle, 4, £0 7s 0d Curry combs and brushes for the Governor's stables, 4, £0 9s 0d Total for ironware, £1 17s 6d Five-quart tea kettle for the Castle, 1, £0 16s 11d Bottling cocks for the Castle, 2, £0 8s 9d Total for brass and copper ware, £1 5s 8d Rosin for the Castle, 24 pounds, £0 9s 0d Pitch for the Castle, 6 pounds, £0 0s 9d Total for pitch and rosin, £0 9s 9d Rice for the Governor's horses and poultry, 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 0 pounds, £1 2s 6d Paddy for the Governor's horses and poultry, 39 hundredweight 0 quarters 9 pounds, £7 19s 0d Rice for the Lieutenant Governor's horses and poultry, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 0 pounds, £0 13s 6d Paddy for the Lieutenant Governor's horses and poultry, [...], £1 8s 7d Total for rice and paddy, £11 4s 3d Double deals for cots for the groom and gardener, 2, £0 7s 6d Nails for cots for the groom and gardener, 3 pounds of sixpenny, £0 1s 6d Carried over, £162 11s 8d **Interpretations** The Governor's horses and poultry ate nearly 40 hundredweight of paddy and almost 4 hundredweight of rice in one quarter, more than £9 0s 0d worth of grain at cost. The Lieutenant Governor drew a smaller ration for his own animals. This was the same quarter in which the Council refused flour and rice to passing ships and gave commanders rice only in measured amounts. Unhusked paddy was cheaper and kept better than cleaned rice, so feeding it to livestock was an economy, but the senior officers'

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do. - 9 9 Rice and Paddy C. qrs. lb. 3 3 - Rice 1 2 6 39 - 9 Paddy 7 19 0 Govr. Horses & Poultry 2 1 - Rice - 13 6 1 - - Paddy - 0 7 Lt. Govr. Do. & Do. 11 4 8 Deals 2 Double Cots? for Govr. Gardener - 7 6 Nails 3 M. 6 Do. Do. - 1 6 Carrd. Over £ 162 11 8	animals were still fed from the Company's grain while the island was short of food.
256	252	15th October Brot. Over £ 162 11 8 Leather 2 Calf Skins Govr. Stables - 1 2 Lead 6 lb. Shot Castle - 1 3 Corks 6½ Gross Do. - 14 8 Long Cloth 1 pr. 6 Do. - 5 7 Arrack 140 Gallons Lieut. Governor 16 18 4 £ 180 0 6 Garrison Dr. Soap C. qrs. lb. 1 2 20 Barracks Hammocks & Guards 5 10 8 Oil Vizt. 128 Gallns. Train Do. Do. Do. 31 9 4 ½ Galln. Linseed - 2 2 31 11 6 Candles Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 1 1 10 Wax 15 15 0 - - 2 Tallow - 2 - Officers Guard 15 17 0 Arrack 57 Gallons Muster? &c. 6 17 9 Hooks Lines &c. 6½ lb. Cotton Wick - 16 10 3 lb. Twine Cord - 1 9 30 pr.? 5 Lines? - 7 1 1½ lb. White Cord - 5 3 Guards 1 10 11 Shoes 590 pr. Ordinary 150 15 - Hosiery 544 pr. Do. Thread Stockings 83 6 - Shirts Vizt. 514 Calicoes 30 Sergeants 114 17 - 56 Privates 10 3 - 101 Coarse Irish Linnen	The allowance account closed, with £162 11s 8d brought over. Brought over, £162 11s 8d Calf skins for the Governor's stables, 2, £0 5s 2d Lead shot for the Castle, 6 pounds, £0 1s 3d Corks for the Castle, 6½ gross, £0 14s 8d Number 6 long cloth for the Castle, 1 piece, £1 0s 7d Arrack for the Lieutenant Governor, 140 gallons, £16 18s 4d Total for allowances, £182 8s 6d Next came the account of stores issued to the garrison. Bohea tea for the barracks and guards, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 pounds, £5 10s 0d Train oil for the barracks and guards, 128 gallons, £31 9s 4d Linseed oil, ½ gallon, £0 2s 2d Total for oils, £31 11s 6d Wax candles for the officers on guard, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 10 pounds, £15 15s 8d Tallow candles for the officers on guard, 2 pounds, £0 2s 0d Total for candles, £15 17s 8d Arrack for musters and other occasions, 57 gallons, £6 17s 9d Cotton wick for the guards, 6½ pounds, £0 16s 10d Twine for cots, 3 skeins, £0 1s 9d Number 1 fishing lines, 30, £0 7s 1d Whipcord, 1½ pounds, £0 5s 3d Total for wick, twine and lines, £1 10s 11d Ordinary shoes, 590 pairs, £150 15s 0d Thread stockings, 544 pairs, £83 6s 0d Soldiers' shirts, 514, £114 11s 7d Sergeants' shirts, 30, £10 3s 0d [...], 562, £13 3s 0d Coarse Irish linen, 101 yards, £6 14s 8d Total for shirts and linen, £144 12s 3d Gold-laced hats, 2, £3 19s 2d Soldiers' hats, 251, £36 0s 0d Sergeants' hats, 16, £9 5s 4d Total for hats, £49 4s 6d Carried over, £489 6s 3d **Interpretations** The garrison account shows how the soldiers' yearly clothing was issued. Every man was owed new shoes, stockings, a shirt and a hat each year as part of his terms of service, and the Company supplied them from its warehouse at its own cost. The 590 pairs of shoes and 514 soldiers' shirts match the strength of the four infantry companies and the artillery on the muster rolls. In July the paymaster had paid cash to discharged soldiers whose clothing was owed to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		13 3 - 6 14 0 144 12 3 Hats Vizt. 12 Gold Laced 8 19 2 25½ Calicoes 36 - - 16 Sergeants 9 5 4 49 4 6 Carried Over £ 489 0 3	them. The two records together show the Company treating clothing as an entitlement it had to deliver in kind or pay out in money. Most of the garrison's lighting went to its guards. The 128 gallons of train oil, the cotton wick and the wax candles for the officers on guard kept lamps burning through the night at the batteries and guardhouses. In a year when the island feared a French landing, that cost was part of keeping watch. The 57 gallons of arrack issued at musters followed the old practice of giving the men a dram on muster days. Spirits issued this way came from the Company's own store and stood outside the canteen the Council had set up to control the soldiers' drinking.
257	253	1781 Brought Over £ 489 0 3 Blankets 103 Ordinary 43 13 - Haberdashery Vizt. 20 Cockades 4 0 1 1 pc. Bd.? Worsted Lace - 10 - ¼ lb. Thread? Do. - 10 - ¼ lb. Whalebone - 6 9 6¾ Yds. Buckram 3 5 - 73½ Doz. Gilt Coat Buttons 6 5 7 57½ Do. Brest Do. 2 4 3 10 Hk. Silk 1 17 6 100 Do. Mohair 2 1 0 Officers Regimentals 20 Shalloon? "20 Shalloons" 10 - 10 2 lb. White Brown Thread for Do. and Soldiers? 1 1 6 13 Coloured Do. 2 2 3 Soldiers Clothes 34 19 5 Soldiers Clothes Vizt. 84 Soldiers Coats 80 pr. Do. Breeches 124 2 3 12 Corporals Coats & Breeches 10 9 7 11 Sergeants Do. & Do. 57 9 6 8 Drummers Do. & Do. 27 5 0 3 Artillery Sergeants Do. & Do. 15 3 7 2 Do. Corporals Do. and Do. 4 0 1 3 Bombardiers Do. and Do. 8 10 2 4 Gunners Do. and Do. 9 4 10 54 Matrosses Do. and Do. 113 7 0 1 Marshals Coat and Do. 2 1 0 6 Watch Coats 4 19 - 385 19 2 Canvas 4 25 English Cots?	The garrison account continued, with £489 8s 3d brought over. Brought over, £489 8s 3d Ordinary blankets, 183, £43 13s 0d Cockades, 260, £4 8s 1d Broad worsted lace, 1 gross, £0 18s 0d Narrow worsted lace, 1½ gross, £0 18s 0d Whalebone, 1 pound, £0 6s 9d Buckram, 63 yards, £3 5s 0d Gilt coat buttons for officers' regimentals, 73½ dozen, £6 5s 7d Gilt breast buttons for officers' regimentals, 58½ dozen, £2 4s 3d Silk thread for officers' regimentals, 180 skeins, £1 17s 6d Mohair thread for officers' regimentals, 180 skeins, £2 1s 8d Epaulettes for officers' regimentals, 20, £10 0s 10d Whitened brown thread for making and altering soldiers' clothes, 2 pounds, £0 11s 6d Coloured thread for making and altering soldiers' clothes, 13 pounds, £2 2s 3d Total for haberdashery, £34 19s 5d Soldiers' coats, 84, and soldiers' breeches, 88 pairs, together £124 2s 3d Corporals' coats and breeches, 12 sets, £18 9s 7d Sergeants' coats and breeches, 11 sets, £57 9s 6d Drummers' coats and breeches, 8 sets, £27 5s 8d Artillery sergeants' coats and breeches, 3 sets, £15 3s 7d Artillery corporals' coats and breeches, 2 sets, £4 8s 1d Bombardiers' coats and breeches, 3 sets, £8 10s 2d Gunners' coats and breeches, 4 sets, £9 4s 10d Matrosses' coats and breeches, 54 sets, £113 7s 0d Marshal's coat and breeches, 1 set, £2 11s 8d Watch coats, 6, £4 19s 0d Total for soldiers' clothes, £385 19s 7d English canvas for cots, 4 pieces 25 yards, £10 14s 9d Double deals for cots and coffins, 3, £0 18s 9d Single deals for cots and coffins, 4, £0 8s 0d Total for deals, £1 6s 9d Scarlet broadcloth for officers' regimentals, 89 yards, £86 15s 6d Blue broadcloth for officers' regimentals, 23 yards, £20 14s 0d Total for broadcloth, £107 9s 6d Scarlet shalloon for officers' regimentals, 4½ yards, £0 11s 3d Coloured shalloon for officers' regimentals, 90 yards, £8 15s 0d Total for serge and shalloon, £9 6s 3d Carried over, £1,083 17s 6d **Interpretations** Coats and breeches were issued to only part of the garrison this quarter: 84 soldiers' coats against

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 14 9 Deals Vizt. 3 Double - 10 9 4 Single - 8 - Cots and Coffins 1 6 9 Broad Cloth Vizt. 89½ Yds. Scarlet 86 15 6 25 Do. Blue 20 14 - Officers Regimentals 107 9 6 Serge Vizt. Yds. 2½ Scarlet Shalloon - 11 3 90 Do. Cotton? Do. 8 15 0 Do. 9 6 3 Carrd. Over £ 1083 17 0	more than 500 men on the muster rolls. A soldier's coat normally lasted longer than his shoes and shirts, so uniforms were replaced in rotation, with each man drawing a new coat every two years or so. Each rank had its own pattern and cost. A sergeant's suit cost over £5 0s 0d against about £1 10s 0d for a private's, since it used finer cloth and more lace. The 54 suits for matrosses show the artillery re-clothed in a single issue, perhaps because it had taken in the most recruits that summer. The scarlet and blue broadcloth, gilt buttons, epaulettes and shalloon were for officers' regimentals, but officers on St Helena did not pay for them as officers in the King's army did. The Company supplied the cloth and trimmings, and that saved its officers the cost of a full uniform made in England. Cockades were the knots of ribbon worn on the hat as the mark of a soldier in the King's or the Company's service. The watch coats were heavy greatcoats kept at the guardhouses and passed from sentry to sentry, for long night watches on exposed cliffs in the cool, wet winter months.
258	254	15th October Brot. Over £ 1083 17 6 Beef and Pork Vizt. lb. Beef? Beef 23 3 10 193 lb. Pork 28 15 - Officers? Guarding? Ensign? 51 18 10 Nails Vizt. M. Do. 53 2 1 19 9 1 20 - 1 5 Cots and Coffins 2 - 2 Glass Ware Vizt. 7 Hour Glasses Guards - 5 0 20 Squares 6 by 8 - 4 2 9 Do. 10 by 16 - 9 5 Barracks - 19 5 Iron Ware Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 6 Iron Pots wt. 1 - 17 1 0 0 8 Large Frying Pans 1 15 4 2 Small Do. - 5 4 7 Pad Locks - 4 1 7 Bell? Wire? - 19 3 1 Iron Rimd. Lock Polished - 4 3 1 pr. Small Dovetail Hinges - 0 5 Barracks and Guards 5 7 4 Tin Ware Vizt. 27 Lamps	The garrison account continued from the £1,083 17s 6d brought over. Brought over, £1,083 17s 6d Salt beef short in weight, 221 pieces, £23 3s 10d Salt pork short in weight, 193 pieces, £28 15s 0d Total for beef and pork, £51 18s 10d Twopenny nails for cots and coffins, 53 pounds, £1 19s 9d Twentypenny nails for cots and coffins, 1 pound, £0 0s 5d Total for nails, £2 0s 2d Hourglasses for the guards, 7, £0 5s 10d Window glass for the barracks, 20 panes of 6 by 8 inches, £0 4s 2d Window glass for the barracks, 9 panes of 10 by 16 inches, £0 9s 5d Total for glassware, £0 19s 5d Iron pots for the barracks and guards, 6, weighing 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 7 pounds, £1 10s 0d Large frying pans for the barracks and guards, 8, £1 15s 4d Small frying pans for the barracks and guards, 2, £0 5s 4d Ash handles for the barracks and guards, 7, £0 4s 1d Wood axes for the barracks and guards, 7, £0 19s 3d Iron-rimmed lock with pull-back for the barracks and guards, 1, £0 4s 3d Small dovetail hinges for the barracks and guards, 1 pair, £0 0s 5d Total for ironware, £5 7s 4d Tin lamps, 27, £1 0s 3d Double sheets of tin, 2, £0 1s 4d Horn lanterns, 3, £0 9s 3d Two-gallon kettle, 1, £0 2s 9d Total for tinware, £1 13s 7d Three-quart tea kettles, 2, £1 2s 10d Blacking, 1½ pounds, £0 5s 5d Total for the garrison, £1,146 13s 4d A separate account followed for stores issued to the Company's slaves. Salt beef, 299 pieces, £57 6s 2d Salt pork, 148 pieces, £22 1s 9d Total for beef and pork, £79 7s 11d Carried over, £79 7s 11d **Interpretations** The garrison was charged for 221 pieces of beef and 193 of pork that had been found short in weight.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 0 3 2 Double Block Tin? - 1 4 3 Horn Lanthorns - 9 3 1 Two Gallon Kettle - 2 9 1 13 7 Braziery 2 Three quart Tea Kettles 1 2 10 Paint 4 lb. Blacking - 1 5 £ 1146 13 1 Blacks Dr. Beef and Pork Vizt. lb. 299 Beef 57 6 2 140 Pork 22 1 9 Carried Over £ 97 7 11	Salt meat was issued to the soldiers by the piece, each piece meant to weigh a set amount. When casks were opened and the pieces came up light, the soldiers were still owed their full ration, so the storekeeper made up the shortfall and charged the cost to the garrison account. The total of £51 18s 10d shows how much salt provisions lost through shrinkage, leakage and short packing on the long voyage from England or Ireland. The seven hourglasses went to the guards to time the watch, so that sentries were relieved at fixed intervals through the night. The account kept for the Company's slaves shows that they too were fed partly on salt beef and pork from the stores, alongside the yams from the plantation recorded in the livestock account. The Company kept their rations in a separate account, so the cost of feeding its slave labour force stood apart from the cost of the garrison.
259	255	1781 Brot. Over £ 97 7 11 Rice C. qrs. lb. 140 1 5 43 7 10 Tea 9 lb. Bohea - 5 5 Sugar C. qrs. lb. 1 24 - 12 6 Arrack 22 Gallons 2 13 2 Oil 5½ Gallns. Train 1 7 1 Spice 4 lb. Pepper - 2 - Salt ½ Bushel - 2 1 Soap 24 lb. - 12 6 Candles 4 lb. Wax - 0 5 Shoes Vizt. 53 pr. Mens Calf 13 7 2 16 pr. Womens Calf Leather 2 0 0 15 15 10 Large 5 lb. - 1 3 Serge Yds. 3½ Coloured Shalloon - 3 5 Nankeen 8 Pieces - 10 4 Haberdashery lb. 11 Coloured Thread 1 15 9 Cuttlery Vizt. 6 Horn Combs - 1 9 6 Buckling? Do. - 3 - 6 Butchers Knives - 2 6 - 7 3 Hooks Lines &c. 300 No. 9 - 12 0 350 12 - 0 6 350 17 - 2 4 300 10 - 1 6 Hooks	The account of stores issued for the Company's slaves continued, with £97 7s 11d brought over. Brought over, £97 7s 11d Rice, 146 hundredweight 1 quarter 5 pounds, £43 17s 10d Bohea tea, 9 pounds, £0 5s 5d Sugar, 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 24 pounds, £0 12s 6d Arrack, 22 gallons, £2 13s 2d Train oil, 5½ gallons, £1 7s 1d Pepper, 4 pounds, £0 2s 0d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 2s 1d Soap, 24 pounds, £0 12s 6d Wax candles, 4 pounds, £0 8s 5d Men's ordinary shoes, 53 pairs, £13 7s 2d Women's calf-leather shoes, 16 pairs, £2 8s 8d Total for shoes, £15 15s 10d Sago, 5 pounds, £0 1s 3d Coloured shalloon, 1 piece 3½ yards, £3 1s 5d Nankeen cloth, 8 pieces, £0 18s 4d Coloured thread, 11 pounds, £1 15s 9d Horn combs, 6, £0 1s 9d Buckling combs, 6, £0 3s 0d Butchers' knives, 6, £0 2s 6d Total for cutlery and combs, £0 7s 3d Fish hooks, 300 of number 9, £0 12s 0d Fish hooks, 350 of number 12, £0 8s 6d Fish hooks, 350 of number 17, £0 2s 4d Fish hooks, 300 of number 18, £0 1s 6d Number 1 fishing lines, 16¾ dozen, £2 6s 3d Number 2 fishing lines, 15 dozen, £2 10s 0d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 2d Total for hooks, lines and twine, £6 3s 1d Men's jackets, 139, and men's breeches, 134 pairs, together £76 4s 3d Men's drawers, 180 pairs, £15 2s 0d Men's shirts, 300, £49 15s 0d Men's hats, 138, £12 4s 2d Boys' jackets, 30, and boys' breeches, 32 pairs, together £14 10s 2d Boys' drawers, 30 pairs, £1 16s 9d Boys' shirts, 60, £8 5s 6d Total for sailors' clothes, £177 17s 10d Lead shot, 12 pounds, £0 2s 6d Carried over, £335 12s 2d **Interpretations** The Company clothed its slaves in sailors' clothes. Jackets, breeches, drawers, shirts and hats of this kind were the cheap ready-made clothing known as slops, sewn in England in standard sizes for seamen and shipped out in bulk. The counts give a rough picture of the Company's male slaves: about 139 men and 30 boys received a jacket. Each man

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		16 Log? 1 2 6 3 15 pr. 2 2 10 0 Lines 2 Hk. Twine - 1 2 6 9 1 Sailors Clothes Vizt. 139 Mens Jackets 26 4 3 134 pr. Do. Breeches 15 2 - 109 pr. Do. Drawers 49 15 - 300 Do. Shirts 12 4 2 30 Boys Jackets 14 10 2 32 pr. Do. Breeches 1 16 9 35 pr. Do. Drawers 0 5 6 60 Do. Shirts - - - 172 17 10 Lead 12 lb. Shot - 12 6 Carried Over £ 335 12 2	drew two shirts but only one pair of breeches. Only 53 pairs of men's shoes and 16 pairs of women's were issued, so most of the Company's slaves worked barefoot. Rice was by far the largest food item, at more than 146 hundredweight for the quarter. With the yams from the plantation and the salt beef and pork already listed, it made up the slaves' ration. The 1,300 fish hooks and more than 30 dozen lines issued in the same account show that the Company expected its slaves to catch part of their own food. That kept down the cost of feeding them at a time when salt meat was short on the island.
260	256	15th October Brot. Over £ 335 12 2 Long Cloth 10 pcs. No. 6 - 16 4 Iron Ware Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 23 Iron Pots wt. 2 2 15 3 1 6 1 Stock Lock - 2 5 22 Small Frying Pans 2 18 0 6 2 1 Shirts 2 Calicoes Castle Servants - 5 7 Hosiery 24 pr. Ordy. Thread Stockings 3 13 6 Clothes 1 pr. 16 Yds. - 19 6 352 5 1 Military Dr. Sugar C. qrs. lb. 27 - 6 6 Flour 15 - 2 7 Rice 1 - - - 6 6 Beef 10 lb. 1 18 4 Soap 6 lb. - 3 2 Salt ¼ Bushel - 1 1 Tea 2 lb. Bohea - 1 2 Arrack 1 Gallon? - 9 0 Spice 2 lb. Pepper - 1 - Hooks Lines &c. 50 No. 10 Hooks - - - 6 2 Lines - 3 -	The account of stores issued for the Company's slaves closed, with £335 12s 2d brought over. Brought over, £335 12s 2d Number 6 long cloth, 18 yards, £0 18s 4d Iron pots, 23, weighing 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 15 pounds, £3 1s 6d Stock lock, 1, £0 2s 5d Small frying pans, 22, £2 18s 8d Total for ironware, £6 2s 7d Soldiers' shirts for the Castle servants, 24, £5 7s 0d Ordinary thread stockings, 24 pairs, £3 13s 6d Chelloe cloth, 1 piece 16 yards, £0 19s 6d Total for the Company's slaves, £352 5s 1d A separate account followed under the name Mallay. Sugar, 27 pounds, £0 6s 6d Flour, 15 pounds, £0 2s 7d Rice, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 8 pounds, £0 6s 6d Salt beef, 10 pieces, £1 18s 4d Soap, 6 pounds, £0 3s 2d Salt, ¼ bushel, £0 1s 1d Bohea tea, 2 pounds, £0 1s 2d Arrack, 4 gallons, £0 9s 8d Pepper, 2 pounds, £0 1s 0d Fish hooks, 50 of number 18, £0 0s 3d Number 2 fishing lines, 6, £0 1s 8d Total for hooks and lines, £0 1s 11d Ordinary thread stockings, 2 pairs, £0 6s 2d Black worsted breeches, 1 pair, £0 8s 10d Total for hosiery, £0 15s 0d Whitened brown thread, ½ pound, £0 2s 11d Coloured thread, ½ pound, £0 1s 8d Total for haberdashery, £0 4s 7d Small frying pan, 1, £0 2s 8d Iron pot, 1, weighing 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 9 pounds, £0 8s 6d Total for ironware, £0 11s 2d **Interpretations** The slaves who served at the Castle were clothed differently from the field slaves. They received soldiers' shirts and thread stockings, while the men who worked on the plantation and the Company's works drew slop jackets and breeches and mostly

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		- 3 - Hosiery Vizt. 2 pr. Wool? Thread Stockings - 6 2 1 pr. Black Worsted Breeches - 8 10 - 15 - Haberdashery Vizt. ½ lb. White Brown Thread - 2 11 ½ Coloured Do. - 1 0 - 4 7 Iron Ware Vizt. 1 Small Frying Pan - 2 0 C. qrs. lb. 1 Iron Pot wt. - 1 13 - 8 6 - 11 2 Carrd. Over	went barefoot. Slaves who waited on the Governor's household and his guests were dressed to a standard that suited the Company's table. The account kept under the name Mallay covered food, clothing and household goods on the scale of a single person or a small household. The quantities are too small for a group. It held a ration of beef, rice, flour and arrack with stockings, a pair of breeches, a cooking pot and a frying pan. The heading was perhaps a man known by that name, or a Malay from the East Indies supported at the Company's expense. The record does not say why he was kept on the Company's account.
261	257	1781 Bro. Over China Ware Vizt. 4 Breakfast Dishes - 4 7 12 Do. Plates - 5 3 4 Bowls - 4 7 6 Sneakers - 2 - - 16 5 Shoes 2 pr. Ordy. - 10 1 Long Cloth 1 pc. No. 4 2 14 6 £ 9 3 0 Plantation Dr. Rice C. qrs. lb. 2 2 20 Overseer & Steward - 16 1 Beef 10 lb. Steward 1 10 4 Arrack 3¾ Gallns. - 9 1 Cordage C. qrs. lb. 1 3 1 3 14 - Candles 12 lb. Tallow - 12 - Hooks Lines &c. 100 No. 2 & 6? - 5 1 2 Hambro - 2 0 Lines 2 Hk. Twine - 1 2 - 8 3? "- 0 11" Iron Ware Vizt. 9 Spades 1 16 - 8 Garden Hoes - 0 0 8 Melons? Hoes? - 2 11 4 Ash Hatchets? "Pick Axes" 1 3 4 22 Axes? "Pickaxes" 3 11 6 72 Scythestones 1 7 7 1 Pruning Saw - 12 - 2 pr. Garden Shears - 2 3	The account kept under the name Mallay closed with the following items. China meat dishes, 4, £0 4s 7d China plates, 12, £0 5s 3d China bowls, 4, £0 4s 7d China sneakers, 6, £0 2s 0d Total for china, £0 16s 5d Ordinary shoes, 2 pairs, £0 10s 1d Number 4 long cloth, 1 piece, £2 14s 6d Total for Mallay, £9 3s 8d The account of stores issued to the Company's plantation followed. Rice for the overseers and steward, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 pounds, £0 16s 1d Salt beef for the steward, 10 pieces, £1 18s 4d Arrack, 3¾ gallons, £0 9s 1d Cordage, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 1 pound, £3 14s 0d Tallow candles, 12 pounds, £0 12s 0d Number 2 fishing lines, 18, £0 5s 1d Hamburg lines, 2, £0 2s 8d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 2d Total for lines and twine, £0 8s 11d Spades, 9, £1 16s 0d Garden hoes, 8, £0 8s 8d Handles for the hoes, 8, £0 2s 11d Ash handles, 4, £1 3s 4d Pickaxes, 22, £3 11s 6d Garden rakes, 10, £1 7s 4d Hand hatchets, 20, £1 10s 0d Scythes, 9, £1 7s 7d Scythe stones, 72, £0 12s 0d Pruning saw, 1, £0 2s 3d Garden shears, 2 pairs, £0 7s 0d Sheep shears, 11 pairs, £0 18s 4d Iron shovels, 10, £2 0s 10d Claw hammer, 1, £0 1s 6d Padlock, 1, £0 1s 5d Ironware carried over, £15 11s 6d Carried over, £7 18s 5d **Interpretations** The plantation drew a full set of field tools in a single quarter: 22 pickaxes, nine spades, ten shovels, eight hoes, ten rakes and 20 hatchets. Most of this work was done by the Company's slaves, and the tools were the plantation's working equipment. Nine scythes with 72 scythe stones point to a large hay or grain harvest. Eleven pairs of sheep shears match the Company's flocks of more than 300 sheep in the livestock account. The plantation supplied mutton for the hospital and the Governor's table and wool for the island. In a year of food shortage it was being worked hard to feed the garrison.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 pr. Sheep Do. - 7 0 10 Iron Shovels - 10 4 10 Claw Hammers 2 - 10 1 Padlock - 1 6 Iron Ware Carrd. Over 1 5 Carrd. Over £ 15 11 6 7 10 5	
262	258	15th October Bro. Over £ 7 10 5 Iron Ware Brot. Over 15 11 6 2 Bricklayers Trowels - 2 6 C. qrs. lb. 2 Iron Pots wt. - 2 1 - 11 11 1 Stock Lock - 2 5 66 lb. Iron - 12 6 1 Broad Hoe - 2 2 17 3 - Tin Ware 4 Watering Pots 2 10 4 Earthen Ware 9 Milk Pans - 12 10 Cuttlery Vizt. 8 Pruning Knives - 9 - 16 Butchers Do. - 6 0 - 15 0 Turnery Vizt. 2 Sieves? for Corn? 1 0 - 6 Skimming Dishes - 1 6 1 9 6 Cart Wheels Vizt. 3 pr. Cart Wheels 14 11 9 6 Wheelbarrows 5 6 9 19 10 6 Oil 2 Gallns. Train - 9 10 Pitch &c. 2 Gallns. Tar - 3 - Deals Vizt. Baulk - 11 3 2 Coffins - 6 0 - 17 11 Long Cloth 3 pcs. No. 5 - 2 5 Canvas 3 Yds. Osnaburg - 3 2 Nails Vizt. M. Do. 4 6 - 2 - 6 10 - 2 6 - 4 6 £ 52 17 1	The plantation account continued from the £7 18s 5d brought over. Brought over, £7 18s 5d Ironware brought over, £15 11s 6d Bricklayers' trowels, 2, £0 2s 6d Iron pots, 2, weighing 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 1 pound, £0 11s 11d Stock lock, 1, £0 2s 5d Rod iron, 60 pounds, £0 12s 6d Broad hoe, 1, £0 2s 2d Total for ironware, £17 3s 0d Watering pots, 14, £2 18s 4d Earthenware milk pans, 9, £0 12s 10d Pruning knives, 8, £0 9s 0d Butchers' knives, 16, £0 6s 8d Total for cutlery, £0 15s 8d Yokes for oxen, 2, £1 8s 0d Skimming dishes, 5, £0 1s 6d Total for turnery, £1 9s 6d Cart wheels, 3 pairs, £14 11s 9d Wheelbarrows, 6, £5 6s 9d Total for cart wheels and barrows, £19 18s 6d Train oil, 2 gallons, £0 9s 10d Tar, 2 gallons, £0 3s 0d Balk, 1, £0 11s 3d [...], 2, £0 6s 8d Total for deals, £0 17s 11d Number 5 long cloth, 3 yards, £0 2s 5d Osnaburg canvas, 3 yards, £0 3s 2d Sixpenny nails, 4 pounds, £0 2s 0d Tenpenny nails, 6 pounds, £0 2s 6d Total for nails, £0 4s 6d Total for the plantation, £52 17s 1d The account of stores issued to the hospital followed. **Interpretations** The milk pans, skimming dishes and ox yokes show that the plantation ran a dairy and used oxen for draught. Milk was set in shallow earthenware pans so that the cream rose and could be skimmed off for butter. The account shows the plantation working as a farm, supplying the Castle's table and the hospital as well as raising stock. The three pairs of cart wheels and six wheelbarrows, costing nearly £20 0s 0d together, were for hauling produce, stone and timber about the estate. On St Helena's steep ground, carts could only run on the few made roads, which made wheelbarrows and slave porters as important as wheeled transport.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
263	259	1781 Hospital Dr. Sugar & Candy Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 2 - 16 Sugar 2 17 0 12 Candy - 4 9 3 2 5? "3 2 9" C. qrs. lb. Flour 2 - 4 1 16 9 Rice 2 - 4 - 12 9 Arrack 4 Gallns. - 9 0 Tea 29 lb. Bohea - 17 5 Salt 1 Bushel - 4 2 Oil 10½ Gallns. Train 2 10 5 Coals 20 Bushels 1 7 11 Corks ¼ Gross - 0 7 Wine 7 Gallns. Port 3 1 0 Long Cloth 1 pc. No. 3 1 0 7 Large &c. 3 lb. - 0 3? "- - 3" Tin Ware Vizt. 1 Two Galln. Kettle - 1 9 2 Quart Saucepans - 1 0 1 pt. Do. - 0 7 1 Horn Lanthorn - 3 1 1 Quart Funnel - 0 5 6 Tin Lamps - 4 6 - 12 2 Iron Ware Vizt. 2 Hand Hatchets - 3 4 C. qrs. lb. 2 Iron Pots wt. - 1 11 - 8 2 2 Large Frying Pans - 8 10 1 Anvil? - 9 1 2 Pick Axes - 1 2 2 Spring Rat Traps - 2 9 2 Brine? Do. - 0 9 1 5 9 Bunting 6 Yds. - 3 6 Canvas 6 Yds. Osnaburg - 6 3 Haberdashery Vizt. 2 Yds. Broad Worsted Lace - 2 7 18 12 5	The account of stores issued to the hospital followed. Sugar, 2 quarters 16 pounds, £2 17s 0d Sugar candy, 12 pounds, £0 4s 9d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £3 2s 5d Flour, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 4 pounds, £1 16s 9d Rice, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 4 pounds, £0 12s 3d Arrack, 4 gallons, £0 9s 0d Bohea tea, 29 pounds, £0 17s 5d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 4s 2d Train oil, 10¼ gallons, £2 10s 5d Coal, 20 bushels, £1 7s 11d Corks, ¼ gross, £0 0s 7d Port wine, 7 gallons, £3 1s 0d Number 5 long cloth, 1 piece, £1 8s 7d Sago, 12 pounds, £0 3s 0d Two-gallon kettle, 1, £0 9s 9d Quart saucepans, 2, £0 0s 10d Pint saucepan, 1, £0 0s 7d Horn lantern, 1, £0 3s 1d Quart funnel, 1, £0 0s 5d Tin lamps, 6, £0 4s 6d Total for tinware, £0 12s 2d Hand hatchets, 2, £0 3s 4d Iron pots, 2, weighing 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 11 pounds, £0 8s 2d Large frying pans, 2, £0 8s 10d Maul, 1, £0 9s 1d Ash handles, 2, £0 1s 2d Spring rat traps, 2, £0 2s 9d Mousetraps, 2, £0 0s 9d Total for ironware, £1 13s 9d Bunting, 6 yards, £0 3s 6d Osnaburg canvas, 6 yards, £0 6s 3d Broad worsted lace, 20 yards, £0 2s 7d Total for the hospital, £18 12s 5d The account of stores issued to the boats followed. **Interpretations** The hospital's stores show what passed for treatment in 1781. Port wine, sago, sugar, tea and rice were given to the sick as nourishing foods. Sago boiled into a jelly and port wine taken as a tonic were standard diet for patients recovering from fever or flux. The hospital drew this in the same months that it took 450 pounds of the plantation's mutton, during the run of sickness and deaths in the garrison that summer. The 20 bushels of coal heated water and cooked the patients' food, and the train oil kept its lamps burning for the night watch over the sick.
264	260	15th October Boats Dr. Cordage C. qrs. lb. 12 3 23 26 5 2 Oars 6 Small	The account of stores issued to the boats followed. Cordage, 12 hundredweight 3 quarters 23 pounds, £26 5s 2d Small oars, 6, £1 9s 9d

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		1 9 9 Pitch &c. 1 Barrel Pitch 2 4 1 1 pc. 26 Galls. Tar 3 6 - lb. 54 Rosin 1 - 3 32 Turpentine - 16 - 7 6 4 Canvas 6 Bolts English 13 16 - Saddlery? 1 Hide? - 19 9 Deals Vizt. 6 Double 1 2 6 20 Wainscot Boards 3 6 0 1 Elm Board - 3 0 ¾ pr. Elm Plank 1 16 2 6 9 - Hooks Lines &c. 3 No. 2 - 1 2 1 Hambro Lines - 1 4? "- 2 6" Nails Vizt. M. Do. 16 3 - - 9? "- 5 9" 22 6 - 10 0 32 10 - 13 4 20 20 - 7 6 2 2 6 Iron Ware 6 Crowbars? - 0 6? "- 8 6" Tin Ware 1 Double Block Tin - 1 0 Arrack 4 Gallns. - 14 6 Candles 12 lb. Tallow - 12 - Oil 1½ Gallns. Train - 7 5 Turnery 1¾ Thrums? - 2 10 Anchors 1 wt. C. qrs. lb. 4 3 23 0 0 8? "8 0 8" 60 7 6	Pitch, 1 barrel, £2 4s 1d Tar, 1 barrel of 26 gallons, £3 6s 0d Rosin, 54 pounds, £1 0s 3d Turpentine, 32 pounds, £0 16s 0d Total for pitch, tar and rosin, £7 6s 4d English canvas, 6 pieces, £13 16s 0d Sole leather, 9 pounds, £0 9s 9d Double deals, 6, £1 2s 6d Wainscot boards, 90, £3 6s 0d Elm board, 1, £0 3s 0d Elm plank, ¾ piece, £1 16s 2d Total for deals and timber, £6 9s 0d Number 2 fishing lines, 3, £0 1s 2d Hamburg line, 1, £0 1s 4d Total for lines, £0 2s 6d Threepenny nails, 16 pounds, £0 10s 0d Sixpenny nails, 22 pounds, £0 [...] Tenpenny nails, 32 pounds, £0 13s 4d Twentypenny nails, 20 pounds, £0 7s 6d Total for nails, £2 2s 6d Scrapers, 6, £0 8s 10d Double sheet of tin, 1, £0 0s 8d Arrack, 6 gallons, £0 14s 6d Tallow candles, 12 pounds, £0 12s 0d Train oil, ½ gallon, £0 7s 5d Thrum, 1¾ pounds, £0 2s 10d Anchor, 1, weighing 4 hundredweight 3 quarters 23 pounds, £8 0s 3d Total for the boats, £68 7s 6d The account of stores issued for the fortifications followed. **Interpretations** The Company's boats were the island's only link between the ships in the road and the shore, so they used up cordage, canvas and timber quickly. Every barrel of stores, every passenger and every recruit came ashore through the surf at James's Valley in these boats. In a season when two fleets and a naval squadron lay off the island, the boatmen worked almost without pause. The elm plank and board went into repairs below the waterline. Elm lasted well if kept constantly wet, which made it the usual timber for boat bottoms and keels. Thrum was the loose ends of woollen yarn left on a loom, used to make mops and swabs and, sewn onto canvas, to make chafing mats that protected ropes and gunwales. The 4-hundredweight anchor would moor one of the larger boats in the road.
265	261	1781 Fortifications Dr. Oil Vizt. 19 Gallns. Train Gun Carriages &c. 4 13 5 4 Do. Linseed Do. Do. - 17 - 2 Bottles Florence Artillery - 6 4 5 16 9 Paint Vizt. lb. 42 Venetian Red Dry - 0 9 21 Do. Mixed - 9 0 20 Do. Dry	The account of stores issued for the fortifications followed. Train oil for the gun carriages and other work, 19 gallons, £4 13s 5d Linseed oil for the gun carriages and other work, 4 gallons, £0 17s 0d Florence oil for the artillery, 2 bottles, £0 6s 4d Total for oils, £5 16s 9d Dry Venetian red, 42 pounds, £0 8s 9d Mixed Venetian red, 21 pounds, £0 9s 8d Dry Venetian red, 28 pounds, £0 [...] Mixed white lead, 68 pounds, £1 5s 6d Blacking, 7¾ pounds, £1 2s 2d Red lead, 10 pounds, £0 2s 1d Umber, 1 pound, £0 0s 2d Chalk, 40 pounds, £0 4s 2d Total for paint, £4 0s 8d

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		- 0 2 60 White Lead Mixed 1 5 6 7¼ Blacking 1 2 2 10 Red Lead - 2 1 1 Umber - 1 2 40 Chalk - 4 2 4 - 0 Arrack 43 Gallns. Artillery &c. 5 3 11 Deals Vizt. 45 Double 2 16 3 109 Single 10 10 - Bank's, Ruperts and Old Fort at Sugar Loaf 13 Baulks 7 6 3 6 Coffins 1 - - Sandy Bay Gate? "Sandy Bay Battery" 1 pr. Elm Plank Gun Carriages 2 0 4 3 pr. Cocoa? Timber 6 2 9 30 11 7 Tin Ware Vizt. 6 Horn Lanthorns - 10 6 1 Watering Pot - 4 2 12 Double Block Tin - 7 9 1 Tin Lamp - 0 9 2 Ladles? - 1 7 1 2 9 Bunting 29 pr. Yds. Flags 3 7 6 Haberdashery 7 lb. Coloured Thread Artillery 1 2 9 Cuttlery 6 Ham? Knives Do. - 2 6 Carried Over £ 05 12 5	Arrack for the artillery and other work, 43 gallons, £5 3s 11d Double deals for Banks's, Rupert's and the shed at Sugar Loaf, 15, £2 16s 3d Single deals for Banks's, Rupert's and the shed at Sugar Loaf, 109, £10 18s 0d Balks for Sandy Bay [...], 13, £7 6s 3d [...] for Sandy Bay [...], 6, £1 0s 0d Elm plank for the gun carriages, 1 piece, £2 8s 4d Crane timber, 3 pieces, £6 2s 9d Total for deals and timber, £30 11s 9d Horn lanterns, 6, £0 18s 6d Watering pot, 1, £0 4s 2d Double sheets of tin, 12, £0 7s 9d Tin lamp, 1, £0 0s 9d Solder, 2 pounds, £0 1s 7d Total for tinware, £1 12s 9d Broad bunting for flags, 29 pieces, £37 1s 6d Coloured thread for flags and the artillery, 7 pounds, £1 2s 9d Shoe knives for flags and the artillery, 6, £0 2s 6d Carried over, £85 12s 5d **Interpretations** The largest item in the fortifications account was 29 pieces of broad bunting for flags, costing more than £37 0s 0d. Flags were the island's only fast means of passing news. The signal posts on Ladder Hill and the headlands reported every sail sighted to the Castle, and the batteries and guardhouses answered with their own signals. In a year when the island fired nine alarms in a single month, the flags wore out quickly and the code depended on having a full set. The thread and shoe knives were issued to cut and sew them. Most of the timber went to the defences built that season. Deals for Banks's, Rupert's and Sugar Loaf matched the works covering the northern approach to James's Bay. The balks sent to Sandy Bay went to the battery on the south coast repaired earlier in the quarter. The elm plank went into the gun carriages, since elm resisted splitting under the shock of firing.
266	262	15th October Brot. Over £ 05 12 5 Iron Ware Vizt. 3 pr. Sheep Shears - 6 0 2 Tenon Saws - 10 4 Artillery 15 Iron Shovels 3 1 7 3 Spades - 12 1 11 Pad Locks - 15 1 C. qrs. lb. 4 Iron Pots wt. 2 26 - 17 1 2 Large Frying Pans - 0 10 1 Wedge? - 2 9 21 Ash Hatchets? "Pick Axes" - 12 3 9 Pickaxes	The fortifications account continued from the £85 12s 5d brought over. Brought over, £85 12s 5d Sheep shears for the artillery, 4 pairs, £0 6s 0d Tenon saws for the artillery, 2, £0 16s 4d Iron shovels, 15, £3 1s 3d Spades, 3, £0 12s 1d Padlocks, 11, £0 15s 1d Iron pots, 4, weighing 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 26 pounds, £0 17s 1d Large frying pans, 2, £0 8s 10d Wood axe, 1, £0 2s 9d Ash handles, 21, £0 12s 3d Pickaxes, 9, £1 9s 3d Iron riddle, 1, £0 6s 7d Hand hatchets, 4, £0 6s 0d Figured square for the artillery, 1, £0 1s 3d Iron for Sandy Bay [...] and Chubb's Spring, 7 hundredweight 0 quarters 6 pounds, £7 13s 5d Small dovetail hinges for the artillery, 6 pairs, £0 2s 6d H-hinges for the artillery, 1 pair, £0 3s 10d Stock locks for the artillery, 4, £0 9s 6d Mauls, 2, £0 18s 2d Masons' mallets, 6, £0 11s 2d

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		1 9 3 1 Iron Riddle - 6 7 6 Hand Hatchets - 16 - 1 Figured? Square Artillery - 1 3 C. qrs. lb. - - 6 Brads? Lighting Rods? Ruperts & Banks's? 7 15 5 1 pr. Small Dovetail Hinges - 2 6 1 pr. H.L. Hinges - 3 10 4 Stock Locks - 9 6 Artillery 2 Mauls 1 0 2 6 Marrow? Bolts? - 11 2 1 pr. Bridle? Bolts Lamb? Bags? - 5 1 20 1 - Cart Wheels 6 Wheelbarrows 5 6 9 Turnery 2 Paint Brushes - - 11 Canvas Vizt. Bolts Yds. 80 English 4 16 11 19 Do. Osnaburg - 19 10 5 16 9 Hooks Lines &c. 10 No. 2 - 2 10 12 3 - 5 11 4 Hambro - 5 4 Artillery &c. 27 Hk. Twine Bags & Artillery 1 1 7 1 13 0 Cordage C. qrs. lb. 5 3 14 12 7 3 Carried Over £ 131 6 9	Bolt-rope needles for the lime bags, 49, £0 5s 1d Total for ironware, £20 1s 0d Wheelbarrows, 6, £5 6s 9d Paint brushes, 2, £0 0s 11d English canvas, 88 yards, £4 16s 11d Osnaburg canvas, 19 yards, £0 19s 10d Total for canvas, £5 16s 9d Number 2 fishing lines for the artillery and other work, 10, £0 2s 10d Number 3 fishing lines for the artillery and other work, 12, £0 3s 11d Hamburg lines for the artillery and other work, 4, £0 5s 4d Twine for the lime bags and the artillery, 37 skeins, £1 1s 7d Total for lines and twine, £1 13s 8d Cordage, 5 hundredweight 3 quarters 14 pounds, £12 7s 3d Carried over, £131 6s 9d **Interpretations** The tools issued to the fortifications were those of men cutting rock and building in stone. Pickaxes, shovels, mauls and masons' mallets went to the batteries and roads under construction, and the iron riddle sifted sand and lime for mortar. The 49 bolt-rope needles and 37 skeins of twine were for sewing the canvas bags used to carry lime from the kilns to the works. Lime was the binding agent of every wall and parapet, and on St Helena it had to be burned locally from shell or limestone and hauled by hand up steep paths to sites such as Buttermilk Point and Banks's. The 88 yards of English canvas made those bags. Making and repairing them was a steady part of the building season.
267	263	1781 Brot. Over £ 131 6 9 Nails Vizt. M. Do. 69 3 2 6 - 40 4 1 4 2 40 10 1 6 0 16 20 - 10 0 16 30 - 6 - 6 40 1 2 2 Banks's, Ruperts, and Old? Fort at Sugar Loaf 12 Tacks Artillery 1 2 - 6 7 0 Candles 10 lb. Wax Do. &c. 1 1 1 Pitch &c. 2 Barrels Tar Gun Carriages &c. 3 6 -	The fortifications account closed, with £131 6s 9d brought over. Brought over, £131 6s 9d Threepenny nails for Banks's, Rupert's and the shed at Sugar Loaf, 69 pounds, £2 6s 0d Fourpenny nails for Banks's, Rupert's and the shed at Sugar Loaf, 40 pounds, £1 4s 2d Tenpenny nails for Banks's, Rupert's and the shed at Sugar Loaf, 40 pounds, £0 16s 8d Twentypenny nails for Banks's, Rupert's and the shed at Sugar Loaf, 16 pounds, £0 6s 0d Thirtypenny nails for Banks's, Rupert's and the shed at Sugar Loaf, 16 pounds, £0 10s 8d Fortypenny nails for Banks's, Rupert's and the shed at Sugar Loaf, 6 pounds, £0 2s 2d Tacks for the artillery, 12 pounds, £1 2s 0d Total for nails, £6 7s 8d Wax candles, 10 pounds, £1 1s 1d Tar for the gun carriages and other work, 2 barrels, £3 6s 0d Cooper's adze for the artillery, 1, £0 10s 8d Cooper's driver for the artillery, 1, £0 7s 4d Vices for the artillery, 2, £0 4s 4d Total for tools, £1 2s 4d Flour, 6 pounds, £0 1s 1d

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		Braziery Vizt. 1 Copper? Ladle? - 10 0 1 pr. Scales? - 7 4 2 Do. Weights? - 4 4 Artillery 1 2 4 Flour C. qrs. lb. - - Do. - 1 1 Glass Ware 10 Squares 6 by 8 - 2 1 Lead 20 lb. Shot - 5 10 £ 143 4 10 Butter Milk Point Dr. Cordage C. qrs. lb. 2 1 4 4 16 2 Iron Ware Vizt. C. qrs. lb. - 3 4 Iron 1 9 6 2 1 Steel 1 1 4 2 Large Frying Pans - 0 10 4 Bricklayers Trowels - 5 - 30 Ash Hatchets? "Pick Axes" 1 17 6 1 Wedge? - 2 9 2 Mauls 1 0 2 6 Iron Shovels 1 4 6 6 Pickaxes 1 9 6 1 Pad Lock - 1 5 1 pr. H.L. Hinges - 3 10 1 Sand Screen? - 1 3 8 3 7 Carrd. Over £ 12 19 9	Window glass, 10 panes of 6 by 8 inches, £0 2s 1d Sheet lead, 28 pounds, £0 5s 10d Total for the fortifications, £143 4s 10d The account of stores issued for the works at Buttermilk Point followed. Cordage, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 4 pounds, £4 16s 2d Iron, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 4 pounds, £1 19s 6d Steel, 21 pounds, £1 1s 4d Large frying pans, 2, £0 8s 10d Bricklayers' trowels, 4, £0 5s 0d Ash handles, 30, £0 17s 6d Wood axe, 1, £0 2s 9d Mauls, 2, £0 10s 2d Iron shovels, 6, £1 4s 6d Pickaxes, 6, £0 19s 6d Padlock, 1, £0 1s 5d H-hinges, 1 pair, £0 3s 10d Hand pump, 1, £0 1s 3d Total for ironware, £8 3s 7d Carried over, £12 19s 9d **Interpretations** Buttermilk Point had its own account, separate from the general charge for fortifications. The battery there was the main new work of the year, so the Company kept its costs apart and could report to the Directors exactly what it had spent. The iron and steel went to the smith for drills, wedges and fittings, and the pickaxes and mauls to the gangs cutting the gun platform and the road out of the rock. Frying pans and a hand pump show that the working party lived and cooked on site, at a point far from the town, and needed to pump out water from the foundations or a cistern.
268	264	15th October Brot. Over £ 12 19 9 Tin Ware Vizt. 1 Tin Lamp - - 9 1 Watering Pot - 4 2 - 4 11 Hooks Lines &c. 6 No. 2 - 1 0 1 Hambro - 1 4 1 Deep Sea - 5 1 Lines - 8 - Oil 1½ Gallns. Train - 2 6 Candles 6 lb. Tallow - 6 - Deals Vizt. 1 Double - 3 9 1 Single - 2 -	The account for the works at Buttermilk Point closed, with £12 19s 9d brought over. Brought over, £12 19s 9d Tin lamp, 1, £0 0s 9d Watering pot, 1, £0 4s 2d Total for tinware, £0 4s 11d Number 2 fishing lines, 6, £0 1s 8d Hamburg line, 1, £0 1s 4d Deep-sea line, 1, £0 5s 0d Total for lines, £0 8s 0d Train oil, ½ gallon, £0 2s 6d Tallow candles, 6 pounds, £0 6s 0d Double deal, 1, £0 3s 9d Single deal, 1, £0 2s 0d [...], 1, £0 3s 4d Riga timber, 1 piece, £2 18s 2d Total for deals and timber, £3 7s 3d Tenpenny nails, 2 pounds, £0 0s 10d Sheet lead, 20 pounds, £0 4s 2d English canvas, 48 yards, £2 18s 4d Total for Buttermilk Point, £20 11s 9d The account of stores issued for Longwood followed. Pickaxes, 6, £1 19s 6d Ash handles, 36, £1 1s 0d Maul, 1, £0 9s 1d Small frying pan, 1, £0 2s 8d

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		1 Coffin - 3 4 1 pr. Riga Timber 2 10 2 3 9 3 Nails C. qrs. lb. 2 10 - - 10 Lead 28 lb. Shot - 4 2 Canvas 4 Bolts? Yds. English 2 10 4 £ 20 11 9 Long Wood Dr. Iron Ware Vizt. 6 Pickaxes 1 9 6 36 Ash Hatchets? "Pick Axes" 1 1 - 1 Maul - 9 1 1 Bricklayers Trowel? "1 Small Frying Pan" - 2 0 1 Hand Hatchet - 1 6 1 Stock Lock - 2 5 1 Wedge - 2 9 42 lb. Iron - 0 3 1 Iron Pot wt. 16 lb. - 3 4 3 10 6 Carried Over £ 3 10 6	Hand hatchet, 1, £0 1s 6d Stock lock, 1, £0 2s 5d Wood axe, 1, £0 2s 9d Iron, 42 pounds, £0 8s 3d Iron pot, 1, weighing 16 pounds, £0 3s 4d Total for ironware, £3 10s 6d Carried over, £3 10s 6d **Interpretations** The stores for Longwood were tools for breaking and moving stone. Six pickaxes, a maul and 36 spare handles fit the great stone wall built round the Company's pasture there that quarter, which the paymaster's account had shown as the costliest single work of the year. The frying pan, iron pot and stock lock suggest the working party lived on site at Longwood, on the bleak upland plateau far from the town. The fishing lines and deep-sea line issued at Buttermilk Point point the same way, with the gang there catching fish to supplement its rations.
269	265	1781 Brought Over £ 3 10 6 Tin Ware 1 Tin Lamp - - 9 Deals 1 Elm Board - 3 0 Oil 2 Gallns. Train - 9 0 Nails 3 M. 10 Do. - 1 2 Hooks Lines &c. 1 Hk. Marline - - 3 Coals 10 Bushels - 14 - £ 5 - 2 Mem: Beef and Pork 1 Hhd. Pork Damaged and thrown into the Sea £ 12 14 7 Errors Excepted Signed Isma. Doveton Store Keeper St. Helena 30th Septr. 1781	The Longwood account closed, with £3 10s 6d brought over. Brought over, £3 10s 6d Tin lamp, 1, £0 0s 9d Elm board, 1, £0 3s 0d Train oil, 2 gallons, £0 9s 0d Tenpenny nails, 3 pounds, £0 1s 2d Marline, 1 skein, £0 0s 3d Coal, 10 bushels, £0 14s 0d Total for Longwood, £5 0s 2d A memorandum at the end of the accounts recorded that one hogshead of pork had been found spoiled and thrown into the sea, at a loss of £12 14s 7d. Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the accounts at St Helena on 30 September 1781, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The storekeeper threw a whole hogshead of pork into the sea, even though salt meat was so short that year that the Company had been paying 40 per cent over cost for it and taking beef from the planters' cattle. With supplies that low, the easy course would have been to issue the pork anyway. He wrote it off instead, at a cost of more than £12 0s 0d. Salt meat that had gone bad could make a whole garrison ill, and the deaths from sickness earlier that summer gave good reason not to take the chance. Recording the loss as a separate note kept it out of any issue account, so the Company could see that the meat had been destroyed and not eaten or sold.
270	266	15th October List of the Honble. Company's Civil and Military Servants upon the Island with their Annual Salary's Diet Money &c. for the Quarter Ending the 30th September 1781. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor 150 - -	The list of the Company's civil and military servants on the island, with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter ending 30 September 1781, followed. Governor John Skottowe, salary as Governor, £150 0s 0d Governor John Skottowe, allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d

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		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. Aid? 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 - - Richard? Wright Secry. 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 - Do. Assist. Storekeeper 5 - - 30 - - Carrd. Over £ 666 14 9	Total for the Governor, £181 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, salary as Lieutenant Governor, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, diet money, £25 0s 0d Total for the Lieutenant Governor, £87 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, salary as second member of Council, £22 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, salary as accountant, £27 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total for Matthew Bazett, £65 0s 0d William Wrangham, salary as third member of Council, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Wrangham, salary as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, salary as paymaster, £27 10s 0d Total for William Wrangham, £62 10s 0d Henry Bazett, salary as fourth member of Council, £10 0s 0d Robartes Carr, salary as chaplain, £55 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, salary as storekeeper, £27 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, diet money, £15 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Jonathan Doveton, £45 0s 0d Britannicus Alexander Wright, salary as secretary, £27 10s 0d Britannicus Alexander Wright, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total for Britannicus Alexander Wright, £42 10s 0d William Pierce, salary as engineer, £50 0s 0d John Goodwin, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Goodwin, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Goodwin, salary as collector of customs, £12 10s 0d Total for John Goodwin, £37 10s 0d James Desfountain, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d James Desfountain, diet money, £10 0s 0d James Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Desfountain, salary as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total for James Desfountain, £30 0s 0d Carried over, £666 14s 9d **Interpretations** Changing storekeepers at the end of June set off a reshuffle of offices that this list shows for the first time. In the June quarter John Goodwin was storekeeper, and Desfountain held both the assistant storekeeper's post and the collectorship of customs, earning £42 10s 0d in all. Now Jonathan Doveton held the storekeeper's post for the full quarter, drawing diet money and house rent with it. Goodwin moved into the collectorship of customs, and Desfountain kept only the assistant storekeeper's place, so his quarter's income fell to £30 0s 0d. The Council did not give Goodwin a new office of his own. It found him income by taking a post from a junior colleague, so that a former head of department was not left on a bare factor's pay.
271	267	1781 Brought Over £ 666 14 9 Willm. Webber Doveton Factor 12 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - Do. Secry. to the Secret Committee 17 10 - 42 10 - Robert Leech Factor	The list of the Company's servants continued from the total of £666 14s 9d brought over. Brought over, £666 14s 9d William Webber Doveton, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Webber Doveton, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Webber Doveton, salary as secretary to the Secret Committee, £17 10s 0d Total for William Webber Doveton, £42 10s 0d Robert Leech, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d Robert Leech, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d

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		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 4 1 8 Do. Diet Money 3 6 - Do. House Rent - 16 6 Do. Clerk of the Peace 12 - 1 to 30th July 1781 20 4 3 Nathaniel Kennedy Factor 12 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - Do. Clerk of the Peace from 31st July 24 0 7 49 0 7 Thomas Brooke Writer 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 20 - - Samuel Mason Writer 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 20 - - Thomas Howard Surgeon 25 - - Do. Diet Money 10 - - 35 - - David Kay Surgeons Mate 16 5 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - 26 5 - James Aubrey? Schoolmaster 17 10 - Do. Judge Advocate 12 10 - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 32 10 - George Leech Steward 7 10 - Do. Overseer of the Baking House 3 - - 10 10 - Carrd. Over £ 955 5 5½	Robert Leech, salary as clerk of the works, £6 16s 10½d Total for Robert Leech, £31 16s 10½d John Doveton, salary as factor to 30 July 1781, £4 1s 8d John Doveton, diet money to 30 July 1781, £3 6s 0d John Doveton, house rent to 30 July 1781, £0 16s 6d John Doveton, salary as Clerk of the Peace to 30 July 1781, £12 0s 1d Total for John Doveton, £20 4s 3d Nathaniel Kennedy, salary as factor, £12 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, diet money, £10 0s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, house rent, £2 10s 0d Nathaniel Kennedy, salary as Clerk of the Peace from 31 July, £24 9s 7d Total for Nathaniel Kennedy, £49 9s 7d Thomas Bazett, salary as writer, £7 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £10 0s 0d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Bazett, £20 0s 0d Samuel Mason, salary as writer, £7 10s 0d Samuel Mason, diet money, £10 0s 0d Samuel Mason, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Samuel Mason, £20 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, salary as surgeon, £25 0s 0d Thomas Stroud, diet money, £10 0s 0d Total for Thomas Stroud, £35 0s 0d David Kay, salary as surgeon's mate, £16 5s 0d David Kay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Total for David Kay, £26 5s 0d James Asbey, salary as schoolmaster, £17 10s 0d James Asbey, salary as judge advocate, £12 10s 0d James Asbey, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Asbey, £32 10s 0d George Leech, salary as steward, £7 10s 0d George Leech, allowance for cleaning the bakehouse, £3 0s 0d Total for George Leech, £10 10s 0d Carried over, £955 0s 5½d **Interpretations** The list shows the handover of the Clerk of the Peace's office to the day. John Doveton was paid in every capacity only to 30 July 1781, and Nathaniel Kennedy took up the clerkship from 31 July. Doveton had resigned to go to England to settle the estate of his brother Jonathan, and the homeward fleet that sailed on 30 July 1781 carried him away. His factor's salary, diet money and house rent all stopped on the same date as his office, because he left the island and the service together. Kennedy kept his own place as a factor and added the clerkship on top, so his income nearly doubled for the quarter. James Asbey, the schoolmaster, also served as judge advocate. The judge advocate managed the prosecution at a court martial and kept its record, which made him the legal officer of the garrison's discipline. With soldiers deserting to the fleet and men such as Thomas Hird returned for trial, the post had real work in it. On an island with no trained lawyer, the Company gave it to the one salaried official whose daily work was reading and writing. George Leech's new allowance for cleaning the bakehouse shows the Company's bakehouse, built that quarter, already in use.
272	268	15th October Brought Over £ 955 - 5½ Thomas Bazett Superintendent 25 - - Solomon? Maunce? Master at Arms 6 5 - Benjamin Mason	The list of the Company's servants continued from the total of £955 0s 5½d brought over. Brought over, £955 0s 5½d Thomas Bazett, salary as superintendent, £25 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, salary as master at arms, £6 5s 0d Benjamin Mason, salary as overseer, £11 5s 0d

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		11 5 - Benjamin Seale 6 5 - George Bird 5 - - Overseers John Robinson Carpenter 25 - - Gabriel Leech Do. Mate 12 10 - Joseph Hayes? Armourer 15 - - Thomas Yates Weigher and Gauger 7 10 - Do. Clerk of the Parish 5 - - 12 10 - Henry Merryfield Mason 30 - - John Daniels Do. Mate 20 - - Edward Joyce Cooper 15 - - Jeffery Bond Drummer to 29 July 2 10 - John Robinson Do. from 30th Do. 5 - - 7 10 - Charles Holloway Sexton 1 10 - Do. Town Major 2 6 - Do. Crier Do. 1 - - 4 16 - John Hill Gardener 2 10 - Robert Green Groom 2 - - The Sub Goaler 1 10 - The Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 - The Register? Master 10 - - Fort Company Vizt. Daniel Corneille Esqr. Major 27 7 6 Samuel Desfountain Lieut. 6 16 10½ Do. Diet Money Do. House Rent 2 10 - 59 6 3 Richard Knipe Lieut. 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Isaac Seale Lieut. 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Carried Over £ 1335 5 10	Benjamin Seale, salary as overseer, £6 5s 0d George Bird, salary as overseer, £5 0s 0d John Robinson, salary as carpenter, £25 0s 0d Gabriel Searle, salary as carpenter's mate, £12 10s 0d Joseph Sayer, salary as armourer, £15 0s 0d Thomas Yates, salary as marshal and crier, £7 10s 0d Thomas Yates, salary as clerk of the court, £5 0s 0d Total for Thomas Yates, £12 10s 0d Henry Wingfield, salary as mason, £30 0s 0d John Daniels, salary as mason's mate, £20 0s 0d Edward Joyce, salary as cooper, £15 0s 0d Jeffery Bond, salary as patroon to 29 July, £2 10s 0d John [...], salary as patroon from 30 July, £5 0s 0d Total for the patroons, £7 10s 0d Charles Holloway, salary as sexton, £1 10s 0d Charles Holloway, salary as fife major, £2 6s 0d Charles Holloway, salary as drum major, £1 0s 0d Total for Charles Holloway, £4 16s 0d John Hill, salary as gardener, £2 10s 0d Robert Green, salary as groom, £2 0s 0d The sub-gaoler, salary, £1 10s 0d The clock and instrument cleaner, salary, £1 5s 0d The register master, salary, £10 0s 0d The officers of the First Company followed. Daniel Corneille, salary as major, £39 6s 3d James Desfountain, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d James Desfountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d James Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Desfountain, £36 14s 4½d Richard Knipe, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Richard Knipe, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Richard Knipe, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Richard Knipe, £36 14s 4½d Francis Seale, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Francis Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Francis Seale, £34 4s 4½d Carried over, £1,335 5s 10d **Interpretations** Jeffery Bond was paid as patroon only to 29 July 1781, and a new man took charge of the Company's boats the next day. On 28 July the Council granted Bond his discharge because he had served his full term, and the homeward fleet sailed on 30 July. He probably left the island in that fleet. The Council had refused nothing to a soldier whose contract had run out, even in wartime. The boats, however, could not go a day without a master while the fleet was weighing anchor, so it filled the post at once. Henry Wingfield, the mason, earned £30 0s 0d a quarter, more than any other craftsman on the list and as much as a captain of a company. His mate drew £20 0s 0d. Their pay reflects the season's work. The batteries at Buttermilk Point, Banks's and Rupert's, the Longwood wall and the new bakehouse were all built of stone, and a skilled mason was the one tradesman the Company could not do without.
273	269	1781 Brought Over £ 1335 5 10 Chas. Ross Stewart Garrison Adjutant 18 5 - William Roberts Town Adjutant 27 7 6	The list continued from the total of £1,335 5s 10d brought over. Brought over, £1,335 5s 10d Charles Ross Steward, salary as garrison adjutant, £10 5s 0d William Roberts, salary as town adjutant, £27 7s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Abraham Jarvis 7 13 4 Robt. Alexander 7 13 4 John Gazell 7 13 4 Edward Banks 7 13 4 John Brocklebank 7 13 4 James Mc Shane 7 13 4 46 - - Corporals Vizt. Jonathan Bartlett 5 7 4 Thomas Olive 5 7 4 William Goatly to 30 July 1 15 - Robert Green 5 7 4 Danl. Dangerfield 5 7 4 John Bevan from 31 July 3 12 4 32 4 - Drummers Vizt. John Jacobs 5 7 4 Richard Philpot 5 7 4 10 14 8 Cadets Vizt. William Seale 7 13 4 William Mason to 27th Septr. 7 0 4 15 1 8 Privates Vizt. Henry Hayes Sergt.? 3 16 8 Wm. Allfield? 3 16 8 William Moor 3 16 8 Willm. Abbot 3 16 8 Thos. Berwick 3 16 8 Richd. Browne 3 16 8 John Bell 3 16 8 John Bailey 3 16 8 Wm. Brown 3 16 8 Private Carrd. Over £ 34 10 - Carrd. Over £ 1494 4 6½	William Roberts, diet money, £6 16s 10½d William Roberts, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for William Roberts, £36 14s 4½d The sergeants of the First Company followed. Abraham Jarvis, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d William Alexander, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Gayel, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Edward Banks, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Brocklebank, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d James McShane, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Total for sergeants, £46 0s 0d Jonathan Bartlett, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d Thomas Chew, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d William Goatly, pay as corporal to 30 July, £1 15s 0d Robert Green, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d Daniel Langford, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d John Bevan, pay as corporal from 31 July, £3 12s 4d Total for corporals, £32 4s 0d John Tweats, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Richard Halford, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for drummers, £10 14s 8d William Seale, pay as cadet, £7 13s 4d William Mason, pay as cadet to 27 September, £7 0s 4d Total for cadets, £15 1s 8d Henry Hayes, pay as private and fifer, £3 16s 8d William Allford, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Abbot, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Allen, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Bernard, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Browne, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Bell, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Bailey, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Brown, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £34 10s 0d Main total carried over, £1,404 5s 6½d **Interpretations** Every rank was paid slightly more than in the June quarter. A private drew £3 16s 8d against £3 15s 10d, and a sergeant £7 13s 4d against £7 10s 0d. Rates had not risen. The September quarter ran 92 days and the June quarter 91, and the garrison was paid by the day. The extra day added 10d to a private's pay and 1s 8d to a sergeant's, which confirms the daily rates the roll used throughout. William Mason, the cadet given leave on 17 September 1781 to take up a nomination at Bombay, was paid only to 27 September. Corporal William Goatly's pay stopped on 30 July, the day the homeward fleet sailed, and John Bevan took his place the next day. Goatly may have been discharged at the end of his term or may have deserted with the fleet. The roll shows only that the Company filled his place without a day's gap.
274	270	15th October Brought Over £ 1494 5 6½ Private Brought Over £ 34 10 - Timothy Brown 3 16 8	The private soldiers' roll of the First Company continued, with £34 10s 0d brought over for the privates already listed and £1,404 5s 6½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £1,404 5s 6½d Privates brought over, £34 10s 0d Timothy Brown, pay as private, £3 16s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Willm. Barrett 3 16 8 Thomas Blake 3 16 8 Jas. Conner 3 16 8 John Charlton 3 16 8 Willm. Coffern? 3 16 8 Richard Cook 3 16 8 William Clark 3 16 8 George Chevaille? 3 16 8 Thomas Cook 3 16 8 Michl. Clendon? 3 16 8 Willm. Conner 3 16 8 Thomas Clark 3 16 8 Thomas Cash 3 16 8 Samuel Drake 3 16 8 John Ellis 3 16 8 Wm. Fisher 3 16 8 Matthew Ferris 3 16 8 Richard Fear 3 16 8 Wm. Foot 3 16 8 Robert Forbes 3 16 8 Wm. Greenwood 3 16 8 John Griffiths 3 16 8 Willm. Gosford 3 16 8 George Griffin 3 16 8 John Houston 3 16 8 Philip Hayes 3 16 8 Edward Hughes 3 16 8 John Hodges 3 16 8 Richard Harper 3 16 8 Willm. Hood 3 16 8 James Hill 3 16 8 John Hardesty 3 16 8 John Johnson 3 16 8 James Judge 3 16 8 Isaac Jones 3 16 8 Philip Jennis 3 16 8 Jas. Jordon 3 16 8 Private Carrd. Over £ 180 3 4	William Barrett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Blake, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Bartholomew Connor, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Charlton, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Coffin, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Cook, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Clark, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Cherrill, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Cook, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Michael Clinton, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Common, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Clark, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Drake, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Ellis, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Fisher, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Stephen Ferris, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Freer, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Ford, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Foster, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Greenwood, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Griffiths, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Gunter, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Griffin, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Houston, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Philip Hayes, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Edward Hughes, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Hodges, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Harper, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Haines, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Hill, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Hawksley, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Johnson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Judge, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Jones, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Philip Lewis, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Isaac Ladson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £180 3s 4d Main total carried over unchanged, £1,494 5s 6½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carrd. Over £ 1494 5 6½	
275	271	1781 Brought Over £ 1494 5 6½ Private brought over £ 180 3 4 William Kelley 3 16 8 Thomas Love 3 16 8 Michl. Leonard 3 16 8 Thomas Lake 3 16 8 Willm. Mumford 3 16 8 William Mansley 3 16 8 James Mumston? 3 16 8 James Mc Donald 3 16 8 Thomas Marshall 3 16 8 William Moore 3 16 8 Joseph Middleton 3 16 8 William Newcombe 3 16 8 Thos. Organ 3 16 8 Chas. Potter 3 16 8 Alexr. Paxton 3 16 8 Wm. Porter 3 16 8 Wm. Robertson 3 16 8 George Roe 3 16 8 Thomas Rowe 3 16 8 Richd. Robinett 3 16 8 Wm. Smell? 3 16 8 John Smalt? 3 16 8 Wm. Simpson 3 16 8 Jas. Stockdell 3 16 8 Geo. Shepherd 3 16 8 Wm. Shuttle? 3 16 8 Wm. Smyth 3 16 8 Richd. Salt 3 16 8 Richd. Shields 3 16 8 Willm. Sterling 3 16 8 John Tanton 3 16 8 Thomas Townsend 3 16 8 Wm. Taylor 3 16 8 Jacob Tallengreen? 3 16 8	The private soldiers' roll of the First Company continued, with £180 3s 4d brought over for the privates already listed and £1,494 5s 6½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £1,494 5s 6½d Privates brought over, £180 3s 4d William Kelley, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Love, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Michael Leonard, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Locke, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Mumford, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Mawby, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Marston, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James McDonald, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Marshall, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Moore, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Middleton, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Newcomb, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Organ, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Charles Pollitt, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Alexander Paxton, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Porter, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Robinson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Roe, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Rowe, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Robinett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Smith, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Small, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Simpson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Sheckell, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Shepherd, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Shettel, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Smith, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Charles Salt, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Shields, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Starling, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Sexton, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Townsend, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Taylor, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Jacob Tallengreen, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Henry Wood, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Edward Wickerson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John White, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Walker, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £325 16s 8d Main total carried over unchanged, £1,494 5s 6½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Henry Wood 3 16 8 Edward Wickendon 3 16 8 John White 3 16 8 William Walker 3 16 8 Private Carrd. Over £ 325 16 8 Carrd. Over £ 1494 5 6½	
276	272	15th October Brought Over £ 1494 5 6½ Private brought Over £ 325 16 8 Joseph Wright 3 16 8 Robert Wright 3 16 8 Thomas Watts 3 16 8 Tim. Walters 3 16 8 John Sherman 1 2 6 Geo. Buckland 1 2 6 Richard Richardson 1 2 6 Decd. 27th July Robert Mc Cormick Decd. 29 Do. 1 4 2 Thomas Stark from 31st July 2 18 8 John Bevan to 30 Do. 1 5 - Thomas Hood from 28th Septr. - 2 6 349 14 2 Second Company Vizt. Henl. Bazett Major 59 6 3 Jas. Greentree Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Robert Hudson Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Danl. Nevill? Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Matthew Hills 7 13 4 Matth. Clarke to 20th Augt. 4 5 - John Smith 7 13 4 John Ash? 7 13 4 Joseph Pounder? 7 13 4 Thos. Lambley 7 13 4 Richd. Laskelles?	The private soldiers' roll of the First Company closed, with £325 16s 8d brought over for the privates already listed and £1,494 5s 6½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £1,494 5s 6½d Privates brought over, £325 16s 8d Joseph Wright, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Wright, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Watts, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Timothy Watkins, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Sherman, pay as private until his death on 27 July, £1 2s 6d George Buckland, pay as private until his death on 27 July, £1 2s 6d Richard Richardson, pay as private until his death on 27 July, £1 2s 6d Robert McCormick, pay as private until his death on 29 July, £1 4s 2d Thomas Steele, pay as private from 31 July, £2 11s 8d John Bevan, pay as private to 30 July, £1 5s 0d Thomas Hird, pay as private from 28 September, £0 2s 6d Total for privates of the First Company, £349 14s 2d The officers of the Second Company followed. Henry Bazett, salary as major, £39 6s 3d James Greentree, salary as first lieutenant, £27 7s 6d James Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d James Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Greentree, £36 14s 4½d Robert Hodson, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Robert Hodson, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Robert Hodson, £34 4s 4½d Joseph Beale, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Joseph Beale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Joseph Beale, £34 4s 4½d William Wells, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d William Carter, pay as sergeant to 20 August, £4 5s 0d John Furnis, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Oak, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Joseph Dowler, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Thomas Landby, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Richard Ashland, pay as sergeant from 21 August, £3 8s 4d Total for sergeants, £46 0s 0d Main total carried over, £2,034 9s 1d **Interpretations** Four privates of the First Company died within three days at the end of July: John Sherman, George Buckland and Richard Richardson on 27 July and Robert McCormick on 29 July. Losing three men on a single day points to a fresh outbreak of sickness, coming just as the homeward fleet was preparing to sail and the garrison was hard at work on the batteries. The June quarter had already seen a run of deaths, and this second cluster shows the sickness had not passed. Thomas Hird, the corporal of the guard at Rupert's who deserted the year before and was handed back by Captain Grant of the *Hannibal* on 15

