

St. Helena

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

ST. HELENA RECORDS,

COMPILED BY THE LATE

HUDSON RALPH JANISCH, Esq., C.M.G.,
GOVERNOR OF ST. HELENA.

ST. HELENA:

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INTRODUCTION.

To the late HUDSON RALPH JANISCH, C.M.G., Governor of St. Helena, the public at large are indebted for compiling, from the old Record Books at the Castle, the St. Helena Records, Letters to and from England, &c., and thus enabling me to publish them. The manuscript has been closely followed in every particular,—viz: orthography, punctuation, etcetera. I note this fact because the reader will find several words spelt in both the old and modern style occurring in the same paragraph.

Probably there are no Records of other British settlements more interesting or saddening than those which are to be found in these pages. Amongst the many incidents of the early days of the Island's history, herein recapitulated, several will be found to be highly ludicrous and entertaining, while some are revolting in the extreme.

There are many extracts from the Record Books (thanks to our present Governor—Lieut.-Colonel GRANT BLUNT, R.E.,) in my possession which have not yet been published, but may, at some future time, be placed before the public.

In the hope of meeting with success in my present undertaking, I now lay before the world the "ST. HELENA RECORDS"—or, what may be justly called, the HISTORY OF ST. HELENA from 1673 to 1835.

B. GRANT.

ST. HELENA, April, 1835.

ST. HELENA RECORDS.

Letter dated London, 19th December 1673, appoints Captain Richard Field to be Governor—Captain Anthony Beale to be Deputy Governor—the Lieutenants of the two companies of Foot on the Island for the time being Francis Moore, John Colestone and Richard Swallow to be of our Council. “ You are to take into your possession all the cattle that can possibly be attained, that a distribution may be made to the several Inhabitants according to the rules hereafter mentioned. The Three Boats left by Sir Richard Munden to be kept in repair and permit the inhabitants to goe a fishing therein. All fish to be distributed equally amongst the inhabitants. We have sent £400 in pieces of eight and copper money for payment of the soldiers. All soldiers to be reduced to two companies. The Governor to be Captain of one and the Deputy Governor of the other. The Pay to be as follows:

Captain Richard Field as Governor and Captain of one company £50 per annum and a yearly gratuity £50. Captain Anthony Beale as Deputy Governor and Captain of the 2nd Company and as Husband of the Stores £50 per annum. The Lieutenants each per month £2 10 0, Ensigns £2. Sergeants being four in all £1 10. Gunner £2 and his dyett. Two Gunners Mates £1 10.

The Soldiers are to be exercised &c. and you are to permit the soldiers when they can be spared to assist the planters in their plantations.

A Wooden Store house is sent out. Captain Anthony Beale to have accommodation of dwelling therein for himself and family for the first two years so as he kepe no fire therein.

Although during this present Warr wee do continue the said Military forces in our pay yet being desirous to encourage the soldiers to become planters we have as a beginning entertained several persons as planters who come by this shipping and are named on the list herewith sent, and are to receive the accommodation hereafter particularly mentioned.

All the old planters that were formerly settled in the

Island and are now bound thither shall be repossessed of their several houses and plantations which formerly they enjoyed in the condition they shall be found at the arrival of these ships, and all new planters shall upon their arrival have 20 acres of land rough and smooth. Each family shall have besides 2 cows given them freely with provision gratis out of the Company's Magazine for their maintenance for the space of nine months.

All the Planters are to be listed under either of the aforesaid companies that they may exercise and train them up in arms at least once in two months to qualify them for the defence of the Island. Though we do not require the Planters to keep constant watch as Soldiers during the time that we shall continue soldiers in pay, yet we do strictly require in case of the approach of any shipping and especially upon discovery of any Enemy or any general alarms that they do repair to their respective posts. It being one of the conditions on which we have granted them the land and other accommodation. Soldiers who desire to be discharged and become Planters grant them the same acquainting them that are married that if they desire it their wives shall be sent out to them.

No female Cattle are to be killed for three years until the Island be sufficiently replenished.

The Company's Plantation is to be at the direction and disposal of the Governor for the supply of the table for himself and others—appointed to dyett with him.

We have entertained Mr. William Swindle a Minister of the Gospel of whom we have received a very good character to preach once and catechize every Lord's Day and to teach or direct the teaching of children as their Schoolmaster and also as many of the Negro children as are capable of learning. His allowance £50 a year as Minister £25 as Schoolmaster and £25 gratuity and to have his dyett at the Governor's table and also at Plantation.

We have entertained Mr. Francis Moore Chirurgion to have £25 and dyett at the Governor's table and to have the like proportion of ground and cattle as other planters and £5 gratuity.

We have received an account from Sir Richard Munden that a certain negro was very serviceable in guiding those of the English that first landed in order to its retaking and that Sir Richard Munden redeemed him from a Portugal to whom he was sold—we have repaid the money to Sir Richard Munden and have also paid Mr. Coleston £18 which he allegeth he disbursed in charges for the negroes wife and his

two children so that we have sent the said negroes wife and his two children over to him as free planters and do order that he receive land and two cowes as other planters with all privileges as a reward of his service and the encouragement of faithfulness.

We also order that all negroes both men and women living in the said Island that shall make profession of the Christian faith and be baptized shall within seven years after be free planters and enjoy the privileges of free planters both of land and cattle.

Wee do understand that Captain Kegwin was entertained into His Majesty's Service at — per month which you will find is to be paid by us from the time of landing upon the Island until the time of his discharge. Upon receipt hereof discharge the said Captain Kegwin of our service and we direct that you treat him with all civility and that he take his passage for England in either of these two ships.

A List of what men were left upon the Island out of the several ships following (160 names in all) viz:—

The Assistance frigott Sir Richard Munden's ship 53 names which include Captain Richard Kegwin—Wm. Bodley—Jno. Powell—Thos. Birch.

The Levant Merchant 46 men including Captain Gregory Field—William Powell—William Fox.

The Mary and Martha Company's Ship 24 men including John Easthope and Thomas Coles.

The William and Thomas 37 names including Richard Alexander, Henry Francis, Matthew Pouncey.

We have freighted the ship *Loyal Merchant* on which we intend to send some more planters and passengers. When the ship *Loyal Merchant* arrives you may permit the seamen that were left there by Sir Richard Munden and as many soldiers as desire it (not exceeding 30 in all) to return for England, and as we shall be informed of any others that would come for England wee shall give further orders concerning them.

Send us a particular account of what anchors and cables are on the Island and whether they did belong to the *Sur-ratt Merchant* and the *Humphrey* and *Elisa* that was lately at the Island and were afterwards taken up by the Dutch.

Any of the Inhabitants are to be allowed on their request ground sufficient to build a house in any valley provided they build the said houses regularly in order to a town of defence above each of the fortifications that shall be made in any valley. The Houses that are between the sea and any of the Forts are to be removed by the proprietors.

A Register is to be kept of all Marriages, Burials and Births.

For seven years the Company will take all Sugar Cane, Indigo Cotton, Wool, Ginger, Tobacco, &c.

London, 10th April 1674.—Now since it hath pleased His Majesty to make peace with Holland we must now consider to lessen our charge yett so as to keep a sufficient garrison with as much care and vigilance as if the warr had continued. Wee therefore order that you keep only in pay 75 of the oldest oivillest and best soldiers and for the remainder that you propose to them the Company's terms for their staying there as free planters, which if they will not accept send them home.

London, 18th Dec 1674.—By this ship goeth old Mr. Swallow whom we would have to be one of the seven in Council—and our order is that you will be speedy in settling of these new comers in laying out their lands and give them assistance by the negroes and encouragement to build them up cottages to dwell in. Till their habitations be built they may be distributed to lodge amongst those planters that have houses.

We would have you take opportunities of fair weather to go round the windward part of the Island at a distance with your Boats for to dicover what fishing grounds there are, to which end we send you dypsey lines and leads.

If any European people who are at amity with England arrive at the Island for refreshment use them civilly but do not too far trust them on shore nor to discover the strength of the place.

We intend to give orders to Suratt to send you some Kermenia Goats and we take what care we can to procure some Indians by our returned ships to be left with you.

Wee are sorry to hear of the death of your Minister being a man we fear will be much wanted there. Capt. Kegwin hath been with us and presented us with a bill of Exchange for £112 which we paid him but you must for the future forbear to charge unless it be for some extraordinary occasion.

You advise that some seamen did report amongst the soldiers that we did intend to transport them for Planters to Bombay you should have done well to have found out the author of that forgery that he might have received his reward and had not the soldiers been heady hare brained persons they would not have given credit to any such reports. Whereas the soldiers say they will have dyett as well as wages, it is contrary to all custom for soldiers in

Garrison to have so, but if they plant and work for us when they are off guard then we shall allow it.

And though we say fifty soldiers yet if we find by the strength of the Inhabitants you can secure the Island we would have you lessen the number, for it is our thought with such soldiers as those are that mutiny upon every report will be little security to you.

As for the Dutch prisoners you must give them liberty in any of our own or European returned ships, or to ship themselves for Bantam whither they will.

The wife of Captain Field having made it her earnest desire that her husband may come home we do therefore give him free liberty to come for England, and if he come away Captain Beale is to succeed as Governor.

London, March 8th, 1676.—You have done well in reducing the number of soldiers to 50. We are pleased to hear from you that our Island is in such a flourishing condition and that all things there thrive well with you. But yet we find there is wanting industry and painstaking in many of the inhabitants which we will not permit to continue to be amongst you for they that will not plant should not eat—we will not supply them, rather send them home under the title of Drones.

You advise us of the death of the Gunner by a disaster in firing a gun for which we are sorry, but much blame you to spend our powder so vainly, and as we are informed your gun had a double charge by carelessness. We are informed that there is a rumour amongst the soldiers and inhabitants of the island that we do intend to send shipping to transport them for Bombay which report is feigned and false, it never so much as having been in our thoughts.

You do hint as if there did remain among you some of the old mutineers. If there be any such suffer them not to continue unless they demean themselves according to rule. We have no good report of one Young who was of the old stock.

We have paid the Governor's wife Mrs. Field £100 at several times in part of his salary and would have him advise us what sum he desires may be allowed.

We take notice of your want of a good Minister by reason of the death of him last sent. We have entertained Mr. John Winne who takes passage by way of Surratt.

8 Carmanian Goats sent from India for 132 rupees being all we can procure which are to keep apart for their breed that it be not lost as it seems some formerly hath by running amongst the ordinary.

St Helena 19th June 1678—The good ship *Johanna* came into the road on Wensday the 19th June 1678 and about noone the Governor John Blackmore landed.

His commission dated London 20th February 1677 appoints Capt. Anthony Beale deputy, Lieut. Jonathan Tyler, Lieut. Joshua Johnson, Richard Swallow, John Greentree, and John Coleston, to be of our Council.

His instructions direct him "to secure all avenues and passages especially the avenues in Lemon Valley. All Planters are bound by the tenure of their lands to be at your command to bear armes and observe orders for the defence of our Island. That you may not want Powder when you have occasion to use it we order that not above three guns be returned to a salute of any ships, and that none be shott at healths or any needless occasions. Fruit trees are sent and Planters informed that their produce of Sugar, &c. will be bought to encourage them. Wages appointed to master workmen 1s. per diem; a servant or labourer 8d. per diem. That the windward parts of our Island may be planted as well as any other we order that planters be allowed on that part of the Island a double portion of land than elsewhere, i.e. 40 acres each family rough and smooth. Market to be kept. A Register of Births, Deaths, and Marriages. The produce of Plantation to supply a Public Table. You can agree with a Chirurgeon instead of Mr. Moore who we understand desires to come home.

The times being troublesome and dangerous we enjoin your more than ordinary care in your watches—that you keep centry on the hills constantly.

We have received an account of Capt Anthony Beale whereby he makes coming to him £79 7s. 6d., but we cannot approve of it for that we have no particulars of the £405 charged to him nor of the £719 brought to his credit. We order Capt. Field be of the council whilst he remains and that his salary be continued until he takes his passage for England.—Invoice of stores by the *Johanna*, £2802.

23rd January 1678, Fort St. George.—We understand that arrack is acceptable upon ye Island and in case you should be attacked *would be very serviceable for encouraging your men.* We send 2 Butts.

Consultation 27th June 1678.—The Council pledged to secrecy.—The outguards which have formerly been kept in five places, viz. Ruperts, Bankses, Flagstaffe, Prosperous Bay, and Spragues alias Lemon Valley to be continued, and further from High Peake down the ridge to Old Womans

Valley be another outguard, the rather for at the said Valley the Dutch landed when they took the said Island in 1673.— Besides Officers and soldiers there are above 90 freemen— ordered 10 to keep guard in rotation for a week night and day viz. at Flagstaffe 3, Prosperous Bay 3, Spragues 2, Old Womans Valley 2, so that the 90 freemen will perform it in nine courses.

9 soldiers having been in service here above five years, beg leave to return home. Not granted in consequence of the dangerous condition of affaires in England.

Council ordered to meet in every fourteen days—penalty for absence $\frac{1}{2}$ dollar, 2nd time 1 dollar, 3rd time $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollar, then afterwards to be suspended

List of 24 soldiers and 24 other passengers with Governor Blackmore in the *Johanna*—includes E. Chubb, Jno. Powell, Joshua Johnson Lieutenant, William Price, John Trapp, Stephen Legg, Richard Griffith, John Downing, J Rowland, Madame Blackmore, Mrs. Johnson and two children.

[*Note.*—Trapp Cot, Chubb's Spring and Chubb's Rock, Downing's Cove, and Rowland's Cove named after the above.]

Consultation 5th August 1678—Arrangements for Defence 20 Inhabitants at East Ridge, 6 at Bankes and 4 soldiers, 12 at Ruperts and 7 soldiers 20 at West Ridge, 12 at Lemon Valley and 7 soldiers. The rest with the soldiers to be at the Fort. That each of the Lieutenants have delivered unto them a Field Colours and a Drumm with 20 lbs of Powder and a barrel of shott to be kept by them until an Enemy shall approach the said Island and then they are to deliver out the ammunition as necessity requires. That there be forthwith twelve light Iron Croes prepared and made fitt to move Rocks and Stones of which each Lieutenant is to have six delivered to them to be made use of in case any Enemy should happen to get on shore.

That Mr. John Greentree and Mr. John Colestone have each of them a Drumm and Colours delivered to them and to be made use of at Spragues and Ruperts upon any such alarms.

That a general Rendezvouse of all the Inhabitants be had on Monday at the Market house near Fort James and that then an account be taken of all the armes in their custody and what are found to have been delivered out of the Companies Stores be marked to distinguish them from others and to prevent embelzment.

That all such who are found to have noe Armes have at the said Rendezvouse some delivered to them, but all of them

are to be marked and the persons names taken to whom they are delivered.

That two of the Small Gunns lately brought to the said Island be forthwith conveyed to Prosperous Bay and planted at some convenient place to prevent the landing of an Enemy there. That two more of the said Guns be forthwith conveyed to Old Womans Ridge or valley and Lieutenant Johnson and Mr. Greentree are desired to view the place most convenient to plant them.

That other two of the same Guns be conveyed to the Companies Plantation to be in readiness to be conveyed to any place where there be most need. Whereas the houses built for Courts of Guard at Ruperts, Spragues and Banckses are exceedingly decayed and the Battery's Platform and Works are greatly out of repair—ordered they be all repaired with all the speed that may be and because there are 8 gunns at Ruperts and a spacious Road and Valley the Works there are first to be repaired. Then Spragues where are five Gunns and lastly Banckses where are three.

Consultation, 2nd Sept., 1678.—Matthew Pouncey to be entertained into pay as a Drummer— * * Likewise he is to use his best endeavours to teach some young Soldier or youth (whom the Governor shall appoint) to beat a Drumm and the ordinary points of Warr that are in use—to have the allowance of 20/ per mensem. And because the said Matthew Pouncey hath the family of a wife and small children who in his absence upon duty will want some help it is further ordered that Mary Whally one of the Companies orphans now living with Nathaniel Barindine be placed with the said Matthew his wife and family as a servant for six months he the said Matthew Pouncey allowing her sufficient Dyet, Lodging and Clothes and at her dismission he is not to take away any clothes from her which she brought with her or that he hath given her whilst she hath been his servant.

[*Notes.*—The land called Pouncees derives its name from Pouncey.]

An Advertisement and Invitation unto the Inhabitants to send their children unto School at the Church be publicly read in the Church on the next Lords day by the Minister Mr. Wynne. "These are to advertise all the inhabitants of the Island and earnestly to invite and desire every one that hath children capable of learning, and that can possibly spare them, that they would lay aside unnecessary and frivolous excuses and be so much Friends to their children as to send them to the said school and keep them there as con-

tantly as possibly they may. That they would not be soe great Enemies to their children and to learning as to detain them at home about small or trifling matters, or send them soe seldom and soe uncertainly to the said School as that they should receive but little or no profit thereby and so the gracious intendment of the Honourable Company be slighted, the design of this advertisement frustrated, the Minister and Schoolmaster discouraged and the poor children's welfare neglected.

Wild Cattle.—For the better looking after the Stock of Cattle our Masters have on this their Island, especially such of them as are wild, the following order be forthwith issued out. Whereas a great number of Cattle belonging to the Hon Company our Masters doe usually pasture on the West Part of this Island more especially about the High Peake and whereas you with the rest of the Tanners having had the hides gratis of all such as have been killed have formerly been ordered to be aiding to the pounding of the said Cattle every weeke that thereby those who are wild might the more easily be made tame and the true number taken and kept which for some time past hath been but too much neglected by you and the rest of the Tanners you are now hereby ordered to assist in the pounding of the said Cattle every weeke constantly beginning 9 September and soe successively every Monday until further orders.

Tomstones Wood.—Peter Williams 20 acres in Tomstones Wood is in a remote and desolate place far from neighbours and from having notice of any alarm he is to share with Smoult in his 20 acres at High Peak until some other inhabitants shall have land allotted in or near Tomstone Wood.

Consultation 30th September, 1678.—The Church suffered damage by the extreme heat of the weather to be examined and repaired. Henry Kersey that lives near the Church to be Sexton. Lieut. Tyler and Mr. Greentree to meet together to consider what each inhabitant should pay yearly into Kersey for officiating provided that none pay above twelve pence per annum. Also ordered that half a measured acre of ground about the said Church be forthwith enclosed by the Inhabitants to be and remain for a Public Church Yard or burying place—the said enclosure shall be by a bank cast up out of a ditch that shall be five foot in breadth and five foot in depth upon the Topp whereof shall be set Lemon Trees round the whole enclosure and a Gate shall be made with a bridge to goe over the Ditch for a comely and convenient entrance and passage to and from the said Church and Church Yard.

[*Note.*—First enclosure of the Country Church Yard.]

Whereas several persons have many times neglected the planting and improving of ye lands allotted them and have taken a liberty to hunt and kill many of the Goats that are wild and under pretence of killing wild have killed some Tame altho the said persons have noe more right unto ye wild Goats than to any Cows or other Cattle that are wild on the said Island all the said wild goats and Cattle being properly the goods of the Company who are the sole Lords of the Island where the said wild goats and cattle breed and feed, offenders hereafter to make reparation and be punished.

21st Oct. 1678.—Several Inhabitants claim satisfaction for dyetting of soldiern by order of the late Governor Field when there were no provisions in the stores—allowed 10/ a month for each soldier.

11th Nov. 1678.—Mr. Greentree reports that the Timber for the repair of the Guard House at Spraguses [Lemon Valley] is out and felled ready to bee carryed. Ordered—that on Monday all the Inhabitants of the West Division doe in their own persons or any others that are sufficient carry the said Timber unto Spraguses and see many Bushes and long Grasse for thatch as may bee sufficient to cover it.

2nd Dec. 1678.—Two soldiers on duty on the crane battery this morning have bin suddenly killed by the fall of Rocks—the said Battery is a place very dangerous in passing throw it to the landing place and in standing of centinell in or near unto it by reason of hanging Rocks that many times fall downe. Ordered—That there be speedily made and set up a strong covering of Timber over the battery. The persons hereafter named of the East Division to be at Mr. Coleson's house on Tuesday by 8 in the forenoon with axes and such other needful Toolles for cutting felling and Darking 240 pieces of Gumm Wood Timber in the next adjacent wood at the head of Sayne Valley and bring it to the battery. None are to fail to do this service as they will answer the contrary at their peril. That the Timber be brought down into Chappel Valley on the hither side of the water at the foot of Parsley Bed Hill [i.e. now the Briars] by all the Inhabitants and freemen able to bear Armes except those thirteen that were employed in felling the same.

William Doveton hath bin on this Island near five years and yett never had any land, but he having lately married a wife he is to have ten acres of land and a cow.

27th Jan., 1679.—Upon complaint of Mr. John Greentree one of the Council that Peter Williams inhabitant hath lately entertained and concealed two of his runaway Blacks

several weeks—ordered that Peter Williams be committed to prison 24 hours—afterwards he have one and twenty lashes on his naked body at the Flagstaffe and pay 8 dollars.