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 0 4 46 - - Carrd. Over £ 2054 9 1	September 1781, reappeared on the roll as a private paid only from 28 September. His pay did not start on the day he was returned. It began nearly two weeks later, probably once his case had been dealt with, and he came back reduced to the ranks. The Company kept a deserter rather than discharging him, because it could not afford to lose a man, but the loss of his corporal's stripes and of two weeks' pay marked the offence.
277	273	1781 Brot. Over £ 2054 9 1 Corporals Vizt. Richard Laskelles to 20th Augt. 2 9 6 Willm. Wright 5 7 4 John Watkins 5 7 4 David Fleming 5 7 4 John Moore 5 7 4 J. Smith 5 7 4 Thos. Hickman from 21st Augt. 2 7 10 32 4 - Drummers Vizt. Robert? Holloway 5 7 4 John Arnold 5 7 4 Thos. Drew 5 7 4 16 2 - Privates Vizt. Danl. Pope 3 16 0 John Russell 3 16 0 Edwd. Brown 3 16 8 John Bond 3 16 0 Philip Hasty 3 16 0 Richd. Bright 3 16 0 Michl. Parker 3 16 0 Geo. Chapman 3 16 0 Geo. Cumberbatch 3 16 0 Henry Cox 3 16 0 Geo. Carver 3 16 0 Thos. Cole 3 16 0 John Coffee? 3 16 0 John Cannon 3 16 0 Willm. Chandler 3 16 0 Henry Cook 3 16 0 Willm. Coyle? 3 16 0 Willm. Drummer? 3 16 0 Willm. Davis 3 16 0	The roll of the Second Company continued from the main total of £2,054 9s 1d brought over. Main total brought over, £2,054 9s 1d Richard Ashland, pay as corporal to 20 August, £2 19s 6d William Wright, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d John Hutchins, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d David Fleming, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d John Thompson, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d James Smith, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d Thomas Hitchman, pay as corporal from 21 August, £2 7s 10d Total for corporals, £32 4s 0d Charles Holloway, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d John Woods, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Francis Dew, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for drummers, £16 2s 0d Daniel Bize, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Barnett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Bosfield, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Bane, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Philip Bailey, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Bright, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Michael Butcher, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Chapman, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Cumberland, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Henry Coe, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Cowan, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Cole, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Coffee, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Cannon, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Chandler, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Henry Cook, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Coyle, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Drummond, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Davis, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Peter Ellison, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Evans, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Edward Edgett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £84 6s 8d Main total carried over, £2,102 15s 1d **Interpretations** The Second Company's chain of promotion moved on 21 August 1781. Sergeant William Carter's pay stopped on 20 August, and on the 21st Corporal Richard Ashland took his place as sergeant. Thomas Hitchman was raised from the ranks the same day to fill Ashland's place as corporal. The roll does not say whether Carter died, was discharged or was reduced. Each step was filled at once, as earlier in the year, so the company never went a day short of its sergeants or corporals.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Peter Dillon 3 16 0 John Evans 3 16 0 Robert Eggot? Private Carried Over £ 84 6 8 Carrd. Over £ 2102 13 1	
278	274	15th October Brot. Over £ 2102 15 1 Private bro. Over £ 84 6 8 Richd. Fox 3 16 0 Wm. Hughes Ferguson? 3 16 0 Jas. Fox 3 16 0 Josiah Gentleman 3 16 0 John Grainger 3 16 0 Robt. Coleman 3 16 0 Robert Garry 3 16 0 Saml. Hollis 3 16 0 Jas. Hedman 3 16 0 John Hare 3 16 0 John Haynes 3 16 8 John Hargate? 3 16 0 Jacob Hyram? 3 16 0 John Hues 3 16 0 Thos. Hart 3 16 0 Thos. Hopkins 3 16 0 Robt. Hawkins 3 16 0 Willm. Hood 3 16 0 Willm. Johnson 3 16 0 John James 3 16 0 John Jarvis 3 16 0 Arthur Jennings 3 16 0 Henry Kirkham 3 16 0 Richd. Kirby 3 16 0 Willm. Knowles 3 16 0 Thos. Lee 3 16 0 Jas. Lawdrie? 3 16 0 Thos. Little 3 16 0 Richd. Lockstone 3 16 0 Jas. London 3 16 0 Jas. Mc Cullen	The private soldiers' roll of the Second Company continued, with £84 6s 8d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,102 15s 1d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,102 15s 1d Privates brought over, £84 6s 8d Richard Fox, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Hughes, pay as private attached to the surgeons, £3 16s 8d James Fox, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Josiah Goodale, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Grainger, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Coleman, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Michael Garry, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Hills, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Hudson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Ham, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Haigh, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Hargate, pay as private, £3 16s 8d David Hyson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Hughes, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hook, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hodgkins, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Hutchins, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Hord, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Johnson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John James, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Arthur Jennings, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Henry Kirkham, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Kirby, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Knowles, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lee, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Lewis, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Locke, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lollet, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Charles Lockstone, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Linden, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James McCallen, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Peter Mahan, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James McLaughlin, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Owen Murphy, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Oats, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Jacob Peters, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Parsons, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £226 3s 4d Main total carried over unchanged, £2,102 15s 1d

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		3 16 0 Peter Mardon? 3 16 0 Jas. Mc Laughlin 3 16 0 Simon Markham 3 16 0 Willm. Oats 3 16 0 Richd. Pace 3 16 0 Willm. Parsons 3 16 0 Private Carried Over £ 226 3 4 Carrd. Over £ 2102 15 1	
279	275	1781 Bro. Over £ 2102 15 1 Private Brot. Over £ 226 3 4 Saml. Phillips 3 16 0 Isaac Palmer 3 16 0 John Palmer 3 16 0 John Roberts 3 16 0 Robt. Rattle 3 16 0 Henry Roach 3 16 0 John Christr. Shuff? 3 16 0 John Salisbury 3 16 0 Thos. Smith 3 16 0 Jas. Smith 3 16 0 Benjn. Seal 3 16 0 John Smith 3 16 0 Benjn. Thomas 3 16 0 John Vaughan 3 16 0 Jas. Wharton 3 16 0 John Wharton 3 16 0 Richd. White 3 16 0 John Walker 3 16 0 Benjn. Whaley 3 16 0 Isaac Walker 3 16 0 William Williams 3 16 0 Robt. Wilkins 3 16 0 John Wheeler 3 16 0 Francis Walker Deserted 19th July - 15 10 John Phillips Do. 29 Do. - 18 4 John Watkins Do. 25 Do. - 19 2 Nichs. Robinson	The private soldiers' roll of the Second Company closed, with £226 3s 4d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,102 15s 1d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,102 15s 1d Privates brought over, £226 3s 4d Samuel Phillips, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Isaac Palmer, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Roberts, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Ratcliffe, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Henry Roach, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Christopher [...], pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Salisbury, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Smith, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Smith, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Seal, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Thomas, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Vaughan, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Watson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Wales, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard White, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Withers, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Williams, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Isaac Walker, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Benjamin Whaley, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Meade, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Francis Walker, pay as private until his desertion on 19 July, £0 15s 10d John Phillips, pay as private until his desertion on 20 July, £0 16s 8d John Waters, pay as private until his desertion on 23 July, £0 19s 2d John Burkhall, pay as private until his desertion on 24 July, £1 0s 0d Nicholas Patterson, pay as private until his desertion on 24 July, £1 0s 0d Robert Green, pay as private until his death on 27 July, £1 2s 6d John Gerrard, pay as private until his death on 27 July, £1 2s 6d Owen Murphy, pay as private until his death on 27 July, £1 2s 6d William Kent, pay as private until his death on 27 July, £1 2s 6d William Charnett, pay as private to 6 August, £1 10s 10d Charles Henley, pay as private, deserted on 20 August and returned on 30 August, £1 19s 2d Thomas Hitchman, pay as private to 20 August, £2 2s 6d William Carter, pay as private from 21 August, £1 14s 2d John Parker, pay as private until his death on 5 September, £2 15s 10d Total for privates of the Second Company, £333 12s 6d Main total carried over, £2,436 7s 7d **Interpretations**

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		John Burkhart Do. 24th Do. - 19 - Robt. Green 1 2 6 Henry Woods 1 2 6 Robt. Gerard? 1 2 6 Owen Murphy 1 2 6 William Pert 1 2 6 Deceased? 27th Do. Willm. Bassett Do. 6th Augt. 1 10 10 Chas. Bailey Enld. 8th Augt. and Deserted 30th Do. - 19 2 Thos. Hickman to 20th Do. 2 2 6 Willm. Carter from 21st Do. 1 14 2 John Barber Do. 5th Septr. 2 15 10 333 12 6 Carrd. Over £ 2436 7 7	The roll gives the dates on which the deserters named in the consultation of 6 August 1781 slipped away. Francis Walker, John Phillips, John Waters, John Burkhall and Nicholas Patterson left between 19 and 24 July, a week or more before the homeward fleet sailed on 30 July. They hid aboard the ships while the fleet still lay in the road, and the search made by the town adjutant with a boat from the *Renown* did not find them. Charles Henley's desertion on 20 August and return ten days later shows a man with nowhere to go once the fleet had gone. He could hide in the island's interior for a while, but without a ship he had to come back. Four more men of the Second Company died on 27 July, the same day three privates of the First Company died. Seven deaths across two companies in a single day mark the worst point of the sickness that ran through the garrison that summer. William Carter's sergeant's pay stopped on 20 August, and he reappeared from the 21st as a private on lower pay. He had been reduced to the ranks, not discharged or killed, which explains the promotions of Richard Ashland and Thomas Hitchman on the same day.
280	276	15th October Bro. Over £ 2436 7 7 Third Company Vizt. Solomon S. Maunce Captain 59 6 3 Chas. Ross Stewart Lieutt. 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Matthew Greentree Lieutt. 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Serjeants Vizt. Michl. Tooley 7 13 4 John Payne 7 13 4 Robt. Gunn 7 13 4 John Pierce 7 13 4 Thos. Fox 7 13 4 Jas. Pert 7 13 4 46 - - Corporals Vizt. Thos. Griffiths 5 7 4 Joseph Hills 5 7 4 Willm. Higginson 5 7 4 Edwd. Cole 5 7 4 Joshua Roberts 5 7 4 Jas. Martin 5 7 4 32 4 -	The roll of the Third Company followed, with £2,436 7s 7d brought over on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,436 7s 7d Solomon St Maurice, salary as captain, £39 6s 3d Charles Ross Steward, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Charles Ross Steward, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Charles Ross Steward, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Charles Ross Steward, £36 14s 4½d Matthew Greentree, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Matthew Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Matthew Greentree, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Matthew Greentree, £36 14s 4½d Michael Farley, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Bayne, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Richard Green, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Pearce, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Thomas Ford, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d James Cook, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Total for sergeants, £46 0s 0d Thomas Griffiths, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d Joseph Ward, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d William Higginson, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d Edward Giles, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d Joshua Roberts, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d James Martin, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d Total for corporals, £32 4s 0d Matthew Penn, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Edward Ridge, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for drummers, £10 14s 8d Richard Smith, pay as private and fifer, £3 16s 8d John Alden, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Abbott, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Allen, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Bleakman, pay as private, £3 16s 8d [...] McBain, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £23 0s 0d Main total carried over, £2,638 1s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Drummers Vizt. Willm. Moor 5 7 4 Jas. Ridge 5 7 4 10 14 8 Privates Vizt. Richd. Smith Sergt. 3 16 0 John Allen 3 16 0 Jeremiah Abbot 3 16 0 John Allan 3 16 0 John Allingham 3 16 0 Phill. Wm. Brand 3 16 0 Private Carried Over £ 23 - - Carrd. Over £ 2658 1 3	
281	277	1781 Brot. Over £ 2658 1 3 Private brot. Over £ 23 - - Thos. Brown 3 16 0 Wm. Bridgeford 3 16 0 Wm. Bailey 3 16 0 John Blackenby? 3 16 0 Thos. Bennett 3 16 0 Saml. Bradley 3 16 0 John Cook 3 16 0 Jas. Crossey? 3 16 0 Jas. Campfield 3 16 0 Benjn. Carman 3 16 0 Thos. Crook 3 16 0 Richd. Delay? 3 16 0 John Dean 3 16 0 Wm. Edwards 3 16 0 Thos. Fraser 3 16 0 Robt. Flanagan 3 16 0 John Grey 3 16 0 Robert Griffiths 3 16 0 John Richards? Gulp? 3 16 0 Peter Higgins 3 16 0 Jas. Holloway 3 16 0 Edwd. Hazzell 3 16 0 Saml. Harwood 3 16 0 Wm. Hamilton	The private soldiers' roll of the Third Company continued, with £23 0s 0d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,658 1s 3d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,658 1s 3d Privates brought over, £23 0s 0d Thomas Brown, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Bridgford, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Ashley, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Blackerby, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Bennett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Bradley, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Cook, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Carey, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Collings, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Campfield, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Cannon, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Paul Daley, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Deane, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Edwards, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Ferguson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Peter Flannagan, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Gray, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Owen Griffiths, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Grimaldi, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Peter Higgins, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Holloway, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Edward Gazzett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Harcourt, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Hamilton, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Luke Hutt, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Hardiman, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hayes, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Jamison, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Johnson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Johnson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Haugh, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Kippen, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Edward Lambson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Lowe, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Lamb, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Morgan, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Morris, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Charles Mummery, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £160 13s 4d Main total carried over unchanged, £2,658 1s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 0 Lucker? Holt 3 16 0 Wm. Hardman 3 16 0 Thos. Hayes 3 16 0 Wm. Jameson 3 16 0 Saml. Johnson 3 16 0 Willm. Johnson 3 16 0 Jas. Kings 3 16 0 Willm. Kirkham 3 16 0 Edwd. Lambden? 3 16 0 Richd. Lowe 3 16 0 John Lord 3 16 0 Richd. Myers 3 16 0 Thos. Maurice? 3 16 0 Chas. Morris 3 16 0 Private Carrd. Over £ 160 13 4 Carried Over £ 2658 1 3	
282	278	15th October Brot. Over £ 2658 1 3 Private brot. Over £ 160 13 4 Chas. Murrain? 3 16 0 John Moody 3 16 0 Thos. Mason 3 16 0 John Mason 3 16 0 John Mansel 3 16 0 Joseph Middleton 3 16 0 Andw. Mc Donald 3 16 0 Philip Nuthall 3 16 0 Thos. Owens 3 16 0 Thos. Perry 3 16 0 William Powell 3 16 0 Nathl. Pritchard 3 16 0 William Pratt 3 16 0 Jas. Pursle? 3 16 0 Richd. Peal? 3 16 0 John Parsons 3 16 0 Oliver Perry? 3 16 0 Michl. Rowlands 3 16 0 Willm. Robinson	The private soldiers' roll of the Third Company continued, with £160 13s 4d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,658 1s 3d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,658 1s 3d Privates brought over, £160 13s 4d Charles Mummery, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Moody, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Mason, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Moss, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Mansell, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Middleton, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Medling, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Philip Nesbett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Owens, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Perry, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Powell, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Matthew Pritchard, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Pratt, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Parsons, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Painter, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Peck, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Oliver Perry, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Rowlands, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Robinson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Adam Scott, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Arthur Steele, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Stephen Seymour, pay as private, £3 16s 8d David Stone, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Simmons, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Francis Chamberlist, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Smith, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Smith, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Smith senior, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Taylor, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Eugene Vaughan, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Philip Ward, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Walker, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Wood, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Fletcher Williams, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Watson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Wheeler, pay as private, £3 16s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 0 Adam Scott 3 16 0 Matthew Shaw? 3 16 0 Stephen Seymour 3 16 0 David Stone 3 16 0 Andw. Stroman? 3 16 0 Francis Shambers? 3 16 0 William Smith 3 16 0 Jas. Smith 3 16 0 John Smith Junr. 3 16 0 Thos. Taylor 3 16 0 Bryan Vaughan 3 16 0 Thos. Ward 3 16 0 Willm. Waller 3 16 0 Jas. Wood 3 16 0 John Hilder? Williams 3 16 0 Robt. Walton 3 16 0 Thos. Whistler? 3 16 0 Willm. Woodford 3 16 0 Private Carrd. Over £ 310 10 - Carrd. Over £ 2658 1 3	William Woodford, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £310 10s 0d Main total carried over unchanged, £2,658 1s 3d
283	279	1781 Brot. Over £ 2658 1 3 Private brot. Over £ 310 10 - Willm. Webb 3 16 0 John Smith Senr. Deserted 24th July 1 - - John Harvey Do. 1 - - Jacob? Kendall Do. 29th Do. 1 - 10 Thos. Collins Do. Do. 1 2 6 John Jones Do. Do. 1 2 6 Peter Mc Carthy Do. Do. 1 2 6 Joseph Ridley? Do. 29th Do. 1 4 2 Thos. Collins Deceased Do. Do. 1 4 2 John Ridley Do. Do. 1 4 2 Geo. Turner Do. 1 4 2 Geo. Clark Do. 30 Do. 1 5 - Thos. Lewis Enld. 8th Augt. 2 5 - Robt. Roberts Do. Do. 2 5 - Henry Wilkinson Do. 13th Do.	The private soldiers' roll of the Third Company closed, with £310 10s 0d brought over for the privates already listed and £2,658 1s 3d on the main total. Main total brought over, £2,658 1s 3d Privates brought over, £310 10s 0d William Webb, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Smith junior, pay as private until his desertion on 24 July, £1 0s 0d John Harvey, pay as private until his desertion on 24 July, £1 0s 0d [...], pay as private until his desertion on 25 July, £1 0s 10d [...], pay as private until his desertion on 27 July, £1 2s 6d Peter McCardale, pay as private until his desertion on 27 July, £1 2s 6d Jeffery Bond, pay as private to 29 July, £1 4s 2d Thomas Collins, pay as private until his desertion on 29 July, £1 4s 2d John Kelley, pay as private until his desertion on 29 July, £1 4s 2d George Trainer, pay as private until his desertion on 29 July, £1 4s 2d George Clark, pay as private until his desertion on 30 July, £1 5s 0d Thomas Lewis, pay as private from his enlistment on 8 August, £2 5s 0d Robert Roberts, pay as private from his enlistment on 8 August, £2 5s 0d Henry Wilkinson, pay as private from his enlistment on 13 August, £2 1s 0d James Johnson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d

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		2 - - Jas. Johnson 3 16 0 337 5 10 Fourth Company Vizt. Thos. Bazett Captain 59 6 3 Thos. Pattison Lieutt. 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Robt. Gurling Lieutt. 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 36 14 4½ Thos. Greentree Lieutt. 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Serjeants Vizt. George Cumming Fife Major 12 5 4 Thos. Hulse? 7 13 4 Jas. Lydall? to 12 July 1 - - Richd. Price 7 13 4 John Pearson 7 13 4 Thos. Watkins 7 13 4 Caleb Broadway from 13th July 6 13 4 50 12 - Carrd. Over £ 3272 18 5½	Total for privates of the Third Company, £337 5s 10d The officers of the Fourth Company followed. Thomas Bazett, salary as captain, £39 6s 3d Thomas Wickham, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Thomas Wickham, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Wickham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Wickham, £36 14s 4½d Robert Gosling, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Robert Gosling, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gosling, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Robert Gosling, £36 14s 4½d Thomas Greentree, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d Thomas Greentree, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Thomas Greentree, £34 4s 4½d George Lawman, pay as sergeant major, £12 5s 4d Thomas Kelick, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d James [...], pay as sergeant to 12 July, £1 0s 0d Richard Dixon, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d John Johnson, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Thomas Williams, pay as sergeant, £7 13s 4d Caleb Broadway, pay as sergeant from 13 July, £6 13s 4d Total for sergeants, £50 12s 0d Main total carried over, £3,192 18s 5½d **Interpretations** The Third Company lost more men to the homeward fleet than any other. Eight of its privates deserted between 24 and 30 July, among them John Smith junior, John Harvey, Thomas Collins, John Kelley, George Trainer and George Clark, all named in the list of deserters entered on 6 August 1781. Their pay was cut off on the day each man was missed. The company made up part of the loss from the seamen left behind by the fleet. Thomas Lewis of the *Atlas* and Robert Roberts of the *York* enlisted on 8 August, and Henry Wilkinson of the *Walpole* on 13 August, each for a bounty of £10 0s 0d. George Lawman's higher pay, noted in the June quarter without explanation, now appears under its proper title of sergeant major. As the senior non-commissioned officer of the garrison, he was responsible for drill and discipline across the companies, and was paid half as much again as an ordinary sergeant. In the Fourth Company Caleb Broadway, a corporal in June, moved up to sergeant on 13 July to fill the place of a sergeant whose pay ended on the 12th.
284	280	15th October Brot. Over £ 3272 18 5½ Corporals Vizt. Caleb Broadway to 12th July - 14 - Richd. Marshall 5 7 4 John Almond 5 7 4 Geo. Hunter 5 7 4 Wm. Gibbs 5 7 4 Jas. Simpson 5 7 4 David Cottam from 13th July 6 13 4 32 4 - Drummers Vizt. Jas. Bryce 5 7 4 Robt. Terrill 5 7 4 10 14 8	The roll of the Fourth Company continued from the main total of £3,212 18s 5½d brought over. Main total brought over, £3,212 18s 5½d Caleb Broadway, pay as corporal to 12 July, £0 14s 0d Richard Burchell, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d James Almond, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d George Hunter, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d William Gibbs, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d James Simpson, pay as corporal, £5 7s 4d David Cottam, pay as corporal from 13 July, £4 13s 4d Total for corporals, £32 4s 0d James Moyse, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Robert Tyrrell, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for drummers, £10 14s 8d John Smith, pay as private and fifer, £3 16s 8d John Allen, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Ashfield, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Philip Alexander, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Adams, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Blackman, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Bailey, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Brown, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Bransford, pay as private, £3 16s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Private Vizt. John Smith Fifer 3 16 0 John Allen 3 16 0 Wm. Ashford 3 16 0 Philip Warden 3 16 0 Geo. Adams 3 16 0 Wm. Blackman 3 16 0 Thos. Bailey 3 16 0 John Brown 3 16 0 Saml. Brownwood 3 16 0 John Brockett 3 16 0 Wm. Bruce 3 16 0 John Brown 3 16 0 Wm. Berry 3 16 0 John Bowsher? 3 16 0 Wm. Boyd 3 16 0 Thos. Codling 3 16 0 Jas. Corker 3 16 0 Alexr. Cromfield? 3 16 0 Thos. Dawson 3 16 0 Jas. Dennis 3 16 0 Isaac Dunning? 3 16 0 John Wm. Hand? 3 16 0 Jas. Easley 3 16 0 Franl. Flyn? 3 16 0 Private Carrd. Over £ 92 - - Carrd. Over £ 3255 17 1½	John Burchett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Bruce, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Benson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Berry, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Kenward, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Cook, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Codling, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Corker, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Cranfield, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Dawson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Dennis, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Dungey, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Daly, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Samuel Elgar, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £92 0s 0d Main total carried over, £3,255 17s 1½d **Interpretations** The roll shows the promotions of 13 July 1781 one step further down. Caleb Broadway was paid as a corporal only to 12 July before moving up to sergeant, and David Cottam, a private in June, took his place as corporal the next day. One vacancy among the sergeants therefore produced two promotions within a single day.
285	281	1781 Brot. Over £ 3255 17 1½ Private brot. Over £ 92 - - Cornelius Flowers 3 16 0 Geo. Green 3 16 0 John Gilmore 3 16 0 John Germain 3 16 0 Willm. Gahagan 3 16 0 Pat. Godding 3 16 0 Roger Hayden 3 16 0 Jas. Hawkins 3 16 0 Willm. Hain	The private soldiers' roll of the Fourth Company continued, with £92 0s 0d brought over for the privates already listed and £3,255 17s 1½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,255 17s 1½d Privates brought over, £92 0s 0d Cornelius Flowers, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Green, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Gilmore, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Germain, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Gallagan, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Patrick Gedding, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Roger Hayden, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Hawkins, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Haden, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Joseph Hewitt, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Hayes, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Peter Hawkins, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Harrison, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hurst, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Hill, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Johnson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d

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		3 16 0 Joseph Hewitt 3 16 0 John Hayes 3 16 0 Peter Hawkins 3 16 0 John Harrison 3 16 0 Thos. Hurst 3 16 0 Thos. Hill 3 16 0 Thos. Johnson 3 16 0 Jas. Jordan 3 16 0 John Joyce 3 16 0 John Jones 3 16 0 John Jackson 3 16 0 Robt. Knights 3 16 0 Thos. Lane 3 16 0 John Lonsdale 3 16 0 Thos. Lamb 3 16 0 Robt. May 3 16 0 John Moyce 3 16 0 Samuel Moon 3 16 0 Willm. Moggett? 3 16 0 Bryan Newman 3 16 0 Thos. Neil 3 16 0 Ralph Newman 3 16 0 Thos. Parker 3 16 0 Thos. Pritchard 3 16 0 John Peck 3 16 0 Willm. Peal 3 16 0 Robert Pattiker? 3 16 0 Wm. Penny 3 16 0 John Pinder 3 16 0 Private Carried Over £ 237 13 4 Carried Over £ 3255 17 1½	James Jordan, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Joyce, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Jones, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Jackson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert Knights, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lyne, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Lonsdale, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Lamb, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Robert May, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Moyse, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Israel Mason, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Moggett, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Brydges Merriman, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Noel, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Ralph Newman, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Parker, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Pritchard, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Park, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Pound, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Christopher Pilcher, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Penny, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Pender, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Privates carried over, £237 13s 4d Main total carried over unchanged, £3,255 17s 1½d
286	282	15th October Brot. Over £ 3255 17 1½ Private Brot. Over £ 237 13 4 John Pass? 3 16 0 Willm. Purdie 3 16 0 Jas. Richardson 3 16 0 John Rickenson?	The private soldiers' roll of the Fourth Company closed, with £237 13s 4d brought over for the privates already listed and £3,255 17s 1½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,255 17s 1½d Privates brought over, £237 13s 4d John Pass, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Purdie, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Richardson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Richards, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Reed, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Charles Smith, pay as private, £3 16s 8d

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		3 16 0 Jas. Reid 3 16 0 Chas. Smith 3 16 0 John Smith Senr. 3 16 0 John Smith Junr. 3 16 0 Thos. Stevens 3 16 0 John Stone 3 16 0 Fredk. Sheffer 3 16 0 Wm. Shepherd 3 16 0 Thos. Thomas Senr. 3 16 0 Thos. Thomas Junr. 3 16 0 Michl. Thomas 3 16 0 Jas. Taylor 3 16 0 Willm. Wilson 3 16 0 Geo. Wood 3 16 0 Willm. Webb 3 16 0 Willm. Wickens 3 16 0 Chas. Williams 3 16 0 Peter White 3 16 0 Richd. Wiggen 3 16 0 Peter Young 3 16 0 David Cottam to 12th July - 16 - Jas. Butcher Do. 10 Do. - 15 - Josiah Cummings Do. 19th Septr. 3 7 4 Isaac Card Decd. 9 July - 7 6 Thos. Goodridge Deserted 22 July - 10 4 John Gerard Enlisted 10th Do. 3 9 2 John Horton Deserted 27th July 1 2 6 Willm. Pope Decd. 27 Do. 1 2 6 Owen Sullivan Do. 15th Do. - 10 10 341 16 0 Artillery Company Vizt. William Pierce Capt. 59 6 3 Carrd. Over £ 3656 - 1½	John Smith senior, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Smith junior, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Stevens, pay as private, £3 16s 8d John Stone, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Frederick Sheffer, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Shepherd, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Thomas senior, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Thomas Thomas junior, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Michael Thomas, pay as private, £3 16s 8d James Taylor, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Wilson, pay as private, £3 16s 8d George Ward, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Wells, pay as private, £3 16s 8d William Wickens, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Charles Williams, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Peter White, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Richard Higgins, pay as private, £3 16s 8d Peter Berry, pay as private, £3 16s 8d David Cottam, pay as private to 12 July, £0 10s 0d Joseph Butcher, pay as private to 18 July, £0 15s 0d Joseph Cummings, pay as private until his death on 19 September, £3 7s 6d Isaac Carr, pay as private until his death on 9 July, £0 7s 6d Thomas Goodridge, pay as private until his desertion on 22 July, £0 18s 4d John Goddard, pay as private from his enlistment on 10 July, £3 9s 2d John Horton, pay as private until his desertion on 27 July, £1 2s 6d William [...], pay as private until his desertion on 27 July, £1 2s 6d Owen Sullivan, pay as private until his desertion on 13 July, £0 10s 10d Total for privates of the Fourth Company, £341 16s 8d The roll of the Artillery Company followed. William Pierce, salary as captain, £39 6s 3d Main total carried over, £3,656 0s 0½d **Interpretations** Owen Sullivan was one of the men enlisted on 27 June 1781 from the ships then in the road, and he deserted on 13 July, after barely two weeks in the garrison. A seaman who took the bounty while a fleet lay at anchor could slip back aboard before it sailed. Recruiting from the ships therefore brought in men quickly, but some of them were never meant to stay. Thomas Goodridge and John Horton, who went on 22 and 27 July, were among the deserters named in the consultation of 6 August 1781.
287	283	1781 Brot. Over £ 3656 - 1½ John Leech Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Willm. Seale Lieutenant 27 7 6 Do. Diet Money	The roll of the Artillery Company continued from the main total of £3,656 0s 0½d brought over. Main total brought over, £3,656 0s 0½d John Leech, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d John Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for John Leech, £34 4s 4½d William Seale, salary as lieutenant, £27 7s 6d William Seale, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for William Seale, £34 4s 4½d John Turner, pay as sergeant, £9 4s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 16 10½ 34 4 4½ Serjeants Vizt. John Pierce 9 4 - John Lowe 9 4 - John Blackwell 9 4 - Jas. Brand? 9 4 - Thos. Selby 9 4 - Geo. Pinter? 9 4 - 55 4 - Corporals Vizt. Willm. Stapleford Deceased 27th July 2 - 6 John Bagell? 6 10 - Jas. Kenton 6 10 - John Barnes? Platt? 6 10 - John Chalmers to 2 July - 3 - Bayard? Hayes 6 10 - Chas. Abraham from 8 Augt. 4 1 - Thos. Ashworth from 28 July 4 19 6 Thos. Richardson from 3 July to 7 Augt. 2 14 - 41 0 - Bombardiers Vizt. Thos. Richardson to 2 July - 3 - Saml. Haynes 6 10 - Thos. Ashworth to 27th July 2 1 6 Jas. Brannigan from 3 Do. 6 15 - Thos. Brown from 28 Do. 4 17 6 Richd. Blackburn from 8th Augt. 4 1 - Chas. Abraham to 7th Augt. 2 17 - 27 12 - Gunners Vizt. Thos. Nevett to 27th July 1 16 - Richd. Walsham? to 7th Augt. 2 10 0 Gunners Carrd. Over Carrd. Over £ 3849 12 9½	John Lane, pay as sergeant, £9 4s 0d John Blackhurst, pay as sergeant, £9 4s 0d James Bird, pay as sergeant, £9 4s 0d Thomas Tilley, pay as sergeant, £9 4s 0d George Pinder, pay as sergeant, £9 4s 0d Total for sergeants, £55 4s 0d William Satchfield, pay as corporal until his death on 27 July, £2 0s 6d John Pugh, pay as corporal, £6 18s 0d James Archbold, pay as corporal, £6 18s 0d James Hunter, pay as corporal, £6 18s 0d John Chalmers, pay as corporal to 2 July, £0 3s 0d Benjamin Hayes, pay as corporal, £6 18s 0d Charles Abraham, pay as corporal from 8 August, £4 1s 0d Thomas Ainsworth, pay as corporal from 28 July, £4 9s 6d Thomas Richardson, pay as corporal from 3 July to 7 August, £2 14s 0d Total for corporals, £41 0s 0d Thomas Richardson, pay as bombardier to 2 July, £0 3s 0d Samuel Kingrow, pay as bombardier, £6 18s 0d Thomas Ainsworth, pay as bombardier to 27 July, £2 0s 6d James Browning, pay as bombardier from 3 July, £6 15s 0d Thomas Brown, pay as bombardier from 28 July, £4 17s 6d Richard Blackburn, pay as bombardier from 8 August, £4 1s 0d Charles Abraham, pay as bombardier to 7 August, £2 17s 0d Total for bombardiers, £27 12s 0d Thomas Bennett, pay as gunner to 27 July, £1 16s 0d Richard Blackburn, pay as gunner to 7 August, £2 10s 0d Main total carried over, £3,849 12s 9½d **Interpretations** The artillery filled its vacancies by moving each man up one step, so a single loss passed down through three ranks. When Corporal John Chalmers left the roll on 2 July, Bombardier Thomas Richardson became corporal the next day and James Browning was made bombardier. When Corporal William Satchfield died on 27 July, Bombardier Thomas Ainsworth took his place on the 28th, and Thomas Brown rose from the gunners to replace Ainsworth. Richardson's corporal's pay then stopped on 7 August, and the chain moved again: Bombardier Charles Abraham became corporal on the 8th and Gunner Richard Blackburn became bombardier. Every gun crew depended on a trained corporal and bombardier, and the Company kept those posts filled from among men who already knew the guns.
288	284	15th October Bro. Over £ 3849 12 9½ Gunners bro. Over Jas. Brannigan to 2d. July - 2 0 Thos. Jones 6 2 0 John Whittingham 6 2 0 Willm. Paskell? 6 2 0 Thos. Jones 6 2 0 Joseph Rose from 3d. July	The roll of the Artillery Company continued from the main total of £3,849 12s 9½d brought over. Main total brought over, £3,849 12s 9½d James Cummings, pay as gunner to 2 July, £0 2s 0d Thomas Jones, pay as gunner, £6 2s 8d John Wilkinson, pay as gunner, £6 2s 8d Thomas Sears, pay as gunner, £6 2s 8d William Burchell, pay as gunner, £6 2s 8d Joseph Hope, pay as gunner from 3 July, £6 0s 0d George Thomas, pay as gunner from 28 July, £4 6s 8d Richard Ables, pay as gunner, £6 2s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 - - Geo. Thomas from 28th Do. 4 6 0 Richd. Wood 6 2 0 Jas. Bamfield from 8th Augt. 3 12 - 49 14 - Drummers Vizt. Danl. Porter 5 7 4 Henry Higgins 5 7 4 10 14 8 Matrosses Vizt. Wm. Gosling Fife 4 12 - Jas. Anderson 4 12 - Benjn. Burton 4 12 - John Burchard 4 12 - Stephen Barrett 4 12 - Thos. Brown 4 12 - Danl. Briars 4 12 - John Coleman 4 12 - Matthew Carson 4 12 - John Cumbel? 4 12 - Thos. Cornell? 4 12 - Archd. Clark 4 12 - Robt. Cunningham 4 12 - Thos. Cole? Clark? 4 12 - Wm. Cotton 4 12 - Thos. Cobster? 4 12 - John Cornell 4 12 - Thos. Dawson 4 12 - Joseph Darby 4 12 - Saml. Duffett 4 12 - Robt. Dennis 4 12 - Pat. Dunn 4 12 - David Davis 4 12 - Matrosses Carried Over £ 105 16 - Carrd. Over £ 3909 8 9½	James Bramfield, pay as gunner from 8 August, £3 12s 0d Total for gunners, £49 14s 0d Daniel Porter, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Henry Duggins, pay as drummer, £5 7s 4d Total for drummers, £10 14s 8d William Gifford, pay as matross and fifer, £4 12s 0d James Davidson, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Benjamin Preston, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Haddock, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Stephen Barnett, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Brown, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d David Evans, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Coleman, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Matthew Craven, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James Corbett, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Cornish, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Matthew Clark, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Robert Cunningham, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Robert Cuthbert, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d William Cotton, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Collister, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Drennan, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Samuel Duffett, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Joseph Daley, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Robert Deans, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Paul Dean, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d David Davis, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Matrosses carried over, £105 16s 0d Main total carried over, £3,909 8s 9½d **Interpretations** The gunners' places were filled in the same chain that ran through the corporals and bombardiers. James Cummings left the gunners on 2 July and Joseph Hope took his place on the 3rd. Thomas Brown's move up to bombardier on 28 July made room for George Thomas, and Richard Blackburn's promotion on 8 August made room for James Bramfield. Each new gunner was presumably drawn from the matrosses, so every loss among the artillery's senior men ended with a matross stepping up to lay and fire a gun.
289	285	1781 Brot. Over £ 3909 8 9½ Matrosses brot. Over £ 105 16 - Wm. Faircloth? 4 12 - Thos. Fearn 4 12 - Henry Fink	The matrosses' roll of the Artillery Company continued, with £105 16s 0d brought over for the matrosses already listed and £3,909 8s 9½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,909 8s 9½d Matrosses brought over, £105 16s 0d William Fenwick, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Fearn, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Henry Firth, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Henry Fennell, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 12 - Henry Friend 4 12 - Robt. Field 4 12 - John Fincher? 4 12 - Christr. Greenland 4 12 - Richd. Gibbs 4 12 - John Gunn 4 12 - Richd. Greenfield 4 12 - William Hamilton 4 12 - John Hanks 4 12 - David Hinckley 4 12 - John Hendrick 4 12 - Geo. Hazzle? 4 12 - Thos. Hutchinson 4 12 - John Johnson 4 12 - Matthew Jones 4 12 - David Mc Intosh? 4 12 - Samuel Liddle 4 12 - John Lemmon 4 12 - Thos. Lister 4 12 - Owen Martin 4 12 - Pat. Mc Donald 4 12 - Pat. Murphy 4 12 - Jas. Mist? 4 12 - Danl. Mc Lain 4 12 - John Myers 4 12 - Jeremiah Mc Carty 4 12 - Thos. Nimble? 4 12 - John Parker 4 12 - Jas. Price 4 12 - Joseph Peak 4 12 - John Peters 4 12 - Thos. Price 4 12 - Conrd. Potts 4 12 - Richd. Pullinger to 2 July - 2 - Matrosses Carrd. Over £ 276 2 - Carrd. Over £ 3909 8 9½	Robert Fells, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Fenton, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Christopher Greenland, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Gibbs, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Gunn, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Greenfield, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d David Huntley, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d William Hamilton, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Hawkes, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Hartwick, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d George Hayter, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Holdman, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Johnson, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Luther Lucas, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Samuel Liddell, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Lemmon, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Lister, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Christopher Martin, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Robert McDonald, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Patrick Murphy, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Matthew Mott, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Daniel McLain, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Myers, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Jeremiah McCarty, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Kemble, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Parker, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James Price, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Joseph Peake, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James Peden, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Price, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Cornelius Potts, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Pellings, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Lloyd Rolfe, pay as matross to 2 July, £0 2s 0d Matrosses carried over, £276 2s 0d Main total carried over unchanged, £3,909 8s 9½d
290	286	15th October Brot. Over	The matrosses' roll of the Artillery Company continued, with £276 2s 0d brought over for the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£ 3909 8 9½ Matrosses Carrd. Over £ 276 2 - Richd. Pinchin? 4 12 - Henry Radford 4 12 - David Richards 4 12 - Robt. Riley 4 12 - William Smith 4 12 - Richd. Smith Senr. 4 12 - William Shore 4 12 - Geo. Stark 4 12 - Geo. Stout 4 12 - John Smith Junr. 4 12 - John Stockdale 4 12 - Richd. Smith Junr. 4 12 - John Thompson Senr. 4 12 - Willm. Tucker 4 12 - John Thompson Junr. 4 12 - Stephen Trueman 4 12 - Willm. Warden 4 12 - Edwd. Ware 4 12 - Willm. Warren 4 12 - Jas. Walker 4 12 - John White 4 12 - Robt. Walker 4 12 - John Wilson 4 12 - Chas. Walton 4 12 - Thos. Wade 4 12 - Jas. Webster 4 12 - Jas. Ward 4 12 - Jas. White 4 12 - Jas. Bamfield to 7th Augt. - 10 - John Eckleson? from 3d. July 4 10 - John Davis Deserted 2d. Augt. 2 13 - Joseph Rollins? Discharged 29th July 1 7 - Geo. Green Deserted 27th July - 19 - John Horton Deceased 27th Do. 1 7 - John Hayes Do. 23d. Do. 1 7 - Richd. Mason Do. Do. 1 3 - Thos. Robinson Enld. 26th Septr.	matrosses already listed and £3,909 8s 9½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,909 8s 9½d Matrosses brought over, £276 2s 0d Richard Richardson, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Henry Radford, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d David Richards, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Robert Riley, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d William Smith, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Smith junior, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d William Shore, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d David Stark, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d George Stuart, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Smith senior, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James Shirtcliffe, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Richard Smith senior, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Thompson senior, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d William Tucker, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Thompson junior, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Stephen Trueman, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d William Warden, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Edward Ware, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d William Warren, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James Walker, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Walsh, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Robert Walters, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d John Watson, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Charles Walton, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d Thomas Ward, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James Willson, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James Webster, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James White, pay as matross, £4 12s 0d James Bramfield, pay as matross to 7 August, £1 18s 0d John Coleman, pay as matross from 3 July, £4 10s 0d John Davis, pay as matross until his desertion on 22 August, £2 13s 0d Joseph Fuller, pay as matross until his discharge on 27 July, £1 7s 0d John Green, pay as matross until his desertion on 19 July, £0 19s 0d John Lloyd, pay as matross until his death on 27 July, £1 7s 0d Richard Mason, pay as matross until his discharge on 23 July, £1 3s 0d Thomas Robinson, pay as matross to 1 September, £3 3s 0d Zedekiah Robins, pay as matross from his enlistment on 9 August, £2 12s 0d Matrosses carried over, £425 15s 0d Main total carried over unchanged, £3,909 8s 9½d **Interpretations** The last entries close several cases from the summer's consultations. Richard Mason's pay stopped on 23 July 1781, the day the Council granted him his discharge at the end of his term. Thomas Robinson's ended on 1 September, the day the Governor ordered him arrested and handed over to Captain Pasley of the *Jupiter* as Thomas Jobson, a deserter from the *Glasgow*. That confirms he was this matross of the Artillery Company. John Davis's pay ran to 22 August, the date of his desertion to the *Jupiter*. Johnstone later refused to give him up because he had first deserted from the King's service. Zedekiah Robins, one of the seamen left behind by the homeward fleet, enlisted on 9 August, a day after the others named in the consultation of 13 August 1781. John Lloyd's death on 27 July adds an eighth man to those who died across the garrison on that single day. The artillery lost a corporal and a matross, and the infantry companies six privates. A death toll

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		3 3 - Zach. Andrews Enld. 9th Augt. 2 12 - Matrosses Carrd. Over £ 425 15 - Carrd. Over £ 3909 8 9½	that heavy on one day suggests an epidemic, perhaps brought ashore from the ships crowding the road at the time.
291	287	1781 Bro. Over £ 3909 8 9½ Matrosses bro. Over £ 425 15 - John Smith Senr. Enld. 9th Augt. 2 12 - John Evans Deserted 24 July 1 4 - Ralph Tidman Do. Do. 1 4 - John Baker Do. 24th Do. 1 4 - Thos. Richardson from 8th Augt. 2 14 - Geo. Thomas to 27th July 1 7 - 436 2 - Pensioners John Howard 22 16 3 Mary Brodie? 7 10 - Elizabeth Kennedy 7 10 - Elizabeth Durst? 6 5 - 44 1 3 £ 4389 12 ½	The matrosses' roll of the Artillery Company closed, with £425 15s 0d brought over for the matrosses already listed and £3,909 8s 9½d on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,909 8s 9½d Matrosses brought over, £425 15s 0d John Smith senior, pay as matross from his enlistment on 9 August, £2 12s 0d John Towers, pay as matross until his desertion on 24 July, £1 4s 0d Ralph Tidman, pay as matross until his desertion on 24 July, £1 4s 0d John Baker, pay as matross until his desertion on 24 July, £1 4s 0d Thomas Richardson, pay as matross from 8 August, £2 14s 0d George Thomas, pay as matross to 27 July, £1 7s 0d Total for matrosses, £436 0s 0d The pensioners followed. John Howard, pension, £22 16s 3d Mary Beale, pension, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Kennedy, pension, £7 10s 0d Elizabeth Pruett, pension, £6 5s 0d Total for pensioners, £44 1s 3d Grand total of salaries and pay for the quarter, £4,389 12s 0½d **Interpretations** Thomas Richardson's career over the quarter shows how the artillery could punish as well as promote. He began July as a bombardier, was made corporal on 3 July and lost that rank on 7 August. From the 8th he was paid as a plain matross, two steps below the corporal's place he had held. The roll gives no reason, but a fall of that size was a punishment, not a transfer. His reduction set off the chain of promotions on 8 August, when Charles Abraham became corporal and Richard Blackburn bombardier. The three matrosses who deserted on 24 July, John Towers, Ralph Tidman and John Baker, were the artillerymen named among the deserters on 6 August 1781. The quarter's establishment cost £4,389 12s 0½d, a little less than the £4,405 10s 2d paid for the quarter to 30 June, even though this quarter ran a day longer and every man drew a day's more pay. The difference came from the men the garrison lost. Desertions to the homeward fleet in late July, the deaths of 27 July and the discharges of time-expired men emptied places faster than recruits from the ships could fill them. The Company was paying less because it had fewer soldiers on a war footing, not because it was saving money.
292	288	15th October Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from the Chest £ 5737 12 2½ Carried Over £ 5737 12 2½	William Wrangham's paymaster account for the quarter to 30 September 1781 opened with the debit side, charging him with the cash he drew from the treasury chest. Cash received from the treasury chest, £5,737 12s 2½d Carried over, £5,737 12s 2½d
293	289	1781 Paymaster Cr. By Cash paid Capt. Gl.? Smith for a Boat By Do. Pd. for the following Soldiers Clothing being a Years Clothing due to Men discharged &c.	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account set out his payments for the quarter. Paid Captain Goldsmith for a boat, £[...] Clothing owed for a year to discharged men and others:

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		For 3 Serjeants Coats Breeches Hats and Shirts 18 7 6 For 5 Private Coats Hats & Breeches 7 19 9 For 4 Drummers? Do. Do. & Do. 9 2 10 For 3 Blankets - 14 6 36 4 5 By Do. Paid the Clerk of the Peace for drawing 2 Precepts - 10 - By Do. Pd. Do. Fees on the Serjt.? of the Guard - 19 - By Do. Pd. the Do. of Arraignments? for 12 Executions at 7/6 [...] to be charged in the preceding accounts 4 10 - By Do. Pd. the Overseer? for Valuing 5 of the Honble. Company's Women Slaves 2 10 - By Do. Pd. J. Hawkins? Surgeon of the Hastings for his care of 22 Recruits on their Passage to this Island 5 10 - By Do. Pd. for [...] Barley for the Stables Boat Hire & 10 lb. Salt Pork 7 7 - By Do. Pd. for [...] Hire & [...] Disbursed in Do. 4 7 - By Do. Pd. Capt. Hay? for the Hire of Ship [...] Damage 99 - - By Do. Pd. for Victualling from the Store Ship as pr. Bill 60 7 - By Do. Pd. Capt. Mc Neale? [...] Price of [...] Provisions 110 17 7 By Do. Pd. the following Men belonging to the [...] Vizt. John Hodge Gunner 9 Months & 29 Days 25 5 - Robt. Simmons? Seaman 5 17 6 John Adams Do. 5 - 9 Thos. Bradley Do. 5 15 9 Jas. Cornish Do. to 12 April 1781 12 18 0 William Steward Do. to 4 April 1781 5 6 2 Danl. Sullivan Do. to Do. 14 18 4 Richd. Knight Do. to 1 Do. 6 5 9 80 17 4 By Do. Pd. Robt. Leech for a Boat 20 - - By Do. Pd. [...] for [...] 10 19 6 By Do. Pd. [...] for [...] 1 - - By Do. Pd. the Coroner for 3 Inquests on the Bodies of [...] Mc Cormick & [...] Mc Cave 3 15 - By Do. Pd. a Bombardier? [...] 4 Days - 5 - By Do. Pd. Willm. Gahagan for Assisting at the Hospital 2 10 - By Do. Pd. 2 Sub Serjts. for Baking 200 Batches of Bread for the	3 sergeants' coats, breeches, hats and shirts, £18 7s 6d 5 privates' coats, hats and breeches, £7 19s 9d 4 matrosses' coats, hats and breeches, £9 2s 8d 3 blankets, £0 14s 6d Total for clothing, £36 4s 5d Paid the Clerk of the Peace for drawing 2 precepts, £0 10s 0d Paid the Clerk of the Peace his fees on the trial of James Youd, £0 19s 0d Paid the clerk of arraignments for 12 quarters at 7s 6d, left out of earlier accounts, £4 10s 0d Paid the midwife for delivering 5 of the Company's women slaves, £2 10s 0d Paid J. Henderson, surgeon of the *Hastings*, for his care of 22 recruits on their passage to the island, £5 10s 0d. Paid Captain Massey for 14 weeks' boat hire at 10s 6d a week, £7 7s 0d Paid for rope and oars used on the hired boat, £4 1s 0d Paid Captain Ker of the *Princess Royal* for a pinnace, £9 9s 0d. Paid for sundries from the store ship as per bill, £60 7s 0d Paid Captain Nutt for 12 tierces of salt provisions, £110 17s 7d The paymaster paid the arrears owed to the following men of the snow *Betsy*. Daniel Hedigan, gunner, 7 months 8 days, £25 5s 0d Archibald Sammond, seaman, £5 17s 6d John Evans, seaman, £5 0s 9d Thomas Mealey, seaman, £5 15s 0d James Cormick, seaman, to 5 April 1781, £12 10s 8d William Stevens, seaman, to 1 April 1781, £5 6s 2d Daniel Holland, seaman, to 5 April 1781, £14 18s 4d Richard Knight, seaman, to 1 April 1781, £6 3s 9d Total for arrears, £80 17s 4d Paid Robert Leech for a boat, £20 0s 0d Paid John M. Webb for making and repairing flags, £10 19s 6d Paid David Stoner for catching Thomas Mealey, as promised by public notice, £1 0s 0d Paid the coroner for 3 inquests, on September, a slave, Robert McCormick and Andrew McCann, £3 15s 0d Paid a bailiff for going to bury a body, £0 5s 0d Paid William Gahagan for helping at the hospital, £2 10s 0d Paid John Pegler for baking 200 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 9d, £17 10s 0d Paid for wood at the bakehouse, £5 18s 9d Carried over, £406 0s 7d **Interpretations** The Company paid a midwife to deliver five of its women slaves. It met the cost because a child born to a Company slave became Company property at birth. The plantation account for the same quarter records one such birth, a girl named Betty Nassau. The fee secured the life of the mother and of the child, and the Company saw both as part of its working stock. In the same way, it paid a coroner to hold an inquest on the body of a slave named September. Every unexplained death on the island required an inquest, and the Company bore the cost of it, slave or free. The *Betsy* was a snow, a two-masted vessel rigged with an extra mast close behind the mainmast, and one of the Company's small island craft. Her crew were paid their arrears up to early April 1781, when their service ended. Thomas Mealey is a telling case.

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		Garrison at 1/9 17 10 - By Do. Pd. for [...] at the Castle [...] 5 10 9 Carrd. Over £ 406 - 1	The Company paid a reward to the man who caught him under a public notice, yet it still paid Mealey every penny of his wages. Arrears earned under contract were owed whatever a man did afterwards. The Company could punish desertion, but it could not keep back pay already earned. Robert McCormick, a private of the First Company, died on 29 July 1781, during the run of deaths in the garrison that week. An inquest on his body points to a death that was sudden or unexplained, not one that came from ordinary sickness in the hospital.
294	290	15th October Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Recd. from the Chest Brot. Over £ 5737 12 2½ Carried Over £ 5737 12 2½	William Wrangham's debit side once more brought forward the cash he had drawn from the treasury chest, and no new entries were made on it. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £5,737 12s 2½d Carried over, £5,737 12s 2½d
295	291	1781 Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 406 - 1 By Cash Pd. for 5 Hogs of Mackerel? for the use of the Honble. Company's Slaves 7 4 - By Do. Pd. the Revd. Mr. Carr for Books 66 9 - By Do. Pd. Do. for Expences in respect? his Licence 20 8 10 By Do. Pd. Thos. Yates for Spunlocks? Cord 2 10 - By Do. Pd. Rent of a Room to hold the Quarterly Sessions 3 - - By Do. Pd. the Gardener for Mutton 3 - - By Do. Pd. Mrs. Kennedy? her usual Allowance 2 10 - By Do. Pd. the following Widows? amounting 92 Days at 1/2 pr. Day Vizt. Widow Bradley 5 7 4 Widow Baggott 5 7 4 Widow Caldwell 5 7 4 16 2 - By Do. Pd. Jacob Lehman? for 1 Year? of the Boat 92 Days @ 2/6 11 10 - By Do. Pd. the following Men for Enlisting to serve the Honble. Company 3 Years longer as Soldiers subject to the Articles of War their respective times to commence as follows Vizt. Jas. Brewster 5th April 1781 15 - - Meynard Hayes 2 July 15 - - Cornelius Stevens 15 - - John Chalmers 15 - - Do. John Stevens 15 - - 75 - - By Do. Paid the following Men for Enlisting to serve the Honble. Company 3 Years as Soldiers subject to the Articles of War their respective times to commence as follows Vizt. Chas. Bailey 10 - -	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued from the total of £406 0s 7d brought over. Brought over, £406 0s 7d Paid for 576 dozen mackerel for the Company's slaves, £7 4s 0d Paid the Reverend Mr Carr for books, £66 9s 0d Paid the Reverend Mr Carr for repairs to his house, £20 8s 10d Paid Thomas Yates for punishments, £2 10s 0d Paid rent for a room to hold the quarter sessions, £3 0s 0d Paid the Lieutenant Governor for mutton, £3 0s 0d Paid Masse Funge his usual allowance, £2 10s 0d Widows' allowance for 92 days at 1s 2d a day: Widow Shortley, £5 7s 4d Widow Bazett, £5 7s 4d Widow Caldwell, £5 7s 4d Total for widows, £16 2s 0d Paid Julio Fabiano for repairing the boats, 92 days at 2s 6d, £11 10s 0d Bounties paid to men who signed on for 5 more years under the Articles of War: James Manaton, from 5 April 1781, £0 15s 0d Maynard Hayes, from 2 July 1781, £0 15s 0d Cornelius Flowers, from 8 July 1781, £0 15s 0d John Chalmers, from 8 July 1781, £0 15s 0d John Flowers, from 8 July 1781, £0 15s 0d Total for re-enlistment bounties, £3 15s 0d Bounties paid to men who enlisted for 5 years under the Articles of War, from 8 August 1781: Charles Bailey, £10 0s 0d Zachariah Robins, £10 0s 0d John Newcomb Smith, £10 0s 0d Robert Roberts, £10 0s 0d Thomas Lewis, £10 0s 0d Henry Wilkinson, £10 0s 0d Total for enlistment bounties, £60 0s 0d Paid Thomas Yates for 6 rasps for the artillery, £0 6s 0d Paid William Doveton for 2 oars, £0 15s 0d Paid the sexton for digging 5 graves for soldiers who died, £0 12s 6d Paid John Burkhall for agreeing to re-enlist, though he later deserted, £3 0s 0d Paid William Wrangham for 1 balk, £2 2s 0d Paid John Potts, a marine of His Majesty's ship *Bristol*, his subsistence for 21 days at 6d a day, £0 10s 6d. Subsistence paid to discharged soldiers at 6d a day: William Warner, 30 days, £0 15s 0d Richard Mason, 4 days, £0 2s 0d Total for discharged soldiers, £0 17s 0d Carried over, £609 17s 5d

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		Saml. Roberts 10 - - John Daniel? Smith 10 - - Robt. Roberts 10 - - Thos. Lewis 10 - - Henry Wilkinson 10 - - 8th Augt. 1781 60 - - By Do. Pd. Thos. Yates for Weighing out? the use of the Artillery - 6 - By Do. Pd. Wm. Davis for 6 Oars - 15 - By Do. Pd. the Sexton for making 3 Graves for Deceased Soldiers - 12 6 By Do. Pd. Wm. Wrangham for 1 Book 2 2 - By Do. Pd. John Brocklebank for engaging to inlist Matrosses? Deserters 3 - - By Do. Pd. John Pottenger? belonging to His Majesty's Ship Swift? his subsistence for 21 Days at 6d. pr. Day - 10 6 By Do. Pd. the following Discharged Soldiers their Subsistence Vizt. Wm. Harris 30 Days @ 6d. 15 - Richd. Mason 4 Do. @ 6 2 - Carrd. Over £ 609 17 5	**Interpretations** John Burkhall shows how the Company could lose its money on a man. It paid him to sign on again, and he deserted to the homeward fleet on 24 July 1781. The paymaster still had to account for the money, and he entered it plainly as paid to a man who had since run. Charles Bailey, enlisted on 8 August for £10 0s 0d, was claimed by Commodore Johnstone in September as a deserter from the navy and never served out his time. The bounty system was the only way to keep the garrison up to strength, but each payment was a gamble on a man staying. Thomas Yates, the marshal and crier, was paid separately for carrying out punishments, on top of his salary. Floggings and other corporal punishments ordered by the courts or courts martial were done by a paid official, and the Company met the cost as part of the price of keeping order. The sum of £2 10s 0d for a single quarter points to a busy season, with deserters brought back and men punished for drunkenness and neglect of duty. The 576 dozen mackerel bought for the Company's slaves came to almost 7,000 fish. Taken with the rice, salt meat and yams recorded in the stores accounts, they show that fish caught off the island were a regular part of the slaves' rations. Buying them from local fishermen cost the Company very little, about 3d a dozen.
296	292	15th October Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Recd. from the Chest Brot. Over £ 5737 12 2½ Carried Over £ 5737 12 2	On the debit side of William Wrangham's account, the cash total from the treasury chest was again carried forward with nothing added. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £5,737 12s 2½d Carried over, £5,737 12s 2d
297	293	1781 Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 609 17 5 By Cash Pd. the following Men their Subsistence at 6d. pr. Day until entertained on the Garrison Vizt. Thos. Lewis 16 Days - 8 - John Daniel Smith 8 Do. - 4 - Zach. Andrews 8 Do. - 4 - Robt. Roberts 6 Do. - 3 - Chas. Bailey 6 Do. - 3 - Henry Wilkinson 8 - 4 - 1 6 - By Do. Pd. for the following Work done building a Battery at Butter Milk Point Vizt. 20 Days Brewers @ 1/6 1 10 - 17 Do. Stone Hewers @ 1/6 1 5 6 1 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 - 1 6 6 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 9 - 22½ Do. Brewers @ 2/6	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued from the total of £689 17s 5d brought over. The paymaster paid subsistence at 6d a day to the following men until they were taken into the garrison. Brought over, £689 17s 5d Thomas Lewis, 16 days, £0 8s 0d John Newcomb Smith, 8 days, £0 4s 0d Zachariah Robins, 8 days, £0 4s 0d Robert Roberts, 6 days, £0 3s 0d Charles Bailey, 6 days, £0 3s 0d Henry Wilkinson, 8 days, £0 4s 0d Total for subsistence, £1 6s 0d He paid for the following work in building a battery at Buttermilk Point. 20 days of masons at 1s 6d, £1 10s 0d 7 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d 7 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d 6 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d 22½ days of masons at 2s 6d, £2 16s 3d 54 days of labourers at 1s, £2 14s 0d Total for the Buttermilk Point battery, £8 10s 3d He paid for the following work in making a road to Buttermilk Point. 73 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £5 9s 6d 101 days of masons at 1s 6d, £7 11s 6d 435 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £32 12s 6d 81 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £6 1s 6d 1,728 days of labourers at 1s, £86 8s 0d Total for the road to Buttermilk Point, £138 3s 0d

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		2 16 3 54 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 2 14 - 8 16 3 By Cash Pd. for the following Work done making a Road to Butter Milk Point Vizt. 73 Days Smiths @ 1/6 5 9 6 101 Do. Masons @ 1/6 7 11 6 435 Do. Stone Hewers @ 1/6 32 12 6 81 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 6 1 6 1728 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 86 8 - 138 3 - By Do. Pd. for the following Work done building a Wall at Sugar Loaf Vizt. 13 Days Brewers @ 1/6 1 0 6 6 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 - 9 - 9 Do. Carpenters @ 1/6 - 13 6 56 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 2 16 - 5 7 - By Cash Pd. the following Work done Lime? and Getting Lime Vizt. 81 Days Lime Burners @ 1/6 6 1 6 41 Do. Labourers @ 1/6 3 1 6 13 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 - 19 6 515 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 25 15 - 36 9 6 By Do. Pd. for the following Work done building a Bake House Vizt. 8 Days Brewers @ 1/6 12 - - 56 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 4 4 - 400 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 20 - - 25 4 - By Do. Pd. for 66 Days Turners Work done Turning Shot Bottoms &c. for the Artillery @ 1/6 4 19 - Carrd. Over £ 909 16 2	He paid for the following work in building a shed at Sugar Loaf. 19 days of masons at 1s 6d, £1 8s 6d 6 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d 9 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d 56 days of labourers at 1s, £2 16s 0d Total for the shed at Sugar Loaf, £5 7s 0d He paid for the following work in burning and carrying lime. 81 days of lime burners at 1s 6d, £6 1s 6d 94 days of sailmakers at 1s 6d, £3 13s 6d 13 days of coxswains at 1s 6d, £0 19s 6d 515 days of labourers at 1s, £25 15s 0d Total for lime work, £36 9s 6d He paid for the following work in building a bakehouse. 8 days of sawyers at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d 56 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £4 4s 0d 400 days of labourers at 1s, £20 8s 0d Total for the bakehouse, £25 4s 0d 66 days of turners' work turning shot bottoms and other pieces for the artillery at 1s 6d, £4 19s 0d Carried over, £909 16s 2d **Interpretations** The road to Buttermilk Point cost far more in this quarter than the battery it served. The battery took only £8 10s 3d, as the work there was nearly done, but the road took £138 3s 0d. That included 435 days of stone blowing and more than 1,700 days of labour, on top of the £104 8s 0d spent on it the quarter before. Cutting a road along the cliffs was the harder task. The gunners and their ammunition had to be able to reach the battery quickly when an alarm was fired, and a battery that could not be reinforced was of little use. The seamen left behind by the homeward fleet drew 6d a day while they waited to be taken into the garrison. Thomas Lewis waited 16 days, the longest of any, because the men were enlisted between 8 and 13 August. The Company fed them from the day they came ashore, so that none of them had reason to go elsewhere while the formalities were completed. Shot bottoms were turned wooden discs, called sabots, fixed to the base of a round shot or canister. They held the shot steady in the bore and kept it square to the powder charge when fired. Making them on the island by the day, rather than importing them, let the artillery prepare fixed rounds for the batteries quickly in a season of alarms.
298	294	15th October Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from the Chest Brot. Over £ 5737 12 2½ Carried Over £ 5737 12 2½	Nothing new was entered on this page of William Wrangham's debit side. It simply carried forward the cash he had drawn from the treasury chest. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £5,737 12s 2½d Carried over, £5,737 12s 2½d
299	295	1781 Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 909 16 2 By Cash Pd. for the following work done making Cots and Coffins Vizt. 47 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 3 10 6 2½ Do. Smiths @ 1/6 1 17 6? "- 3 9" 5 0 -	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued from the total of £909 16s 2d brought over. Brought over, £909 16s 2d He paid for the following work in making cots and coffins. 47 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £3 10s 6d 25 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £1 17s 6d Total for cots and coffins, £5 8s 0d He paid for the following work in making a corn mill and grinding wheat. 7 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d

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		By Do. Pd. for the following Work done making a Fire? Bricks? in Ruperts Valley? Vizt. 7 Days Smiths @ 1/6 - 10 6 9 Do. Bricklayers @ 1/6 - 13 6 19 Do. Labourers @ 1/6 1 8 6 2 12 6 By Do. Pd. for the following work done Repairing the Castle 43 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 3 4 6 10 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 15 - 3 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 - 4 6 20 Do. Painters @ 2/ 2 - - 30 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 1 10 - 7 14 - By Do. Pd. for the following Work done Making Carriages and Repairing Gun Carriages Vizt. 75 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 5 12 6 52 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 3 18 0 15 Do. Painters @ 2/ 1 10 - 87 Do. Do. @ 1/6 6 10 6 10 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 - 15 - 18 9 - By Do. Pd. for the following Work done repairing the Wharf Lying? Rusty? Ware? House Vizt. 23 Days Sawyers @ 1/6 1 14 6 8 Do. Carpenters @ 1/6 - 12 - 15 Do. Painters @ 1/6 1 2 6 28 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 2 2 - 124 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 6 4 - 10 3 6? "11 15 -" By Do. Pd. for the following Work done bringing Guns from the Crane Vizt. 5 Days Brewers @ 1/6 - 7 6 602 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 30 2 - 34 3 -? "30 9 6" By Do. Pd. for the following work done carrying Ammunition to Sundry Places Vizt. 8 Days Brewers @ 1/6 - 12 - 602 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 30 2 - 31 1 -? "7 1 -" By Do. Pd. for the following work done repairing Boats and Barges? & Ladders? Vizt. 4 Days Masons @ 1/6 - 6 - 4 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 6 - 41 Do. Labourers @ 1/6 3 0 6 12 Do. Labourers @ 1/ - 12 - 4 10 - Carrd. Over £ 999 17 2	9 days of millwrights at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d 19 days of labourers at 1s 6d, £1 8s 6d Total for the corn mill, £2 12s 6d He paid for the following work in repairing the Castle. 43 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £3 4s 6d 10 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d 3 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d 20 days of painters at 2s, £2 0s 0d 30 days of labourers at 1s, £1 10s 0d Total for the Castle, £7 14s 0d He paid for the following work in fitting up and painting gun carriages. 75 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £5 12s 6d 52 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £3 18s 0d 15 days of painters at 2s, £1 10s 0d 87 days of painters at 1s 6d, £6 10s 6d 12 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 18s 0d Total for gun carriages, £18 9s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing the west flying party's house. 23 days of sawyers at 1s 6d, £1 14s 6d 8 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d 22 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £1 13s 0d 124 days of labourers at 1s, £6 4s 0d Total for the flying party's house, £10 3s 6d He paid for the following work in bringing goods from the crane. 54 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £4 1s 0d 602 days of labourers at 1s, £30 2s 0d Total for carrying goods, £34 3s 0d He paid for the following work in carrying ammunition to various places. 8 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 12s 0d 602 days of labourers at 1s, £6 9s 0d Total for carrying ammunition, £7 1s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing boats and making sails. 4 days of sawyers at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d 4 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d 44 days of sailmakers at 1s 6d, £3 6s 0d 12 days of labourers at 1s, £0 12s 0d Total for boats and sails, £4 10s 0d Carried over, £999 17s 2d **Interpretations** The labour spent bringing goods up from the crane rose more than fourfold, from 132 days in the June quarter to more than 650 in this one. The Prime and the Bellmont unloaded rice, paddy, wine and arrack in September and early October. Johnstone's squadron landed its spare flour and provisions and the brass guns from the Held Woltemade. Every cask and bag had to be carried up from the landing place by hand. That cost the Company more than £34 0s 0d in wages alone. The flying party had a second house, on the west of the island, as well as the one built that season. Keeping one base on each side of the island let the party reach a threatened landing place on either coast without first crossing the island's steep central ridge. The money spent on carrying ammunition to various places points the same way. Powder and shot were being spread among the batteries and posts rather than kept in a single store, so that each could fire at once when an alarm sounded.

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300	296	15th October Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from the Chest Brot. Over £ 5737 12 2½ Carried Over £ 5737 12 2½	Wrangham's debit side carried the treasury cash forward again, and nothing else was added to it. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £5,737 12s 2½d Carried over, £5,737 12s 2½d
301	297	1781 Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 999 17 2 By Cash Pd. for the following work done repairing the Road to Banks's Vizt. 9 Days Brewers @ 1/6 - 13 6 64 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 3 4 - 3 17 6 By Do. Pd. for the following work done repairing the Battery and Building a Magazine at Ruperts Vizt. 40 Days Brewers @ 1/6 3 - - 180 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 9 - - 15 Do. Carpenters @ 1/ 1 2 6 10 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 - 15 - 40½ Do. Masons @ 3/ 7 6 3? "6 1 6" 21 3 9 By Do. Pd. for the following Work done repairing the Kitchen Chimney at the Plantation House Vizt. 6 Days Carpenters @ 1/6 - 9 - 50 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 2 10 - 3 7 -? "2 19 -" By Do. Pd. for the following Work done repairing Banks's Battery and getting Stones for the Gun? Carriages? Vizt. 7 Days Masons @ 1/6 - 10 6 10 Do. Stone Hewers @ 1/6 - 15 - 7 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 - 10 6 94 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 4 14 - 6 10 - By Do. Pd. for the following work done painting the Lieut. Governors House in Long Wood Vizt. 24 Days Painters @ 2/ 2 8 - 24 Do. Do. @ 1/6 1 16 - 4 4 - By Do. Pd. for the following work done repairing the Castle at Sandy Bay Vizt. 3 Days Sawyers @ 1/6 - 4 6 17 Do. Smiths @ 1/6 1 5 6 30 Do. Carpenters @ 1/6 2 5 - 10 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 - 15 - 177 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 8 17 - 13 7 -? "15 6 -" By Cash Pd. for the following work done repairing the Guard House at	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued from the total of £999 17s 2d brought over. Brought over, £999 17s 2d He paid for the following work in repairing the roads to Banks's. 9 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d 64 days of labourers at 1s, £3 4s 0d Total for the roads to Banks's, £3 17s 6d He paid for the following work in repairing the battery and building the necessary houses at Rupert's. 40 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £3 0s 0d 180 days of labourers at 1s, £9 0s 0d 15 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £1 2s 6d 10 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d 48¾ days of masons at 3s, £7 6s 3d Total for Rupert's, £21 3s 9d He paid for the following work in repairing the kitchen chimney at Plantation House. 6 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d 58 days of labourers at 1s, £2 18s 0d Total for the kitchen chimney, £3 7s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing Banks's battery and gathering stones for the guard room. 7 days of masons at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d 10 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d 7 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 10s 6d 94 days of labourers at 1s, £4 14s 0d Total for Banks's battery, £6 10s 0d He paid for the following work in painting the Lieutenant Governor's house at Longwood. 24 days of painters at 2s, £2 8s 0d 24 days of painters at 1s 6d, £1 16s 0d Total for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £4 4s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing the cullis at Sandy Bay. 21 days of sawyers at 1s 6d, £1 11s 6d 17 days of smiths at 1s 6d, £1 5s 6d 30 days of carpenters at 1s 6d, £2 5s 0d 18 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £1 7s 0d 177 days of labourers at 1s, £8 17s 0d Total for the Sandy Bay cullis, £15 6s 0d He paid for the following work in repairing the guard house at Holdfast Tom and carrying lime to repair the one at Powell's Valley. 6 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 9s 0d 5 days of masons at 2s 6d, £0 12s 6d 30 days of labourers at 1s, £1 10s 0d Total for the guard houses, £2 11s 6d 74 days of smiths' work cleaning small arms at 1s 6d, £5 11s 0d 9 days of smiths' work making utensils for the barracks at 1s 6d, £0 13s 6d 79 days of labourers' work in the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood at 1s, £3 19s 0d Carried over, £1,067 0s 5d **Interpretations** The cullis at Sandy Bay was a barrier gate, a portcullis-like timber frame set in the defensive wall across the valley above the beach. In wartime it could be shut against a landing party. Sandy Bay was one of the few places on the windward coast where boats could come ashore, so the island guarded it with a line of wall and a battery. Keeping the gate working mattered as much as mounting the guns, which is

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		Ladder? Hill and carrying Lime to repair that at Deadwood? Valley Vizt. 6 Days Brewers @ 1/6 - 9 - 5 Do. Masons @ 2/6 - 12 6 30 Do. Labourers @ 1/ 1 10 - 2 11 6 By Do. Pd. for 37 Days Smiths work done Cleaning small Arms @ 1/6 2 15 6? "2 11 6" By Do. Pd. for 9 Days Smiths work done making a Roasting? Grate for the Barracks @ 1/6 - 13 6 By Do. Pd. for 78 Days Labourers work done at the Lieut. Governors Garden in Long Wood @ 1/ 3 19 - Carrd. Over £ 1065 - 5	why sawyers, smiths and carpenters spent many days rebuilding it that quarter. Labourers spent 79 days in the Lieutenant Governor's garden at Longwood, and painters 48 days on his house there. The cost appeared among the island's works, beside batteries and guard houses, because the house belonged to the Company and came with the office. Daniel Corneille was also major of the First Company and managed the Company's plantation, so his house at Longwood was both a residence and a working base on the upland estate. Smiths spent 74 days cleaning the garrison's small arms. In the salt air of an island, muskets rusted quickly. With the island preparing for possible attack and taking in raw recruits, the Company wanted every firearm in working order.
302	298	15th October Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Recd. from the Chest Brot. Over £ 5737 12 2½ Carrd. Over £ 5737 12 2	This page of William Wrangham's debit side recorded nothing new. It only carried forward the cash total from the treasury chest. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £5,737 12s 2½d Carried over, £5,737 12s 2d
303	299	1781 Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 1065 - 5 By Cash Paid for the following work done at Long Wood Fence Vizt. 144 Days Stone Hewers @ 1/6 10 16 - 16 Do. Brewers @ 1/6 1 4 - 228 Do. Masons @ 3/ 34 4 - 75 Do. Do. @ 2/6 9 7 6 1653½ Do. Labourers @ 1/6 123 19 3 66 Do. Brewers @ 3/ 9 18 - 190 9 9? "190 19 9" By Do. Pd. for the following Work done repairing Ladders? Drain at Deadwood? Vizt. 8 Days Brewers @ 1/6 - 12 - 30½ Do. Labourers @ 1/ 1 10 6 3 Do. Do. @ 1/6 - 4 6 6½ Do. Masons @ 3/ 1 - 3? "1 0 3" 3 6 9? "3 7 3" By Do. Pd. for the following for the use of the Castle Vizt. 24½ Days Hauls? 22 1 - 8 Turkeys 2 - - 10 Ducks - 15 - 64 Doz. & 2 Eggs 5 4 10 17 Doz.? & 8 Do.? Fowls 3 0 4 10 Hams? & Bottle Cheese 3 0 6 4 Hams wt. 77 lb. @ 2/ 7 14 -	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account continued from the total of £1,067 0s 5d brought over. Brought over, £1,067 0s 5d He paid for the following work on the fence at Longwood. 144 days of stone blowers at 1s 6d, £11 11s 0d 76 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £5 14s 0d 222 days of masons at 3s, £33 6s 0d 75 days of masons at 2s 6d, £9 7s 6d 1,635½ days of labourers at 1s 6d, £122 13s 3d 66 days of overseers at 3s, £9 18s 0d Total for the Longwood fence, £192 9s 9d He paid for the following work in repairing the path at Munden's Point. 4 days of overseers at 1s 6d, £0 6s 0d 30½ days of labourers at 1s, £1 10s 6d 3 days of labourers at 1s 6d, £0 4s 6d 6¾ days of masons, £1 0s 3d Total for Munden's Point path, £3 [...]s 3d He paid for the following provisions for the Castle. 24½ dozen fowls, £22 1s 0d 8 turkeys, £2 0s 0d 10 ducks, £0 15s 0d 64 dozen and 4 eggs, £5 4s 0d 1 cheese weighing 30 pounds at 2s, £3 0s 0d 10 new milk cheeses, £3 0s 6d 4 hams weighing 77 pounds at 2s, £7 14s 0d 1 hog weighing 160 pounds, £2 13s 4d 2 sheep, £2 10s 0d 29 pigs, £7 5s 0d 105 pounds of pork, £1 15s 0d 4 pots of preserves, £1 1s 0d 1 bottle of olives, £0 13s 6d 9 pounds of almonds, £0 11s 3d 1 quarter cask of pickles, £3 14s 0d 2 jars of mangoes and bamboo, £3 17s 4d 2 jars of sweetmeats, £3 0s 0d 6 bottles of soy, £0 18s 0d 1 kit of salmon, £1 11s 6d Cabbages, £0 8s 0d 1,060 lemons, £1 10s 0d Total for the Castle provisions, £75 11s 9d He paid for the following items for use at the Castle.

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		1 Keg wt. 15 lb.? 2 5 4? "2 15 4" 2 Mats? 2 10 0 29 Pears? - 7 3 63 lb. Pork 1 13 - 4 lb. Fish? Powders? 1 5 - 1 lb. Chives? - 12 6 9 lb. Almonds? - 13 6 1 Sneakers? Cane? Bottles 3 13 - 2 Jars of Pickled? Gherkins? & Peppers 3 7 4 2 Do. Mangoes? Pickles 3 0 - 1 Bottle of Soy - 10 - 1 Pot? Mustard 1 10 6 Calavances? - 0 - 10 lb. Sweets? 1 10 - 75 11 9 By Do. Pd. for the following for the Use of the Castle Vizt. 1 pr. Table? Lamps? & Lamps - 2 - 10 Wool? Broom? Hooks? & Do. - 2 6 13 pr. Nancy? Jibs? 1 19 - Huckaback? Lines? - 0 6? "- 10 6" 52 Kegs? of Lead? 3 0 - 6 2 - Carrd. Over £ 1344 5 2	1 pair of table hinges and screws, £0 2s 0d 1 pair of brass butt hinges and other fittings, £0 2s 6d 13 panes of glass, £1 19s 0d Hooks and lines, £0 8s 6d 52 logs of wood, £3 10s 0d Total for the Castle, £6 2s 0d Carried over, £1,344 5s 2d **Interpretations** The Longwood fence cost £192 9s 9d this quarter, on top of the £196 5s 10½d spent on it the quarter before. Masons and overseers were paid at double rates, 3s a day instead of 1s 6d, and the labourers at 1s 6d instead of 1s. The Company did not pay higher wages anywhere else that year. It probably did so here because Longwood lay far up on the windswept plateau, away from the town and the other works. Men had to be drawn there and kept at the job through the winter months. Fencing the Company's pasture kept its cattle in and other people's stock out, at a time when meat was scarce. The Castle's provisions show the Governor's table drawing on the whole of the Company's trade. Fowls, eggs, pigs and cheeses came from the island's own farms. Soy, mangoes and bamboo came from the East on the China and India ships. Pickled mango and bamboo shoots in jars were favourite relishes on the Indiamen and in Anglo-Indian households. Soy was a Chinese sauce, then still a luxury in England, used to season meat. The kit of salmon, a small wooden tub of pickled or salted salmon, came from Britain. A table that served all of these showed the Company's guests that St Helena stood on the crossroads of its trade.
304	300	15th October Dr. William Wrangham To Cash Received from the Chest Bro. Over £ 5737 12 2½ £ 5737 12 2½ Island St. 30th September	William Wrangham's debit side closed at St Helena on 30 September 1781. The cash he drew from the treasury chest was brought over and ruled off as the final total. Cash received from the treasury chest, brought over, £5,737 12s 2½d Total of the debit side, £5,737 12s 2½d
305	301	1781 Paymaster Cr. Brot. Over £ 1344 5 2 By Cash Paid Expences upon Alarms 3 15 - 1348 - 2 Amount of Pay Accounts 4389 12 ½ £ 5737 12 2½ Helena 1781 Errors Excepted Signed Wm. Wrangham Paymaster Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of September last which is as follows Vizt. Cash	The credit side of William Wrangham's paymaster account closed with £1,344 5s 2d brought over. Brought over, £1,344 5s 2d Paid expenses arising from alarms, £3 15s [...] Total of payments, £1,348 [...]s 2d Amount of the pay account, £4,389 12s [...] Total of the credit side, £5,737 12s 2½d William Wrangham, the paymaster, signed the account at St Helena in 1781, errors excepted. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for September 1781, and the account followed under the heading of cash.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
306	302	15th October Cash Dr. 1781 Septr. 1st. To Ballance Remaining £ 19523 14 6 To Isma. Doveton Received of him for Stores 2759 0 0 To Licences 10 - - To Plantation for Provision Sold 24 5 7 To Customs Received on 2 9 9 To Fortifications for a Stone Pot 1 19 9 To 42 lb. of Old Lead Sold - 3 7? "3 7 -" £ 22325 13 3	The Council's account of the Company's cash for September 1781 opened with the balance in hand and the money received during the month. 1 September 1781, balance in hand, £19,523 14s 6d Received from Jonathan Doveton for stores, £2,759 0s 0d Received for licences, £10 0s 0d Received from the plantation for provisions sold, £24 5s 7d Received for customs, £2 9s 9d Received from the fortifications for lime sold, £1 19s 9d Received for 42 feet of Dutch stone sold, £3 17s 0d Total receipts, £22,325 15s 3d **Interpretations** The storekeeper paid in £2,759 0s 0d for stores sold during the month. That was far more than the £1,845 2s 5d he paid in for June, and most of it came from Commodore Johnstone's squadron, which drew heavily on the island's warehouse for naval stores, cordage, coal and provisions while it lay in the road. The Company's stores worked as its main trading business on the island, and a naval squadron at anchor was the best customer it could have. Dutch stone was the hard, flat paving stone, often called Dutch clinker or Dutch slab, shipped from the Netherlands and used for floors and hearths. A small stock of it on the island had probably come from one of the Dutch prizes condemned that season, and the Company sold it by the foot. Lime burned by the fortifications' gangs was also sold to private buyers when the works could spare it, turning a small surplus into cash for the treasury.
307	303	1781 Per Contra Cr. 1781 Septr. 30th. By Sundry Accounts advanced the Paymaster to Pay Salarys &c. on the Quarter Ending this Day 5737 12 2½ By Ballance Remaining Vizt. In Specie 16048 6 ½ In Cash Notes 539 15 - 16588 1 ½ £ 22325 13 3 The following is the Lieut. Governors Account of Provisions Sold from the Honble. Company's Plantations from the 1st. July to the 30th Septr. 1781. Plantation	On the other side of the September cash account, the Council recorded the money paid out and the balance left in hand. 30 September 1781, advanced to the paymaster for pay, charges and other accounts for the quarter ending that day, £5,737 12s 2½d Balance in coin, £16,048 0s 0½d Balance in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £16,588 3s 0½d Total payments and balance, £22,325 15s 3d The Lieutenant Governor's account of provisions sold from the Company's plantation between 1 July and 30 September 1781 followed. **Interpretations** The treasury still held about £16,600 at the end of September, even after paying the whole quarter's wages and works. In June the balance had fallen as low as £4,820 17s 2d. The difference came from the bills of exchange issued in July, when the island's officials and the departing commanders paid in more than £13,400 in coin. The Company in London would honour those bills months later, and in the meantime the island had a large reserve. That reserve let the Council pay a £10 0s 0d bounty to each recruit and fund the season's heavy building without waiting for money from England. The cash notes stood at £539 15s 0d for the fourth month running. The island's paper money was neither being called in nor added to. All the new money of the summer was held as coin, which the Council preferred in wartime, since silver kept its value whatever happened to the Company's credit.
308	304	15th October Daniel Corneille to Plantation Dr. Per Contra Cr. To 3 Head of Cattle Sold to the Ships 713 lb. 16 16 - 171½ lb. Mutton to Do. 3 11 5½	Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille submitted his account of the Company's plantation for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1781. 3 head of cattle sold to the ships, weighing 713 pounds, £16 16s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		5 Lambs and 1 Kid and 3¼ of Do. 2 18 9 46½ lb. of Goat Sold - 19 4½ £ 24 5 7 By Ballance Paid into the Company's Cash 24 5 7 £ 24 5 7 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille	171 pounds of mutton for the Lieutenant Governor's own use, £3 11s 3½d 5 lambs, 1 kid and three-quarters of another kid, £2 18s 9d 46 pounds of goat sold, £0 19s 4½d Total charged to the plantation, £24 5s 7d Balance paid into the Company's treasury, £24 5s 7d Corneille signed the account, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The plantation sold three head of cattle to the ships, more than two-thirds of the quarter's income. In June it had sent most of its mutton to the hospital and sold almost nothing to shipping. That change shows where the island's meat went once the sickness of July had passed: to Johnstone's squadron and the Company's ships in the road, at a price that earned the Company cash. The sale matched the £24 5s 7d entered as received from the plantation in the September cash account, so the Council could check one record against the other. Corneille ran the plantation and also bought mutton from it for his own household. He charged himself for it in the same account he submitted to the Council. Entering his own purchases openly, at the rate any buyer would pay, kept the manager from taking the Company's produce for free and left the Council a record it could question.
309	305	1781 Inventory of Stores Remaining in the Honble. Company's Ware House the 30th September 1781 Anchors Vizt. Anchors wt. C. qrs. lb. 1 Weight 36 - 26 56 16 7 2 Do. 6 - 16 9 17 - 1 Grapnail - 1 10? 2 - - 10 Iron Hoops 1 12 2 1 Anchor Stock 0 13 - 91 16 - Bunting Vizt. pcs. Yds. 5 26 Assorted 7 2 7 10 Narrow Do. 10 16 - 24 Broad White - 13 11 18 12 6 Broad Cloth Vizt. 4¾ Yds. Scarlet 3 10 - 9 Do. Blue 7 7 9 1 Do. Green - 17 - 2 Do. Brown 1 15 - 7¾ Do. Buff? 6 16 6 14½ Do. Coloured Cassimere 6 1 1 22 5 2 Braziery Vizt. 1 Large Skimmer - 14 4 1 Warming Pan - 11 3 4 Stew Pans 5 0 0	The storekeeper's inventory of stores remaining in the Company's warehouse on 30 September 1781 followed. Anchor, 1, weight not given, £13 7s 11d Anchor, 1, weighing 36 hundredweight 0 quarters 16 pounds, £56 6s 7d Anchors, 2, weighing 6 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 pounds, £9 17s 0d Grapnel, 1, weighing 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 pounds, £2 0s 0d Iron hoops, 10, £1 12s 2d Anchor stock, 1, £0 13s 0d Total for anchors, £91 16s 8d Broad red bunting, 5 pieces 26 yards, £7 2s 7d Narrow red bunting, 10 pieces, £10 16s 0d Broad white bunting, 24 yards, £0 13s 11d Total for bunting, £18 12s 6d Scarlet broadcloth, 4¼ yards, £3 18s 0d Blue broadcloth, 9⅞ yards, £17 17s 9d Green broadcloth, 1 yard, £0 17s 0d Brown broadcloth, 2 yards, £1 15s 0d Puce broadcloth, 7⅜ yards, £6 16s 6d Coloured cassimere, 148 yards, £61 1s 0d Total for broadcloth, £92 5s 2d Large skimmer, 1, £0 14s 4d Warming pan, 1, £0 11s 3d Hash pans, 4, £5 0s 0d Large brass cock, 1, £0 5s 6d Bottling cocks, 4, £0 17s 5d Copper bar, 1, £0 19s 3d Three-quart tea kettles, 9, £4 12s 3d Five-quart tea kettle, 1, £0 15s 5d Brass sheave, 1, £5 6s 9d Snuffers, 4 pairs, £0 14s 0d Copper boiling kettles, 2, £5 4s 0d Total for brass and copper ware, £25 8s 10d Carried over, £228 3s 2d **Interpretations** This was the yearly count of the warehouse, made while the stores were closed from 8 September to 1 October 1781. Matthew Bazett was sent to take it at the consultation of 10 September. Each item was valued so that the stock could be carried into the new accounting year at a known worth. The brass sheave was the grooved wheel of a large pulley block, cast in brass so that it would not rust. It was probably meant

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Large Brass Cock - 5 6 4 Bottling Cocks - 17 5 1 Copper Bowl? - 9 3 9 Three Qt. Tea Kettles 4 12 3 1 Five Do. Do. - 15 5 1 Brass Skimmer 5 6 9 4 pr. Snuffers - 14 - 2 Copper Pudding Kettles 5 4 - 25 0 10 Carrd. Over £ 228 3 2	for the crane at the landing place, which explains its high value against the other brass goods.
310	306	15th October Brot. Over £ 228 3 2 Books Vizt. 18 Large Bibles 16 10 - 2 Small Do. - 14 4 12 Testaments 1 2 - 14 Common Prayers 2 2 - 20 8 4 Beef and Pork Vizt. Hhds. Tierces 53 - Beef 614 1 3 40 - 31 Pork 1001 0 4 1615 9 7 Blocks Vizt. 1 Iron bound Coat? - 6 5 4 pr. Dead Eyes 2 3 1 1 Snatch 1 13 7 1 Double Long Tackle - 4 9 2 Blocks of 10 Inches 1 0 7 5 6 5 Canvas Vizt. Bolts Yds. 4 - 32½ English 4 4 0 3 - 192 Osnaburg 26 10 0 1 Main Sail 85 12 0 116 6 - Cuttlery Vizt. 2 Doz. & 9 Green Handle Knives and Forks 3 19 4 2 pr. Razors - 13 3 4 Chipping? Knives - 5 2 27 Shoe Do. - 11 6 4 Butchers - 1 6 6 Pocket Knives - 10 - 66 pr. Leather Garters 1 10 6	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued from the total of £228 3s 2d brought over. Brought over, £228 3s 2d Large Bibles, 12, £16 10s 0d Small Bibles, 2, £0 14s 4d Testaments, 12, £1 2s 0d Books of Common Prayer, 14, £2 2s 0d Total for books, £20 8s 4d Salt beef, 53 hogsheads 48 pieces, £614 1s 3d Salt pork, 48 hogsheads 31 pieces, £1,001 8s 4d Total for beef and pork, £1,615 9s 7d Iron-bound cat block, 1, £0 6s 5d Deadeyes, 4 pairs, £2 13s 1d Snatch block, 1, £0 13s 7d Double long tackle block, 1, £0 4s 9d Blocks of 18 inches, 2, £1 8s 7d Total for blocks, £5 6s 5d English canvas, 1 piece 32¼ yards, £4 4s 8d Osnaburg canvas, 3 pieces 122 yards, £26 10s 8d Mainsail, 1, £85 12s 0d Total for canvas, £116 8s [...] Green-handled knives and forks, 2 dozen, £3 19s 4d Carvers, 2 pairs, £0 13s 3d Chopping knives, 4, £0 5s 2d Shoe knives, 27, £0 10s 0d Butchers' knives, 45, £0 17s 6d Cases of fleams, 6, £0 13s 4d Leather garters, 66 pairs, £1 18s 6d Shoe buckles, 959 pairs, £24 19s 7d Knee buckles, 80 pairs, £1 15s 0d Total for cutlery, £35 12s 6d Corks, 30 gross, £3 7s 6d Sheet cork, 10¾ pounds, £0 7s 10d Total for corks, £3 15s 4d Copper money, 9,618 halfpence, £20 0s 9d Carried over, £2,045 4s 1d **Interpretations** The warehouse held 101 hogsheads of salt beef and pork on 30 September 1781, worth more than £1,600. Yet on 14 September the Council told Commodore Johnstone that the stores held only a little salt meat and flour. The two statements fit together once the garrison's needs are considered. Several hundred soldiers and the Company's slaves drew salt meat every week, so the stock would last only a few months. The store ships from England were overdue, and any one of them might be taken by the French. In wartime the Council judged its reserve by how long it would last without resupply, not by how large it looked. The 959 pairs of shoe buckles show what the warehouse expected the garrison and settlers to buy. Every soldier's shoe fastened with a buckle, and the 590 pairs of shoes issued to the garrison that quarter

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		959 pr. Shoe Buckles 24 19 7 80 pr. Knee Do. 1 15 0 35 12 6 Corks Vizt. Gross 30 Fine 3 7 6 10¾ Small - 7 10 3 15 4 Copper Money 9610 Half Pence 20 0 9 Carrd. Over £ 2045 4 1	each needed a pair. Buckles broke or were lost, and the warehouse kept a large stock rather than wait for supplies from England. A cat block was the heavy block used to hoist an anchor up to the ship's bow, and a snatch block was one with an opening in its side so a rope could be dropped in without threading the end. Deadeyes were round wooden blocks with three holes, used in pairs to tighten the shrouds that held a mast. With the mainsail, these stores fitted out the Company's own small craft and supplied the ships that called for repairs.
311	307	1781 Brot. Over £ 2045 4 1 Cordage Vizt. Coils C. qrs. lb. 3 Cable 8½ Inches 17 3 - 2 Do. 5½ Inches 5 - 4 3 Cordage 5 Inch 22 2 - 20 Do. 4 Do. 12 1 - 20 Do. 3 Do. 9 3 16 80 Do. 1½ Do. 7 - 10 100 Do. Rattlin 10 1 20 1 Coil of 6 Inches 5 2 22 89 3 16 164 10 9 Cart Wheels Vizt. 8 pr. Cart Wheels 38 10 - 64 Wheel Barrows 51 12 - 90 10 - Coals 103 Chaldron 71 11 3? "7 11 3" Deals Vizt. 314 Double 50 17 6 10 Single 21 - - 52 Baulks 23 0 - 25 Wainscot Boards 2 15 2 17¼ pr. Riga Timber 40 17 6 ¼ pr. Cocoa? Do. 24 14 3 5¾ pr. Elm Plank 13 17 11 20 pr. Bundles? Laths? 40 5 9 2½ Do. Lead? Do. 12 4 6 2 Oars 3 11 2 12 Coffins 2 - - 261 1 9 Flour 979 850 2 - Glass Ware Vizt. 16 Crewets 1 2 - 36 Cut? Salts? 1 2 6 15 Hour Glasses - 10 11 10 Wine Do. - 4 2 39 Beer Do.	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued from the total of £2,045 4s 1d brought over. Brought over, £2,045 4s 1d Cable of 8½ inches, 1, 17 hundredweight 3 quarters 0 pounds Jib tacks, 2, 3 hundredweight 0 quarters 4 pounds Rope of 5 inches, 3 coils, 22 hundredweight 2 quarters 0 pounds Rope of 4½ inches, 2 coils, 12 hundredweight 1 quarter 0 pounds Rope of 4 inches, 2 coils, 9 hundredweight 0 quarters 16 pounds Rope of 1½ inches, 8 coils, 7 hundredweight 0 quarters 10 pounds Ratline, 18 coils, 10 hundredweight 1 quarter 28 pounds Rope of 6 inches, 1 coil, 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 22 pounds Total cordage, 87 hundredweight 3 quarters 16 pounds, £184 18s 9d Cart wheels, 8 pairs, £38 18s 0d Wheelbarrows, 67, £59 12s 0d Total for cart wheels and barrows, £98 10s 0d Coal, 3 chaldrons, £7 11s 3d Double deals, 314, £50 17s 6d Single deals, 210, £21 0s 0d Balks, 52, £23 8s 0d Wainscot boards, 25, £2 15s 2d Riga timber, 17¼ pieces, £48 17s 6d Crane timber, 17 pieces, £34 14s 3d Elm plank, 5¾ pieces, £13 17s 11d Oak laths, 281 bundles, £40 5s 9d Fir laths, 213 bundles, £12 4s 6d Spars, 2, £3 11s 2d [...], 12, £2 0s 0d Total for deals and timber, £261 11s 9d Flour, 979 hundredweight, £881 2s 0d Set of cruets, 1, £1 2s 0d Candle shades, 3, £1 2s 6d Hourglasses, 13, £0 10s 10d Wine glasses, 10, £0 4s 2d Beer glasses, 39, £1 10s 10d Jelly glasses, 48, £0 10s 8d Tumblers, 49, £1 17s 9d Pint decanters, 10, £0 15s 0d Quart decanter, 1, £0 2s 3d Window glass, 682 panes of 6 by 8 inches, £7 2s 1d Window glass, 49 panes of 8 by 10 inches, £1 1s 5d Window glass, 55 panes of 10 by 15 inches, £2 17s 3d Total for glassware, £19 4s 9d Carried over, £3,498 2s 7d **Interpretations** The warehouse held 979 hundredweight of flour on 30 September 1781, nearly 50 tons and worth

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 10 10 40 Jelly Do. - 10 0 49 Tumblers 1 17 9 16 Quart Decanters - 15 - 1 Quart Do. - 2 5 603 Squares 6 by 8 7 2 4 40 Do. 8 by 10 1 1 5 55 Do. 10 by 15 2 17 3 19 4 9 Carrd. Over £ 3490 2 7	more than £880. That was the largest single item in the inventory. Two weeks earlier the Council had told Commodore Johnstone that the island had only a little flour. As with the salt meat, the Council measured its stock against months of need, not against its size on paper. The garrison, the Company's table and the island's households all drew on it, the store ships from England were overdue, and the island had already lived through a year of flour shortage. Most of the flour on hand had probably come in on the Prime and the Bellmont and from the wheat ground in the Company's new mill. The 67 wheelbarrows and 8 pairs of cart wheels in store show how much of the island's building depended on carrying by hand. Almost every stone, sack of lime and load of earth for the season's batteries and roads moved by barrow along paths too steep or narrow for carts. The large stock of oak and fir laths was for plastering walls and ceilings in the new bakehouse, the flying party's houses and the repairs to the Castle.
312	308	15th October Brot. Over £ 3490 2 7 Hats Vizt. 1 Gold Laced 1 19 7 1 Sergeants - 11 6 5 Black? Boys 7 0 9 Damaged 9 19 10 Hosiery Vizt. 1341 pr. Ordy. Thread Stockings 204 9 4 2 pr. Brown Grey Worsted Do. - 7 2 16 pr. India Cotton Do. 6 0 - 9 pr. English Do. Do. 3 5 3 8 pr. Mens Silk Do. Do. 6 7 9 6 pr. Buff Silk Breeches 7 15 3 25 pr. Black Do. Do. 6 13 - 5 pr. Do. Worsted Do. 2 4 - 230 10 9 Hooks Lines &c. 200 No. 7 - 11 8 1000 9 3 15 9 3550 12 4 5 9 450 17 - 7 0 1900 10 - 9 6 177 Large 2 1 5 Hooks 47½ Log? No. 1 6 12 11 100 Do. 2 14 17 - Lines 10 Hk. Marline - 12 - 9 Hk. Twine - 4 11 2½ lb. Cotton Wick	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued from the total of £3,498 2s 7d brought over. Brought over, £3,498 2s 7d Gold-laced hat, 1, damaged, £1 19s 7d Sergeant's hat, 1, damaged, £0 11s 6d Soldiers' hats, 51, damaged, £7 8s 9d Total for hats, £9 19s 10d Ordinary thread stockings, 1,341 pairs, £204 9s 4d Men's grey worsted stockings, 2 pairs, £0 7s 2d India-pattern stockings, 16 pairs, £6 8s 0d English stockings, 9 pairs, £3 5s 3d [...] stockings, 9 pairs, £1 4s 9d Silk stockings, 8 pairs, £6 12s [...] Buff silk breeches, 6 pairs, £7 15s 3d Black silk breeches, 5 pairs, £6 13s 0d Black worsted breeches, 5 pairs, £2 4s 0d Total for hosiery, £238 18s 9d Number 7 fish hooks, 200, £0 11s 8d Number 9 fish hooks, 1,000, £3 15s 9d Number 12 fish hooks, 3,550, £4 5s 9d Number 17 fish hooks, 1,150, £0 7s 8d Number 18 fish hooks, 1,900, £0 9s 6d Large fish hooks, 153, £2 1s 5d Number 1 fishing lines, 47½ dozen, £6 12s 11d Number 2 fishing lines, 88 dozen, £14 17s 0d Marline, 48 skeins, £0 12s 0d Twine, 9 skeins, £0 4s 11d Cotton wick, 2½ pounds, £0 6s 5d Total for hooks, lines and twine, £34 5s 0d Silk thread, 130 skeins, £1 3s 3d Mohair thread, 5¾ pounds, £9 12s 10d Mohair coat buttons, 22 gross 8 dozen, £9 18s 8d Mohair breast buttons, 19 gross 6 dozen, £3 6s 5d Silver wire coat buttons, 5 gross 1¾ dozen, damaged, £13 10s 7d Silver wire breast buttons, 1¼ dozen, damaged, £0 3s 0d Gilt basket coat buttons, 1 gross 2 dozen, £3 10s 0d Gilt basket breast buttons, 1 dozen, £0 2s 6d Shirt buttons, 31 gross, £3 0s 3d Haberdashery carried over, £44 7s 6d Carried over, £3,781 6s 2d **Interpretations** The warehouse held 1,341 pairs of ordinary thread stockings at the end of September, even after issuing 544 pairs to the garrison that quarter. Stockings wore out fast on soldiers who marched over rock, and the store kept a year's supply or more in reserve rather than run short between ships. Stock

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		- 6 5 34 5 - Haberdashery Vizt. 13 Hk. Silk 1 3 3 Gross Doz. 5¾ Mohair 9 12 10 22 Do. Mohair Coat Buttons 9 10 0 19.6 Do. Brest Do. 3 6 5 5.1¾ Silver Wire Coat Do. 13 10 7 1¼ Do. Brest Do. - 3 - Damaged 1.2 Gold Thread Coat Do. 3 10 - 1 Do. Brest Do. - 2 6 31 Shirt Do. 3 - 3 Haberdashery Carrd. Over £ 44 7 6 Carried Over £ 3801 6 2	that had spoiled, such as the 51 soldiers' hats and the silver wire buttons, was still entered and valued as damaged goods. That way the loss stayed on the books until it could be written off or sold cheaply.
313	309	1781 Brot. Over £ 3801 6 2 Haberdashery bro. Over £ 44 7 6 Gross Doz. 9.2 White Waistcoat Buttons 20 19 10 4½ Gilt Coat Do. - 7 0 1.2 Do. Brest Do. - 12 3 5½ pcs. Galloon 1 0 9 4 pcs. Braid - 11 - 10¾ Yds. Tabby 4 12 2 Damaged 3¾ pcs. Broad Worsted Lace 3 6 1 7½ Do. Narrow Do. Do. 4 7 4 191 Do. Gilt? Do. Do. 10 3 10 8 Yds. Buckram - 8 2 7 pr. Gold Garters 2 2 9 4 pr. Silk Do. - 4 - 1 Cupboard? - 10 1 13 Cockades - 4 4 lb. Coloured Thread - 3 3 15 White & Brown Do. 4 6 - 12 Bt.? No. 17 Do. 1 3 6 10 pcs. Tape - 5 8 5 Green Worm? Braids - 11 11 5¾ Whale bone 1 10 6	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued, with £3,781 6s 2d brought over on the main total and £44 7s 6d on haberdashery. Main total brought over, £3,781 6s 2d Haberdashery brought over, £44 7s 6d White waistcoat buttons, 9½ gross, £5 19s 10d Gilt coat buttons, 4½ dozen, £0 7s 8d Gilt breast buttons, 1 gross 2 dozen, £0 12s 3d Galloon, 5½ pieces, damaged, £1 8s 9d Braid, 4 pieces, damaged, £0 11s 0d Tabby, 10¾ yards, damaged, £4 12s 2d Broad worsted lace, 3¾ gross, £3 6s 1d Narrow worsted lace, 7½ gross, £4 7s 4d Gold lace, 191 yards, £40 3s 10d Gold garters, 7 pairs, £2 2s 9d Silk garters, 4 pairs, £4 0s 0d Buckram, 8 yards, £0 8s 2d Epaulette, 1, £0 10s 1d Cockades, 13, £0 4s 4d Coloured thread, 1 pound, £0 3s 3d Whitened brown thread, 15 pounds, £4 6s 3d Number 17 thread, 12 ounces, £1 3s 6d Tape, 10 pieces, £0 5s 8d Horn button moulds, 5 gross, £0 1s 11d Whalebone, 5¾ pounds, £1 18s 6d Total for haberdashery, £112 4s 10d Carpenters' adzes, 10, £2 14s 2d Stone axes, 9, £2 19s 3d Broad axes, 5, £1 1s 9d Coopers' adzes, 2, £0 6s 0d Axletrees and winches, 9, £1 19s 9d Taper bits, 19, £0 6s 4d Drill bows, 5, £0 11s 3d Drill boxes, 44, £2 4s 0d Dragon's blood, 3 pounds, £0 2s 10d Iron chains, 2, £6 19s 8d Bowsaw borders, 1 pair, £0 2s 6d Dowelling stocks, 2, £0 12s 2d Gouges, 23, £1 11s 8d Shutter hinges, 47 pairs, £5 11s 0d HL hinges, 60 pairs, £10 15s 10d Ironware carried over, [...] Carried over, £3,893 11s 0d **Interpretations** The warehouse held 191 yards of gold lace, worth more than £40, as well as the stocks of epaulettes and gilt buttons sold in the quarter. Gold lace trimmed

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		112 4 10 Iron Ware Vizt. 10 Carptrs.? Adze 2 14 2 9 Stone Axes? 2 19 3 5 Socket Do. 1 1 0 2 Coopers Adze - 6 - Watchmans? Rattles? Sandwiches? 1 19 9 19 Taper Bits? - 6 4 5 Drill Bows - 11 3 4 Double Irons? 2 4 - 3 Dragons? Rings? - 2 10 2 Iron Groins? 6 19 0 1 pr. Hand Vices - 2 6 2 Docking? Hooks - 12 2 23 Gouges 1 11 0 4 pr. Shutter Hinges - 5 11 60 pr. H.L. Do. Iron Ware Carrd. Over £ 10 15 10 Carrd. Over £ 3893 11 -	officers' coats and hats and marked their rank. The garrison's officers bought it from the Company's store because no tailor on the island could supply it. Keeping so much in stock reflects how slowly goods came out from England in wartime. Galloon was a narrow woven tape of silk, worsted or metal thread used to bind edges and trim uniforms. Tabby was a heavy watered silk with a wavy sheen, used for waistcoats and linings. Dragon's blood was a dark red resin from the fruit of a palm grown in the East Indies. Joiners and painters used it to stain wood and colour varnish. HL hinges were iron hinges shaped like the letters H and L joined together, made for hanging heavy doors and shutters.
314	310	15th October Brot. Over £ 3893 11 - Iron Ware bro. Over 10 15 10 103 pr. Small Dovetail Do. 1 19 5 10 pr. Large Do. Do. 6 9 0 4 pr. Cross Garnet Do. 1 3 - 4 Broad Hoes - 2 2 4 Garden Do. - 4 7 17 Hatchets? 2 9 10 64 Hammer Hatchets 1 6 0 4 Masons Hammers 1 7 4 1 Hammer? Hatchet - 3 1 25 Iron Hoops 11 7 6 22 Hand Hatchets 1 13 - 1 Hoe? - 1 9 4 Coopers Ink? Irons - 7 6 1 Lauder? Hook? - 0 10 1 Hollowing Knife - 2 - 4 Pruning? Knives - 2 7 10 Iron Rimd. Locks Brass Knobs 5 3 11 11 Do. Do. without Pull? backs?	The ironware in the inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued, with £3,893 11s 0d brought over on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,893 11s 0d Small dovetail hinges, 103 pairs, £1 19s 5d Large dovetail hinges, 18 pairs, £6 9s 0d Cross garnet hinges, 4 pairs, £1 3s 0d Broad hoe, 1, £0 2s 2d Garden hoes, 4, £0 4s 4d Dutch hoes, 17, £2 9s 10d Hammer helves, 64, £1 6s 0d Masons' hammers, 4, £1 7s 4d Joiner's hatchet, 1, £0 3s 1d Truss hoops, 25, £1 17s 6d Hand hatchets, 22, £1 13s 0d Hovel, 1, £0 1s 9d Coopers' joiner irons, 4, £0 7s 6d Small box iron, 1, £0 0s 10d Hollowing knife, 1, £0 2s 0d Blank keys, 4, £0 2s 7d Iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, 18, £5 3s 11d Iron-rimmed locks with pull-backs, 11, £2 6s 2d Large iron-rimmed locks, 9, £3 5s 1d Broad plate locks, 4, £2 17s 1d Stock locks, 2, £0 4s 9d Iron-rimmed locks, 4, spoiled, £4 10s 2d Mauls, 14, £6 7s 2d Corn mills, 2, £12 7s 2d Masons' mallets, 34, £3 3s 0d Packing needles, 23, £0 3s 10d Coopers' punches, 10, £0 13s 10d Stone rammers, 20, £2 19s 0d Iron riddles, 12, £3 16s 5d Coopers' shaves, 2, £0 3s 4d Iron shovels, 54, £10 19s 4d Stone saws, 29, £5 7s 0d Whip saw, 1, £2 6s 10d Gunsmiths' saws, 3, £2 0s 3d Saw sets, 15, £0 8s 9d

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		2 6 2 9 Do. Do. Large 3 5 1 4 Brass Pad Locks 2 7 1 9 Stock Do. - 4 9 4 Iron Rimd. Do. Small 4 10 2 14 Brands 6 7 2 2 Iron Mills? 12 7 2 34 Masons Mallets 3 5 - 25 Packing Needles - 3 6 10 Coopers Punches - 13 6 20 Stone Hammers 2 9 - 19 Iron Riddles 3 16 5 26 Coopers Shaves - 3 7 54 Iron Shovels 10 19 4 29 Stone Saws 5 7 0 4 Whip Saws 2 6 10 3 Tenon? Hand? Saws 2 - 3 15 Saw Sets - 0 9 9 Crow? Irons - 6 11 Iron Ware Carrd. Over Carrd. Over £ 3893 11 -	Crease irons, 9, £0 6s 11d Ironware carried over, [...] Main total carried over unchanged, £3,893 11s 0d **Interpretations** The two corn mills in store were hand mills, iron querns turned by a crank to grind grain. At £12 7s 2d they were the most valuable single item in the ironware. With flour short for most of 1781 and wheat being bought and ground on the island, spare mills meant the Company could grind grain in more than one place. They also gave a backup if the new mill broke down. Stone rammers were heavy tools for packing earth and rubble behind masonry, and stone saws cut the soft volcanic stone used in building. The 29 stone saws and 34 masons' mallets in store show that the warehouse had been stocked for the season's large building programme. Crease irons were flat smoothing irons used by tailors to press seams, which fitted the stocks of cloth, thread and buttons held for making uniforms on the island.
315	311	1781 Brot. Over £ 3893 11 - Iron Ware bro. Over 14 Figured Squares - 17 6 4 Do. Shades? - 8 - 9 Sickles - 8 7 1 Furrier? Scissors? 3 7 2 1 Fringe? and Flower? Saw - 10 1 165 Masons Tools? 13 15 - 7 Fox? Traps? 2 8 - 25 Plasterers Trowels 6 14 9 14 Bricklayers Do. - 17 6 2 Stub? Lock Wards? - 13 6 9 Iron Crows 6 - - 2 Large Iron Kettles 1 10 - 4 Small Do. Do. - 10 8 1 Iron Pot wt. 16 lb. - 9 7 4 Irons - 7 4 10 Chafing Dishes	The ironware section of the inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 closed, with £3,893 11s 0d brought over on the main total. Main total brought over, £3,893 11s 0d Figured squares, 14, £0 17s 6d Spelter, 4 pounds, £0 8s 0d Sickles, 9, £0 8s 7d Plasterers' sieves, 9, £3 7s 2d Brass wire flour sieve, 1, £0 10s 1d Masons' tools, 165, £13 15s 0d Fox traps, 7, £6 14s 9d Plasterers' trowels, 25, £2 8s 0d Bricklayers' trowels, 14, £0 17s 6d Jack wheels, 2 sets, £0 13s 6d Iron crows, 9, £6 0s 0d Large iron kettles, 2, £1 18s 0d Small iron kettles, 4, £0 18s 8d Iron pot weighing 46 pounds, 1, £0 9s 7d Drivers, 4, £0 7s 4d Chafing dishes, 10, £2 2s 10d Pickaxes, 66, £10 14s 6d Wood axes, 3, £0 8s 3d Scrapers, 12, £0 17s 6d Hand saw, 1, £0 8s 0d Pruning saws, 11, £1 4s 2d Compasses, 12 pairs, £0 6s 0d Two-foot rules, 12, £0 12s 0d Wood screws, 4 gross, £1 3s 0d Cock borer, 1, £0 2s 3d Cooper's jointer, 1, £0 13s 2d Cooper's pumps, 3, £0 3s 0d Small frying pans, 11, £1 9s 4d Large frying pans, 27, £5 19s 3d Scythe stones, 48, £0 8s 0d Garden rakes, 3, £0 8s 3d

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		2 2 10 66 Pickaxes 10 14 6 3 Wedges? - 0 3 12 Scrapers - 17 6 1 Hand Saw - 0 0 11 Draining? Do. 1 4 2 17 pr. Compasses - 6 - 12 Two foot Rules - 12 - 4 Gim.? Wood Screws 1 3 - 1 Cork Screw - 2 3 3 Iron Weights? - 13 2 11 Small Frying Pans 1 19 5 27 Large Do. 5 19 3 4 Scythe Stones - 0 - 1 Coopers Rivets? - 0 3 3 Do. Rings? 6 0 - 32 Spades 3 0 - 3 Wood Axes? 11 4 - 6 Sledge Hammers 2 9 - 1 Socket Spit 1 10 1 3¼ lb. Fine? Brass Wire? - 4 1 3 Bags Sal Ammoniac - 6 5 C. qrs. lb. 2 - 15 Iron 3 7 - 5 3 26 Steel? 4 11 10 1 2 - Plate Do. 2 15 6 14 3 20 Nails? 20 10 0 282 6 7 Carrd. Over £ 4175 17 7	Spades, 32, £6 0s 0d Pickaxe helves, 384, £11 4s 0d Sledgehammers, 6, £2 9s 0d Jack spit, 1, £0 10s 1d Brass chair nails, 1¾ thousand, £0 4s 1d Sal ammoniac, 3½ pounds, £0 6s 5d Iron, 27 hundredweight 0 quarters 14 pounds, £30 7s 0d Rod iron, 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 26 pounds, £4 11s 10d Plate iron, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 0 pounds, £2 15s 6d Steel, 14 hundredweight 3 quarters 20 pounds, £28 18s 8d Total for ironware, £282 6s 7d Carried over, £4,175 17s 7d **Interpretations** The warehouse held 66 pickaxes and 384 spare pickaxe helves, enough for years of handles at the rate the works were breaking them. A helve split quickly when men swung pickaxes against the hard basalt of the island's cliffs. The large reserve shows that the Company expected the work of cutting batteries, roads and walls to go on well beyond 1781. Seven fox traps in store on an island that had no foxes points to a different use. They were probably sprung traps of the fox-trap pattern, set against the wild dogs, cats and rats that killed poultry and young stock on the Company's plantation and in the planters' grounds. Spelter was zinc, mixed with copper to make solder and brass. Iron crows were crowbars used to lever rock and move heavy stones on the works. A jack spit and jack wheels were the parts of a roasting jack, the clockwork or weight-driven mechanism that turned meat before a kitchen fire.
316	312	15th October Brot. Over £ 4175 17 7 Lead Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 2 - 3 Sheet 20 1 9 15 1 0 Pig 13 5 0 5 - 2 Shot 6 5 - 47 12 5? "39 11 9" Lead Pipe &c. C. qrs. lb. 10 2 6 of 2 Inch Pipe 10 9 4 24 3 - of 1½ Do. Do. 39 10 11 8 Cocks? Balls and Pipes - 0 5	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued from the total of £4,175 17s 7d brought over. Brought over, £4,175 17s 7d Sheet lead, 25 hundredweight 1 quarter 3 pounds, £28 1s 9d Pig lead, 15 hundredweight 1 quarter 8 pounds, £13 5s 0d Lead shot, 5 hundredweight 0 quarters 2 pounds, £6 5s 0d Total for lead, £47 12s 5d Two-inch lead pipe, 48 hundredweight 2 quarters 6 pounds, £10 9s 4d Three-quarter-inch lead pipe, 247 hundredweight 2 quarters 0 pounds, £39 18s 11d Round-shank cock, 1, £0 8s 5d Cocks, balls and keys, 8, £2 19s 0d Brass cocks, balls and keys, 24, £5 4s 2d Small cocks, balls and keys, 7, £2 9s 0d Stopcocks, 12, £2 2s 2d

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		1 Round? Lead? Cock 2 19 - 24 Small Do. Do. and Do. 5 7 2 Small? Do. Do. & Do. 2 7 9? "29 -" 12 Ladles? Do. 2 2 2 12 Ink? Washers and Ladles? 1 19 - 4 Small? Do. & Do. 1 12 5 3 Large Do. & Do. 1 2 10 3 Brass Cocks? with Tubes 1 16 7 3 Sq. Plates? 1 16 6 4 Bougies? 6 Tompions - 13 - C. qrs. lb. 2 2 3 Solder 12 7 7 91 10 8 Leather Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 4 2 25 Sole 26 15 - 4 Calf Skins 2 4 - 28 19 - Nails Vizt. C. qrs. lb. M. Do. 2 - 10 4 2 16 - 5 1 7 6 13 9 - 3 3 10 10 14 1 10 2 - 12 20 8 17 9 3 - 4 40 4 19 9 1 1 2 Spikes 5 13 3 - 2 10 Scuppers? 11 9 2 1 1 14 Rivets 1 10 5 3 2 20 Flooring Brads 3 5 4 - - 8 Glazing Do. 9 3 0 - 2 25 Tacks - 2 4 3 2 - Rivets 7 2 4 13 13 11? 125 17 9 Carrd. Over £ 4469 5 5	Inch washers and wastes, 12, £1 19s 0d Small washers and wastes, 19, £1 12s 5d Two-inch washers and wastes, 2, £1 2s 10d Brass valves with tubes, 3, £1 16s 4d Brass valves, 3, £0 16s 6d Drippers, 4, and tompions, 6, £0 13s 0d Solder, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 pounds, £12 7s 7d Total for lead pipe and fittings, £91 18s 8d Sole leather, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 25 pounds, £26 15s 0d Calf skins, 4, £2 4s 0d Total for leather, £28 19s 0d Threepenny nails, 6 hundredweight, £21 16s 0d Fourpenny nails, 4 hundredweight 0 quarters 10 pounds, £13 9s 0d Sixpenny nails, 5 hundredweight 1 quarter 7 pounds, £14 1s 10d Tenpenny nails, 3 hundredweight 3 quarters 18 pounds, £8 17s 9d Twentypenny nails, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 12 pounds, £4 7s 9d Fortypenny nails, 3 hundredweight 0 quarters 4 pounds, £5 13s 3d Spikes, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 2 pounds, £1 19s 2d Scupper nails, 2 quarters 18 pounds, £1 18s 5d Rivets, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 pounds, £3 5s 4d Flooring brads, 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 pounds, £9 3s 8d Glazing brads, 8 pounds, £0 9s 4d Tacks, 2 quarters 23 pounds, £7 2s 4d Roves, 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 0 pounds, £13 13s 11d Total for nails, £105 17s 9d Carried over, £4,450 5s 5d **Interpretations** The warehouse held nearly 300 hundredweight of lead pipe with a full stock of cocks, valves, washers and stopcocks. Water on St Helena came from springs high in the valleys. The Company piped it down to the town, the Castle, the barracks and the landing place, where ships filled their casks. Chubb's Spring was one such source, and solder had been issued for its pipes that quarter. Watering passing ships was one of the island's main services to the Company's fleets, so the pipes that carried it were kept in good repair, with spares to hand. Roves were small washers slipped over the end of a copper rivet before it was hammered flat. They were used in clinker-built boats, whose overlapping planks were fastened that way. Their place in the store beside rivets and scupper nails points to the constant work of repairing the Company's boats in the road.
317	313	1781 Bro. Over £ 4469 5 5 Oars Vizt. 17 Large 5 4 10 31 Small 7 12 2 12 17 - Oil Vizt. 275 Gallns. Train 60 12 - 60 Do. Linseed	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued from the total of £4,450 5s 5d brought over. Brought over, £4,450 5s 5d Large oars, 17, £5 4s 10d Small oars, 31, £7 12s 2d Total for oars, £12 17s 0d Train oil, 275 gallons, £60 12s 0d Linseed oil, 60 gallons, £12 12s 6d Turpentine, 6 gallons, £3 12s 0d Florence oil, 38 bottles, £5 18s 9d Total for oils, £82 15s 3d Umber, 19 pounds, £0 7s 2d

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		12 12 6 6 Do. Turpentine 3 12 - 30 Bottles Florence 5 10 9 82 15 3 Paint Vizt. C. qrs. lb. - - 9 Umber - 7 2 6 1 - White Lead dry 9 11 3 1 3 3 Do. Mixed 3 12 - - 2 10 Blue Colour? 5 16 - - 1 4 Verdigrease 7 3 4 - 1 16 Blacking 2 0 4 - - 4 White Copperas - 4 - 3 - 10 Red Lead 2 19 9 - 2 15 Blue Paint? 8 12 0 - - 10 Prussian Blue 11 9 2 - 1 21 Venetian Red Mixed 1 2 5 4 - 25 Do. Dry 4 0 6 - - 27 Blacking 3 11 2 - 3 10 Indigo 7 10 9 - 2 10 Blue Smalt 8 1 - - 1 6 Starch 1 1 11 1 3 - Chalk 1 - 2 79 1 7 Pitch Vizt. 1 Barrel Pitch 2 4 1 13¾ Do. Tar 2 4 - 10 Do. Turpentine 9 2 0 13 10 9 Pewter Vizt. 3 Quart Pots - 9 - 3 Ewers? 2 12 - 8 Basons 1 1 6 4 2 6 Carrd. Over £ 4662 10 6	Dry white lead, 6 hundredweight 1 quarter 0 pounds, £9 11s 3d Mixed white lead, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 3 pounds, £3 12s 0d Olive colour, 2 quarters 10 pounds, £5 16s 0d Verdigris, 1 quarter 4 pounds, £7 3s 4d Black lead, 1 quarter 16 pounds, £2 0s 4d White copperas, 4 pounds, £0 4s 0d Red lead, 3 hundredweight [...] quarters 18 pounds, £2 19s 9d Blue paint, 2 quarters 15 pounds, £8 12s 0d Prussian blue, 10 pounds, £11 9s 2d Mixed Venetian red, 1 quarter 21 pounds, £1 2s 5d Dry Venetian red, 4 hundredweight 0 quarters 25 pounds, £4 0s 6d Blacking, 27 pounds, £3 11s 2d Indigo, 3 quarters 10 pounds, £7 10s 9d Blue smalt, 3 quarters 10 pounds, £8 1s 0d Starch, 1 quarter 6 pounds, £1 1s 11d Chalk, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 0 pounds, £1 0s 2d Total for paint, £79 7s 7d Pitch, 1 barrel, £2 4s 1d Tar, 1¾ barrels, £2 4s 0d Turpentine, 1 barrel, £9 2s 8d Total for pitch, tar and turpentine, £13 10s 9d Pewter quart pots, 3, £0 9s 0d Pewter cranes, 3, £2 12s 0d Pewter basins, 8, £1 1s 6d Total for pewter, £4 2s 6d Carried over, £4,642 10s 6d **Interpretations** The warehouse held 275 gallons of train oil, more than any other oil and worth over £60. Train oil was rendered from whale or seal blubber, and it was the main lamp fuel on the island. The garrison's guards alone had burned 128 gallons of it in the quarter, keeping lamps alight through the night at the batteries and guard houses. In a season of frequent alarms, the reserve was what kept the island's lookouts lit. Black lead was graphite, rubbed onto iron to protect and polish it, such as stoves, gun fittings and grates. Olive colour was a dull green paint used on doors, shutters and gun carriages. A pewter crane was a bent siphon tube used to draw liquor from a cask without disturbing the sediment. It was a useful tool for the Company's stores of wine, beer and arrack.
318	314	15th October Bro. Over £ 4662 10 6 Pease Vizt. 105½ Bushels Whole 39 7 5 67 Do. Split 37 - - 76 7 5 Serge Vizt. Pcs. Yds. 9 17½ Fustian 20 9 2 - 41¾ Scarlet Shalloon	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued from the total of £4,642 10s 6d brought over. Brought over, £4,642 10s 6d Whole peas, 105½ bushels, £39 7s 5d Split peas, 67 bushels, £37 0s 0d Total for peas, £76 7s 5d Fustian, 9 pieces 14½ yards, £20 3s 2d Scarlet shalloon, 44¾ yards, £5 11s 10d Coloured shalloon, 98 yards, £8 19s 8d Total for serge, £34 14s 8d Salt, 18¾ bushels, £3 17s 4d Soap, 14 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 pounds, £41 1s 3d

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		5 11 10 - 90 Coloured Do. 8 19 0 34 14 0 Salt 18¼ Bushels 3 7 7 Soap 14 - 16 C. qrs. lb. 41 1 3 Scales and Weights 1 pr. Large Scales 12 - 11 2 Beams 14 6 - 26 6 11 Soldiers Clothes Vizt. 115 Soldiers Coats 112 pr. Do. Breeches 173 5 - 2 Sergeants Coats & Breeches 10 9 - 2 Drummers Do. & Do. 6 16 4 1 Matrosses Do. 1 10 10 11 pr. Do. Breeches 6 7 - 198 8 2 Sailors Clothes Vizt. 2 Boys Shirts - 6 0 2 pr. Breeches - 6 0 - 13 4? "- 12 -" Saddlery Vizt. 1 Saddle 2 7 3 15 Surcingles 2 10 - 24 pr. Stirrup Leathers 2 12 6 10 Cruppers - 17 6 12 Head Stalls and Reigns 2 14 - 11 1 3 Lanterns? Vizt. 16 Paint Brushes 2 11 - 1 Do. Hammers? 6 10 - 1 Do. Brackets? 3 2 2 1 Do. Coffee? Do. 1 6 6 5 Do. Lanthorns? 45 1 0 32 Lead Weights 6 16 10 65 16 2? Carrd. Over £ 5101 5 -	Large scales, 1 pair, £12 0s 11d Beams, 2, £14 6s 0d Total for scales and weights, £26 6s 11d Soldiers' coats, 117, and soldiers' breeches, 112 pairs, together £173 5s 0d Sergeants' coats and breeches, 2 sets, £10 9s 0d Drummers' coats and breeches, 2 sets, £6 16s 4d Matross's coat and breeches, 1 set, £1 10s 10d Matrosses' breeches, 11 pairs, £6 7s 0d Total for soldiers' clothes, £198 8s 2d Boys' shirts, 2, £0 6s 8d Breeches, 2 pairs, £0 6s 8d Total for sailors' clothes, £0 13s 4d Saddle, 1, £2 7s 3d Surcingles, 15, £2 10s 0d Stirrup leathers, 21 pairs, £2 12s 6d Cruppers, 10, £0 17s 6d Headstalls and reins, 12, £2 14s 0d Total for saddlery, £11 1s 3d Newels, 1 case, £2 11s 0d Banisters, 1 case, £6 18s 0d Brackets, 1 case, £3 2s 2d Glass sashes, 1 case, £1 6s 6d Sashes, 5, £45 1s 8d Lead weights, 3, £6 16s 10d Total for sashes and fittings, £65 16s 2d Carried over, £5,101 5s 0d **Interpretations** The cases of newels, banisters and brackets, with five sash windows and their lead weights, were the fittings for a staircase and windows. They had been made in England and shipped out ready to install. The island had neither the timber nor the joiners to make fine joinery of this kind, so the Company sent it out finished. The fittings were probably meant for Plantation House or the Castle, the two buildings where the Company housed its Governor and entertained its guests. Sash windows were among the most expensive fittings in a Georgian house, which explains why five of them were valued at over £45.
319	315	1781 Bro. Over £ 5101 5 - Shirts Vizt. 292 Calicoes 64 14 - 60 Do. 1 7 6 Pcs. Yds. - 114 Coarse Irish Linnen - 10 0 5 - 9 Brown Holland 11 3 - - - 7 Huckaback Table Cloths	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued from the total of £5,101 5s 0d brought over. Brought over, £5,101 5s 0d Soldiers' shirts, 292, £64 14s 0d Rollers, 60, £1 7s 6d Coarse Irish linen, 14 yards, £0 18s 8d Brown holland, 5 pieces 9 yards, £11 3s 0d Huckaback tablecloths, 7 yards, £1 13s 3d Huckaback napkins, 12, £0 19s 0d Russia diaper, 1 piece, £1 1s 11d Striped linen, 13¾ yards, £1 9s 0d Ticking, 82 yards, £7 17s 4d Total for shirts and linen, £91 3s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 13 3 52 Do. Napkins - 19 - Pcs. Yds. - 3¾ Russia Diaper 1 1 11 - 53¼ Stitched Linnen 1 9 - 82 Ticking 7 7 4 91 3 8? Shoes Vizt. 111 pr. Mens Calf 229 pr. Do. Fine Shoes Damaged 70 7 11 15 pr. Do. Fine Pumps 6 9 11 6 pr. Womens Calimanco 4 2 6 29 pr. Do. Spanish Leather 1 3 6 5 pr. Do. Calf Do. - 7 9 8 pr. Girls Do. Do. - 15 2 11 pr. Do. Calimanco - 17 0 2 pr. Boys 1 13 5 1 pr. Do. Buskins? - 6 0 - 2 7 94 7 1 Tin Ware Vizt. 8 Canteens - 1 11 6 Cullenders - 9 0 7 Horn Lanthorns 1 1 7 8 Lamps - 6 - 1 Watering Pots - 4 2 4 Bell? Lamps 4 6 - 11 Double Block Tin - 7 1 45 Single Do. - 12 5 7 10 - Turnery Vizt. 6 Bunch? Brushes? 1 0 9 1 Cloth Brush - 2 - 4 Shaving? Bowl? Bowls? 2 16 0 Turnery Carrd. Over 3 18 9 Carrd. Over £ 5295 3 9	Men's ordinary shoes, 111 pairs, £78 7s 11d Men's fine shoes, 22 pairs, with 1 damaged pair, £6 19s 11d Men's fine pumps, 15 pairs, £4 2s 6d Women's calamanco shoes, 6 pairs, £1 3s 6d Women's Spanish leather shoes, 2 pairs, £0 7s 9d Women's calf shoes, 5 pairs, £0 15s 2d Girls' calf shoes, 8 pairs, £0 17s 8d Girls' calamanco shoes, 11 pairs, £1 13s 5d Boys' shoes, 2 pairs, £0 6s 8d Shoe stretchers, 1 pair, £0 2s 7d Total for shoes, £94 17s 1d Canteens, 8, £0 11s 1d Colanders, 6, £0 9s 0d Horn lanterns, 7, £1 1s 7d Lamps, 8, £0 6s 0d Watering pot, 1, £0 4s 2d Bell lamps, 4, £4 6s 0d Double sheets of tin, 11, £0 7s 1d Single sheets of tin, 45, £0 12s 5d Total for tinware, £7 18s 0d Pump boxes, 6, £1 0s 9d Cloth brush, 1, £0 2s 0d Yokes for oxen, 4, £2 16s 0d Turnery carried over, £3 18s 9d Carried over, £5,295 3s 9d **Interpretations** The warehouse held only 111 pairs of men's ordinary shoes against 590 pairs issued to the garrison and 525 sold in the quarter. The year's stock had been almost used up. Without a store ship from England, the garrison could not be reshod at the next yearly issue. A shortage of shoes was more than a matter of comfort, since a soldier without them could not march over the island's rock to a threatened landing place. Rollers were roller towels, long strips of coarse linen sewn into a loop and hung on a wooden roller for shared use in barracks and kitchens. Pump boxes were the turned wooden valve housings of a pump, which wore out and had to be replaced. Bell lamps were hanging lamps with a bell-shaped glass or shade, used to light halls and staircases in the Castle and the public buildings.
320	316	15th October Brot. Over £ 5295 3 9 Turnery brot. Over 3 18 9 40½ Yds. Hair Cloth of 22 Inches 9 16 3 55½ Do. Do. of 24 Do. Do. 15 9 6 31¼ Do. Do. of 20 Do. 10 1 - 39 5 6	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 continued, with £5,295 3s 9d brought over on the main total and £3 18s 9d on turnery. Main total brought over, £5,295 3s 9d Turnery brought over, £3 18s 9d Hair cloth 22 inches wide, 40½ yards, £9 16s 3d Hair cloth 24 inches wide, 55½ yards, £15 9s 6d Hair cloth 28 inches wide, 31¾ yards, £10 1s 0d Total for turnery, £39 5s 6d Hock, 37 gallons, £25 18s 7d Lisbon wine, 107 gallons, £53 9s 7d

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		Wine Vizt. 37 Gallns. Port 25 10 7 107 Do. Lisbon 53 9 1 53 Do. Sherry 29 19 7 44 Do. Mountain 24 13 7 846 Do. Madeira 449 13 6 583 6 4? "583 14 7" Europe Goods amounting to £ 5918 3 10? "5926 3 10" India Goods Vizt. Arrack 1010 Gallons 123 6 2 C. qrs. lb. Candles 14 3 17 175 11 10 China Ware Vizt. 8 Breakfast Dishes 3 16 6 36 Sallad Do. 1 10 - 138 Breakfast Plates 2 10 2 117 Soup Do. 2 10 6 24 Bowls - 7 - 26 Sneakers - 0 0 39 Half pint Cups and Saucers - 10 2 346 Quart Do. and Do. 5 0 0? "5 - -" 2 Tureens - 12 9 12 English? - 13 5 2 Basons 7 Tea? Pots? 6 11 3 5 Do. Breakfast Do. 3 - - 20 14 4 Long Cloth Pcs. No. 15 2 4 9 - 9¾ 3 35 15 6 4½ 5 6 0 7 21½ 6 - 12 - 42 5 1 Carrd. Over £ 6200 15 8	Sherry, 53 gallons, £29 19s 7d Mountain wine, 44 gallons, £24 13s 7d Madeira, 846 gallons, £447 13s 6d Total for wine, £581 14s 7d Total of European goods, £5,906 3s 10d The goods from India and China followed. Arrack, 1,018 gallons, £123 6s 2d Candles, 14 hundredweight 3 quarters 17 pounds, £175 11s 10d China meat dishes, 86, £3 16s 6d China salad dishes, 36, £1 10s 0d China meat plates, 133, £2 18s 2d China soup plates, 117, £2 18s 6d China bowls, 24, £0 7s 0d China sneakers, 26, £0 8s 8d China half-pint cups and saucers, 39, £0 18s 2d China quarter-pint cups and saucers, 346, £5 0s 8d China tureens, 2, £0 12s 0d China goglets, 12, and basins, 2, £0 13s 5d Stoneware tea sets, 7, £6 11s 3d Stoneware breakfast sets, 5, £3 0s 0d Total for china, £28 14s 4d Number 2 long cloth, 1 piece, £4 9s 0d Number 3 long cloth, 9¾ pieces, £35 15s 6d Number 5 long cloth, 4½ pieces, £6 8s 7d Number 6 long cloth, 21 yards, £0 12s 0d Total for long cloth, £47 5s 1d Carried over, £6,280 15s 3d **Interpretations** The storekeeper divided the inventory into European goods and goods from India and China. The split followed the Company's two supply routes: one from London by the outward ships, and the other from Bombay, Bengal and Canton by the homeward fleets. Keeping them apart showed the Directors how much of the island's stock each route had supplied, and at what cost. Madeira made up more than three-quarters of the wine in store, with 846 gallons worth nearly £450, the single most valuable item after the salt meat and flour. It came out to the island by way of Bengal, as the Bellmont's invoice had shown, and it supplied the Governor's table, the officers' messes and the sales to households. The Company's table had drunk 215 gallons of it in the quarter alone, during the season of the homeward fleet and Johnstone's squadron. A reserve of this size suggests the Council expected to go on entertaining passing captains and officers on the same scale.
321	317	1781 Brot. Over £ 6200 15 8 Rice & Paddy Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 1662 - - Rice 504 0 6 1005 - - Paddy 202 10 10 707 7 4 Sugar and Candy Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 400 - - Sugar 530 6 0 200 1 - Candy	The inventory of the Company's warehouse at 30 September 1781 closed with £6,280 15s 3d brought over. Brought over, £6,280 15s 3d Rice, 1,662 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 pounds, £504 8s 6d Paddy, 1,005 hundredweight, £202 18s 10d Total for rice and paddy, £707 7s 4d Sugar, 400 hundredweight, £538 6s 0d Sugar candy, 200 hundredweight 1 quarter, £443 8s 0d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £981 14s 0d Pepper, 4 hundredweight 1 quarter 5 pounds, £12 0s 6d Sago, 17 hundredweight 3 quarters, £25 8s 10d

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		443 0 - 981 14 0? "973 6 0" Spice C. qrs. lb. 4 1 5 Pepper 12 1 6 Sago 17 3 - 25 0 10 Tea Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 7 2 3 Single 22 1 7 Congo 219 9 - 57 3 11 Bohea 193 1 3 16 Cannisters Hyson 5 2 - 49 lb. Souchong 13 13 7 431 5 10 Wheat Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 60 3 12 Wheat 54 15 6 14 - 26 Barley 6 9 3 61 4 9 Europe Goods amounting to £ 8199 5 2 St. Helena 30th September 1781 Signed Matt. Bazett Wm. Wright	Singlo tea, 7 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 pounds, and congou tea, 22 hundredweight 1 quarter 7 pounds, together £219 9s 0d Bohea tea, 57 hundredweight 1 quarter 11 pounds, £193 1s 3d Hyson tea, 16 canisters, £5 2s 0d Souchong tea, 49 canisters, £13 13s 7d Total for tea, £431 5s 10d Wheat, 60 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 pounds, £54 15s 6d Barley, 14 hundredweight 0 quarters 26 pounds, £6 9s 3d Total for wheat and barley, £61 4s 9d Total value of stores in the warehouse, £8,499 7s 2d Matthew Bazett and [...] Wright signed the inventory at St Helena on 30 September 1781. **Interpretations** The clerk headed the final figure as European goods, but it was the total of the whole inventory. The European goods had already been totalled at £5,906 3s 10d, so the goods from India and China came to about £2,593 on their own. Rice was by far the biggest food reserve in the warehouse, at more than 1,660 hundredweight, with another 1,000 hundredweight of paddy. That was more than three times the flour in store. Most of it had come in on the *Prime* from Bombay and the *Bellmont* from Bengal in September and October. By the end of the year rice, not wheat, was the grain that stood between the garrison and hunger. It explains how the Council could hand rice to passing commanders in July while refusing them flour, and why it fed the Company's slaves mainly on rice. The warehouse held nearly 87 hundredweight of tea, almost all of it Bohea and the cheaper black teas. That was far more than the island's households and garrison could drink in a year. The stock came from the China ships, and the Company sold it on to settlers, soldiers and passing vessels. Tea was a profitable line in the island's trade, as well as a staple drink there.
322	318	15th October Mr. Wright made this complaint to the Board that his Slaves have at several times bought Arrack from John Bagley Senr. and more particularly his Slave Sloppy bought Drink from the said John Bagley on Sunday Sennight last. The said Sloppy appearing before the Board declares that on Sunday Sennight he received of Mr. John Bagley one Pint and two Quart Bottles of Arrack for which he paid him twelve Shillings. Mr. Bagley also appearing acknowledges that he received from Sloppy twelve Shillings for Arrack but does not recollect the Quantity he delivered him for it. In Consequence of the above confession the Board have fined him in the Sum of Twenty Pounds Payable to the Honble. Company's Cash. Major Henry Bazett reported that he has been on board the Ship Belmont and Strome to Muster their Companys and inquire for Deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follows Vizt. Muster Roll of Ship Belmont Willm. Dick? Commander Jas. Wm. Mc Cliff? Chief Mate	At the same consultation of 15 October 1781, Britannicus Wright complained to the Council that his slaves had bought arrack from John Bagley senior on several occasions. His slave Happy had done so most recently, on the Sunday a week before. Happy came before the Council and said that on that Sunday he had bought one five-pint bottle and two quart bottles of arrack from Bagley for 12s. Bagley also appeared. He admitted taking 12s from Happy for arrack but said he could not remember how much he had handed over for it. On the strength of that admission, the Council fined Bagley £20 0s 0d under the Company's orders. Half was to go into the Company's treasury and half to the informer. Major Henry Bazett reported that he had boarded the *Bellmont* and the *Prime* to muster their crews and search for deserters, and had found none. The muster rolls followed. The muster roll of the *Bellmont* followed. William Dick Gammage, commander John William Wood, chief mate James Dalby, second mate William Wattson, third mate Thomas Merrinton, fourth mate James Steward, fifth mate Henry Dunn, surgeon James Glafford, purser James Kirby, midshipman William John Clinkard, midshipman William Banton, gunner Thomas Boulton, carpenter Nicholas Tripp, boatswain