Information being given that there are great numbers of swine in Tompstone Wood Manatee Bay and parts adjacent and that several inhabitants have lately driven a great drove to the said places which is the principal and chiefest for the greatest part of the Companies stock of Cattle to pasture in ordered that they all be removed to other places where they may doe least prejudice to any.

24th Feb., 1679.—There hath bin of late a great scarcity of Lemons by reason of disorderly persons that gather them where ever they find them and that many times before they be halfe ripe, to the great inconvenience of those shippes that touch here expecting refreshment, ordered a penalty of 4 dollars if any presume to take Lemons from any private land or from the Companies plantation or betwixt their house called the Hutts and the place called Money tree Ground.

James Eastings having had his house lately burnt down by a sudden fire and petitioning for relief—ordered that his petition be recommended to all the Inhabitants and that Mr. Smoult and John Luffin be requested to goe from house to house throughout the West division—and Suttan Isaac and William Fox junr: throughout the East division to gather the charitable benevolence of all the people—they are to sett down in writing what every one gives or promiseth and to return an account to the Governor for the Council.

The Watch kept at the High Peake may bee taken off as noe shippes can without much difficulty approach the leeward or westward part of the Island.

Several Inhabitants complained that although they are on duty and watches but one week in nine yet that the said duty and watches are very chargeable and troublesome to them—ordered that the inhabitants be taken off all duty as watches and guards excepting at the Flagstaffe and Prosperous Bay where three of them at each of the said places are to continue and be relieved weekly.

16th June 1679.—The good ship *Johannah* is lately returned from Bantum preparing to return to England in some few days, but having lost many of his seamen this voyage and brought several sick to this Island and needing some of the soldiers who have been seamen to supply their roomes—ordered—that some soldiers who came hither with Sir Richard Munden about six years since when this Island was re-

covered out of the hands of the Dutch have leave to shipp themselves and return to England.

Jonathan Higham (one of Sir Richard's Mundens party who landed at Prosperous Bay) and Thomas Goodale prayed for leave to return to England. Though formerly soldiers they returned free and received land and cattle about three years since and for that no certain intelligence hath yett arrived whether there bee peace or Warr betwixt England and the neighbour nations, their petition not to be granted.

11th August 1679.—Whereas several persons have turned many Swine into the Great Wood and parts adjacent many of which have turned wild and their increase hath not been marked whereby persons are not able to distinguish their own from other mens but now all are mingled and running in droves and herds soe every one thinks that all unmarked Swine may be as well his as anothers and have endeavoured to kill and convert to their own use as many as they can catch which hath occasioned sundry complaints—ordered—That all persons have their Swine marked and that noe person presume to kill any Swine that are not soe marked.

Whereas Captain Anthony Bealle hath a house standing on the Hon. Companies Plantation which he erected by consent of the late Govenor Captain Field which he proposeth to sell for the use of the Company they having noe house upon their plantation but where the Blacks lodge which also is so old and decayed that tis ready to fall. Ordered that the said house be veiwd and valued.

29th Sept 1679.—Lientenant Johnson for his allotment of 30 acres of land had made choice of a Parcel of land commonly known by the name of the Great Bottom not farr from the High Peak.

27th Oct 1679.—Captain Anthony Bealle who hath measured all the lands that hath bin distributed and disposed to the Inhabitants is desired to draw up and prepare as exact and punctual a draught Mapp of every man's land on the Island with their due and just Buttals and Boundary's as possibly he can to be transmitted to the Company.

John Walls lived some years on the Island before it was taken by the Dutch in 1672 and after it was retaken by Sir Richard Munden returned back again and repossessed the 20 acres of land he formerly lived upon.

Swine running loose upp and downe Chappel valley besides them coming into and annoying the Fort and frequently going upon the Batterys doe alsoe root up along the Water Course that runs to the Spouts where the shipp take in their fresh water—ordered that the Inhabitants upon alarm

of any shipp coming in doe drive their swine upp into the valley and keep them at some good distance from the burying place above the spring house under a penalty of half a dollar.

3rd Nov. 1679.—John Boston complains that Sattoe his Black did attempt to kill him, and wounded him with a knife in his right arm and legge. Sattoe being examined confesseth that upon his said master beating him and threatening to do it a second time he took his knife and wounded him in the arm and legge. That he received the knife from Rowland Mr. Swallows Black about ten days before who said when your master beat or strike you then doe you beat him again and kill with this knife. Further that Rowland did about three weeks since proffer him some Red and White Poison in two papers which he said came from Bantum and that he should give some of it to his Mr. and Mistresse when they did next beat him. Alsoe he saith that he had a pipe of Tobacco from Rowland the same day he wounded his Mr. which afterwards he found it very hot in his head and belly and thincks it did the more enrage him against his master.

Ordered that Sattoe be hanged—that the hand with which he wounded his master bee first cut off. His head to be severed from his body and placed upon the top of the Market house.

That Rowland be imprisoned and be brought to the place of Execution with a rope about his neck—and then have forty stripes save one on his naked body and have an Iron pair of Pot hooks rivetted about his neck.

6th Nov, 1679.—John Boston said he had not any thing to say on his Blacks behalf believing that he deserved death but if he were executed it would be unto his the masters undoing in regard of his own weakness and want of help to manage his Plantation. Ordered thereupon that Sattoe's life be spared and that his right hand with which he wounded his master be cut off in the presence of all the Blacks on the said Island. Further that the sentence on Rowland be inflicted on him.

In regard that the sentence on Sattoe was inflicted not only as a punishment but in terrorem to all the Blacks of the Island to deter them from offering any violence it is recommended unto all the Inhabitants more especially to those that have black servants to contribute to the said John Boston their neighbour considering that what his Black by the instigation of the devil attempt to doe the like unto them and theirs.

Thomas Green killed in April last while fishing on the Windward Rocks by the falling of a stone judged to be accidental which broke his leg all in pieces and caused his death in a few hours. But of late there having bin some further discovery as if it were not altogether accidental,—Ordered that a Coroner and Jury examine the matter.

After the Coroner and Jury had spent the whole day in examination of witnesses and in taking up the body of the said Green viewing it *and causing several persons to touch the same* they brought in a verdict of manslaughter against Richard Alexander, John Waller and John Turner.

The Company our masters have several asses on this their island some of which may be useful to those inhabitants that stand in need of them, ordered that Henry Coales having a family of seven children and being settled in Pleasant Valley towards the Windward part of the Island at as great a distance from the Fort as any other shall have one of the asses delivered into his custody.

William Melling soldier for many uncivil actions towards Mary Wrangham the daughter of the wife of Henry Francis which with some other children he had in charge as School Master ordered that next day when all the soldiers were to be in armes at the head of them upon his knees he aske the said Mrs. Francis and her daughter Mary Wrangham forgiveness—and not to be permitted to keep any school for one twelve months.

22nd Dec. 1679.—Many contentious persons on frivolous occasions trouble one another by complaining of words spoken some months or years before—all such complaints must in future be made on the following Council day. Such frivolous complaints have occasioned the Governor and Council to spend much pretious time to compose their impertinent brablings and squabblings.

The number of Blacks increasing and they wander abroad from their masters houses especially on the Lord's day sometimes with armes or at least with staves giving occasion of suspition especially considering that not long since one Black who was reputed to be one of the soberest and civillest among them presumptuously wounded his master. Ordered that no Black presume to absent himself from his masters house without leave under some special token fitt to evidence to any that question them, and not to be given on the Lords day nor in any night unless for matters of very great importance. Noe Black to be found abroad or to come to any inhabitants house with armes. This last clause not to extend unto Black Oliver whom the Company our masters

thought fit to allow the privilege of a free planter, nor yett to extend unto the Company's Blacks when they are by order going to and fro to kill cattle for the Company's use.

It hath been lately found out by sad experience that some persons have come to a sudden untimely end by the fall of Rocks from off the hills many of which are very high and steep—divers persons have carelessly or for sport tumbled down several rocks endangering the lives of persons or cattle—ordered—that no person presume to do so under a penalty of two dollars unless it be in the time of any invasion or sedition. This forfeiture not to extend to passengers and mariners unless it be proved that they had sufficient notice of the prohibition.

Jan. 26th, 1680.—The Inhabitants of the Eastern Division petition to build a place of worship and school being at soe great a distance from the Church.

March 20 Coroners Inquest on William Denning—verdict Dyed a natural death he having been long under a natural distemper of the flux and his body worn to a perfect anathomy.

William Melling soldier for incivility to Mrs Orlando Bagley and saying "there were noe spirits and none need fear to die"—to ride the wooden horse two hours with a bag of shot at each heale.

Two freemen having sold their land in order to return to England are allowed to goe but none in future who have received land or cattle from the Company are to sell until they know whether they will be allowed to leave.

10th May.—20 acres of land granted as an allotment to William Young in the valley below Plantation called Rope Valley or Plantation Valley—i.e. now called Young's Valley.

Gambling prevalent—some have lost above a years pay all gambling debts cancelled—no playing allowed at Bowles—nine holes—nine pins, &c. for more than one days pay.

Sept. 27th.—Women not allowed to goe on board shipp without special lycence from the Governor and then only in the day time in company with their husbands.

Nicholas Matthews a Lieflander by nation imprisoned and to be sent off the Island for saying that for 1000 guilders he would conduct the French Admiral and shew him a place he had found where he might unseen land what men he would—and that the English were as bad as Turks.

Feb 12th, 1681.—Mr. Greentree and Mr. Colson suspended from Council. The Governor and Council taking into serious consideration a meeting y^t was held in the open fields

on 6th Jany last by about 50 or 60 inhabitants without leave lycence or approbation of the Governor and Council or without any solemn notice given by them of their intentions where were several things agitated and discoursed of dangerous consequence tending to division and making of parties and factions, particularly some of them did enter into a combination and engagement in writing and others were perswaded or threatened to sett their hands thereunto wherein Mr. John Greentree and Mr. John Colson two of y^e Council were observed to be by their example and practises most active. Ordered—that they be henceforth suspended.

Precautions taken to prevent any number of Inhabitants from coming into the fort particularly during Council sittings. Guards to be doubled and gates shut on such occasion.

“*Bridgewater* ship with slaves arrived from Island St. Lawrence beyond the Cape—much sickness on board—all trade forbidden with her but considering distressed condition of these our countrymen allowed to stay four days.”

The Company having sent two boats ordered that the old Pinnace be exposed to sale *by an inch of candle* on Tuesday next.

March 3rd.—The free planters claim payment for their work at the Fortifications. The Company having ordered that those who receive land and cattle should assist at their suit and service in such works as were for the defence of themselves and families their demands were judged to be unreasonable. But the inhabitants consenting to submit to the final decision of the Governor the claims of 66 planters amounting to £264 are examined and allowed at £81.

April 25th.—The ship *Roebuck* an Interloper in great distress for supplies—notwithstanding the Company's resolutions against all trade with Interlopers provisions were allowed—“Wee were induced to these conditions because they were Christians and our fellow subjects who by the laws of God and man are to be relieved in a time of such great exigency—and because most of the inhabitants discovered high discontent tending even to sedition and mutiny upon some doubt that they should not have liberty to stay and buy provisions.”

16th Jany, 1682.—A stone wall lately built to enclose a large garden near the Fort for the Hon. Company. [The origin of the present Castle Garden.]

13th March.—Scudder a Quaker left sick out of the ship

Cesar in 1680 and said to have some skill in the Mathematics, the art of Navigation, and other sciences and allowed the privileges of a free planter because he may teach and instruct the youth of the Island in those things is now deprived of his land and ordered to leave the island for uncivil words and actions to the Governor and saying he was commanded to do those things.

8th May.—Sundry families settled in Sandy Bay and other windward vallies at a great distance from the Alarm Guns—ordered the Guns to be removed to "*Harley's Mount*" and to be fired by any person discerning a ship.

[*Notes.*—Dr. Halley made his astronomical observations on this mount in 1767. From the above orthography we may suppose that his name as pronounced by his cotemporaries did not then rhyme to sally as it does according to modern pronunciation.]

August 28.—Several Sea Cows having been caught and appropriated by the inhabitants. Ordered that in future $\frac{1}{2}$ be rendered to Government to preserve the royalty.

Sept. 25.—Gates having called Mrs. Powell a witch on the ground that he has never thriven since he took his little daughter home from her he is ordered to ask Mrs. Powells pardon publicly in Church. Mr. Orlando Bagley appointed 5th in Council.

Dec. 18, 1682.—Sutton a soldier complains of Exeter a soldier that he had promised to lend Exeter *a silk suit of clothes to go unto a burial*—but that Exeter came unknown to Sutton took them out of his chest and brought them back torn and dirty—to pay 45/.

Aug. 27, 1683.—Joseph Trapp granted land on the East side of Lemon Valley—[or "Trapp Cot"].

Sept. 24.—The boat lost by High winds—the soldiers in her were driven out to sea many leagues for three days but were saved very wonderfully and strangely by a planters boat hastily repaired and trimmed up.

Oct. 15.—The Company having ordered the erecting of a Court of Judicature the Market place now disused near Fort James to be fitted up and called the Sessions House. Mr. John Sich appointed the first Sheriff.

Edmund Chubb killed accidentally by falling from the Ledge of Rocks neare Ruperts or Saine Valley [hence "*Chubb's Rock.*"]

8th Jany. 1684.—Ship *Charles 2nd* arrived bringing 51 officers and soldiers, among the passengers were Matthew Bazett, French & Worrall, the late Governor Gregory Field returned as an Ensign.

Jany. 28.—Elizabeth Starling assaulted and abused the

Captain of the *Charles 2nd* and her husband threatened to beat him and to *make the Sun shine through him*. Elizabeth to have 15 lashes on her naked body and to be ducked three times.

Punishment of two runaway apprentices Rowland and Eastings who had killed a sow and broken into a house and taken a fowling piece—ordered to have the tip of the right ear cut off and forehead branded with R—a pair of pot-hooks to be rivetted about their necks and to be flogged several times viz. 21 lashes on Friday 21 on Monday and on Thursday 6 in town—6 on the top of the hill 6 at half way tree 6 on the hill beyond and 6 more on arriving at home.

July 14.—Gabriel Powell for trading with an Interloper sending off two cows at Friars Valley and attempting to send two more at Breakneck Valley but was prevented by the arrival of a party of soldiers also receiving a black woman slave—fined £15 and cows seized. Gurling fined £10. The Interloper obliged to get water by stealth at Friars Valley by digging holes on the beach.

July 29.—Corporal Bowyer for marrying Mr. Simms widow imprisoned, reduced to private, and *Mrs. Simms property 10 acres and 8 cattle seized*. The offence being that he disobeyed the Governors order in his hasty proceeding to marry before the circumstances could be considered in Council.

Aug. 5.—Mr. Sault the minister immediately after dinner propounded something to the Gov. relating to a small parcel of land disliking the answer in some disgust and disturbance of mind he threw upon the table a paper folded up and departed. The paper complains of his discouragements, particularly the Governors resentment of Mr. Bowyers marriage which I will prove was strictly according to the canon law of the Church of England. The Govr. and his man both of them striking me (who am a priest in holy orders) on board Capt. Lane's ship because I told the Govr. I laughed to hear him say I was his domestic chaplain whereas we both serve the same Hon'ble Masters.

Aug. 15.—Mr. Sault in council is desired to show a copy of the paper he was handing about the Country for signature which he promised to do—but Captain Holden beginning to speak something about keeping peace Mr. Sault interrupted him saying "Now *you* are beginning to bubble out your law"—and the Govr beginning to speak Mr. Sault interrupted him saying "The King and Council would laugh heartily to see him baited by these fellows" then turning his back clapt on his hat and in a scornful manner went away.

Letter from Court of Directors 1st. August, 1683.—Upon perusal of your Consultation Book and observation of the trivial causes that doe fall under your decision and the fewness of the inhabitants yet, we think such a formal proceeding as we have prescribed by our system of law would rather be a burden than a benefit to our Island at present. Therefore you may proceed to determine cases in that method you have already begun and with which your inhabitants are not only acquainted but very well satisfied.

That system we sent you was for the most part drawne from the model of laws we establisht upon our Island of Bombay where the number of the inhabitants are 20,000 but upon recollection finding your whole number of men women servants and children not to exceed 500 we think for the present the method you are in may be the best except in case of taking away of life limbs or land.

Wee find by y^e list of gunns fired sent us by Capt. Beale 300 and odd guns which is soe strange a waste that wee could not have thought our Governor would have him guilty of especially considering that Island hath cost us £40,000 without one penny profit hitherto more than refreshment to our shipping which all strangers have as well as ourselves. But most impudent it was to salute Interlopers, and as vile for our minister Mr. Church (if our information be true) to be first aboard the Interloper Pitt that came in last voyage and to entertayne him at his house.

For answering salutes we doe enjoyne for the future never above the number of 3 guns be fired to any of our own ships at arrival, nor any guns fired at feasts or going aboard of Commanders nor over the number of 7 to any French, Dutch, &c., nor any at all upon any occasion to Interlopers.

The Planters now keep watch every 6th night i.e. two months in the year, or pay for a substitute 40/. Therefore we will levy 40/ a year on their 20 acres of land and they may be relieved from watch duty.

More soldiers will be sent in consequence and no officer or soldiers are to be owners of land during their service. No more land to be alienated but it may be let on lease for 60 years.

Wee have formerly prohibited free planters from bringing any negroes upon this reason viz. least the number of negroes upon the Island exceeding the whites should become formidable and dangerous to the Inhabitants and the security of the Island. But upon further thinking of this matter, considering likewise that there are in Barbadoes usually 50,000 blacks for 600 whites and yett are kept in subjection

without other garrison than the planters themselves, and considering that the soil and climate of the Island is fit for production of commodities of a richer nature than cattle or potatoes, yams, plantains, &c., and being willing that our inhabitants and free planters should not only live but grow rich as we know they will if they may have hands to cultivate their plantations as they have in Barbadoes, Jamacoe and other worse places wee have thought fitt to take off that restraint.

We heard very scandalous reports of loose women going on board our ships—for the future suffer none to board upon any pretence without a lycence in writing.

Be very severe against Robbers and Pilferers and besides the punishment appointed force the offenders for a third offence to wear about his neck an iron collar constantly for one whole year, or an iron lock about his right leg.

Election of Parish officers to be made only by the vote of the Freeholders or only such as are Free planters settled in their possessions and inheritances and their successors whom we shall always esteem and honor as y^e first occupants and gentlemen freeholders of that Island, for such we hope their heyres will prove to be and to have estates sufficient to maintain the dignity of that title and defend their country on horseback.

Every person, Planters, Servants, or negroes, to give one days labour in every year to highways.

In the contriving of the Market place and the building for increasing of the Fort Towne we would have you use all possible regard to y^e uniformity and regularity of the streets and buildings after the manner they use now in London since y^e Fire—and if there be any irregular buildings that obstruct the evenness of the line of the street cause the owners of such buildings to pull them down or alter them as y^e shall judge. The charge thereof cannot be much since we understand most of them are built but 12 or 14 feet high with loose stones piled one upon another

Lands are to be fenced in three years or forfeited. No cattle to stray on the Commons except such as are first marked with the Company's Pitch Brand and to pay the Company 12d. for each annually. Not that we intend to allow of any common hereafter when the Island is fully improved, which are but nurseries for thieves and beggars, though we borrow the method from a custom used upon commons here.

We find by Mr. Church's proceedings he is an encroaching avaricious person and therefore we would have no al-

lowance of provision made him hereafter since he has become so great planter upon 30 acres of our land, more than his beare salary and gratuity and diet att the Governors table when he is there attending to say grace and do his duty as a Domestic Chaplain, and if it be true as we are informed that he did refuse to marry Mr. Smoult's daughter upon the lycence of the Governor it is as great a signe of his weakness as of his pride, for if he understands our constitution he must know that no laws are of force in y^e island till they are laws made by us.

We send you herewith Mr. Robert Holden to be Depy Governor and 2nd of Council and Mr. Gregory Field to be Ensign and 3rd of Council.

In regard this ship comes with a Commission from His Majesty to take all interlopers and y^e commander is such as will be sure to doe what is enjoined him by his Superiors you will do well to sett upon producing so many yams, &c. as you can because if any Madagascar ships fall in while these ships are about the Island the Blacks will be sold upon the Island one halfe for the King and the other halfe for the Company.

We think the Great Wood is the fittest place to be first enclosed for the Company's use. This work will be proper for our negroes but unless Sr Thomas Grantham shall take some Madagascar ships coming to your Island while he is there we cannot suppose you will have any great supply of them before May or June. We would have you fence in the full extent of the Great Wood which we understand is near two miles square.

We understand you use not oxen to carry burdens as indeed we doe not in England, but however with you and in all mountainous countries it is very profitable so to do.

We are greatly offended at your telling us the Planters will not duly register their lands, which we know well enough, nor will they doe anything else orderly if they may have their own wills. But what doe we maintain a Government for but to compel them to do what is fit and reasonable. Do you fine constantly the refractory and levy your fine until they are reduced to better order.