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		Jas. Selby 2d. Do. Willm. Watson 3d. Do. Thos. Brewster 4th Do. Jas. Steward 5th Do. Henry Dunn Surgeon Jas. Glassford? Purser Jas. Hardy Midshipman Willm. Jas. Blackwell Do. Wm. Hunter Gunner Thos. Rowther? Carpenter Nicholas Pope? Boatswain Jas. Murdock Ships Steward Peter Hunter? Gunner? Thos. Cole Caulker Wm. Jones Armourer Rowe? Super? Gunrs. Mate John Edwards? Boatsn.? Mate Geo. Pattison? Do. Jas. Smith Capt. Steward	James Murdock, ship's steward William Bruce, captain's steward Thomas Cole, caulker William Jones, armourer Florence Russel, gunner's mate John Colbart, second mate George Allen, second mate John Smith, carpenter's first mate **Interpretations** The Council convicted Bagley on his own admission, not on the slave's evidence. In the colonies a slave's word was rarely taken against a free man. Happy's account was set out in full, but the fine rested on Bagley conceding that he had taken the money for arrack. With that admission, the Council did not need to decide whether a slave could testify against his master's neighbour. The offence was the same one the Council had targeted in its notice of 1 September 1781. That notice treated anyone who supplied spirits outside the licensed society as a retailer of spirits, liable to a £20 0s 0d fine. Bagley had already been fined 40s in July 1781, as the cash account recorded, and this was a second and heavier penalty. Half the fine went to the informer, here Wright, so masters had a reason to report anyone who sold drink to their slaves. Spirits sold to slaves were a constant worry to slaveholders, both because drunken slaves did less work and because of the fear of disorder.
323	319	1781 Owen Hughes Capt. 2d. Mate John Gerrard Caulkers Do. Richd. Ogden Coopers Do. Edwd. Williams Boatsns. Do. Saml. Rice Do. Do. Christopher Gow? Capt. Cook Geo. Liddle? Ships Do. Willm. Peter Butcher Isaac Yates Seaman Willm. Campbell Do. Thos. Stebbings Geo. Lee Antonio? Grimes? John Murphy Wm. Mason Field? Moris? Antonio Fredk. Monster? John Christian Saml. Jennings? [...] Fredk. Bloom Seaman John Mayfield Thos. Rice Geo. Green Edwd. Smith Geo. Edwards Geo. Frost Jas. Pigott John Thompson Robt. Robertson Geo. Newman Thos. Munden Rowland Williams David Ward? Wm. Moore William Lewes Alexander Bean James Chadwick Philip Hodge Joseph Decosta Andw. Gomas? Seaman Anthony Decosta Paul Jones Henry Andrews John Anderson	The *Bellmont*'s muster roll continued. Vincent Russell, carpenter's second mate John Barrett, caulker's mate Richard Croydon, cooper's mate Edward Williams, boatswain's mate James Roe, boatswain's mate Christopher Gomes, captain's cook George Dimble, ship's cook William Porter, butcher Isaac Yates, seaman William Campbell, seaman Thomas Stallings, seaman George Lee, seaman Rotheric Currie, seaman John Stump, seaman William White, seaman Morris Antonee, seaman Frederick Albrecht, seaman John Christian, seaman Samuel Torrent, seaman Frederick Bloom, seaman John Russell, seaman Thomas Leer, seaman George Green, seaman Edward Smith, seaman George Elwell, seaman George Bush, seaman John Thompson, seaman Giles Pigott, seaman John Johnstone, seaman George Newman, seaman Thomas Munden, seaman Rowland Williams, seaman David De Bond, seaman Alexander Minnie, seaman William Eaves, seaman Alexander Burn, seaman James Chadwick, seaman Philip Aldridge, seaman Joseph De Costa, seaman Antonio Gomes, seaman Antonio De Costa, seaman Paul Jones, seaman Henry Andrews, seaman John Anderson, seaman John Francis, seaman

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		John Francis Simon Goold? Thomas Thomas Archd. Jones John King John Nowell James Fubble? Samuel Ludlley? Bennet Hughes Saml. Millingworth George Nelson James Smith John Sayer Twenty three Lascars Passengers Captain Robt. Newman Mr. Thos. Grady Capt. Thomas Baggot Mr. Chas. Webb Eight French Prisoners Signed Wm. Dick? Gamage? Muster Roll of Ship Strome James Dundas Commr. Chas. Steward 1st. Mate Geo. Dundas 2d. Do. Willm. Watson 3d. Do. Henry Hale 4th Do. David Hunter Purser Chas. Peck? Surgeon Saml. Morris Midsn. Wm. Severn Do. Peter Little Gunner Thos. Goodsby? Boatsn. Willm. Morgan Carpr. Henl. King Caulker Matthew Steele Armourer Geo. Blair Steward John Smith Captns. Do. Benj. Whitbread? Gunrs. Mate Thomas Wright Do. Michl. Mc Queen Boatsns. Do. Owen Martin Captns. Cook Galway? Evans Ships Do. John Duffet Do. Master John Brown Do. John White Do. Benj. Hale Boatsns.? Mate Wm. Bryson Barber Robt. Buston Seaman Henry Hale Josiah Hindman Wm. Graham James Morris Saml. Deacon John Cowley James Simons Benj. Hamill? Benj. Godwin	Simon Gosale, seaman Thomas Thomas, seaman Nicholas Jones, seaman John King, seaman John Nowell, seaman James Tubble, seaman Bennet Harper, seaman Sandwel Lalley, seaman George Nelson, seaman Samuel Hollingsworth, seaman James Smith, seaman John Payne, seaman Lascars, 23 The passengers aboard the *Bellmont* followed. Mrs Gamage Captain Thomas Baggot Captain Robert Kennan Miss Charlotte Webb Mr Thomas Grady French prisoners, 8 William Dick Gamage, the commander, signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Prime* followed. James Dundas, commander Charles Stewart, chief mate George Dundas, second mate William Watson, third mate Henry Hale, fourth mate David Hunter, purser Richard Bock, surgeon Samuel Mercier, midshipman William Severne, midshipman Peter Little, gunner Thomas Osgood, boatswain William Morgan, carpenter Henry King, caulker Nathaniel Wheeler, armourer George Blair, ship's steward John Smith, captain's steward Benjamin Westbrook, gunner's mate Thomas Wright, gunner's mate Michael McGuire, boatswain's mate Owen Martin, captain's cook Galway Evans, ship's cook John Duffy, quartermaster John Brown, quartermaster John White, quartermaster Benjamin Neale, quartermaster William Byron, baker Charles Burstow, seaman Henry Hall, seaman Josiah Hindman, seaman Miles Graham, seaman James Morris, seaman Samuel Deavin, seaman John Cowley, seaman James Simons, seaman Benjamin Hazell, seaman Benjamin Goodwin, seaman **Interpretations** The *Bellmont*'s roll did not name its lascars. It entered them only as 23 men, at the end of the list. The clerk wrote down every European seaman by name, but treated the Indian crew as a single number, as if they were cargo. These men were engaged and paid as a group through their own headman, the serang, not as individual seamen on the ship's articles. The Company dealt with the serang, not with each man, and the roll reflects that arrangement. The *Bellmont*'s eight French prisoners and the passengers named on her roll show that she was carrying prisoners of war and private travellers home from Bengal. Captains Baggot and Kennan were probably officers of the Company's Bengal army returning to England. The commander's wife, Mrs

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			Gamage, sailed with him, as some commanders' wives did on the long Eastern voyages.
324	320	15th October William Wellington? Seaman Lawrence Robinson Michl. Nicholson Jas. Penny Robt. Smith Thos. Webb Edwd. Little Michl. Simkins Michl. Ross Henry Giles Wm. Parker Wm. Smith Geo. Herbert Henry Carey Chas. Jefferson Michl. Burns [...] Chas. Cunningham Seaman Thos. Ross? Antonio? Delgamaro? Willm. Hughes Willm. Paterson Willm. Smith Henry Brewster? Hugh Walker Willm. Shaw? Henry Robertson Jas. Reynolds Isaac Saunders Francis Ferguson John Hepburn Wm. Robins William Tucker Senr. Robt. Johnstone Michl. Gascoigne Seaman Peter Strange Thos. Grey John Doran? Richd. Penny Peter Tucker Junr. Willm. Pickering Jas. Rice John Robins John Brindley? James Ellis Midshipman Henry Gray Do. Matthew Morris Capt. Servt. Jas. Woodfield? 2d. Mate Danl. Thompson Sergeant? Willm. Bostock? Gunner? [...] Passengers Mr. Blackburne Mr. Penny General Lysaght? Mrs.? Three Miss Lysaghts Colln.? Cockburn Mr. Jeffrey Mr. Pritchard? Mrs. Dunstan Mrs. Wood Capt. Cuthbert Lieut. Dewis? Royal? Navy Sergt.? Lockhart Three French Prisoners Lieut. Parsons Mr. Willm. Tuckett Mr. Watson Navy Capt. Jas. Gardener Marines St. Helena 10th Octr. 1781 Signed Jas. Dundas? Peirce?	The *Prime*'s muster roll continued. William Rollington, seaman Lawrence Johnstone, seaman Mitchell Mitchelson, seaman James Bonny, seaman Robert Smith, seaman Thomas Studd, seaman Edward Little, seaman Mitchell Simkins, seaman Mitchell Kerre, seaman Henry Gilles, seaman William Baker, seaman William Smith, seaman George Herbert, seaman Henry Carey, seaman Charles Jefferson, seaman William Thorne, seaman Thomas Cunningham, seaman John Penn, seaman Matthias Dolphman, seaman William Raylor, seaman William Paterson, seaman William Smith, seaman Henry Merriton, seaman Hugh Miller, seaman William Thorp, seaman Henry Wickstead, seaman James Reynolds, seaman Juan Fernandes, seaman Francis Bryson, seaman John Hepburn, seaman William Robins, seaman William Tucker senior, seaman Andrew Johnstone, seaman Nicholas Gascoigne, seaman Peter Nesarge, seaman Thomas Grey, seaman John Jamm, seaman Michael Young, seaman William Tucker junior, seaman William Browning, seaman James Obie, seaman John Robins, seaman John Brathett, seaman James Ellis, midshipman Henry Jay, midshipman Matthew Morris, captain's servant James Underhill, second mate's servant Daniel Thompson, surgeon's servant William Amstead, gunner's servant The passengers aboard the *Prime* followed. Mr Stackhouse Mr Ramsey General Egerton, Mrs Egerton and three Misses Egerton Colonel Cockburn Mr Jeffrey Mr Barbaud Mrs Dunston Mrs Wood Captain Calbatch Lieutenant Serial, Royal Navy Lieutenant Bevians, Royal Navy Mr William Teutch, Royal Navy Mr Herbison, Royal Navy Captain James Gardiner, marines Mr Wood Sergeant Lockhart French prisoners, 5 David Hunter, the purser, signed the roll at St Helena on 10 October 1781. On 8 October 1781 the Council appointed Matthew Bazett and James Desfountain to meet

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		Since the Resolution of the Board the 8th Instant respecting the appointment of Mess. Matthew Bazett and James Desfountain to meet Mr. Robt. Maxwell to settle the Price of Provisions agreeable to Commodore Johnstone's Requisition in his Letter of the 6th Instant we have thought it most advisable to Adjust the same in	Robert Maxwell and settle the price of the provisions requested in Commodore Johnstone's letter of 6 October 1781. Since that resolution the Council had decided that a different method of fixing the price would be better. **Interpretations** General Egerton and Colonel Cockburn were travelling home from Bombay on the *Prime* with the general's family. They were probably the officers who had commanded the Bombay army's expedition against the Marathas in 1778 and 1779. That campaign ended in a retreat and the humiliating Convention of Wadgaon, and both men were afterwards dismissed from the Company's service. If so, the *Prime* was carrying home two disgraced commanders of the Company's war in western India, together with naval officers and French prisoners of the same war.
325	321	1781 in Council, which Adjustment is as follows Vizt. Agreement between Commodore George Johnstone Commanding a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships on the one part and the Governor and Council of St. Helena on the other. That the Goods delivered from the Prize Hollandtsmorde be charged at Prime Cost with Freight at £ 10 10 - pr. Ton, Insurance at 15 pr. Cent, with 5 pr. Cent Interest upon the Aggregate Sum. That the goods delivered from Government be charged at Prime Cost with Freight. And that the above agreement be subject to a reference in England if either Party object to the mode of settling said accounts. To the above agreement both Partys have hereunto set their Hands this 15th Day of October 1781. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	In line with that decision, the Council entered into an agreement with Commodore Johnstone. The agreement was made between Commodore George Johnstone, commanding a squadron of His Majesty's ships, and the Governor and Council of St Helena. Its terms were as follows. Goods delivered from the prize Held Woltemade: prime cost, plus freight at £10 10s 0d a ton, plus insurance at 15 per cent, plus interest at 5 per cent on the whole sum Goods delivered from the government's own stores: prime cost, plus freight Either party could refer the method of settling the accounts to arbitration in England Both parties signed the agreement on 15 October 1781. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed for the island. **Interpretations** The Council abandoned the three local valuers Johnstone had proposed on 6 October 1781 and fixed the price by a set formula. Valuers would have had to agree a figure for each item, with no market on the island to guide them. The goods had come from a captured ship and the King's victuallers, not from a sale. A formula based on prime cost, freight, insurance and interest could be checked line by line against invoices in London, so the Directors could see exactly how each sum was reached. The higher charges on the prize goods reflected their greater risk. They had been captured at sea, and the insurance and interest compensated the captors for the value they could otherwise have realised by selling them. The right to refer the accounts to England kept the protection Johnstone had already offered, so the Company was not bound by a price it had no chance to question.
326	322	22d. October At a Consultation holden Monday the 22d. day of October 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 15th Octr. 1781. Tuesday the 16th Arrived His Majesty's Ships Magnanime from England Wednesday Do. Do. His Majesty's Do. Sultan and the Honble. Company's Ships Northumberland Hillsborough? and Deptford from England.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 22 October 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 15 October 1781. His Majesty's ship *Magnanime* arrived from England on Tuesday 16 October 1781. On Wednesday 17 October His Majesty's ship *Sultan* came in from England, together with the Company's ships *Northumberland*, *[...]* and *Deptford*. A Danish ship sailed the same day. On Saturday 20 October the Company's ship *Earl of Hertford* arrived from England. The *Northumberland* and the ships with her brought a packet of letters from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened and read. Several letters were then laid before the Council. The first was addressed to Captain Counts. Its writer

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		Do. Do. A Portuguese Snow? Ship. Saturday the 20th Arrived the Honble. Company's Ship Earl of Hertford? from England. By the Ship Northumberland We received a Packet from the Honble. the Court of Directors which We perused and read. This day the following Letter was laid before the Board Vizt. To Captain Counts? Sir These Permit me with submission once more to trouble	opened by asking leave to trouble him once more on a matter he had raised before.
327	323	1781 trouble your honour, on the score of the slavery of Speech to which I myself verbally. I humbly crave your honour would give me any relief you may honour, whether I was afterwards your Petitioner or a mentioned by Captain Fletcher at Hilsea. Perhaps he might send in a Letter to Mr. Powell before he leaves concerning me, as I cannot apply to any Person, till I can further Redress a right Cause. I think by the Ship, to crave your Pardon for this trouble, but as those Captain Fletcher is now living, I might hereupon, by hold submit by sending a letter here. Granting the same into your serious Consideration, will oblige your humble Petitioner and in Duty bound to ever pray. Signed Thomas Cole? October 16th 1781 P.S. I could wish to inform your honour Christened by Captain Fletcher at Hilsea? St. Helena Octr. 17th 1781 This is to Certify that a black Man of the name of Cole was taken by me in Charge from Capt. Henry Fletcher then Commander of the Stormont in the Honble. Company's Service, and which Man, left on his account with the late Mr. James Powell, who when alive informed me that the said Cole was no Slave and therefore was Man of the Name of Stormont was left in the same manner, was with the Mr. John Alexander and in custody of with him by Mr. James Powell's own word. I therefore am of opinion that the said black Man Cole was clear of any Slave and should be paid for his Service for so many Years. In Witness I sign my Name. Signed Isaac? Court? Jonathan Court maketh oath that Thomas Cole was the property of Captain Henry Fletcher late Commander of the ship Stormont and was left in trust with one Mr. the said Captain Fletcher and to positively knows he was Delivered as a Free man; whereof he was at the said Cole, therefore Cole never having his property or trust for Capt. Fletcher. Sworn this 22d. day of October 1781 before me in Council Signed John Skottowe	Thomas Cato's letter went on to explain that he wrote because he lacked the fluency to put his case in person. He asked Captain Court for any advice he could give. In particular, he wanted to know whether Captain Fletcher had mentioned him at home after Court left. Fletcher might have written about him to Mr Powell before Powell died. Cato said he had not dared to approach anyone until he was sure his cause was just. He had now heard that Captain Fletcher was still alive. If Fletcher had in fact sold him, a letter sent to the island would settle the matter. Cato asked Court to give the case serious thought and signed the letter on 16 October 1781. In a postscript he added that Captain Fletcher had had him christened at Woolwich. On 17 October 1781 Jonathan Court signed a certificate at St Helena about Cato. Court had left a Black man named Cato on the island, in his charge on behalf of Captain Henry Fletcher, then commander of the Company's ship *Stormont*. Court had placed him on Fletcher's account with James Powel, who had since died. Powel had told Court that Cato was worth nothing and so had never been sold. Another man, named Stormont, had been left in the same way, sold to John Alexander and accounted for to Court by Powel. Court therefore gave his opinion that Cato was no slave but a free man, and that he ought to be paid for his many years of work. On 22 October 1781 Court swore a different statement before Governor John Skottowe in Council. He declared that Thomas Cato had been the property of Captain Henry Fletcher, late commander of the *Stormont*, and that Fletcher had left Cato in trust with him. Court swore that no one had ever paid him anything for Cato. He therefore claimed Cato as his property, held in trust for Captain Fletcher. **Interpretations** Within five days Court contradicted himself completely. On 17 October he certified that Cato was free and owed wages for years of service. On 22 October he swore on oath that Cato was Fletcher's property and claimed him in trust. Nothing in the record explains the change. The plain reading of his own certificate was that a man left unsold and unclaimed for years had become free. Instead, faced with a sworn statement before the Council, Court chose to protect his position as Fletcher's trustee. Declaring Cato free would have meant giving up another man's property without authority and perhaps facing a claim for his value. Asserting the trust kept Court safe, whatever it cost Cato. Cato's postscript about his christening at Woolwich was not a pious aside. A widespread belief held that a slave baptised in England became free. English courts had never firmly upheld it, but the judgment in Somerset's case in 1772 had already shown that a slave could not be forcibly removed from England. A man baptised there by his own master had good grounds to argue that he had been

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			treated as a free Christian, not as property. Cato's careful questions show that he understood his case turned on whether Fletcher had ever sold or claimed him, and that a written word from England could decide whether he stayed a slave on St Helena.
328	324	22d. October In Consequence of the above Oath we delivered unto Capt. Jonathan Court the abovementioned Thomas Cole, as the Property of Captain Henry Fletcher. The Board having this Day taken into Consideration the necessity of having every Officer of this Garrison acquainted with the Use and Duty of the Artillery, Have come to a Resolution that the young Gentlemen Lieutenants of Infantry shall learn the Exercise of the Use and Service of the Infantry? to the Company's Artillery, may become Competent according to seniority? or date of their Commissions. We this Day granted the following Sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors Vizt. One to the Reverend Mr. Roberts Carr for Eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds Payable to himself or Order. One to Mr. Bartholomew Alexander Wright for One Hundred Pounds Payable to Captain William Pritchard or Order. And one to the Attorney of Captain Joseph Cotton for One Thousand two Hundred and Seventy eight Pounds Eighteen Shillings and four Pence Pounds Payable to William Patrick? Junr. Esqr. or Order.	The Council acted on Court's oath and handed Thomas Cato over to Captain Jonathan Court as the property of Captain Henry Fletcher. The Council then considered how important it was for every officer in the garrison to understand how to work the artillery. It resolved that, from then on, serving as a lieutenant of artillery would not stand in the way of an officer's promotion in the infantry. Artillery lieutenants would take their turn for command of an infantry company when a vacancy arose, according to seniority and the dates of their commissions. The Council issued the following bills of exchange that day, drawn on the Court of Directors. To the Reverend Robartes Carr, payable to himself or his order, £850 0s 0d To Britannicus Alexander Wright, payable to Captain William Parker or his order, £100 0s 0d To the attorney of Captain Joseph Cotton, payable to William Tatnal junior or his order, £1,278 6s 1d **Interpretations** The Council settled Cato's fate on the strength of Court's oath alone. Court's own certificate of five days earlier had declared Cato free and owed wages, and Cato himself had asked for time to learn what Fletcher had written. The Council could have waited for word from England or questioned Court about the contradiction. It did neither. A sworn statement of ownership made before the Governor in Council carried more legal weight than an unsworn certificate, and the island's courts treated property in slaves as settled by such oaths. The decision returned Cato to slavery under a trustee for a master who had left him on the island for years without selling him or sending for him. The artillery resolution removed a barrier to recruiting officers into the gunners. Promotion in the garrison ran by seniority within each corps. An officer who took a lieutenancy in the artillery risked being passed over for command of an infantry company, the main road to a captaincy and higher pay. That cost was a reason to avoid the artillery just when the island most needed officers who understood its batteries. By letting artillery lieutenants rise into infantry vacancies on the same footing as everyone else, the Council made service with the guns a step in an officer's career rather than a dead end.
329	325	1781 We have likewise drawn upon the Honourable Company a Set of Bills of Exchange for four thousand five Hundred and twenty one Pounds fourteen Shillings Sterling Payable to Messrs. John Bosley? and Robt. Taylor and others agents for the Prize Hollandtsmorde or their Order for Cattle? taken? on account of Commodore Johnstone. And another Set for two thousand seven Hundred and eleven Pounds five Shillings Sterling Payable to John Robinson Esqr. or his Order on account of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for Cables taken of Commodore George Johnstone. All drawn at ninety Days Sight and dated the 22 Instant. The following are the Accounts of Provision	The Council also drew two further sets of bills of exchange on the Company, both payable at 90 days' sight and dated 22 October 1781. To John Pasley, Edward Taylor and others, agents for the prize Held Woltemade, or their order, for value received from Commodore Johnstone, £4,579 12s 0d To John Robinson or his order, on account of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, for value received from Commodore George Johnstone, £2,711 5s 0d The accounts followed for the provisions, brass cannon, shot and gunpowder received from Commodore George Johnstone on the Company's account. The first was the account of the Company with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. Beef, 121 tierces at £6 0s 0d a tierce, £726 0s 0d Freight on 121 tierces, 24 tons at £18 10s 0d a ton, £444 0s 0d Total for beef, £1,170 0s 0d

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		Beef Cannon, Shot and Gun Powder, received from Commodore Geo. Johnstone, on account of the Honourable Company Vizt. The Honble. East India Company Dr. To the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury To 21 Pieces of Beef @ 10 pr. Piece £ 226 - - To freight upon 121 Pieces long 24 Tons at 10 10 pr. 144 - - 1170 - - Do. of Shew? at 15 pr. Cent 700 15 - Freight upon 5 Tons at 10 10 pr. Ton 882 10 -? "52 10 -" 1570 5 - £ 2711 5 - St. Helena 22d. Octr. 1781 Errors Excepted Signed Robt. Maxwell	Flour, 900 hundredweight at 15s 9d a hundredweight, £708 15s 0d Freight on flour, 45 tons at £18 10s 0d a ton, £832 10s 0d Total for flour, £1,541 5s 0d Total, £2,711 5s 0d Robert Maxwell signed the account at St Helena on 22 October 1781, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The two sets of bills divided Johnstone's supplies by ownership. The goods from the *Held Woltemade* had been condemned as prize, so their value belonged to the captors, and the bill went to the prize agents, Pasley and Taylor. Their share would be shared out as prize money among the squadron's officers and crews. The beef and flour came from the King's victuallers and belonged to the Crown, so that bill was made payable to the Treasury. The Company paid both sums in London, three months after sight, so the island received the stores without spending any of its coin. Freight made up more than half the cost of the government flour. Flour worth £708 15s 0d carried freight of £832 10s 0d, because it had been shipped all the way from England in the victuallers at wartime rates. The Council had agreed to pay prime cost plus freight under the agreement of 15 October 1781, and the result showed how dear food became once it had crossed the ocean to a remote island. The Council paid that price because the alternative was a garrison short of bread with no certain date for the Company's own store ships.
330	326	22d. October Invoice of Six Brass Cannon, Two Hundred Shot, One Hundred Barrels of Gun Powder, Thirty three Barrels of Beef and forty one Barrels of Pork supplied the Honble. East India Company for the Use of the Garrison of the Island of St. Helena from the Hollandtsmorde Prize. 2 pr. Brass Cannon of 24 lb. Weight 7605 lb. @ 13 pr. Ct. 1 pr.? 1 - - -? "5060 5 -" 200 Shot 24 lb. 2003? weight @ 175 - - 175 - -? "5235 5 -" 2 pr. Brass Cannon 24 lb. 11773 lb. @ 13 pr. Ct. 7651 5 -? "7621 5 -" 200 Shot 24 175 - - 2796 5 -? "7796 5 -" 2 pr. Brass Cannon 24 lb. 11008 lb. @ 13 pr. Ct. 7673 5 - 200 Shot 24 87 10 - 7760 15 - 23392 5 - £ 2446 5 9? "24446 5 9" 100 Barrels of Gun Powder at £ 4 0 0 pr. Barrel 400 - - No. 1 @ 30 Thirty three Barrels of Beef Weighing 13 3 18 lb.? Tare 2060 Neat 11350? lb. @ 6d. pr. lb. 3600 - -? "360 - -" 1 @ 30 Thirty Barrels of Pork Weighing Gross 12800 lb. Tare 2000? Neat 10800 lb. @ 6d. pr. lb. 2700 - -? "270 - -" 1 @ 11 Eleven Barrels of Pork weighing Gross 4190 lb. Tare 700 Neat 3490? lb. @ 6d. 900 - -? "90 - -" 7200 - -? "720 - -" £ 1660 5 -	The invoice followed for the six brass cannon, 500 shot, 100 barrels of gunpowder, 30 barrels of beef and 41 barrels of pork supplied to the Company for the garrison of St Helena from the prize *Held Woltemade*. The guns and provisions were priced in Dutch guilders and stuivers, and the clerk converted each total into sterling. Brass cannon, 24-pounders, 2, weighing 11,785 pounds at 65 guilders a hundredweight, 7,660 guilders 5 stuivers Shot for 24-pounders, 200, at 17½ stuivers each, 175 guilders 0 stuivers Total for the first pair of cannon and shot, 7,835 guilders 5 stuivers Brass cannon, 24-pounders, 2, weighing 11,725 pounds at 65 guilders a hundredweight, 7,621 guilders 5 stuivers Shot for 24-pounders, 200, at 17½ stuivers each, 175 guilders 0 stuivers Total for the second pair of cannon and shot, 7,796 guilders 5 stuivers Brass cannon, 24-pounders, 2, weighing 11,805 pounds at 65 guilders a hundredweight, 7,673 guilders 5 stuivers Shot for 24-pounders, 100, at 17½ stuivers each, 87 guilders 10 stuivers Total for the third pair of cannon and shot, 7,760 guilders 15 stuivers Total for cannon and shot, 23,392 guilders 5 stuivers, in sterling £2,144 5s 9d Gunpowder, 100 barrels at £4 0s 0d a barrel, £400 0s 0d Beef, barrels 1 to 30, gross weight 16,450 pounds, tare 2,868 pounds, net 13,582 pounds, at 120 guilders a barrel, 3,600 guilders Pork, barrels 1 to 30, gross weight 12,280 pounds, tare 2,860 pounds, net [...] pounds, at 90 guilders a barrel, 2,700 guilders Pork, barrels 1 to 11, gross weight 4,498 pounds, tare 700 pounds, net 3,798 pounds, at 90 guilders a barrel, 990 guilders Total for beef and pork, 7,290 guilders, in sterling £668 5s 0d

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		3212 10 9?	Total of the invoice, £3,212 10s 9d **Interpretations** The prize goods were valued in the currency of the country they had been taken from. The cannon, shot and salt meat had been loaded at Amsterdam and priced on the Dutch East India Company's invoices in guilders. Johnstone's agents simply carried those prime costs over, as the agreement of 15 October 1781 required. Only the gunpowder was priced in sterling, probably because it came from the squadron's own stores rather than from the prize. The guns were sold by weight of brass at so much a hundredweight, the usual way of valuing cast metal ordnance, which explains the careful weighing of each pair. The meat was charged by the barrel, but the clerk recorded the gross weight, the tare of the cask and the net weight of meat for each lot. Those figures let the Company in London check that it had been charged for meat rather than for wood and brine, and could be set against the storekeeper's count when the barrels were opened.
331	327	1781 Account of Six Brass Cannon, Two Hundred Shot one Hundred Barrels of Gun Powder, Thirty three Barrels of Beef and forty one Barrels of Pork supplied the Honble. East India Company for the use of the Garrison of the Island of St. Helena, from the Hollandtsmorde Prize. Dr. Prime Cost of Six Brass Cannon of 24 lb. and two Hundred Shot of 24 lb. as pr. Invoice f 23392 5 @ pr. £ 2444 5 9 Freight of 27375 lb. being 2½ Tons at £ 10 10 pr. Ton 380 10 - Insurance upon £ 2444 5 9 at 15 pr. Cent 21 6 6? "214 0 6" 5 pr. Cent Interest upon £ 2647? 4 7½ being the Aggregate Sum 132 7 3 2929 16? "2929 1 6" One Hundred Barrels of Gun Powder at £ 4 pr. Barl. 400 - - Freight of 100 Barrels being 10 Tons at 10 10 pr. Ton 105 - - Insurance upon £ 400 0 0 at 10 pr. Cent 40 - -? "60 - -" 5 pr. Cent Interest upon £ 625 0 0 being the Aggregate Sum 31 5 - 656 5 - Prime Cost of Thirty three Barrels of Beef and forty one Barrels of Pork as pr. Invoice f 7200 @ 22 f pr. £ 660 5 - Freight of 74 Barrels being 14 Tons at £ 10 10 pr. Ton 259 - - Insurance upon £ 660 5 at 10 pr. Cent 66 16 6? "66 0 6" 5 pr. Cent Interest upon £ 994 18 6 being the Aggregate Sum 49 14 - 1025 15 6? "1035 15 6" £ 4579 12 3? "4621 14 -" Errors Excepted Signed Robt. Maxwell St. Helena 22d. Octr. 1781 John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The account followed for the six brass cannon, 500 shot, 100 barrels of gunpowder, 30 barrels of beef and 41 barrels of pork supplied to the Company for the garrison of St Helena from the prize *Held Woltemade*. It charged the Company under the terms agreed with Commodore Johnstone on 15 October 1781. Prime cost of 6 brass 24-pounder cannon and 500 shot, 23,392 guilders 5 stuivers at 22d a guilder, £2,144 5s 9d Freight on 47,315 pounds, being 21 tons at £18 10s 0d a ton, £388 10s 0d Insurance on £2,144 5s 9d at 10 per cent, £214 8s 6d Interest at 5 per cent on £2,647 4s 3¾d, being the whole sum, £132 7s 3d Total for cannon and shot, £2,879 11s 6d Gunpowder, 100 barrels at £4 0s 0d a barrel, £400 0s 0d Freight on 100 barrels, being 10 tons at £18 10s 0d a ton, £185 0s 0d Insurance on £400 0s 0d at 10 per cent, £40 0s 0d Interest at 5 per cent on £625 0s 0d, being the whole sum, £31 5s 0d Total for gunpowder, £656 5s 0d Prime cost of 30 barrels of beef and 41 barrels of pork, 7,290 guilders at 22d a guilder, £668 5s 0d Freight on 71 barrels, being 14 tons at £18 10s 0d a ton, £259 0s 0d Insurance on £668 5s 0d at 10 per cent, £66 16s 6d Interest at 5 per cent on £994 1s 6d, being the whole sum, £49 14s 1d Total for beef and pork, £1,043 15s 6d Total of the account, £4,579 12s 0d Robert Maxwell signed the account at St Helena on 22 October 1781, errors excepted. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett also signed it. **Interpretations** The formula treated the prize goods as if they had been shipped out from Europe at the captors' cost and risk. Freight at £18 10s 0d a ton, insurance at 10 per cent and interest at 5 per cent were the charges a merchant would add to goods sent from England to the island in wartime. The captors had not paid for any such voyage. They took the *Held Woltemade* off the Cape with her cargo already aboard. The Company therefore paid more than £1,000 above the Dutch prime cost for guns, powder and meat that had cost the squadron nothing but the capture. The Council accepted the charge because the

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			agreement had fixed the formula in advance, and because the alternative was waiting a year or more for guns and stores from England. The total matched exactly the bill for £4,579 12s 0d drawn the same day in favour of Pasley and Taylor, the prize agents, so the whole sum went to the officers and crews of Johnstone's squadron as prize money. The guilder was converted at 22d, the rate the island used to turn the Dutch invoices into sterling. Fixing a single rate in the account meant the Directors in London could check every figure against the Dutch invoice without arguing over the exchange.
332	328	24th October At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 24th Day of October 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 22d. Octr. 1781. We this Day received the following Letter from the Engineer Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council St. Helena Gentlemen Upon the strictest observation of the opera- tions at Ladder Hill since when the Post Battle? is lately been formed in a Possibility of making the Plantation of more and with more Spirit therein, thereby turning the course of the Road and Defending the top at Lime? Ruins? within the high Rock being the Line with the Officer Commanding there informs me who would agree therefore with the Commanders, I think another Draw? used to the Fort first having contrived into some short sort? of covering the Line of commanding over the approach by the Rock. However, I have given the Masters? Station? and Powder Bombardier? to try the Work and some time to take in the Instrument to the left of the Port Battle with the Desire of Materials and doubt it a Valley of Dry walls? which has encompassed the Line in most places of this Work. Owing to the Diversions of the Post I apprehend more that the Iron Gun lately removed to the Saint? of Breach? Heads? is placed most advantageously on a Ledge which in my first Getting lately my Command? Commanding a set? undersigned them to place out at a good Distance and Distance? of Strong on a near approach.	The Council met at the Castle on Wednesday 24 October 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 22 October 1781. The Council received a letter that day from the engineer, addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. The engineer reported on the repairs at Mitchell's Line, where the portcullis gate had broken down. Having examined the work closely, he saw no quicker way to give it a firm foundation than to divert the stream from its bed and let it run as it now did. According to the officer commanding the post, who knew the ground well, that was its natural course in most heavy floods. He did not think the rampart would suffer, since it had stood in the same state for years, ever since part of it collapsed near the rocky ascent. He had nonetheless told the master mason and the overseer to press on with the work. They were also to fill in the abutment on the left of the portcullis with the best materials, not with the loose dry rubbish that had been packed into many parts of the wall. The engineer added that after looking over the surroundings of the post, he judged the iron gun recently moved to the rear of [...] Rock to be very well placed on a ledge there. On his first visit to Sandy Bay its commanding position had led him to mark out the high ground just above it. A gun there could harass an enemy at long range and destroy him as he came closer in. **Interpretations** The engineer found that parts of the wall at Mitchell's Line had been built with a core of loose rubbish rather than solid masonry. A wall filled that way looked sound from the outside but had little strength against water or cannon shot, which probably explains why the rampart had already given way once. By ordering the new abutment to be built of the best materials, the engineer was correcting an earlier economy that had weakened one of the island's most exposed defences. Mitchell's Line closed the valley above Sandy Bay, one of the few places where an enemy could land on the windward coast. The portcullis gate and rampart there were the barrier between a landing party and the interior.
333	329	1781 whenever there is any from the Bay to the Country leads me to propose to you that one of the twelve Pounders now on board the Northumberland should be sent to occupy this height, there soon the Road can lead to this Bay; And at Thomson's Valley where a light six pounder was proposed, one that is now in our power a Gun of the same nature, or the 9 pounder	Because the high ground covered every route from Sandy Bay into the interior, Pierce proposed that one of the 12-pounders brought out on the *Northumberland* should be mounted there as soon as a boat could land at the bay. At Thompson's Valley a light six-pounder had been planned to give crossing fire. Now that heavier guns were available, he advised sending another of the 12-pounders there instead. The six-pounder could easily be moved across country to any critical high ground in the interior. It should stay where it was until a suitable site was

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		twelve Pounders should be sent thither, the six pounder will be more easily removed whenever occasion requires to the extremity of Prosperous? Bay of the Country and Lodged nearer where it is to be a short distance? placed upon for a short time from the Weather that Prevent its appearance. A small Magazine at High Knoll where the Howitzer was placed lately is now finished and some repair is going on at present at Ruperts. I am a Draught? Plan of the new Flank Defence? on Long? Ranges of Ladder? Hill Battery with that a Bastion with Flank, and must in consideration of the importance of such a Capital Situation of strength, recommend a Continuation of as many Hands of Men that will a Reinforcement Accomodate? the Engineer for carrying on the Work which is commanded? of the Masons in the Company for the Desert? to the Covenants leading to the Bridges and Forging? a Platform for the Artillery and the Battery and covered in Redoubt? with some yards of retaining Walls for the Magazine which take Rock, and a Cover from Officers Gibbet? to this Battery will be necessary, of which I submit to your Consideration a Plan, and Letter to explain to you what I have written concerning Sandy Bay, must refer to a Sketch; till I am able to give a more Correct Drawing. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient and humble Servant Signed Wm. Pierce St. Helena 24th October 1781 The Secretary was Directed to return the Engineer the subsequent Answer Vizt. To Captain Willm. Pierce Engineer Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council	chosen for a shed to protect it and its equipment from the weather. Pierce reported that a small magazine was nearly finished at Chubb's Rock, where the howitzer had been mounted the year before. He also judged some repairs advisable at Rupert's. He hoped to finish within a few weeks his plan for linking Rustling's battery with the one at Buttermilk Point. Given how important that main junction of the defences was, he recommended keeping as many men from the reinforcement on the work as were needed to complete every part of it. The masons still had to cover the passage down to the casemate leading to the howitzer and lay a platform for the guns on the battery above it, to fire in reserve. A few yards of retaining wall were also needed for the road to the magazine, along with a shelter for an officer stationed at the battery. Pierce enclosed a plan of these works for the Council's consideration. He added that, to make clear what he had written about Sandy Bay, he had to refer the Council to a sketch until he could produce a more accurate drawing. William Pierce signed the letter at St Helena on 24 October 1781. The Council told the secretary to send the engineer an answer. Britannicus Wright wrote to Captain William Pierce, the engineer, on behalf of the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The guns that came out on the *Northumberland* changed Pierce's plans at once. Until October the island had to make do with light six-pounders at the outlying landing places, keeping its heavier guns for the main batteries. The arrival of 12-pounders from England and the six brass 24-pounders from the prize let Pierce place heavier guns at Sandy Bay and Thompson's Valley. The six-pounder released at Thompson's Valley became a mobile reserve, moved across country to whichever high ground was threatened. This followed the same idea as the flying party, a force kept ready to march to any landing place rather than tied to a single post. A casemate was a vaulted chamber built into the rock or masonry of a fortification, protected from shot overhead. It served as a sheltered firing position for the howitzer and a safe store for its ammunition. A howitzer fired explosive shells on a high arc, so it could reach boats in coves and gullies that the flat fire of ordinary guns could not touch. Joining Rustling's battery to Buttermilk Point turned two separate works into one connected line along the cliffs, so that men and ammunition could move between them under cover.
334	330	24th October to inform you in answer to yours of this Day that they approve of the situation of the Gun as fixed for the commanding heights of Sandy Bay, likewise a 12 Pounder at Thompsons Valley, the Plan of which goes together with the repairs of Ladder Hill, they give you leave to Execute with all Expedition. They further agree that you go on with the Magazine and a Pent? of Corps? de Garde? on the Bastion Battery with the Steward? Post of the Hill leading thereto without attending to any other Covenants for the Reception of an Officer as they think that Expence unnecessary. I am Sir Your most Obedient Servant Signed W. Wright Secry.	Britannicus Wright, the secretary, replied to the engineer on 24 October 1781 on behalf of the Governor and Council. The Council approved placing a gun on the commanding height above Sandy Bay and a 12-pounder at Thompson's Valley. Pierce was to mount both guns and finish the repairs at Mitchell's Line as quickly as possible. The Council also agreed that he should go on with the magazine and a flight of steps joining Buttermilk battery to the high point of the road leading to it. It would not pay for any quarters for an officer there, judging that expense unnecessary. The Council sent a letter on the Company's brig *Fox*, bound for China, to James Bradshaw, President, and the supercargoes forming the Council at Canton. It reminded them that the Council had written to them by the *Hastings* on 12 July 1781 and had sent a duplicate by His Majesty's ship *Hannibal*, bound for India. The *Fox* had now come out from England on her way to Canton, and the Council took the chance to enclose a copy of Captain Court's instructions and

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		St. Helena 24th October 1781 By the Brig bound to China, We wrote the following Letter Vizt. To James Bradshaw Esqr. President and Supra Cargoes of Council at Canton. Gentlemen By the Ship Hastings We had the pleasure of Writing you under date of the 12th July last, a Duplicate whereof was transmitted by His Majesty's Ship Hannibal bound to India. We now take the opportunity by the Honble. Company's Brig Fox from England bound to Canton of Enclosing a Copy of Capt. Courts Instructions. Covenants and an account of the Pastures? of a Chest of China Tea for the use of the said Ship. We are Gentlemen Your most Obedient and humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matth. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 24th October 1781. Being in great want of a long boat for the use of the Honble. Company We have Purchased one of Captain Dick	covenants. It also enclosed an account of the contents of a chest of silver loaded for the use of the brig. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 24 October 1781. The Council then recorded that, having badly needed a longboat for the Company's use, it had bought one from Captain Dick. **Interpretations** The Council approved every gun and every piece of stonework Pierce proposed, but refused the one item that served comfort rather than defence. Shelter for an officer at Buttermilk Point would have made the post easier to hold, but the Council could station men there in turn without building quarters for them. In a year of heavy spending on batteries, roads and walls, it drew the line at anything that did not add to the island's firepower. Captain Court of the brig *Fox* was the same Jonathan Court who two days earlier had sworn that Thomas Cato was Captain Fletcher's property and received him into his keeping. The *Fox* was outward bound for Canton, so Cato probably left St Helena with Court on that voyage. The Council's letter shows the brig carried silver to buy cargo in China, the usual means of paying for tea at Canton, where Chinese merchants would take little but silver in exchange.
335	331	1781 Dick Gammage, with Masts, Sails, Oars, &c. for which We have Paid him £ 50 as pr. the following Bill. Honble. East India Company Dr. To Owners of the Ship Belmont For a Long Boat £ 50 - - St. Helena 23d. October 1781 E. E. Signed For Capt. Willm. Dick Gammage Jas. Glassford? The Storekeeper this Day delivered the following Account of Stores Short Received from Ship Belmont. The following Stores short Received from Ship Belmont C. qrs. lb. 15 3 10 Rice Short weight occasioned by Wastage 15 3 - Paddy Do. Do. Do. 105 2 20 Do. in 96 Bags not Received - - 9 Candles Short weight occasioned by Wastage 2 Leagers Arrack 3 Pipes Madeira Wine Not Received 34 Gallns. Do. Short in four Pipes Received Signed Isma. Doveton Storekeeper St. Helena 24th October 1781 John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The Council bought the longboat from Captain William Dick Gamage of the *Bellmont*, together with its masts, sails, oars and gear, and paid £50 0s 0d for it. The bill was entered as follows. The Company, owed to the owners of the ship Bellmont, for a longboat, £50 0s 0d J. Glassford signed the bill for Captain Gamage at St Helena on 25 October 1781, errors excepted. The storekeeper presented an account that day of the stores received short from the *Bellmont*. Rice, 15 hundredweight 3 quarters 10 pounds, short weight from wastage Paddy, 15 hundredweight 3 quarters, short weight in the 64 bags received Paddy, 105 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 pounds, in 96 bags not delivered Candles, 9 pounds, short weight from wastage Arrack, 2 leaguers, not delivered Madeira wine, 1 pipe, not delivered Madeira wine, 34 gallons, short in the 5 pipes received Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 24 October 1781. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett also signed it. **Interpretations** Most of the *Bellmont*'s shortfall came from goods never delivered at all, not from loss at sea. Bengal's invoice listed 160 bags of paddy, two leaguers of arrack and six pipes of Madeira. Ninety-six bags of paddy, both leaguers and a whole pipe of wine never reached the warehouse. Wastage in rice and candles was an ordinary hazard of the voyage, but missing bags and casks raised the question of whether the goods had been left behind at Calcutta, lost in loading or used on board. Recording each shortfall against the invoice let the Council hold the ship's owners responsible for anything they could not account for. The Council's purchase of Gamage's longboat on the same day shows that relations with the commander

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			remained businesslike, even while his ship's delivery was under question.
336	332	29th October At a Consultation holden Monday the 29th Day of October 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 24th of October 1781. Friday the 26th Instant Sailed the Ship Hillsborough? Mistress? of the Do. Sailed His Majesty's Fire Ship Infernal and Victualler Jupiter. Saturday the 27th Sailed the Fox Brig for China. On the 25th Instant We discharged Wm. Kingley? Frederick Ferguson, Hannah? Baker, Matthew Cunningham, Fredk. Winter and James Pilcher? at the request of Commodore Geo. Johnstone, having served Do. Days of their Contracted time to serve. We this Day enlisted Christr. Horton? Frederick Ferguson, Hannah? Baker, Matthew Cunningham, Fredk. Winter and James Pilcher, at the request of Commodore Geo. Johnstone, having given them to serve five years as a Soldier in this Garrison and gave each of them £ 10 Bounty Money. The following Letter was this Day received from the Engineer Vizt. To the Worshipful the Governor &c. Council Island St. Helena Gentlemen Having already given you my sentiments respecting the practicability of Defences commencing with this Island	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 29 October 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 24 October 1781. Robert Keighley, a matross, died on Friday 26 October 1781. His Majesty's fire ship *Infernal* and the victualler *Jupiter* sailed the same day. The Company's brig *Fox* sailed for China on Saturday 27 October. At Commodore Johnstone's request, the Council discharged William Stagles Foulgier on 25 October 1781. He had only four days of his contract left to serve. That day the Council enlisted six Germans whom Commodore Johnstone had handed over to the island. They were Christian Horster, Frederick Fugerer, Francis Bockr, Matthias Gomelingsberg, Frederick Auston and Tennies Afeler. Each man signed on to serve five years as a soldier in the garrison and received a bounty of £15 0s 0d. The Council received a letter that day from the engineer, addressed to the Governor and Council. He had already given the Council his opinion on whether ships could approach the island from a particular quarter. **Interpretations** The six Germans were probably taken from the crew of the Dutch prize *Held Woltemade* or the other Dutch ships Johnstone had captured. The Dutch East India Company recruited heavily in the German states, and many of its soldiers and seamen were German. As prisoners they were of little use to the squadron. Enlisting them in the St Helena garrison gave them a way out of captivity and gave the island six men it badly needed after the summer's deaths and desertions. The bounty of £15 0s 0d was half as much again as the £10 0s 0d paid to the seamen left by the homeward fleet in August. The higher sum suggests the Council had to offer more to men whose only alternative was to stay prisoners until they could be exchanged. The discharge of Foulgier four days early was a favour to Johnstone. A soldier so close to the end of his term cost the garrison almost nothing to release, and the commodore had just supplied the island with guns, powder, provisions and six recruits. Granting a small request in return kept up the goodwill on which the island had relied all season.
337	333	1781 from the Westward, And as we cannot doubt that oftentimes the Winds, may be so favourable to bring Ships of to the Road. I shall not therefore take up your time in a repetition of what I said when in Company with you and Commodore Johnstone, respecting the advantage of occupying the Projection of Rocks that covers Lemon Valley from the Westward. Here it is that Detachments in their approach towards James's Bay, be obliged to hug the Shore, and are so greatly exposed to this short to Change of Wind, that I cannot help thinking four or five Eighteen Pounders such a fire? to receive a Platform for one of the 24 Pounders? Eighteen Pounders were with the last supply, which should the trough	William Pierce's letter went on to explain that ships approaching the island from the west could often expect a wind that carried them straight into the road. He would not take up the Council's time by repeating what he had said when he met the Council and Commodore Johnstone about occupying the headland that covered Lemon Valley from the west. Ships heading for James's Bay had to keep close inshore at that point, and they were badly exposed there to sudden gusts of wind. For the time being, he thought it would be enough to build a platform for one of the 10-inch howitzers that had come in the latest supply. It should stand as close to the water as the highest surf allowed. On the higher ledge above, facing the same way, a platform should be built for one of the 12-pounders. The howitzer would sweep the hull and decks of a passing ship with low, grazing fire. The 12-pounder above would be aimed with great effect at the men aloft and the rigging. Pierce added that the site had real advantages over most of the other points, perhaps over all of them. It lay close to help from

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		as near the Level of the Sea as the highest Surf would allow as the same Direction on the more elevated Ledge to erect a Platform for one of the twelve Pounders. The first would have a More grazing fire on the Road and Dashing it to the latter of more advantage with the direction of the Ships Mast and Rigging. The superior advantages of this spot, have now most of the other parts attended, when bringing so near to the season from the Country and its contiguity to the Forts Lemon Valley which I am more particular in setting it importance whom with their Rangers? With Shiels? Hall? point which was again more particularly noticed on returning to the Fort, There can be nothing more done at this time than to appropriate another of the twelve Pounders for a Rock with some of the Light Howitzers which appears to be best affected from the upper Ledge where a Platform must be raised sufficient to admit of this Gun being traversed in Carriage against Ships on that coming on, for the anchoring ground or attempting to land at Breakneck Valley. Inside? of Valuing you with more particulars, this Letter being solely to Communicate to the Board the advantages Resulting of these Combitments? for protecting the Honble. Company's Ships at their Rendezvous and the Island falling by surprise into the Hands of the Enemy. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient and humble Servant Signed Willm. Pierce St. Helena 29th Octr. 1781	inland and next to the best water, and he promised to report on it more fully once he was less busy. At Hick's Hall Point, which he had looked at again on his way back to the fort, he saw nothing more to be done for the present than to place another of the 12-pounders there, backed by one of the light howitzers. The best place for them was the upper ledge. A platform would have to be cut into the rock there, wide enough to let the gun be swung round over the parapet against ships or boats making for the anchorage or trying to land at Breakneck Valley. Pierce said he would not trouble the Council with further details. His only purpose in writing was to show the Council how useful these two positions could be. They would protect the Company's ships at their meeting place and keep the island from being taken by surprise. William Pierce signed the letter at St Helena on 29 October 1781. **Interpretations** Pierce paired two kinds of gun at each point so that each did a different job. A howitzer placed low down, near the waterline, could fire shells almost level along a ship's hull and across its decks. A long gun placed higher up could fire downward into the masts, sails and rigging and at the men working aloft. A ship crippled aloft could not manoeuvre or escape, and men on deck were exposed at the same moment. Using the cliffs to stack guns at two heights let a small battery do the work of a much larger one. The guns that came out on the *Northumberland* made the plan possible. Until October the island had too few heavy guns to cover every approach. With fresh 12-pounders and 10-inch howitzers in hand, Pierce could fortify the stretch of coast west of James's Bay. Lemon Valley mattered because it had the best water and a road inland, so an enemy who landed there could supply himself and march on the town. Barbette was the method of mounting a gun so that it fired over the top of a parapet rather than through an opening in it. That let a single gun be swung round to fire in any direction, against ships at sea or boats coming in to land.
338	334	29th October We received the following Letters from Capt. Gammage and Ellington? Vizt. To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &c. Council St. Helena Gentlemen When the Belmont arrived here from Bengal after a long long passage, almost the whole of her crew under the scurvy rendered incapable of Working the Ship, many of them Died a few days before We made the Island, upon enquiry I found that no supply of Fresh Provision could by any means be procured here; I therefore thought it necessary to make my other, then a Verbal application to you at that time for the Quantity of Fresh Beef which by my Charter Party I am intitled to. But I soon came myself responsible for the consequences that may ensue from the Ship leaving this Island without the present unhealthy Crew. I must think it my Duty to apply to you regarding that you will be pleased to order me at least the Charter	The Council also received letters that day from Captains Gamage and Elkington. Captain William Dick Gamage of the *Bellmont* wrote to Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 29 October 1781, from his ship in the road at St Helena. The *Bellmont* had reached the island from Bengal after a very long passage. By then scurvy had left almost her whole crew unable to work on deck, and many of the men had died in the days before they sighted land. On asking, Gamage had learned that no fresh provisions could be had on the island. For that reason he had made only a spoken request for the fresh beef his charter party entitled him to. Gamage now thought it his duty to put the request in writing. He considered himself answerable for what might happen if the ship sailed with her crew still weak and short-handed. He asked the Council to order him at least the fresh beef set down in his charter party. With the few vegetables the crew had found since arriving, that beef would go a long way to make his men fit for duty on the voyage home. He pointed out that the *Bellmont* and her cargo were worth more than £200,000 0s 0d. Deaths and desertions on the voyage had weakened her crew. A large convoy sailed slowly, so a long passage could be expected. The weather in the English Channel would probably be stormy on their arrival, and the ship might be separated from the convoy. He asked the

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		Party Fresh Beef which with the few Vegetables which We have procured here, will in a great measure enable my People to do their Duty on the Passage home. The Belmont is Laden at upwards of £ 200000 pr. her own Bonds by Breaks and Damages on the Voyage. Having the large Charge expected from the Ladings being unable in a large Fleet. I will the more in all probability be totally? and Ship Lord? as unarmed in the Channel of England which may reason an application from the Convoy. I therefore hope that you will take all these things into your Consideration and as the Justice and Propriety of my request; for if my credit is not strengthened and my Fresh Provision to my Departure Smith? is not to answer? of the Blame of the Belmont should fall a Prey to the bad weather, or the Enemy. I have the Honor to be with much respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient & humble Servant Signed Wm. Dick Gammage Ship Belmont St. Helena Road 29th October 1781	Council to weigh all of this and see that his request was just and proper. If his crew were not strengthened and refreshed before he sailed, he could not be blamed should the *Bellmont* be lost to bad weather or to the enemy. **Interpretations** A charter party was the contract under which the Company hired a ship from her owners for a voyage. Among other terms, it set out the provisions the ship was entitled to at the Company's settlements along the way. Gamage did not ask the Council for a favour. He claimed fresh beef the Company had already contracted to supply. That put the Council in a difficult position, because the island had been short of beef all year, and the Council had refused or rationed meat to every commander who asked. A contractual claim was harder to refuse than a plea for help. Gamage's warning about the ship's value was meant to move the responsibility for any loss onto the Council. A ship and cargo worth more than £200,000 was a vast sum, far beyond anything the island's own accounts handled. If the *Bellmont* were lost because her crew was too weak to sail her, the Directors would ask who had refused her the food that might have saved them. By setting out the danger in writing before he sailed, Gamage made sure that the record would show he had asked and why. Scurvy was caused by a lack of fresh food, though in 1781 the reason was not clearly understood. It weakened the body, opened old wounds and could kill, and on long voyages it often disabled most of a crew. Fresh meat and vegetables were the known remedy, which is why a ship's charter party set aside fresh beef at St Helena for crews arriving after the long run from India.
339	335	1781 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Council St. Helena Hond. Sir and Sirs Having met with a very tedious Passage from England to this Place and also having the Prospect of a still more tedious Passage to India, I applied to Commodore Johnstone for a Sufficient Quantity of Bread to serve me on the Passage, having seen short of that article but the Commodore declined assisting me therewith. I am therefore under the necessity of making this Application to you to request you will order me from the Stores, about Ninety Bags of Rice or 12 Tons which will serve in Room of the Bread. I am respectfully Gentlemen Your most Obedient Servant Signed Jno. Ellington? Ship Deptford St. Helena 29th October 1781 The Secretary was Directed to return them the following Answers Vizt. To Captain Willm. Dick Gammage Commander of Ship Belmont. Sir In answer to yours of this Day to the Governor and Council I am Directed to acquaint you that from the late Drought & the Company's Stock being Unable to afford the Ships of this Season any Charter Party Beef, but that they have Directed you to be supplied with one Beast from their Breeding Stock.	Captain James Elkington of the *Deptford* also wrote to Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 29 October 1781. His passage out from England had been very slow, and he expected an even slower one on to India. He had run short of bread and had asked Commodore Johnstone for enough to last the voyage, but the commodore had refused to help. Elkington therefore asked the Council to order him about 90 bags of rice from the Company's stores, roughly 125 hundredweight, to use in place of bread. The Council told the secretary to reply to both commanders. Britannicus Wright wrote to Captain William Dick Gamage of the *Bellmont* on 29 October 1781. On behalf of the Governor and Council, he explained that after the recent drought the Company's herds could not supply any of this season's ships with the beef due under their charter parties. The Council had nonetheless ordered that Gamage be given one beast from the breeding stock. **Interpretations** The Council refused Gamage's claim under the charter party but still sent him a single animal from its breeding herd. The breeding stock was the last thing a farmer would slaughter, since it held the herd's future. The Council could have refused outright on the grounds of the drought, as the reply itself made plain. It chose instead to give one beast from the very stock it most needed to keep. Gamage had put on record that his crew were dying of scurvy aboard a ship and cargo worth more than £200,000, so a flat refusal would have left the Council answerable to the Directors if the *Bellmont* were lost. One animal cost the island little and met the most urgent need without setting a precedent for every other ship in the road. The drought that ruined the planters' harvests in 1780 and 1781, and led the Company to waive a year's rent, had also thinned the cattle. The Council could no longer honour the Company's own

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		I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 29th October 1781	contracts with its ships. That was a serious failure, since supplying fresh food to homeward crews was one of the main reasons the Company kept St Helena at all.
340	336	29th October To Captain James Ellington Commander of Ship Deptford. Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that they are much surprised at your application for Bread kind from this Island as you are immediately from England, and as the Company's Stores are not equal to such supplies they recommend you to provide yourself elsewhere. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 29th October 1781 John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Britannicus Wright also replied to Captain James Elkington of the *Deptford* on 29 October 1781. On behalf of the Governor and Council, he told Elkington that they were very surprised he had applied to the island for bread or grain. Ships coming out from England were normally supplied there, and the Company's ships had no right to draw such supplies at St Helena. The Council therefore advised Elkington to provide for himself elsewhere. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The Council treated the two commanders very differently on the same day. Gamage of the *Bellmont* had reached the island from Bengal with a crew dying of scurvy, and his charter party entitled him to fresh food there. He received one beast even from the breeding stock. Elkington of the *Deptford* was outward bound and had only just left England, where his ship should have been fully provisioned for the whole voyage to India. In the Council's view, his shortage of bread came from poor planning at home, not from the hardships of a long passage. Granting him 125 hundredweight of rice would have taken grain the garrison depended on to make up for a failure that was not the island's concern. Johnstone had already refused him, and the Council's sharp reply left Elkington to find bread from the other ships in the road, as Captain Blackburn had been told to do in July.
341	337	31st October At a Consultation holden Wednesday the 31st Day of October 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 29th October 1781. The Rice being Damaged? according to Charter Party for unloading the Ship Northumberland being expired, the Governor Captain Jameson? Sailing Orders in Writing, to Proceed on her Voyage according to the Instructions he received from the Honble. the Court of Directors. We also gave him the following Letter to the Presidency of Fort William. To the Honble. Warren Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. and Supreme Council of the Company's Settlements in the East Indies. Honble. Sir and Sirs We had the Honour of writing you by the Ship Hastings by way of China under date of the 12th July last, a Duplicate of which was Conveyed by His Majesty's Ship Hannibal bound to India. By the Ship Northumberland Consigned	The Council met at the Castle on Wednesday 31 October 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 29 October 1781. The ten working days allowed by the charter party for unloading the *Northumberland* had run out. The Council therefore gave Captain James Kerr written orders to sail and continue his voyage under the instructions he had received from the Court of Directors. It also gave him a letter to carry to the presidency of Fort William in Bengal. The letter was addressed to Warren Hastings, Governor General, and the Supreme Council of the Company's settlements in the East Indies. The Council reminded them that it had written to them on 12 July 1781 by the *Hastings*, going by way of China, and had sent a duplicate by His Majesty's ship *Hannibal*, bound for India. The *Northumberland*, consigned to Bengal, now gave the Council a chance to send them that ship's charter party, victualling bill and manifest of goods. The Council thanked the Supreme Council warmly for the very ample supplies of grain and other goods sent that season. It added that the candles received from Bengal for some time past had been very poor, and asked that better ones be made in future. **Interpretations** The charter party set a fixed number of working days for unloading a ship at each port. Once those days ran out, the owners could claim demurrage, a daily payment for every extra day the ship was held. By giving Kerr his sailing orders the moment the ten days expired, the Council made sure the Company

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		to Bengal, we take the opportunity of forwarding you the Ships Charter Party, Victualling Bill and Manifest of Goods. Our sincere acknowledgments are due to you for the very ample supply of Grain &c. you have been pleased to send this Season, and by Laws? to inform you that the Candles have arrived from your Presidency of some time past has been extremely bad, therefore request you will order them to be made of a better Quality.	paid nothing for keeping the *Northumberland* in the road, even though the island had found her guns and stores very useful. The complaint about the candles came from the island's own experience that year. In July the Council had asked the supercargoes at Canton to have wax candles made at Macao, because it had learned they were better and cheaper than those from India. Now it raised the same fault directly with Bengal. Candles lit the Castle, the Council's offices and the officers' guard rooms, and the island used them in large quantities. A presidency that sent poor ones was costing the island money for light that did not last, which explains why the Council raised it with the Governor General himself.
342	338	31st October This Letter is conveyed to you by the abovementioned Ship Northumberland. We are Honble. Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient & humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 31st October 1781. Yesterday We Inlisted John Taylor, Fredk. Hoaglund? Fink, Andrew Pritchard, Robert Sowers? Fredk. Avis? (six other Germans) whom Commodore George Johnstone gave leave to serve the Honble. Company Five years as Soldiers in this Garrison and gave each of them £ 10 Bounty Money. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter to the Supreme Council on 31 October 1781. Captain Kerr carried it on the *Northumberland*. The Council also recorded that on 30 October 1781 it had enlisted six more Germans handed over by Commodore George Johnstone. They were John Fisher, Frederick Moor, Leonard Fink, Andrew Paschasius, Hellis Lauers and Frederick Auito. Each signed on to serve the Company for five years as a soldier in the garrison and received a bounty of £15 0s 0d. The record of the consultation was signed by the Governor, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett. **Interpretations** With this second group, Johnstone had passed 12 German prisoners to the garrison within a week, almost certainly from the crews of the Dutch prizes. The squadron was about to sail and had no wish to feed and guard prisoners on a long voyage. The garrison, meanwhile, had lost about 19 men to desertion in July and many more to sickness. Turning enemy prisoners into Company soldiers solved both problems at once. The Council paid each man £15 0s 0d, its highest bounty of the year. For a man held prisoner on a ship bound who knew where, that was a strong reason to sign on, and five years' service on a quiet island was a better prospect than captivity.
343	339	5th Novr. At a Consultation holden Monday the 5th Day of November 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 31st October 1781. Tuesday the 2d. Sailed His Majesty's Ships Romney, Jason, and Diana The five Dutch Prizes, four Victuallers, and the Honble. Company's Ships Belmont and Strome for England. On the 2d. Instant We received an Address from Commodore Charles? Mitchell? Containing a Letter to him from Chas. Steward which are as follows Vizt. On His Majesty's Service To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & the Council of St. Helena. Gentlemen The present Critical Situation of our affairs	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 5 November 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 31 October 1781. On Friday 2 November 1781 His Majesty's ships *Romney*, *Jason* and *Diana* sailed. With them went the five Dutch prizes, four victuallers and the Company's ships *Bellmont* and *Prime*, bound for England. The same day the Council received a letter from Commodore Charles Wolseley, marked as public service and addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. It enclosed a letter to him from Lieutenant Colonel Stewart. Wolseley wrote that the Council would understand from the critical state of British affairs in India how urgent it was for him to join Sir Edward Hughes quickly and bring help to Madras. That mattered greatly to the Company, whose interests he had very much at heart, and to the nation as a whole. Lieutenant Colonel Stewart had reported on the sickness among the troops who had come out under Wolseley's escort, and a copy of his letter was enclosed. Counting those troops and the sick aboard the King's ships, Wolseley would be held at the island for three or four weeks longer unless he could be supplied with fresh meat. In his view, fresh meat

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		in India, must render it evident to you that my forming a speedy Junction with Sir Edward Hughes, & thereby succouring the Settlements in the greatest consequence to the Honble. East India Company which this is of the utmost Importance to the Nation in general. From the reported Sickness of the Troops that are not under my protection, Copy of Lieut. Col. Stewarts Letter I have the Honor to enclose, and the Sickness this Ships of His Majesty's Ships, I must unavoidably be laid on here three or four Weeks longer unless I can be furnished with Fresh Meat, which in my opinion will greatly contribute their recovery and facilitate my Situation. I am therefore to lay the having Purpose with the completed with, the great anxiety of Officers on the Kings Ships under my Command lays me under the necessity of requesting the assistance of those on the Company's	would do much to help the men recover and would speed his departure, and he hoped the Council would meet his request. He added that the King's ships under his command were badly short of coopers, so he needed to ask for help from the coopers in the Company's service. **Interpretations** Johnstone's squadron sailed for England with the prizes and the homeward ships, and another naval force at once took its place in the road. Wolseley was escorting troops to India to reinforce Madras, where the Company's position had been in danger since Haidar Ali of Mysore invaded the Carnatic in 1780. Sir Edward Hughes commanded the British fleet in Indian waters. Every week Wolseley spent at St Helena delayed the troops and ships Madras was waiting for. The request for fresh meat came only days after the Council had told Captain Gamage that the drought had left the Company's herds unable to supply any ship's charter-party beef. Wolseley used a different argument. He did not claim meat under a contract. He tied it to the Company's own war in India and to the speed of his departure, suggesting that refusing him would hold up the help meant for the Company's own settlements. Coopers were essential to a fleet at sea, because every drop of water, beer and spirits and every pound of salt meat travelled in casks that had to be made, repaired and kept tight.
344	340	5th Novr. Company's Service, as the Same may enable the Fleet to proceed at the same rate as Merchants do here, otherwise they cannot stay ashore any Distance from Prisons thus will be able to attend with all advantage to the Company. I would not be led to a greater quantity of Water than I otherwise should, and if we approach any Country & Desire? to go on to Bombay and endanger the Valuable Convoy entrusted to my Care. I am with respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient & humble Servant Signed C.? Mitchell? Magnanime St. Helena Road November 2d. 1781 P.S. The reason for my not making the application before for Fresh Meat was Delayed till Commodore Johnstone leaving this. Supposing it would be the means of supplying with so large a Demand. Sir From the situation of the Health of the 98th Regiment now under my Command, many of the non Commissioned Officers and Privates being ill of fluxes and the Scurvy; I have it in my power to unfortunate not to obtain fresh with the Purchase and a dispensing or other being under Consideration in consequence of that Disorder of which they had on board Ship. I take the liberty of representing this to you and at the same time beg leave to inform you there is necessary with them, for a determination of that for the Hearts? and Pleas? on the Dissatisfied? have their Health sufficiently established so as to enable them to proceed on the remaining part of the Voyage to the East Indies.	Wolseley offered to pay the Company's coopers at the rate local merchants paid craftsmen of that trade. He pointed out that the Company would gain from it as well. With more casks his squadron could sail with a larger supply of water, so he would not have to put into another port on the way and risk the valuable convoy in his charge. Wolseley signed the letter aboard the *Magnanime* in the road at St Helena on 2 November 1781. In a postscript he explained that he had waited until Commodore Johnstone sailed before asking for fresh meat. He had assumed the island could not meet so large a demand from both squadrons at once. The enclosed letter came from Lieutenant Colonel J. Stuart, major commanding the 78th Regiment, and was addressed to Wolseley. Stuart reported that many of the regiment's non-commissioned officers and privates on the island were still suffering from a malignant fever that had struck them on the passage out. More than 100 were still recovering from the illness they caught aboard ship. He told Wolseley that the troops would need to stay on the island for at least three weeks to regain enough strength for the rest of the voyage to the East Indies. He had consulted the surgeons, who said the men could not safely sail in less than three weeks. If the surgeons proved wrong and the men recovered sooner, Stuart promised to tell Wolseley at once. Wolseley signed the copy as a true one. **Interpretations** Wolseley's postscript shows the naval commanders working around the island's limits rather than competing for them. He held back his request for fresh meat until Johnstone's squadron had gone, judging that the island could not feed both squadrons at once. Holding his request back made it easier for the Council to grant now that the island's herds had only one squadron to supply. The 78th Regiment was a Highland regiment raised in 1778 and sent to India to reinforce the Company's forces against Mysore. A malignant fever on a crowded troopship was usually typhus, known as ship fever or gaol fever, spread by lice in close quarters. It killed many of the soldiers sent to India in these years before they ever reached a battlefield.