We have received a good letter from Lient. Johnson and do not remove him from any dislike but only to make a pollitical change of our Council for we must tell you we cannot think it possible you should have admitted any Interlopers upon any pretence of necessity countrymanship or the like if the major part of our Council had not been Planters.

We have perused your Council Books &c. which are so well methodized that they do justly merit commendations and we have no fault to find with the judgements you have given in cases of controversy scandal or misdemeanor. Wee think you are not severe enough by much in the cases of contemptuous words to y^e Governor—Such insolencies has a tendency to contempt of authority and might therefore be punished severely both in person and in purse.

Court of Directors letter 25th April 1684—We hope you have begun with preparing a proper piece of ground for a large Sugar Plantation which as soon as we hear from you we shall further by sending Copper Stills.

For the clothing of our negroes we intend to allow them nothing but clouts which you may make either of coarse calico, saile cloth or reather of strong holland or Dutch canvas.

Having resolved upon a sugar work ourselves we doe absolutely forbid any other sugar work or still to be used resolving to make Sugar Rum and Molasses the Company's owne commodities.

We understand by Capt. Bass that salt is very plentiful about the Island made by the heat of the Sun congealing the salt water upon or in the holes of the Rocks which has put us upon an apprehension that persons of judgment might contrive by letting the salt water into some valley or raising it by some pumps or engines out of the sea and letting it run into convenient places prepared for that purpose on the land where the salt water might lye a great breadth and not above one foot or ten inches thick you might with little labor produce many 1000 tuns there—these kind of cheap salt works have much enriched the French and Portuguese nations the best whereof are about Rochell in France and St. Uvals in Portugal. Capt. Bass thinks Rupert's Valley may be the best place for this purpose on each side the gulley that conveys the Run water from the mountains to the sea. The gulley must be kept open for the purpose least in a time of great rains that gulley should overflow into your salt pans. The salt is to be laid in heaps 50 or 60 bushels in a heap upon the firm land to lay 2 or 3 days. After that bring all these small heaps into one great one as big as a large house and as high as you can possibly make it—the bigness of the heap contributing very much to the security of the salt in all weathers, soe that if you can make a mountain of 500 or 1000 Tunns with the form of a Hay-stack it will in time crust over with so hard a crust as will secure it against all violent rains and weather and the longer

the salt lies in such vast heaps the firmer whiter and better it will be.

We have also thought of another way of improvement of our Island and that is the taking salting and drying of fish in boats round the Island as well as from the Rocks. The manner of proceeding in this is that our planters should buy of you the Yawles &c. that they make use of, and that for all the fish well saved and dried that they bring unto you you should give them 4s. per cwt. The fishing yawles must not use grapplings for anchors but kell-locks which is a great stone fastened to four claws of wood because the grappling may chance to break in hanging upon the Rocks. All the heads guts and offill of your fish must be throwne into the sea which will cause the fish the more to haunt the Island. The fish must have their heads and tails cut off and dried upon the Rocks and if it lies out a night the skinny side must in the night lye upwards especially Bonetos and Able-coares. If the planters should take any store of mackerel that will not be fitt for drying but must be barreled up in tight casks as it is done in New England.

The greatest deffect as we know of in the Island is the want of grain. We are at length in hopes that you may produce very good Rice upon your high lands. Captain Knox that lived 20 years in Seylone informed us that there is a peculiar sort of Rice that groweth best on high and dry land, the seed and cultivation of which he knoweth very well. He and one Ralph Knight that is on board his ship having wrought many years upon it with his own hands in Seylone. We wish he could stay 12 months that he might show you the manner of Innng as well as sowing. The Planters upon the Island are soe loose and neglect a people that you are not to depend upon them for making of this or any new experiment but begin every thing that is new upon the Company's ground and with the Company's own negroes.

Cherish and encrease your Cocoa Nutt Trees all that possible you can they being of much more use than you doe at present apprehend.

We are told your Pamplemuss Trees and some other plants are much subject to blast—supply that deffect by raising the walls about the Company's garden in Chappell Valley to 11 or 12 feet high.

We shall send you a system of the laws and customs of Barbadoes—remember its absolutely necessary you should hold our negroes to the rigour of the Barbadoes discipline without which your owne lives nor our Island can be safe.

You must be careful and diligent in destroying Rats for which purpose we shall send 20lb of impalpable powdered glass.

We are absolutely resolved to keep all the remainder of the land in our own hands and to try whether we cannot improve it better in 3 or 4 years than those leasy Planters have done in 20 years.

Captain Knox is of opinion that Iron Stones abound much in that Island and if it prove soe we have a treasure there which was not thought of before. In the country where he was Captive every poor man tho not worth 20/ made his owne iron for the use of his family, the manner whereof he will show you.

We have discoursed with one Bagley that hath a plantation upon that Island who tells us in some contrary to Mr. Smoult and others that noe West India commodities will grow well at St. Helena—and that your clay will not bind except mixt with lyme, but we do not absolutely depend upon his judgment. He seems to be a man of an unsettled mind that hath begun in many sudden countries to plant but never stayed long in any.

The most material thing we could gather from his information was that hay seed and other grass seeds might thrive exceeding well. We shall send you some grass seeds.

Barricade all your Valleys and Gulleys to leeward with strong stone walls—by such barricades you will at worst have time to be in armes upon the Hills before an enemy can steal up thither in the same manner by which that Island hath been twice surprized.

Upon further consideration of the great advantage that may accrue to us if there prove to be a harbor at the Island Tristan de'Acunha we think fit upon Capt. Knox arrival from Madagascar in case you find encouragement by the acct you shall have from Capt. Knox you doe put on board Capt. Knox* some intelligent person by the name of Governor at the salary of £30 per ann: 5 soldiers at 14/ per month besides their dyett—3 or 4 of the Company's oldest negroes that speak English with their wives &c. and what animals, plants or seeds Capt. Knox can conveniently carry all which wee would have him land in his pasaage for India.

We send two setts of figures engraved in iron from No. 1 to No. 10 to stamp the Barrs of Copper which are in 30

* NOTE.—*After Capt. Knox's arrival at St. Helena his ship, the "Tonquin Merchant," was run away with by his officers and crew on 8th June, 1684, whilst Capt. Knox and his carpenter were on shore.*

Chests laden in the "Society" that the wt of every barr may be known. This we would have sold at one penny per oz. and may serve instead of money to go current on the Island.

26th Nov. 1684.—In regard you write that your planters are after old wont inclinable to be mutinous we have sent you an order enclosed to all commanders of our ships to assist our Gov^r, and if required that they shall stay in St. Helena road soe long as necessary not exceeding one month for every one ship.

23rd Dec. 1684.—From the Governor and Council at the Hughley. We cannot procure any slaves. Here is no such thing. There is but one way to have them viz—to take them by force off some parts on the sea coast and that we dare not attempt. We are here in great trouble—a present stope upon all our business.

Consultation 13th Oct. 1684.—On Wensday last the 8th inst. Allen Dennison soldj^r did openly and publicly declare to ourselves and all the officers and soldj^rs in armes present at a mustar that Robt. Holden deputy Governor should say about five weeks since at the Company's store house these following words viz—Wee are not His Majesty's subjects but the Company's—which words we could not but take special notice of and the person that now made this declaration whom we have often found to be an insolent turbulent and disorderly fellow—for this present he was only severely checked for his presumptuous words with all charged to appeare this day to answer this scandalous action. Captain Holden was acquainted with what had passed who wondered greatly at this villanes notorious wickedness which he declared must arise upon the following occasion. Some days before whilst Captain Holden was very busy in stamping the Japan Copper Bars to prepare them for the approaching pay day the said Dennison came and demanded a pound of tobacco which Captain Holden refused at that time to deliver. But this fellow at last fell into reflecting and reviling language against the Honble Company and abusive speeches of Captain Holden concluding he would be payd in money and in what goods he desired yea and at what tyme he wanted them. Captain Holden severely checked him for his abusive language and reflection on the Company whose soldj^r he was and to whose power he ought to be subject as being y^e kings derived to the said Company as their power and authority on this Island was y^e kings or words to the same sence.

This is the sum of the said Captain Holdens reply to this

wretch his unjust scandall and he did thereupon desire to be excused from sitting in Council whilst the said audacious villaine should be present as not being well able to beare the sight of him—considering the several circumstances of their scandall particularly his concealing the said words about five weeks and then chusing such a season to utter them amongst all the soldjrs when in their armes we have reason to doubt that he had some secrett design to incense the soldjrs and to stir them up to some mutinous motion for want of ready money to pay them, he being chiefly employed in delivering them goods for their pay or else we fear he was influenced and sett on by some of the most active discontented Islanders he having named one of them to be wittness for him—ordered that Dennison be immediately committed to prison, that he have irons putt upon him and kept until the next returning ship doe arrive at this Island.

No further entry on this subject until 3rd Nov 1684, when several soldjrs are said to be in Prison for their late mutiny and rebellion on Saturday 21st Oct. 1684—attempting by force and armes to break into Fort James. Upon serious consideration of the late Insurrection and mutiny by the combination of a great party of free planters and several soldjrs attempting in a horrible manner to enter take and possess Fort James by force, and to change the government and although beaten off and foyled in their attempt not knowing what further design their heads and leaders may have either privately by treachery, or openly by hostility, it is ordered that 60 of the planters who are named should deliver up the fyre armes delivered to them out of the Company's magazine—and that notwithstanding the order that Dennison should be sent off in the first ship, considering now the sad and fatal effects of his calumny and slander that on the 21st day of October an attempt was made by several soldjrs and freemen conjoined who demanded the release of the said Dennison and imprisonment of Captain Holden ordered that Dennison be deteyned now in Prison with others his confederates until tryed according to law.

17th Nov—Ordered that as soon as any returning English ship shall come into this road an officer be sent on board to acquaint the Commander of the late insurrection that he be desyred not to send any of his ships company on shoar until he shall think fitt to come himself and that all who come with him shall attend him into the Fort and not goe up into the Town or amongst the Freemen without leave. That if he doe receive any papers letters or any kind of manuscripts

from the inhabitants to be sent for England he doe show them all to the Governor and Council.

23rd Dec.—The good ship *Royal James* being now in the road Capt. James Marriner in command he was acquainted with the late mutiny and desired to be aiding with some of his officers in the trial of them, whereunto he showed great readinesse, accordingly six of them with six officers of the Garrison were chosen who were empanneld a jury, Capt. Marriner was appointed Foreman.

William Bowyer, Joseph Clark, Joseph Orseman and Robert Moore late soldiers now prisoners were arraigned for Mutiny and Rebellion.

Bowyer, Clark and Orseman would not plead nor make any other answer but that they appealed to the Kings Bench Barr in England—but Moore pleaded not guilty and put himself upon God, his country and the jury.

Witnesses—William Roe free planter—on Tuesday 21st Oct saw Wm Bowyer to advance from John Colson's house towards Fort James with a musket on his shoulder and a sword by his side at the head of several soldiers in arms about 20 and many freemen in rear about 20 or 30. Bowyer led them to the Sessions house (called the old Market) near to Fort James and turned to the upper mount where the Governor stood and spake to him but witness was not within hearing.

William Wells gunner saw Bowyer at the head of a party of soldjs and planters above 60 persons with a flagg like the Kings Jack carried by one Richard Hancock that run away out of Sir Thomas Grantham's shipp. Clark and Orseman on either hand of him with a drawn sword in hand. Bowyer led them to the sally port of Fort James.

Spencer and Hunt give similar evidence and that Bowyer struck beat and bouncet att the Sally port with his musket to beat it open. Hunt sayth that being commanded by the Governor to goe with a party to the said Bowyers house he found Clarke and several others with their armes in the said house and knocking to gett entrance one cryed "to your arms to your arms," on which he fyred in upon them and took them prisoners.

Spencer saith—he saw them march to Fort James with the counterfeit Jack and after the Governor had commanded them all to stand and the soldjs to come into the fort, Moor sayd if you will not deliver Capt. Holden the Traitor wee will have you too as a Traitor and you are all Traitors.

The Jury withdrew and after 2 hours tyme brought in a verdict of guilty.

Friday 2nd Jany. 1685.—The prisoners were brought up to receive sentence. Bowyer and Clark stood to their appeal, Orseman and Moore begged the mercy of the Court. All of them sentenced to death by hanging.

5th Jany.—The Governor's wife by a long and tedious sickness is brought to death's door and in all likelihood to expyre this day whereon some of the late condemned persons are to have the sentence of death inflicted on them—for this and some other weighty reasons ordered the execution be stopped until further orders.

15th Jany.—Orseman and Moore also Dennison the first instigator to the rebellion ordered to be banished to Barbadoes in the ship *John and Mary* now in the roads never to come on the Island again on pain of death.

Four other soldiers prisoners ordered to be brought to trial on Monday next.

19th Jany.—The four prisoners tried found guilty and begged for mercy sentenced to death but decided to banish them to Barbadoes.

25th Jany.—Warrant issued for execution of Bowyer and Clarke upon the upper mount in James Fort.

Notes.—In these proceedings and evidences no statement is given of what followed when the soldiers pushed against the sally port of Fort James. They were fired upon with both "great and small shot," which killed three and wounded fourteen. One of the killed was Black Oliver, who guided Sir Richard Munden's party up the rocks at Prosperous Bay at the re-capture of the Island and was made a free planter in consequence. The party then retreated and some soldiers went with Bowyer to his house at Broad Bottom. On the apprehension of the prisoners at Bowyer's house on the night of the 21st Oct. one more was killed and one wounded by firing in through the windows on the party showing resistance. No measures whatever were taken or threatened against the few planters who marched unarmed in the rear of the soldiers further than depriving them of the muskets entrusted to them for militia use, and on 9th Feby. Matthew Pouncey, one of them, was fined, imprisoned and punished with 21 lashes for abusing D. Barker as a gallows building rogue and for saying there was no justice to be had in the Island, and that there was no Council, for he did not own Capt. Holden nor Capt. Field. And on the same day Martha Bolton, the wife of another of the planters, was ordered to have 21 lashes, be imprisoned and be ducked three times at the crane for saying the rebels were murdered—that Captain Holden was a traitorous knave and that if ever she and her husband went to England they would goe to the King about it, for the men were plainly murdered.

There does not appear to have been any intention to take further measures, but it will be seen in a future extract that acting

apparently upon the first hasty report, a commission was obtained by the Company from King James to make war upon the mutineers if they were in arms, to reduce them by force and to inflict sentences of death upon twelve planters who were excepted by name from pardon.

Letter from Court of Directors May 6, 1685—We have received yours 17 Jan. and 7 Dec. both giving us an account of the traitorous rebellion of the planters and some of our soldiers which by our former letter you might perceive we had long since a foresight of that people, as all other that hath bin pardoned for one Rebellion being naturally apt to fall into another. Execution of justice upon notorious offenders being the only known way to keep any people in peace and subjection to good laws—your care and fidelity in defending the fort merits our just commendation but we doe not like your pardoning of those two rebellious soldiers which were condemned by so just and indifferent a Jury, and now since we have his Majesty's Commission to govern our Plantations by Martial Law which is absolutely necessary in such remote places, we would have you proceed according to such his late Majesty's Commission in his new charter of 9th August 1683 and also according to his now Majesty's Commission which we send you.

Upon y^e Charter and Commission aforesaid you may observe there is no appeal to His Majesty neither have you power to pardon any person excepted by his Maj: the speedy execution of justice upon such notorious offenders is the only means to preserve that Island without help of foreign histories, for if the greatest indulgencies that ever was afforded to any men upon earth would have prevailed upon those planters to live quietly upon lands given them by ourselves they had never rebelled three times which they did before the last insolvency.

What pretences these rebellious people make for their impieties and how little effect their suggestions have had either upon His Majesty or upon us, we send you with these all the petitions papers etc., they have sent to His Majesty or to us and you will see that in the paper of their pretended grievances we have made some animadversions in the margin which you may make use of for your own information but these people have for 20 years together appeared of such rebellious wicked ungrateful practises and principles that we would have you not to abase yourselves or His Majesty's Govt which you represent by expostulating soe much and soe often as you have done with such unreasonable men.

We observe y^t you say Capt. Beale's house as bin y^e rendezvous for contriving much of the trouble that hath lately befallen you and therefore though we have bin prevailed wish not to name him or his son as persons to be excepted out of H. M. gracious pardon yett we think it necessary you should bring him and his son to a fare tryal in the manner you try the rest of the rebels—but if he or his son shall be found guilty we would have you not execute either of y^m butt keep them in prison until H. M. pleasure be known concerning their lives.

Mr. Sault is now in prison (as wee hear) for debt you need not have suspected y^t such a man as he could have any influence upon us to y^r prejudice.

Since there hath bin four rebellions in y^e island His Majesty may justly blame our conduct and we yours if there should be a 5th and indeed we must take shame to ourselves that there hath byn so many already. All we can say for ourselves it was too much lenity and compation, but we find too late the verity of the old proverb too much pity spoyles a city.

Amongst the writings we requested from His Maj— for the reducing of Bombay we judged it necessary to have one summoning the rebels to submit upon promise of pardon to all but the excepted but it will be wholly useless in case our Gov^r be in possession of our Fort.

Copy of the Kings commission for trying of Rebels dated y^e 14 of April 1685.

James, Rex.

James the second &c. &c. to our Trusty and well beloved John Blackmore &c. [the Council and Sir John Wyborne], greeting. Whereas we have byn credibly informed y^t there has byn formerly a Treasonable Rebellion and insurrection made in our Island of St. Helena and a violent assault made upon our Fort and Castle there commonly called Fort James contrived perpetrated and executed by Adam Denison, John Sich, John Colston, Thomas Bolton, Matthew Pouncey, John Luffkin, Job Jewster, William Rutter, Edward Gardner, Robert Seames and William Cox wth several other the inhabitants and sold^rs on the said Island and that some of the persons beforementioned and others their sociates in the late rebellion hath byn formerly aiding abetting or active in other rebellions upon the said Island for which they did not suffer condign punishment as they ought to have done for such their heinous offences and whereas our East India Company have humbly besought as that by our Royal Command some just punishment might be inflicted on the most

notorious of the Rebels at St. Helena for to the intent the Island may be produced into a state of obedience and all persons may be deterred from the like attempt for the future. We therefore hereby give and grant unto the said John Blackmore (&c.) or to any three of you full power and authority to arraign judge and sentence by Martial Law all persons upon our Island of St. Helena that shall by due proof be found to have byn acting aiding abetting or assisting in the late treasonable rebellion there and to cause such of y^m to be executed as are excepted out of our general pardon hereafter mentioned, but for as much as many well meaning and otherwise loyall persons may have byn seduced and drawn into y^e said rebellion by the especious pretences of Ringleaders hereafter mentioned we doe therefore of our wonted grace and tenderness of the lives of such innocent and deluded persons hereby [this part is illegible] that have been deluded and drawn into the said treasonable rebellion except Adam Dennison one of the first incendiarys, John Sich that was designed to be made Governor by the said Rebels John Coleson designed deputy Governor Thomas Bolton designed Storekeeper, Matthew Pouncey formerly accused of felony, John Luffkins, Job Jewster, William Rutter, Edward Gardner, att whose house the rebellion was contrived and Robert Symes a fifth monarchy man engaged in Venners rebellion and William Cox who as we are informed formerly betrayed that Island to the Dutch and Anthony Beale

* * * *

In witness whereof we have signed these presents and cause our great Seale of England to be fixed to the same. Given at our Court in Whitehall y^e 14 day of April 1685 in the fifth year of our Reign.

Note.—On the arrival of Sir John Wyborne this commission was put in effect and fourteen of the planters were condemned at the court-martial which sat 20th Nov. 1685—five of them were forthwith executed and nine reprieved pending further orders.

There is no record of the proceedings of the court-martial, but the evidence taken in the first instance goes far to prove what the Planters themselves alleged in their petition to the House of Commons, that in going to Fort James their object was to desire the Governor to call Holden to account, not to make any attempt to capture the Castle, seeing that the planters were all unarmed, and so were the soldiers, except three or four who carried their muskets. Anderson in his *History of Commerce* says:—"That the House of Commons passed a resolution declaring the Company to have acted in an arbitrary and illegal

manner, which raised a considerable degree of popular clamour against them."

As the Island had been more than a year without a clergyman some persons were glad to take advantage of the services of one, the Rev. Mr. Buttler, who was on board the ship *London* to bring up the arrears of marriages. On 2nd Dec. Mr. Buttler was complained of for having married one couple at 9 o'clock at night. He was ordered "to give under his hand a catalogue of all the Christennings, Burialls and Mariages by him officiated on the Island since the coming of the said shipp to-morrow morning by nine of the Clock and when so done yt ye said Mr. Buttler shall be presently carried on board of ye said shipp and there remain without coming on shore any more at this place."

M. Butler then presented a petition highly reflecting on Sir John Wyborne, specially saying yt Sr John Wyborne had threatened his life by saying yt when he came past the Cape of Bona esperanza where he should then be admiral he would try by a court martiall and dead men tell no tales.

But not proving this he was ordered to beg Sir. John Wyborne's pardon immediately before the Council and publicly to do the same before the whole company on board the ship *London*.

Jan. 1, 1686.—Starling and others rewarded for the late capture of Richard Hancock that had lived in ye woods 22 months and was a principal agent in the late Rebellion.

Notes.—Nothing further is said of his fate, but he was probably hung like the other planters who had been sentenced by Court-martial. His hiding place still retains the name of Hancock's Hole and is in Stonetop Valley.

Feb. 8.—Anne Bowyer [whose husband was one of those executed for rebellion] complains of Perkis forbidding her banns of matrimony with Harding. Perkis in answer says she made herself sure to him by promising to marry him as soon as any other, but there was no solemn promise. Adjudged that ye Widow Bowyer is not sure to ye said Perkis but yt she may proceed to marry Richard Harding.

June 21.—Frank a black man of Gurling in custody for murder and burglary—breaking into Tuesdales house and killing Armingo a slave who had seized him—also dashing a white boy Jonathan Young on the ground leaving him for dead. "The way and manner of bringing him to condign punishment occasioned some debate as being unwilling to allow him the privilege of an English subject who are by our instructions to be tried by Juries." Resolved that all Blacks guilty of such crimes shall be tried by the Governor and Council without any other form or process—Frank sentenced to have his right hand cut off and nailed to the jibbet near the Sessions house and then to be hung and quartered. Two of Capt. Johnson's blacks at Broad Bottom for enter-

teyning Frank and receiving silver buttons from him to have 40 stripes each under the jibbet, to carry the quarters to the country and be branded on their left shoulder with R.

June 22.—Thomas Eastings aged 14 years for many thefts it was judged he might be brought within the compass of the law to take away his life, but looking on him as a youth who may become a good man—It was ordered—that he be whipped under the gallows at Franks execution, and then again at the Crane and then be sent away off the Island in the ship *Resolution* [i.e. a dangerously leaky vessel which needed hands to pump her].

This punishment could hardly be called leniency to an orphan boy only 14 years of age but it met with sharp rebuke from the Company who said in their letter "your banishment of Thomas Eastings is likewise such a silly piece of pageantry instead of a banishment that we are ashamed our Aged Governor should be guilty of so great a folly."

We know Runagadoes young fellows love to be rambling and believe if the fellow had committed no fault deserving death or imprisonment he would have thanked the Governor for giving him the opportunity to satisfy his humour of changing places. The wise Dutch never banish white men out of India, for to send home such to any part of Europe is rather a reward than a punishment."

August 5, on a petition from Gurling and Tuesdale it was ordered that the masters of Blacks executed or murdered were to have compensation by a Poll tax on other blacks as is the practise at Barbadoes. (A list is given which included 45/ from the Company for 45 blacks their slave men.)

On this the Company observe. We approve of a Poll tax upon the owners of Blacks to satisfy other owners whose Blacks shall be executed, but you went beyond your cast when you gave £2 5 0 of the Companys money to Gurling and Tuesdale. We never gave you authority to dispose of our charity.

Jan 21 1867.—Taylor complains that "Parrum's cow is an *unlawful beast* for she hath bin seen to leap over a wall above six foot high and over a ditch nine foot wide and eight foot deep."

[As it was through Capt. Holden the Depy-Governor the so called Dennison insurrection occurred with its fatal consequences to so many of the principal planters of the Island the following entry will be useful to give some insight into his character.]

25th Feb 1687.—Mr. Goffe a Member of Council complained of Capt. Holden for detayning a cask of arrack his

property on pretence that as Receiver of Customs and "guager of spirits" he had not then gaged the cask, tho he then had his gaging rod in his hand and refused to measure the cask—but that he had seized the cask and put y^e Broad Arrow upon y^e Bonge and Head of the Cask.

The Governor and Council invited Capt. Holden to settle the complaint before public notice be taken of it—Capt. Holden answered "The Governor and Council have nothing to do with it to concern themselves in that affaire and that he shall not concern himself with what they shall act in that matter. He will not come to answer Mr. Goffe's complaint."

Refusing a second kind and friendly invitation a warrant is issued to Henry Jackson the Sergeant of the Guard for delivery of the spirits. On this Capt. Holden "acts in a violent and singular manner" and the Council note "*that his violent and stubborn disposition is known.*"

It was then resolved y^e Governor and Council attended by a guard should goe to Capt. Holden and demand restitution "and 11 o'clock before noone the Governor and Council went out of the Fort attended with a sergeant and file of musqueteers. * * The serjeant went to the window, called and knocked several times but no answer was made, whereupon the Governor and Council advanced up the stairs and called Capt. Holden—Capt. Holden—Capt. Holden I desire to be admitted into the Hon. Company's storehouse and y^t you will not deny me entrance. This y^e Governor did five times reiterate but no answer would be made * * Upon this the Governor called Capt. Holden under his chamber window after y^e same manner as before but no answer was given upon which the Governor said to all persons present.—You see how it is and what we are unwillingly forced to do—Then order was given for wrenching open the door of that room where the cask was but none permitted to enter but the Governor and Council who delivered y^e cask to Mr. Goffe and y^e customs of it viz, 3s. 4d. he paid to Mr. Keelinge who was desired to deliver it to Capt. Holden and the door was made fast by a strong padlock. In the evening information was given that some of the Company's goods were lying abroad. The Governor and Council are persuaded that Capt. Holden was in the storehouse "but kept himself recluse and silent therein whilst the Governor and Council were there and we cannot but conclude that after their departure he himself put forth the forementioned pieces of goods.

March 7.—Capt. Holden had withdrawn from our community both in Council and in table.

April 23.—Capt. Holden refuses to collect any more revenue—complains of being impeded in his duties. The Governor and Council desire he should collect and offer to give him a guard to protect him—he replied—He will not concern himself any more—the Company must judge who was in error and the hardest must fend off, for he was resolved not to have the stores forced open for Customs any more.

June 27.—Mr. Keelinge having been sent by the Governor and Council to Capt. Holden with a letter inviting him to join them in collecting the Revenue returned with a dateless unsubscribed paper without superscription but in Capt. Holden's own hand-writing. Quoting his appointment as Storekeeper he says in these orders I am conjoined with none, or any is conjoined with me. I shall not oppose when I am too weak to resist or assume to be a judge of ending a controversie when appeal can be made to a superior court. We can never live happily when we assume an intermeddling with anothers affaires. The Governor is chiefly to look to the Civil Government—I to my accounts—Capt. Field to look after the Company's buildings and repairs—Mr. Coxo to the Govt of the negroes and plantations and Mr. Goffe as supernumerary to give assistance as occasions shall need him. These orderly done, things would proceed well and end well, but as they are we but endeavour one anothers ruin and make our live uneasy and uncomfortable to us—Vale.

Nov. 2.—Capt. Holden detains goods from the Captain of the *Herbert* till the due of a barrel of powder for the Company be paid to *him*—refusing to recognize its payment to the Governor. He would cause the Captain to know that there was two Governors in this place—viz—a Governor and a Deputy Governor and that he in that affair was above the Governor. Capt. Holden had uttered many seditious words as "That the Governor was a Rebel, &c., and was turned out of his place long ago"—Resolved—if he continued his invectives to confine him and send him off the Island.

Capt. Holden refuses to issue pay to Mr. Coxo a Member of Council, Mr. Coxo is therefore paid partly by three bullocks of the Company's Stock—A similar complaint from Capt. Field.

Mr. Coxo complains of the Armourer Andrew Rooker telling him with much abuse he would have seized his boat if he had not received Capt. Holdens lycence as well as the

Governors. Rooker in "a fierce and insolent manner chooses rather to go to prison than beg pardon, and so to prison he went."

24th Nov. 1687.—Peter a black slave of Richard Griffin confessed that he had poysoned his former master Hedulph Eiben—also that he had given poyson to Captain Bealle's black named Derick—and to Andrew Philips black named Job and to Gabriel Powell's black and to Robert Tomp's black and also that he had strewed powder glass upon meat to his present Master and Mistress Griffin but they spying it upon the meat did not eat it.

According to the evidence of other slaves Peter had used powdered glass with earth taken out of dead peoples graves "mixed with his blood and sweat."

He was sentenced to be burnt to death on 29th Nov. Proclamation made y^t all y^e inhabitants do cause all their Blacks (except young children) to be present at y^e execution—and that every one of them do bring down a turn of wood for y^e same purpose.

No serious notice was then taken of the other blacks who were accused, but two years afterwards fresh complaints were made 23 Dec. 1689 against Job the slave of Andrew Philips and one of his slave women named Maroa and on examination it was found that Job had poysoned his Masters former wife and that Derick had not only poysoned Captain Beale as formerly alleged but had also in April 1689 given poyson to the widow Mrs. Eleanor Beale as he said "to be revenged on his Mrs. because shee had hyred Andrew Rooker a sold^r to whipp him"—Mrs. Beale was "still living but in a very weake languishing condition" and her death ensued soon afterwards.

Job and Derick were sentenced to be burnt to death and a Proclamation issued as before.

Maroa the black woman was sentenced to be chained to a post neare unto the said two blacks that are to be burned and there continue until execution be finished and then to have 30 lashes on her naked body then returned to prison in irons there to remain until shee can be sent off the Island but whilst shee stays to receive 30 lashes on her naked body every Saturday afternoone.

Jan. 6 1687.—Some obstructions lately in passing Copper Barrs for money. Ordered that in all payments of debts one half may be paid in barrs and the other in currant money. Those who refuse such payments to be looked on as turbulent persons and disturbers of the peace.

For methodizing proceedings in tryalls resolved that the

Governor and Council do meet and sit as a Court of Judicature four times in y^e year viz. the first Monday in April July Oct. and Jany.

[*Note.*—The first institution of the Quarterly Sessions.]

July 23rd—Upon consideration of regulating the prices of Punch it is ordered—That 20d. in strong distilled Liquor and 9d. in Sugar with other usual ingredients shall be putt into each Bowle of Punch for which no retaylor shall presume to demand any more than five shillings.

Directors Letter 3rd August 1687.—Capt. Gregory Field is a mere useless burden to us and therefore we do hereby dismiss him from our service. Give him leave to come home at his own charge and we shall admit him into our almshouse here which he petitioned for.

Mr. Nathaniel Cox we are satisfied have misspent his own time and our money and therefore do hereby dismiss him. At Bencoolen he may employ his talents and his stock in making sugar for himself if he think fit.

You must not dispense with our orders, nor suffer the inhabitants to disobey yours, but make it your business to undeceive those ignorant inhabitants by convincing them of the truth that we are intrusted by His Majesty with the execution of Sovereign power in that Island as well Legislative as Executive and that we would govern them as well as our soldiers by marshall law as often as we or you find it necessary and as the Dutch do their Colonies in India.

You must always wear the King's Flag and force a due respect to be paid to it by all ships that come into that road.

Our Governor's expence of powder wee think too much by halfe notwithstanding the apology in your letter of 1 May 1686. Wee think our honor consists in saving the Company's money and so doth yours, which the Governor's great years may very well give him experience of it.

Salutes to strange ships may sometimes be necessary in in point of reputation, but to our own ships more than what we ordered is foolish prodigality and is forborne in the King's Garrisons even to his own Men of Warr without any blemish to His Majesty's honor (which is infinitely more to be preserved than ours) but rather to the increase of it.

Our Governor is very much to blame in not doing his duty in keeping Mr. Smoult from running so much into our debt. We require you to seize all his stock and plantation. If you should reply that he hath made them over to Mr. Tyson or his son in law we must answer you in that maxim "Nullum tempus occurrit Regis aut Ecclesiæ" &c.

Make an extract of all our orders and enter them in a

Book to be alwaies lying on our Council Table such our orders being to you as good law as Magna Charta is to England and he that thinks it to be otherwise doth but discover his own ignorance, all foreign Plantations being indisputably subject to His Majesty's despotically power which whosoever doubts may easily be satisfied by looking into our Statute books where he will soon observe that our English Acts of Parliament extend no further than to the Kingdom of England dominion of Wales and town of Berwick upon Tweed, neither is the municipal or common law of England of any further extent.

If our Governor were a mere Mr. Cher, a Boy and not a soldier of experience armed with the King's authority and law as well as with swords and musquets we should wonder the less at the weak paragraph in one of your letters wherein he says some of the Freemen stand out and will not have their cattle markt—We would have you do as the law is here and as every little Lord of manor daily practises—and if after notice by reason of the wildness of the Cattle you cannot drive them to the Company's cowpound in such case you may commission some of the soldiers to shoot them $\frac{1}{4}$ to the sold^r $\frac{1}{4}$ to the company and the remainder to the proprietor.

The Dutch at the Cape have more for licensing one tavern than we have for all the Revenues of St. Helena we order to be paid in future £4 per annum which you cant think hard while there is none at the Cape without paying the Dutch Company £400 per annum.

Upon perusal of your Council Books beginning June 1686 we approve of your manner of trying the Blacks but think very meanly of you for the matter of your sentence and wonder the more how you could be guilty of such weakness as to lett those Blacks pass with a whipping which an Englishman could have been condemned to dye here with a jury especially since Mr. Cox was present who knows the English could not keep the knife from their throats at Barbadoes if they did not punish their thievish Blacks with far greater severity. Those Blacks that were whipped but once if you are minded to save their lives for their masters sakes (which we vehemently suspect) you should rather have whipt 6 or 8 times by intervals keeping them in the interim to hard imprisonment.

Its now high time to come to a resolution what is to be done with the Estate of the Rebels that were executed now remaining in the hands of the Widows.

We give unto y^e widows and orphans of the executed

Rebells all the personal effects belonging to their late husbands and fathers but sequestrate all the houses and lands. Concerning the nine men condemned and which lye at present under sentence of death we shall determine nothing positively but leave that to our next ship. But in general you may assure those condemned persons that none of them shall suffer death for what is past. Such as desire it we intend to transport to Fort S George where y^e men and youths have the pay of soldiers and may live happier than ever they did or could hope to do at St. Helena in such drunken company.

That chest of money which Capt. Harding has not orders to receive from you shall lye by you not to be broken open but in the case of some exigency of a rebellion or an invasion, as the Romans formerly after they had been so frequently invaded by the Gawls kept always a sacred treasury which was never to be touched upon any emergency but an invasion of the Gawls.

The Sugar is so very good that we cant take less than 9d. per lb being the best sort of white dry sugar—and 2/ per lb for the tobacco. It is the best sweet scented Virginia yt people of the best quality smokes here and by retail will bring the same rate in the shops in England, though we had it cheaper than any retailer buys it taking so great a quantity of it as five tunns together of Alderman Jefferyes who is an Adventurer with us.

Capt. Holden we require constantly to attend our Council and to agree amicably with our Governor whom we have very good thoughts of, with confidence of his fidelity, notwithstanding we do (and as we think) justly blaine him for some mistakes in the management of our affaires, and of his too much indulgence to the rebblious people which have alwaies proved so ungrateful to us as to him and are never to be governed but by sever Laws and a strict execution of them.

If Mr. Cox or any of the condemned persons families or any others are willing to remove to Bencoolen to live there as free men you may give them leave for their passage on board this ship. We have ordered the Govr. to sett out to each family 40 acres of free land on the same terms that land is holden at St. Helena and besides all the men that go thither shall have the pay of Soldiers.

26th April 1688.—Mr. Coxe late Member of Council accused of employing the Company's blacks on various and numerous occasions for his own benefit and advantage—also "keeping one Black when ships were in the road continu-

ally shooting of Patrages and Ginny hens for presents to commanders and when shipp was not here to kill him wild goats which he presented as he pleased and sent nor spent any of them to ye Govr."

9th July.—The Attorney General prosecutes Parrum for selling Punch. Parrum's defence was that he does not *sell* Punch, but that he gave his customers six lessons of musick for a dollar and a bowle of Punch into the bargain.

Oct. 1st—Elizabeth Cothorne pleads inability to pay her debt to the Company—having lost three negroes by death—on this it is noted "y^t sh^{ee} y^e s^d Elizabeth Cothorne had destroyed her negroes by ill usage and undue corrections" and it was seriously debated what should be done with reference to the debt, but the fate of the unfortunate negroes received no other consideration.

John Knipe complains of Bridgett Coales for she did forbid y^e banns of matrimony y^t was published between him and Mary Seale.

Bridget Coales alledgeth y^t John Knipe and herselfe had contracted a marriage between themselves by several sollem promises made to each other and also that y^e said Knipe bid her forbid y^e banns of matrimony for proof of which sh^{ee} had severall witnesses ready. John Knipe confesseth y^t he did solemnly promise marriage to y^e said Bridgett Coales but afterward he thought sh^{ee} slighted him which made him seek his fortune elsewhere, but he is now very willing to take y^e said Bridgett Coales for his wife and y^e question being put to her in open Court whether she had contracted her selfe to him to marridge sh^{ee} replied yes—thereupon it is ordered that John Knipe do pay damages £10 unto Mary Seale forthwith—or else be detained in prison for making a contract w^h her when he was before engaged.

Nov. 29—James Wakefield accused of words derogatory of our Sovereign Lord y^e King saying to Long—"That neither you nor your *popish* King shall keep me in awe."—(Long and he abused each other as "Papist Dogg" "Protestant Rouge" "Irish Dogg."—and "Kentish Longtail.")

Dec. 11—John Long gives information that on the 30th Nov.—the day before the good ship *Modena* departed for England Capt. Dore who came to the island in y^e s^d ship had instigated several persons to sign a petition to the King's most Excellent Majesty against y^e R^t. Honorable Compy Lords Proprietors and their established Government on this place representing the Govr. and dep Govr. as persons not fit to be trusted or continued in their places.

Several persons are hereupon ordered to be examined upon oath—Matthew Pouncey one of those accused of having signed says—That Capt. James Dore sent for me and told me that severall persons had desired him to write a petition for them to the King of England and asked me if I would not sett my hand to it. I told him y^e last time y^t I sett my hand to a Petition it had like to have cost me my life. On the 26th Nov he came to my house and showed me the petition and asked again if I would sign it. I told him I dare not for if I should I should undoe myself and family—he told me I had better for he did not question but that he should come Governor of this Island and then he would remember me and those y^t had signed it. On 28th Nov being at the Fort I went into Mr. Stitches house. Mr. Bradley desyred me to goe to Capt. Dore and pray him to lend him his *Recorder*. Capt. Dore replied that his *Recorder* was for noe *Whigg* to play upon and as for your part if y^t you will not sign to the petition I will say that it was you that put me upon it and I will sett the Governor and Holden upon you. I doe remember when Capt. Dore read y^e petition to me I asked him who told him all this, he told me George Sheldon told him and that he Sheldon had given him a noate where to find his sister Bolton in London (widow of one of the executed planters) and y^t shee would swear to it.

The Heads of the Petition—Whereas we y^r Majestys poore distressed and loyall subjects have sent several petitions to your Majesty but being intersepted by some of y^e Governor's creatures whome he himself have bin one of Olivers great companions and Traytors to him of Blessed Memory your Father, and still being Governor of this place doth usurp over your poore distressed subjects, and have hanged two of your subjects and banished seven of them *without your Majesty's Commission* and here is several of your poor subjects y^t lye under condemnation and they know not how soone they may take away their lives and Estates as they have done by some already—the Depy Governor told them that they were none of your Majesty's Subjects but y^e Company's and what faith and alegeance y^t they owe to your Majesty they must and shall pay to y^e Company soe desyring that your Majesty would please to send us some speedy redress in sending us a loyall subject to be our Governor we know not how to have sent this petition to your Majesty but by God's Providence sent us Capt. James Dore that Loyall subject.

Several others were examined who gave similar evidence

but each of them carefully denied having had any share in signing the petition. It was ordered that Gabriel Powell and George Sheldon be immediately committed to prison and also two soldiers Clifton and Ritchee for being concerned in it.

[The next entry occurs two days after on 13th Dec. that George Sheldon had died in Prison Intestate—no enquiry is recorded and no explanation is given of Sheldon's sudden death, but in a petition from Coulston's daughter to the House of Commons it is alleged "that George Sheldon was barbarously stifled to death in prison and that Gabriel Powell did happily make his escape to Europe."

If Sheldon was confined in what was called "*the Dungeon*" it was "a noisome hole" underground and as capable of stifling a man as the Black Hole of Calcutta, particularly if as seems probable he was vindictively placed in Irons.

It will be seen that the petition sent by Captain Dore very carefully avoided all allusion to the execution of the five planters, although that was really the grievance, and the harshest part in all the proceedings, but as it was done under cover of the King's own Commission, the petitioners in addressing the King prudently are silent on that point and dwell only on the executions which had previously taken place without the King's Commission.