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		I have taken the opinion of the Surgeons upon this Business, and from that, and that and what I have learnt are the Sick more serious and with Effect? for some time from these Stores? should they be served Weekly? for a couple of Weeks after their Provisions, and I find these men are so far recovered as to be able to come on board, I should not fail to give you the earliest Information. I have the Honor most respectfully to be Sir Your most Obedient and most humble Servant J. Stewart Lt. Col. Major Commandant 98th Regt. A Copy Signed C. Mitchell?	More than 100 convalescents ashore at once was a heavy burden for a small island. They had to be housed and fed, and the Council had to keep the fever from spreading to the garrison, which had already suffered its own deaths that summer. Stuart's estimate of three weeks gave the Council a clear measure of how long it would have to carry them.
345	341	1781 To Commodore Mitchell's Address the Board returned the subsequent Answer Vizt. To Chas. Mitchell Esqr. Captain and Commander of His Majesty's Ships &c. at St. Helena. Sir In answer to your Letter of the 2d. Instant We have the Honor to acquaint you that We entirely coincide with you in opinion of the necessity of the speedy Junction of His Majesty's Forces under your Command and Convoy with those in India, and therefore have to inform you that We shall contribute all in our power to their refreshment whilst here, and are come to a resolution that of the Seventeen Cattle now remaining which We have been under the necessity of setting forward from the Breeding Stock, twelve shall be immediately appropriated for the use of the Sick of His Majesty's Ships and Troops and the other of the Honble. Company's Ships under your Convoy and the remaining five We shall reserve for a future Consideration; The Company's Ordnance and Recruits particularly employed in Examining Provisions now Delivering from the Store Ship, which Work be completed in a few Days, they shall then attend your Orders. We have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect Sir Your most Obedient humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 3d. November 1781. We likewise on the 3d. Instant received the following Letter from Commodore Chas. Mitchell On His Majesty's Service To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & the Council of St. Helena Sir I had the Honor of your answer to	The Council replied to Commodore Charles Wolseley, captain and commander of His Majesty's ships at St Helena, on 3 November 1781. It agreed with him that the King's forces under his command and escort must join those in India as quickly as possible. It would therefore do everything it could to refresh them while they stayed on the island. Only 17 cattle remained, and these had already had to be drawn from the breeding stock. The Council resolved to set 12 of them aside at once for the sick of the King's ships, the troops and the Company's ships under his convoy. It would decide later what to do with the other five. The Company's coopers were busy for the moment examining the provisions being unloaded from the store ship. That work would be finished in a few days, and the coopers would then follow Wolseley's orders. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the reply at St Helena on 3 November 1781. On 3 November 1781 the Council also received another letter from Commodore Wolseley, marked as public service and addressed to the Governor and Council of St Helena. **Interpretations** The Council gave Wolseley 12 of its last 17 cattle, all of them drawn from the breeding stock. Two days earlier it had refused Captain Gamage of the *Bellmont* his charter-party beef because of the drought and allowed him only a single beast. The difference lay in what the meat was for. Gamage wanted beef for a homeward ship. Wolseley's request was tied to reinforcing Madras, where the Company's own territories in India were under threat from Mysore. Holding back the convoy for want of fresh meat would have harmed the Company's interests far more than the loss of the herd. Keeping five animals in reserve left the island a small nucleus from which to rebuild its stock once the drought ended. The coopers' first duty was to examine the casks coming out of the store ship. Each cask of salt meat, flour or spirits had to be opened, checked for leakage and spoilage, and resealed before it went into the warehouse. That was how shortages such as those found in the *Prime* and the *Bellmont* were detected. The Council would not let the King's ships take the coopers away until that work was done. Losing track of the island's own provisions to help a passing squadron was a risk it would not take.
346	342	5th November to the requisition for fresh Beef for the Sick of His Majesty's Ships under my Command, as well as the Kings Troops and the Honble.	Wolseley's second letter, dated 3 November 1781 aboard the *Magnanime* in the road, answered the Council's reply about fresh beef for the sick of his squadron, the King's troops and the Company's ships under his convoy. He said he would gladly accept the

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		East India Company's Ships under my Convoy. I had most certainly very particularly my Shipt? the tender Bullocks you are pleased to grant for that purpose, at the same time beg humbly to represent to you, that We should need a further supply, In consideration of the long Voyage We are destined for, as well as the service that will be expected from Us immediately on our arrival in India, I have communicated to the Commanding Officer of the Kings Troops the Purport of your letter, and he hopes that you will if possible Endeavour to give his sick People two fresh Meals, which he conceives will be of the greatest advantage to them, Indeed not sufficient to give the same as the with respect to the Fleet and Troops and trust that you and the Gentlemen of the Council will duly weigh and Consider the importance of the present situation of affairs in India and give us Endeavouring to restore every Burst? give us that necessary Refreshment which will enable Us to proceed with that alacrity and Chearfulness as must I think insure us every Success. I have the honor to be Sirs with great respect Your most Devoted and Obedt. humble Servant Signed C. Mitchell Magnanime St. Helena Novr. 3d. 1781 To which the Board returned the following Answer Vizt. To Chas. Mitchell Esqr. Captain and Commander of His Majesty's Ships at St. Helena Sir We are very sensible by your Letter of the 3d. Instant that the twelve Cattle granted for the use of His Majesty's and Company's Sick are not sufficient to answer the Desired purpose and therefore are come to a Determination to add the only five remaining upon the Strength? being last which have been Removed from the Breeding Stock of the Inhabitants this great loss, Stake is also afforded	12 bullocks the Council had granted. All the same, he felt bound to point out that the force would need more, given the long voyage ahead and the service expected of it as soon as it reached India. He had shown the Council's letter to the commanding officer of the King's troops. That officer hoped the Council could manage to give his healthy men two fresh meals as well, which he thought would do them great good. Wolseley said he hardly needed to add that he wished the same for the fleet. He trusted the Governor and Council would weigh how serious the situation in India was. He asked them to make an extraordinary effort to provide the refreshment that would let the force sail in good heart, which he believed would go far to ensure its success. The Council sent its answer to Wolseley, as captain and commander of His Majesty's ships at St Helena. It regretted to learn from his letter of 3 November that the 12 cattle granted for the sick of the King's and the Company's forces would not be enough. It had therefore decided to add the last five on the slaughtering list as well. Those animals had been requisitioned from the inhabitants' breeding stock, at heavy cost to the owners. **Interpretations** The Council gave up the last five beasts it had held in reserve two days earlier. Its own answer shows that this meat did not come from the Company's herd at all. The slaughtering list was the roll of cattle taken from the planters under the notice of 9 July 1781, which promised them payment for beef requisitioned in the shortage. Those cattle had come from the owners' breeding stock, the animals a planter kept to rebuild his herd after the drought. Each one slaughtered for the squadron set a planter's recovery back by years, and the Council said so plainly in its letter. It chose to bear that cost because Wolseley had linked the supply directly to the defence of Madras, where the Company's own war against Mysore was going badly. Refusing the King's commodore on a matter of that weight, and having the delay of the convoy blamed on the island, was a greater risk than the planters' loss.
347	343	1781 appropriated for the above purpose, assuring you that it is absolutely out of our Power to grant any further supply. We have the Honor to be Sir Your most Obedient humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 5th November 1781 David Richards and Thomas Rice Privates absenting themselves from the Garrison the former on the	The Council's reply to Wolseley ended by telling him that it was quite impossible to grant any more. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 5 November 1781. Two privates, David Richards and Thomas Roe, had left the garrison without leave, Richards on 22 October and Roe on 24 October. Nothing had been heard of either since. The Council concluded that both had deserted in the fleet that sailed on 2 November. Dyke, one of the Company's slaves, had also not been seen since those ships sailed. The Council supposed that he too had escaped aboard one of them. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation.

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		22d. last Month and the latter on the 24th and as they have not been since heard of, suppose that they must have deserted in the Fleet that sailed on the 2d. Instant. The Honble. Company's Slave Dyke having not been heard of since the sailing of the above Ships we imagine he also deserted on one of them. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	**Interpretations** Every departing fleet cost the garrison men. In July about 19 soldiers had hidden aboard the homeward ships, and now two more slipped away with Johnstone's squadron, the prizes and the *Bellmont* and *Prime*. David Richards was probably the seaman who had lived on 6d a day subsistence after being left ashore, then enlisted as a matross on 11 June 1781 for a £3 0s 0d bounty. A sailor who joined the garrison to escape hardship ashore had every reason to slip back to sea when a convoy offered a passage home. The Council's search of the ships in July had shown how hard such men were to find among crews of hundreds. Dyke's escape shows that the ships offered slaves the same way out. A slave who reached England aboard a homeward ship came under a legal system where, since Somerset's case in 1772, an owner could not force him to leave the country. The Company had no practical means of recovering him once the fleet had sailed. The Council recorded his loss in the same plain terms it used for the deserters, as property gone beyond its reach.
348	344	12th November At a Consultation holden Monday the 12th Day of November 1781 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 5th Novr. 1781. Friday the 9th Arrived His Majesty's Ship Hannibal from off the Cape of Good Hope and brought in with her two French Prizes. The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stores Received for the Month of October last were this Day laid before Us which were Examined approved and are as follows Vizt. Artillery Stores Expended in Octr. 1781 No. Guns fired, 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz. 2 A Single Alarm: No. Guns fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 5 Do. Practice at Mundens Point: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 61, Powder oz. 4 12 Do. Do. at Ruperts: No. Guns fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 26, Powder oz. 8 A Single Alarm: No. Guns fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 2 lb.? 0, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 16 A Do. Do.: No. Guns fired 10, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 6, Powder lb. 33, Powder oz. 0 Do. Singling Do.: No. Guns fired 2, 6 lb. 1, 4 lb. 1, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 0 17 At Banks's Practice: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 37, Powder oz. 2 Firing at his Majesty's Ships from Banks's: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 10, Powder oz. 9 18 Saluting the Ships: No. Guns fired 9, 6 lb. 9, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 9, Powder oz. 0 19 Do. His Majesty's Ship Magnanime: No. Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 0 Do. the Capt. coming on Shore: No. Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 0 Do. His Majesty's Ship Sultan: No. Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 0	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 12 November 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 5 November 1781. His Majesty's ship *Hannibal* arrived on Friday 9 November 1781 from off the Cape of Good Hope, bringing two French prizes with her. The accounts of artillery stores and the steward's accounts for October 1781 were laid before the Council. It examined and approved them, and they followed. Each entry gives the date, the occasion, the guns fired by size and the powder used. 2 October, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces 5 October, practice at Munden's Point: 0 guns fired, powder 61 pounds 4 ounces 12 October, practice at Rupert's: 0 guns fired, powder 26 pounds 8 ounces 12 October, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces 16 October, a general alarm: 18 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders, powder 33 pounds 0 ounces 16 October, standing down from the alarm: 2 guns fired, 1 six-pounder, 0 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, powder 2 pounds 8 ounces 17 October, practice at Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 37 pounds 2 ounces 17 October, firing at His Majesty's ships from Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 10 pounds 9 ounces On 18 October, saluting the *Deptford*: 9 guns fired, 9 six-pounders, powder 9 pounds 0 ounces. On 19 October, saluting His Majesty's ship *Magnanime*: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces. 19 October, saluting the captain coming ashore: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces On 19 October, saluting His Majesty's ship *Sultan*: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces. 19 October, saluting the captain coming ashore: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces On 19 October, saluting the store ship *Northumberland*: 9 guns fired, 9 six-pounders, powder 9 pounds 0 ounces.

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		Do. the Capt. coming on shore: No. Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 0 Do. the Northumberland's Store Ship: No. Guns fired 9, 6 lb. 9, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 9, Powder oz. 0 21 General Alarm: No. Guns fired 10, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 12? "4", 3 lb. 6, Powder lb. 33, Powder oz. 0 Disembarking Do.: No. Guns fired 2, 6 lb. 1, 4 lb. 1, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 0 24 Saluting Col. Stewart Commandant: No. Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 0 25 Saluting His Majesty's Ships: No. Guns fired 21, 6 lb. 21, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 21, Powder oz. 0 Priming for 54 Guns: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 Do. Pieces for 21 Guns: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 Do. for 32 Do.: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 0, Powder oz. 0 26 Saluted His Majesty's Fire Ship Infernal: No. Guns fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 Priming: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 0 Mine Blowers at Banks's: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 0 Do. at Long Wood: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 192, Powder oz. 0 Do. at Sandy Bay: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 30, Powder oz. 0 Do. at Lemon Valley: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 12, Powder oz. 0 Sundry Services: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 1 Do.: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 30, Powder oz. 0 Total: No. Guns fired 167, 6 lb. 117, 4 lb. 32, 3 lb. 18, Powder lb. 651, Powder oz. 7	19 October, a general alarm: 18 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders, powder 33 pounds 0 ounces 19 October, standing down from the alarm: 2 guns fired, 1 six-pounder, 0 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, powder 2 pounds 8 ounces 19 October, priming for 54 guns: 0 guns fired, powder 10 pounds 0 ounces 24 October, saluting Colonel Stuart coming ashore: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces 25 October, saluting His Majesty's accession to the throne: 21 guns fired, 21 six-pounders, powder 21 pounds 0 ounces 25 October, priming for 21 guns: 0 guns fired, powder 4 pounds 0 ounces 25 October, priming for 32 guns: 0 guns fired, powder 6 pounds 0 ounces On 26 October, the departure of His Majesty's fire ship *Infernal*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces. 26 October, priming: 0 guns fired, powder 2 pounds 0 ounces Blowing stone at Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 192 pounds 0 ounces Blowing stone at Sandy Bay: 0 guns fired, powder 30 pounds 0 ounces Blowing stone at Longwood: 0 guns fired, powder 12 pounds 0 ounces Blowing stone at Chubb's Rock: 0 guns fired, powder 6 pounds 0 ounces Various services: 0 guns fired, powder 30 pounds 0 ounces Total: 167 guns fired, 117 six-pounders, 32 four-pounders, 18 three-pounders, powder 651 pounds 7 ounces **Interpretations** The island used more powder in October than in any other month of the year: 651 pounds, against 541 in September. Blasting stone took more than a third of it, mostly at Banks's, where the works covering the northern approach to James's Bay were still being cut from the rock. Practice firing at Munden's Point, Rupert's and Banks's took another 125 pounds. The powder bought from Johnstone's prize and the 100 barrels the Council had asked him for came in as the old stock was being spent at this rate. The entry for firing at His Majesty's ships from Banks's records shots fired at friendly vessels. With two general alarms that month and the King's ships arriving unannounced, the battery at Banks's probably fired to bring an approaching ship to and make her identify herself before she came into the road. A warship that failed to answer the island's signals was treated as a possible enemy until she showed her colours. Salutes were graded by rank, as in earlier months: 13 guns for each King's ship and her captain, nine for a Company ship and 21 on 25 October for the anniversary of George III's accession.
349	345	1781 Cartridge Paper 27 Quires Lead Balls 5 lb. 7 oz. Nails 3 Tallow 16 Vinegar 1 Gallon Sheep Skins 2 Copper Ladles 24 lb. 10 Sponge Staves	The account of artillery stores used in October 1781 went on to list the materials issued. Cartridge paper, 27 quires Lead balls, 5 pounds 11 ounces Nitre, 3 pounds Tallow, 16 pounds Vinegar, 1 gallon Basil skins, 2 Copper clamps for 24-pounders, 10 Sponge staves, 6 Sponge heads for 24-pounders, 5 Tin tubes for 6-pounders, 8 Fuses, 3 Handspikes, 3 Beds for 32-pounders, 9 Tompions for 32-pounders and 18-pounders, 6

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		6 Sponge Heads 24 lb. 5 Tin Tubes 6 lb. 8 Fuzes 3 Handspikes 3 Beds 32 lb. 9 Tompions 32 10 6 Shells 10 5 1 Round Shot 32 1 24 1 10 9 9 4 6 6 Canister Grape Shot 1 Skeins of Wire 2 Gallns. Received from on board the Dutch Prizes 6 24 lb. Brass Guns 199 Round Shot 24 lb. 100 Barrels of Gun Powder 100 lb. each Received from Ruperts Instrument? 15 Barrels of Gun Powder 100 lb. Signed Willm. Pierce Capt. of Artillery Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in October 1781 To 123 Bottles Madeira 8 17 6 10 Do. Port - 15 10 86 Do. Lisbon 6 16 2 119 Do. Beer 1 19 0 19 Gallns. Arrack 2 17 - 172 lb. Beef 2 3 - 230 lb. Mutton 4 19 2 5 Lambs 2 10 - 3 Goats 1 10 - 70 lb. Pork 1 15 - 15 lb. Butter - 7 6 4 Ducks - 6 - 90 lb. Candy 2 5 - 755 lb. Flour 6 5 10 £ 45 7 0 Bot. for the Table 4 Turkeys 1 - - 51 Fowls 3 16 6	Shells of 32 pounds, 3 Shells of 18 pounds, 1 Round shot of 32 pounds, 1 Round shot of 24 pounds, 1 Round shot of 18 pounds, 9 Round shot of 9 pounds, 4 Round shot of 6 pounds, 6 Canister and grapeshot, 1 round Spirits of wine, 2 gallons The artillery took the following into store from the Dutch prizes. Brass 24-pounder guns, 6 Round shot of 24 pounds, 499 Gunpowder, 100 barrels of 100 pounds each It also received 1 barrel of gunpowder of 100 pounds from aboard the *Bellmont*. William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. The account of provisions used at the Company's table in October 1781 followed. Madeira wine, 142 bottles, £8 17s 6d Port wine, 10 bottles, £0 15s 10d Lisbon wine, 86 bottles, £6 16s 2d Beer, 119 bottles, £1 19s 8d Arrack, 19 gallons, £2 17s 0d Beef, 172 pounds, £2 3s 0d Mutton, 238 pounds, £4 19s 2d Lambs, 5, £2 10s 0d Goats, 3, £1 10s 0d Pork, 70 pounds, £1 15s 0d Butter, 15 pounds, £0 7s 6d Ducks, 4, £0 6s 0d Sugar candy, 90 pounds, £2 5s 0d Flour, 755 pounds, £6 5s 10d Total, £43 7s 8d The provisions bought for the table followed. Turkeys, 4, £1 0s 0d Fowls, 51, £3 16s 6d Ducks, 2, £0 3s 0d Pigs, 2, £0 10s 0d Total, £5 9s 6d **Interpretations** The Company's table cost £43 7s 8d in October, about half as much again as in September. The rise came almost entirely from wine and from the King's ships. Two naval squadrons and their officers passed through the island that month, and the Governor entertained each captain who came ashore. The salutes for the *Magnanime*, the *Sultan* and Colonel Stuart in the artillery account match the occasions on which the table was laid for them. Lisbon wine rose from 31 bottles in September to 86, and Madeira from 64 to 142. The beds for 32-pounders were the heavy timber platforms on which a gun and its carriage stood, laid level so that the gun recoiled straight back and could be run out again. Nine of them issued in a single month point to new gun positions being prepared at the batteries Pierce had proposed at Sandy Bay, Thompson's Valley, Lemon Valley and Hick's Hall Point.

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		2 Ducks - 3 - 2 Pigs - 10 - £ 5 9 6	
350	346	12th November The Secretary this Day was directed to write Captain Willm. Pierce the following Letter Vizt. To Captain William Pierce Engineer Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that it is their Desire that you break off from Working Party now employed in perfecting the Junction of the Road from Butter Milk Point to Banks's upper Battery for the present, and Complete the Platform now unfinished on the above Battery as an essential safeguard for our Ships coming into the Road, likewise to place a ten Inch Howitzer and twelve Pounder on the Middle Point of Butter Milk Road. And it is their further positive Order that you immediately set Detached? a Party of Fiddlers? or Men upon the height above Thomson? Valley on the right hand side, and form a Place one of the Brass twelve Pounders as to complete a guard Room for the reception of a Guard consisting of twelve Men for the safety of that part of the Island. And they further require you to leave the Shed now standing for the Cover of the said Artillery from the Weather. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 12th Novr. 1781. We yesterday received the following Letter from Commodore Chas. Mitchell Vizt. On His Majesty's Service To the Worshipful the Governor and the Council of St. Helena Gentlemen The Hannibal having joined me I am come to the Determination from the Critical situation of our affairs in the East Indies to adjoin? with the utmost Dispatch to reinforce Sir Edward Hughes and	The Council told the secretary to write to Captain William Pierce, the engineer. Britannicus Wright sent the letter on 12 November 1781 on behalf of the Governor and Council. Pierce was ordered to take his working party off the road linking Buttermilk Point to the upper battery at Banks's for the time being. The men were to finish the platform still incomplete on that battery, since it was essential for firing on ships as they came into the road. They were also to mount a 10-inch howitzer and a 12-pounder on the middle point of the Buttermilk road. The Council further ordered Pierce to send a party of the same workmen at once to the high ground above Thompson's Valley, on the High Hill side. There they were to mount one of the brass 12-pounders and finish a guard room for a guard of 12 men to protect that part of the island. The shed already standing there was to be kept to shelter the guns from the weather. The day before, the Council had received a letter from Commodore Charles Wolseley, marked as public service and addressed to the Governor and Council. Wolseley wrote that the *Hannibal* had now joined him. Given how critical British affairs in the East Indies had become, he had decided to send the *Sultan* ahead to reinforce Sir Edward Hughes. **Interpretations** The Council halted the road from Buttermilk Point to Banks's, which it had approved on 24 October 1781, and moved its workmen onto guns instead. A road helped move men and ammunition between batteries, but it could not fire on an enemy. With the *Hannibal* back from the Cape bringing French prizes and Wolseley's squadron about to sail, the Council wanted every new gun mounted and ready before the King's ships left the island to its own defences. The platform at Banks's upper battery came first because it commanded the approach to the anchorage, where any attack on the Company's ships would come. The Council had refused quarters for an officer at Buttermilk Point on 24 October as an unnecessary expense. Now it ordered a guard room for 12 men above Thompson's Valley. The difference was between comfort and defence. A permanent guard at a remote height needed shelter to stay at its post through the winter rains, while an officer's quarters added nothing to the island's firepower.
351	347	1781 and to give him information of my safe arrival here and of my intention of sailing the 20th Instant. The principal Reason of my now having the Honor of addressing you is respecting the French Prisoners brought in by Capt. Christie the number of three hundred and Eighty, sending them to India in the Sultan can answer no kind of purpose as Ships We have now in that part of the World to exchange for them, but might be attended with a great inconvenience to Capt. Watt, should he on his Passage meet with any Ships of Force, I must also be evident to you that I have no possible way of sending them to Europe. Therefore trust and hope that you will take	Wolseley's letter went on to say that he was sending the *Sultan* to tell Sir Edward Hughes of his safe arrival at St Helena and of his plan to sail on 20 November. His main reason for writing, however, concerned the 280 French prisoners Captain Christie had brought in. Sending them on to India in the *Sultan* would serve no purpose, since there were no British prisoners there to exchange for them. Carrying them could also cause Captain Watt serious trouble if he met an enemy force on the way. Nor did Wolseley have any means of sending them to Europe. He therefore asked the Council to find a place ashore to hold them until some other way of disposing of them arose. He expected that to happen very soon, either through the China ships or other vessels calling at the island. If the Council thought the garrison too weak to guard so many prisoners and carry out its other duties, Wolseley pointed out that 80 recruits for

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		this Matter into Consideration and appoint some place on shore for their reception, till an opportunity may offer of otherwise disposing of them which most probably will shortly happen either by the China Ships or some other that may touch here. They have to observe that should you think the Garrison not sufficiently strong to contain such a Number of Prisoners, and to do them necessary Duty of the Island, that there are Eighty Bengal Recruits on the Northumberland that may be landed for this particular Service this would be attended with great advantage to the Kings Troops Embarked on board the three Ships where they are very crowded as some as some of them might be removed to the Northumberland. The very great attention you have been pleased to show to all my former Requisitions, leaves me no room to doubt of your doing every thing that will tend to the good of the Kings and the Honble. East India Company's Service in which I am happy in assuring you, we are all of us equally zealous about. I have the honor to be with great Esteem Gentlemen Your most Obedient & humble Servant Signed Chas. Mitchell Magnanime St. Helena Road Novr. 11th 1781 To which the Board returned the subsequent Answer Vizt.	Bengal were aboard the *Northumberland*. They could be landed for this particular duty. That would also relieve the King's troops packed aboard the three troop ships, since some of them could then move into the *Northumberland*. The Council's close attention to all his earlier requests left him in no doubt that it would do whatever served both the King's service and the Company's, and he assured it that his own side was equally keen to do the same. Charles Wolseley signed the letter aboard the *Magnanime* in the road at St Helena on 11 November 1781. The Council's answer followed. **Interpretations** Prisoners of war were held so that they could be exchanged for British captives in enemy hands. In 1781 Britain and France exchanged prisoners under formal agreements, man for man and rank for rank. In India there were no British prisoners held by France against whom these men could be traded, so carrying them there only fed and guarded them for nothing. Worse, 280 enemy sailors and soldiers aboard a single warship were a danger in action. If the *Sultan* met a French ship, her crew would have to fight while guarding a crowd of prisoners who might rise against them. St Helena, on the route home, was the logical place to leave them until a homeward ship could carry them to Europe for exchange. Wolseley offered the island a way to hold them. The 80 recruits on the *Northumberland* were bound for the Company's Bengal army. Landing them as guards would let the garrison keep its own men at the batteries, while the overcrowded troop ships gained space aboard the *Northumberland*. For a garrison weakened by desertion and sickness, 280 prisoners was a large charge. They outnumbered several of its companies put together and would need feeding from stores that were already stretched.
352	348	12th November To Captain Chas. Mitchell Commander of His Majesty's Ships at St. Helena. Sir We have the Honor of your Letter of this Date respecting the French Prisoners brought in His Majesty's Ship Hannibal by Captain Christie and requesting us to take into consideration and appoint some Place on shore for their reception to the amount of three hundred and Eighty Men. We have been in consequence of your requisition maturely considered the above proposal, and have to acquaint you that it is impossible for Us to comply with your request as the Weakness of Our Garrison at present and the Number and Strength? Situation of our out Posts? will not possibly admit of guarding such a Number of Prisoners at this Critical Juncture with safety to the Island even tho' the measure proposed of Detaining the Eighty Recruits out of the Honble. Company's Ship Northumberland should be adopted. We have the Honor to be with Respect Sir Your most Obedient & humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Bazett William Wrangham Henry Bazett St. Helena	The Council replied to Captain Charles Wolseley, commander of His Majesty's ships at St Helena, on 11 November 1781. It had received his letter of that day about the French prisoners Captain Christie of the *Hannibal* had brought into port. Wolseley had asked the Council to find somewhere ashore to hold them, 280 men in all. The Council had considered the proposal carefully but found it impossible to agree. The garrison was weak at present, and its outlying posts were many and widely scattered. It could not safely guard so many prisoners at so critical a time, even if the 80 recruits from the Company's ship *Northumberland* were kept back to help. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the reply. The Lieutenant Governor then laid a minute before the Council. He asked whether it was worth considering Wolseley's suggestion of keeping the Bengal recruits from the *Northumberland* for the island's own service, even though the Council had rejected the purpose Wolseley had proposed them for. **Interpretations** The Council refused to take the prisoners, even with the extra guards Wolseley offered. Saying yes would have been the obvious way to oblige a commodore whose squadron had just been fed from the island's last cattle. The Council set out its reason plainly. The garrison was spread thin over many outlying posts, from Sandy Bay to Banks's, and it had lost men to sickness and desertion all year. Two hundred and eighty French prisoners on an island that feared a French attack would be a danger in themselves. A rising among them, timed to an enemy landing, could deliver the island to France. Eighty raw recruits would not have made up for that risk.

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		11th November 1781. The Lieutenant Governor this Day laid the following Minute before the Board. The Lieutenant Governor begs leave to offer to the Board whether it ought not to be worthy of consideration the Hint mentioned in Captain Mitchell's Letter of yesterday of Detaining the Bengal Recruits out of the Northumberland for the service of this Island notwithstanding they do not admit the expediency of which that	Corneille's minute shows the Council looking to keep the benefit of Wolseley's offer without the burden that came with it. The 80 Bengal recruits were meant for the Company's army in India, but they were Company soldiers, and the island was short of men. Keeping them would strengthen the garrison without taking on any prisoners.
353	349	1781 that measure is as fully pointed out to them in said Letter, but for the following Reasons. That the establishment is inadequate to the Defence of the Island, even of Compleat still more so at Present wanting 57 Men, for that purpose reckoning in the whole, Invalids, Old Men &c. That We have an extensive Coast of 29 Miles to Guard with established posts distant from each other to the number of fourteen, none of which are of the utmost consequence, and require much larger Detachments than our present Numbers can afford the other five Chief of Lemon Valley, not to be neglected besides the necessity of an internal Establishment of Troops to act in conjunction with the Militia and support any Station attacked that an Enemy might attempt on any part of the Island. That the unhappy situation of Great Britain at present engaged at War with the Powers of the most Martial Powers of Europe renders this Island of the most essential consequence to the Honourable Company, and the Nation at large as the only safe Rendezvous for His Majesty's Ships and Convoys as well as those of the Company's outward and homeward bound. That the great Reinforcement sent to India by Commodore Johnstone in conjunction to the Honble. Company together with the present under Convoy of Captain Mitchell going over all the reasons to hope (if in time) such perfectly reestablish the Company's affairs in the Carnatic and throughout their Territorial Possessions in India, it therefore behoves Us from the above considerations to avoid a number of the present Detachment Reinforcement to our Garrison, as I apprehend limits? that the advantageous situation of this Island and its future aspect of the actual consequence to our Enemies, and thereby induce them at some Period sooner or later to attempt nothing of so valuable a Spot as this Island now is to the State and Company, all which reasons Gentlemen to enforce the above measure I submit to your Consideration. Signed Danl. Corneille St. Helena 12th Novr. 1781. The Board having taken into Consideration the measure proposed by the Lieutenant Governor in the above minute of	Corneille gave his reasons in the minute. The first was that the island's establishment was too small to defend it even at full strength. It was now 59 men short, counting invalids, old men and everyone else. Second, the island had 29 miles of coast to guard, with 14 separate posts spread out along it. Nine of these were of the greatest importance and needed far larger detachments than the garrison could spare. The other five mattered less but could not be left unmanned. On top of that, a body of troops had to be kept inland to act with the militia and meet any sudden attack on any part of the island. Third, Great Britain was at war with the three leading naval powers of Europe. That made St Helena vital to the Company and to the nation as a whole, since it was the only safe meeting place for the King's ships and convoys and for the Company's ships sailing out and home. Fourth, the large reinforcement Commodore Johnstone had sent on to India, which the Company had not expected, together with the force now under Captain Wolseley's escort, gave every reason to hope that the Company's affairs in the Carnatic and across its territories in India would be fully restored in time. Corneille concluded that the Council ought to take advantage of this fortunate chance to strengthen the garrison. In his view, the island's position would make it more and more important to Britain's enemies, and sooner or later they would try to seize so valuable a place from the state and the Company. He laid all these reasons before the Council in support of his proposal. Daniel Corneille signed the minute at St Helena on 12 November 1781. The Council then considered his proposal to keep all the recruits aboard the *Northumberland*, consigned to Bengal, for the island's own service in its present critical situation. **Interpretations** Corneille's minute turned Wolseley's offer on its head. Wolseley had suggested landing the 80 recruits only to guard French prisoners, a temporary duty in the King's interest. Corneille argued for keeping them permanently, against the Company's own orders that sent them to Bengal. Diverting another presidency's soldiers was a serious step. Bengal had paid to raise them and was waiting for them in a war. Corneille met that objection directly with his fourth reason: the large forces now heading to India under Johnstone and Wolseley meant Bengal could spare 80 men better than St Helena could. His figures show how stretched the garrison really was. Fourteen posts along 29 miles of coast, a reserve inland and a shortfall of 59 men even after counting the old and sick meant that most posts were held by a handful of soldiers. With Britain at war with France, Spain and the Dutch Republic at once, the island's role as the only safe port of call between Europe and the East made it a prize worth an enemy's effort. Corneille wanted the garrison strengthened before an attack came, not after.

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		Detaining all the Recruits embarked in the Ship Northumberland consigned to Bengal for the service of this Island in its present critical situation	
354	350	12th November coincide with him in opinion of the necessity of so doing, for the reasons set forth in his said Minute, and further on account of the failure of the Expedition against the Cape, upon which it is to be presumed the Government and Company had a dependance for the Refreshment of their Ships in their Passage to and from India, which of course now renders this Island of the greatest consequence and will probably bring the attention of our Enemies upon it therefore agree to write the following Order to Capt. Jas. Ross? and also to acquaint the Governor General of our resolution. To Captain James Rees? Commander of Ship Northumberland Sir I am Directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that the Honble. Company are not having sent any recruits for the service of this Garrison by your Ship. They are under the necessity for the better security of the Island at this Critical Juncture to detain the Recruits you have on board for Bengal, You are therefore hereby Ordered to Deliver to Lieut. Chas. Ross Stewart Garrison Adjutant, all the Honble. Company's Recruits you have on board the Ship Northumberland, which were consigned for Bengal. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 12th November 1781. Lieutenant Thomas Stothard? this Day presented the following Letter. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. Worshipful Sir and Sirs Having this Morning by your Order	The Council agreed with Corneille that the recruits should be kept, for the reasons in his minute. It also gave a further reason: the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope had failed. The government and the Company had probably counted on the Cape to refresh their ships on the passage to and from India. With that hope gone, St Helena became even more important and would probably draw the attention of Britain's many enemies. The Council therefore agreed to send an order to Captain James Rees of the *Northumberland* and to tell the Governor General of its decision. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, wrote to Captain James Rees, commander of the *Northumberland*, on 12 November 1781. On behalf of the Governor and Council, he told Rees that the Company had sent no recruits for the island's garrison in his ship. To keep the island secure at this critical time, the Council had no choice but to hold back the recruits he was carrying for Bengal. Rees was ordered to hand over all the Company's recruits aboard the *Northumberland* bound for Bengal to Lieutenant Charles Ross Steward, the garrison adjutant. Lieutenant Thomas Statham then presented a letter to Governor John Skottowe and the Council about a duty he had carried out that morning on their orders. **Interpretations** The Council kept the 80 Bengal recruits even though the Company had sent them to Bengal. The ordinary course was to let them sail on under the Company's orders, and the Council could have held them only to guard prisoners, as Wolseley had first suggested. Instead it took them for good. The reason it added to Corneille's case was the outcome at the Cape. Johnstone's squadron had sailed to take the Cape from the Dutch, and the Council had seen it return with prizes but no conquest. With the Cape still in enemy hands, every British ship passing between Europe and India depended on St Helena for water and fresh food. That made the island a likely target, and the Council judged that losing it would cost the Company far more than Bengal would lose by going without 80 men. Telling the Governor General at once was a way of covering that decision. It put on record that the recruits had been kept because of the war, not taken quietly from another presidency.
355	351	1781 order been apprized of the state of my Commission, beg leave in the most respectful Manner to lay before you what I have long deemed an Injury. My appointment at the India House was preferred to that of Lieutenant Stewart and Edwards? yet to my great disappointment on Examining my Commission which was not received till the moment of my Departure I found my rank immediately under the latter of those Gentn. though I have long declined taking the redress which I then thought I should take myself entitled to yet beg leave to lay before you that I shall take the first Opportunity of laying a proper state of the Case through the Channel of your Board, before the Court of Directors.	Statham wrote that the Council had asked him that morning for the date of his commission. He took the chance to put before it a grievance he had long felt. The India House in London had appointed him before Lieutenants Stewart and Colvill. When he finally received his commission, at the very moment he was leaving England, he found to his dismay that it ranked him directly below Colvill. He had held back for a long time from seeking the redress he believed he was owed, and still believed so. He now told the Council that he would take the first chance to send a proper statement of his case to the Court of Directors, through the Council. Thomas Statham signed the letter as lieutenant. Matthew Bazett reported that the Company's general books of account had been balanced up to 30 September 1781. The Council ordered them to be copied as quickly as possible. The storekeeper then presented his account of the losses on store goods for the year ending 30

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		I am Worshipful Sir and Sirs with every respect Your most Obedient and humble Servant Signed Thos. Stothard? Lieut. Mr. Matt. Bazett reports that the Honble. Company's General Books of Accounts are Balanced to the 30th September last. We ordered them to be copied as fast as possible. The Storekeeper this Day brought in his account of Profit upon the Store Goods for the Year ending the 30th September last, the Stock remaining therein at that Period as also of Loss by leakage, short weight and Wastage? Damaged by the Goodness? and weighing the Paddy &c. which is as follows Vizt. Profit and Loss Dr. 1781 Septr. 30th To Cordage C. qrs. lb. 3 - 8 6 9 3 Carried Over £ 6 9 3	September 1781. He declared that the losses were genuine and could not have been avoided, and the Council ordered the account to be entered. It charged to profit and loss £41 13s 5d lost through leakage, short weight and spoilage, and through drawing goods off by the gallon and weighing them out by the pound, during the year. Cordage, 3 hundredweight 0 quarters 8 pounds, £6 9s 3d Carried over, £6 9s 3d **Interpretations** The Council asked Statham for the date of his commission because it had just ruled, on 22 October 1781, that promotion in the garrison would run by seniority and the dates of officers' commissions. That rule made the date on each commission decisive for every future vacancy. Statham's commission placed him below two men he had been appointed ahead of, so under the new rule they would be promoted before him. He did not ask the Council to overturn the commission, which only the Directors could correct. He asked it instead to forward his case to London. Sending the complaint through the Council kept it within proper channels and gave the Council a chance to add its own view. The storekeeper's account of waste covered losses that came from handling, not from shipping. Goods bought by the cask or bale were sold out by the gallon or the pound. Every time a cask was tapped or a bale broken some was lost to spillage, drying, short measure and spoilage in the warehouse. A yearly allowance for this kind of loss let the stores account balance against the stock actually counted in the inventory. The storekeeper's declaration that the losses were genuine was his guarantee to the Council that nothing had been taken or sold off the books.
356	352	12th November Brought Over £ 6 9 3 Glass Ware Vizt. 5 Beer Glasses - 4 - 2 Wine Do. - 0 10 10 Squares 6 by 8 - 2 7 5 Do. 8 by 10 - 2 3 - 9 2 Leather C. qrs. lb. 1 - 2 Sole 1 12 6 Oil Vizt. 4½ Gallns. Linseed - 19 1 6 Do. Train 1 9 6 1¼ Do. Turpentine - 15 - 3 3 7 Paint Vizt. lb. 21 White Lead Mixed - 7 10 3 Blue Colour - 6 - 4½ Verdigrease - 9 1 7 Prussian Blue - 10 1 3 Indigo - 5 2 3 Starch - 1 11 2 10 1 Soap C. qrs. lb. 1 1 10	The storekeeper's account of waste on store goods for the year ending 30 September 1781 continued from the £6 9s 3d brought over. Brought over, £6 9s 3d Beer glasses, 5, £0 4s 0d Wine glasses, 2, £0 0s 10d Window glass, 10 panes of 6 by 8 inches, £0 2s 1d Window glass, 5 panes of 8 by 10 inches, £0 2s 3d Total for glassware, £0 9s 2d Sole leather, 1 quarter 2 pounds, £1 12s 6d Linseed oil, 4½ gallons, £0 19s 1d Train oil, 6 gallons, £1 9s 6d Turpentine, 1¼ gallons, £0 15s 0d Total for oils, £3 3s 7d Mixed white lead, 21 pounds, £0 7s 10d Olive colour, 3 pounds, £0 6s 0d Verdigris, 4½ pounds, £0 19s 1d Prussian blue, 7 ounces, £0 10s 1d Indigo, 3 pounds, £0 5s 2d Starch, 3 pounds, £0 1s 11d Total for paint, £2 10s 1d Soap, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 10 pounds, £3 10s 1d Salt, 3 bushels, £0 12s 5d Madeira wine, 48 gallons, £25 8s 0d Sugar, 12 hundredweight 0 quarters 25 pounds, £16 10s 2d Sugar candy, 6 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 pounds, £14 15s 0d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £31 5s 2d China meat dishes, 2, £0 2s 3d China bowls, 4, £0 4s 6d China quarter-pint cups and saucers, 4, £0 1s 2d China half-pint cups and saucers, 7, £0 3s 4d China meat plates, 10, £0 4s 5d Total for china, £0 15s 8d Pepper, 1 quarter 23 pounds, £1 5s 6d

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		3 10 1 Salt 3 Bushels - 12 5 Wine 50 Gallns. Madeira 25 0 - Sugar and Candy Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 12 - 25 Sugar 16 10 2 6 3 22 Candy 14 15 - 31 5 2 China Ware Vizt. 2 Breakfast Dishes - 2 3 4 Bowls - 4 6 4 Quart Bowl Cups and Saucers 1 1 2 9 Half pint Do. and Do. - 3 4 10 Breakfast Plates - 4 5 1 15 8? "- 15 8" Spice C. qrs. lb. 1 2 25 Pepper 1 5 6? "- 15 0" Arrack 140 Gallns. 1 5 6 Rice and Paddy Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 60 2 3 Rice 20 9 0 32 1 27 Paddy 6 12 9 27 2 5? "16 18 4" Carrd. Over £ 121 10 2	Arrack, 140 gallons, £16 18s 4d Rice, 68 hundredweight 1 quarter 3 pounds, £20 9s 8d Paddy, 32 hundredweight 1 quarter 27 pounds, £6 12s 9d Total for rice and paddy, £27 2s 5d Carried over, £121 10s 2d **Interpretations** The largest losses fell on the goods that were hardest to keep: wine, spirits, sugar and grain. Madeira lost 48 gallons and arrack 140 gallons through seepage from the casks and evaporation in the island's warm months, and every tapping of a cask for the Company's table and for sale lost a little more. Sugar and sugar candy drew damp and dissolved, while rice and paddy were eaten by weevils and rats in store. At more than £25 0s 0d, the wasted Madeira alone cost more than all the glass, leather, oils, paint, china and soap put together. That reflects both its high price and the steady drain of serving it out by the bottle.
357	353	1781 Bro. Over £ 121 10 2 Wheat Vizt. C. qrs. lb. 6 3 16 Wheat 5 1 9 2 - 12 Barley - 19 2 6 12 11 Candles Vizt. C. qrs. lb. - 3 25 Wax 11 9 4 - 1 1 Tallow 1 9 - 12 18 4 Sago C. qrs. lb. - 1 19 - 12 1 £ 141 13 5 St. Helena 30th September 1781 Errors Excepted Signed Isma. Doveton Store Keeper The Governor this Day laid before the Board the following Letter received from Captain Alexander Christie Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of the Island of St. Helena. Sir Having brought under the Forts of this Island over which His Majesty exercises the Sovereign Jurisdiction (notwithstanding the executive Part of Justice for the Benefit of all his subjects are	The storekeeper's account of waste for the year ending 30 September 1781 closed with £121 10s 2d brought over. Brought over, £121 10s 2d Wheat, 6 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 pounds, £5 13s 9d Barley, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 12 pounds, £0 19s 2d Total for wheat and barley, £6 12s 11d Wax candles, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 25 pounds, £11 9s 4d Tallow candles, 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 1 pound, £1 9s 0d Total for candles, £12 18s 4d Sago, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 19 pounds, £0 12s 0d Total waste charged to profit and loss, £141 13s 5d Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 30 September 1781, errors excepted. The Governor then laid before the Council a letter he had received from Captain Alexander Christie. A note in the margin named the two prizes it concerned. The *Sartine*, a French frigate commanded by Monsieur [...]. The *Sévère*, a French merchant ship commanded by Louis Olivier. Christie's letter was addressed to Governor John Skottowe. He had brought into the island's port two prizes taken near the Cape of Good Hope by the King's ship under his command. They had belonged to the French King and his subjects, whom the royal proclamation of 28 July 1778 declared enemies of the King of Great Britain and his subjects. He pointed out that the King kept sovereign jurisdiction over the island, even though the charters had handed the day-

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		committed to the East India Company and their Substitutes) the two Prizes named in the margin, taken near the Cape of Good Hope by His Majesty's Ship under my Command, from the French King and his Subjects, which subjects of the said King are avowed Enemies to the King of Great Britain and of his Subjects as set forth in the Royal Proclamation of the 28th July 1778. I now make application to you as Governor of the said Island of St. Helena to appoint or cause to be appointed fit and proper Commissioners to take a Judicial Cognizance of the Process concerning the Legality of the said Captures and Evidences We have to produce respecting them according to the Law of Nations and the Royal Charter to **Margin Notes:** La Nickee? a French Frigate Commanded by Mons. Querangal Le Sevre? a French Merchant Ship commanded by Louis Olivier	to-day administration of justice to the Company and its officers. He therefore asked the Governor to appoint commissioners to examine the prizes, hear evidence on whether the captures were lawful and judge them by the law of nations and the royal charters. **Interpretations** Christie's request copied almost word for word the one Commodore Johnstone made on 5 September 1781 about the Dutch prizes. That was deliberate. The Council had already examined its charters and agreed it could grant a prize commission, and it had set up one for Johnstone. Christie was asking it to follow its own precedent, which made a refusal hard to justify. The proclamation of 28 July 1778 marked the start of open war with France, which had entered the American war as an ally of the rebel colonies. It gave the legal ground on which French ships and goods could be taken and condemned as lawful prize.
358	354	12th Novr. to the East India Company and their Substitutes in their behalf, general Justice as well as Powers granted by His Majesty's Charter Law requiring. And to obviate every objection which can possibly arise against complying with our equitable request, I do hereby engage and give consent in the name of the Captors that in whatever Sentence the Court may be pleased to pronounce upon the proofs adduced, that a Clause be inserted saving the rights of all Persons upon the most fair Due who may have any Claim or Claims upon the said Captures and shall lodge the said Claim or Claims within the Months for registering the same before the Court of Appeals in Prize Causes established in London. I have the Honor to be Sir Your most Obedient and very humble Servant Signed Alexr. Christy Hannibal St. Helena Road 10th Novr. 1781. Upon Considering the above Letter We granted a Commission agreeable to Captain Alexander Christy's request. Mr. James Harper this day brought in a state of the Effects of his Brother Richard Harper Deceased which was ordered to be registered accordingly. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Christie's letter went on to say that the request would be granted in line with the general powers given to the East India Company and its officers by the King's grants. To remove any objection that might be raised against so fair and reasonable a request, he agreed on behalf of the captors to a saving clause. However the court decided on the evidence, anyone with a claim on the prizes could still pursue it. They had only to lodge their claim, within three months, with the Court of Appeals for Prize Causes in London. Alexander Christie signed the letter aboard the *Hannibal* in the road at St Helena on 10 November 1781. After considering the letter, the Council granted a commission as Captain Christie had asked. James Harper brought in that day an account of the estate of his late brother, Richard Harper, and the Council ordered it to be entered on record. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** James Harper delivered his account of Richard Harper's estate only five weeks after the Council ruled that his half-sister, Elizabeth Merchant, was owed half of it. On 8 October 1781 her guardians, Robert and John Leech, had asked the Council what she was entitled to, and the Council answered that she shared the personal estate equally with James. An account entered on the Council's own record fixed what the estate contained. It gave the guardians a document they could use to demand her half, and it protected James against later claims that he had hidden part of the estate. The Council's order to record it brought the administration of the estate under its supervision.
359	355	16th November At a Consultation holden Friday the 16th Day of November 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor	The Council met at the Castle on Friday 16 November 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council.

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		Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 12th Novr. 1781. Tuesday the 13th died John Parker Private Do. Do. John Watson Do. Yesterday We received the following Letter from Captain Mitchell. On His Majesty's Service To the Worshipful Governor and the Council of the Island of St. Helena Gentlemen The enclosed Letter from Lieutenant Col. Stewart, I have just received requesting I would give my orders to the Commander of the Northumberland to receive a party of his Majesty's Troops on board as the Recruits destined for Bengal are landed from her for the service of this Island, but as that Ship appears to me in a particular predicament, as the Indiaman neither under orders or instructions from the Admiralty concerning her, but what were received in the same general terms as the other East India Ships entrusted to my care; I therefore request to be favoured with an explicit answer in what light that Ship is to be considered, whether under your Command, or Directions or mine. I am to beg you will return me the Colonels Letter, as I have not had time to take a Copy of it. I am with the greatest respect Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servant Signed C. Mitchell Magnanime St. Helena Road Novr. 15th 1781.	The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 12 November 1781. Two privates, John Parker and John Watson, died on 13 November 1781. On 15 November the Council received a letter from Captain Charles Wolseley, marked as public service and addressed to the Governor and Council. Wolseley enclosed a letter he had just received from Lieutenant Colonel Stuart. Stuart asked him to order the commander of the *Northumberland* to take a party of the King's troops on board, in place of the Bengal recruits who had been landed for the island's service. Wolseley said the request put him in an awkward position. He had no orders or instructions from the Admiralty about the *Northumberland* beyond the same general terms that applied to the other East India ships in his care. He therefore asked the Council for a plain answer as to how that ship should be regarded: whether she was under its command or under his. He also asked for Stuart's letter back, since he had not had time to copy it. Wolseley signed the letter aboard the *Magnanime* in the road at St Helena on 15 November 1781. **Interpretations** The Council's decision to keep the Bengal recruits raised a question no one had settled: who controlled the *Northumberland*. She was a Company ship, consigned to Bengal under the Company's orders, but she was sailing in Wolseley's convoy. On 31 October the Council gave her captain written orders to continue his voyage, and on 12 November it ordered him to land his recruits. Stuart now wanted the space they had left filled with his crowded troops, and that needed an order from someone with authority over the ship. Wolseley would not issue it on his own, since his Admiralty instructions gave him only the general duty of escorting the Company's ships, not of directing their use. By asking the Council to say plainly whose command she was under, he made sure that whichever authority gave the order would also answer for it.
360	356	16th November To the above Letter the following answer was returned. To Chas. Mitchell Esqr. Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships in St. Helena Road. Sir We have the Honor of your Letter of yesterday requesting to acquaint you whether the Commander of the ship Northumberland is under our immediate directions or yours. In answer we have to inform you, that We have received a Cargo of Goods consigned to us by the Court of Directors from that Ship after the delivery of which We gave Captain Rees Orders to proceed on his Voyage according to the instructions he had received from the Honble. the Court of Directors, and from the publick orders you were pleased to communicate to Us from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, consider her as now under your convoy, as far as her Destination requires. Agreeable to your request we have returned Lieut. Col. Stewart's Letter, together with your instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.	The Council answered Captain Charles Wolseley, commanding officer of His Majesty's ships in the road at St Helena, on 16 November 1781. Wolseley had asked whether it regarded the *Northumberland* as under its direction or his. The Council explained that it had received from her a cargo consigned to it by the Court of Directors. Once that cargo was unloaded, it had ordered Captain Rees to continue his voyage under the instructions he held from the Court. The public orders from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, which Wolseley had shown the Council, placed the ship under his convoy. The Council therefore regarded her as now under his direction. As he had asked, it returned Lieutenant Colonel Stuart's letter, together with Wolseley's instructions from the Admiralty. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the reply. The Governor then laid before the Council a letter he had received from the captain of the French ship *Sartine*, captured off the Cape of Good Hope by His Majesty's ship *Hannibal*. The letter had been translated, and the translation followed. **Interpretations** The Council placed the *Northumberland* firmly under Wolseley's direction. The easier course would have been to keep a say over her, since she was the Company's own ship and the Council had just taken her recruits. Instead it drew a clear line. Its authority over the ship ended once the Company's cargo was

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		We have the Honor to be with Respect Sir Your most Obedt. humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 16th Novr. 1781. The Governor this Day laid before the Board a Letter he received from the Captain of the French Ship La Nicke? which was Captured by His Majesty's Ship Hannibal off the Cape of Good Hope which Letter being translated is as follows Vizt.	ashore and the captain had his sailing orders, and from then on she sailed under the Admiralty's convoy orders. That answer left the decision on Stuart's troops entirely with Wolseley, so the Council could not be blamed for crowding soldiers into a Company ship or for refusing them space. Having just kept the 80 Bengal recruits against the Company's orders, the Council had good reason to avoid taking on a second decision about another presidency's ship.
361	357	1781. To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Sir Mr. De Querangal Lieutenant in the French Kings Service and Commandant of the Kings Frigate La Nicke? has the Honor of representing to you that at the time of the Capture of the said ship I had several sick men on board which have since increased to fifty two According to the return received from the Surgeon that the greatest number of the said Sick are in great danger of their lives if not humanely assisted by allowing them to remain on shore at your Hospital or at any other Place that you will allot for erecting tents for them, that they may receive that assistance their situation requires. I consider myself as under an indispensible necessity of offering you this representation being obliged to render an account to the Court of France of the treatment that they have experienced. I am likewise entitled to tell you that all prisoners in France and under the Colonys in India are treated with particular attention, I demand Sir the same attention and the same treatment that your Prisoners receive from the French Nation. I beg you will observe Sir that my People have been at Sea four Months and that their present state will not permit them to embark to undertake so long a passage, as the Winter is far advanced and they cannot receive any assistance whilst on board Ship. I expect from your Justice that you will be pleased to give Orders that my People may receive such assistance as their present State actually Demands. After the representation that I made to you by the Captain of the King's Ship Hannibal and also to your Lieut. Governor I would not have repeated this my Demand of you and would presume that Justice Duty under Consequence from my Count? does not object respecting an object so essential. I have the Honor to be with Respect Sir Your most humble and most Obedient	The French captain was De Quenangal, a lieutenant in the French King's service and commander of the King's frigate *Sartine*. He wrote to Governor John Skottowe that several of his men had been sick when his ship was taken. According to his surgeon's return, the number had since risen to 52. Most of them were in grave danger unless they were allowed ashore, either in the island's hospital or in tents on any site the Governor chose, where they could get the care their condition required. He felt bound to make the request because he would have to account to the French court for how his men had been treated. He added that prisoners held by France, at home, in the colonies and in India, were treated with particular care, and he hoped for the same treatment from the British. De Quenangal pointed out that his men had been at sea for four months and were in no state to face so long a voyage. [...] and they could get no relief while they stayed aboard. He trusted to the Governor's sense of justice to order that they receive the care their condition demanded. He had already made the same plea to the captain of the *Hannibal* and to the Lieutenant Governor. He would not have repeated it had he not judged it essential for the men under his command. De Quenangal signed the letter at St Helena on 16 November 1781. The Governor's answer followed. **Interpretations** De Quenangal based his plea on reciprocity. In the eighteenth century, enemy nations generally treated prisoners of war according to accepted custom, and each side watched how its own men were treated by the other. By reminding the Governor that he must report to the French court, and that British prisoners in French hands were well treated, he was hinting that harsh treatment of his men could be repaid in kind. His request came only five days after the Council had refused Wolseley's proposal to bring 280 French prisoners ashore, on the ground that the garrison was too weak to guard them. Sick men in tents or the hospital posed far less danger than able-bodied prisoners. However, landing them would still mean feeding them from scarce stores and risked spreading their sickness to a garrison already weakened by deaths that year.

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		Servant Signed De Querangal St. Helena 16th Novr. 1781. To which the Governor returned the subsequent answer Vizt.	
362	358	16th November To Mons. Querangal Sir In answer to your Letter of this Day respecting the Sick of your Ship, I have to acquaint you that I laid the same before the Board of Council who have agreed to permit a Tent to be erected above the Town for their reception, under such restrictions as will be necessary; our Surgeon will be sent on Board to examine into their Complaints and such as are really sick are to remain on board until he shall have leave to come on shore to the said Tent, but I am sorry to inform you that this poor Island affords no refreshment except a little Purslane which will be provided for them, and Captain Christie will take tomorrow such measures for providing them with other necessaries for their support and maintenance which I trust will contribute to the restoring of their health and assure you nothing in my power shall be wanting towards Contributing thereto. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed John Skottowe St. Helena 16th Novr. 1781. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The French captain was De Quenangal, a lieutenant in the French King's service and commander of the King's frigate *Sartine*. He wrote to Governor John Skottowe that several of his men had been sick when his ship was taken. According to his surgeon's return, the number had since risen to 52. Most of them were in grave danger unless they were allowed ashore, either in the island's hospital or in tents on any site the Governor chose, where they could get the care their condition required. He felt bound to make the request because he would have to account to the French court for how his men had been treated. He added that prisoners held by France, at home, in the colonies and in India, were treated with particular care, and he hoped for the same treatment from the British. De Quenangal pointed out that his men had been at sea for four months and were in no state to face so long a voyage. He said the winter was already far advanced, and the sick could get no relief while they stayed aboard. He trusted to the Governor's sense of justice to order that they receive the care their condition demanded. He had already made the same plea to the captain of the *Hannibal* and to the Lieutenant Governor. He would not have repeated it had he not judged it essential for the men under his command. De Quenangal signed the letter at St Helena on 16 November 1781. The Governor replied to De Quenangal the same day. He had put the French captain's letter about his sick men before the Council. The Council agreed that a tent should be put up above the town to take them in, under whatever restrictions proved necessary. The island's surgeon would go aboard to examine the sick, and any found genuinely ill and in need would be allowed ashore to the tent. The Governor regretted that the island had no fresh food to offer them except a little purslane, which would be provided. Captain Christie would arrange the next day to supply them with whatever else they needed for their support and comfort. The Governor trusted that this would help them recover, and he assured De Quenangal that he would do everything in his power towards it. John Skottowe signed the letter at St Helena on 16 November 1781, and Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record. **Interpretations** The Council granted De Quenangal's request but kept firm control over it. Five days earlier it had refused to take 280 French prisoners ashore, saying the garrison was too weak to guard them. Turning away dying men as well would have exposed British prisoners in French hands to reprisals. The Council found a middle course. Instead of the hospital, it offered a tent above the town, where the sick would stay apart from the garrison and the townspeople. Only men the island's own surgeon judged genuinely ill could land, so able-bodied prisoners could not come ashore by claiming sickness. The cost of their keep fell on Captain Christie, whose ship had taken them, not on the island's stores. Purslane was a low, fleshy-leaved plant that grew wild in sandy ground. Seamen had long valued it as a fresh green against scurvy, the disease most likely to afflict a crew four months at sea. The Governor's admission that the island could offer nothing else fits the drought of 1780 and 1781, which had left the

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			Company without cattle to spare even for its own ships.
363	359	19th November At a Consultation holden Monday the 19th day of November 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthew Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 16th November 1781. Yesterday Arrived the Honble. Company's Ships Blandford, Earl of Chesterfield & Tartar and a Schooner, Rebecca, from England. Commodore Chas. Mitchell yesterday presented the following Letter Vizt. On His Majesty's Service To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor & the Council of the Island of St. Helena Gentlemen Lieutenant Col. Stewart Commanding His Majesty's 98th Regiment having acquainted me that on the Indiamen now off There are about thirty sick requiring the said medical further application to you for Fresh Beef, further refreshment aboard, I having been so obliging as to grant during their stay ashore; I am to hope you will comply with his requisition as from the shortness of my stay and the small number of sick a very small quantity will be sufficient, and must contribute to the re-establishment of their Healths. I am Gentlemen With respect Your most Obedt. humble Servant Signed C. Mitchell Magnanime St. Helena Road Novr. 18th 1781.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 19 November 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 16 November 1781. The Company's ships *Blandford*, *Earl of Chesterfield* and *Tartar* arrived from England on 18 November 1781, together with the schooner *Rebecca*. The same day Commodore Charles Wolseley sent the Council a letter, marked as public service and addressed to the Governor and Council. Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, commanding the 78th Regiment, had told him that about 30 men aboard the Indiamen were still sick. Stuart had asked him to apply to the Council once more for fresh beef to help them recover. Wolseley noted that the Council had already been generous and that the meat it had granted was now used up. He hoped it could still meet the request with whatever it could manage, if not a full supply then at least a small quantity, whether from cattle slaughtered or from wild goats shot on the island. Even a little would do much to restore the men's health. Wolseley signed the letter aboard the *Magnanime* in the road at St Helena on 18 November 1781. **Interpretations** Wolseley's request came after the Council had told him plainly, on 5 November 1781, that it could grant nothing more. It had already given him all 17 cattle on the slaughtering list, including five taken from the planters' breeding herds. He did not ask the Council to reverse that refusal. He asked instead for any small amount it could find and suggested wild goats as a source outside the Company's herds. Goats ran wild over the island's commons, and in August the Council had fined George Alexander junior for shooting two of them without leave. Pointing to the goats offered the Council a way to help the 30 sick men without touching the cattle it had sworn it could not spare.
364	360	19th November To which the Board this day returned the subsequent Answer Vizt. To Chas. Wolseley Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships in St. Helena Road. Sir Your Letter requesting a supply of Fresh Beef for the sick of His Majesty's 98th Regiment on board the Indiamen that arrived at this place of 18th Instant We have now before Us and have to inform you that We have ordered three Cattle to be forth coming from the breeding stock which We hope will be solely appropriated for the use of the sick of His Majesty's Troops and the Seamen belonging to the Honble. Company's Ships and it is out of our Power to give them any further Refreshment of that kind. We have the Honor to be Sir Your most Obedient & humble Servants (Signed) John Skottowe	The Council answered Wolseley, commanding officer of His Majesty's ships in the road at St Helena, on 19 November 1781. It had his letter of 18 November asking for fresh beef for the sick of the 78th Regiment aboard the Indiamen. It had ordered three cattle to be taken from the breeding stock. It hoped they would be used only for the sick of the King's troops and for the seamen of the Company's ships. It told him plainly that it could give no more fresh meat of this kind. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the reply. Wolseley then sent the Council a further letter, marked as public service and addressed to the Governor and Council. He opened by saying that necessity forced him to write to them once again. **Interpretations** Two weeks earlier the Council had told Wolseley it could not grant another beast. It now gave him three more, all from the breeding stock. The obvious answer was the same refusal, since the herds had not recovered and every animal killed set back the island's supply for years. The Council chose to give a little rather than nothing, and it fenced the grant with a condition. The meat was to go only to the sick of the King's troops and the Company's seamen, not to healthy men or officers' tables. It also restated its

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		Daniel Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 19th Novr. 1781. Captain Chas. Wolseley likewise presented the undermentioned Letter Vizt. On His Majesty's Service To the Worshipful Governor and the Council of the Island of St. Helena Gentlemen Necessity obliges me again to address	limit in the same letter, so that the three cattle could not be read as a sign that more might follow.
365	361	1781 you again on the subject of the French Prisoners. The Hannibal being intended to proceed on immediate Service of the utmost consequence to the Nation in general, particularly to the Honble. East India Company, they were removed to the Northumberland where they have been for some Days past and intirely frustrated Captain Rees's power to get his ship ready to sail with the Convoy. I therefore shall be obliged to Detain the Hannibal for their reception, unless you consent to their being sent on shore to the Castle which I have Ordered to convey them to Europe is ready to receive them which I hope will be on Thursday and as the property guarding them shall be no impediment to your Complying with my requisition if you consent and spare men for this purpose I would for so small a space of time I will send a proper one for that purpose from the Kings Ships under my Command, I must beg your immediate answer that I may make my arrangements accordingly. I am with great respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient & humble Servant Signed C. Wolseley Magnanime St. Helena Road November 19th 1781. To the above Letter the following answer was returned. To Chas. Wolseley Esqr. Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships in St. Helena Road. Sir In answer to your Letter requesting leave to send on shore the French Prisoners We have the Honor to inform you, that We have considered well your requisition and are sorry to add that We cannot upon any account comply therewith. We are with respect Sir Your most Obedient & humble Servants John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 19th Novr. 1781.	Wolseley wrote that necessity forced him to raise the matter of the French prisoners with the Council once more. The *Hannibal* was due to sail at once on a service of the greatest importance to the nation and especially to the Company, so the prisoners had been moved to the *Northumberland*. They had now been aboard her for several days. That made it impossible for Captain Rees to get his ship ready to sail with the convoy. Unless the Council agreed to take the prisoners ashore, Wolseley would have to keep the *Hannibal* back to hold them. They would need to stay ashore only until the ship he had hired to carry them to Europe was ready, which he expected would be Thursday. He did not want guarding them to stand in the way. If the Council could not spare men for so short a time, he would land a guard of his own from the King's ships. He asked for an immediate answer so that he could make his arrangements. Wolseley signed the letter aboard the *Magnanime* in the road at St Helena on 19 November 1781. The Council replied to Wolseley, commanding officer of His Majesty's ships in the road at St Helena, the same day. It had considered his request to send the French prisoners ashore with care, but regretted that it could not agree to it on any terms. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the reply on 19 November 1781. **Interpretations** The Council refused the prisoners a second time, even though Wolseley had removed every reason it had given on 11 November. The prisoners would stay ashore only a few days. He had already hired a ship to take them to Europe, and he offered to guard them with his own seamen so that the garrison would not be stretched. He also warned that refusal would delay either the *Hannibal* or the *Northumberland*, both on service the Council itself called vital to the Company. Even so, the Council did not budge. Its objection was evidently to having a large body of enemy prisoners ashore at all, not just to the cost of guarding them. An island that feared a French attack, and had seen how few men it could spare for its 14 posts, would not risk 280 French soldiers and sailors on its soil, under whatever guard. This time it did not even give a reason, which made plain that the question was closed. A cartel was a ship used under a flag of truce to carry prisoners for exchange. Enemy warships were bound by custom not to attack it. Wolseley's plan was to send the French prisoners to Europe, where they could be traded for British captives. That was the only useful way to dispose of them.
366	362	19th November John Maxwell Stone Esqr. this Day presented the following Petition Vizt.	John Maxwell Stone petitioned Governor John Skottowe and the Council on 19 November 1781. He wished to administer the estate of the late Margaret Kirkpatrick Dawson and asked the Council to grant

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		To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. The Petition of John Maxwell Stone Sheweth That your Petitioner being desirous to administer on the Effects of the late Margaret Kirkpatrick Dixon Requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him Letters of Administration so to do. And your Petitioner will ever Pray &c. 19th Novr. 1781. Granted On the 17th Instant Captain Bruce Boswell of Ship Earl of Chesterfield laid an address before the Board together with a Paper Containing Charges against Mr. David Drummond his Chief Officer for Disobedience of Orders and Personal Insult which are as follows Vizt. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. and Council on the Island of St. Helena. Gentlemen It is with real Concern that I have to acquaint you with my having been under the necessity of suspending Mr. David Drummond my Chief Officer for repeated disobedience of Orders and for personal insult. Inclosed are the particulars of what passed	him letters of administration. The Council granted the petition. On 17 November Captain Bruce Boswell of the *Earl of Chesterfield* laid before the Council a letter and a paper setting out charges against David Drummond, his chief officer. Drummond was accused of disobeying orders and of insulting his captain in person. Boswell's letter, addressed to the Governor and Council, reported with real regret that he had been forced to suspend Drummond from duty for repeatedly disobeying orders and for a personal insult. He enclosed an account of what had passed between them. **Interpretations** Letters of administration gave a person the legal right to collect and distribute the estate of someone who had died without a will, or whose will named no executor. On St Helena the Council issued them, acting as the island's probate court, just as it had proved Orlando Bagley's will in September. No one could deal with a dead person's goods or debts without that authority. Boswell brought his dispute to the Council because a commander could suspend his chief officer at sea but could not remove him from the Company's service. Only the Directors could do that. The Council, as the Company's government at the first port reached, was the proper body to hear the charges and keep a formal record of them. Boswell's careful written account put his side on record before Drummond could give his own. It protected the captain if the officer later complained in London that he had been suspended unjustly.
367	363	1781 the Evening preceding the day of his suspension likewise further Charges against Mr. Drummond which I beg leave to assure you are not meant to exaggerate this affair, but with an intention of showing you, how many things I had looked over before I suspended him, as it was my earnest wish to be upon good terms with him, but unfortunately my lenity had not the desired effect and had I suffered him to continue in his station after the last offence, I should have thought myself very unfit for the station that the Honble. the Court of Directors and my Owners have done me the honour to place me in, of which I flatter myself that you Gentlemen will entertain the same opinion. I hope that the enclosed Charges will sufficiently prove, that I have not suspended Mr. Drummond without just cause. I have other Charges against Mr. Drummond but not wishing to intrude upon your time have omitted them, but they are ready to produce if necessary. I have therefore to request of you Gentlemen that you will be pleased to make enquiry into the truth of the Charges, that I have alledged against Mr. Drummond and hope that if you find them strictly true, that you will order a proper Officer with whom I can more expect to benefit the safety of the ship and in the harmony as properly I humbly conceive that in this request to the interest of the Honble. Company and my Owners are materially concerned particularly as I observe in my instructions from the Honble. the Court	Boswell's letter went on to say that he had also listed further charges against Drummond arising from the evening before the suspension. He assured the Council that these were not meant to exaggerate the affair. They showed how much he had overlooked before suspending Drummond, because he had sincerely wished to stay on good terms with him. His leniency had not worked. Had he let Drummond keep his post after the last offence, he would have thought himself unfit for the command the Court of Directors and his owners had given him, and he trusted the Council would agree. Boswell hoped the enclosed charges would prove that he had not suspended Drummond without just cause. He had further charges against him but had left them out so as not to take up the Council's time, and he could produce them if needed. He asked the Council to inquire into the truth of the charges. If it found them fully justified, he asked it to rid him of an officer under whom he could never expect the ship's duty to be carried out with humanity or propriety. He believed the request touched the interests of both the Company and his owners. His instructions from the Court of Directors positively ordered him to make everything as comfortable as possible for the King's officers and troops he had aboard. He was certain that if the Council restored Drummond to his post there would be constant quarrels between him and the soldiers, since Drummond seemed bent on thwarting them rather than making their situation tolerable. Bruce Boswell signed the letter aboard the *Earl of Chesterfield* on 17 November 1781. The charges against David Drummond followed. 1: Boswell had ordered Drummond, in the Downs, to fill 12 rounds of powder and to load and shot the guns fore and aft. The latter part of that order [...]. **Interpretations** Boswell asked the Council to inquire into the charges because a captain's suspension of his chief

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		of Directors that it is their positive Order that I should make every thing as agreeable as possible to the Kings Officers and Troops that I have on board and I am certain that whilst Mr. Drummond be continued in your Gentlemen, it is beyond the continual disputes arising between them and him, as he seems to make it his study to thwart them, instead of endeavouring to make their situation agreeable. I have the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient and most humble Servant (Signed) Bruce Boswell Ship Earl of Chesterfield 17th Novr. 1781. Charges against Mr. David Drummond First My Orders to Mr. Drummond were in the Event of the twelve Rounds of Powder and to be loaded and the Guns for undergo? The latter part of the Order	officer was only a temporary measure. The chief mate's post was held under the ship's owners and the Company, and only a proper inquiry could justify removing him for the rest of the voyage. By asking the Council to judge the charges, Boswell put the decision in the hands of an independent authority, which protected him against any later claim that he had acted out of personal spite. His appeal to the Court's orders about the King's troops gave the dispute wider importance. The *Earl of Chesterfield* was carrying soldiers of the King's army to India in a year when the Company badly needed their help. A chief officer who quarrelled with them could cause trouble that went far beyond the ship. The Downs was the sheltered anchorage off the coast of Kent where outward-bound ships gathered before sailing. An order given there to fill cartridges and load the guns meant the ship was to be ready to fight from the moment she left English waters.
368	364	19th November Order was complyed with but the Powder was not filled, the the Order was repeated more than once. At Portsmouth I gave him an order for fifteen Rounds to be filled this was not done therefore and was not done at last by his Order. I afterwards gave the order to Mr. Woolsome at Plymouth who put it in execution upon the 26 June. This was upwards of a Month from the time I first ordered the Powder to be filled. Secondly I gave orders to Mr. Drummond and frequently repeated the same before and after leaving port that no Liquor should be drawn off in the Lazaretto but that the Cask should be got upon deck and filled upon the after grating of the after-hatchway. This was not only neglected, but when first mentioned to him, justified his practice of it, and observed that the people would be getting drunk and drawing off s? replyed that there was always an Officer upon deck which would prevent that. The Cask was not got up on deck by the 21st of July at which time he was suspended, and the Liquor was even hitherto always drawn off in the Lazaretto, a practice that would be contrary to experience and which I endeavour as strictly regarded to avoid by the Honble. the Court of Directors. Thirdly Repeated disobedience of Orders with respect to the Kings Officers and Troops on board Vizt. Whilst at Portsmouth Major Mackenzie informed me that Mr. Drummond had taken the arms and ammunition from the Troops had stored the ammunition over board, and did otherwise give offence to the Kings Officers. I acquainted Mr. Drummond that excepting in cases where duty or safety of the Ship might render it necessary that the Kings Officers were to act as they thought proper with regard to the	Boswell's charges against Drummond continued. 1: Drummond carried out the second part of Boswell's order in the Downs, loading and shotting the guns, but filled only one round of powder. At Portsmouth Boswell told him again to fill 12 rounds, and the order still had not been carried out by the time the ship reached Plymouth. Boswell repeated it at Plymouth to Mr Woodman, who carried it out without delay. That was about a month after Boswell had first ordered the powder filled. 2: Boswell had told Drummond many times, both before and after leaving port, that no liquor should be drawn off in the lazaretto. The cask was to be brought up on deck and the liquor drawn from it there. Drummond ignored this order, as he did with the after hatchway. When Boswell first raised it with him, Drummond defended drawing liquor below, saying the men would otherwise get drunk on deck. Boswell answered that an officer always stood on deck to prevent that. The cask was not brought up on deck until 21 July, by which time Drummond had been suspended. Liquor had always been drawn off in the lazaretto, against Boswell's repeated orders and those strictly laid down by the Court of Directors. 3: Drummond repeatedly disobeyed orders concerning the King's officers and troops on board. At Portsmouth Major Mackenzie complained to Boswell that Drummond had taken the arms and ammunition from the troops and stowed the ammunition below. He had also handled other matters affecting the King's officers in a way they considered improper, in view of their rank and their duty to the troops on board. When Boswell came aboard, he told Drummond how necessary it was for peace and good order that the military and the ship's people should live in harmony. He told him that Drummond was not to meddle in military matters, and that before doing anything of that kind he should first consult Boswell. In Boswell's view, Drummond's behaviour seemed to show he was set on avoiding friendly relations with the King's officers, who wished to be on good terms with the ship's officers. Boswell had found that these were not matters affecting the safety of the ship. He had also repeatedly told Drummond, before others, to give these orders his attention. **Interpretations** The lazaretto was a small enclosed storeroom in the after part of an Indiaman, low in the hold, where wine and spirits were kept. Liquor drawn there was out of sight of the officers on watch, so men could help themselves without being seen. Bringing the