The account given in Brooke's History is both defective and inaccurate. He charges the Planters with a serious attack on the Fort and he associates Capt. Dore (or as he calls him Capt. Hord) with the proceedings as an inflammatory man who arrived soon afterwards and was banished from the Island with his principal accomplices. As no other account in detail has been published the following summary is given:—On 13th Oct. 1684 Dennison a soldier who had charged Capt. Holden deputy Gov^r with saying that the inhabitants were the subjects of the Company and had transported themselves to that place where this King of England had nothing to do with them, was committed to prison. On 21st Oct. 1684 about 30 soldiers carrying a King's Flag or Jack marched to the Castle to demand Dennison's release. They were unarmed, except a couple who carried muskets on each side of the Flag, apparently out of show of compliment to the Flag. They were followed in the rear by about 30 planters, all of them unarmed. Finding the Castle gates closed against them, the soldiers used threatening language and kicked at the gate. On this they were fired upon from the Castle guns and three men were killed and fourteen

wounded. This was followed by the arrest of several that night at Broad Bottom, who were again fired upon and one man killed. On 23rd Dec. 1684 the prisoners (eight soldiers) were tried and sentenced Death. Two of them were executed and the rest banished to Barbadoes. No proceedings were taken against any of the planters, but a year afterwards Sir John Weyborne arrived in Nov. 1685 with a Commission procured by the Company from King James II. with orders that left little discretion to their judges at St. Helena. Nineteen planters were tried and condemned. Sir John Weyborne, when their wives begged for their husbands lives, answered, "Twas not in his power for they were judged and condemned before he came out of England"—and this is fully borne out by the written orders under which he acted. Five of the nineteen were hung and 14, altho' respited, remained under sentence for a long time.

Capt. Dore's visit was not until Nov. 1688, and he sailed again the 30th of the same month. So far from being banished (as Brooke says) the Governor did not know until after his departure that he had taken with him a petition from some of the inhabitants to the King. On learning that fact in Dec. 1688 Sheldon and Powell were imprisoned. Sheldon died immediately from the alleged severity of his confinement and Powell broke out of Prison and escaped to Europe in August 1689. The petition to the House of Commons written by the four daughters of Coulston who had been executed, and published in Brooke's history, was evidently written after Powell's escape, as their petition alludes to that event. Coulston was one of the five executed and had been an original settler on the Island before its capture by the Dutch in 1672. He had been instrumental in the recapture and it was his slave "Black Oliver" who guided Sir Richard Munden's party. He was afterwards a member of Council and proprietor of the Estate called Prospect, 20 acres of which formed his allotment.]

Letter from Court of Directors 5th April 1689.—All condemned persons to be forgiven and their forfeitures remitted except their estates.

Concerning the accessible valleys of the Island we find that prudent men that know that place to vary much in their opinions. Some think if you guard the hills well there is no danger of the valleys. Others think the Island will not be secure except the valleys be fortified—consider both well and doe whatever tends to the great safety by degrees as you can.

[*Note.*—Notwithstanding this caution the importance of secur-

ing the heights was not recognized until about 1790, when Governor Brooke established the first works at Ladder Hill and High Knoll, and at other passes and defiles selected defensive positions chosen on the heights.]

Because we know your Island abounds with young people which growing up can hardly find room or subsist within your narrow limits [*Note*—The whole population at that time, Slaves and Garrison included did not exceed 500.] we do hereby give licence to all young people of either sex exceeding fourteen years of age with consent of their parents to take their passages for Bombay paying £4 for sea provisions. For their encouragement we have ordered the youths to be entered as soldiers and there is no doubt but the young women may soon get husbands there where there is a great want of English women, which being known here *some of that sex are so desirous to go hence for husbands that they pay us £12 each for provisions besides £8 to the Captain.* To such of the condemned as shall be willing to transport themselves and families to Bombay as aforesaid you may pay the full value of their respective lands as they were formerly rated to us.

We have borne with some impatience Capt. Holden's exceeding restiveness to our Govr sometimes with reason but seldom managed with discretion and sometimes without any colour of reason, but now we have heard from Mr. Brabourne and others such lamentable complaints of his enhancing the price of many commodities so unconditionally upon the inhabitants and all to his own private benefit without any manner of advantage to the Company that we cannot endure it any longer, and therefore we do hereby dismiss him from our service and have appointed Capt. Joshua Johnson to be our Lieutenant of that first Company in his stead and Mr. Richard Kelling to be storekeeper. Another exception we have to Capt. Holden is his impertinent capriciousness in questioning our authority, or rather the King's, whether we could by His late Majesty's Commission govern that Island by Martiall law in time of peace. His reading of law books had informed him that could not be done in England legally without consent of Parliament, and that is a true notion in our law, but he forgot to distinguish of places. In all Plantations H. M. Charter gives the law and his power is despotically if he hath not bound it by some Charter of his own to the first planters or adventurers as in the plantations of the Matathusis (Massachusetts) or Boston in New England.

After divers attempts to make some profitable productions

upon the Island we have at length fixed upon the planting of vines and the making of Wine and Brandy which all men of what quality soever that ever were upon the Island that we have conversed with doe unanimously agree to be a feasible attempt. We have agreed with Capt. Poiryer upon termes contained in his instructions. He is an honest man and lived formerly in great plenty upon his own land in France where he made 200 or 300 hogsheads of Wine and Brandy per annum. But being a Protestant was driven from all he had in France by that violent persecution which hath caused us to make the conditions of his entertainment the more reputable as to his own person. All the Vineroons that goe with him are likewise French protestants, but we must tell you the French are excellent servants if you keep them under and hold them sharply to their duty, but are apt to grow insolent and negligent if they be not held to their work as they are in France—and if you give them ear, they will not leave craving and asking, against which troublesome humour you must arm yourselves irresistably if you expect to have any quietness with them.

M. Poirier as you will see our instructions is for his great reputation to have place at our Council when he is at the Fort and to have the appealacon of Captain though under the pay of a Sergeant. He speaks little English yet, but we hope he may learn more in his passage and that by the time he comes to St. Helena his sons may be perfect in our language.

We having now removed Capt. Holden may reasonably promise ourselves that while our Governor lives we shall have no more complaints of exactions. But we have found by experience it is an easier thing to change men than manners; but now you know our case and the trust we repose in you we promise ourselves some tollerable reformation because we believe our Governor is conscientious, hath nobody now to controule him, and cannot think himself farr from the time of his great account and Capt. Johnson by his cordial assistance may reasonably promise himself to be established in the succession, and Mr. Keelinge we are sure will or can doe nothing against your joynt inclinations.

We send you with this two Proclamations of our Gracious King and Queen William and Mary which you are to publish with all dutiful solemnity as hath been performed here.

Such is the present condition and state of affaires in England upon the late Revolution with reference to other nations that we now judge it advisable that our Commanders loose no time after they are refreshed in staying for any

other of our ships, but to make the best of their way for our Channel, and by no means goe for any part of Ireland, that Kingdom being now in armes and hostility against their present Majesties King William and Queen Mary.

May 1, 1689.—We have received an order from His Majesty under his sign Manual of which enclosed we send you a true copy. You will see it is not dated for in regard the proclamation is not yet out for declaring the Warr against France we have not yet got the broad seal affixed to it. A proclamation was yesterday issued out which you will receive herewith prohibiting the importations of all French goods after the 16th instant which plainly intimates the sudden irruption of a Warr betwixt us and France.

May 18, 1689.—We have received H. M. Warrant under the Great seal of England by virtue whereof we authorize you to surprize seize and take by force of armes any French Ship or Goods that shall come into any part of the Island St. Helena. You are to take the Goods on shore and send on the ship and papers to the General President and Council of India at Bombay in order to adjudication in our Admiralty Court there.

From Sir Josiah Child to the Governor.

Wansted Feb. 20, 1689,

Cozen Blackmore.

I have rec^d. all your letters &c. except that by Capt. Knox who I fear is lost.

In the business of Mr. Smoult I must plainly tell you I think your excuse of not understanding acc^{ts} is of no weight, for that affair need not the length or of the skill of acc^{ts} which you have exercised in other matters.

Capt. Holden had my favour for some virtue thrift and p^{ts} I saw in him, but as soon as the effects of his avarice was manifest to me, you see I have not spared him. That which made me the longer disbelieve any ill report of him was Capt. Johnson's owne letters to me wherein he did highly accuse him for his saying the Islanders were the Lords Proprietors Subjects which was and his truth. I have frequently without offence when I have had the honour to discourse with the last two King's themselves called the Inhabitants of St. Helena, Bombay and Fort S. George the Company's Subjects under his Majesty.

I shall not enter into any of yr quibbling discourse concerning honesty at the top as well as the bottom and such like carping expressions for which you often desire excuse upon the infirmity of your age, and I shall pass them by on that account because I think you are honest at the Bottom.

I have as little opinion of Sherwins honesty as you have and I think myself as able to see into him as you are it having been more my business and I may say my duty in the place I am to pray into mens dispositions and secret and sinister inclinations. But if Sherwin had been worse than he is he was fitt enough to carry a message by which he would neither gain nor lose in repeating it right or wrong.

Pray tell Mr. Symes I have his letter and wish him well but I understand he is apt to be overtaken with drink and if he cannot refrain that it will be his inevitable ruine wherever he is.

You must be very nimble in securing our stores before Capt. Holden knows of his removeable, to which purpose it may be best for you to send for Capt. Johnson privately before you open the Gen. packet and to set a guard upon our stores that nothing goe in or out until you have caused a particular acct to be taken—for this end our general letter shall be directed to yourself, or in case of your death (which God prevent) to Capt. Joshua Johnson.

I remember you was some years past very uneasy wth Mr. Beale and I believe the Company lost much by him, we removed him as we now doe Capt. Holden and now you are at full ease with both your assistances.

Your very affectionate Kinsman,

JOSIAH CHILD.

The last Extract from Company's letter of 5th April informed the Governor of the late revolution in England and of the Proclamation of King William and Queen Mary, but before that letter reached St. Helena indirect intelligence was received in the following manner.

July 24, 1689—The *Rochester* arrived on the voyage from India and had met a small ship from New York in America bound for Madagascar who declared that he had heard before his departure there was like to be Warr between the English and Dutch. Also the same day arrived the ship *Nathaniel* from the Cape. The Captain states the Dutch told him that "the Prince of Orange was landed with an army in England whereby the peace of our Kingdom was greatly disturbed and that there was Warre betwixt the Dutch and French. Likewise when he came into the Cape it was demanded whether his ship belonged to His Majesty or was a merchant ship whereunto he answering that the said ship was in the service of the English East India Company, answer was made that it was well that it did so for if it had been in our King's service they had lately received orders

from Holland to seize it. But being in the East India Company's service they should have supplies of any thing. But whilst he was in the said road a French ship stood in who as soon as it was getting into the Road two Dutch men of warre (after some dispute) boarded and took her." It was resolved—knowing of what importance this poore Island is to our Master's trade to y^e East Indies to repair the Fortifications particularly that all the Avenues mouths and landing places to the leeward of the Island be surveyed—repairs to be done first at Seyne Valley mouth [i.e. Ruperts] which is most accessible next to Fort James. Arms ordered to be restored to all the Planters except the condemned persons and 24 new handcrows to be prepared.

Aug 2.—Gabriel Powell one of the condemned persons for y^e late rebellion having lately broke prison it is greatly suspected that he is gotten off the Island in one of the last ships.

Oct. 7.—John Cotgrave fined a dollar and a half because his wife refused to receive payment for a bowl of Punch in half copper barra and half silver, saying her liquor cost her all silver and she would not let it go without all silver again.

Oct. 8 —Many complaints made of the loss of cattle from the waste lands supposed to be clandestinely killed—ordered that the Hide horns and Ears of every beast killed be carried within 24 hours and shown to one of six persons who are named.

To prevent the numerous actions for Trespass the heights of various kinds of fences are prescribed—requiring that a double stone wall should be four feet high. A bank faced with stone five feet high. A ditch fence to be six feet wide and deep but the bottom one foot wide.

Nov 6, 1689.—Robert Stamper a passenger and late a writer in the Company's Service at Tonquin wishes to remain. The Governor finds that his object is to marry a girl of about 12 years of age daughter of Matthew Pouncey who is one of the persons condemned for the late rebellion. It was thereupon ordered that he should be sent on board and not goe any more into the country.

Ordered that no dogg goe loose with his master or any other from the owners house. But when there is occasion to use a dogg for killing of a man's owne cattle he is to lead his dogg by a roape or chaine neere y^e place where y^e beast to be killed either is or doth usually graze and then he may be let loose.

[Note.—From this it may be inferred that the cattle of that

date were chiefly of a wild breed and from several other occasional entries it is certain that this was the case.]

Jan. 6, 1690—Captain Stephen Poirier 3 sons and 5 daughters, Samuel Defountain and nine other French Vine-rooms landed from the ship *Benjamin*.

Jan. 16.—Matthew Pouncey availing himself of the permission to go to Bombay (being one of the condemned) offered his land called Pounces to the Govt which they gladly buy being contiguous and abounding on part of the Company's Great Plantations and there being a good quantity of Provisions on it a good supply towards the maintenance of Captain Poryyr and family.

Feb. 17, 1690.—Adroall and Bedwell two men from Madagascar being found with a considerable amount of Gold are suspected as Pyrates and confess that they were with Capt. Swan commr of a Pyrat and were with him for several years and did take several prizes from the Spaniards and others whereby they acquired this treasure. Ordered to be sent as Prisoners to England.

Feb. 25—Matthew Bazett refuses to go as Assistant and Book keeper to Capt. Poirier at Plantation saying he was sent hither to be a soldier and not a Slave.

March 3—George Lock [afterwards hung as a confederate in Jackson's mutiny] complains of Hemmons for saying that he and others were knaves Rogues and K^{ts} of the Post.

Andrew Wilson complains of Draper for Defamation for saying to Wilson that he was a Scot and you sold your King for a groat.

Serjeant Hailes complains that Parrums wife did say openly "God curs the Island and all that is upon it."

Andrew Wilson complains of Parrum that Parrum did lay and lose a wager of a cow with Wilson that Wilson would have Widow Starling to be his wife. The evidence says "it was some jocular or merry discourse not worthy to be brought into an action."

[*Note*.—The above four cases with some others are heard on the same day and are samples of the litigation of the period.]

March 12, 1690—Jack a son of "Black Oliver" deceased was charged with an offence but there was no evidence against him. "He very audaciously not only peremptorily denied the same but behaved himself very impudently as if by his boldness he would prove himself guiltless" ordered to be imprisoned and have irons put on him for his bold audacious carriage before ye Govr and Council.

[*Note*.—He was tried at the ensuing Sessions and acquitted by the jury but without any reason assigned was ordered to be

flogged before he was discharged. A specimen of the old proverb "Not Guilty, but to be flogged for troubling the Court."]

March 20—Grace Coulson widow of the executed John Coulson charged that she has not paid rent for the land forfeited by him. "She answered she had paid none and further peremptorily added that none would she pay withal saying she had paid too much already, and soe in a womanly passion departed saying you may do what you will and turn me with my children out of doares I am bleeding every day and you may as well hang me as you did my husband."

Tuesdale Goodwin and Coales brought up for killing a Sea Cow and not paying the Company's Royalty. They desired pardon and say the Sea Cow was very small the oyle would not amount to above 4 or 5 gallons.

June 28—Ten of the most lazy and weakly of the Company's slaves sold—their ages 8 to 27—prices 7 to 24*l*.

Oct. 6—Hemmons prosecuted for having scandalously told y^e Company when he was in England that y^e Gov^r and Council put their own prices on the Company's provisions and for spreading a report since his return to the Island that the condemned persons had been released from all their forfeitures, though enforced here by y^e Governor.

Hemmons answers that he did not accuse the Council but had said that Capt. Holden had put prices upon the inhabitants country provisions—and that when he was in England he went to the India house with Liecester Sexton and Widow Bolton and a clerk there read to them an order which had been sent for the release of the property of the condemned persons.

2nd Dec. 1690—9 a.m. Governor Blackmore coming out of y^e country towards Fort James last Evening about 6 p.m. did suddenly and irrecoverably fall from the side of a hill near unto the place called Bowman Stone towards the foot of Putty Hill—ordered that an Inquest be held.

Governor Blackmores death an insupportable loss not only for his desirable presence with us but great abilities with which he was plentifully furnished for the reputable discharge of that trust and office he had and held here for more than twelve years part the consideration whereof is next to overwhelming.

2nd Dec. 1690.—An Inquest on Gov^r Blackmore which shows that his death was caused by falling over some steep precipitous Rocks at the upper end of James valley. Leaning on a Bamboo stick while coming over the Rock either his foot or the stick gave way and he could not recover him-

self and was picked up dead in the stream of water in the valley.

On consideration that y^e late Governor was very corpulent and much bruised it was ordered that he should be interred the following day in as solemn and reputable a manner as possible. Ordered Escutcheons, six Pall Bareres, Scarves, Hatbands, &c. An Invitation to all Housekeepers and that there be provision made what is necessary for refreshment of so many as might be at the Funeral both of Bread and Drink. Drums and Colors to be put in mourning. 4 vollies of small arms fired at the grave and after that 20 of the guns about the fort.

The funeral expences afterwards charged included "170 lbs. Flour, 11 lbs. Tobacco—2 gross pipes—28 Gallons Arrack, 40 lbs. Sugar," &c.

There is an item also of 8 bushels of Lime for making the Tomb and repairing the Tombs of his late Lady and his Son. [No traces of these graves are now to be found].

April 22, 1691.—Precautions adopted in consequence of Warr with France and six French men of warr of great force in India. Guard rooms to be made at Matts Mount or Flaggstaff and at Prosperous Bay where the English landed. Gates to be set up across the passage from the landing Rocks [i.e. near the upper Crane] and a wall at the West end of the Line from the Rocks to the Sea to prevent surprize by any Boats Crew at night to spike up our line of Guns to the hazard if not loss of the Fort.

June 8.—Much damage lately done at several of the Forts by great and unusual Floods.

July 27.—Several Blacks punished for plotting to run away with the Company's Boat. Ringleader to have 75 lashes and 5 drops of burning sealing wax on his naked body the others in proportion.

Oct 26.—The Church in the Country in bad repair—the windward part much decayed *it being all done with Boards*. The Chappel in Town in bad repair and the Roof in danger of falling.

Arrack sold on Company's account at Plantation distilled from Potatoes.

Manning the Chirurgeon being unskillful and ignorant disrated to a private sentinell (as formerly he was) but to continue to read the prayers as before and funeral services at 2s. a week.

Manning very sottish and continuing in his old drunken practises dismist and Clifton to read the Prayers.

Jan 8, 1692.—Unlicensed sale of Punch to be punished

by penalty of 40s. 10s. of it to the Informer on "proof wherein his owne oath shall be sufficient evidence as it is in such cases."

[The cruelty and inutility of torturing accused persons to discover the truth is so plainly acknowledged and shown in the following entries that it is hard to understand how such injustice could have been inflicted by officers who were so well aware of its inhuman nature.]

April 25.—A Slave beating some glass while minding Swine was caned by Lancaster a soldier and brought before the Governor. "It was thought y^e said slave was not guilty of any designed mischief being a kind of foolish ignorant fellow. To extort an acknowledgement of any accomplices if any (but he confest no more than before) he was slasht and dismist to his labor.

June 2.—Another Slave accused of crime "after much sifting he did at length confess." [How the poor wretch was sifted is not related but it is added] "On consideration of what hath past in y^e examination that there was but one evidence and that *several times it hath been known that ignorant Blacks (such as this) hath been brought by threats to confess themselves guilty of those facts they never acted* it is ordered, Though he deserves death yet for the consideration aforesaid and that the said Slave is not within pale of the Church that the sentence be mitigated by executing some punishment next to death."

July 25.—Slaves suspected of killing a cow ordered to be punished by lashes at y^e Flagstaff in order to the extorting a true confession; after which the Company's Slave confessed y^t he had helped to kill the said cow and that Sherwin's Blacks were confederate with him. But after punishment had been inflicted on him he denied all that he had said, saying, he said anything whilst under y^e lash to prevent further punishment. Sherwin's Slaves were then punished by lashes at the Flagstaff but nothing being gotten from them was released. It was further ordered that y^e Company's Slave and Sergt. Jackson's Slave have ropes put about their necks and threaten them to be hanged if they would not confess and nothing could be gotten more from them, so were committed and examined again with promise of reward but to no purpose.

July 25.—William Clifton soldier and schoolmaster allowed 20s. for having drawne out and perfected the Register Books of Christenings Marriages and Burials.

Sept 12.—Matts Mount or Flag Staff considered to be needless for a Look Out—being mostly very foggy and

hazy and inaccessible to an Enemy. Prosperous Bay being much lower hath a very clear prospect and ships are discerned from it at a greater distance.

The Alarm of two guns for a ship from Prosperous Bay ordered to be repeated by the Alarm guns on the Main Ridge. But if more than one ship then three or more guns to be fired on which not only the Planters but their Black men must attend the muster.

24th Oct. 1692.—Lightfoot a soldier who had been lately fined 20s. for killing a goat is charged with saying that the Governor and Council would put the same in their own pocket and that the Company would be none the better. That the Soldiers were a parcel of beggarley Rogues and *had not a coat to their back.*

Lightfoot denied all this having confidence for that and much more and being possessed too much with the unto-ward temper of his Father sent off in Irons with two others for mutiny more than 13 years since—ordered to be dismiss the Company's Service.

Dec 29, 1692.—The Island in great necessity for cloth and clothing. No ship had arrived since the *Kemphorne* on 4th May, 1692. Many of the Garrison have never a Coat to put on their back save only an Old Red Coat of them that came over by y^e *Benjamin* three years since.

Jan 2, 1693.—Jamy a slave of Dep: Governor Keeling found guilty of Sorcery and burnt to Death.

July 25, 1693.—The Island Register of Christenings and Marriages, &c., was formerly very unparfect there being no prson appointed to take care of Registering them. W^m. Clifton soldier and Schoolmaster appointed to look after the Register and allowed Is. 6d. for each Christening or Marriage registered.

April 21, 1693.—Governor Johnson shot by Henry Fogg a mutineer. Whereas on Friday last in the night Henry Jackson being then on guard did conspire with 13 other soldiers [named] all which persons the said Jackson let into the Fort in order to accomplish his design, on which Friday night when the rest of the guard was at rest and all persons belonging to the Fort within the walls gone to bed they assembled themselves together and so called up the guards one by one by a messenger and demanded of them whether they would consent with them in their wicked design which was to plunder the Fort, rifle the valley of all Treasure that might be found therein, Demolish the Fortification, to imprison the Gov^t and Council with all persons below at the Fort or in the Valley that would not adhere to their designs,

and afterwards to seize on the ship that was in the Road and so make their escape, by which means calling persons up singly and examining them in the matter and finding them not to agree with them they had imprisoned all that was within the walls of the Fort except what was in the Fort-house without the least noyse in a Dungeon under ground being a secure place built on purpose to secure villinous and desperate Blacks. Having thus secured all in the night, in the morning being Saturday as soon as the Trevally had beaten the Gov^r coming out to deliver the Sergt the keys of the Fort he was seized on having then only his gowne and slippers but the Gov^r crying out and making resistance they inhumanly and barbarously murdered him with three shot in the head then hauled him into the guard and lett him in that lamentable condition for two or three hours then suffered his lady with two negro women to carry him into his own chamber—afterwards they went into the Forthouse and secured all persons therein. The Gov^r Lady they halled naked out of bed and forced her to carry her cloaths under her arms into another room to dress herself—afterward they secured all passages up into the country so that no news could be carried there and imprisoned all persons in the valley, and so fast as the soldiers repaired to the Guard (it being Relief day) they took them and imprisoned them guarding them with centinels well armed—afterwards they plundered the Fort, took away all the Company's Treasure—spiked up all their guns—oversett the guns on Monden's mount and point tumbling the carriages down the hill where they were broken—then carried as prisoners on board the ship Lt. Keeling Mr. John Luffkin Thomas Goodwin and Rich Gurling whom they detained until Lords Day Eveng then admitted them to come on shore. It was thought fitt by us that a Jury of Inquest be impanelled by us to enquire not only after the manner of the said Gov^r death for that is apparent enough. But also to enquire if any of the Rogues be left behind culpable to be called in question about the aforesaid villany.

1st May 1693—George Lock, Isaac Slaughter and Joseph Davis were found guilty of Treason and sentenced death. The accusation was that they were confederates in Jackson's mutiny—and accompanied him on board of ship with the rest of his party. Lock was proved to be one of those who went with a party to Munden's hill to dismount the Cannon—and Slaughter went with Jackson into the Governors office to take the money.

When Jackson sailed and released the hostages he put

these three men into the boat with them and sent them back to the Fort saying that what they did they had been forced to do it.

4th May—No Executioner being procurable Joseph Davis found by the jurors to be the least culpable was spared to execute the sentence on Lock and Slaughter.

June 22—On arrival of the ships *Tongueen Merchant* and *Orange* a court was convened to take evidence relating to the mutiny. [The evidence of Gurling and Goodwin is published in Brooke's history. The substance is here given.]

Richard Gurling—saith—on 22nd April he went down to the Fort in the morning very early with Capt. Pitts. Goodwin, Rooker and Bodley—so soon as they were all entered in the Fort Jackson stepped before them with a fuzee in his hand ready and said Gentlemen stand and yield yourselves prisoners or else you are all dead men—he asked Jackson what was the matter who answered D—n you I'll kill you as soon as another man for all you are my father [for Jackson had married the said Gurling's daughter in law] so was put into prison until evening and then was called up to go on board with them.

On board Capt. Pitts wept bitterly and desired he might have liberty to go on shore, but Jackson told him no harm should come to him and he heard Capt. Pitts say they had best go to the Cape of Virginia and as they met with ships coming out to distribute their company.

Thomas Goodwin saith—On 22nd April very early in the morning being in his house in Chapel Valley, Capt Pitts Commander of the ship *Francis and Mary* came to call me to go on board with him as was agreed on the night before—went with Rooker Bodley and Gurling and thought to have gone through the Fort as usual. As soon as all were within the Fort Jackson stepped out of his room with a fuzee in his hand cocked and guarded and said stand and yield yourselves prisoners or you are all dead men—I was going to lay hands on the Serjeant thinking he had been drinking but before I could do so I saw several other soldiers behind us who said to the same purpose as the Serjeant and added that their design was to do us no harm but take the ship and go away so conveyed us all but Capt. Pitts to the dungeon. At the mouth of the dungeon was much blood, which made Rooker say "Lord have mercy on us, there is blood spilt already." Going into the dungeon we found several people there who told us the Governor was killed or desperately wounded. Afterwards as people came into the fort our number was increased in the dungeon till we were

almost stifled with heat. About Sunset I with Luffkin, Gurling, Capt. Kelinge and Capt. Pitt were all five conveyed on board ship as hostages that the people might not fire upon them and that they might have what necessaries they wanted. We that were on board as hostages were much afraid of the people's firing on the ship I was therefore permitted to go on shore to dissuade the people therefrom and to tell the great danger he was now in that should be their Governor.

Before next morning much people came out of the country and as there were many men so they were many minds—some for firing on the vessel and sink her—so in a great hurly burly; but we were like men of war without guns for I searched the line round and found them all spiked up. About the break of day we cleared primed and shotted several of our guns tho not to be fired so long as Capt. Kelinge, &c. were on board. In the morning came one of their crew Stephen Lancaster to the rocks with negroes to row the boat and demanded some of their necessaries but was answered they should send a boat half way betwixt the ship and the shore with their prisoners and then they should have them—who went off immediately saying—‘I smell a rat’—for they saw the armourer clearing some of the vents of the guns. Not long after they sent another, Wensley, demanding those goods again saying they would not be brought to compound upon terms but would carry their prisoners out of gun shot before they would release them and further added they had liked to cut the throats of their hostages on Lancaster's words, but that they knew him to be a lying rogue therefore he came to know the truth, and further said that an axe was laid to the cable to cut if he fired his fuzee tho they sunk presently and that the prisoners should not have the honour to sink with them for they would be presently killed. I desired him to put his boat to and he should have his necessaries—by the time one hog-head of beans was in the boat there by chance fired a fire-lock in the Fort which made this fellow swear desperately he would fire—but I with much persuasion and telling him I would go on board with him caused him to forbear so I went off with him. When they weighed anchor and set sail and run two leagues off then they put Lock, Slaughter, Davis and Evans into our boat saying that what these men did they were forced do it by them.

John Stevens, chirurgion—saith—I was called by Jackson and pressed to join them but refusing to do so was imprisoned. In the morning Trevalley beat tho but short—

presently I heard a great noise of trampling at the stayres head and a voice which I thought to be the Govr to cry oh oh oh and immediately two fuzees fired—not long after I was called out of prison to dress Jackson's arm which was wounded with one of the shott which shott the Governor. I asked him to goe and see the Govr which would not be granted but about two hours after was permitted with Madam Johnson to goe to dress the Govr whom I found weltering in his blood in the guard where myself Madam Johnson Black Bess and another carried him up stairs and laid him on his own bed. I found his wounds to be mortal with three holes in his temple. I also saw Jackson Gartry and Isaac Slaughter gee into the Govr closet and take the chest of money and carry it ont of the house and afterwards conveyed it on board. I also saw Lock to goe up the hill with Willis to Munden's Mount to dismount those guns.

Andrew Rooker armourer saith—22nd April very early in the morning Capt. Pitt, Gurling and John Alexander went altogether into the Fort and was presently set round by Jackson and others who said Gentlemen yield yourselves prisoners or else you are dead men—further saith—Jackson snapt his fuzee at him and that Fogg pricked him in the breast and another in the buttock which made him cry out quarter, for the Lord's sake quarter—then said Jackson let him go out of my sight: coming to the month of the Dungeon he saw blood there which made him cry Lord have mercy on us there's blood spilt already, so not making so much haste as he should Jackson came at him with his Fuzee clubbed to knock him down which made him jump into the Hole were he understood the Govr was wounded and that the blood he saw there was some that issued out of Jackson's arm.

Elizabeth Luffkin saith—Lancaster and Fogg came to her house in the valley on the morning of 22nd April and said the Govr would speak with her—going towards the Fort Lancaster swore "there's a clear valley now." She was allowed liberty to walk up and down the Fort and then she saw some of them bringing up powder out of the powder room to blow up the prisoners in the Dungeon and a fire stick was brought out of the valley for that purpose but Jackson prevented them and saith they had other business to mind so locked the powder room door.

John Vernon writer saith—On 21st April after Taptoo refusing to comply with Jackson's request to go with them they said they must secure me—so led me into the Dungeon where I found several both White and Blacks. When

the day begun to appear Jackson came to the Dungeon door saying Gentlemen if you make any noise you are all dead men—after the Trevally had beaten heard the Govr. as we supposed opened the Fort House door and presently after heard a great scuffle and heard the Govr cry ah, ah, ah, and then a small firearm fired which daunted us all very much and presently after another which daunted us the more—after Mr. Solomon Heaton was brought into the Dungeon by Jackson (who had his arm all bloody). Heaton told us that as he came down stairs he saw the Govr lay at the foot of the stairs Dead or mortally wounded which struck a great terror in me. So many persons was trepanned and brought into the Dungeon till we were above 50 souls. In the even Goodwin, Luffkin and Gurling were taken out to goe on board and as soon as they were gotten on board of the Boat they gave the keys of the Dungeon to Mrs. Luffkin whom they had taken to the seaside for that end and who soon after released us all out of prison. In the morning some were for firing at the ship and importuned Capt. Poirier to fire at her being a shame to see such a rogue lye at the command of the guns and not fire at him. Capt. Poirier replied Gentlemen when Capt. Krelinge went on board you made a contract with them that in case you fired at them they would kill Capt. Krelinge that is now our Govr and if we break our word they will murder all the hostages. So after ye people that came down from the country hearing upon what termes the present Govr went on board they were passified.

[*Notes.*—It was supposed the vessel was steered either for America or Ireland, but nothing more is known as to what became of her or of any of the mutineers.]

July 4—William Birch son of Thomas Birch killed on 17th June by a fall from a very dangerous place at White Hill while driving goats.

[*Notes.*—This spot retains the name of Billy Birch.]

July 31—The Inhabitants (serving as Militia) suspected of an intention to demand officers chosen from themselves and not to be directed by the garrison officers. The oath of obedience was therefore tendered to the Inhabitants which every one seemed willing to take except Richard Griffen who refused it.

May 3 1694—Fort House, &c. very much decayed. Timber growing very scarce in the Island—ordered that none of the Company's Timber trees (Redwood) be sold for private use.

Jan'y. 7 1695—Hoskinson complains of Rooker for say-

ing that that he was privy to Jackson's conspiracy. The evidence in this trial shews that Governor Johnson had been forewarned by Gargen who had heard Fogg say that he and 30 others would conspire to seize the ship *Francis & Mary* whenever she arrived—that he told Gov^r Johnson what he heard from Fogg but the Governor made light of it.

July 1—Intelligence that six French men of war had sailed from Brest in February supposed to be designed for an attack on the Island or the Cape—ordered Two guns to be mounted on a point at Bankses towards Sugar Loaf which is very convenient to damnify an Enemy. [Hence probably the name King William's Fort.]

Nov 28—Sandy Bay considered to be dangerous for the landing of an Enemy because there is no defence by ordnance. The Inhabitants meet at Plantation to debate the necessity of fortifying the Bay. A battery of two guns ordered to be built.

December 2—Rumoured conspiracy of the Blacks. On Friday 29th Nov Mr. Thomas Goodwin's Indian slave Annah told her mistress that the night before she was acquainted that Gurling's Jack, Bevians Will and Joan with many others intended that very night to murder all the whites. First going to Lemon Valley to kill the two soldiers there and possess themselves of all their arms and on arrival of a ship to endeavour to take her and go away and soe leave the Island desolate.

Mrs. Goodwin seeing her brother-in-law John Goodwin told him who immediately went and took a great Horseman's Sword that was at his brother's house and thus armed tied all the Slaves there. Thence he went to Bevian's and took his Blacks and so to every house thereabout taking all Blacks he met withall tying their hands behind them, so that he with many other white men drove a great many Blacks before them to the Fort where they were all secured.

The Governor as soon as he received a note sent a man to fire the Alarm Guns as if ships were approaching and ordered a great gun to be fired at Fort James, Ruperts Fort, King William and Queen Mary's point at Bankses Fort. Sent also a boat to Lemon Valley and carried away both men and ammunition to the Fort. Sent also a file of Musqueteers to the East part, being acquainted the West was already secured so that 7 o'clock next morning all the Blacks of the Island were in custody. Now knowing that many of the Blacks in custody were not concerned, though doubt but they would all have sided with the head Con-

spirators had they succeeded therefore this day was ordered for examination.

Jack's confession—That one time two persons from Capt. Wildey's ship were at his master's house (Gurling's) in discourse and wondered that the Blacks did not rise in the Island saying that in some parts of the world where they have bin it was very common for them so to doe and y^t they have known them to doe abundance of mischief by taking two or three forts in a night's time. Hearing this first put it in his thoughts. The first he spoke to was Will, afterwards to Firebrace, then some others—[Eleven in all named.] That had they not bin taken in custody the plot was to have been put into execution that very night. That after killing the two soldiers at Lemon Valley they were to return to the Country and meet at Gargen's house (he and his wife being to be killed before he went down to Lemon Valley) and then disperse to several people's houses and kill the master and mistress and children as also all Blacks y^t would not side with them.

Will's confession similar adding—that if they could not accomplish all the first night, next day they were to lye in ambuscade by any such person's houses and one black only to goe to tell y^e master thereof that his master would speak with him and as soon as he came out to kill him and then rush into the house—and then that night which would have bin last Saturday night most of them was to repair to Fort James to sculke in the garden or orchard of lemon trees that joynes the Fort wall others to set fire to Madame Beale's house which joynes the Company's store rooms. That all or most of the soldiers would goe out of the Fort to quench the fire and then to enter in and make themselves masters of the Fort. That when a ship arrived they were to put themselves on guard as usually soldiers doe when ships arrive here and when the Commander landed to seize him and take him prisoner and goe away as Jackson did. Eleven slaves (all Madagascar or Coffrey Blacks) reserved for tryal. Four of them that consented not but did not discover what they knew to be severely slashed at the Flagstaffe. The rest all dismiss.

The eleven tried on Thursday 10th December before a Jury (Orlando Bagley senior Foreman.) Verdict guilty but not all alike—Jack, Will, Joane, Firebrass, Poplar, Randall greatest offenders—Ruface, Hemp, Roger, Peter and Civil lesser offenders. But all had knowledge of the intended massacre and most consented to it.

Dec 16, 1695.—Considering the great charge the whole

Island would be put to if the whole of the slaves convicted were put to death it was thought convenient that but three of the greatest offenders be put to death and the other eight receive great punishment yea even unto death. Jack the first promotor to be hanged in chains alive on the top of the point of the Ladder Hill on the 19th inst. on that part that faces to the Fort and be starved to death. Will and Randall to be hanged and cut down alive and quartered.

The others to be flogged on the 19 and again on 21 23 25 and 27 inst, to be burned on the shoulders with the letter R and to be transported by the first opportunity.

[These cruel sentences were all inflicted and their severity was probably due to alarm caused by the astonishing success of Jackson's conspiracy. But eleven naked frightened slaves who could be so easily secured in a few minutes by Goodwin with his "*great Horseman's sword*" and who at once confessed everything like terrified children, would have suffered quite enough punishment with a dozen a piece at the flagstaffe for their foolish talking.]

Dec 16—Ordered that the Roadways and Publique paths of the Island be defined by three Surveyors in each district—for impartiality the three surveyors in each district to be selected from those who dwell at another part of the Island.

[The return required was made on 6th July 1696. Many of the driftways referred to could not now be defined and are therefore omitted. We give therefore only those which could be recognized and it will be seen that they correspond nearly with some of the principal roads as they now are. Some of the modern names are added in parenthesis to guide the reader.]

District 1—From Alisons South to Tomstone Wood and so to Fort James by Degarney's way [i.e. Thompson's Wood past Southernns to Town]—Surveyors Bagley, Luffkin and Taylor. Public Ways. A main Roadway from Lemond Valley Rock through Alisons Land along Lemond Valley head to Thomas Boxes—then to Nicholls land at the Peak [High Peak] from thence to Tomstone Wood and through Tomstone Wood. A Droveaway through Thomas Alison's and John Gurling's into Sandy Bay [road now to Fairy Land, Rock Mount, &c] A footway up the Ridge betwixt Gurling's formerly Boyces and Beven's to Lemond Valley head [road now between Boyces and Beven's to Cason's Gate.] A Pathway from Bevians over part of Thomas Goodwin's land from thence over Fuller's Plain [? Cleugh's Plain] towards the Fort.

- District 2—From Sandy Bay South part to John Hemans

[near Rock Rose.] Surveyors Goodwin, Nichols, Leach.

Public Ways—From Horse Ridge through the middle of Mr. Luffkins land to the Peak Gut. A footpath out of the Peak Gutt through part of Nichols land and French's land.

—A main Driftway from Coles land in the Bay [Fairy Land] and so through Peter Williams to Lemond Valley head.

—A neighbourly Drift Way from Powell Valley Ridge through Purgatory downe the Green hill by Hayles.

A main Drift Way through the Peak Gutt between Sami Wranghams and James Eastings land and above Bolton's land through the Upper part of Powell's land out of Sandy Bay to the Main Ridge.

District 3—From Sandy Bay Ridge North side to Fort James—and from Two Gun Ridge West side to Thomas Alison's to Fort James.—Surveyors—Coales, Cotgrave, Wills.

Public Ways—At Richard Hardings the old Footway and Driftway for all the neighbourhood to go to Fort and Church. From Serj. Dixon up Harper's Plain Ridge [Rosemary Plain,] to the head of the Gov. ground and cross over to Tewsdale's Ridge through Mr. Goodwin's ground and so up through Mr. John Coales ground and so for Lemond Valley Rock and so to Sandy Bay. Mr. Bevan must have a footway to the Church through Harpers plain and over by the Gov. and so up to Church.

—A Footpath for Sandy Bay people to goe to the Church, They must goe through Mr. Bagley's ground, through Mr. Edmund's—Bagley's again Bowman's, Hoskisons, Luffkin's, Edmund's, that was Jewster's and so up to the Company's pasture land and then to Church—[? the present Sandy Bay Ridge Road.]

—Mr. Sich must have a Driftway for his cattle to his ground under Sandy Bay Ridge along by John Longs lately Mr. Moores with a good driver with them.

—A Footway to Fort for Long through Mrs. Beales Pursley Bed Ground [at foot of Peak Hill and Briars].

—There must be a footway along the Main Ridge from Lemond Valley head.

—A Driftway for Sandy Bay people up to the ridge and so down to Mr. Sich's ground and along through John Longs so through Alexanders [between Woodlands and Longs] and up to the Red Hill between Mrs. Beale's and Mr. Bagley's [i.e. not the modern Red Hill but top of Barren Hill] so to the Gardener's Old House and along under

Mrs. Coulson's plantation [i.e. between Prospect and East Lodge] to the Fort.

—From the Hutts Ridge—A driftway by Taylors and so by John Longs—so downe Jay's ground and so to Plantation House. All Church ways should be made four feet broad at least specially on hill sides.

District 4.—From Two Gunridge to John Hemons in Deep Valley. Surveyors Rider—Swallow—Cleverlee.

Public Ways.—A main Drift way from Orchard's grave below Hemons old house in Deep Valley, so by Thomas Coales, so along below Allis house, so over Deep Valley Plaine and then over the Hill above Mr. Henry Coales House in Pleasant Valley. So to Shirks Valley betwixt Sinsennig's and Highams. So up the hill to Queney's. Then between Queney's and Hayses [Teutonic Hall] and so over the Hutts Plaine [nearly the present road from Rock Rose to Hutts Gate.]

A main Publique Path from Hemon's old house to the Hutts plaine must be along Hemon's ground in Deep Valley through Pooles, Henry Coales cabedge tree land through Benjamin Seales so along by Serjeant Purlings up the hill to Queney's through his land by Goodalls waterfall, through Worralls—through the Company's Hutts inclosed ground and so to the Hutts plaine—[i.e. Hemon's to Queney's is an old disused cabbage tree road which can be traced from Deep Valley through Masons and through Seale's Flat at Arnos Vale to Rose Hill].