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		Troops on board. When I went on board I repeated to Mr. Drummond how necessary it was for the peace and happiness of all on board that harmony should subsist between the Military and those belonging to the Ship and represented to him, that in my opinion it was highly improper to interfere with matters relative to the Military. Understanding that he would make one regardless of the subordinate any impropriety in his conduct as to one of the Kings Officers and apprehend to me that all these Gentlemen wished to be upon a happy footing with the Officers belonging to the Ship and that I was convinced they would put those matters to rights if represented in a proper manner. I had occasion to repeat this to Mr. Drummond often, but instead of paying attention to these orders he often	cask up on deck put the serving of drink under an officer's eye. The Court of Directors laid down this rule for every ship, because drunkenness among seamen and soldiers caused fights, accidents and fires. Drummond's argument that men would drink more on deck turned the rule upside down, and his refusal to follow it for months touched a standing order of the Company, not just the captain's own wish. Taking the soldiers' arms and ammunition and stowing them below was a serious affront to the King's officers. Troops on a transport kept their own weapons under their own officers. A ship's mate who removed them was asserting authority over soldiers that did not belong to him. In wartime it also left the troops unable to help defend the ship. Boswell set out the charges in the order the offences happened, from the powder in the Downs to the quarrel with the troops. That showed a pattern of disobedience over several months, not a single clash of tempers.
369	365	1781 publickly abused the Soldiers upon Deck tho' actually employed upon the Ships duty, by order of Major Mackenzie, without Politely, and upon many occasions, I mentioned that whenever it was necessary I might have any number of Soldiers to assist in carrying on the Duty of the Ship upon application to one of the Officers; and gave orders also that a certain number should always keep watch upon deck, to assist in working the Ship. I frequently mentioned this to Mr. Drummond when I heard him speaking to the Soldiers in a manner which I supposed might give offence to their Officers who were present. He accepted his ill treatment in so far as to strike them and I am fully persuaded that had it not been from a Wish in the Kings Officers to avoid disputes on board it might have been attended with very bad consequences; several times at Table he introduced a conversation respecting the Inspection given me much uneasiness, as I could plainly perceive that it hurt those Gentlemen at Table to which we were obliged to take no notice of it. However one night at Supper he spoke in so much with respect to the Soldiers going on shore to say that he should probably be obliged to give them a Bruise on the head if they were in his Way, that at length Major Mackenzie observed, that Mr. Drummond would have them jump over board to get out of his way. I immediately observed to Mr. Drummond that it appeared to me, I was a private Topic of Conversation with him the talking of the Troops on board that it was extremely disagreeable to me, as it tended to create differences and that I should be glad that he would in future let that my conversation of that sort. He replyed that he thought I looked very warmly and that to be sure it was at my Table; I answered that it was, that I could not stay	The third charge went on to say that Drummond had openly abused soldiers on deck, even when they were working the ship on Major Mackenzie's orders. Mackenzie had treated Boswell with great courtesy. He had often told him that the captain could have as many soldiers as he needed to help with the ship's work, simply by asking one of the officers. He had also ordered a set number of soldiers to stand watch on deck at all times to help handle the ship. Boswell had often spoken to Drummond about it when he heard him address the soldiers in a way that might offend their officers, who were present. Drummond went so far as to strike them. Boswell was certain that serious trouble would have followed had the King's officers not been anxious to avoid quarrels on board. Several times at table Drummond raised the subject of the troops in a way that troubled Boswell greatly. Boswell could see it hurt the officers at table, though they were good enough to let it pass. One night at Torbay, however, Drummond spoke of the soldiers in such terms that he said he would probably have to strike them on the head if they got in his way. Major Mackenzie finally remarked that Drummond would have them jump overboard to get out of his way. Boswell at once told Drummond that the troops seemed to be his favourite topic. He found it extremely unwelcome because it bred bad feeling, and he wanted Drummond to stop talking that way in future. Drummond answered that Boswell had taken it up very warmly, and at his own table too. Boswell replied that it was so, and that he could not help being warm about something he had often asked Drummond to leave alone. On 18 July a similar conversation took place. Among other things, Drummond said that the soldiers posted at the guns below were useless, and that 20 of them could not work a single nine-pounder. Boswell answered that this must be for want of practice, and that the guns should be exercised. Drummond replied that he had wanted to exercise them that afternoon but that Boswell had ordered otherwise. Boswell said that, far from it, he had ordered the guns exercised before he went to dinner. He allowed that there might have been a mistake and that Drummond might have misunderstood him. But his standing orders were that the gun deck should be washed and the guns exercised every Wednesday and Saturday. And since the men clearly needed more practice, he now gave a firm order that they be exercised every day. To this

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		being warm and was asking that he often observed his conduct, & interfered in matters of that sort. Upon the 18th of July Downing? of a similar conversation took place in which amongst other things, he observed that the Soldiers were of no use at the Guns below, that twenty of them were not fit to work one of the Guns. I observed to Mr. Drummond that it must be from want of Exercise, and that the Guns should be exercised accordingly. He replied that he had wanted to exercise them that afternoon but that I had ordered to the Contrary; I answered that so far from it that I had given my orders before him to Mr. Drummond to exercise them at the same time observed that a mistake might have happened in this matter, that he might have misunderstood me. That however I had been perfectly in my orders that the Guns on deck should be worked, and the Guns exercised every Wednesday and Saturday; but as I thought that they should be exercised of more frequently that it was my positive order they should be exercised every day upon which upon his reply that it was impossible, I answered as	Drummond replied that it could not be done, encumbered as the ship was. **Interpretations** Drummond's quarrel was with the soldiers, not with Boswell's seamanship. Indiamen carrying King's troops were crowded and tense, and the ship's officers often resented soldiers who took up deck space and slowed the work. Drummond's threats to strike them and his insults at table, in front of their officers, risked a clash between the ship's crew and a regiment of armed men. Mackenzie's patience was the only thing that kept the peace, as Boswell said. The exchange about the guns turned an argument over manners into a question of safety. A ship sailing into a war zone needed soldiers who could serve her guns in action. By declaring that 20 of them could not work a nine-pounder, and then resisting daily drill, Drummond was undermining the defence of the ship he served. Boswell's order to exercise the guns every day was the proper answer, and Drummond's refusal on the ground that the ship was too crowded was exactly the kind of disobedience the charges set out to prove.
370	366	19th November as the Ship was, I insisted it was possible and should be done. It was accordingly done for some days afterwards. In consequence of my instructions from the Honble. the Court of Directors being very strict with respect to the accommodating of the Kings Troops, I was very particular in giving my orders to Mr. Drummond on that head, how they have been obeyed may be judged from the above recital of facts. Fourthly Upon leaving Plymouth I ordered Mr. Drummond to alter some of the Men in the Quarter Bills. The Gunner and a Quarter Master had left the Ship and two People had entered on board in that Place, and that the Names of the People stationed at the Guns should be fixt over their respective Guns neither of these were done till the 18th of July when clearing Ship for action and when it was generally believed that the Ship in sight was an enemy and of considerable force. At that time I asked Mr. Drummond if the alterations in the Quarter Bill were made which I had ordered with respect to those who had run and entered on Board since the Quarter Bill was made out. He answered Yes. I also asked him if he had substituted the name of the Quarter Master who had been made in lieu of him who had been turned before the Mast some days before it happened. I ordered that it might be done and that he would make the People acquainted with these alterations. He observed that the Man who was broke, was as fit as	Boswell insisted that daily gun drill was possible and would be carried out, and it was done for some days afterwards. His instructions from the Court of Directors on the King's troops had been very strict, so he had been particularly careful in what he ordered Drummond to do in that respect. He asked the Council to judge, from the facts above, how well those orders had been obeyed. 4: After the ship left Plymouth, Boswell ordered Drummond to change some names on the quarter bill. The gunner and a quartermaster had left the ship, and two men had joined in their places. The names of the men stationed at the guns had also to be put in, since neither the guns nor the men's stations had been fixed. That was not done until 18 July, when the ship was cleared for action because a vessel in sight was thought to be an enemy and a powerful one. Boswell then asked Drummond whether the changes to the quarter bill had been made, as he had ordered. Drummond said they had. Boswell asked whether he had replaced the name of the quartermaster who had run away, and Drummond said he had. Boswell then asked whether he had written in the name of the quartermaster appointed in place of the man who had deserted. Drummond said yes, and that he had done it days before the ship left Plymouth. Boswell told him it should have been done earlier, so that the men knew their stations. Drummond answered that the man who had deserted was only at the steering wheel, and that putting another man there did not matter. Boswell replied that it mattered a great deal, since the man at the wheel was one of the most important posts in the ship. He did not think a man of good character and ability should be passed over for that post, and he warned that neglecting it could have very bad consequences. He told Drummond to make the change at once. Boswell then looked at the quarter bill himself and found it full of changes. He told Drummond that the bill needed to be rewritten. Drummond said it was a strange time to talk of making a new quarter bill, while the ship was clearing for action. Boswell asked why it had not been done earlier, when he had first told him to make the changes. Drummond

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		any other Person for that Station and could not see that it was of any consequence. I replyed that I thought it of very great consequence. I could not think that a Man who had been broke for constant Drunkeness was fit for that Station, the Helm, and that it might be attended with very bad consequences, and ordered that it should be immediately done. I saw him afterwards and found the Quarter Bill, which upon looking at it he had done that of the most make so many alterations it would be necessary to make out a new one. I told him that it was a strange time to talk of making out a new Quarter Bill, when We were clearing Ship for action, why did he not do it before, when I desired him to make the alterations that he made a great many difficulties, that it was a very easy matter to erase the Names and put in the others, and ordered that it might be done directly. I at the same time ordered that the names of the People stationed at the Guns were put over their respective Guns, they were not but was then done upon my mentioning it. The ammunition when I ordered the Hands to be called to Quarters that it appearing to me that it was not done with Despatch necessary and that Mr. Drummond was	replied that it was very troublesome to move the men from one station to another, and that it might as well be left as it was. At the same time Boswell asked why the names of the men at the guns had not been fixed to their stations, and why the gun crews had not been told which guns were theirs. Drummond said it had been done after Boswell spoke about it. That same day Boswell ordered the hammocks to be brought up and stowed in the nettings, which [...]. **Interpretations** The quarter bill was the list fixing each man's place when the ship went into action: who worked each gun, who stood at the wheel and who handled the sails. A crew that did not know its stations could not fight. When an enemy appeared, the men had to run to their posts at once, without being told. Drummond had left the bill out of date from Plymouth until the day a strange sail was sighted, so the ship went to quarters with names of men who had left and with no gun crews assigned. Boswell's questions showed that Drummond had answered yes to each order and done little or nothing. Drummond's remark that the man at the wheel did not matter went to the heart of Boswell's case. In action the helmsman steered the ship to bring her guns to bear and to keep her out of danger, and a poor or untrained man there could cost the ship. By recording the exchange word for word, Boswell let the Council judge whether the chief officer had treated the ship's readiness for battle as seriously as the Company required. Hammocks were rolled up and packed into the nettings along the ship's sides before action, where they formed a barrier against musket shot and flying splinters.
371	367	1781 was upon the Quarter Deck and did not in my opinion exert himself so much as he might have done. I told him how much I wished to get clear as soon as possible and soon afterwards repeated it by telling him, if he would by the Ship clear I would take Charge of the Deck, some afterwards observing Mr. Drummond upon deck I desired that part of the Hammocks which were got up might be stowed along the Waist to shelter the People as also along the Lanyards of the Lower Shrouds and Backstays. His reply was who should he get to do it. Such a reply and at such a time induced me to tell him, that I always understood that it was the Quarter Masters Business to do it, that if he could not get it done, I would do myself the dispatch that it to some people in to stowing of them. The same day I desired of Mr. Drummond that the Jolly Boat (which was repairing upon the Booms) might be got over the Quarter that all the Chests and Lumber should be got down off the Poop that there might be room for the Kings Troops and those who were stationed there at the arms. Some time after I asked if the Poop was clear, Mr. Drummond answered that it was. I went up afterwards in order to see what would be the best method of stowing the Poop of the Poop, I was a little surprised to find a great many Chests and Lumber upon it. I asked Mr. Drummond	The fourth charge continued with what happened on 18 July, when the ship was cleared for action. Drummond stayed on the quarterdeck and, in Boswell's view, did not exert himself as much as he could have. Boswell told him how much he wanted the ship cleared as quickly as possible. He soon repeated it, telling Drummond that if he would get the ship clear, Boswell would take charge of the deck. Shortly afterwards, seeing Drummond on deck, Boswell asked for some of the hammocks that had been brought up to be stowed along the waist to shelter the men, and along the lanyards of the lower shrouds and backstays. Drummond replied by asking who he should get to do it. A reply like that, at such a moment, led Boswell to tell him that he had always understood it was the quartermasters' job. If Drummond could not get it done, Boswell would do it himself. Drummond then set some men to stowing the hammocks. The same day Boswell asked Drummond to have the jolly boat, which was being repaired on the poop, hoisted over the quarter. All the chests and timber were to be taken down off the poop, so that there would be room for the King's troops and the men stationed there with small arms. Some time later Boswell asked whether the poop was clear, and Drummond said it was. Boswell went up afterwards to decide how best to clear the poop of the coops. He was greatly surprised to find a large number of chests and trunks still there. He called to Drummond that it was very odd he should say the poop was clear when it was not. He had ordered every chest and package taken down, and he would have them all moved and see to it himself, which he did. Drummond had proposed to build a platform over the coops, but Boswell disapproved, because the men with small arms would have been completely exposed there to enemy fire. Boswell thought it not

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		that it was extraordinary that he should tell me that the Poop was clear, when it was not, that I had ordered every Chest and Package down that I would have them all off and would order it done myself. It was accordingly done. Mr. Drummond had proposed to have a platform over the Poop which I disapproved of, as those at the Fore arms would then be entirely exposed to the fire of the Enemy. It appears to me a wonderful negligence that this neglect of executing my orders from a spirit of contradiction. Fifthly Disobedience of Orders with regard to the Midshipmen. I wrote off Mr. Drummond at Portsmouth that they were to walk the Quarter Deck as Midshipmen this was in consequence of my having received an order from the Court of Directors to that effect, I afterwards told Mr. Drummond it when I went on board, and had occasion to mention it several times after- wards, that I wished much that they should be treated well, and paid the same attention to as the Midshipmen. Mr. Drummond more than once that it was a difficult matter to make them turn out to their Watch. I replied that if they neglected their duty or behaved ill, if he would mention it to me, that I would reprimand them first and acquaint them how necessary it was to do their duty with very common order. Instead of acting conformable to these orders, these young Gentlemen have been treated extremely ill and from Considerable time ever since by Mr. Drummond without my knowledge owing	unreasonable to suppose that Drummond neglected his orders out of a spirit of contradiction. 5: Drummond disobeyed orders about the volunteers. At Portsmouth Boswell wrote to Drummond that the volunteers were to walk the quarterdeck as midshipmen. He did this because he had received an order to that effect from the Court of Directors. He told Drummond again when he came aboard and mentioned it several times afterwards, saying he wanted the volunteers well treated and given the same consideration as the midshipmen. Drummond told him it was hard to get them out of their hammocks for their watch. Boswell replied that if they neglected that or behaved badly, Drummond should tell him. He would reprimand them first and make them understand how necessary it was to do their duty as ordered. Instead of following these orders, Drummond treated the young gentlemen very badly, and for a long time he did so without Boswell's knowledge. **Interpretations** Volunteers were young men of good family who went to sea on an Indiaman to learn to be officers, much like midshipmen in the navy. Walking the quarterdeck marked them as officers in training rather than common seamen, and the Court of Directors had ordered that they be given that standing. Their families had paid or used influence to place them aboard, and they expected their sons to be treated as gentlemen. A chief officer who mistreated them risked complaints from people with connections in London. Boswell made the point that the order came from the Directors themselves, not just from him. The two episodes of 18 July made the same point as the earlier charges. Drummond said the poop was clear when it was not and proposed a platform that would have exposed the musket men to enemy fire. In a real action, false reports to the captain and poor judgement about cover could have cost lives. Boswell's suspicion that Drummond acted from a spirit of contradiction set out the heart of his case: an officer who would not simply do what he was told, at the moment the ship most needed it.
372	368	19th November owing as I have since learnt to a scruple of giving me offence. They have been severely Cobbed publickly and even sometimes by Mr. Drummond, after having given him my positive order that he should not lift his hand to a Midshipman on board. This order I gave him more particularly at a time when he had beaten one of the Midshipmen (Mr. Phillips) belonging to the Ship very severely for a trifling offence, and if an offence committed thro' ignorance, but from a wish of doing his Duty. Sixthly Disobedience of Orders upon the 5th of July by which means the ship had nearly parted company with the Blandford, and probably must have proceeded by herself to the Rendezvous. Upon the 5th of July about five or six P.M. the Blandford, Tartar and two other Ships being to Leeward, I bore up for the Blandford. At 8 P.M. the Sun set about one Mile. I often desired Mr. Drummond before I went to bed to keep as near as possible to the Blandford, and at daylight to call me, as I intended to go on board her in order to consult with Captain Pigou upon the Course	Boswell went on to say that the volunteers had been mistreated even though, as far as he knew, they had never given offence. Drummond had cursed them savagely in public and at other times. After Boswell gave him firm orders on the matter, Drummond did not leave them alone. He continued to pick on them, especially at times when he had beaten one of the midshipmen, Mr Phillips, very severely. Phillips belonged to the ship and had done nothing worse than make a small mistake out of ignorance. 6: On 5 July Drummond disobeyed orders, so that the ship almost lost the *Blandford* and would probably have had to make for the rendezvous alone. At about five or six in the evening of 4 July the *Blandford*, the *Tartar* and two other ships were seen to the westward, and Boswell steered for the *Blandford*. At eight in the evening the *Blandford* was about a mile off. Boswell left orders with Drummond before going to bed to keep as close as possible to the *Blandford* and, at daylight, to call him. He intended to go aboard her to consult Captain Pigou, under whose command he had placed himself in line with the Court of Directors' instructions. He was not called. When he went on deck between seven and eight in the morning, Drummond could not tell him which ship was the *Blandford*. He believed she had been standing to the southward at the time and was then a ship in that quarter. The *Blandford*, however, had actually hauled down to the northward. On Friday 20 July 1781, between nine and ten at night, Boswell saw that Drummond, his chief mate,

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		he meant to steer and in short put myself under his Command agreeable to my instructions from the Honble. the Court of Directors. I was not called and when I went upon Deck between 7 and 8 A.M. Mr. Drummond could not inform me which was the Blandford We were at that time standing to the Southward, and supposed a Ship in that Quarter to be her, when the Blandford was actually hull down to the Northward. On Friday the 20th July 1781. Between the Hours of 9 and 10 at night. Observing that Mr. Drummond my chief Mate was loud in dispute with some of the Kings Officers at Table that the subject of the conversation was such as might prove of serious consequence. The causing a difference between the Kings Officers and those belonging to the Ship. Mr. Drummond's insisting that the Sentinels who were stationed upon Deck at the gangways &c. had been appointed without his knowledge, that they had no right to be there that they were of no use as they went to sleep upon their Station went from their station and otherwise neglected their duty that they were in his way, and that they should not do it whilst he was upon Deck. I endeavoured to change the discourse, and saw that the Kings Officers warmly resented the Charge, but without effect. I then thought it absolutely necessary to interpose and represented to Mr. Drummond the impropriety of introducing a Conversation of that nature at Table and added that it was a business he had no concern with either the appointment of	was arguing loudly with some of the King's officers at table. The subject of the conversation might well have had serious consequences, because it tended to cause a quarrel between the King's officers and the ship's crew. Drummond had insisted that the sentries posted on deck at the gangway and elsewhere had been placed there without his knowledge. He said they had no right to be there, and that they were nothing but sentries on his own deck whom he would order off their posts. He added that they should not walk on the upper deck while he was in command. Boswell tried to change the subject, seeing that the King's officers were growing heated, but without success. He then judged it absolutely necessary to step in and point out to Drummond that it was wrong to raise such a conversation at table. He also told him that it was a matter that did not concern him, since the posting of sentries [...]. **Interpretations** Losing contact with the *Blandford* was a serious lapse. Captain Pigou of the *Blandford* commanded the group of Indiamen sailing together, and the Court of Directors had told Boswell to put himself under his orders. Ships in wartime sailed in company for protection, and a ship that lost her escort had to cross dangerous waters alone. Drummond's failure to call his captain at daylight, as ordered, left the *Earl of Chesterfield* in danger of being separated from the convoy, and he could not even say which ship in sight was the *Blandford*. The quarrel over the sentries went to the root of the trouble between Drummond and the troops. In a ship carrying soldiers, the commanding officer of the troops placed sentries to guard stores, keep order among his men and prevent desertion. Those posts were the soldiers' business, not the chief mate's. By claiming the deck as his own and threatening to send the sentries away, Drummond was challenging the authority of the King's officers in front of them. Boswell recorded the scene in detail because it showed the risk of an open clash between soldiers and seamen on a crowded ship.
373	369	1781 of the Sentinels or their duty, that it tended to create differences, and that it hurt harmony desired before that he would not interfere in matters of that sort (I had been under the necessity of speaking several times to Mr. Drummond when at Table that he should not interfere with matters relative to the Military, but that I should be made acquainted if necessary and those matters would be in regulated by Major Mackenzie and myself. I had occasion to write to Mr. Drummond at Portsmouth about this business before, a Copy of which Letter I have as he had given great offence to the Kings Officers by taking possession of their Arms and ordering their ammunition to be thrown overboard) He replied that he did not speak to me and that I had no occasion to listen to their Conversation. I answered that there was no avoiding hearing it as he spoke so loud, and that it was a Conversation that was disagreeable to me and that I had desired before he would not there. He observed	Boswell told Drummond that the posting of sentries and their duties was no concern of his. Raising it only stirred up quarrels, and Boswell had already asked him not to interfere in such matters. He had several times had to tell Drummond at table to keep out of military affairs. If anything needed attention, Drummond was to tell Boswell, and Major Mackenzie and Boswell would deal with it between them. Boswell had written to Drummond about this at Portsmouth and kept a copy of the letter. Drummond had then badly offended the King's officers by taking their men's arms and ordering their ammunition thrown overboard. Drummond answered that he had not been speaking to Boswell, who had no reason to listen to the conversation. Boswell replied that he could not avoid hearing it, since Drummond spoke so loudly. Drummond knew the subject was unwelcome to him, and Boswell had already asked him to stop raising it. Drummond retorted that Boswell always took the King's officers' side against him. He said he should have been told about the posting of the sentries and their duties, that the sentries were in his way, and that while he was officer of the deck no sentry or King's officer would give him orders or stand in his way. He said a good deal more in the same vein. Boswell replied that he had told Drummond about the posting of the sentries, and he insisted on that point. Some time before, Drummond had

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		that I had always taken part with the Kings Officers against him that he should have been made acquainted with the appointment of the Sentinels and their Duty, that they were in his way, and that whilst he was on Officer upon deck there was no sentinels nor Kings Officers should Command him or be in his way with much more to the same effect. I replied that I had acquainted him with the appointment of the Sentinels that I must insist upon for some time before this he had ordered one of the Sentinels from his station when he had been appointed by his Officer which was represented to me as improper, and represented that I spoke to Mr. Drummond about it representing the impropriety of his conduct in doing of it. That as to their being his Commanding Officer it was out of the Question, as I could not conceive any thing of that kind had taken place. He warmly replied, that I never had told him of the fixing the Sentinels. Observing that he grew warm I told him to be cautious of what he said, as I should be very warm. That I am perfectly cool, and that I should put up with no indignity (for I found he was inclining to be personal) I answered, fixing in a passion, that he would put up with no indignity either, that if I was Commander, he was Chief Mate. That the Kings Officers had taken the Command of the Ship from me several times as by day, and repeated it going out of the Cuddy. I answered that I told him that he should never tell me so again on board this Ship. He asked me what should he not tell me. I replied that he should never tell me again on board this Ship that the Command had been taken from me. Upon which, he replied Sorry, Sir, that the Command had been taken from me, and you are the retired hastily out of the Cuddy. I after ordered when I went to sleep, that Mr. Woolsome should be called to take the morning watch instead of Mr. Drummond	ordered a sentry away from a post where his own officer had placed him. That was reported to Boswell as improper, and Boswell spoke to Drummond about it at the time and told him how wrong it was. As for the King's officers commanding him, Boswell said that was out of the question, and he could not imagine that anything of the kind had happened. Drummond answered angrily that Boswell had never told him about the posting of the sentries. Seeing him grow heated, Boswell told him to be careful what he said. Boswell said he himself was perfectly calm and would put up with no insult, since he could see Drummond was turning personal. Drummond rose in a rage and answered that he would put up with no insult either. If Boswell was commander, he was chief mate. He said the King's officers had already taken command of the ship from Boswell several times, and he repeated it as he went out of the cuddy. Boswell told him never to say that to him again aboard this ship. Drummond asked what he should never say. Boswell answered that he was never again to tell him, aboard this ship, that the command had been taken from him. Drummond repeated, "I say, Sir, that the command has been taken from me, and from you also," and left the cuddy in haste. When Boswell went to bed, he left orders that Mr Woolmore should be called to take the morning watch instead of Drummond. **Interpretations** The quarrel ended in the one charge an officer could not let pass. Drummond told his captain, in front of others, that the King's officers had taken the command from him. That denied Boswell's authority over his own ship. At sea a captain's command rested on the crew's acceptance of it, and a chief mate who said openly that the captain had lost control invited the men to disregard him. That is why Boswell ordered him never to repeat it and why Drummond's refusal brought the matter to a head. Taking the morning watch from Drummond that night was in effect his suspension, since the chief mate normally kept that watch. The cuddy was the cabin under the quarterdeck where the captain, his officers and the passengers ate together. On a ship carrying troops, the King's officers dined there too, so a quarrel at the cuddy table took place in front of the very men it concerned. Boswell's note that Drummond had ordered the troops' ammunition thrown overboard goes further than the earlier charge that he stowed it below. Either way, it left the soldiers without the means to defend the ship and showed them that the chief mate treated them as passengers, not as a fighting force.
374	370	19th November Drummond as I was determined that he should not act again as an Officer until he had made sufficient acknowledgments for the insult I had received that night as also for repeated disobeying my orders before. In the Morning about half past seven Mr. Woolsome informed me that Mr. Drummond had come upon deck at 4 o'Clock and insisted upon taking the Command of the Watch, as I had not broke him, nor should without a written order he said. At nine A.M. I sent for Mr. Drummond and told him publickly on the Quarter Deck that the only reason for sending for him, was, to tell him for repeated disobedience of Orders and for Personal insult, that he should no longer do duty	Boswell had made up his mind that Drummond would not act as an officer again until he had made a proper apology for that night's insult and for repeatedly disobeying orders. At about half past seven the next morning, Mr Woolmore reported that Drummond had come on deck at four o'clock and insisted on taking charge of the watch. Drummond said Boswell had not dismissed him and could not do so without a written order. At nine in the morning Boswell sent for Drummond and told him openly on the quarterdeck that, for repeated disobedience and for personal insult, he would no longer serve as chief mate. He ordered Drummond to hand over the ship's books and papers to Mr Woolmore. Drummond asked Boswell to call a council of the ship's officers and tell him how he had failed in his duty. Boswell refused to call the officers or to argue with him. He said he had suspended Drummond for repeated disobedience and personal insult and would stand by what he had done. Drummond later came to him and asked to speak

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		as Chief Mate on board, and desired that he would deliver up the Ships Books and Papers to Mr. Woolsome. He desired that I would call a Council of the Officers and argued him whom he had neglected his Duty. I told him that I did not chuse to call the Officers on the Subject, to have any altercation with him that I had suspended him for repeated disobedience of Orders and for personal insult; and that I should stand by what I had done. He afterwards made up to me and asked to have a private Conversation with me which I refused repeating as before that I did not chuse to have any altercation or private conversation with him that I had suspended him for repeated disobedience of Orders and for personal insult that I should stand by what I had done. Mr. Woolsome came to me afterwards and mentioned that Mr. Drummond wanted to have a private Conversation with me. I answered that I never would. That he must write to me what he had to say as I would have no acknowledgment, but from under his hand. The Board having this Day taken the above into consideration directed the Secretary to write Captain Boswell the subsequent Letter Vizt. To Captain Bruce Boswell Commander of Ship Earl of Chesterfield Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to inform you that your address to them of this Day preferring a Complaint against your Chief Officer Mr. David Drummond	privately. Boswell refused again and repeated the same answer. Woolmore afterwards told Boswell that Drummond still wanted a private word. Boswell said he never would agree to it. If Drummond had anything to say, he must put it in writing, because Boswell would accept no apology except one signed in his own hand. The Council considered Boswell's complaint that day and directed the secretary to write to him. The letter was addressed to Captain Bruce Boswell, commander of the *Earl of Chesterfield*. By order of the Governor and Council, it acknowledged his letter of that day setting out his complaint against his chief officer, David Drummond. **Interpretations** Drummond's reply to his suspension was to insist on procedure. He came on deck to take his watch as if nothing had happened, saying that only a written order could remove him. He then asked for a council of the ship's officers to hear the charges. Calling such a council was a recognised way to settle a serious charge against an officer at sea, since it put the decision before witnesses instead of leaving it to the captain alone. Boswell refused because he regarded the matter as settled by his own authority. Agreeing to a council or a private talk would have treated the charges as open to argument, when Boswell held that his command had already been defied in public. Boswell's demand for a written apology was deliberate. A spoken apology in private left no record and could later be denied. A signed one admitted the fault in writing, and Boswell could keep it in case of any later dispute in London. By putting the whole quarrel before the Council, Boswell moved it out of the ship and into the hands of the Company's government. The Council could then decide whether Drummond would be restored or sent home, without the captain's authority being weakened further aboard ship.
375	371	1781 Drummond with the Charges exhibited against him shall be entered upon Consultation. But as Captain Wolseley has informed them that he finds the Kings Troops and your Seamen to be so healthy that his stay will be very short and apprehend that the entering upon the Merits of this Business will take up more time than will be sufficient to investigate said affair and it also appearing to them by an Act of Parliament passed in the 19th Year of His present Majesty's Reign that it would be more advisable for you to refer this matter to Captain Wolseley Commanding His Majesty's Ships in this Road, who has proper authority to receive the said David Drummond as a Prisoner to be tried by the first Court Martial that can be constituted for that purpose. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 19th Novr. 1781 Mr. David Drummond this	The secretary's letter to Boswell went on to say that his letter and the charges against Drummond would be entered in the consultation record. However, Captain Wolseley had told the Council that the King's troops and the seamen were now healthy enough for his stay to be very short. The Council feared that going into the merits of the case would take longer than the time left. It also found that an act of Parliament passed in the 19th year of the King's reign made another course more fitting. Boswell should refer the matter to Captain Wolseley, commander of His Majesty's ships in the road, who had proper authority to take Drummond as a prisoner to be tried by the first court martial that could be assembled. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 19 November 1781. David Drummond presented a memorial to Governor John Skottowe and the Council that day, signing himself as chief mate of the *Earl of Chesterfield*. Some time after the ship left England, he had the misfortune to fall out of favour with his commander, Captain Bruce Boswell. That placed him in an awkward position, and it was why he took the liberty of writing to the Council. He knew that in cases of this kind prejudices often formed that were hard to remove. In this case, however, he trusted the Council's justice and impartiality to decide on the facts as they came to light. **Interpretations**

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		day presented a Memorial which is hereunder entered Vizt. To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Council of St. Helena The Memorial of David Drummond Chief Mate of the Ship Earl of Chesterfield Humbly Sheweth That some time after the above Ship left England your Memorialist was unfortunate enough to fall under the Displeasure of Captain Bruce Boswell his Commander, it is therefore under a disagreeable predicament that he presumes to address this Honble. Court upon the subject. In matters of this kind prejudices are too often taken up which it might be difficult to remove, but in the present instance your Memorialist trusts in the Justice and impartiality of this Honble. Court to decide upon facts as they arise and this he expects with	Boswell had asked the Council to inquire into the charges, but it declined to judge them. It gave two reasons. Wolseley's convoy, which included the *Earl of Chesterfield*, was about to sail, and a full hearing of seven charges, with witnesses from the ship and the King's officers, could not be finished in time. A half-finished inquiry would have settled nothing and might have held up a ship needed in India. The second reason was legal. The act of Parliament of 1779 evidently gave naval courts martial jurisdiction over the officers of Company ships sailing with the King's troops under convoy. By sending the case to Wolseley, the Council put it before a body with clear power to try and punish. A finding of its own might have been challenged in London as beyond its authority. Drummond addressed the Council on the same day the secretary's reply went to Boswell. He hoped to make his case before the Governor and Council judged him. His memorial began by admitting he had lost his captain's favour while hinting that the charges came from prejudice. Asking the Council to decide on the facts was an appeal to a judge outside the ship. Under its decision that day, that role would now belong to a naval court martial instead.
376	372	19th November with the greater Confidence as upon your determination the future establishment of his Character and reputation depends. It will likewise he flatters himself further recommend him to your Candour and indulgence that the greatest part of his life has been spent in your Service. The purport of this Memorial is to state Charges which have been made by Captain Bruce Boswell against your Memt. with his defence that this Honble. Court may be enabled to determine whether Captain Boswell is justifiable in dismissing your Memt. from his Command as Chief Mate of the Ship. In this Matter your Memt. cannot help expressing his regret that he is unfortunately reduced to the necessity of appearing in opposition to a Gentleman whose station and whose good Character is universally acknowledged, but facts must be allowed to speak for themselves and these alone ought to be the ground of Decision. The General Charges which have been exhibited against your Memt. as stated by Captain Boswell in the Log Book are 1st. Disobedience of Orders 2d. Personal Insult. Both these accusations your Memt. can with great Truth deny and he hopes to be able to disprove them to the Conviction of this Honble. Court, he apprehends he knows his duty too well to be guilty of the first and neither his inclination nor his interest would lead him to incur the second but he will not proceed to particulars. Altho' these Charges are recorded in the above order by Captain Boswell yet in point of propriety it should have been reversed, as the last Charge was made before the other was mentioned or perhaps thought of, no disobedience of orders was	Drummond went on to say that he spoke with all the more confidence because his future standing and good name depended on the Council's decision. He hoped it would count in his favour that he had spent most of his life in the Company's service. His memorial set out the charges Boswell had made against him, together with his answers, so that the Council could decide whether Boswell was right to remove him from his post as chief mate. Drummond said he regretted having to oppose a gentleman he respected and whose good character everyone acknowledged. Facts, however, must speak for themselves, and they alone should decide the matter. According to Drummond, Boswell's log book listed two general charges against him. 1: Disobedience of orders 2: Personal insult Drummond denied both and hoped to disprove them to the Council's satisfaction. He believed he knew his duty too well to be guilty of the first. Neither his wishes nor his interest would lead him to commit the second. He then turned to the details. Drummond pointed out that although Boswell listed the charges in that order, they should have been the other way round. The charge of insult had come first, before disobedience was mentioned or perhaps even thought of. No one had accused him of disobeying orders at any point during his service. That charge appeared only as an addition to the second, probably because Boswell knew the insult charge was too weak to stand on its own. If Drummond had given cause for a charge of disobedience, it should have been made at the time, not added later to support a charge of a different kind. He had been surprised to see it and had asked Boswell in what way he had disobeyed. Boswell had refused to tell him, both in person and in writing, so that the details were set down only afterwards. Drummond therefore hoped it would be enough for him to say that [...]. **Interpretations** Drummond attacked the charges by their timing, not their details. In his account the quarrel at the cuddy table on 20 July, which produced the charge of insult, came first. The list of earlier disobediences was put together only after the suspension, to make the case look stronger. If that was true, Boswell's seven charges looked less like a record of months of failure and more like a case built after the event. The weak

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		ever urged against your Memt. during the Course of his duty; this Charge only made its appearance as an addition to the Second, probably from a Consciousness of its weakness without such a Support had your Memt. given cause for an accusation of this nature it should have been made against him at the time, after having incurred it and not been brought in as an accessary to a Charge of a different kind. Your Memt. was therefore highly surprised at finding it mentioned and demanded it to be known in what instance it could be imputed to him, but he was denied this satisfaction by Captain Boswell, both verbally, and by Letter to be afterwards stated, your Memt. therefore hopes it is only sufficient for him to say in	point in Boswell's account was that a captain who had really been defied that often had apparently said nothing formal until the night of the quarrel. Drummond pressed that point when he reminded the Council that Boswell had refused to name the disobedience when first asked. Drummond's mention of a lifetime in the Company's service was a strong appeal. A chief mate on an Indiaman usually expected to rise to command a ship of his own, and an official finding against him at St Helena would follow him to London. His whole career depended on the outcome, which is why he asked the Council to decide on facts rather than on the captain's word.
377	373	1781 in vindication of his Character in so material an article, that in his official Capacity his Conduct was unexceptionable and he trusts that this assertion will be Corroborated by every Officer and Seaman in the Ship. When Captain Boswell is pleased to condescend to mention one instance of Misconduct or Disobedience your Memt. will then have it in his power to give particulars an answer, in the mean time he flatters himself it will not be thought presumption to say that on every occasion his exertions and assiduity merited a different requital than he then experienced. It is well known on board that at the time a Principal of foundation was made to leaving England by which Purposes was discovered your Memt. was almost constantly upon deck during its Continuance for about ten days owing to the indisposition of the 2d. and 3d. Mates. His anxiety in the service of his Employers led him to do more than a mere performance of duty, that it is only on such an occasion as the present that he would endeavour to mention it as a Circumstance in his favour. But your Memt. apprehends that even allowing for arguments sake that he had been guilty of any Disobedience of Orders it could not have been urged against him at any future period if it was overlooked by the Commander at the time of its being Committed, because his acquiescence must then be supposed and this appears not only reasonable but proper as in Circumstances so various and uncertain arising even in the management of a Ship a Discretionary power might certainly be allowed to a Chief Mate. With respect to the 2d. Charge of Personal Insult your Memt. must beg leave to trouble this Honble. Court with a short state of facts from which they will be able to determine how far it is founded	Drummond hoped it would be enough to say, in defence of his good name on so serious a point, that he had done his duty as an officer without fault. He trusted that every officer and seaman in the ship would bear this out. If Boswell would name a single instance of misconduct or disobedience, Drummond would answer it in detail. Meanwhile he hoped he would not be thought presumptuous for saying that his efforts and diligence had deserved better treatment than he had received. Everyone aboard knew, he said, that soon after the ship left England a violent gale scattered the fleet. For about ten days, while it lasted, Drummond was on deck almost constantly because the second and third mates were ill. His concern for his employers' interests led him to do far more than his duty required. Only on an occasion like this would he have mentioned it in his own favour. Even if, for the sake of argument, he had disobeyed an order, Drummond held that it could not fairly be used against him later if his commander had let it pass at the time. Overlooking it then meant agreeing to it. That seemed to him both reasonable and right. In the many sudden and uncertain situations that arose in handling a ship, a chief mate had to be allowed some freedom of judgement. On the second charge, personal insult, Drummond asked leave to set out the facts briefly, so that the Council could judge how far the charge was justified. When part of the 78th Regiment came aboard at Portsmouth, it was Drummond's duty as chief mate to arrange their quarters and their belongings. It was impossible to satisfy everyone. Complaints went to the military officers, especially Major Mackenzie, who listened to them all too readily. That soon made Drummond unpopular with those gentlemen, and it was clear they would miss no chance to show it. Something else, which he would explain, made matters far worse. Drummond had always understood that on the Company's ships the soldiers' arms and ammunition were taken into the ship's charge when the troops came aboard [...]. **Interpretations** Drummond answered the charge of disobedience with a principle as well as a denial. A captain who saw an order ignored and said nothing at the time had in effect accepted it, and could not raise it months later to support a different complaint. That went to the heart of Boswell's case. Most of his seven charges concerned events from the Downs to July that he had apparently let pass until the quarrel at the

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		in Justice. When part of the 98th Regiment Embarked on board at Portsmouth it became the duty of your Memt. as Chief Mate of the Ship to arrange the particulars of their situation and other Articles. In this service it was impossible to accommodate every one to their satisfaction Complaints were made to the Military Officers and particularly to Major Mackenzie which were tending to distance? this early procured your Memorialist the displeasure of these Gentlemen and it was evident they would neglect no opportunity of testifying it but this was aggravated to the highest degree by something not necessary to be mentioned. Your Memt. having always Conceived it to be the province in the Honble. Company's Ships that the Rooms and accommodation belonging to the Soldiers should be taken Charge of at their Embarkation for	cuddy table. Drummond's claim that a chief mate needed some freedom of judgement was also a real point of seamanship, since the chief mate ran the ship's daily work and often had to act before he could consult the captain. On the soldiers' arms, Drummond presented as standard Company practice what Boswell had treated as an offence. The question was whose rule applied to troops on a Company ship: the ship's officers', who answered for her safety, or the King's officers', who commanded the men. Ammunition loose among crowded troops below decks was a fire risk, and the ship's officers had good reason to want it in the magazine under their own control. That clash of authority, not simple bad temper, lay behind much of the quarrel.
378	374	19th November for avoiding preventing accidents that might happen either to the Ship tho' Carelessness or to the Men themselves from their Quarrels with each other, which your Memt. accordingly gave directions for, but Captain Hallett of the 98th Regiment soon after coming on board, and learning what had been done was highly displeased with this Conduct and desired that the arms and ammunition should be instantly returned to the Soldiers upbraiding him at the same time for not resenting (what he termed) such an indignity with proper spirit. Your Memt. then told Captain Hallett that as he conceived the men had no use for their Arms while on board except on particular occasions they were therefore secured, that they might be wanted when they would be ready at a minutes Warning and that in the mean time your Memt. hoped he would be excused in not delivering them up without Capt. Boswell's Orders for that Purpose. Having now so fully informed Captain Hallett your Memt. flattered himself he was satisfied with the reasons given him, but a few days afterwards Captain Boswell came on Board and directed that the arms together with the ammunition belonging to the Soldiers should be returned with which order your Memt. immediately Complied. Some circumstances however soon occurred which fully justified your Memt's. precaution and pointed out the Danger and inconveniency of granting this privilege and upon fresh remonstrances it was at last resolved to regulate the affair by the practice adopted on board the Earl of Hertford Indiaman which having been to	Drummond said he had acted to prevent accidents. Loose arms and cartridges could harm the ship, and the men might hurt one another in their quarrels, so he gave orders for them to be secured. Soon afterwards Captain Hallett of the 78th Regiment came aboard and learned what had been done. He was much displeased and asked for the arms and ammunition to be returned to the soldiers at once. He also reproached the soldiers for not showing proper spirit in resenting what he called an insult. Drummond told Hallett that he saw no need for the men to have their arms on board except on particular occasions. The arms were therefore kept secure until needed, when they could be ready within a minute. Meanwhile, Drummond asked to be excused from handing them back without Captain Boswell's order. Hallett said no more, and Drummond believed he had accepted the explanation. A few days later, however, Boswell came aboard and ordered the arms and the soldiers' ammunition to be returned, and Drummond obeyed at once. Before long, events showed that his caution had been justified and that the arrangement was both dangerous and inconvenient. After further complaints, it was finally agreed to follow the practice of the Indiaman *Earl of Hertford* and fix the arms on battens in the great cabin, and that was done. Drummond believed he had done only what his duty required to keep the ship safe and orderly. His conduct had nonetheless offended Major Mackenzie, whose influence over Boswell was plain on every occasion. Drummond had none of the flattery or pliable temper that might have won the Major's goodwill. He soon felt the full weight of the Major's dislike, in the incident that caused his unhappy break with Boswell and brought the case before the Council. At supper in the cuddy on the evening of 20 July a conversation arose between Drummond and [...]. **Interpretations** Drummond's account of the arms put the quarrel in a different light from Boswell's. Boswell had charged him with taking the troops' arms and ammunition and offending their officers. Drummond said he had secured them only for safety, had given them back as soon as Boswell ordered it, and that the ship later adopted a compromise taken from another Indiaman. If that was so, the dispute had been settled

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		fill up the arms on Battens in the great Cabbin; this method was accordingly followed. While your Memt. imagined he was doing nothing more than his duty required to insure the tranquility and safety of the Ship his Conduct had given very great umbrage to Major Mackenzie whose influence and ascendancy over Captain Boswell on all occasions was very evident, and your Memt. not being possessed of that easiness and pliability of Temper that might Recommend him to Court and solicit the favour of that Gentleman he was felt the full effect of these sentiments the Major entertained of him in the following instance which produced the unfortunate rupture with Captain Boswell and occasions this Honble. Court the present trouble. During Supper in the Cuddy on the Evening of the 20th July last a Conversation happened to arise between your Memt.	by a sensible arrangement long before the quarrel at supper, and it could hardly count as proof of disobedience. His main defence was to blame the Major. By describing Mackenzie's sway over Boswell, Drummond suggested that the captain had taken up the soldiers' grievances as his own, and that the charges reflected the Major's dislike more than the chief mate's conduct. A battened rack in the great cabin kept the muskets out of the soldiers' hands but ready for use. That arrangement met both the ship's need for safety and the troops' need to defend themselves. Its adoption on the *Earl of Chesterfield* suggests that the ship's officers and the King's officers could reach agreement when tempers allowed.
379	375	1781 Memt. and Lieut. Mc Clannon respecting the appointment of a Sentinel at the Gangways on which your Memt. took occasion to enquire what could be the use or duty at that place; as it appeared to him to answer no other purpose than as a Parade may that they even did harm by being in the way of the Stays and Sheets &c. and consequently obstructed the Sailors in their duty, at the same time observing that, what might be remedied by changing their Stations to the Main and Fore Hatchways on the Gun deck where they would be of considerable service by preventing thefts and Embezzlements which were not uncommon on board. Your Memt. likewise informed Lieut. Mc Clannon that the Sergeant and Party of Soldiers were ordered to keep watch and give their assistance in doing the Ships duty yet when your Memt. had occasion to apply to these Centinels to call the Sergeant or any of the men of the Watch he would not so much as return an answer. To all this Mr. Mc Clannon replyed "that it was the Custom in Ships where Soldiers were on board to place Sentinels at the Gangways, that neither your Memt. nor any Officer belonging to the Ship had any business or concern with them, for that if he himself was on Duty in that Character and the Memt. presuming to interfere With him he would answer to the Consequences of running him through the Body with his Bayonet." This your Memt. said was a very extraordinary power especially as he always Conceived it to be his duty when Commanding Officer upon Deck to know the Business of every Body there and that	The conversation at supper on 20 July was between Drummond and Lieutenant McClannen, about the posting of a sentry at the gangways. Drummond asked what purpose the sentry could serve there. In his view it was mere show, and the sentries even did harm by getting in the way of the staysail sheets and other gear, which hindered the sailors at their work. He suggested this could be put right by moving them to the main and fore hatchways on the gun deck. There they would be very useful in stopping the thefts and pilfering that were common on board. Drummond also told McClannen that although a sergeant and a party of soldiers had been ordered to stand watch and help work the ship, the sentries would not even answer him when he asked them to call the sergeant or any of the men of the watch. McClannen answered that it was the custom on ships carrying soldiers to post sentries at the gangways. Neither Drummond nor any of the ship's officers had any business with them. If McClannen himself were on sentry duty and Drummond presumed to interfere, he would risk running Drummond through with his bayonet. Drummond told him this was a very strange power to claim. He had always understood that the officer in command of the deck must know the business of everyone on it. If he were to be ordered about by a sentry, or by anyone else whose authority he did not know, he could not be said to command the deck. This passed in private conversation at the lower end of the table between McClannen and Drummond. Boswell then broke in and curtly told Drummond to drop the subject. Stung by this rebuke and by McClannen's last remark, Drummond answered with some heat. If a sentry on deck had power independent of the officer of the watch, he said, the command was being taken from him and therefore from Captain Boswell. Boswell at once replied that Drummond would not have another chance to tell him so in that place, and Drummond then withdrew. About midnight that night, Mr Woolmore, the second mate, came to Drummond's cabin and told him that Boswell had ordered him to take charge of Drummond's watch on deck. Drummond answered that until the captain discharged him in person, he

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		if he was to be under a direction of a Centinel or any one else whose authority he was not acquainted with he could not be said to have the Command of the Deck. This passed the lower end of the Table in a private Conversation between Lieut. Mc Clannon and your Memt. but Capt. Boswell when interfered and peremptorily denied the latter to drop the Subject. Hurt by this Check as well as by Mr. Mc Clannon's last assertion, your Memt. answered with some degree of warmth that if a Centinel upon Deck was invested with power independent of the Officer on Duty, it was taking the Command from your Memt. and consequently from Captain Boswell to which he immediately replyed that your Memt. should not have an Opportunity of telling him so in that place again, whereupon the Memt. withdrew. The same night about 12 o'Clock Mr. Woolsome the 2d. Mate came to your Memt's. Cabbin and informed him that Capt. Boswell's Orders to take Charge of his (your Memt's.) Watch upon Deck, but your Memt. answered that until he was discharged by the Captain himself he would continue in the exercise of his Duty, accordingly at 4 o'Clock	would carry on with his duty. Accordingly, at four o'clock [...]. **Interpretations** Drummond's account changed the setting and the target of the remark Boswell treated as insult. In Boswell's version Drummond told the captain to his face that the command had been taken from him. In Drummond's version the words came out of a private argument with McClannen, after the lieutenant threatened to bayonet him, and they were a general point about sentries independent of the officer of the watch. Both accounts agree on what was said. They differ on whether it was an attack on Boswell or a heated statement of principle drawn out by provocation. That is exactly the kind of difference a court martial with witnesses could settle, and the Council could not. The dispute over the sentries went to a real conflict of authority aboard a ship carrying troops. A sentry took orders only from his own officers and could not be relieved or redirected by anyone else. The officer of the watch, however, was responsible for everything on deck, including the safety of the ship when sails had to be handled quickly. A soldier posted where the staysail sheets ran, and who would not answer the officer of the watch, could put the ship at risk. McClannen's threat with the bayonet showed how far the military officers were prepared to press their claim. Drummond's refusal to give up his watch without Boswell's own order was consistent with his argument that a chief mate could be removed only by his captain, not by a message passed through a junior officer.
380	376	19th November o'Clock in the Morning he went upon Deck and remained during his Watch till Eight o'Clock. At 9 o'Clock in the Morning of the 21st July your Memt. was sent for by Captain Boswell who told him that he should no longer act as Chief Mate of the Ship, alledging that he was guilty of Disobedience of Orders and personal Insult. Your Memt. demanded it to be made acquainted with the particular Instances in which he had incurred these Charges, but Captain Boswell declined giving any further satisfaction, saying he would answer for his Conduct. Mr. Woolmore being at this time present, your Memt. desired him to take notice of Captain Boswell's refusal to mention the particulars which he said he would do. These are mainly as the Memt. can recollect are the Circumstances of the whole transaction. It must be considered a straining matters very far to effect the removal of an Officer, if this private Conversation are to be listened to, and interpreted into an insult to his Commander; but in the present Case it is obvious that the argument mentioned by the Memt. and from which the supposed offence was taken must bear a very different Construction, for its evident tendency was to support the Dignity of Captain Boswell in the Command of his Ship and it would require no small stretch of ingenuity to give it any other	Drummond went on deck at four in the morning and kept his watch until eight. At nine o'clock on the morning of 21 July, Boswell sent for him. He told Drummond that he would no longer serve as chief mate, on the grounds of disobedience and personal insult. Drummond asked to be told the specific occasions on which he had committed these offences. Boswell refused to give any further explanation and said he would answer for his own conduct. Woolmore was present, and Drummond asked him to note that Boswell had refused to give the details, which Woolmore said he would do. That, as far as Drummond could remember, was the whole affair. He argued that it was stretching matters very far to remove an officer by listening to his private conversations and treating them as insults to his commander. In this case, he said, the remark he made, which Boswell took as an offence, plainly deserved a very different reading. Its obvious purpose had been to uphold Boswell's own authority as commander of his ship, and it would take a good deal of ingenuity to make it mean anything else. Drummond thought it an affront to common sense to press so obvious an absurdity, and he was almost ashamed to spend so many words refuting it. Everything, he said, pointed to where the trouble had come from, and a little reflection let him trace it to its true source. On any subject other than the regiment's affairs, he could have relied on Boswell's moderation. On this subject, however, Boswell had other reasons for anger. Old prejudices had been stirred up, and all thought of the consequences had been silenced. Drummond had always thought well of Boswell's character. He had therefore supposed that, on calmer reflection, Boswell would see how rash and improper his conduct had been and would be ready to put right his mistake. In that hope, Drummond made one more attempt to obtain an explanation by writing the following letter to Boswell. It began by referring to a private conversation between [...]. **Interpretations**

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		Meaning: indeed your Memt. cannot help thinking it an attack on Common Sense, seriously to insist on an absurdity so apparent and he is therefore ashamed to use so many words in its Refutation. Every Circumstance tends to point out from what Quarter the Storm arises and a little recollection led your Memt. to trace the cause of it from this pure Source. Upon any other supposition the Conduct of the Regiment; your Memt. could have trusted to Captain Boswell's Moderation but in this he had other inducements to reach this resentment, for our prejudices were awakened and a stronger Suspicion of Narrowness? attended. The good opinion which your Memt. always entertained of Captain Boswell's Character made him imagine that upon more mature Deliberation he would see the rashness and impropriety of his Conduct and be ready to correct the error he had Committed. With this Idea your Memt. as was offered more for an explanation by addressing the following Letter to Captain Boswell Sir. In consequence of a private Conversation between	Drummond's main point was that his remark had supported Boswell's command, not insulted it. He had said that a sentry with power independent of the officer of the watch would be taking the command away from the captain. Read that way, he was defending Boswell's authority against the King's officers, which was the opposite of an insult. The argument was clever but turned on tone and setting, which only witnesses at the table could judge. Drummond's repeated complaint that Boswell would not name his instances of disobedience made the same point. A charge that was not spelled out when it was made looked, to Drummond, like one assembled afterwards. His claim that the trouble came from the regiment pointed back to Major Mackenzie and the quarrel over the soldiers' arms at Portsmouth. Drummond presented the charges as the work of the troops' officers, carried out through a captain under their influence. That set up the contest the court martial would have to decide: whether Drummond was a disobedient officer, or a chief mate punished for defending the ship's authority against the soldiers aboard.
381	377	1781 Mr. Mc Clannon and me on Friday night last, I am sorry to find there should be such a Misunderstanding; you may be assured Sir, there was no offence meant on my side on the Contrary whatever might have been said by me on the subject proceeded from a warmth in your behalf; if therefore you will indulge me with a few minutes private Conversation I will endeavour to clear up this Matter to your satisfaction. In the mean time give me leave to subscribe myself Sir yours &c. D. D. Earl of Chesterfield the 23d. July 1781. To Capt. Bruce Boswell. To this Letter your Memt. received the following Answer. Ship Earl of Chesterfield the 23d. July 1781. Sir In answer to your Letter of this date, I have only to say that as I have charged you with repeated disobedience of Orders and personal insult the truth of which you must certainly be convinced of nothing but an acknowledgement from under your hand that these Charges are Just can be sufficient to accommodate Matters, till that takes place I cannot with propriety hold any private Conversation with you, nor till that takes place is there any occasion for you to take the trouble of writing again as it will require no answer till the above acknowledgement is made. I am Sir &c. Signed Bruce Boswell To Mr. Drummond. The sentiments Conveyed by Captain Boswell in his Letter seem to be the result of a Cool Consideration of his Conduct far from tending to afford a Vindication of what he had done, he discovers an	Drummond wrote to Boswell from the *Earl of Chesterfield* on 25 July 1781. He said he was sorry that a misunderstanding had arisen from the private conversation between Lieutenant McClannen and himself the previous Friday night. He assured Boswell that he had meant no offence. On the contrary, whatever he had said on the subject came from his zeal on Boswell's behalf. If Boswell would allow him a few minutes' private talk, he would try to clear the matter up to Boswell's satisfaction. He signed the letter with his initials, D. D. Boswell replied the same day from the ship. He said he had charged Drummond with repeated disobedience of orders and personal insult, and that Drummond must be well aware the charges were true. Nothing but a written admission, signed by Drummond, that the charges were just could settle the matter. Until he had it, Boswell could not properly hold any private conversation with him. Nor was there any need for Drummond to write again, since Boswell would not answer until that admission was made. Bruce Boswell signed the letter. Drummond told the Council that the views in Boswell's letter seemed to come from careful thought about his own conduct. Unable to justify what he had done, Boswell wanted Drummond to admit the charges were fair, which would excuse him from having to make amends. If Boswell had really been convinced the charges were just, Drummond asked, why did he need any further proof of them? Drummond said he would make no other comment on the letter and left its meaning to the Council's better judgement. Matters had rested there between them ever since. Drummond considered himself fortunate to have the Council to turn to for redress. If disobedience of orders he knew nothing about, and personal insults he never meant to give, could be proved against him, he must think his case a strange one. Such a principle might greatly increase a commander's power, but it would teach junior officers to take care before exposing themselves to such severe consequences. Had Boswell been open-minded enough to grant the private conversation Drummond asked for in his letter, Drummond had

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		anxiety to have your Memt. to acknowledge the Justice of the Charges laid against him, in which case he would not be indemnified for an inconvenience of Captain Boswell's acts from a Conviction of their Justice, why demand any further Conviction of it? but your Memt. will make no other Comment on this Letter, leaving its Construction to the superior discernment of this Honble. Court. This Matter has since rested between the parties, it is however fortunate Circumstance for your Memt. that he has this Honble. Court to appeal to for redress. If disobedience of orders, have not any point with and personal Insults, have never anything given are to be established against him, he must think his case somewhat singular. Such a Doctrine may considerably add to the Powers of a Commander, but it will teach caution to subordinate Officers in rendering themselves liable to consequences so severe. Had Captain Boswell been Candid enough to have indulged your Memt. with the private Conversation he requested by his Letter above stated, he would have discovered the most distant intention of Offering any Insult, and that if	meant to deny any intention whatever of giving offence, and [...]. **Interpretations** The letters of 25 July show how the quarrel hardened. Drummond's note was conciliatory. He blamed a misunderstanding, said he meant no offence and asked to talk privately. Boswell treated it as a hidden attempt to escape the charges without admitting them. His demand for a signed confession of guilt before any talk could take place left Drummond with only two choices: confess to offences he denied, or have no way back to his post. Drummond's question to the Council made the point sharply. If Boswell was sure of his charges, why did he need Drummond to admit them? A captain secure in his evidence had no need of a confession. Drummond also turned his own case into a warning about command at sea. If a captain could make charges without stating particulars and then require a written admission as the price of reconciliation, every junior officer was at his mercy. By framing it that way, Drummond invited the Council to see the case as one about the limits of a commander's power, not just about a chief mate's temper.
382	378	19th November Capt. Boswell had taken up any expression which might from your Memorialist in that Circumstance he would most readily have apologized for it but this opportunity being Denied, it is not the fault of your Memt. that Matters are brought to the present Extremity. Your Memt. will now beg leave to add to this case a few particulars which have occurred in the Voyage since his removal from his Office as Chief Mate, wherein he endeavoured to manifest his zeal for the Interest and Service of the Honble. Company his Employers and to prove himself attentive to the trust they had reposed in him as senior Officer of their Ship. It having been resolved by the Commanders of the Blandford and Tartar (the only Ships then in Company) together with the Concurrence of Captain Boswell and Major Mackenzie that they should go into the Island of St. Thomas, the Course was shaped accordingly and on the Morning of the 10th September about eight o'Clock when approaching the Roadstead your Memt. was surprised with the intelligence of the Ships being aground upon which he instantly went upon deck, and observing the wind to be about S.S.W. the Ships Head to the Westward directly towards the Road and hearing the Man at the Helm say (who he was ordered to keep the Helm up) that he could not move the Wheel, your Memt. then thought proper to address Captain Boswell to this effect. That notwithstanding what had passed he thought the Duty he owed to his employers would not permit him to be silent on	Drummond told the Council that if Boswell had taken offence at anything he let slip, he would gladly have apologised for it. Boswell had refused him the chance, so it was not Drummond's fault that matters had gone so far. Drummond then added some events from the voyage after his removal as chief mate. In each he had tried to show his zeal for the Company's interests and his loyalty to the trust it placed in him as a sworn officer of its ship. The commanders of the *Blandford* and the *Tartar*, the only ships then in company, decided with Boswell and Major Mackenzie to put in at the island of St Thomas, and the ship set her course for it. At about 8 in the morning of 10 September 1781, as she approached the harbour, Drummond was startled to hear that she had run aground. He went on deck at once. The wind was about south-south-west, and the ship's head pointed west, straight at the shoal. The man at the helm, told to put the helm up, said he could not move the wheel. Drummond then spoke to Boswell. Despite all that had happened, he said, his duty to his employers would not let him stay silent in such an emergency, and he asked leave to speak. Boswell answered, "Most certainly, by all means." Drummond advised that all the sails be laid flat aback. If that failed, the longboat should be got out, a bower anchor and stream cable carried out astern, and the ship hauled off the way she had come. Part of this advice was followed. The crew carried out the stream anchor and sheet cable, since these were the readiest to hand. When this was done and the cable was being hove taut, Drummond went aft to the poop. He again proposed to Boswell that the mizen topsail be hoisted and laid aback, and the mizen set to keep the ship moving astern. Some of the *Tartar*'s seamen, then on board, carried this out. Between 11 and 12 o'clock it was proposed to put the spare spars overboard and empty some butts of water to lighten the ship. She needed to rise 3 or 4 feet, since there were only 17 feet of water beside the main chains. **Interpretations** Drummond used the grounding to answer Boswell's whole case against him. Boswell had charged him with disobedience and with failing to

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		the present emergency, and therefore hoped he might have leave to speak to which Captain Boswell replied "most certainly by all means." Your Memt. then desired that all the Sails might be laid flat aback and if that had no effect to get the Long Boat out, and carry a Bower Anchor & Stream Cable out astern, and heave the Ship off in the same Direction that she came in, this advice was complied with in part by carrying out the Stream Anchor and Cable (they being ready at hand) when this was done and beginning to heave a Strain on the Cable your Memt. went up on the Poop and again proposed to Captain Boswell that the Mizen topsail might be hauled aback and back to the Mizen, which would help her astern, this was accordingly executed by some of the Seamen belonging to the Tartar then on board between 11 and 12 o'Clock it was proposed to launch the Booms overboard and start some Water in order to lighten the Ship it appeared we must have over 3 or 4 feet then being only 17 feet water abreast the Main Chains	support his captain. Here Drummond showed himself, after his suspension, offering his skill in a real danger and Boswell accepting it. Each step he advised was standard seamanship for getting a ship off a shoal. Laying the sails aback pushed her astern. An anchor carried out behind let the crew haul her off along the track she had come in on. Lightening her by putting spars overboard and emptying water casks raised her in the water. By recording that Boswell said "most certainly, by all means" and acted on the advice, Drummond suggested that the captain still trusted his judgement at sea, whatever he said about it on paper. St Thomas was São Tomé, a Portuguese island in the Gulf of Guinea that ships on the outward passage sometimes used for water and fresh food. Calling there, and the grounding that followed, help explain why the *Earl of Chesterfield* did not reach St Helena until 18 November 1781, months after she left England.
383	379	1781 Chains and about 16 feet under the Bows. To this the Capt. made some objection being in hopes to get her off without. Accordingly about one o'Clock finding the Tide to have rose a long side about a foot We continued to heave a strain on the Cable by which means we soon found the Ship to loosen and swing about and fortunately getting clear off as she had lost the Forward, and cut away the Best Cable at half length and stood to sea. At this time of general Confusion when perhaps it might be confused by the Officers, your Memt. took a Memorandum of Bearings when the Ship was aground, which very fortunately conduced to the means of recovering the Stream anchor and the remainder of our best Cable, the day after the Ship got into the Road. When this dangerous affair was over your Memt. congratulated Capt. Boswell upon not having lost the Ship and hoped nevertheless that having he had given no offence by what he said. To which Capt. Boswell replyed "you have not and I am very much Obliged to you." In the above recital your Memt. does not wish to be understood as meaning to Convey a reflection on any of the Officers all of whom exerted themselves to the utmost for the safety of the Ship, the only purpose of this introducing it, is to shew that whatever treatment he met with from his Commander, he did not lose sight of the Interest of his Employers, when he supposed that any effort of his could in the	Drummond went on to say that there were only 17 feet of water beside the main chains and about 16 feet under the bows. Boswell objected to lightening the ship, hoping to get her off without it. At about 1 o'clock the crew found the tide had risen about a foot alongside. They kept heaving on the cable, and the ship soon began to loosen and swing. She came clear with her head to the north, and the crew cut away the sheet cable at half its length and stood out to sea. In the general confusion, when the officers might easily have overlooked it, Drummond took a note of the compass bearings while the ship was aground. That record, he said, was what allowed the crew to recover the stream anchor and the rest of the sheet cable the day after the ship reached the anchorage. When the danger was over, Drummond congratulated Boswell and said he hoped his advice had given no offence. Boswell answered, "You have not, and I am very much obliged to you." Drummond did not want this account taken as criticism of any of the other officers, all of whom had worked as hard as they could to save the ship. His only aim was to show that, however his commander had treated him, he never lost sight of his employers' interests whenever he thought his efforts could help them. It had lately been suggested, Drummond said, that the disobedience Boswell charged him with came from an order not to interfere with the military officers on board. On that view, his conversation with McClannen broke the order, and Boswell resented it so strongly that he added the charge of personal insult. Both charges therefore sprang from the same cause. Drummond accepted that a commander had authority and power over his officers in ordinary matters. He had yet to learn, however, that this power extended to dictating what they talked about at table, even in general conversation, let alone in a private exchange with one person. He would be surprised if a conversation of that kind could be called interference with the regiment. His talk with McClannen was only

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		least Contribute to it. It has been lately suggested that the Disobedience of Orders alluded to by Captain Boswell in his Charge against your Memt. arises from his having been obliged to have any interference with the Military Gentlemen on Board and his supposed Breach of the order by the Conversation above stated between him and Mr. Mc Clannon which was so highly resented by Captain Boswell as to incur the additional imputation of personal Insult. What both Charges Originated from the same Cause. Tho' your Memt. is sensible of the Superiority and power of a Commander in Common Cases, he hoped that that it extended to prescribe to his Officers the subject of their discourse at Table, even in general Conversation. It still more admitted any particular Person in Private but your Memt. could be surprised of a Conversation of this Nature conducted and interference with the Regiment the subject of this Discourse with Mr. Mc Clannon was merely matter of enquiry and opinion and could not be supposed any interference or Disturbance, but as it is now intended to be magnified into the mighty cause of Offence it will be necessary for your Memt. to prove Circumstances respecting it for	a matter of inquiry and opinion and need not have caused any notice or trouble. Since it was now being blown up into a serious offence, he would have to prove certain facts about it. **Interpretations** The grounding at St Thomas gave Drummond his strongest evidence. A captain who thought his suspended chief mate disobedient and insolent nonetheless took his advice in an emergency and thanked him for it afterwards. That thanks, in Boswell's own words, sat oddly beside the charges of repeated disobedience. Drummond's note of the bearings showed a careful seaman. An anchor and cable cut away in an emergency were valuable Company stores, and without a fixed position they would have been lost on the seabed. Recovering them the next day saved the owners real money, which was exactly the kind of service to his employers that Drummond wanted the Council to weigh. Drummond also drew the two charges into one. If disobedience meant only that he had broken an order not to meddle with the military, and the insult arose from the same conversation, then Boswell's long list of failures from the Downs to July shrank to a single supper-table argument. Whether a captain could forbid his officers even to discuss the soldiers in private became the real question. It was one a naval court martial, used to defending a captain's authority, might well answer differently from a planter's council at St Helena.
384	380	19th November In the first place he will refer to the Evidence of the Gentlemen himself as to the particulars of the Conversation and whether in his opinion it would at that period have needed Captain Boswell to interfere. He will also appeal to the other Gentlemen that were at Table for their opinion respecting it. But your Memt. will upon the whole urge it as a Circumstance of considerable weight in his favor That the Captain Boswell had particular instructions given him from the Directors in England respecting even his Conduct to the Military Gentlemen on Board Yet these were never Communicated to your Memt. which he apprehends ought to have been done and that as these instructions were withheld any error he might commit through Ignorance of them cannot be laid to his Charge as a Crime. If these facts are ascertained what does this offence turn out to be which is to deprive a Chief Mate of his Command, to injure his reputation and Character. Has he neglected any part of his duty? No. Has he shewn any want of Knowledge in his profession? No. But he has been guilty of holding a private Conversation with a Gentleman at Table upon a subject arising from incidental Circumstances, which having been Considered	Drummond said he would first call on McClannen himself to confirm what was said in their conversation, and to say whether he thought the subject would have been dropped if Boswell had not stepped in. He would also ask the other gentlemen at the table for their view. Above all, Drummond urged one point strongly in his favour. Boswell had received particular instructions from the Directors in England about how to treat the military officers on board, but he never passed them on to Drummond. In Drummond's view he ought to have done so. Since the instructions had been kept from him, any mistake he made through not knowing them could not fairly be held against him as an offence. If these facts were proved, Drummond asked, what did the offence that cost a chief mate his post, his reputation and his good name amount to? He had not neglected any part of his duty. He had shown no lack of skill in his profession. His only fault was a private conversation with a gentleman at table, on a subject that arose by chance. Because the subject was thought forbidden, the conversation was overheard and turned into two grave charges, disobedience of orders and personal insult. Those words sounded serious and might give a strong impression until their causes were looked into. That was what the inquiry now had to do, and Drummond was confident the Council would conduct it impartially and judge it fairly. He asked the Council's pardon for burdening it with so long a paper, which he said only the importance of the matter could excuse. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** Drummond closed his defence with his strongest point. Boswell's own letter to the Council said the