23rd December.—Corporal Grandy who married Priscilla widow of Thomas Pledger complains of William Marsh speaking of her as a Witch. Marsh in defence calls Mrs. Grandy's grand-daughter Jane wife of Michael Isaac who says, That some considerable time since she lay with her grandmother and in the middle of the night she missed her out of bed and then saw come at y^e window the apparition of a Black Dogg—so she called grandmother grandmother—so at last the Dogg went away and her Grandmother came to her and said what is the matter child be not afraid.

August 31, 1696.—Late Chirurgeon Manning dead—George Hoskison sold^r who served some part of his apprenticeship with an Apothecary in London engaged at 30s. per annum.

Nov 30.—Six sailors for profligate conduct to receive 99 lashes each under the gallows—the woman Mary Tewsedale cannot be found.

Dec 14.—Mary Tewsedale's body cast ashore dead on Sandy Bay Beach—ordered—her body to be buried at Half

Way Tree with a stake through her body and a heap of stones cast upon her as a monument. The seamen sent to carry her body to the grave—Corporal of the guard and eight men sent to enforce execution.

Dec. 7.—Examination of some sailors brought from Madagascar by the *Mary* concerning the Madagascar Traders of New York and of the Pirates who generally harbour there—they mention the celebrated pirate Avery and his having gone to the Red Sea with four ships—on their return to Madagascar that Avery went away with all the treasure which had for safety been put on board his vessel.

April 5, 1697.—Freeholders elect two of their number as Churchwardens and Overseer instead of four as usual for the Governor's selection of two. Edmunds with others came to the Governor and disputed his right to choose Churchwardens and complained that the planters are much aggrieved by the Company. At last after repeated denials they returned four names.

April 19.—Complaint against Jonathan Mudge that he whipt Sarah Sinsemig's son while picking green tobacco on the Common. Mudge says yes he did because she and her son used to call to him as loud as they could in a jeering way as he went by her house "Goe home Boy, Goe home Boy, Red cards is trumps."

June 19.—Lansdowne suicide—ordered to be buried in Peak Hill road and his body staked.

July 6.—Country Church to be rebuilt by an Assessed Rate. The Company contributing £20.

A Sexton appointed—to have 12d. from each family yearly and for a grave in the Country 3s. 6d. In Town 6s.

Nov. 30.—Governor Kelinge died this day Tuesday—Capt. Poirier doth according to his place of being before Deputy Governor by succession as first his being put into Council by the Company, and likewise by a Private Council held 26th June 1694 present Governor Kelinge, Poirier and three Commanders of ships then nominated to succeed as Governor of this place after decease of the then present Governor Kelinge all w^{ch} having conferred with all y^e officers of the Garrison who did unanimously and heartily consent thereunto, and whereas it hath bin y^e pleasure of Providence to order things so as to bring the said Governor Stephen Poirier into a station which he doth acknowledge is farr beyond his desert and considering that the said place is of a weighty and great moment for one person only he hath desired Mr. Thomas Goodwin to be his assistant. He is a man indeed who doth stand his friend in these sad circum-

stances. Dec. 26.—Sea tempestuous for three days. The Long Boate and Yoale brake loose. Thos. Earle and two of the Company's slaves recovered them by swimming until they overtook the Yoale. Earle rewarded with 6 handkerchiefs, the two slaves with one each.

Jan'y. 18 1698.—Governor Kelinge's widow at her departure from the Fort took all her Plate &c. insomuch as hardly the present Governor could have pewter spoons enough to serve y^e Company's table therefore Governor Blackmore's box is opened with the desire, and in the presence of the said lady and Gov^r Poirier, out of which y^e said lady had one candle cup, one porenger, one large sault and one tumbler together weighing 37 ounces and the said Gov^r Poirier had several particulars weighing together ninety ounces valley at five shillings per ounce which was thought the utmost of its worth it being old fashion broken silver.

Feb. 23.—Mr. Facknold clerk of the Council dismist for giving information about the Pirates to some suspected sailors. Mr. John Alexander appointed Clerk of Council.

April 4.—Quarter Sessions—Governor Poirier's charge to Jury to enquire into cases of profligacy—"There are some profane persons whose practice is to jest of the best duty the Christian religion doth require of her believers to perform, who speak about it as of nothing and saith that it is a hussey body to meddle with such trifelous affairs. It is a sin you know which hath caused the total destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha and tis needless to goe fetch so far backwards. It is I am confident the very same sin which lately brought Jameco into such a lamentable condition and almost all overflowed it."

[*Note.*—This was in allusion to the terrible Earthquake in Jamaica in 1692, which in two minutes destroyed Port Royal and sunk the houses in a gulf of 40 fathoms deep and otherwise desolated the whole Island, hardly leaving a house standing.

April 5.—John Hemon brought up for saying Governor Poirier was not a Governor but only a deputy Governor. Imprisoned, but released on his apology.

May 16.—Mr. George Carne [who had married Mrs. Kelinge, widow of Governor Kelinge and daughter of late Capt. Anthony Beale] brought in as Administrator a list of Governor Kelinge's effects. The Governor after he had given Mr. Carne a receipt said to him, Now you and I have done I pray you let us live friendly and dont you speak so much against me in my place and affront me as you have done heretofore. You are pleased to say I am not Governor, here I show you a receipt from Capt. Dorral a Com-

pany's servant as you say you are and Commander of a great ship wherein you see he intitules me Governor. Upon which Mr. Carne made a pish and said what do I care for Capt. Dorrall he is but a single person—said the Gov^r if you do still continue to affront me I'll make you know my power for I am above you. You lye said Mr. Carne several times over and challenged the Governor to fight him, so that the Governor called for the Marshall—(after resistance he was confined but at laste gave baile for good behaviour)—so then the Governor suffered him to come up into the Hall again where then he said he did not disown the Governor to be above him in his place, but said he was a good a gentleman as he—and upon his fair promises the Governor gave him his sword and dismiss him.

Provision for repairs of the Highways of the Island for the year 1698. Mr. Thomas Dixon and Mr. William Doughton appointed overseers of Highways for the year—a list given them of the names of all the white inhabitants excepting such as are in the Company's service and of negroes and Blackmen that any persons hath excepting the Company's slaves:—and a Warrant to the Overseers to cause all persons both Whites and Blacks to work one day and no more in mending making and repairing of such Highways as seemeth best in your judgment, so as all and every the White Inhabitants and their Blacks do worke at the said highways this present year one day and no more as aforesaid. If any persons after due warning absent themselves then you are to put in some other man in the absent person's roome to work one day as aforesaid which person you are to pay according to the Company's orders 18d. for a white man's day's work and 12d. for a Black man, to be repaid by the person absenting himself. The list names 50 white persons and y^e Black men Slaves.

[*Note.*—This shows that the repairs of all the Public Roads in 1698 received no more labour than was equivalent to one man's work for 142 days. They were chiefly Foot-paths, and a few Bridle-paths. Carriage Roads were not made until many years later.

July 19.—List of Inhabitants shows 23 in Gov^t. employ 71 Planters and 92 men slaves or a total of 163 men exclusive of soldiers and the Company's men slaves.

Sept. 13.—Mr. Carne who had married Gov^r Keling's widow claims compensation for one of the late Governors slaves Jamy who had been burnt alive at a stake on 2nd Jany. 1693 for sorcery. Altho the said Governor Keling whilst he lived did never make any motion or demand or-

dered—a Poll tax for every payable negroe 120 in number owned by 61 masters amounting to £25 for Mr. Carne.

Oct. 5th.—Wild Goats greatly increased so that plantations and Cattle were endangered by a Total ruin. Hunting of them allowed every Wednesday in company.

Nov. 2.—Cosam tried for murder of Jacob (two slaves)—on trial two of the Jurors (Edmunds and Luffkin) were found missing which caused the Governor to order another call of y^e Drum to be beaten again. On appearing they both delivered their reasons viz. that they were persuaded the Gov^r hath no power to call a Court upon Life and Death and to be plaine no power either to stile himself Governor. The other freemen to give them their due did blame very much the said Edmunds and Luffkins and said openly they would stand to y^e Governor.

Jan'y 23, 1699.—The Island suffering from a long drought, Planters for five or six years past had minded only the planting of potatoes—and Yams which ought to be lookt upon as the Main Staff of this Island begin to be extraordinary scarce.

April 20, 1699.—No warrant for repair of Highways had been given in the preceding year it being thought y^t what work the country should do towards the mending of the Highways should be employed in carrying two great Guns into some part of Sandy Bay—but being thought that it could not be accomplished it was let fall, so thereby the countrey is indebted to the Publique one day's work for the year past—and whereas the Church in the countrey is much decayed being made all of Timber it was thought convenient that it be rebuilt with stones and for that end the day's work be for the gathering of stones towards the rebuilding of a new Church.

1699.—Several complaints against Mr. Humphreys the Minister that he threatened Matthew Bazett that he would thrash him and have his blood and called him a nasty French Fellow—that he abused Elizabeth Bostock and struck her. He is sent to Sessions but in retort accused Elizabeth Bostock's mother of selling him several bowles of Punch without a lycence.

Aug. 15.—Mr. Humphreys brought up for contemptuous words saying that if the two Members of Council did not join in any complaint to the Company against him he did not care a pish for the Governor's own pen and his pen would make as big a dent as the Governor's.

Feb. 13.—About 20 Pyrates who had accepted the King's pardon through Commodore Warren arrive in the "*Pink*."

Four allowed to remain for a while and hope it will prove some considerable profit to the inhabitants.

Feb. 13, 1700.—Capt. Thomas Bright Dep^y Gov^r having sett his love and affection upon Mrs. Eliz: Ellet Mr. John Sich's daughter the Gov^r could not be satisfied to permit them to go on he having been present at her first marriage. In reply John Ellet is shown to have died by Small Pox in France the ship *Saumore* in which he sailed 4 years and 8 months ago being taken by the French.

April 3.—Penalties against Runaway Blacks. First time to wear an Iron Collar for one year—2nd time to have cut off the joint of the little finger—3rd time the joint of next finger—4th time to be castrated. If women to have their ears cut off—owners required to give information of such runaways under a penalty of £5. Two persons appointed specially to look after them.

April 23.—“*Shrewsbury galley*” an Interloper made to pay 20s. a ton before being allowed to obtain water and provisions.

April 30.—A parcel of coined Gold found tyed up in an old Ragg in pulling down an old wall at Gurlings.

January 1, 1701.—Distilling Arrack discouraged. The Company order duties of 12d. a hundred on firewood and 4d. a gallon on the Rum distilled—you may easily perceive our main intention is to prevent y^e distilling Trade which we understand is grown very ripe in the Island to the great destruction of the wood, the impairing the people's healths, impoverishing their Estates and introducing a sottish drunken quarrelsome humour amongst the Inhabitants.

April 29.—Gov. Poirier records a complaint against Capt. Bright for giving him many ill words in presence of Serjeant Field and Corporal Maxwell. Notwithstanding the good character the Company is pleased to give me by their instructions brought with me, likewise the commission they have honoured me with he told me when I came here I was but a Vineroon and that I have been hanged in France in effigies and that it was not for Religion sake but for Treason or rebellion—of which slanderous words I do appeal to my Right Honourable Masters to do me justice—such words tending only to contempt and to slight me and to withdraw the people's hearts of this Island from me, and so consequently to come to dangerous consequence and to combine with the French whom all Europe knows they boldly both in words and writing do what they can to hide such horrid persecutions (if they could) from all good men.

May 12.—Capt. Bright refuses to come into the Fort

after the Governor had set the watch and Centreys within and without the Fort being nigh 11 at night. At 12 o'clock Capt. Bright came to the Fort but I would not lend the keys to humour him. When I went the grand rounds he did not fail to stop me, drew his sword, set y^e point to my breast swearing and cursing me said he would have the word—I did answer him that I did not know him at that post, and that I ordered one Capt. Bright at 11 o'clock to come to his lodging within the fort but refusing to come I could not know him then: after many flourishings of his sword cursing me he went away—so submit to my honourable masters whether such proceedings are lawful or no.

Ship *John Galley* arrived having been plundered in 36 South by a French Pyrate of her victual ammunition and part cargo, so preventing her intended voyage to India.

July 7.—Mr. Goodwin refuses flatly to obey the Governor's order to reckon with three soldiers who had been enlisted by the Governor—but finally consents on finding the Governor would borrow the money under protest at 8 per cent.

August 1.—Houses washed away by the late Flood—Defountain, Powell, Dixon, Harding, Greentree and O. Bagley allowed to have building plots in the valley also Edward Crosby had a brief granted him for collecting charitable relief he having suffered a great loss of his Plantation by y^e late dreadful Flood.

Aug 26.—Great increase of Drunkenness—Gov. Poirier's proclamation—"Said vices have brought and will bring again on this poor Island the judgment of God Almighty. We forbid all assemblies upon what account soever to be held at any house whatsoever past 10 o'clock in the evening wheather to be shipping time or not. Every Inhabitant to repair to their own house immediately after Taptoo which shall be henceforth beaten but at tenn of y^e clock."

Sept. 23, 1701.—The Act of Parliament against Piracy to be strictly enforced against all who remain out of their ships contrary to the clause which requires all officers and seamen to be brought back.

Oct. 6.—Capt. Bright dismissed by the Company and Capt. John Fowlis sent out as Depy. Governor in the hope that he and Mr. Goodwin will cooperate with our Governor.

The Captain of the *Mountague* a ship belonging to the new East India Company threatens to use violence to obtain water and provisions if permission to purchase them is refused. Sends a boat well manned and armed to one of the

leeward valleys. Capt. Fowles sent with a party to oppose them.

Oct. 7.—Mr. Jethro Bradock the Minister of the ship *King William* fined 80s. for marrying Gabriel Powell and Sarah Rider without lychense and without Mr. Ryder's consent. The Fine afterwards remitted on account of Mr. Bradock's poverty and his being almost distracted.

Oct. 28—Great expectation of Warr—70 crowbars prepared for rolling Rocks.

The Upper Garden and Concord House [i.e. Maldivia] let to Margaret Cotgrave for £10 per annum to be returned in like good condition. Damages by Floods and boisterous Winds excepted.

Letter from Court of Directors 16 April 1701—Our present Governor's continued care for discountenancing vice and promoting virtue we very well approve and earnestly recommend to all of you to lay your shoulders heartily to so good a work as you expect y^e Divine protection and blessing and our Favour. When those in authority sett a good example the reformation of their Inferiors is therefore rendered much more facil. Your care for keeping y^e Lords Day we approve but must at the same time remember that works of necessity and mercy are allowed at all times so y^t when any ships are in danger of losing their passage or otherwise streightened in want of time they should not be restrained from fetching water or other refreshments on y^e Lords Day nor on y^e other hand ought they be allowed to do any servile work on that day which can without prejudice be deferred to the next.

Mr. Humphrey is come here and would faine extenuate y^e crimes you charged upon him. We are sorry he proved so contrary to y^e character w^{ch} first recommended him unto us. If we can hear of another of good conversation we intend to send him, otherwise we think it far better to send none at all.

We are sorry to hear there should be factions among our Council when there are so few of you. We have too many instances of it as well viva voce as your separte letters, to put a stop to which we have dismissed Mr. Bright from his station of deputy Governor. We have elected by Ballot Mr. John Fowles in his place hoping he and Mr. Goodwin will co-operate with our Governor.

We have complaint made to us that our Governor has laid out some hundreds of pounds in a Tarrass walk against the consent of his Council—send us by the next to what end and intent it was done.

Our Governor is also complained of as being too arbitrary. We hope the scence he has of our continued kindness to him and his family will engage his utmost zeal to our service. He must consider we join our Council with him. If after calm debate you continue of different opinions send us your reasons and we shall be able to judge who are in the right. However let no difference of opinion grow up to difference in affection.

We now give our reasons for sending this ship direct to St. Helena viz.—The King of Spain deceasing some months agoe and the Duke of Anjou second son to y^e dauphin succeeding him, his grandfather the French King resolved to fix him thereon notwithstanding y^e claims of y^e Emperour in favour of his second son the Arch Duke who as is alledged is next heir—all Europe is arming and in motion as apprehending y^e conjunction of two such mighty kingdoms as France and Spain will be fatal to y^e libertys of Europe.

The French forces being already got into Millan to secure y^t Dutchy to y^e new King of Spain and y^e Emperour's forces are moving thitherwards to dispute his title. This makes us very apprehensive a War will suddenly ensue between y^m and England and Holland are likely to be engaged on the Emperour's side to support y^e ballance of Empire. Your care must immediately extend itself to secure y^e Island and all its Avenues. Herewith you will receive an acct given by our late deputy Governor Holden what places he apprehends need waling and fortifying—could you arrive at y^e way of blowing up your Rocks there needed little more than bare labour to make y^t Island impregnable. We have been tould y^t while y^e French shipp's stayd there several French gentlemen went all abt the Island on pretence of shooting—howsoever y^t might favour of complaisance in our Governor to permit it we think it was no good policy and must never again be allowed to any foreigner.

Feb. 17, 1702.—We are very desirous that St. Helena may be made as strong as possible to be defended against an Enemy. Take the advice and assistance of all the commanders whether men of warr or Merchant shipp's for fortifying the Island. We would have you if you find it practicable to roll some of the Rocks with which you are stored into the Sea along the Beach to prevent boats landing.

* * * * *

Council Proceedings Nov. 11, 1701.—On Sunday last in y^e mornning the Gov. being going up into the Countrey to

Church mett wth a black man of Mr. Luffkins wth a burden on his back. Luffkin fined 6s.

Jany. 1702.—Ordered Dinner to be provided in the Countrey on Sundays for the Council when they went to Church.

Feb. 9.—Mr. John Chappel Agent for the new East India Company prohibited from remaining on the Island. The Governor consents to receive and deliver letters to their shippes there being nothing in them against our Masters Interest only how to direct their shippes homeward to escape a greedy enemy—and if for want of those letters the shippes were taken the whole nation will accuse us of intelligence with the Enemy and make us bear the effect of y^e said nations just anger.

May 23 —Capt. Fowlis deputy Governor died and is succeeded by Mr. Goodwin.

Alexander Frazer for theft "to have on his naked body 15 lashes wth a halbert in his hands at the dismount of the Guard."

July 2, 1702 —Mr. Bowes a passenger brought before the Governor for abusing the Centrey—giving the Governor saucy language the Governor pusht him and told him if he was not civill and quiett he would kick him like a dogg.

Aug. 4.—Resolved to build a Fortification to keep Ruperts Valley. Capt. Richards a passenger a very ingenious man in matters of Fortifications planned it. At a general Randevouse of y^e whole island the inhabitants required to assist.

Sept. 15.—Governor sent for Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Edmunds Members of Council—they were on board the ship *Hern*. He sent again next morning half an hour past six but was likewise on board said shipp which makes good what they often told the Governor that in case they should give him notice of their going on board ship it is a meer civility.

Sept. 29.—Mr. Edmonds accused of saying to Elizabeth Luffkins when she remarked, That she believed the new Fortification at Ruperts if taken by an Enemy would be the means to lose the Island and the party posted there would have to retreat to the Hill side. Edmonds answered what for running away I believe the Governor and Field is agreed and that it was his opinion if they runn away they ought to be shott through the stern.

Mr. Edmonds acknowledges all the above said evidence to be true.

Oct. 6.—Two Slaves and Jack formerly a slave but now a

freeman are apprehended for breaking into Luffkins house and stealing Arrack. Governor proposes severe corporal punishment but at the request of the Jury they are sentenced to be hanged that the Island might be rid of such rogues. Free Jack reprieved but made a slave. The Toll for compensation to the owners shows there were 71 owners of slaves, 111 men slaves and 37 women slaves exclusive of the Company's.

Jany. 19, 1703.—A French ship plying about the Island on Sunday and Monday 10th and 11th January. The Serjeant at Banks complains of Edwards for reporting that he had run away from the battery. He having gone to the end of Banks house to observe where the shott fell when the two last guns were fired from the battery at the ship.

Feb. 10.—Mr. Edwards 3rd in Council dead. Serjeant John Field elected Ensign and Councillor.

Dr. John Kerr the Chaplain a most dangerous man and was always getting people by the ears worse than ever Mr. Humphrey was—had boasted that he came here on purpose to ruin the French rogue and refugee—meaning the Governor.

Mr. John Alexander Clerk of Council informs the Council that drinking Punch with Dr. Kerr in company with the Serjeant and Corporal, Dr. Kerr abused the Governor saying that he stood up in Church in time of Divine Service like a French Hogonot proud fool (and I think Rouge too) when he ought to have kneeled down to make his confession—moreover said he had gotten the copy of a letter that the Governor wrote to the late deputy Governor deceased and that he had sent one copy to the Archbishop of Canterbury and another copy to the Bishop of London for he had wrote very reflectingly of them especially of the Bishop of London and said further that he had done the Governor's business for him and was sure he would be turned out when the next ship come from England.