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		an Prohibited, was listened to and converted into no less than two great Crimes Disobedience of Orders and Personal Insult this unintended Sounding terms and might convey strong Ideas till their Causes are Examined this is therefore the present object of enquiry which your Memt. is conscious will be productive with impartiality and determined with Justice, in the mean time he hopes he will be pardoned by this Honble. Court for troubling them with the Perusal of so long a Paper which the importance of the Event can only Apologize for. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Court of Directors had given him strict instructions about the King's troops, and Boswell based several charges on Drummond's dealings with the soldiers. If those instructions were never passed down to the chief mate, Drummond could not be blamed for failing to follow orders he had never seen. A captain could expect his officers to carry out his orders, but not orders known only to himself. This put the burden back on Boswell to show what Drummond had actually been told and when. The memorial went into the record, but it did not change the Council's decision. The Council had already told Boswell that afternoon to take the case to Captain Wolseley for a court martial. Drummond's memorial was entered so that his side would sit beside the captain's when the papers reached the court martial or the Directors in London. By recording both in full and deciding neither, the Council kept its own hands clean in a dispute between a Company captain, his chief mate and the King's officers.
385	381	24th November At a Consultation holden Saturday the 24th day of November 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Governor Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 19th November 1781. Tuesday the 22d. Sailed His Majesty's Ship Hannibal. We this day received the following address from Captain Pigott Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. Worshipful Sir and Sirs I take the liberty to acquaint you that one of the Honble. Company's recruits on board the Tartar, is so extremely ill, that unless he is landed, and remains here he cannot live. I therefore request that you will please to give an order for his being admitted into the Hospital, together with one of the Seamen, who lately had his leg and thigh cut off, consequently cannot be of any service to the Ship in future. I am with respect Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most Obedt. Servant Signed Edwd. Pigott Novr. 24. 1781. To which the Secretary was Directed to return the Subsequent Answer Vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Saturday 24 November 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 19 November 1781. His Majesty's ship *Hannibal* sailed on Tuesday 20 November 1781. That day the Council received a letter from Captain Dick, addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. He reported that one of the Company's recruits aboard the *Tartar* was so ill that in his view the man would not live unless he was landed. He asked the Council to order the recruit admitted to the island's hospital. He also asked that a seaman who had lately had a leg amputated be admitted with him, since the man could be of no further use to the ship. Edward Dick signed the letter on 24 November 1781. The Council told the secretary to send the following answer. **Interpretations** The captain wanted to leave behind two men his ship could no longer use. The recruit was Company property in a sense, bound for the army in India, and the Company paid for his care whether he died at sea or ashore. The seaman with the amputated leg was another matter. A one-legged sailor could not work aloft or on deck, and a captain had every reason to put him ashore at the first port rather than feed him for the rest of the voyage. Landing him at St Helena put the cost of his keep, and perhaps his passage home, onto the island. A week earlier the Council had refused the French sick a place in the hospital and housed them in a tent apart. Its answer here would show whether it treated the Company's own men and seamen more generously than enemy prisoners.
386	382	24th November To Captain Edward Pigott Commander of Ship Tartar Sir In answer to your Letter of this day to the Governor and Council I am directed to inform you that you are to send the recruit therein mentioned on shore, and that the Surgeon will receive orders to admit him into the Hospital accordingly. You have also their permission to send on shore	Britannicus Wright, the secretary, replied to Captain Edward Foot, commander of the *Tartar*, on 24 November 1781. He told Foot that the Governor and Council had agreed to his request. Foot was to send the recruit ashore, and the surgeon would be ordered to admit him to the hospital. Foot also had permission to land the seaman whose leg had been amputated, and he too would be taken into the hospital. On 20 November 1781 Captain Boswell had presented a letter to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. He had received their letter of 19 November the night before, answering his charges

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		the Seaman who has his leg cut off, and he will likewise be admitted into the Hospital. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 24th Novr. 1781. On the 20th Instant Captain Boswell presented the following Letter Vizt. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. and Council on the Island of St. Helena. Gentlemen Last night I had the Honor to receive your Letter of the 19th Instant, in answer to the Charges exhibited by me against Mr. Drummond my Chief Officer. You are pleased to observe that as the Fleet will remain but a short time at St. Helena the affair cannot be sufficiently investigated and also that you think it advisable to refer the matter to Captain Wolseley Commanding His Majesty's Ships in the Road, who has authority to receive the said Mr. Drummond as a Prisoner to be tryed by the first Court Martial that can be constituted for that purpose. When I had the honor of attending you yesterday I informed you that I had wrote to the Honble. Court of Directors, and to my Owners, acquainting them that I had suspended Mr. Drummond for repeated disobedience of Orders, and personal Insult. That I thought it my duty immediately	against his chief officer, David Drummond. He noted the Council's view that the fleet would stay only a short time at St Helena, so the case could not be properly examined there. He also noted its advice to refer the matter to Captain Wolseley, commanding His Majesty's ships in the road, who had authority to take Drummond as a prisoner for trial by the first court martial that could be assembled. Boswell reminded the Council that when he called on it the day before, he had told it that he had already written to the Court of Directors and to his owners. He had informed them that he had suspended Drummond for repeated disobedience of orders and personal insult. He had thought it his duty to do so at once. **Interpretations** The Council granted both requests in full and without conditions. That stood in clear contrast with its handling of the French sick a week earlier. Then it had kept them out of the hospital, housing them in a tent above the town, admitting only those the island's surgeon passed, and putting the cost on Captain Christie. Here a Company recruit and a disabled seaman went straight into the hospital. The difference lay in whose men they were. The island's hospital served the Company's people and the ships it supplied, and the Council treated a crippled seaman from a Company ship as its own responsibility. Boswell's reply showed he was reluctant to take the court martial route. He had already reported the suspension to the Directors and his owners, which tied him to the course he had begun. A court martial under Wolseley would put the matter before naval officers and require Boswell to prove every charge against witnesses. That risked a public defeat if Drummond's version of the supper conversation prevailed. By reminding the Council of his letters to London, Boswell signalled that he would rather the Directors settled the matter than a naval court in the road at St Helena.
387	383	1781 immediately upon my arrival at St. Helena to lay the matter before you; I requested you Gentlemen to redress me. I have now Gentlemen to repeat this request, the charges exhibited by me against Mr. Drummond, I flatter myself are very soon to be proved, and of course will not intrude much upon your time, That Charge in particular relative to His Majesty's Officers and Troops on Board for which I am by the Honble. Court of Directors Instructed with Commission. Major Mackenzie Commanding Officer of the Troops on Board the Earl of Chesterfield as also the other Officers under his Command I make no doubt will fully prove that Charge just. I humbly conceive that the applying to Captain Wolseley for to receive him as a Prisoner to be tryed by a Court Martial is unprecedented in the Honble. Company's Service. He has not been a prisoner on board of the Earl of Chesterfield, I suspended him and I flattered myself that when you had a power of enquiring and found the Charges against him just, that you would discharge him. If you will be pleased to give me an order to deliver him as a prisoner to Captain Wolseley, that he might be tryed	Boswell's letter went on to say that he had asked the Council to give him redress as soon as he reached St Helena, and he now repeated that request. He was confident his charges against Drummond could be proved quickly and would not take up much of the Council's time. He singled out the charge about the King's officers and troops on board. On that matter the Court of Directors had warned him that he faced dismissal if he failed. He had no doubt that Major Mackenzie, commanding the troops on the *Earl of Chesterfield*, and the officers under him would fully prove it. Boswell argued that asking Captain Wolseley to take Drummond as a prisoner for trial by court martial had no precedent in the Company's service. Drummond had never been held as a prisoner on the *Earl of Chesterfield*. Boswell had only suspended him, and he had expected that once the Council looked into the charges and found them just, it would dismiss Drummond. If the Council gave him a written order to hand Drummond over to Wolseley for trial, he would consider it his duty to obey. If it would neither give that order nor deal with the case itself, Boswell would have no choice but to let Drummond sail on to India still suspended. He would then lay the case before the Governor and Council of the first presidency he reached, just as he had done at St Helena. Bruce Boswell signed the letter at St Helena on 20 November 1781. The Council ordered the following answer to be sent to Captain Bruce Boswell, commander of the *Earl of Chesterfield*. It began by referring to his letter of that day. **Interpretations**

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		by a Court Martial I shall then think it my duty to do so, but if you Gentlemen think it is not in your power to give me such an order and do not chuse Gentlemen to take Cognizance of the affair here, I shall esteem myself under the necessity of permitting him to proceed in the Ship to India suspended as upon my arrival at St. Helena and then to lay it before the Governor and Council of the first Presidency I arrive at. I have the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most Obedt. and most humble Servant (Signed) Bruce Boswell St. Helena 20th Novr. 1781. To the above Letter We directed the following answer to be returned Vizt. To Captain Bruce Boswell Commander of Ship Earl of Chesterfield Sir In answer to your Letter of this day I am Directed by	Boswell's letter revealed the pressure behind his charges. The Court of Directors had told him he would lose his command if the King's troops on his ship were not properly treated. Drummond's quarrels with the soldiers therefore put Boswell's own career at risk, not only the ship's peace. That explains why he put the charge about the troops first and relied on Major Mackenzie to prove it. It also gives weight to Drummond's claim that the case grew out of the regiment's grievances. Boswell turned the Council's refusal back on it. He held that a Company officer had never before been handed to a naval court martial. That was a real objection, since a Company chief mate served under the Company's articles and owners, not the Admiralty. A naval court would be judging a Company officer on a dispute within a Company ship. By saying he would act only on a written order, Boswell put the responsibility on the Council. If Drummond was tried by the navy, it would be on the Council's authority, not the captain's. If the Council declined, Drummond would sail on to India in limbo, and the decision would pass to another presidency.
388	384	24th November by the Governor and Council to inform you that your Complaint preferred against Mr. Drummond will be heard to Morrow Morning, when your attendance is required. I am Sir Your humble Servant Signed Saml. Mason Writer St. Helena 20th Novr. 1781 The Board being engaged from the 21st Instant to this day in investigating an unfortunate affair which happened at the Island of St. Thomas's of some of the Ship Tartar's Crew having Boarded a Spanish Vessel &c. And Captain Wolseley having this day informed them that he had given Orders to the several Commanders of the Honble. Company's Ships under his Convoy to proceed on their Voyage the 27th Instant, from which Circumstance find that time would not admit of Entering fully upon the Business therefore directed the Secretary to write the following Letter to Captain Boswell, and acquaint Mr. Drummond that Captain Boswell's Complaint against him could not be investigated here, and that his Memorial together with Captain Boswell's Charges against him are entered upon Consultation. To Captain Bruce Boswell Commander of Ship Earl of Chesterfield Sir I am directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you that notwithstanding they informed you in answer to your Letter of the 20th Instant that your Complaint preferred against Mr. David Drummond your Chief Officer would be entered upon, on the 21st Instant, Yet they	The secretary's reply to Boswell told him that, on the Governor and Council's orders, his complaint against Drummond would be heard the next morning and that he must attend. Samuel Mason, writer, signed the letter at St Helena on 20 November 1781. From 21 November to 24 November the Council was occupied investigating an unfortunate incident at the island of St Thomas, in which some of the crew of the *Tartar* had boarded a Spanish vessel. On 24 November Captain Wolseley told the Council that he had ordered the commanders of the King's ships and the Company's ships under his convoy to sail on 27 November. The Council found there would not be time to examine Boswell's case fully. It therefore told the secretary to write to Boswell and to inform Drummond that Boswell's complaint could not be investigated at St Helena. Drummond's memorial and Boswell's charges had both been entered in the consultation record. The secretary's letter to Captain Bruce Boswell, commander of the *Earl of Chesterfield*, followed. It told him, on the Governor and Council's orders, that although they had said in reply to his letter of 20 November that his complaint against his chief officer, David Drummond, would be heard on 21 November, they [...]. **Interpretations** The Council changed course twice in four days. On 19 November it declined to judge the case and referred it to Wolseley. Boswell objected that a naval court martial had no precedent in the Company's service, and the Council then agreed to hear the case itself on 21 November. Before it could do so, a more serious matter took over its sittings. When Wolseley fixed the convoy's departure for 27 November, the Council dropped the inquiry altogether. The result was that no one judged the case at St Helena. Both sides' papers went into the record, and the dispute sailed on to India with the ship. The incident at St Thomas explains why it took priority. Spain had been at war with Britain since 1779, so a Spanish ship was an enemy. St Thomas, however, belonged to Portugal, which was neutral. Seizing or boarding an enemy vessel in a neutral port broke the law of nations and could bring a formal protest from Lisbon, and Britain could not afford to anger one of its few friends in Europe in the middle of the war. Seamen from a Company ship acting on their own could involve the Company and the Crown

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			in a diplomatic dispute. A matter of that weight came before a quarrel between a captain and his mate.
389	385	1781 their time being so taken up since that Period in investigating that unfortunate Business respecting some of the Tartar's Crew having Boarded a Spanish Vessel at the Island of St. Thomas &c. which they could not postpone it being a national Concern. And Captain Wolseley having this day informed them that he has given Orders to the several Commanders of the Kings and Company's Ships now here under his Convoy to be in readiness to proceed on their Voyage the 27th Instant and that he is determined not to wait above forty eight hours after that Period, they conceive it utterly impossible to investigate your Complaint against your Chief Officer as the several Charges therein Contained would require much longer time than what they are Confined to, more particularly as the Business of the Settlement and Publick Dispatches to India must be expedited within that Period. Therefore they recommend to you to Continue the said Mr. Drummond in suspension until your arrival at Madras or any other of the Honble. Company's Settlements in India where you will have an opportunity of Entering fully upon the Business. I am likewise to inform you that the Board intends addressing the President and Council at Fort St. George on the Subject, and that your letter and Charges against the said Mr. Drummond will be entered upon the face of their Consultations. I am Sir Your humble Servant (Signed) W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 24th Novr. 1781. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The secretary's letter to Boswell explained that the Council's time since 21 November had been taken up investigating the unfortunate affair of the *Tartar*'s crew boarding a Spanish vessel at St Thomas. That matter concerned the nation and could not be put off. Captain Wolseley had also told the Council that day that he had ordered the commanders of the King's and Company's ships under his convoy to be ready to sail on 27 November, and that he would wait no more than 48 hours after that. The Council judged it quite impossible to examine Boswell's complaint against his chief officer in the time left. The charges would take much longer than that, and the island's own business and its dispatches to India also had to be completed before the convoy sailed. The Council therefore recommended that Boswell keep Drummond suspended until he reached Madras or another of the Company's settlements in India, where the case could be examined fully. It added that it would write to the President and Council at Fort St George about the matter. Boswell's letter and his charges against Drummond had been entered in the consultation record. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the letter at St Helena on 24 November 1781. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The Council ended up doing what Boswell had said he would do himself if it gave him no order. Drummond stayed suspended and sailed on to India, and the case passed to Fort St George at Madras. That left Boswell's suspension in force without any finding that the charges were proved. Drummond lost his post for the whole passage to India without having been heard by any authority. The Council recognised that by recording his memorial alongside the charges and by promising to send the papers on, so the Madras council would have both sides before it. Fort St George was the seat of the Company's presidency at Madras, and the *Earl of Chesterfield*'s troops were bound for that coast, where the war against Mysore was at its height. Referring the case there put it in the hands of a council with authority over Company ships in India, and avoided the question of a naval court martial altogether. The Council had first promised a hearing and then withdrawn it within four days. The national affair at St Thomas and the convoy's timetable explain the change, but the outcome showed how little time a council at a port of call had for disputes that arrived with the ships and left with them.
390	386	26th November At a Consultation holden Monday the 26th day of November 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 24th Novr. 1781. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor this day laid the following Minute before the Board Vizt. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor offer	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 26 November 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 24 November 1781. The Governor and the Lieutenant Governor laid a minute before the Council. They proposed keeping the schooner *Rebecca*, which Captain Pigou had brought to the island, to cruise to windward of St Helena. Pigou had said he no longer needed the vessel, since he had happily met his convoy at the island. The schooner sailed well, was sheathed with copper and was worked by a master, four men and a boy. She would therefore cost far less than any vessel the island had kept on that duty before. John

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		it to the Consideration of the Board whether the measure of detaining the Rebecca Schooner brought here by Captain Pigou, will not be a proper Vessel, to Cruize to Windward of this Island especially as Captain Pigou has represented that he has no further use for said Vessel having fortunately joined His Convoy here, and as said Schooner Sails well, is sheathed with Copper and navigated by a Master four Men and a Boy and consequently will be at a much less expence, than any other Vessel hitherto stationed here for said Purpose. Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille St. Helena 26th Novr. 1781. The Board having Considered Maturely the above Minute are of opinion as the Governor and Lieutenant Governor think it a proper measure to keep the said Vessel here for	Skottowe and Daniel Corneille signed the minute at St Helena on 26 November 1781. The Council considered the minute and agreed with the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor that it would be right to keep the schooner at the island for [...]. **Interpretations** The island's defences depended on warning. The south-east trade wind blew steadily onto St Helena, so any ship, friend or enemy, approached from the windward side. A small vessel cruising some miles out in that direction could sight a strange sail long before the lookouts on Ladder Hill and run back with the news. That gave the batteries and the flying party time to prepare. The island had kept vessels for this purpose before, but at greater cost. The *Betsy* and the *Hind*, the island's own craft, had been missing all year, which left a gap the *Rebecca* could fill. Copper sheathing protected a ship's bottom from shipworm and stopped weed and barnacles from growing on it, so a coppered vessel stayed fast for longer between cleanings. For a lookout that had to outrun anything she sighted, speed was essential. A crew of six made her cheap to keep. Pigou had brought her out as a tender to find his convoy, and with that task done she was a ready-made answer to the island's need at almost no cost.
391	387	1781 for the purpose of Cruizing to Windward of this Island &c. and as it has already been purchased on the Honble. Company's account, and is a Vessel well Calculated for that service, agree that she should be detained accordingly until the Honble. Company's Pleasure be known. Mr. Lucas Wimbleton Master of the said Schooner being strongly recommended to Us by Captain Pigou, as an able Seaman, and very attentive to his Duty, We have allowed him ten Pounds pr. Month in full for all services; And as he represents to Us that he can place great Confidence in the Seamen We have allowed them the same Wages they engaged for in England. We received the following Letter from Captains Pigou, Pigott and Boswell. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena Worshipful Sir and Sirs You having thought fit to detain the Rebecca Schooner here as from the loss of the Snow and Cutter, a Vessel was absolutely necessary for the Honble. Company's Service at this Island. We request you will please to pay unto Mr. Thomas Nesbitt late Owner of the Schooner the sum of one thousand three Hundred Pounds Sterling being the Sum agreed on by us for the purchase of the said Schooner together with her Tackling, Furniture and Provisions as expressed in the Schedule annexed to Our Consultation of the 27th July last. We likewise request you will please to pay unto Lucas Wimbleton Master of the said Schooner and to the four Seamen who have navigated her to this Island, the Wages that have	The Council noted that the *Rebecca* had already been bought on the Company's account and was well suited to the work. It therefore agreed to keep her at the island until the Company's wishes were known. Captain Pigou strongly recommended the schooner's master, Lucas Wimbleton, as an able seaman who was very attentive to his duty. The Council allowed him £10 0s 0d a month to cover all his services. Wimbleton said he could fully rely on his crew, so the Council allowed the seamen the same wages they had been engaged for in England. The Council then received a letter from Captains Pigou, Foot and Boswell, addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. The captains noted that the Council had decided to keep the *Rebecca* at the island, since the loss of the snow and the cutter had left the Company's service there badly in need of a vessel. They asked the Council to pay Thomas Nesbitt, the schooner's former owner, £1,300 0s 0d. That was the price they had agreed for the schooner, her rigging, fittings and provisions, as set out in the schedule attached to their consultation of 27 July 1781. They also asked the Council to pay Wimbleton and the four seamen who had sailed her to the island the wages owed to them from 27 July 1781 until their arrival. Peter Pigou, Edward Foot and Bruce Boswell signed the letter at St Helena on 27 November 1781. **Interpretations** The schooner had been bought for the Company months before she reached the island. On 27 July 1781 the three commanders, sitting together as a council of captains, agreed to buy her from Thomas Nesbitt, probably as a tender to scout ahead of their ships and carry messages between them. A group of Company commanders sailing together could meet as a council and make purchases for the Company's service. Once their voyage no longer needed her, she passed to the island as Company property, and the Council simply settled the bill. The snow and the cutter whose loss she replaced were the *Betsy* and the *Hind*, the island's own vessels that had been missing all year. The captains now treated them as lost for good. Keeping the crew on their English wages was a way of holding them. Seamen on St Helena could easily slip away on the next homeward ship, as many soldiers had done that year. A crew paid at the rate they had signed for, under a master they trusted, had

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		become due unto them from the 27th July last until their arrival here. We have the Honor to be Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient & humble Servants (Signed) Peter Pigou Edwd. Pigott Bruce Boswell St. Helena 27th Novr. 1781.	less reason to leave. At £10 0s 0d a month, the master was paid more than most of the Company's factors on the island. That shows how highly the Council valued a reliable man in charge of the island's only lookout vessel.
392	388	26th November In Consequence of the above Letter, We granted Bills of Exchange upon the Honble. the Court of Directors for the Purchase of the said Vessel being One Thousand three Hundred Pounds and have paid the Master and Seamen the Wages due to them from the 27th July to the 27th November 1781 and Entered into an agreement with the Master, Seamen and Boy, that they shall remain in future on Monthly Wages. The Storekeeper this Day delivered the following account of Stores short received from Ships Northumberland and Earl of Chesterfield. Account of Stores Short received from the following Ships Northumberland 32 Sqrs. Glass 8 by 10 18 Do. 10 by 12 8 Do. Do. 10 by 16½ 5 Do. Do. 11 by 17 4 Do. Do. 11 by 19 4 Wine Glasses 3 Beer Do. 4 Tea? Beer Coat? Found broke upon opening the Packages which were in good Condition 1 Watch Coat 4 Yds. Coating Damaged 7 Bushels Salt short Measure C. qrs. lb. 1 2 - 11 Cordage 1 2 15 Soap - 3 6 Rosin Short weight occasioned by wastage - 3 6 Sole Leather short weight in 30 Hogsheads? 3¼ Gallns. Turpentine Leaked 6 Rasps for Fuzes 2 Soldiers Shirts 49 pr. Shoes Short Packed 1 Small Oar Knob? C. qrs. lb. 6 Casks Flour 19 3 20 Damaged and returned to Capt. Rees C. qrs. lb. 4 2 26 Flour Damaged in 17 Casks being in bad Condition 3 Gallns. Lisbon Wine 3 Do. Sherry 2 Do. Mountain 5 Do. Hock 26 Do. Beer Short of the Gage Ware Earthen Ware No. 5 C. qrs. lb. Bud.? 16 Coals Hand Wheel? C. qrs. lb. 2 Grapnails 10 2 - 10	The Council drew bills of exchange on the Court of Directors for £1,300 0s 0d to pay for the *Rebecca*. It paid the master and seamen the wages owed to them from 27 July to 27 November 1781. It also agreed with the master, the seamen and the boy that from then on their pay would run six months in arrears. The storekeeper presented an account that day of stores received short from the *Northumberland* and the *Earl of Chesterfield*. The *Northumberland*'s shortfalls followed. ``` Window glass, 32 panes of 8 by 10 inches, found broken on opening packages that were in good condition Window glass, 18 panes of 10 by 12 inches, found broken on opening packages that were in good condition Window glass, 8 panes of 10 by 16½ inches, found broken on opening packages that were in good condition Window glass, 5 panes of 11 by 17 inches, found broken on opening packages that were in good condition Window glass, 4 panes of 11 by 19 inches, found broken on opening packages that were in good condition Wine glasses, 4, found broken on opening packages that were in good condition Beer glasses, 3, found broken on opening packages that were in good condition Soldiers' coats, 4, damaged Watch coat, 1, damaged Coating, 4 yards, damaged Salt, 7 bushels, short measure Cordage, 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 11 pounds, short weight from wastage Soap, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 15 pounds, short weight from wastage Rosin, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds, short weight from wastage Sole leather, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds, short weight in the 38 sides received Turpentine, ¾ gallon, leaked Rasps for fuses, 6, short packed Soldiers' shirts, 2, short packed Ordinary shoes, 49 pairs, short packed Small oar, 1, broken Flour, 6 casks weighing 19 hundredweight 3 quarters 20 pounds, damaged and returned to Captain Rees Flour, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 6 pounds, damaged in 17 casks that were in bad condition Lisbon wine, 3 gallons, short of the gauge Sherry, 3 gallons, short of the gauge Mountain wine, 2 gallons, short of the gauge Hock, 5 gallons, short of the gauge Beer, 26 gallons, short of the gauge Earthenware, 1 case, number 5, short delivered Coal, 8 chaldrons 16 bushels, short delivered Flour, 1 cask, short delivered Grapnels, 2, weighing 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 10 pounds, short delivered ```

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		Not Delivered	**Interpretations** Paying the schooner's crew six months in arrears was a way of tying them to the island. A seaman who was owed half a year's wages would lose it all if he slipped away on a passing ship. The garrison had lost soldiers to every departing fleet that year, and the Council used the same lever that merchant ships commonly used to stop crews deserting in port. The master and four seamen were the only men who could sail the island's lookout vessel, so keeping them was worth the arrangement. The *Northumberland*'s account separated the kinds of loss, and each kind carried a different consequence. Glass broken inside packages that arrived in good order pointed to poor packing in England, not to rough handling on the ship. Goods short packed, such as the 49 pairs of shoes, were missing from the cases before they were sealed, so the London suppliers were at fault. Losses from wastage and short gauge were the normal cost of a long voyage. Goods short delivered, such as the eight chaldrons of coal, never left the ship, and the commander would have to account for them. The 49 pairs of shoes were a real loss to a garrison that had used almost all of its shoes that year.
393	389	1781 4 Sides Leather 104 lb. 7 Tierces Pork 92 Deals Short Delivered Earl of Chesterfield 35 Casks Flour 1 Do. Whole Pease Short Delivered 1 Do. Iron Ware No. 8 5 Pudding Pans 1 Double? Sheet Tin 3 Quart Sauce Pans 3 Pint Do. Short in Cask No. 8 being in bad Condition 14 Horn Lanthorns Damaged and good for Nothing C. qrs. lb. 1 3 4 Flour Damaged in 9 Casks, being in bad Condition (Signed) Jon. Doveton Storekeeper St. Helena 26th Novr. 1781. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The account of stores received short continued with the last items from the *Northumberland*, followed by those from the *Earl of Chesterfield*. Sole leather, 4 sides weighing 104 pounds, short delivered Pork, 7 tierces, short delivered Deals, 92, short delivered The *Earl of Chesterfield*'s shortfalls followed. Flour, 35 casks, short delivered Whole peas, 1 cask, short delivered Ironware, 1 case, number 8, short delivered Pudding pans, 5, short in cask number 1, which was in bad condition Sheet tin, 1, short in cask number 1, which was in bad condition Quart saucepans, 3, short in cask number 1, which was in bad condition Pint saucepans, 3, short in cask number 1, which was in bad condition Horn lanterns, 14, damaged and useless Flour, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 4 pounds, damaged in 9 casks that were in bad condition Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 26 November 1781. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The *Earl of Chesterfield* delivered 35 fewer casks of flour than she should have, the largest single shortfall in the account. In a year when flour had been short all season, the island lost a large share of what the Directors had sent. Missing casks were a matter for the commander to explain, since they had either never been loaded in England or had gone elsewhere on the voyage. That ship's captain was Bruce Boswell, then in his dispute with his chief mate. Since loading and accounting for cargo was usually the chief mate's work, the shortfall may have formed part of the background to the quarrel. The account itself records only the loss.
394	390	3d. December At a Consultation holden Monday the 3d. Day of December 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 3 December 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 26 November 1781. Thomas Fairs, a matross, died on Saturday 1 December 1781. The same day His Majesty's ships

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		The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 26th November 1781. Saturday the 1st Died Thomas Pearce Matross. Do. Do. Sailed His Majesty's Ships Magnanime Sultan and Le Nicke, and the Honble. Company's Ships, Blandford, Northumberland Lord Mulgrave, Earl of Hertford, Earl of Chesterfield, Tartar, and Deptford. Yesterday Died Martha Wife of Mr. Geo. Searle Planter. By His Majesty's Ship Magnanime and the Honble. Company's Ship Northumberland We wrote the Presidency of Bengal and Madras the following Letters Vizt. To the Honourable Warren Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. and Supreme Council of the Company's Settlements in the East Indies. Honble. Sir and Sirs By the Ship Northumberland now under dispatch We had the Honor of addressing you under date the 31st of October last since which, We beg leave to acquaint you, that the state of this Garrison being very short of its establishment and inadequate to its Defence, and having reason to apprehend a Visit from our Enemies in the Course of the ensuing Year, came to a resolution of Detaining Seventy six Recruits from the Northumberland	*Magnanime*, *Sultan* and *Le Necker* sailed, together with the Company's ships *Blandford*, *Northumberland*, *Lord Mulgrave*, *Earl of Hertford*, *Earl of Chesterfield*, *Tartar* and *Deptford*. Martha, wife of George Searle, a planter, died on 2 December 1781. The Council sent letters to the presidencies of Bengal and Madras by His Majesty's ship *Magnanime* and the Company's ship *Northumberland*. The first was addressed to Warren Hastings, Governor General, and the Supreme Council of the Company's settlements in the East Indies. The Council reminded them that it had written by the *Northumberland* on 31 October 1781. Since then the garrison had remained below its full strength and too weak to defend the island. The Council also had reason to expect an enemy attack during the coming year. For these reasons it had resolved to keep 76 recruits from the *Northumberland* [...]. **Interpretations** The convoy's sailing on 1 December closed a month in which St Helena had been crowded with King's ships, Company ships, troops and prisoners. Wolseley's squadron and its seven Indiamen carried the 78th Regiment and the other reinforcements on to India. The *Earl of Chesterfield* took Drummond with her, still suspended. The *Northumberland* left without the Bengal recruits she had brought out. The Council's letter to Hastings put its decision on the recruits on record with the highest authority in India. It gave the number as 76, not the 80 Wolseley had mentioned, which suggests some had died or been found unfit after landing. The Council set out its reasons first: the garrison's weakness and the expectation of an attack. That framed the step as a necessity of war, not as a raid on Bengal's soldiers. Hastings was fighting Mysore and the Marathas at once and needed every man, so the Council could expect objections. Writing to him directly, and sending the letter by both a King's ship and a Company ship, made sure he heard of it from the island before he heard it from anyone else.
395	391	1781 Northumberland for the use of this Garrison which were consigned to your Presidency; They were in a very sickly Condition several of them having Died in the Passage and two since they disembarked here, and in all probability many of them would never have reached Bengal. We were more readily led to take this step as we deem this Island at this Critical Juncture of the utmost Consequence to the Company as our Outward as well as homeward bound Ships are ordered to rendezvous here and Consequently will render it an object worthy the attention of our numerous Enemies. Samuel Noyes, William Brown, William Horne, Andrew Isaacs, and Pat. Whalen, five others who were landed, but at their particular request proceeded in the Northumberland to Bengal. The Names of those detained here go herewith. We are Honble. Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille	The Council told Hastings that the recruits it had kept from the *Northumberland* were in very poor health. Several had died on the voyage and two more since landing, and many would probably never have reached Bengal. The Council had been all the readier to keep them because it judged the island to be of the greatest importance to the Company at this critical time. The Company's outward and homeward ships were ordered to meet at St Helena, which made the island a target worth the attention of Britain's many enemies. Five other recruits, Samuel Noyes, William Grover, William Horne, Andrew Isaacs and Patrick Whalen, had also been landed. At their own particular request they had gone on to Bengal in the *Northumberland*. A list of the names of those kept at the island was enclosed. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 3 December 1781. The second letter was addressed to Charles Smith, President and Governor, and the Council at Fort St George. The Council reminded them that its last letter had gone by the *Hastings* on 12 July 1781, with a duplicate by His Majesty's ship *Hannibal*, bound for the East Indies. It then reported that soon after Captain Bruce Boswell of the *Earl of Chesterfield* arrived, he had brought a complaint against his chief officer, David Drummond, for repeated disobedience of orders and personal insult, and had asked the Council to inquire into it. **Interpretations**

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		Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 3d. December 1781. To the Honourable Charles Smith Esqr. President and Governor &c. Council at Fort St. George. Sir and Sirs Our last was forwarded by the Ship Hastings and dated the 12th July last duplicate of which we transmitted by His Majesty's Ship Hannibal bound to the East Indies. We beg leave to inform you that Captain Bruce Boswell Commanding the Honble. Company's Ship Earl of Chesterfield, soon after his arrival represented to Us, That he had suspended Mr. David Drummond his Chief Mate for repeated disobedience of orders and personal Insult, requesting We would enquire into	The Council gave Hastings a second reason for keeping the recruits, one that made the loss look smaller. Men who were dying on the voyage would have arrived in Bengal sick or not at all, so Bengal lost little by their staying. The argument also allowed the Council to present the decision as a kindness. Five of the men chose to go on, and the Council let them. That showed it had not seized the recruits against their will, and it limited Bengal's grounds for complaint to those who had stayed. The letter to Fort St George passed the Drummond case to Madras, as the Council had told Boswell it would. The Council told the story from the beginning, starting with Boswell's complaint. That put the dispute before the Madras council in the Council's own words before either party arrived to argue it. The *Earl of Chesterfield* was bound for the Coromandel coast, so Madras was the first presidency where the case could be heard.
396	392	3d. December into the Merits of the Charge. We certainly would have entered upon the enquiry, had our time not been solely taken up in taking Cognizance of an unfortunate affair which happened at St. Thomas's Island, occasioned by some of the Tartar's People having forcibly Boarded a Spanish Frigate and Committed several unlawful acts contrary to the Law of Nations, And Captain Wolseley having given orders for the Ships under his Convoy to be ready to proceed on their Voyage by the 27th Instant a time too short to admit taking up and investigating the Matter. We have therefore recommended to Captain Boswell to keep the said Mr. Drummond in suspension until his arrival at your Presidency or any other of the Honble. Company's Settlements in India; where he would have an opportunity of entering fully upon the Business. We are Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient & humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 3d. Decr. 1781 Miss Mary Seale presented the following Petition Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. The Humble Petition of Mary Seale Sheweth That your Petitioner being arrived at an	The Council told the Madras council that it would certainly have looked into the charges had it not been fully occupied with a serious incident at St Thomas. Some of the *Tartar*'s crew had forcibly boarded a Spanish frigate there and committed several unlawful acts in breach of the law of nations. In addition, Captain Wolseley had ordered the ships under his convoy to be ready to sail by 27 November, which left too little time to take up and examine the case. The Council had therefore advised Boswell to keep Drummond suspended until he reached Fort St George or another of the Company's settlements in India, where the matter could be fully examined. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 3 December 1781. Miss Mary Seale then presented a petition to the Governor and Council. In it she explained that she had now reached [...]. **Interpretations** This letter gave a fuller account of the incident at St Thomas than the Council's message to Boswell. The *Tartar*'s seamen had boarded a Spanish frigate by force, not just a merchant vessel, and committed unlawful acts against the law of nations. Seizing or attacking a Spanish warship in a neutral Portuguese harbour risked a dispute with Portugal, one of Britain's few remaining friends in Europe during the war. That explains why the Council gave the matter four days of hearings and set Drummond's case aside. It also explains why the Council described it to Madras in the language of international law: the Company's government in India needed to know that men from a Company ship had caused a diplomatic problem. Mary Seale's petition opened in the same way as Elizabeth Merchant's in October. That suggests another young woman of a landholding family who had reached the age at which she could choose her own guardians or take charge of her inheritance. The Seales were one of the island's leading families, with lieutenants in the garrison and extensive leases of land.
397	393	1781 an age by which according to Law she has it in her Power to chuse Guardians for the Management and Security of her Property and	Mary Seale's petition explained that she had reached the age at which the law allowed her to choose guardians to manage and protect her property. She thought it wise to do so and had chosen William Wrangham, a member of Council, as

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		thinking it advisable so to do. Humbly begs leave to inform your Worships she has fixed upon Mr. Willm. Wrangham as her Guardian which Choice she hopes will meet with your approbation. And your Petitioner will ever Pray. Mr. William Wrangham accepting of the Guardianship of Miss Mary Seale, We gave him a Power to act as such. Ordered the following advertisement to be Published Vizt. Island St. Helena 3d. Decr. 1781. Notice is hereby given that on Monday next in the afternoon will be sold by Publick Auction Thirteen Pipes of Madeira Wine. Also sundry damaged goods belonging to the Honble. Company for ready Money. By order of Council Signed W. Wright Secry. Bryan Croal, Thos. Mc Callister and John Lyons three of the Honble. Company's Recruits who Deserted from the Ship Tartar, We have Entertained to serve five Years as Soldiers in this Garrison. John Webster Matross having absented himself from this Garrison on the 22d. Ultimo, and as he has not been since heard of We apprehend he must have deserted in the Fleet that sailed for India. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	her guardian. She hoped the Council would approve her choice. Wrangham accepted the guardianship, and the Council gave him authority to act. The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 3 December 1781. On the afternoon of the following Monday, 13 pipes of Madeira and a quantity of damaged goods belonging to the Company would be sold at public auction for cash. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. The Council enlisted three of the Company's recruits from the *Tartar*, Bryan O'Neal, Thomas McCollister and John Lyons, to serve five years as soldiers in the garrison. John Webster, a matross, had been missing from the garrison since 22 November 1781. Nothing had been heard of him since, and the Council concluded that he had deserted in the fleet that sailed for India. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** Mary Seale chose a sitting member of Council as her guardian, and the Council granted the request with Wrangham taking part in the decision. That shows how closely the island's government and its leading families were bound together. Wrangham was paymaster and a councillor. As guardian he would control the Seale property, land, slaves and money, until she came of age or married. In October Elizabeth Merchant had chosen the Leech brothers, also officials. On so small an island a young heiress's best protection was a guardian with power, but it also meant the men who governed the island managed much of its private wealth. The *Tartar*'s three recruits show the Council doing in a small way what it had done with the *Northumberland*'s 76. These men had been consigned to India, but the Council took them into the garrison before the convoy sailed. John Webster's desertion in the same fleet repeated the pattern of every departure that year. The fleet brought the island men, and it took men away. The auction of 13 pipes of Madeira turned surplus wine into ready money and cleared warehouse space. With a large wine stock already counted in September, the Council preferred cash in the treasury to more wine in the cellars.
398	394	6th December At a Consultation holden Thursday the 6th Day of December 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 3d. December 1781. Yesterday arrived the Myrtle Transport from Madagascar with Lieutenant Col. Mc Cleod and Part of the 42 Regiment on board. Mr. Willm. Wrangham this Day applyed to Pay five Hundred Pounds into the Honble. Company's Cash, which Sum We have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable to Captain Richard Peirce or order, at ninety days sight. John Skottowe	The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 6 December 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 3 December 1781. The transport *Myrtle* arrived from Madagascar on 5 December 1781, carrying Lieutenant Colonel McLeod and part of the 42nd Regiment. William Wrangham asked that day to pay £500 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council received the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, payable to Captain Richard Pierce or his order at 90 days' sight. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** Wrangham's bill was the second he had drawn that year in Captain Richard Pierce's favour. In July he remitted £600 0s 0d to Pierce, commander of the *Halsewell*, and now he sent a further £500 0s 0d. Payments of that size, made twice to the same Indiaman captain, point to a business connection rather than a family remittance. Commanders carried goods home in their privilege, and island officials

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		Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	often traded with them or lent them money against the profits. The bill system let Wrangham turn island earnings into money owed to Pierce in London, beyond the island's reach and safe from capture at sea. Wrangham sat at the table that approved his own bill, which shows how the Council's members used the Company's treasury for their private dealings as a matter of routine. The *Myrtle* reached St Helena from Madagascar, not from Europe. Troopships bound for India sometimes put in on the coast of Madagascar for water and fresh food. Some reached St Helena only after being scattered, or after sickness forced them to seek a port. Another regiment arriving within days of Wolseley's departure meant the island had to find quarters and provisions for more soldiers, just after it had given up its last cattle to the convoy.
392	395	10th December At a Consultation holden Monday the 10th Day of December 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 6th Decr. 1781. Friday the 7th died John Allen Private. Saturday Sailed His Majesty's Bomb Terror for England Do. Do. the Cartel Ship Le Severe for France. The Expence of Artillery Stores and Stores Accounts for the Month of November last were this Day laid before Us which were Examined approved and are as follows Vizt. Artillery Stores Expended in November 1781. No. Guns fired, 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz. 2 Saluting His Majesty's Ship Romney: No. Guns fired 15, 6 lb. 15, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, Powder oz. 0 Do. Commr. Johnstone going on board: No. Guns fired 15, 6 lb. 15, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, Powder oz. 0 Priming: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 0 9 Firing at His Majesty's Ship Hannibal: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 3 Saluting at Do. on her arrival: No. Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15, Powder oz. 12 Triple Alarm: No. Guns fired 12, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 8, 3 lb. 4, Powder lb. 22, Powder oz. 0 Disembarking Do.: No. Guns fired 2, 6 lb. 1, 4 lb. 1, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 0 17 General Alarm: No. Guns fired 10, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 12? "4", 3 lb. 6, Powder lb. 33, Powder oz. 0 Disembarking Do.: No. Guns fired 2, 6 lb. 1, 4 lb. 1, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 0 10 Saluting the Tartar on her arrival: No. Guns fired 9, 6 lb. 9, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 9, Powder oz. 0 Do. the Chesterfield Do.: No. Guns fired 9, 6 lb. 9, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 9, Powder oz. 4 Do. the Blandford Do.: No. Guns fired 9, 6 lb. 9, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 9, Powder oz. 0 Priming: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 5, Powder oz. 4 22 Saluting the Hannibal on her Departure: No. Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 0 Do. the Captain going on Board: No. Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 10, Powder oz. 0	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 December 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 6 December 1781. John Allen, a private, died on Friday 7 December 1781. On Saturday 8 December His Majesty's bomb ketch *Terror* sailed for England, and the cartel ship *Le Sévère* sailed for France. The steward's accounts and the accounts of artillery stores for November 1781 were laid before the Council, which examined and approved them. The artillery stores used in November followed. Each entry gives the date, the occasion, the guns fired by size and the powder used. 2 November, saluting His Majesty's ship Romney: 15 guns fired, 15 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 15 pounds 0 ounces 2 November, saluting Commodore Johnstone going on board: 15 guns fired, 15 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 15 pounds 0 ounces 2 November, priming: 0 guns fired, powder 6 pounds 0 ounces 9 November, firing at His Majesty's ship Hannibal: 0 guns fired, powder 6 pounds 3 ounces 9 November, saluting the Hannibal on her arrival: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 15 pounds 12 ounces 9 November, a triple alarm: 12 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 8 four-pounders, 4 three-pounders, powder 22 pounds 0 ounces 9 November, standing down from the alarm: 2 guns fired, 1 six-pounder, 0 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, powder 2 pounds 8 ounces 17 November, a general alarm: 18 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders, powder 33 pounds 0 ounces 17 November, standing down from the alarm: 2 guns fired, 1 six-pounder, 0 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, powder 2 pounds 0 ounces 18 November, saluting the Tartar on her arrival: 9 guns fired, 9 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 9 pounds 0 ounces 18 November, saluting the Earl of Chesterfield on her arrival: 9 guns fired, 9 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 9 pounds 4 ounces 18 November, saluting the Blandford on her arrival: 9 guns fired, 9 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 9 pounds 0 ounces 18 November, priming: 0 guns fired, powder 5 pounds 4 ounces

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		Blowing Stone at Banks's: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 70, Powder oz. 4 Do. at Long Wood: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 36, Powder oz. 0 Sundry Services: No. Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 39, Powder oz. 12 Total: No. Guns fired 130, 6 lb. 90, 4 lb. 20, 3 lb. 12, Powder lb. 341, Powder oz. 3	22 November, saluting the Hannibal on her departure: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces 22 November, saluting the captain going on board: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, powder 18 pounds 0 ounces Blowing stone at Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 84 pounds 0 ounces Blowing stone at Longwood: 0 guns fired, powder 36 pounds 0 ounces Various services: 0 guns fired, powder 39 pounds 12 ounces Total: 130 guns fired, 98 six-pounders, 20 four-pounders, 12 three-pounders, powder 341 pounds 3 ounces **Interpretations** The *Sévère* had come in as a French prize with the *Hannibal* in November. She now sailed for France as a cartel, a ship granted safe passage under a flag of truce to carry prisoners for exchange. That was how the island rid itself of the French prisoners the Council had twice refused to take ashore. Using the prize as the cartel cost the Crown nothing extra, and it returned the enemy prisoners to France where they could be traded for British captives. The firing at the *Hannibal* on 9 November, followed by a triple alarm, shows the island treating an approaching King's ship as a possible enemy until she identified herself. The *Hannibal* came back from the Cape with two French prizes, three sails in company. To the lookouts that may have looked like an enemy squadron. The battery fired to make her show her colours, and the island turned out its whole defence before it was satisfied she was friendly. The same caution lay behind the Council's decision to keep the *Rebecca* cruising to windward, so that warning of any approaching ship would come earlier.
400	396	10th December Bees Wax 1½ lb. Flannel 52 Yds. Lead Balls 4 lb. 3 oz. Cartridge Paper 15 Quires Tallow 20 lb. 6 oz. Skeins of Wire for Cleaning Port Holes? 9 Vinegar 1 Gallon Nails 10 lb. Sulphur 2 lb. Slow Match 10 lb. Sheep Skins 4 Hand Spikes 3 Sponge Staves 10 Spunge Heads 9 Rammer Do. 9 Do. Ladles for 6 lb. 1 Bridge Ace? 1 Pickaxe	The account of artillery stores used in November 1781 went on to list the materials issued. Beeswax, 1½ pounds Flannel, 52 yards Lead balls, 8 pounds 13 ounces Cartridge paper, 15 quires Calico, 28 pounds Spirits of wine for composition and portfires, 2 gallons Vinegar, 1 gallon Nitre, 10 pounds Sulphur, 2 pounds Slow match, 10 pounds Sheepskins, 4 Handspikes, 3 Sponge staves, 10 Rammer staves, 9 Rammer heads, 9 Rammer heads for 6-pounders, 8 Brass ladle, 1 Quoins, 1 Shot for 1-pounder swivel guns, 4 boxes, for the howitzers Case shot for 1-pounder swivel guns, 4, for the howitzers Iron musket shot for 12-pounders, ½ hundredweight Old iron hoops for grapeshot, 50 pounds Slow match, 15 pounds The account of provisions used at the Company's table in November 1781 followed. Madeira wine, 65 bottles, £4 1s 3d Port wine, 25 bottles, £3 11s 3d Lisbon wine, 23 bottles, £1 16s 5d Beer, 81 bottles, £1 7s 0d Arrack, 16½ gallons, £2 9s 6d

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		1 4 Bolts with Cap Squares 4 Cap Squares for Smiths? Shot Ladle Stock for 12 lb. 50 Fathom Drag Ropes for Gun Carriages 1 Bell Spade? Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in Novr. 1781. 65 Bottles Madeira 4 1 3 25 Do. Port 3 11 3 21 Do. Lisbon 1 16 5 23 Do. Beer 1 7 - 16½ Gallns. Arrack 2 9 6 166 lb. Mutton 3 9 2 2 Lambs 1 - - 3 Goats 1 10 - 15 lb. Butter - 7 6 168 lb. Pork - 0 0 2 Turkeys - 10 - 12 Fowls - 10 - 9 Ducks - 13 6 105 lb. Candy 2 10 - 561 lb. Flour 4 13 6 £ 29 5 1	Mutton, 166 pounds, £3 9s 2d Lambs, 2, £1 0s 0d Goats, 3, £1 16s 0d Pork, 16 pounds, £0 8s 0d Butter, 15 pounds, £0 7s 6d Turkeys, 2, £0 10s 0d Fowls, 12, £0 10s 0d Ducks, 9, £0 13s 6d Sugar candy, 100 pounds, £2 10s 0d Flour, 561 pounds, £4 13s 6d Total, £29 5s 1d **Interpretations** The artillery was making its own ammunition from scrap. Old iron hoops were cut up to make grapeshot, and musket balls were packed into cases for the 12-pounders. With supplies from England uncertain in wartime and every barrel of powder counted, the gunners used whatever iron came to hand. Hoops from broken casks, of which the island had many, became anti-personnel shot for firing at boats and landing parties at close range. Nitre, sulphur and spirits of wine were the ingredients of the slow-burning composition packed into portfires and fuses, mixed on the island rather than imported ready-made. The Company's table cost £29 5s 1d in November, far below October's £43 7s 8d. The table drank 65 bottles of Madeira against 142 the month before, even though Wolseley's convoy lay in the road for most of November. The Council had given its last cattle and its goodwill to the King's ships, but it did not entertain their officers on the same scale as the captains of the homeward fleet in July. By late November the island had little fresh meat to offer guests, and the table bought no beef at all that month.
401	397	1781 Bot. for Table 4 Turkeys 1 - - 10 Fowls - 17 - £ 2 7 - John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The provisions bought for the Company's table in November 1781 followed. Turkeys, 4, £1 0s 0d Fowls, 10, £0 17s 0d Total, £1 17s 0d Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation of 10 December 1781.
402	398	17th December At a Consultation holden Monday the 17th Day of Decr. 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lt. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett of Council Mr. Willm. Wrangham absent being at their Stations Major Henl. Bazett upon an Alarm The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 10th December 1781. This Day arrived the Grafton's Boat at Banks's at ½ past 12 o'Clock in the afternoon. Do. Do. the Honble. Company's Ships Grafton, Pigot, Mansfield, Earl of Mansfield and Lord Holland from China, (but Lord North Absent? "but Lord North") As Captain Clements thought proper to send only one Boat to the Island the Commanders & ourselves agreed	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 December 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille and Matthew Bazett present as members of Council. William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett were absent at their posts. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 10 December 1781. At half past 12 that afternoon a boat from the *Gatton* landed at Banks's. The Company's ships *Gatton*, *Pigot*, *Vansittart*, *Earl of Mansfield* and *Lord Holland* arrived the same day from China and Fort Marlborough. Captain Clements had sent only one boat ashore. The commanders therefore agreed that the ships would keep the order listed above for the next season. The Council received a letter that day from Lieutenant Colonel McLeod, with a return of his men. It was addressed to Governor John Skottowe and the Council for the Company at St Helena. McLeod explained that he had to lay before them the situation of part of the Royal Highland Regiment

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		that the Rotation of these Ships being taken up the next Season shall be as above. We this day received the following Letter and Return? from Lieut. Colonel Macleod Vizt. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and the Gentlemen of the Council for the Honble. East India Company St. Helena Honourable Sir and Gentlemen Finding myself under the necessity of laying the situation of Part of the Royal Highland Regiment embarked on board the Myrtle Transport, before you and of requesting your assistance to enable me to proceed with them on their Majesty's service to their proper Place of destination. The Myrtle with the Misfortune to separate from the Squadron commanded by Commr. Johnstone, in a gale of Wind on the 1st July; by his sealed Instructions, we were ordered off the Cape of good Hope	aboard the transport *Myrtle*, and to ask for their help in getting the men to their proper destination in the King's service. The *Myrtle* had sailed with the squadron under Commodore Johnstone. In a gale on 18 July, under his sealed instructions, the ships were ordered off the Cape of Good Hope [...]. **Interpretations** Two members of the Council missed the sitting because they were at their posts. Wrangham and Henry Bazett both held military or defence duties, and a fleet of five ships appearing off the island would have set off an alarm. Until the ships were known to be friendly, every officer went to his station. The *Gatton*'s boat landing at Banks's was the identification the island required, and only then could the Council meet. The *Myrtle* had been scattered from Johnstone's squadron in the gale off the Cape in July, which explains why she arrived from Madagascar months after the squadron had gone. The Royal Highland Regiment was the 42nd, the Black Watch, and part of it had been on board, cut off from the rest of the force. McLeod now asked the Council to help him carry his men on to India. That meant more troops to house and feed on an island that had just given up its last cattle to Wolseley's convoy.
403	399	1781 Hope, in six days after our arrival there, to proceed to St. Augustine bay in Madagascar. We arrived there August 24th, without any loss of men, small provisions, and only six weeks beef and Pork. By means of some of our arms, and ammunition, some tradesmen belonging to the Master, and a little Money, I was able to subsist them mostly on St. Augustine bay till October 5th when finding no Ship and their remaining only stock enough at a very short allowance to bring us here I determined to come to this Island. The Ship's Company reason to imagine the Regt. was destined for India, from rendezvousing at Madagascar I had there reason to believe it was designed for the West Indies; besides, We had not provisions to carry Us half way to India; and neither the Master nor any of the Seamen had ever been there, or possessed a single Chart, book, or Idea of those Seas. After a stormy passage We arrived here, as you know on the 5th Instant. I am now ordered to go on to Madras, at all hazards and your Wisdom will easily discern that it is proper to proceed in Safety, and Dispatch, so that a Vessel bringing as possible in Safety and Dispatch. For these reasons I submit to your consideration that it will be proper to put at least five Months Provisions and Drink for the Troops on board. Also the Provisions of the Ship were greatly reduced. As the Provisions of the Ship were expended for the use of the Troops, it will be necessary to replace that expenditure to the Master a state of which you have here, The Arms which I was forced to part with at Madagascar	McLeod's letter explained that the *Myrtle* was to cruise off the Cape of Good Hope and then, six days after arriving there, to sail on to St Augustine's Bay in Madagascar. She reached the bay on 24 August 1781 with no bread, rum or small provisions and only six weeks' supply of beef and pork. McLeod had kept his men alive there, on short rations, until 5 October. He paid for food by trading away some of the regiment's arms and ammunition, some cloth belonging to the ship's master and a little money. When no ship came, and only enough food remained to reach St Helena on very short allowance, he decided to make for the island. He judged that the regiment was meant for India. However, the ship did not carry provisions for even half the voyage there, and neither the master nor any of the seamen had ever sailed those seas or had a single chart, book or plan of them. After a stormy passage the *Myrtle* reached St Helena on 5 December. McLeod asked the Council to put on board enough provisions and drink for the troops for at least five months, and enclosed a statement of the quantities needed. The master would supply a separate account of what the ship herself required. McLeod also asked for arms to replace those sold or bartered at Madagascar to save the King's soldiers from starving, together with ammunition and flints. Since the ship was unarmed, he suggested that six guns would give her some means of defence, and he left it to the Council to decide whether to put them on board. He would report anything else the detachment needed before it left the island. He trusted to the Council's goodwill and zeal for the service of the King and the Company. Norman McLeod signed the letter at St Helena on 17 December 1781, and the return of his men followed. **Interpretations** The *Myrtle*'s story shows how a squadron's sealed orders could strand a detachment. Johnstone's ships were to meet at St Augustine's Bay after the attack on the Cape, but the gale of 18 July scattered them. The *Myrtle* waited weeks at the rendezvous for ships that never came. Her troops were left on a foreign coast with a crew who could not navigate to India. McLeod's decision to trade the regiment's own muskets for food was drastic. A soldier's arms were the King's property, and losing them was normally a serious offence. He set it out plainly so that the

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		to prevent His Majesty's Soldiers from perishing by famine I must likewise request, a Return of which I herewith transmit; also a quantity of Ammunition and Flints. The ship being unarmed, if six Pounders could be spared to the Transport it would give some little Means of Defence but this I submit to your Consideration. If any other things are found necessary for the Detachment before my leaving this Island I shall state them with the hopes of being supplied; from my reliance on your Goodness, and zeal for the Service of His Majesty and the Honble. Company. I have the Honor to be with great respect Honble. Sir and Gentlemen Your most Obedt. & humble Servt. Signed Norman Macleod St. Helena Decr. 17. 1781. Return	record would show he had acted to save his men from starving, not from neglect. His requests put a heavy burden on the island. Five months' provisions for a detachment of the 42nd, new arms, ammunition and guns for the ship would come from stores the Council had been rationing all year. Only days earlier it had told Wolseley it could give no more fresh meat. A regiment of the King's troops, however, could not be left on the island or sent to sea without food, and the island was now the only place that could supply them.
404	400	17th December Return of Arms and Ammunition wanting for the Troops of His Majesty's 2d. Battalion of the 42d. or Royal Highland Regiment of Foot on Board the Myrtle Transport St. Helena 17th Decr. 1781. 60 Firelocks 60 Bayonets 5560 Cartridges with Ball 1 Barrell Gunpowder 520 Flints 12 Quires Cartridge Paper Return of Ammunition wanting for the Myrtle Transport St. Helena 17th Decr. 1781. 100 Cartridges for four Pounders 100 Shot for Do. To the above Mentioned the following Answer Vizt. To Lieut. Col. Macleod Sir We have the Honor of your Letter of this Date setting forth the distressed situation of the Detachment of the 42d. Regiment under your Command Embarked on Board the Myrtle Transport and requesting our assistance to enable you to proceed to India. And having taken the same into Our consideration beg leave to inform you that We shall cheerfully supply your Detachment with all such articles, as are in the Honble. Company's Stores Vizt. Beef and Pork Flour Rice Sugar As also with the Arms and ammunition agreeable to your Demands, the Cannon you mention, We have it not in Our Power to furnish you with. We beg leave further to observe	McLeod enclosed two returns, both dated at St Helena on 17 December 1781. The first listed the arms and ammunition needed by the troops of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, or Royal Highland, Regiment of Foot aboard the *Myrtle*. Firelocks, 60 Bayonets, 60 Cartridges with ball, 5,560 Gunpowder, 1 barrel Flints, 520 Cartridge paper, 12 quires The second listed the ammunition needed for the *Myrtle* herself. Cartridges for four-pounders, 100 Shot for four-pounders, 100 The Council replied to Lieutenant Colonel McLeod the same day. It had received his letter describing the distressed state of the detachment of the 42nd Regiment under his command aboard the *Myrtle*, and asking for help to reach India. After considering it, the Council told him it would certainly supply the detachment with the following items from the Company's stores. Beef and pork Flour Rice Sugar It would also supply the arms and ammunition he had asked for. It could not, however, provide the guns he mentioned. The Council then went on to make a further observation. **Interpretations** The return shows the scale of what McLeod had given up at Madagascar. Sixty muskets and bayonets were missing, probably those bartered for food, along with nearly all of the detachment's ball cartridges. The Council agreed to replace every one of them from the Company's stores. Muskets and ammunition were the King's property, and the Council could expect the cost to be recovered from the Crown, as with the stores supplied to Johnstone and Wolseley. Leaving a detachment of the King's troops unarmed on its way to a war in India was not a choice the Company's own government could defend. The guns for the ship were a different matter. The island had spent the year arming new batteries and had kept every spare piece for its own defence. In September it had refused Captain Dundas of the *Prime* guns for the same reason. A transport could sail in convoy without guns, but the island could not spare guns from its batteries. The Council therefore

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			agreed to the food and the soldiers' weapons and refused the guns.
405	401	1781 observe that We apprehend four Months full Allowance of Provision will be very sufficient for your Voyage to India, however hope your Demands will be estimated accordingly. With respect to Spirits the Society established for vending thereof will supply you with the quantity you Desire and the other small articles We recommend to you to endeavour to purchase from the Merchants of the Settlement who probably will be able to supply you therewith. We have the honor to be Sir Your most Obedient and humble Servts. (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett St. Helena 17th Decr. 1781. P.S. Since writing the above We have received your second Letter and shall give Orders for the Delivery of the several Articles accordingly. The Governor likewise received the following Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Macleod Vizt. Governor Skottowe Honble. Sir I have the honor to enclose the state you wanted, made up for four Months only, and including provisions for the master and Sailors of the Ship. I am Sir Your most obedient & humble Servt. Norman Macleod Monday Provisions	The Council told McLeod it believed four months' full rations would be quite enough for the voyage to India, and it hoped he would calculate his needs on that basis. For spirits, the society set up to sell them could supply whatever quantity he wanted. For other small items, the Council suggested he buy them from the island's merchants, who would probably be able to provide them. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and Matthew Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 17 December 1781. A postscript added that McLeod's second letter had just arrived and that orders would be given to deliver the items it listed. The Governor also received a further letter from McLeod. In it McLeod enclosed the statement the Governor had asked for, now calculated for four months only and including provisions for the ship's master and crew. Norman McLeod signed it on Monday. **Interpretations** The Council cut McLeod's request from five months' provisions to four, and he redrew his statement at once on that basis. Each month's rations for a detachment of soldiers and the ship's crew was a large draw on stores the island had been guarding all year. Trimming a month off the voyage estimate saved a good deal of salt meat, flour and rice. The Council's view that four months was enough was reasonable for a passage from St Helena to India, and McLeod did not dispute it. The Council kept the more costly items out of its own stores. Spirits went through the society that held the island's monopoly of liquor, the same body that supplied the garrison canteen, so the Company's warehouse did not have to give up its arrack. Small articles were left to private merchants. The Company supplied only the essentials it alone could provide: meat, grain, sugar, arms and ammunition. The rest of the burden fell on the island's private trade, which would be paid in cash by the regiment.
406	402	17th December Provisions demanded from the Store of the Honble. East India Company at St. Helena for the use of a Detachment of His Majesty's 2d. Batt. of the 42d. or Royal Highland Regt. of Foot Embarked on Board the Myrtle Transport Decr. 1781. Salted Beef 10,000 lb. weight Do. Pork 10,000 Do. Flour 20,000 Do. Rice 5,000 Do. Sugar 1,000 Do. N.B. the above Quantity is designed for the Voyage and should be ready, to put on Board as soon as possible. (Signed) Norman Macleod Lt. Col. Royal Highland Regt. Ordered the following Advertisement to be published Island St. Helena 17th Decemr. 1782. This is to give Notice to all Planters upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on or before the 28th Instant an exact signed Return of the Number of Cattle each	McLeod's statement of the provisions he needed from the Company's stores followed. It covered the detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, or Royal Highland, Regiment of Foot aboard the *Myrtle*, and was dated December 1781. Salt beef, 10,000 pounds Pork, 10,000 pounds Flour, 20,000 pounds Rice, 5,000 pounds Sugar, 1,000 pounds McLeod noted that these quantities were meant for the voyage and asked for them to be ready to go on board as soon as possible. Norman McLeod signed the statement as lieutenant colonel of the Royal Highland Regiment. The Council ordered the following notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 17 December 1781. Every planter was to send the secretary's office, by 28 December, an exact signed return of the cattle he would have for slaughter in 1782. Each planter would be expected to supply those cattle without fail, since no losses would be accepted as an excuse in future. The return was also to state how many bullocks each planter meant to sell to the ships in the coming year. All inhabitants were to give, by the same date, the number of their horses, listed by kind, and a true return of their sheep and goats, with the number of sheep they meant to sell. Britannicus Wright, the secretary, signed the notice by order of the Council. John White, a matross, petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison, having served the

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		of them have for Slaughter for the Year 1782 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 said Island 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 Stock of Sheep and Goats and the number of Sheep they intend for Sale. By Order of Council Signed W. Wright Secry. John White Matross this Day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company his Contracted time. Granted Counted and Examined the Honble. Company's Cash for the Month of November last which is as follows Vizt. Cash	Company for his full contracted term. The Council granted it. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for November 1781. **Interpretations** The notice was the Council's answer to a year of meat shortage. Since July it had taken planters' cattle by requisition, given up the last of the breeding stock to Johnstone and Wolseley, and refused the Company's own ships their charter-party beef. It now required each planter to declare in advance how many cattle he could supply for slaughter in 1782 and bound him to deliver them, with no excuse for losses. That turned the island's private herds into a planned supply the Council could count on and allocate before the ships arrived. Separating the cattle for the garrison from the bullocks sold to ships let the Council see how much meat the island's own people would have left. McLeod's revised request for four months came to 20,000 pounds of salt meat and 20,000 pounds of flour. That was a heavy draw on a warehouse that had held 101 hogsheads of salt beef and pork and 979 hundredweight of flour at the end of September. The cattle return gave the Council a way to plan the island's meat for the year ahead after this new demand.
407	403	Cash Dr. Per Contra Cr. 1781 Novemr. 1st. To Balance remaining £ 18888 6 7½ 29 To Ship Northumberland 5 - To Ship Lord Mulgrave 5 - To Ship Deptford 3 6 6 To Ship Earl Hertford 1 1 9 To Ship Blandford 5 - To Ship Earl of Chesterfield 1 4 - To Ship Tartar 1 9 9 £ 18914 2 10½ 1781 Novr. 30th. By Ballance remaining Vizt. In Specie £ 18374 7 10½ In Cash Notes 539 15 - 18914 2 10½ £ 18914 2 10½ John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett	The Company's cash account for November 1781 followed. 1 November, balance in hand, £18,888 6s 7½d 29 November, received from the Northumberland, £0 5s 0d 29 November, received from the Lord Mulgrave, £0 5s 0d 29 November, received from the Deptford, £3 6s 6d 29 November, received from the Earl of Hertford, £1 1s 9d 29 November, received from the Blandford, £0 5s 0d 29 November, received from the Earl of Chesterfield, £1 4s 0d 29 November, received from the Tartar, £19 9s 0d Total receipts, £18,914 2s 10½d The balance remaining on 30 November 1781 was entered on the other side. Balance in coin, £18,374 7s 10½d Balance in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £18,914 2s 10½d Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille and Matthew Bazett signed the account.
408	404	24th December At a Consultation holden Monday the 24th Day of December 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 17th December 1781. Major Henry Bazett reported that he has been on board of Ships Grafton, Pigott, Mansfield,	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 December 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 17 December 1781. Major Henry Bazett reported that he had boarded the *Glatton*, *Pigot*, *Vansittart*, *Earl of Mansfield* and *Lord Holland* to muster their crews and search for deserters, and had found none. The muster rolls followed. The muster roll of the *Glatton* followed. John Clements, commander Samuel Fox, chief mate Thomas William Mackie, second mate

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		Earl of Mansfield and Lord Holland to Muster their Company's and enquire for Deserters but found none. Their Muster Rolls are as follows Vizt. Muster Roll of Ship Grafton Jas. Clements Commander Saml. Fox Chief Mate Thos. Webb Junr. 2d. Do. Jas. Wm. Robinson 3d. Do. Geo. Robertson 5th Do. Chas. Christie 4th Do. Jas. Baker Surgeon Jno. Atkinson Purser Thos. Emery Carpenter Henl. Kirby Gunner Jno. Willis Boatswain Wm. Abernethy Capt. Steward Jno. Rowley Do. Cook Jno. Joseph Midshipman Chas. Leadbetter Carpenters Do. Henl. Steer Do. Wm. B. Gray Do. Wm. Mead Capt. 2d. Mate John Pearce Do. Thos. Jeffreys? Do. Wm. Pearson Do. Thos. Edwards Do. Jno. Henry? Gunners Mate Geo. Richardson? Do. 2d. Do. Jas. Wm. Mitchell Carpenters Do. Wm. Mitchell Gunrs. 2d. Mate Jno. Mitchell? Do. Thos. Mitchell? Do. Geo. Mitchell? Do. Jacob Heritage Armourer Thos. Gravener Boatsn. 2d. Mate John Ewing Seaman Thos. Webster Thos. Bowen Jno. Middleton Thos. Ashford? Wm. Hawker Thos. Brown Peter Gray Thos. Hayes Joseph Collins? Matthw. Joseph Robt. Gray John Silver Henry Thompson? Robt. Fielding? Wm. Hutchinson	George Ketherden, third mate Charles Christie, fourth mate John Baker, surgeon John Paterson, purser Thomas Emery, carpenter Henry Riley, gunner John Meade, boatswain James Abernathy, captain's steward John Rowley, captain's cook John Smythe, midshipman Lucullus Carpenter, midshipman Henry Horn, midshipman William B. Gray, midshipman Vincent Pisano, quartermaster William Munday, quartermaster John Brent, quartermaster Thomas Alfred, quartermaster William Pearson, quartermaster Thomas Edwards, quartermaster James Penny, surgeon's mate Leonard Clements, caulker Richard Woodward, gunner's first mate John West, gunner's second mate William Morrell, sailmaker Daniel Mitchell, cooper John Whitefield, carpenter's first mate George Robertson, carpenter's second mate William Smith, cooper's mate John Morabal, ship's cook Jacob Heritage, armourer Thomas Turner, boatswain's first mate Thomas Graves, boatswain's second mate John Barry, seaman Henry Robertson, seaman John Woddard, seaman Stephen Joseph, seaman George Walker, seaman Thomas Mercer, seaman Richard Willis, seaman William Flahoe, seaman Peter Gurney, seaman Raneris Stager, seaman John Monturick, seaman Matthew Joseph, seaman Andrew Gracey, seaman John Silver, seaman Joseph Flindall, seaman William Stephenson, seaman
409	405	1781 John Thomas Seaman Saml. Harriott Henl. Sykes John Hammond Jacob Branca Richd. Guermanson Willm. Young Chas. Thompson John Buckland Thos. Ashton Willm. White Mathias Ogenkalon? Jacob Everson Henry Stanley Peter Welch Peter Lowe? Thos. Hoyle Thos. Hodson Saml. Thoroughgood Jos. Holderman? Seaman Jno. Waghorn	The *Glatton*'s muster roll continued. John Thomas, seaman Samuel Harriott, seaman Henry Sykes, seaman John Hammond, seaman Jacob Branca, seaman Richard Guermanson, seaman William Young, seaman Charles Thompson, seaman John Buckland, seaman Thomas Ashton, seaman William White, seaman Mathias [...], seaman Jacob Everson, seaman Henry Starkey, seaman Peter Welsh, seaman Peter Lent, seaman Thomas Hoyle, seaman Thomas Hudson, seaman Samuel Throughgood, seaman Joseph Holder, seaman John Waghorn, seaman

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		Willm. Carter Jno. Spranger Joseph Hill Jos. Newton Owen Mc Carty Abraham Aiken Edwd. Madero? Jno. Heythorn? John Paul Smith Willm. Noakes Geo. Bland Saml. Hilton Robt. Grace Willm. Bartholomew Willm. Nesbitt John Rice? Richd. Taylor William Sheppard Henl. Wood Seaman Jas. Bradberry Timothy Hemming Robt. Thompson Jas. Smith Jas. Semington? Andw. Paterson Martin Clements Jno. Raphael Capt. Servt. Jno. Palmer Do. Do. Wm. Corson Chief Mates Do. Jas. Whitehouse Surgns. Do. Wm. Hardwick Purs. Do. Lewis Woods Gunners Do. Thos. Littlewood Boatsn. Do. Henl. Mc Clare? Nyoura? Chinaman Thomas England Chinaman Richd. Vaughan Passengers Hugh Stewart Esqr. Phillip Mannington John Mowat Phillip Mannington Junr. Richd. Mannington Chdn.? Hendrick Dwarf? Peter Ernst? Valentine Mein? Joannes Nieuwenhuyse? Jacobus Johnson? Dutch Prisoners Muster Roll of Ship Pigott Robt. Morgan Commander Wm. Webb Chief Mate Chas. Hodgson 2d. Do. Robt. Jones 3d. Do. Jno. Lucy Fowler 4th Do. Geo. Davis 5th Mate Richd. Griffenhoofe 6th Do. Chas. Mortimer Surgeon Saml. Pierce Midshipman Andw. Grant Do. Wm. Foster Midshipman John Gibbs Do. Alexr. Glen Carpenter John Wilson Gunner Rd. Hanson? Boatsn.	William Carter, seaman John Spranger, seaman Joseph Hill, seaman Joseph Newton, seaman Owen McCarty, seaman Abraham [...], seaman Edward Madero, seaman John Haythorn, seaman John Paul Smith, seaman William Nooks, seaman George Bland, seaman Samuel Hilton, seaman Robert Grace, seaman William Bartholomew, seaman William Nesbitt, seaman John Rose, seaman Richard Taylor, seaman William Sheppard, seaman Hans Wick, seaman James Broadbenny, seaman Timothy Hennessy, seaman Robert Thompson, seaman James Smith, seaman James Semington, seaman Andrew Paterson, seaman Martin Clements, seaman John Rayfield, captain's servant John Palmer, captain's servant John Corson, chief mate's servant James Wickstead, second mate's servant William [...], third mate's servant Louis Rodes, gunner's servant Thomas Littlewood, boatswain's servant Henry McClare, seaman Ayoura, a Chinese seaman Thomas England, seaman Richard Vaughan, seaman The passengers aboard the *Glatton* followed. Hugh Stewart Phillip Mannington John Mowat Phillip Mannington junior Richard Mannington Five Dutch prisoners were also aboard. Hendrick Dwarff Peter Brint Valentine Mein Joannes Nauenburger Jacobus Nelsson The muster roll of the *Pigot* followed. Robert Morgan, commander William Webb, chief mate Charles Hodgson, second mate Robert Prior, third mate John Darey, fourth mate George Davies, fifth mate Richard Griffinhoofe, sixth mate Charles Mortimore, surgeon Samuel Peirce, midshipman Andrew Grant, midshipman William Foster, midshipman John Gilbee, midshipman Alexander Glen, carpenter John Wilson, gunner Richard Hanar, boatswain **Interpretations** The *Glatton* was carrying five Dutch prisoners home from the East. The Dutch Republic had been at war with Britain since the end of 1780, and the Company's ships and servants in Asia had taken Dutch vessels and posts in the months since. Prisoners taken in the East were carried to Europe to be exchanged, just as the Council had sent the French prisoners away in the cartel *Sévère* earlier in the month. Ayoura, entered only as a Chinese seaman, was one of the men China ships took on at Canton to

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			replace English sailors lost to sickness or desertion on the long voyage out.
410	406	24th December	The *Pigot*'s muster roll continued.
		Wm. Tucke Caulker	William Tuke, caulker
		Jno. Paterson Sailmaker	John Paterson, sailmaker
		Willm. Hay Ships Steward	William Hay, ship's steward
		Jos. Williams Cooper	Joseph Williams, cooper
		Willm. Findley Quarter Master	William Findley, quartermaster
		Jno. Oliphant Do.	John Oliphant, quartermaster
		Robt. Palmer Do.	Robert Palmer, quartermaster
		Jno. Buckley Do.	John Brackey, quartermaster
		Robt. Brown Boatsn. 1st Mate	Robert Barr, boatswain's first mate
		Thos. Marshall Do. 2d. Do.	Thomas Marshall, boatswain's second mate
		Geo. Mounger? Capt. Cook	George Morgan, carpenter's first mate
		Chas. Mates? Do. 2d. Do.	Charles Wates, carpenter's second mate
		Robt. Baxter Gunners Do.	Robert Baxter, gunner's mate
		Henl. Yates Armourer	Henry Yates, armourer
		Peter Blair? Capt. Servant	Peter Blair, captain's steward
		John Nailer? Do. Cook	John Foster, captain's cook
		Abraham Denny Seaman	Abraham Denny, seaman
		Michl. Kelly	Michael Kelly, seaman
		Robt. Edwards	Robert Edwards, seaman
		Jno. Draper	John Draper, seaman
		Andw. Wertram?	Andrew Wertram, seaman
		John Thompson	John Tompson, seaman
		Geo. Nesbett	George Nesbitt, seaman
		Thos. Parsons	Thomas Parsons, seaman
		Fredk. Smith	Frederick Smith, seaman
		John Wilson	John Wilson, seaman
		Geo. Barber	George Bowles, seaman
		Alexander Houston	Alexander Houston, seaman
		Robt. Williams Seaman	Robert Williams, seaman
		Willm. Johnston	William Johnston, seaman
		Henl. Wood	Henry Wood, seaman
		Lawrence Johnstone	Lawrence Johnstone, seaman
		Jas. Elderson?	John Ellerson, seaman
		John M. Nash	John McNesh, seaman
		John Murphy	John Murphy, seaman
		Willm. Leonard	William Leonard, seaman
		Martin Snellingsby?	Martin [...], seaman
		Geo. Rodgers	George Rodgers, seaman
		Fredk. Dellmer?	Frederick Dellmer, seaman
		John Fletcher	John Fletcher, seaman
		Rd. Emery	Richard Emery, seaman
		John Cannon	John Cannon, seaman
		Willm. Clements	William Clements, seaman
		Thos. Grey	Thomas Grey, seaman
		John Cummings	John Cummings, seaman
		Danl. Murphy	Daniel Murphy, seaman
		Henry Howarth?	Henry Hannett, seaman
		Willm. Phillips	William Phillips, seaman
		Thos. Turner	Thomas Jenner, seaman
		Robt. Lawrence	Robert Lowman, seaman
		Owen Wheedon?	Owen McCaddon, seaman
		Dennis Cary	Dennis Cary, seaman
		Rodolph Harris	Rodolph Harris, seaman
		Fairfax West	Fairfax West, seaman
		Willm. Barne	William Bowne, seaman
		Wm. Stacey Seaman	William Stacy, seaman
		Edmund Elwood	Edmund Elwood, seaman
		Thos. Cross	Thomas Owen, seaman
		John Williams	John Williams, seaman
		Thos. Dixon	Francis Bixon, seaman
		Alexr. Leonard	Alexander Donald, seaman
		Peter Hanes?	Peter Hannes, seaman
		John Leachaly?	John [...], seaman
		Peter Wilkie	Peter Wilker, seaman
		Willm. Godsall?	William Goddall, seaman
		John Taylor	John Taylor, seaman
		Willm. Pett?	William Peto, seaman
		David Davis	David Davies, seaman
		Willm. Martin	William Martin, seaman
		John Arnott?	John Bennett, seaman
		Jas. Vincent	James Vincent, seaman
		Hend. Paton?	Henry [...], seaman

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		Theis Fanberg? Willm. Hend. Webb? Capt. Servant Thos. Thomas Do. Do. Jno. Mungo Chief Mates Do. Thos. Williams 2d. Mates Do. Jno. Carver? Surgeons Do. Thos. Rogers Carptrs. Do. Jas. Barnes Gunners Do. Wm. Gardner Boatsn. Do. Peter Cumming Seaman Thos. Draper Do. Passengers Mr. Thos. Van Kempen Esqr. Mr. Jacob D. Kaff? Mr. John Frederick Zegul? Mr. Thos. Mounter Charts? Pasty? Passenger Prisoners Michl. Godfrey Nademan? Christopher Fitzgerald? Valentine Methrome? Jno. Weinsucktons? Ramon Schemin? Prisoners Signed Robt. Morgan	Thomas [...], seaman William [...], captain's servant Thomas Thomas, captain's servant John Mungo, chief mate's servant Thomas Williams, second mate's servant John Carness, surgeon's servant Thomas Rogers, carpenter's servant James Banner, gunner's servant William Gardner, boatswain's servant Peter Cuming, seaman Thomas Draper, seaman The passengers aboard the *Pigot* followed. Most of them were entered as prisoners. Thomas Van Kempen, prisoner Jacob [...] Kaaff, prisoner John Frederick Zengel, prisoner Thomas [...], prisoner [...], passenger Michael Godfrey [...], prisoner Christopher Felzogle, prisoner Valentine [...], prisoner John [...], prisoner [...], prisoner Robert Morgan, the commander, signed the roll. **Interpretations** The *Pigot*'s passengers were mostly Dutch prisoners, as on the *Glatton*. Van Kempen was entered with the title of a gentleman, and several others bore Dutch or German names. They were probably officials or officers of the Dutch East India Company taken when British forces seized Dutch settlements in Asia after war was declared in December 1780. Prisoners of that rank were usually carried home as passengers on parole rather than kept in irons. A commander had to account for every one of them on arrival, so the Council's muster recorded them alongside the crew.
411	407	1781 Muster Roll of Ship Vansittart Robt. Young Commander Willm. Agnew Chief Mate Phillip Hough 2d. Do. Geo. Robertson 3d. Do. Edmund Logan 4th Do. John Davis 5th Do. Geo. Robinson 6th Do. Edwd. Farmer Surgeon Willm. King Purser Willm. Gibbons Gunner John Barton Carpenter Thos. Thompson Boatswain Saml. Fawcett Midshipman & Coxswain Saml. Grimes Michl. Mc Donald Jas. B. Coughtree? Jno. Orchard Jas. Balls Ships Steward Valentine Albright Cooper Christr. Hooker Caulker Geo. Brammer Gunners Mate Jno. Simpson Carpenters 1st Mate Jno. Saunders Capt. Cook Alexr. Wilson Do. Steward Benjn. Byrdon? 2d. Master Harry Nelson Abraham Paterson Jno. Davidson Christr. Bully? Seaman Jno. Rowley Capt. 2d. Mate Emick? Brenneman Seaman Andw. Wey? Wm. Simpson Paul Wilks Coopers Mate Peter Christman? Seaman Willm. Williams 1st Cook	The muster roll of the *Vansittart* followed. Robert Young, commander William Agnew, chief mate Phillip Hough, second mate George Robertson, third mate Edmund Egan, fourth mate John Davis, fifth mate George Robinson, sixth mate Edward Farmer, surgeon William King, purser William Gibbons, gunner John Barton, carpenter Thomas Tompson, boatswain Samuel Faucett, midshipman and coxswain Samuel Grimes, midshipman Michael McDonald, midshipman James B. Coughton, midshipman John Orchard, midshipman James Bates, ship's steward Valentine [...], cooper Christian Mocker, caulker George Brammer, surgeon's mate John Simpson, carpenter's first mate John Saunders, captain's cook Alexander Wilson, captain's steward Benjamin [...], first mate Larry Nelson, seaman Abraham Paterson, seaman John Davidson, seaman Ebenezer Bullby, seaman John Rowley, carpenter's second mate Erick Bonneman, seaman Andrew Ware, seaman William Simpson, seaman Paul Wilks, cooper's mate Peter Christmon, seaman William Williams, ship's cook Samuel Livingston, seaman

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		Isaac Kingston Seaman	Richard Ober, seaman
		Richd. Ilber?	Joseph Hurst, seaman
		Joseph Hurst	Angus Stanton, seaman
		Augustus Hunter?	Engelbert Hendrick, seaman
		Ingh.? Hendrick	Richard [...], seaman
		Richd. Reed	John Watkinson, seaman
		John Wakenham?	Abraham Hunt, seaman
		Abraham Pinch?	John Bird, seaman
		John Bird	Thomas Evans, seaman
		Thos. Evans	Hannick [...], seaman
		Hannick? Spithnal?	John Hughes, seaman
		John Hughes	Henry Watts, seaman
		Henry Watts	Philip Vernon, seaman
		Philip Vernon	Hans Erickson, seaman
		Hans Erickson	Lars [...], seaman
		Lars? Lyde?	William Hick, seaman
		Willm. Kirk	Richard Howes, seaman
		Richd. Howes	James Smith, seaman
		Jas. Smith	Hans Paterson, seaman
		Hans Peterson	George [...], captain's servant
		Geo. Batcliff Capt. Servt.	Samuel G. Booth, first mate's servant
		Saml. G. Booth Do. Do.	Juan Antonio, seaman
		Ivana? Delonio Seaman	Samuel Proper, seaman
		Saml. Proffer	Peter Ackley, butcher
		Peter Ashley Butcher	Edward Rose, seaman
		Edwd. Snow Seaman	Thomas Farling, seaman
		Thos. Fanting?	William Rogers, seaman
		Wm. Rogers	John Mathews, seaman
		John Mathews Seaman	James Martin, seaman
		Jas. Martin	James Wood, chief mate's servant
		Jas. Wood Chief Mates Servt.	Richard Halstead, second mate's servant
		Chas. Holland Surgns. Do.	Antonio Apostele, seaman
		Antonio Apostle Seaman	Blas Cock, seaman
		Blas Cook	Richard Whale, surgeon's servant
		Richd. Whale Surgns. Servt.	Samuel Porter, gunner's servant
		Saml. Porter Gunners Do.	Samuel Hill, captain's servant
		Saml. Hall Capt. Servt.	John Hubbs, boatswain's servant
		John Mells Boatsn. Do.	Anthony D. Higgins, seaman
		Antw.? Delligan Seaman	Rowe Richardly, seaman
		Rowe? Richardsby?	Edward Prince, seaman
		Edwd. Prince	James Maxwell, seaman
		Jas. Maxwell	John Peters, seaman
		John Peters	John Watt, seaman
		John Price?	Charles B. Elley, seaman
		Chas. B. Elley	John Coggan, seaman
		John Coggan	Michael Miller, seaman
		Michl. Miller	Samuel Marshall, seaman
		Saml. Marshall	John Barden, seaman
		John Bowden	Richard Posey, seaman
		Richd. Bery?	Robert Humble, seaman
		Robt. Humble	Thomas Miller, seaman
		Thos. Miller	John Rye, seaman
		John Kye	Robert Maddox, seaman
		Robt. Maddox	John Williams, seaman
		John Williams	William Fraser, seaman
		Willm. Fraser	William Wilson, seaman
		Willm. Wilson	John Anderson, seaman
		John Anderson	[...], Chinese seaman
		Joseph China Man	Afoong, Chinese seaman
		Afoong?	Asjee, Chinese seaman
		Asjoe?	Ahee, Chinese seaman
		Ahee?	Afoum, Chinese seaman
		Asam	Ayoung, Chinese seaman
		Asyoung?	Akoyoung, Chinese seaman
		Ahyoung?	Akoa, Chinese seaman
		Ahua?	Atchong, Chinese seaman
		Atchong?	Akwa, Chinese seaman
		Ahua?	Ahee, Chinese seaman
		Ahee?	Asan, Chinese seaman
		Asam?	Apponang, Chinese seaman
		Afsonang?	Robert Young, the commander, signed the roll aboard the *Vansittart* at St Helena on 24 December 1781.
		Ship Vansittart St. Helena Decr. 24th 1781 (Signed) Robt. Young	**Interpretations** The *Vansittart* was sailing home with about 13 Chinese seamen, each entered under a single name, at

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			the end of her roll. China ships lost many English sailors to sickness, desertion and the navy's press gangs over the long voyage out and the months at Canton. They replaced them with Chinese hands hired there. The clerk entered these men under one name, as earlier rolls entered lascars and African seamen, and set them apart from the European crew. The Company was expected to send them back to Canton on a later ship. A crew this mixed shows how far the Company's China trade had come to depend on Asian sailors to bring its tea home.
412	408	24th December Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Mansfield Willm. Fraser Commander Peter Bryson 1st Mate Bridie? Hosegarth 2d. Do. Thos. Yate 3d. Do. Andw. Peter 4th Do. Jas. Campbell 5th Do. Jas. Hutter Surgeon Edwd. Pennington Purser Alexr. Munter? Surg. Mate John Brebner? Capt. Clerk John Rhodes Boatswain Alexr. Tisdale Gunner Jas. Smith Midshipman Tingle Dear Capt. Do. Gilbert Barnes Midshipman Jas. Smith Midshipman Jas. Turner Do. Jas. Watson Brown Dawson Willm. Kirk Caulker Willm. Lewis Sailmaker John Dunbar Cooper Edwd. Everett Armourer John Forbes Gunners Mate John Hale Do. 2d. Do. David Walker Carpenters Do. Thos. Carter Caulkers Do. Thos. Lambert Boatsn. 1st Do. Willm. Howard Do. 2d. Do. Willm. Bryant Boatsn. 1st Do. Jas. Kitch? Do. 2d. Do. Alexr. Black 2d. Master Robt. Shepherd David Rose John Forbes Willm. Harvey 2d. Master Jas. Dick Do. Jos. Crampton Capt. Cook John Mc Donald Ships Do. Christr. Mott Butcher Michl. Winter Poulterer Jas. Tisdale Capt. Servant Tingle Dear Do. Thos. Temeant? Mates Do. Willm. Perry Boatsn. Do. Willm. Warwick Carpenters Do. Jno. Hutchinson Surgns. Do. Isaac Beane? Seaman Geo. Mackey Do. Jas. Goddard John Marshall Willm. Tetton? Michl. Squires John Smith Willm. Irvine Michl. Farrell David Hudson John Bedison? Michl. Duncan John Charles Michl. Yates Robt. Smith	The muster roll of the *Earl of Mansfield* followed. William Fraser, commander Peter Bryson, chief mate [...] Hopecroft, second mate Thomas Yate, third mate Adam M. Paton, fourth mate James Campbell, fifth mate James Walker, surgeon Edward [...], purser Alexander Munro, surgeon's mate John Buckie, [...] John Hinds, boatswain Alexander Tisdale, gunner James Smith, midshipman Gilbert Barrie, midshipman James Smith, midshipman James Turner, midshipman James Watson, seaman Brown Dawson, seaman William [...], caulker William Lewis, sailmaker John Dunbar, cooper Edward Everitt, armourer John [...], gunner's first mate John Hall, gunner's second mate David Walker, carpenter's first mate Thomas Carter, caulker's mate Thomas Lambert, boatswain's first mate William Howard, boatswain's second mate William Bryant, boatswain's first mate James Kidd, boatswain's second mate Alexander Black, second [...] Robert Shepherd, seaman David Rose, seaman John [...], seaman William Harvey, quartermaster James Dick, quartermaster Joseph Crompton, captain's cook John McDonald, ship's cook Christian [...], butcher Michael [...], poulterer James Tisdale, captain's steward Tweddell Dear, steward Thomas [...], [...] William Perry, boatswain's servant William Warwick, carpenter's servant John [...], surgeon's servant Isaac [...], seaman George Buckey, seaman James Gyndall, seaman John Marshall, seaman William Tettlow, seaman Michael Squires, seaman John Smith, seaman William Swaine, seaman Michael Farrell, seaman David Hudson, seaman John Robison, seaman Alexander Duncan, seaman John Charles, seaman Michael Yates, seaman Robert Smith, seaman James Randall, seaman Thomas Holmes, seaman

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		Jas. Kendall Thos. Holman Robt. Sheppard Willm. Johnson Jas. Swiney John Garnett John Bailey Robt. Jeffreys Seaman John White Geo. Edwards Jas. Duncan Frans. Mark Edwd. Brazil Thos. Griffiths Andw. Johnson Thos. Wilson Willm. Winter Peter Nicholson Willm. Nash John Barnett John Hinds Christr. Dowlinger? Richd. Clark John Dowling Richd. Taylor Jas. Norman Jas. Paton John Harris Joseph Walker John Allen Robt. Doyle Thos. Young John Gray Willm. Sullivan Matt. Trophonall? Pat. Mc Kane Thos. Chambers Edwd. Kelly John Greene Willm. Smith Evan Roberts John Parker Dutch Prisoners Vizt. Mr. Cholser? Mr. Delstrom? Mr. Shafale? John Holstrom? John Bloem? John Oberlindrum? Andw. Stuck? Ammer? Brannboom? Phillis? Akbal? Cetar? Black Servants Signed P. Bryson Chief Mate	Robert Shipps, seaman William Johnson, seaman James Swiney, seaman John Garnett, seaman John Dailey, seaman Robert Jefferys, seaman John White, seaman George Edwards, seaman James Duncan, seaman Francis Marck, seaman Edward Brazil, seaman Thomas Griffiths, seaman Andrew Johnson, seaman Thomas Wilson, seaman William Winter, seaman Peter Nicholson, seaman William [...], seaman John Barnett, seaman John Hinds, seaman Christian Dowlinger, seaman Richard Clark, seaman John Dowling, seaman Richard Taylor, seaman James Norman, seaman James Paton, seaman John Harris, seaman Joseph Walker, seaman John Allen, seaman Robert Doyle, seaman Thomas Young, seaman John Gray, seaman Robert [...], seaman Walter [...], seaman Patrick McHane, seaman Thomas Chambers, seaman Elias Kelly, seaman John Erwin, seaman William Smith, seaman Evan Roberts, seaman John Parker, seaman The passengers aboard the *Earl of Mansfield* followed. Mr Chalmers Mr Robertson Mr [...] John Holstein Three Dutch prisoners were also aboard. John Bloom John [...] Andrew [...] Four Black servants were also listed. [...] Phillis [...] Peter Peter Bryson, the chief mate, signed the roll. **Interpretations** The four Black servants were listed apart from the seamen and passengers, by first name only, and one of them, Phillis, was a woman. They were most probably slaves or bound servants belonging to the passengers or officers, carried home from India. In England, since Somerset's case in 1772, an owner could not force a slave to leave the country against his will. A servant brought from Asia might therefore arrive in England as a slave and find his status open to question on landing. The Council recorded them because every person aboard had to be accounted for, but the roll gave them neither surnames nor any stated role.
413	409	1781 Muster Roll of Ship Lord Holland Stephen Williams Commander John Seward Chief Mate Robt. Pouncey 2d. Do.	The muster roll of the *Lord Holland* followed. Stephen Williams, commander John Seward, chief mate Robert Pouncey, second mate Francis Leigh, third mate

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		Frans. Leigh 3d. Do.	John Bonnodale, fourth mate
		Jno. Bonnadale? 4th Do.	Thomas Dell, fifth mate
		Thos. Dell 5th Do.	John Morgan, purser
		John Morgan Purser	James Bellingham, [...]
		Jas. Bellingham? Surgeon	John Stewart, gunner
		John Stewart Gunner	Gerard Jacobs, carpenter
		Gerard Jacobs Carpenter	Alexander Pritchard, ship's steward
		Alexr. Pritchard Ships Steward	Patrick Wallace, boatswain
		Patrick Wallace Boatswain	Charles Rugge, surgeon's mate
		Chas. Rugge? Surg. Mate	John [...], midshipman
		John Buckingham Midshipman	Angus Bethune, midshipman
		Angus Bethune	William Dimmer, seaman
		Willm. Dinmer?	Joseph Reed, seaman
		Joseph Read	James James, seaman
		Jas. James	James [...], seaman
		Jas. Nixon	James Ward, seaman
		Jas. Ward	William Bowden, seaman
		William Bowden	John Smith, captain's steward
		John Smith Capt. Steward	[...] Bates, captain's cook
		Randolph Batts? Capt. Cook	James Bowman, ship's cook
		Jas. Bowen Ships Do.	Michael Walker, sailmaker
		Michl. Walker Sailmaker	William [...], armourer
		Willm. Kirkland? Armourer	Thomas Bright, boatswain's mate
		Thos. Bright Boatsn. Mate	Robert Gidden, boatswain's mate
		Robt. Gordon Do.	Jeremiah Crawley, caulker
		Jeremiah Crawley Caulker	James Elphinston, joiner
		Jas. Elphinson Joiner	Richard Walker, butcher
		Richd. Walker Butcher	James Parry, poulterer
		Jas. Perry Poulterer	George Williams, gunner's mate
		Geo. Williams Gunners Mate	William Sutton, carpenter's mate
		Willm. Sutton Carpenters Do.	James Pigott, carpenter's mate
		Jas. Pigott Do. Mate	Cooper Brown, cooper's mate
		Cooper Brown Coopers Do.	William Thompson, cooper
		Willm. Thompson Cooper	John McIntosh, midshipman
		John Mc Intosh Capt. Servt.	Thomas Shaw, boatswain's mate
		Thos. Thorne Boatsn. Do.	William Cruikshanks, captain's [...]
		Wm. Cruickshanks Capt. Do.	Thomas Purcell, seaman
		Thos. Prescott Seaman	Richard Cook, seaman
		Richd. Cross	William Jones, seaman
		Willm. Jones	Smith Nicholson, seaman
		Smith Nicholson	Lawrence Barnard, seaman
		Lawrence Barnard	Henry Blanchy, seaman
		Henry Blanchy?	John Watkins, seaman
		John Watkins	John Bayles, seaman
		John Bayley	John Appleton, seaman
		John Appleton	John Leader, seaman
		John Linden?	Edward [...], seaman
		Edwd. Hunter	Edward [...], seaman
		Edwd. Pitts	William Burley, seaman
		Willm. Burley	William Fidler, seaman
		Willm. Tidder?	Thomas Sutton, seaman
		Thos. Sutton	James Smith, seaman
		Jas. Smith	Richard Akers, seaman
		Richd. Akers	Andrew Otter, seaman
		Andw. Otto?	Charles [...], seaman
		Chas. Buckholt?	John [...], seaman
		John Otterbow?	Peter [...], seaman
		Peter Bellman?	[...] Hansen, seaman
		Juel? Hansen	Soren Christensen, seaman
		Soren Christensen	Johan George Herring, seaman
		Johan Gerhd. Herring?	Peter Rasmus [...], seaman
		Peter Hofman Kohtel?	James Neal, seaman
		Jas. Neal	Henry [...], seaman
		Henry Lockett	[...] Primmer, seaman
		Green Drummer	Andrew Michaels, seaman
		Antw. Whale	Theophilus Berry, seaman
		Theophilus Berry	Thomas Connor, seaman
		Thos. Conner	James Wright, seaman
		Jas. Wright	Thomas Wagner, seaman
		Thomas Wagner	Thomas Bastard, seaman
		Thos. Bastard	Thomas [...], seaman
		Thos. Normark? Seaman	John Green, seaman
		John Green	Matthew Morey, seaman
		Matth. Mooney	John Grean, seaman
		Inver? Green	Godfrey [...], seaman
		Godfrey Eyland?	Hans [...], seaman

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		Hans Persons? Abraham Hansen John Crooks Thos. Ryan Jas. Steward Richd. Bridge John Kinfell? Saml. Mc Donald Willm. Harrison John Forester Chas. Atkinson John Williams Edwd. Thompson John Mc Farling? Willm. Mill? John Ellis John Morris Andw. Lee Leonard Lodge? Antonio Paulo Francisco Andw. Foster Hendrick Anna? John Sanders John Gregory Thos. Davis Jas. Dickson Matth. Crane Thos. Cross Willm. Fredrick? Roderick Mc Donald Passengers	Abraham Hansen, seaman John Brooks, seaman Thomas Ryan, seaman James Steward, seaman Richard Bridge, seaman John Kinzell, seaman John McDonald, seaman William Harrison, seaman John Foster, seaman Charles Atkinson, seaman John Williams, seaman Edward Thompson, seaman John McFarling, seaman William Mott, seaman John Ellis, seaman John Morris, seaman Andrew Lee, seaman Leonard Edge, seaman Antonio, seaman Paulo, seaman Francisco, seaman Andrew Foster, seaman Andries [...], seaman John Saunders, seaman John Gregory, seaman Thomas Davis, seaman James Dickson, seaman Matthew [...], seaman Thomas [...], seaman William Fredricke, seaman Roderick McDonald, seaman The list of passengers aboard the *Lord Holland* followed.
414	410	24th December Passengers Mr. Varkwood? Mr. Romstrick and 2 Servants Mr. Edwentrout & Wife & Child Mr. Texier & Do. Cornelius Ejerson? Busch? Rynier Ener? Carl Fredrick Hendrick John Berg? John Gerhard Albright? The Schippers Signed Stepn. Williams Mr. Jon. Doveton Storekeeper this Day presented the following Letter Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council of St. Helena. Gentlemen Pursuant to your Order I have examined the Salt Provision received by the Ship Hastings and find that with the Company's Mark to be good and that marked R S to be in a very indifferent State owing as I imagine to its not being properly Salted. I have also examined the Iron Ware received by the said Ship and do not perceive any difference in the Quality. I am Gentlemen With respect Your most Obedt. humble Servant (Signed) Jon. Doveton 24th Decr. 1781. We received the following Letter from Lieut. Colonel Macleod. To John Skottowe Esqr. and the Gentlemen of the Council for the Honble. East India Company St. Helena. Honble. Sir and Gentlemen	The passengers aboard the *Lord Holland* followed. Mr [...] Mr [...] and 2 servants Mr [...], with his wife and child Mr [...], with his wife Cornelius [...] [...] Carl Frederick Hendrick Johan Bung Johan Gottfried Albright The skipper Stephen Williams, the commander, signed the roll. Jonathan Doveton, the storekeeper, presented a letter that day to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. On their orders he had examined the salt provisions received from the *Hastings*. The casks bearing the Company's mark were good, but those marked RS were in very poor condition, probably because the meat had not been properly salted. He had also examined the ironware from the same ship and found no difference in its quality. Doveton signed the letter on 24 December 1781. The Council then received a further letter from Lieutenant Colonel McLeod, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He began by referring to his earlier letter to them. **Interpretations** The storekeeper's report separated the salt meat by the marks on the casks. Meat packed under the Company's own mark had kept well, while the casks marked RS had spoiled. The Company bought salt provisions from contractors in England or Ireland, and each supplier's casks carried his own brand so that bad meat could be traced back to him. By naming the mark, Doveton gave the Company in London what it needed to claim against the contractor whose poorly salted beef or pork had spoiled on the voyage. The Council had ordered the inspection, which shows it intended to recover the loss rather than simply write it off.

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		Since I did myself the Honor of writing to	
415	411	1781 to you last I have made it my business to inform myself from the Captains of the Indiamen now in your Harbour of the mode of Victualling their People and I have made up the Enclosed Demands on that information. I must beg that the articles mentioned may be immediately made ready for Sea: and I will take care that no time shall be lost in shipping them. I must again mention that as our Regt. is gone to India the whole Expence will probably be Defrayed by the Honble. Company; who and? by Government; however I am ready to give Drafts on the Treasury, as required; or to authenticate the Vouchers in any way most agreeable to you. My own wishes and those of the Officers with me are eager to get as soon as possible to our Place of Destination, and proper Line of Service, our Regiment armed; but if it appears expedient to your Wisdom we are willing to attempt the Voyage alone at all hazards; as soon as the ship is ready: which I hope will be about the 30th Instant. I must beg your permission to purchase a couple of Bullocks for our People: As I have mentioned in my last which to subsist them as reasonably and Moderately, as possible. I shall beg you to certify the Accounts of the things Purchased here with money for this Voyage before I go away: that either Government or the Company on which ever it may fall to pay it, may see I have put them to no improper expence. I have the Honour to be with great Respect Honble. Sir and Gentlemen Your most Obedt. humble Servt. (Signed) Norman Macleod Lieut. Colonel Royal Highland or 42 Regiment. Provisions required for a Detachment of His Majesty's 2d. Batt. of the 42d. Regt. of Foot, 22d. Decr. 1781. 40 Tierces Beef 20 Do. Pork 2000 lb. Weight Sugar 10000 lb. Do. Flour 2600 Gallns. Rice? Signed Norman Macleod Lieut. Col. Royal Highd. Regt.	McLeod wrote that since his last letter he had asked the captains of the Indiamen in the road how they provisioned their crews, and had drawn up the enclosed demand on that basis. He asked for the items to be made ready at once and promised to lose no time in loading them. He repeated that, since his regiment had gone on to India, the Company would probably bear the whole cost rather than the government. He was nonetheless ready to give drafts on the Treasury if required, or to sign the vouchers in whatever form the Council preferred. He and his officers were eager to reach their destination and join their regiment as soon as possible. If the Council thought it wise, they were willing to make the voyage alone, whatever the risk, as soon as the ship was ready, which he hoped would be by 30 December. He asked leave to buy a couple of bullocks for his men, and said he had kept all his requests as modest as possible. He also asked the Council to certify the accounts for everything bought on the island before he sailed. Whether the government or the Company ended up paying, it would then be clear that he had put them to no unnecessary expense. Norman McLeod signed the letter as lieutenant colonel of the Royal Highland, or 42nd, Regiment. His revised demand followed, dated 22 December 1781, for the detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd Regiment of Foot. Beef, 40 tierces Pork, 20 tierces Sugar, 2,000 pounds Flour, 10,000 pounds Rice, 2,600 gallons Norman McLeod signed it as lieutenant colonel of the Royal Highland Regiment. **Interpretations** McLeod's revised demand turned his earlier figures into the measures the Indiamen used. Instead of pounds of meat he now asked for tierces, the standard casks in which salt beef and pork were shipped, and his figures followed the ration scale of the Company's own crews. Forty tierces of beef and twenty of pork came to far more meat than his earlier request for 10,000 pounds of each. In exchange, he asked for only half as much flour. Basing the demand on the ships' own practice gave the Council a standard it could hardly dispute. McLeod's concern over who would pay shows how blurred the lines between Crown and Company had become. His regiment was a King's regiment, but it was going to India to fight in the Company's war against Mysore. McLeod expected the Company to pay, but he offered Treasury drafts in case it refused. His request for the Council to certify every purchase protected him against later charges of extravagance. That mattered, because the voyage had already cost him the regiment's own muskets.
416	412	24th December Provisions required for the Master and Eighteen Seamen of the Myrtle Transport December 22. 1781. Eight Tierces Beef Seven Do. Pork Flour 1530 lb. Weight Rice 700 Weight (Signed) Thos. Chambers Master of the Myrtle In consequence of the above We sent the Storekeeper the undermentioned Order Vizt. To Mr. Jon. Doveton Storekeeper Sir	The master of the *Myrtle* also submitted a list of provisions needed for himself and his 18 seamen, dated 22 December 1781. Beef, 8 tierces Pork, 7 tierces Flour, 1,530 pounds Rice, 700 pounds Thomas Chambers, master of the *Myrtle*, signed the list. The Council then sent the storekeeper an order. Jonathan Doveton was to issue the following items from the Company's stores to Lieutenant Colonel McLeod, for the use of His Majesty's 42nd Regiment.

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		You are hereby Ordered to issue from the Honble. Company's Stores to the Order of Lieutenant Colonel Macleod, for the use of His Majesty's 42d. Regiment the undermentioned Articles Vizt. 40 Tierces Beef 20 Do. Pork 18,000 lb. Flour 500 Sugar 24th December 1781 Signed John Skottowe We also gave the Storekeeper Directions to supply the Myrtle Transport with the articles required for the use of her Crew. We likewise wrote Lieutenant Colonel Macleod the subsequent Answer Vizt. To Lieut. Colonel Macleod Sir We have the Honor of yours of this Day now before	Beef, 40 tierces Pork, 20 tierces Flour, 18,000 pounds Sugar, 500 pounds Governor John Skottowe signed the order on 24 December 1781. The Council also told the storekeeper to supply the *Myrtle* with the provisions her crew needed. The Council's reply to McLeod followed. It acknowledged his letter of that day. **Interpretations** The Council did not issue McLeod's demand as he wrote it. It granted the 40 tierces of beef and 20 of pork in full, but it gave no rice. Instead it raised the flour from 10,000 pounds to 18,000 and cut the sugar from 2,000 pounds to 500. The rice the *Prime* and the *Bellmont* had brought from India was the island's main grain reserve in a year of shortage, and the Company's slaves lived chiefly on it. Flour was now in better supply after the purchases from Johnstone's squadron. By giving flour in place of rice, the Council fed the troops from the stock it could most easily spare and kept back the grain the island itself depended on. Cutting the sugar to a quarter of the request showed the same care with a costly import.
417	413	1781 before Us and beg leave to inform you that We have Complyed with part of your requisition, agreeable to the order to you delivered, with respect to the rice, We recommend to you to supply yourself from the Commanders of the Honble. Company's Ships now in the road, and should you not be able to procure the whole of that article from them We will make it up to you from the Honble. Company's Stores. We are sorry to acquaint you that it is not in our Power to Comply with your request for fresh Beef. We have the Honor to be Sir Your most Obedt. and humble Servts. (Signed) John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 24th Decr. 1781. Thomas Ashworth Corporal of Artillery this day petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having procured William Simpson a deserter from Ship Mulgrave in the Room to serve the remainder of his Contracted time being about three Years and four Months which We granted upon Condition, that the said Wm. Simpson's Commander of the above Ship Demand the said Simpson upon his return from Bencoolen he the said Thos. Ashworth should serve the time Simpson in that case may be Released or procure another Man so to do. William Smith Private this Day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company his Contracted time. Granted John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham	The Council told McLeod that it had granted part of his request, as set out in the order sent to the storekeeper. For the rest, it advised him to obtain what he needed from the commanders of the Company's ships then in the road. If he could not get the whole quantity from them, the Council would make up the difference from the Company's stores. It regretted that it could not meet his request for fresh beef. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 24 December 1781. Thomas Haworth, a corporal of artillery, petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison. He had found William Simpson, a deserter from the *Lord Mulgrave*, to serve out the rest of Haworth's contracted term, about three years and four months. The Council granted the discharge on condition that if the *Lord Mulgrave*'s commander reclaimed Simpson, Haworth would serve the remaining time himself or find another man to do so. William Smith, a private, petitioned that day for his discharge, having served the Company for his full contracted term. The Council granted it. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The Council sent McLeod to the Indiamen for the provisions it had held back, chiefly the rice. Five China ships were in the road, carrying stores for their own passage home, and they could spare grain more easily than the island. The Council promised to make up any shortfall from its own warehouse, so the regiment would not sail short. The burden fell first on the ships, and the island's reserve was drawn on only if they failed to supply the troops. The refusal of fresh beef followed the notice of 17 December, which had put every planter's cattle under the Council's control for 1782. The island had no beef to spare for a passing regiment. Haworth bought his way out of the army by offering a substitute. That was a recognised practice, but the Council attached a careful condition. Simpson was a deserter from a Company ship, and the ship's commander had a claim on him. If the commander took him back, the garrison would lose the man and Haworth would have escaped his own contract for nothing. Making Haworth answerable for the remaining time protected the garrison against that

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		Hen. Bazett	risk. A trained artillery corporal was hard to replace, and the Council would not let him go unless the gun crew was certain to keep its full strength.
418	414	29th December At a Consultation held on Saturday the 29th Day of December 1781 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 24th Day of December 1781. Captain Robert Young Commander of Ship Vansittart Dying on the 25th Instant, We this Day sent for Mr. William Agnew his Chief Officer and Swore him into the Command of said Ship until the Honble. the Company's Pleasure be known and wrote him the following Letter Vizt. To Captain William Agnew Commander of Ship Vansittart. Sir In Consequence of the Death of Captain Robert Young, you are hereby appointed to take the Command and Charge of the Ship Vansittart until the Honble. the Court of Directors Pleasure be known, and you are to pay due obedience to all such orders and instructions as the late Captain Robt. Young may have received. Also such further Orders as you may receive from Us or the Secret Committee. We wish you success and are Sir Your humble Servants Signed John Skottowe Danl. Corneille Matthw. Bazett Willm. Wrangham Henl. Bazett St. Helena 29th Decr. 1781. We this Day received the subsequent Letter Vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Saturday 29 December 1781. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 24 December 1781. Captain Robert Young, commander of the *Vansittart*, had died on 25 December 1781. That day the Council sent for William Agnew, his chief mate, and swore him in as commander of the ship until the Court of Directors' wishes were known. It also wrote him the following letter. The letter was addressed to Captain William Agnew, commander of the *Vansittart*. Following the death of Captain Robert Young, the Council had appointed Agnew to take command and charge of the ship until the Court of Directors made its wishes known. He was to follow any orders and instructions that Young had held, and any further orders he might receive from the Council. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the letter at St Helena on 29 December 1781. The Council then received a further letter that day. **Interpretations** Only the Court of Directors could appoint the commander of an Indiaman, but it was thousands of miles away. When a captain died at a Company settlement, the local government filled the gap with a temporary appointment until London could decide. The chief mate was the natural choice, since he already knew the ship, her crew and her cargo. Swearing Agnew in formally, and putting his authority in writing, gave him the standing he needed to command the crew and deal with the ship's business. Without it his orders might be questioned at sea. Tying him to Young's existing instructions kept the voyage on the course the Directors had set, so that the change of command changed nothing else. Young had signed the *Vansittart*'s muster roll at St Helena on 24 December, the day before he died. His death a day later suggests a sudden illness, perhaps the same fever that had killed so many in the garrison and on the ships that year.
419	415	1781 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Sir We beg leave to inform you that the Dutch Prisoners now on board our respective Ships are entirely unprovided with Clothing for the warm Climate We may expect on our passage to England, and are convinced that whatever Distress they may suffer by it we should have it in our Power to furnish them We think it incumbent on us to represent their situation to you. We are Sir Your most Obedient & humble Servants (Signed) Stepn. Williams Robt. Morgan Wm. Fraser Willm. Agnew St. Helena Decr. 29. 1781. To the above Letter We directed the Secretary to return the following Answer Vizt. To Captains Stepn. Williams, Robt. Morgan, Wm.	The commanders of the *Lord Holland*, *Pigot*, *Earl of Mansfield* and *Vansittart* wrote to Governor John Skottowe on 29 December 1781. The Dutch prisoners aboard their ships had no clothing at all for the very cold weather they expected on the passage to England. The captains had none on board to give them, and they felt bound to report how much the men were likely to suffer. Stephen Williams, Robert Morgan, William Fraser and William Agnew signed the letter. The Council told the secretary to reply. Britannicus Wright wrote to the four captains on 29 December 1781. The Governor and Council regretted to hear how badly off the Dutch prisoners were for clothing. They could not supply any themselves, since the Company's stores held none. They advised the captains to apply to Mr Wrangham, who they understood could provide it. **Interpretations** The prisoners faced a real danger. The ships would sail north out of the tropics and arrive in the English Channel in the depth of winter. Men taken in the East with only light clothing could die of cold on the way, and prisoners who died could not be exchanged for British captives. The captains put their

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		Fraser and Willm. Agnew. Gentlemen I am Directed by the Governor and Council to acquaint you they are sorry to hear of the Distressed situation of the Dutch Prisoners on board your respective Ships, with regard to Clothing, and are concerned they have it not in their Power to supply them with any, there being none in the Honble. Company's Stores, therefore recommend you to apply to Mr. Wrangham who can understand can furnish you therewith. I am Sir Your humble Servant W. Wright Secry. St. Helena 29th Decr. 1781.	concern on record so that no blame for such deaths would fall on them. The Council sent the captains to William Wrangham, one of its own members, to buy the clothing privately. The warehouse inventory of September had listed soldiers' coats and other clothing, but that stock was kept for the garrison and the slaves, and the Council would not release it for enemy prisoners. Wrangham evidently held a private stock of clothing for sale. By sending the ships to him, the Council met the need without touching the Company's stores. It also gave one of its own members a ready sale to four Indiamen, an arrangement recorded without any sign that the Council saw a conflict in it.
420	416	29th December The Engineer representing to us the want of Boats for the use of the Fortifications, We have purchased two of Captains Williams and Fraser, One for twenty five Pounds and the other for twenty pounds. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	The engineer had told the Council that the fortifications needed boats. The Council therefore bought two, one from Captain Williams of the *Lord Holland* for £25 0s 0d and the other from Captain Fraser of the *Earl of Mansfield* for £20 0s 0d. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation of 29 December 1781. **Interpretations** The fortifications needed boats of their own because many of the new and repaired works could be reached more easily by sea than by land. Batteries at Buttermilk Point, Banks's, Rupert's and Sandy Bay sat at the foot of steep cliffs, and stone, lime, timber and guns had to be carried round the coast to them. The island had lost its own vessels, the *Betsy* and the *Hind*, earlier in the year, and the Company's boats were fully occupied with the ships in the road. Buying boats from homeward Indiamen was quick and cheap. A captain on his way home could replace a boat in England, and £20 0s 0d or £25 0s 0d in hand was worth more to him than carrying a spare boat back. The island gained the craft it needed at once, with no wait for boats to come out from England.
421	417	7th January At a Consultation holden on Monday the 7th Day of January 1782 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 29th December 1781. Tuesday the 1st Sailed the Honble. Company's Ships Grafton, Pigot & Earl of Mansfield, Vansittart and Lord Holland for England. Thursday the 3d. James Macdonald Private killed himself by a fall from the Rocks going to Ruperts. Yesterday Arrived a French Prize Captured by His Majesty's Frigate Diana at the Island of Trinidada called the L'Indien Sloop. The Governor this Day laid the following Letter before the Board Vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor St. Helena Sir	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 7 January 1782. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 29 December 1781. On Tuesday 1 January 1782 the Company's ships *Glatton*, *Pigot*, *Earl of Mansfield*, *Vansittart* and *Lord Holland* sailed for England. On Thursday 3 January James Hudson, a private, fell from the rocks and was killed on his way to Rupert's. The day before the consultation, a French prize arrived: the sloop *L'Indien*, taken by His Majesty's frigate *Diana* off the island of Trindade. The Governor laid a letter before the Council that day. A note in the margin identified the prize as *L'Indien*, a French sloop commanded by Captain [...]. The letter was addressed to Governor Skottowe. Its writer had brought into the island's harbour a prize taken by His Majesty's frigate *Diana*, part of Commodore George Johnstone's command, from the French King and his subjects. The royal proclamation of 28 July 1778 had declared them enemies of the King of Great Britain and his subjects. The writer noted that the King kept sovereign jurisdiction over the island, while the day-to-day administration of justice had been entrusted to the East India Company

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		Having brought under the Forts of this Island over which His Majesty Exercises the Sovereign Jurisdiction notwithstanding the executive parts of Justice for the benefit of all His subjects are Committed to the East India Company and their Subjects the Prize named in the Margin taken near the Island of Trinidada by His Majesty's Frigate Diana under the Command of Commodore George Johnstone, from the French King and His Subjects, which Subjects of the said King are avowed Enemies to the King of Great Britain and His Subjects, as set forth in His Royal Proclamation of the 28th July 1778. I now make application to you as Governor of the said Island of St. Helena, jointly with Mr. John Rhodes of York Valley appoint **Margin Notes:** L'Indien, a French Sloop Commanded by Capt. Vermee,	and its officers. On that basis he now applied to the Governor, jointly with [...], to [...]. **Interpretations** The *Diana* was following the same course Johnstone had taken with the Dutch prizes in September and Christie with the French prizes in November. Each time a King's ship brought a prize into St Helena, the captors asked the Governor to set up a commission to examine the capture, citing the Crown's sovereignty over the island and the proclamation of 1778. By January 1782 this was settled practice, and the Council had twice found that its charters allowed it. A prize could not be sold until it was condemned, so the captors needed the commission before they could turn the sloop and her cargo into prize money. Trindade was a small, uninhabited Atlantic island far to the west of St Helena, off the coast of Brazil. French and other ships sometimes used it as a stopping place on the way to and from the East. A sloop taken there was a sign that French vessels were still at sea on the route the Company's ships used, which justified the Council's continued vigilance and the batteries it had built all year.
422	418	7th January appointed by the Captors, to appoint or cause to be appointed fit and proper Commissioners to take a Judicial Cognizance of the Process concerning the Legality of the said Capture; and Evidences We have to produce respecting her according to the Law of Nations and the Royal Charter to the East India Company, and their substitutes in their behalf, general Justice as well as Powers granted by His Majesty's Charter, so requiring. And to obviate every objection which can possibly arise against complying with our equitable request, We do hereby engage and give consent in the Name of the Captors, that in whatever sentence the Court may be pleased to pronounce upon the proofs adduced that a Clause be inserted saving the rights of all Persons upon the most fair due who may have any Claim or Claims upon the said Capture and shall lodge the said Claim or Claims within three Months for Registering the same before the Court of Appeals in Prize Causes established in London. We have the Honor to be Sir Your most Obedient and humble Servants (Signed) John Howard Thos. Hodgson St. Helena Road 7th Jany. 1782. Upon Considering the above Letter We granted a Commission agreeable to the request of Messrs. Thomas Hodgson Prize Master and John Howard Agent. Major Henl. Bazett this Day presented the following Petition Vizt. To the Honble. John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. &c. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Henl. Bazett	The letter asked the Governor to appoint suitable commissioners to examine the prize and the evidence on whether her capture was lawful, under the law of nations and the royal charter granted to the East India Company and its officers on St Helena. To remove any possible objection to so fair a request, the captors agreed that whatever judgment the court gave on the evidence would include a saving clause. Anyone with a claim on the capture could still pursue it, provided they lodged it within three months for registration with the Court of Appeals in Prize Causes in London. John Howard and Thomas Hodgson signed the letter in the road at St Helena on 7 January 1782. After considering it, the Council granted a commission as requested by Thomas Hodgson, the prize master, and John Howard, the agent. Major Henry Bazett then presented a petition to Governor John Skottowe and the Council. It concerned Gabriel Powell and Jonathan Doveton. **Interpretations** The request copied almost word for word those made by Commodore Johnstone in September and Captain Christie in November. It cited the same royal proclamation and offered the same three-month saving clause for claims in London. The Council granted it without debate, since it had already settled that its charters gave it the power. The request came this time from a prize master and an agent rather than a ship's captain. The prize master was the officer put aboard a captured vessel to sail her into port, and the agent handled the legal and financial business of condemnation and sale for the captors. With the *Diana* back at sea, those two men were left to see the *Indien* through the island's court.

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		Sheweth That Gabriel Powell and Jonathan Doveton	
423	419	1782 Doveton two of the Nominees in a Lease for 5 Acres of Land upon Lives being Dead humbly requests to have the Names of William Doveton Junr. and Henl. Greentree inserted in their Stead. And Your Petitioner will ever Pray. 6th Jany. 1782. Granted upon Paying half a Years Rent for the renewal of each Nominee being seven shillings and Six pence. Matthew Craven Matross this Day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honble. Company his Contracted time. Granted Michael Clinton and Thomas Lees Privates absenting themselves from the Garrison, the former on the 25th and the latter on the 27th Ultimo and as they have not been since heard of We apprehend they must have Deserted in the Fleet that sailed on the first Instant. We this Day enlisted Matthw. Narmon? John Saunders, John Gregory, and Roderick Mc Donald from Ship Lord Holland, Thomas Hodson and Richard Waugh? from Ship Grafton and William Woodford? Ship Pigot to serve the Honble. Company five Years as Soldiers in this Garrison and gave each of them ten Pounds Bounty Money to buy them necessarys. They being left here out of the above mentioned Ships. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Henry Bazett's petition explained that Gabriel Powell and Jonathan Doveton, two of the nominees named in a lease of 5 acres of land, had died. He asked for William Doveton junior and Henry [...] to be named in their place. He signed the petition on 6 January 1782. The Council granted it on payment of half a year's rent for each new nominee, amounting to 7s 6d. Matthew Craven, a matross, petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison, having served the Company for his full contracted term. The Council granted it. Two privates, Michael Clinton and Thomas Love, had left the garrison without leave, Clinton on 25 December and Love on 27 December 1781. Nothing had been heard of either since, and the Council concluded that they had deserted in the fleet that sailed on 1 January 1782. That day the Council enlisted seven seamen left behind by the departing ships: Matthew Morey, John Saunders, John Gregory and Roderick McDonald from the *Lord Holland*, Thomas Hudson and Richard [...] from the *Glatton*, and William [...] from the *Pigot*. Each signed on to serve the Company for five years as a soldier in the garrison and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d to buy what he needed. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** Company leases on St Helena ran for the lives of named persons, called nominees, not for a fixed term of years. The lease held while any of them lived. When nominees died, the leaseholder could keep the land only by naming new lives and paying a fine for each. Without that, the lease would lapse when the last nominee died and the land would return to the Company. The fine of half a year's rent per new name was the price of extending the tenure. It gave the Company a small, regular income each time a family renewed its hold on the land. Bazett named a young Doveton to replace an elder of the same family, which kept the lease running for another generation. The fleet that sailed on 1 January took two soldiers away and left seven seamen behind, exactly as in July and November. By now the Council treated the exchange as routine. It paid each man left ashore the £10 0s 0d bounty it had offered since August, and the garrison came out ahead on the season's traffic with the ships.
424	420	14th January At a Consultation holden Monday the 14th Day of January 1782 at the Castle. Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govr. Major Danl. Corneille Lieut. Govr. Mr. Matthw. Bazett Mr. Willm. Wrangham Major Henl. Bazett of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 7th January 1782. Friday the 11th Died James Thompson Corporal. The Plantation Account for the Quarter and the Expence of Artillery Stores and Stores Accounts for the month of December last, were this Day laid before Us, which were Examined approved and are as follows Vizt.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 14 January 1782. Governor John Skottowe presided, with Lieutenant Governor Major Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Major Henry Bazett present as members of Council. The Council read, approved and signed the minutes of the consultation of 7 January 1782. James Thompson, a corporal, died on Friday 11 January 1782. The plantation account for the quarter, the artillery stores account and the steward's accounts for December 1781 were laid before the Council. It examined and approved them, and they followed.

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425	421	Account of the Honble. Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c. from the 1st October to the 31st December 1781. Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Wethers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Wethers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 2, Neat Cattle Cows 35, Neat Cattle Calves 25, Neat Cattle Yearlings 16, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 100, Sheep Ewes 161, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 142, Sheep Rams 4, Sheep Total 307, Goats Ewes 89, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 113, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 207, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 8, Hogs Pigs 13, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 26, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 131, Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 18, Poultry Geese 3 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 4, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 42, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 42, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 12, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 12, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 5, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 84, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 16, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 2, Neat Cattle Cows 35, Neat Cattle Calves 29, Neat Cattle Yearlings 16, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 104, Sheep Ewes 161, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 184, Sheep Rams 4, Sheep Total 349, Goats Ewes 89, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 125, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 219, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 8, Hogs Pigs 18, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 31, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 8, Horses Total 13, Poultry Fowls 215, Poultry Ducks 36, Poultry Turkeys 34, Poultry Geese 3 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 1, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 5, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 7, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 40, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 40, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 11, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 11, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 7, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 7, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 30, Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 2, Poultry Geese 0 Sent on Board the Romney: 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 1, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 1, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 2, Goats Ewes 1, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 2, 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 Do. the Hannibal: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0,	The account of the Company's livestock from 1 October to 31 December 1781 followed. Livestock at 1 October 1781: Bulls 2, cows 35, calves 25, yearlings 16, heifers 6, steers 0, oxen 16, total cattle 100 Sheep: ewes 161, wethers 0, lambs 142, rams 4, total sheep 307 Goats: ewes 89, wethers 0, kids 113, rams 5, total goats 207 Hogs: sows 4, shoats 8, pigs 13, boars 1, total hogs 26 Horses 5, mares 8, total horses 13 Poultry: fowls 131, ducks 24, turkeys 18, geese 3 Born during the quarter: Calves 4, total cattle 4 Lambs 42, total sheep 42 Kids 12, total goats 12 Pigs 5, total hogs 5 Fowls 84, ducks 12, turkeys 16, geese 0 Total stock for the quarter: Bulls 2, cows 35, calves 29, yearlings 16, heifers 6, steers 0, oxen 16, total cattle 104 Sheep: ewes 161, wethers 0, lambs 184, rams 4, total sheep 349 Goats: ewes 89, wethers 0, kids 125, rams 5, total goats 219 Hogs: sows 4, shoats 8, pigs 18, boars 1, total hogs 31 Horses 5, mares 8, total horses 13 Poultry: fowls 215, ducks 36, turkeys 34, geese 3 Killed: Bulls 1, cows 1, yearlings 5, total cattle 7 Lambs 40, total sheep 40 Kids 11, total goats 11 Shoats 7, total hogs 7 Fowls 30, ducks 24, turkeys 2 Sent aboard His Majesty's ship *Romney*: sheep ewes 1, lambs 1, total sheep 2; goat ewes 1, kids 1, total goats 2. Sent aboard His Majesty's ship *Hannibal*: cows 1, total cattle 1. Shot: Goat ewes 5, kids 1, total goats 6 Died: Cows 1, total cattle 1 Sheep ewes 1, lambs 4, total sheep 5 Goat ewes 2, total goats 2 Pigs 1, total hogs 1 Mares 1, total horses 1 Fowls 8 Livestock at 31 December 1781: Bulls 1, cows 32, calves 29, yearlings 11, heifers 6, steers 0, oxen 16, total cattle 95 Sheep: ewes 159, wethers 0, lambs 139, rams 4, total sheep 302 Goats: ewes 81, wethers 0, kids 112, rams 5, total goats 198 Hogs: sows 4, shoats 1, pigs 17, boars 1, total hogs 23 Horses 5, mares 7, total horses 12 Poultry: fowls 169, ducks 12, turkeys 32, geese 3 The same stock regraded by age: Bulls 2, cows 36, calves 4, yearlings 26, heifers 11, steers 0, oxen 16, total cattle 95 Sheep: ewes 221, wethers 31, lambs 42, rams 8, total sheep 302 Goats: ewes 161, wethers 20, kids 12, rams 5, total goats 198 Hogs: sows 4, shoats 13, pigs 5, boars 1, total hogs 23 Horses 5, mares 7, total horses 12 Poultry: fowls 169, ducks 12, turkeys 32, geese 3 A note beside the account listed four Black men, Sancho, Chester, Tom Swift and Jack Butcher. It also recorded that Dyke had run away from the island and that one boy had been born.

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		Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Shot: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 5, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 6, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 4, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 5, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 2, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 1, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 1, Horses Total 1, Poultry Fowls 8, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Remaining: Neat Cattle Bulls 1, Neat Cattle Cows 32, Neat Cattle Calves 29, Neat Cattle Yearlings 11, Neat Cattle Heifers 6, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 95, Sheep Ewes 159, Sheep Wethers 0, Sheep Lambs 139, Sheep Rams 4, Sheep Total 302, Goats Ewes 81, Goats Wethers 0, Goats Kids 112, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 198, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 1, Hogs Pigs 17, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 23, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 169, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 32, Poultry Geese 3 Changed the Specie: Neat Cattle Bulls 2, Neat Cattle Cows 36, Neat Cattle Calves 4, Neat Cattle Yearlings 26, Neat Cattle Heifers 11, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 95, Sheep Ewes 221, Sheep Wethers 31, Sheep Lambs 42, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 302, Goats Ewes 161, Goats Wethers 20, Goats Kids 12, Goats Rams 5, Goats Total 198, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 13, Hogs Pigs 5, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 23, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 7, Horses Total 12, Poultry Fowls 169, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 32, Poultry Geese 3 Blacks Deceased Sancho Chester Tom Swift Jack Butcher Men Dyke runaway from the Island 1 Boy born Yams Expended for the Slaves 11475 Do. for the Stock 16660 lb. 28135 Errors Excepted Signed Danl. Corneille Willm. Wrangham	Yams used for the slaves, 11,475 Yams used for the livestock, 16,660 Total yams used, 28,135 Daniel Corneille and William Wrangham signed the account, errors excepted. **Interpretations** The Company's own herd lost only five cattle over the quarter, falling from 100 to 95, even though the Council said in November that it had no cattle left to give. The 12 cattle granted to Wolseley's convoy, the five that followed and the three given on 19 November do not appear here. They were the beasts on the slaughtering list, taken from the planters' breeding stock under the notice of 9 July 1781, and the Council itself said so in its letter of 5 November. The Company protected its own breeding herd and met the King's demands from the planters' cattle. The planters bore the loss, and the Company kept its stock for rebuilding after the drought. The slaves' yam ration fell to about half that of the September quarter, from 22,036 to 11,475, while the yams fed to livestock rose. The rice from the *Prime* and the *Bellmont* had reached the island in September and October. The warehouse held more than 1,600 hundredweight of it at the end of the quarter, and the slaves' account showed rice as their main issued food. Feeding the slaves on imported rice freed the plantation's yams for the cattle, sheep and pigs, which helped the herds recover from the drought. The last block regraded every animal by age at the year's end. Calves became yearlings, yearlings became heifers or were added to the cows, lambs and kids became ewes, wethers or rams, and pigs became shoats. Wethers were castrated males kept for meat, and the regrading shows the plantation had begun to separate them from the breeding flock. The note on Dyke repeats the Council's finding of 5 November that he had escaped on the fleet that sailed on 2 November. Here he was simply struck off the Company's stock, recorded in the same way as an animal lost.
426	422	14th January Artillery Stores Expended in Decr. 1781 Guns fired, 6 lb., 4 lb., 3 lb., Powder lb., Powder oz. 2 A Single Alarm: Guns fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 3 Saluted the Magnanime: Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 0 Saluted the Captain: Guns fired 13, 6 lb. 13, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 13, Powder oz. 0 Priming: Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 5, Powder oz. 0 4 A Single Alarm: Guns fired 6, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 4, 3 lb. 2, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0	The artillery stores used in December 1781 followed. Each entry gives the date, the occasion, the guns fired by size and the powder used. 2 December, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces On 3 December, the departure of His Majesty's ship *Magnanime*: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces. 3 December, saluting the captain: 13 guns fired, 13 six-pounders, powder 13 pounds 0 ounces 3 December, priming: 0 guns fired, powder 5 pounds 0 ounces

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		Saluted the Terror Bomb: Guns fired 9, 6 lb. 9, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 9, Powder oz. 0 9 A General Alarm: Guns fired 10, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 12? "4", 3 lb. 6, Powder lb. 33, Powder oz. 0 Disembarking Do.: Guns fired 2, 6 lb. 1, 4 lb. 1, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 2, Powder oz. 0 Saluted the Chatton? : Guns fired 11, 6 lb. 11, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 11, Powder oz. 0 Do. Commr. Stewart coming on Shore: Guns fired 17, 6 lb. 17, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 17, Powder oz. 0 Priming: Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 6, Powder oz. 0 Blowing Stone at Banks's: Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 24, Powder oz. 0 Do. at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 37, Powder oz. 0 Do. the 42 Regt.: Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 15? "35", Powder oz. 0 Do. Sundry Services: Guns fired 0, 6 lb. 0, 4 lb. 0, 3 lb. 0, Powder lb. 50, Powder oz. 6 Total: Guns fired 95, 6 lb. 64, 4 lb. 20, 3 lb. 11, Powder lb. 359, Powder oz. 6 Expended Musket Cartridge Paper 12 Quires Cannon Do. 2 Do. Do. 5 Iron Shot Round? 100 Lead Balls 341 Do. 27 Tallow 1 Skeins of Wire 1 Flannel 32 Lead Shot 3 lb. Vinegar 2 Quarts? Tow 2 lb. Lint? 2 Charcoal 10 Mercury? Lights? 1 Sheep Skins 2 Sponge Staves 4 Rammer Heads 6 Tin Tubes 45 Worm 1 Beds 2 Signed Willm. Pierce Capt. of Artillery	4 December, a single alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces On 4 December, the departure of the bomb ketch *Terror*: 9 guns fired, 9 six-pounders, powder 9 pounds 0 ounces. 17 December, a general alarm: 18 guns fired, 0 six-pounders, 12 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders, powder 33 pounds 0 ounces 17 December, standing down from the alarm: 2 guns fired, 1 six-pounder, 0 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, powder 2 pounds 8 ounces On 17 December, saluting the *Glatton*: 11 guns fired, 11 six-pounders, powder 11 pounds 0 ounces. 17 December, saluting Governor Stewart coming ashore: 17 guns fired, 17 six-pounders, powder 17 pounds 0 ounces Priming: 0 guns fired, powder 6 pounds 8 ounces Blowing stone at Banks's: 0 guns fired, powder 24 pounds 0 ounces Blowing stone at Sandy Bay: 0 guns fired, powder 30 pounds 0 ounces Issued to the 42nd Regiment: 0 guns fired, powder 315 pounds 0 ounces Various services: 0 guns fired, powder 58 pounds 6 ounces Total: 95 guns fired, 64 six-pounders, 20 four-pounders, 11 three-pounders, powder 559 pounds 6 ounces The materials issued during the month followed. Musket cartridge paper, 12 quires Cannon cartridge paper, 2 quires Cannon cartridge paper of a second size, 5 quires Iron round shot, 100 Lead balls, 347 Lead balls of a second size, 27 Tallow, 1 pound Spirits of wine, 1 gallon Flannel, 32 yards Slow match, 3 pounds Vinegar, 2 gallons Tow, 2 pounds Kits, 2 Charcoal, 10 pounds Muscovy light, 1 Sheepskins, 2 Sponge staves, 4 Rammer heads, 6 Tin tubes, 45 Worm, 1 Gun beds, 2 William Pierce, captain of artillery, signed the account. **Interpretations** More than half the powder used in December went to the 42nd Regiment, 315 pounds of it, together with lead balls and musket cartridge paper. That was the ammunition the Council promised McLeod on 17 December to replace what his men had bartered for food at Madagascar. The island had asked Johnstone for 100 barrels of powder only two months before, yet it issued over three barrels to a passing detachment of the King's troops. Without ammunition, the Highlanders could not have fought on arrival in India, and their own officer had warned that the transport carrying them had no guns. Governor Stewart, saluted with 17 guns on 17 December, was the Hugh Stewart listed as a passenger on the *Glatton*'s muster roll. A salute of 17 guns ranked him above the 13 given to the captains of King's ships, the honour due to a man who had governed one of the Company's settlements. The salute was fired the same day as the general alarm, when the China ships came into view. Muscovy light was a thin sheet of mica, named after Russia, its main source. It was fitted into

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			lanterns used in powder magazines because it would not shatter like glass or let sparks escape. A worm was a corkscrew-like iron on a long staff, used to draw a charge or wad out of a gun's bore.
427	423	1782 Sundrys Expended at the Honble. Company's Table in Decr. 1781. To 82 Bottles Madeira 5 2 6 74 Do. Port 5 17 2 17 Do. Lisbon 1 6 11 16 Do. Beer - 5 4 18 Gallns. Arrack 2 14 - 225 lb. Mutton 4 13 9 1 Lamb - 10 - 4 Goats 2 - - 70 lb. Pork 1 16 - 2 Ducks - 3 - 12 lb. Butter - 6 - 55 lb. Candy 1 7 6 448 lb. Flour 3 14 8 £ 29 16 10 Bot. for the Table 5 Turkies 1 5 - 10 Fowls - 15 - 3 Pigs - 15 - £ 2 15 - The Governor this Day laid the following Letter before the Board. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of St. Helena Honble. Sir I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that the Myrtle Transport is now ready for sea and the Troops embarked. They have to return you Sir, in particular, and the other Gentlemen in authority here my most sincere and hearty thanks, for the very kind treatment you have given his Majesty's Soldiers under my Command. As an Officer, I shall always think it incumbent on me to praise the attention you have shewn to forward the service, as an individual I can never forget the civilities I have received. The Officers with me join Cordially in these sentiments. I have now to represent to you that it is my earnest wish to proceed with the utmost expedition to India.	The account of provisions used at the Company's table in December 1781 followed. Madeira wine, 82 bottles, £5 2s 6d Port wine, 74 bottles, £5 17s 2d Lisbon wine, 17 bottles, £1 6s 11d Beer, 16 bottles, £0 5s 4d Arrack, 18 gallons, £2 14s 0d Mutton, 225 pounds, £4 13s 9d Lamb, 1, £0 10s 0d Goats, 4, £2 0s 0d Pork, 72 pounds, £1 16s 0d Ducks, 2, £0 3s 0d Butter, 12 pounds, £0 6s 0d Sugar candy, 55 pounds, £1 7s 6d Flour, 448 pounds, £3 14s 8d Total, £29 16s 10d The provisions bought for the table followed. Turkeys, 5, £1 5s 0d Fowls, 10, £0 15s 0d Pigs, 3, £0 15s 0d Total, £2 15s 0d The Governor then laid before the Council a letter from Lieutenant Colonel McLeod, addressed to Governor John Skottowe. McLeod reported with pleasure that the *Myrtle* was now ready for sea and the troops were on board. Before sailing, he and his fellow officers wished to give the Governor, and through him the Council, their sincere and heartfelt thanks for the very kind treatment the King's soldiers under his command had received. As an officer he would always feel bound to praise the attention the Council had shown in advancing the King's service, and as a private man he would never forget the kindness he had met with. His officers joined him warmly in these sentiments. He went on to say that his earnest wish was to sail for India with all possible speed.
428	424	14th January that We may become more in our proper Sphere of Duty; at the same time some circumstances of embarkment to you make me hesitate. Our ship is unarmed, and almost totally exposed to the weakest Cruiser of the Enemy, there is very Chance of a Convoy arriving from Europe & sending us to Madras	McLeod went on to say that, although he was eager to sail, some circumstances made him hesitate. The *Myrtle* was unarmed, and her master and crew did not know the seas between St Helena and India. If there was any chance of a convoy from Europe bound for India arriving within a reasonable time, he asked the Governor's advice on whether to wait for it. His orders pressed him to reach his regiment as fast as possible. If the Governor thought he should

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		in a reasonable time for it. Therefore intreat your advice, if I have your sanction for proceeding on the Voyage without Convoy, no Danger shall deter me a moment; if your opinion is that We should wait for a Convoy, I must submit to it, conceiving it in the light of an order, Prudent to the Dictates of your Prudence. I have the Honor to be With great Respect Honble. Sir Your most Obedt. & humble Servt. Norman Macleod Lieut. Col. 42d. Regt. St. Helena 14th Jany. 1782. To the above Letter the Governor returned the subsequent Answer. To Lieut. Col. Macleod of the 42d. Regiment Sir I have the Honor of yours of this Day and have Communicated the Contents thereof to the Gentlemen of Council. Who Jointly with me are happy the little assistance which has been in their Power to afford you and that part of His Majesty's 42d. Regt. under your Command, has met with your approbation. I am sensible your proceeding to India in an unarmed Ship must be attended with some risk but as I cannot flatter you with the hopes of any Convoy from England; I am of opinion it would be most advisable to bring your Regt. with all expedition. The Gentlemen of Council Join me in wishing you a safe and speedy passage with every success, and have the Honor to be with esteem Sir Your most Obedt. and most humble Servant Signed John Skottowe St. Helena 14th Jany. 1782	wait for a convoy, however, he would submit to that judgement and leave the decision to the Governor's prudence. Norman McLeod signed the letter at St Helena on 14 January 1782 as lieutenant colonel of the 42nd Regiment. Governor John Skottowe replied the same day. He had laid McLeod's letter before the Council, and its members were glad that the small help they had been able to give McLeod and his detachment of the 42nd Regiment had met with his approval. The Governor understood how eager McLeod was to reach India. No convoy from England could be counted on, so the Governor and Council judged it best for McLeod to sail with all possible speed in his unarmed ship, and they wished him a safe and quick passage. **Interpretations** The Council advised an unarmed transport to sail alone into wartime seas rather than wait for a convoy. Waiting was the obvious course for a ship with no guns, a crew who had never sailed those waters and a detachment of the King's troops on board. McLeod himself raised it and offered to accept the Council's view. The Council gave its reason plainly: no convoy from England could be counted on. A convoy might not come for months, and the *Myrtle* would wait off the island the whole time. The island had already spent large stores on the detachment and was rationing its cattle and grain for 1782. The Council had refused the *Myrtle* any guns in December, so it could not offer protection itself. Sending her on at once ended the drain on its stores and sent the reinforcements on to India, where they were needed.
429	425	1782 Thomas Thomas Private this Day petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison, having procured Michael Mc Pike of His Majesty's 42 Regiment to serve the remainder of his Contracted time, being three Years and nine Months. Jeremiah Needham Private Do. Also Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison, having procured John Gilmore likewise of the 42 Regt. to serve the remainder of his Contracted time being three Months. Colonel Macleod agreeing to the same. John Skottowe Danl. Corneille M. Bazett Wm. Wrangham Hen. Bazett	Thomas Thomas, a private, petitioned that day for his discharge from the garrison. He had found Michael McKee, of His Majesty's 42nd Regiment, to serve out the rest of his contracted term, three years and nine months. Jeremiah Newham, a private, also petitioned for his discharge. He had found John Gilmore, likewise of the 42nd Regiment, to serve out the three months that remained of his own term. Colonel McLeod agreed to both exchanges. Governor John Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett signed the record of the consultation. **Interpretations** The garrison discharged two of its own soldiers by taking two Highlanders in their place, and only with McLeod's consent. McKee and Gilmore were King's soldiers bound for India, so they could not change service without their commanding officer's leave. McLeod gave it on the eve of sailing, which cost his detachment two men. For McLeod, losing a man who would serve only three months on the island instead of years in India was a small loss. For the Company, the exchange kept the garrison at full strength while releasing two men who wanted to leave. The difference between the two terms is striking. McKee took on nearly four years of service on St Helena, while Gilmore committed himself to

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			only three months, after which he would presumably be free to find a passage home.
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433	429	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St. Helena Records 1781-1782 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) 48cm X 32cm X 6cm No. written pages: 431 No. blank pages: Spine and cover GOOD CONDITION Inside pages GOOD CONDITION Time taken to photograph (hours) 5 hours Additional comments	