Dr. Kerr accuses the Governor of disloyall words in having said "that the Royal race of Stuarts were an unfortunate family and never did any good for England. 2nd. That the Parliament of England did very ill in choosing Queen Ann to be Queen of England for she being a woman could not head the Army or Confederacy and the Parliament had better choose the Prince of Hanover to head the Army and Confederacy. 3rd. This deponent also swears that the said Governor said if I were as Prince George if they did not make me King I would go over to Denmark and never see the Queen again."

Dr. Kerr calls John Oswald for proof. Oswald says that in a conversation about Oliver Cromwell where the said Cromwell was called Usurper and Traitor the Governor said That these things might be lett alone, for when he was alive no man durst say so.

The Governor says that Dr. Kerr turned the most innocent conversation into Criminal ones—as for example the letter which he wrote to the late Deputy Governor. It is known to all the world that when my wife was with child it was our usual custom to drink to the Boy in the basket and besides to say I firmly expected a Boy which I did intend to educate to be a minnister and who knew but in process of time he might be a Bishop of London. But proving to be a Girl I wrote to the worthy gentleman in the countrey as followeth—Sr. It hath pleased the Almighty to give my wife a happy deliverance yesterday of a * * * *. I say no more but be sure it shall neither be Bishop of London nor Colonel in the King's Army.

March 31.—Ralph Gates for quitting his post at Bankses to ride the Wooden Horse one hour next reliefe day and to be tied neck and heels at the head of the Company one hour at next musterday of the Garrison.

Volume 7 of the Consultations 1703.—The first few pages contain some old accounts of 1691 and then follows this entry:—"This Book was made use of for a Council book having none at all for such uses beside."

April 13.—The Inhabitants petition that a penalty of £10 be imposed on any person buying Arrack from shippes for more than 6s. per gallon, further Ripon Wills being the Aggressor who gave the 9s. per gallon for the Arrack and sold it again at £1 4s. per gall which prodigious and exorbitant gains and extortion cannot be expiated without an Attouement made to the Church or some other charitable use wee humbly beg he may be fined.

The Bridge over y^e Water Course that comes from the Town to the Fort damnified and broken by y^e last great Flood.

Mr. Carne takes Eleanor Keling daughter of late Governor Keling for £9 a year to board clothe and educate her "according to her Quality," and his nephew Richard Bealle for £3 a year.

May 20.—Bradley complains that Edmund Bagley called him and his wife "Poor Devils" which is but a very frivolous complaint suppose it was true but no evidence said any such thing.

August 29, 1703.—Bankses and Ruperts guarded in con-

sequence of open war between England France and Spain.

October 5.—Robert Leach singleman and Ann Gurling spinster came this morning down to Fort James in order of being married in the presence of the Governor and Council so that in case Sutton Isaac junior did forbid the banns as he did on Sunday last they might have a trial before the said Governor and Council immediately. Whereupon Isaac again forbid the banns and produced evidence that Ann Gurling had promised to marry him and had accordingly broak a piece of money between them (an English shilling). Her engagement declared void she being a minor and free to marry Robert Leach.

Cornelius Sodington Deputy Governor arrived. Both Companies now happily united as the *United East India Company*.

October 27.—Governor Poirier charges Dep. Governor Sodington with misconduct. On Sunday being at Ruperts Fort he did unnecessarily strike and beate Stephen Child the Gunners mate uttering publicly words against the Governor saying if those ships the alarm was made for were French ships and he were amongst them he would have the said Governor cut in pieces. Again last night he came drunk into my private room putting many impertinent questions chiefly why did I not order a guard to wait on him ashoar being a gentleman, when I myself rather than to weaken our guards I won't use none, or very seldom—continuing his impertinent language the Governor commanded him to repair to his department—who said positively he would not go whereupon the Governor got up from his table, took holt of him by one hand to lead him out, but he immediately laid hands on the Governor which provoked him to take fast holt of him and thrust him out of said chamber.

Jan. 17, 1704.—Gabriel Powell on Tuesday whipt his slave boy aged 8 years till his back was in some places raw and on Wednesday his master threw him with his hands tyed into a bed of nettles which venomd and stung him to that degree that he immediately fell into convulsions and dyed. For this he was fined by a jury 40s.!!

Jan. 19.—Mr. Sodington complains of the Chaplain Mr. Kerr that he had not been in the Island ten days before Mr. Kerr used his endeavours to raise an animosity between him and the Gov^r telling him the Gov^r was a traitor to his own King and was forc't to fly his own country and that it could not be expected he should be true to the Company or Queen of England. That he found Mr. Kerrs talent lay much more to

Bacchus than his own profession being never better pleased than when his face is of a scarlet dye by his dearly beloved Punch which makes him very captious, on the 17th inst. being flushed as usual he did tell me his black coat was as good as my read, and called me little fellow. But the said Kerrs tongue is no slander he giving it what scope his airy genious thinks fitt to annihilate every one even the Gov^r and his Lady by Lampoons pretending he finds them but are always write by his own hand.

Jan. 25.—Doctor Kerr sets up the bloody hand upon a Proclamation by rubbing his hand in red paint and pressing it on the Proclamation. Beats his servant barbarously for giving information about it.

Jan. 31.—Dr. Kerr abuses Governor Poirier saying you Hogonist go go to your own Hogonist countrey to command your Hogonist Ministers. Before the very Council calling him to his face a church presbyterian.

Nov. 30, 1704.—*From Court of Directors*—We send you Keebles Justice of the Peace and would not grudge to sent you the other law books if they would be serviceable to you—But as it is a standing rule here that English Acts of Parliament bind only persons inhabiting England, Wales and Berwick and are not of any use in the Plantations except in very few and select cases, so we think it no way for your advantage to have your heads troubled with nice points of the Common Law of England, but to adjudge of all things in a summary way according to equity and good conscience.

March 12, 1705.—The Company's Blacks at Plantation sent away as usual at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning to Horse Pasture to fetch firewood there being none on the common round about the great Plantation.

May 2.—Mr. Lushington mate of the *Panther* confined for disorderly conduct—threatens the Governor saying that he was like to be turned out only by a vote which vote when he comes to England he will buy if it cost him £100 to turn him out.

May 8.—The Company intend strengthening their fortifications on the Island of Borneo and thinking we have no power to punish with death any crime whatsoever we think fitt to send the criminals in our power for those parts. Dutton and Scriven convicted of Burglary to be whipped pilloried on three successive days and then sent to Borneo to work for five years.

Mudge convicted of killing a calf, goats &c., and Stephen Child convicted of incest with his first wife's sister, ordered

to be transported to Borneo. Governor thinks without wages, Mr. Goodwin thinks he should be allowed soldiers pay. Settled by casting lots. In Mudge's case the lot fell to the Governor's opinion. In Child's case the lot fell to Goodwin's opinion.

May 28.—The English ship *Duchess* arrived under Merchant colours. Capt. Raymond not saluting Governor sent off to demand his reason and sent also the instructions of 3 August 1687—"You are always to wear the Kings flagg and must force a due respect to be paid to it by all shippes." Capt. Raymond answers offering to salute gun for gun. Mr. Goodwin is of opinion that altho coming in under a Merchants Jack yet if he says he will hoise the Queens colours we may give him gun for gun not to exceed five.

The Governor objects that as he came in under a Merchants Jack it is now out of time to offer to hoise the Queen's colour and that he would answer with two guns less and allow no refreshment until complied with.

Court of Directors letter 14th Dec. 1705.—We observe that you have sent four stout fellows condemned for felony and Incest to Benjar. We are not of the Governor's opinion that death is the proper means to keep others in awe from committing Felony as you mention was the crime of the four stout rogues you sent to Benjar though we think him so far in the right that sending them off the Island is not a punishment adequate to their sin. We take it to be the best way to reclaim villains and deter others by putting them to hard labour. The Governor's objection that the persons wronged would not rest content that the Company should reap the profit of their labour is of no weight, for who would be the better if they were hanged, and as that punishment is for the sake of others so is hard working too, but with this difference when a man is dead he can never again be usefull whereas being reclaimed by labour he may. We would have none punished with Death for any crime we apprehend they can be guilty of at St. Helena besides wilful murder.

April 30, 1706.—Mr. Charles Masham the new chaplain died this day.

June 1 —At seven o'clock this morning the Guns fired at the Two Gun Ridge and gave us a double alarm which was soon followed with an account that two large ships under Dutch colours were standing in. Before ten they came up with Bankses Fort and upon y^e firing of one gunn as usual from thence they lowered their topsails and salluted with five guns. In a very short time after, having a fresh gale

they were up with the Company's ship *Queen* and one of them clapt her on board, entered some men and took her with Dutch colours still flying. But after they were actually in possession showed their French Antient. The other ship stood directly to the *Dover* who immediately struck. Upon the first suspetion of their being an Enemy (which was when we see the *Queen* give them a broadside) we fired at them from the shoar and continued plying all our guns with our greatest diligence, but had the misfortune in a very little time after they had cutt the shipp loose, to see most of our shott fall short occasioned by the great distance from the shoar the Captain thought fitt to ride at. We used our utmost endeavour not only to destroy our enemys but to sink their prizes and were disappointed in both only by our ships anchoring so farr off, which did much enable the Enemy in half an hour's time to drive out of y^e reach of our guns. The French appeared of equal force and of seventy guns at least. They fired several broadsides at y^e shoar and most of their shott weighed 24 and 32lb.

June 5.—William Swallow indicted for petit treason for saying he wished the two French ships had taken the Island. His mother sued for a Libel for writing verses in which George Hoskinson is said to have run away and hid himself when the French ships took the *Queen* and *Dover*. Jury found him guilty of speaking most rash words but believe in their conscience they were spoken in a way of bravado. He and his mother to pay costs.

July 8.—The Governor is informed when the *Queen* and *Dover* were taken there was a great defect in the Spunges and Cartridges at the Grand Fort and Ruperts. A survey ordered which reports they found due allowance of Powder to every gun as also spunges and every thing else in their proper places.

July 13.—In consequence of the fatal taking of the ships *Queen* and *Dover* the buildings of the Warehouse and Store yard delayed to complete Ruperts and then a Moat to be made to the great Fort which is the only means we can think on to prevent an Enemy's landing.

July 30.—Thomas Swallow accused of cruelty to his apprentice boy beating him and threatened to hang him up by the heels and make a smoke under his nose and head *as he did his black wench!*

August 11.—We have had last month as great floods and oftener as hath been ever seen since your Honours hath been possessed of this Island which hath caused great con-

fusion in Ruperts Fortifications and at the Fort likewise although we used all the means to prevent it. We shall make use of that sad experience to find new means to let the Gulleys come to the main channel.

Sept. 10.—Portuguese shipp arrived bound to Angolo. The Captain sick and wishes to remain till his ship returns. Resolved—The Portuguese are our allies and most necessary confederates with the great alliance of Europe against France—and the ship may do some considerable service by leaving at their return some slaves greatly wanted on this Island.

Sept. 26.—The ship *Indian* frigott seen first by Robert Bell's Black close to the Island near Stone Top—no alarm being made Bell sent his black to run to y^e Bay and bid him hollow all y^e way he went to call the Bay men. Finding none the Black fired the Alarm with a fire stick reloading and firing again just as the guard returned. The Corporal says he went the water course to fetch water little thinking a ship would come nigh in so short a time. Ordered to be Dismist from being Corporal and to carry three muskets upon each shoulder to the upper end of Jamestown and so down again at next dismount of the guard.

Oct. 6—A ship off Prosperous Bay—sayled to Windward. In the evening seen opposite to y^e White Hill supposed to be the *Bombay*. The Long boat of the *Indian* frigott sent out to inform her she might come in without fear.

Aug. 11, 1706.—*Letter to Court of Directors.*—We come now to a very sorrowful paragraph since the matter is to give notice to your Honours of the loss of the two ships *Queen* and *Dover*. The first of June last we had a double alarm about 7 o'clock in the morning. At 10 two large ships arrived under Dutch colours but we were extremely surprized to see the *Queen* fire at them being assaulted by the said ships and in less than five minutes time cutt her cables boarded her and drove her away under Dutch colours. Had not Mr. Dolben assured us there was no French ship in India and for certain there was a Dutch ship bound absolutely for this Island we would not be altogether so secure. As soon as the Governor perceived the *Queen* gave them a broadside he ordered the line of guns to be fired at them as fast as could be. Capt. Goodwin did the same at Ruperts, but were soon out of reach of our guns and all this while the action was acted under the said Dutch colours. They fired ashore at us 80 or 100 shott without any damage and then hoised French colours, but after they were in pos-

session of the *Queen*, insomuch they acted more like Pyrates than men of Warr. The *Dover* who had her berth to the West of our road struck her colours immediately so received no damage that we know of, altho we did what we could to sink her, but by an oversight were both anchored too far from our guns. We cant truly utter our sorrow for that unhappy mischance but by this sad experience we know that it is absolutely impossible to save your Island from an Enemy unless you order your ships to send their boats ashoar at Bankses which the Governor tried when first he came in place to force them but received from the most part but rough and proud answers—and to desire the men of Warr to do the same till we have received your orders on that account.

Court of Directors answer 20th December 1706.—We must say that you are infinitely to blame in your management and we wonder you can have the assurance to write us that had not Mr. Dolben told you there was no French ship in India you had not been so secure. Is that an excuse think you to be given to us. We think rather it deserves the severest censure. We are also told that our Governor has been unaccountably careless about the Fortifications, that the Sponges are not fitt for the guns that there is scarce Rods for the guns and when the Governor has been friendly told us to remedy such things he abuses people for their kindness. What satisfaction can be given us for his miscarriage; does he think it enough to throw the blame on others which so probably is his own. Add to this—that Monsr. Des Dugers (Desdugières) who commanded in chief these two men of Warr is the very man as we are told that Mr. Poirier was so wondrously kind unto some years ago and gave him a reception on the Island much better than to any of our own Commanders, suffered his boats to sound round the Island and his men to survey it on shoar under pretence of shooting. We are informed that he has taken the Workmen off from the Fortifications leaving them unfinished and sett them upon making a new garden and terraces which will cost and has already cost many hundreds pounds. We have been told that when the French ships were at St. Helena your guns could hardly reach them, while their shott flew some of them a mile up into the Island. If this be so it must arise from the difference of the Powder. We recommend you to look after it and *keep it dry*.

Governor's reply 20th May 1707—As for what your Honours blame us in letting those French ships come into the

road under Dutch colours we begg you to consider that there were three Dutch ships outward bound touched at this place 12 months before, and we might have as well destroyed a Friend as an Enemy, but withall to consider your Honours have never been pleased to give us a positive order and power to destroy any ship soever suppose they refuse to bring to at Bankses, which to prevent in part we do as we did before in our of 11th August 1706 beg that you will order all ships in your service to bring to at Bankses Platform.

The Governor is extraordinary troubled that your Honours is so very angry with him while (under favour) in his conscience he has done his duty. Match was lighted more than there were guns and Powder upon the line in three Powder Rooms filled with cartridges and that he did advise both Capt. Cornwall and Capt. Garraway several times to bring their ships nigher the shoar which they did promise to do, but did not. And as concerning Mons. Des Angers (Desdugières) whom your Hon^{rs} are pleased to point at, the Governor offers to take his oath that he did never see the gentleman nor did he go on board of him, not he come on shoar and as tis to do justice to our greatest enemy he does really believe that they did not sound anywhere.

The Governor saith it is true your Hon^{rs} have ordered him to get assistance both from Men of War and Merchant ships which he never failed to demand and that some had complied and some not, or else how should it appear in the account of Fortifications that so many men hath been employed in that service, and as what concerns the gardens that he never concealed from your Hon^{rs} what he hath done. Beside the wall which faceth the line will serve for a good breast work against an Enemy endeavouring to land shooting with small arms over the Moat. In short, some of the wall were begun by Gov^r. Keeling, and the present Gov^r. did not expect your Hon^{rs} would have taken it ill, whilst he read in our Masters instructions that they will have the wall of their Garden to the Leeward 12 feet high.

The information given your Hon^{rs}. about your shott not reaching the French ships when theres went a mile up the Island we p'sume is a misinformation and those who did informe doubtless understands the rule of multiplication perfectly well, since the farthest of their shott was not up a quarter of a mile. As for ours we must needs say first that this Island keeps Powder perfectly well and that we have little or no bad Powder. Besides we were informed that the *Queen* after she was in the Frenches hand received

a great many shots from the shore and consequently the French might have received more being nearer before they had turned the *Queen* to face our Guns to the end she might guard them from the force of our shots.

Jan. 9, 1707.—Fox on some hearsay statement from a girl returned home and "having stripped his black man Toby threatened him in the most severe manner he would burn him if he did not confess." Tobey in his terror made a confession evidently out of his imagination of some talk with Mingoe about getting into the Fort. There was no other evidence; but Sen a slave girl being brought down by her master to be punished for some domestic offence in the hope of saving her own punishment volunteered some further vague statement that the Blacks thought of rising. Seven Blacks who all stoutly and earnestly denied the accusation were ordered to return to prison until to-morrow in the afternoon and then to be severely whipped to try whether they or any of them will make any ingenious confession. The only thing extorted by the whipping was the unexpected confession of one of them that he had been told by Tobey Mr. Foxes black that he and "his master went out one moonshiny night to steal a fatt heifer and they caught one of the Company's sheep round the High nowle in Powel's Valley."

Mingoe was ordered to be kept for trial—meanwhile 28th Jany. John Palin a planter complained of Sen that she had circulated some scandalous slander against him on this the Council ordered that Sen be severely whipped knowing her to be qualified to make mischief and guilty of telling lies and stories.

Jany. 29—Mingoe tried by a Jury who without any other evidence find him "guilty of designing to massacre by murder all the white inhabitants of the Island."

Jany. 31—The Council considering the Jury were not sworn and not expecting so severe a verdict summon them again. The Jury being sworn repeat their verdict.

Feb. 24—To-morrow was the day appointed for the execution of Mingoe but the chief and main evidence named Toby retracted his former statement and said Fox his master bid him say what he could to hang Mingoe. Ordered seeing that Toby varies so much in his declaration that the Jury be summoned again tomorrow.

Feb. 25—The Jury summoned and Toby who had again been in his masters hands returned to his former statement adding that Mingoe had threatened to haunt him after he

was dead was the reason he had denied his first declaration. Mingoe was accordingly executed this day!!

April 8.—Henry Francis allowed two acres of land lying on the Water Fall Plain next adjoining his own land formerly granted to Edward Edmunds his deceased Father in Law—[i.e. now called Francis Plain.]

June 25.—John Luffin going to England sells his house and 30 acres of land near Great Plantation to Gov^t. for £350.

Aug. 26.—Mrs. Clavering sentenced to be duckt in the sea at the Crane for scandalizing the whole Island—afterwards remitted and fined six dollars.

The Governor indisposed in the Country since 12th August. The Council desire him. 1—That in his absence one of them should lie in the Fort. 2—That the working soldiers should lie there. 3—That no negroes should sleep there. 4—That an account be taken of the Company's stock of Cattle. 5—a similar account of sheep, hogs, &c. 6—That Palin the Overseer should be removed for ill usage of the Company's blacks. The Governor agrees to the first three requests, but refuses the rest adding He was not obliged to render any account since the Company gave him commission to act. That Palin should stay his pleasure let who would say to the contrary, and that he had private orders for what he did.

The following day Governor Poirier was taken speechless and continued so almost to the very hour he died which was on Monday night 8th September 1707 having lingered a long time of a dropsical distemper.

Governor Poirier's Will after the usual preamble begins thus—I give thanks to my God for the miraculous means of which he made use to withdraw me out of my house in France. Protesting that there was no human means in it and that I heard his only Voice (when the Judges sent to take me*) saying come out hence, come out hence—which I did to their confusion and so I came out from under the slavery of Babylon. I give him also my most humble thanks for having provided me an Azile protection and entertainment under good and auspicious masters the Right Hon^{ble} English East India Company although loaded perpetually of trouble and vexations by traitors and unjust Enemies only because I never sought but the good and advantage of my illustrious masters. God grant he lay not their sins to their charge.

* In allusion to his troubles in France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Oct. 8.—Liberty had been granted for some years past to gather Sea Birds Eggs upon the Egg Islands on Tuesday, Thursdays and Saturdays. Notice given that boats which trespass on other days will be deprived of their privilege for the rest of the season.

Nov. 4.—Mr. Daniel Griffiths fined two dollars for being absent from muster, protests against it and claims he ought to have the same liberty as Mr. Carne who is reputed a Roman Catholic—complains that Mr. Carne was allowed to wear his sword and he Mr. Griffiths had never been refused such a privilege anywhere until now. That the Governor and Council had a prejudice against him and can only suppose it was for his being a true friend to the late Governor.

Mr. Carne's reply that he is surprized at Mr. Griffith's allusions "a fellowcountryman though it is to be feared we participate more of the frailties than virtues of the Welsh." Resents being called a Roman Catholic and alleges that the privileges granted him were allowed by the late Governor himself in consideration of his marriage with the precedent Governor's widow.

Nov. 18—Prices of Produce of the Companies Plantations—Yam 6s. a cwt., Beef 25s. cwt., Butter 10d. lb, Pork 4d. lb, Potatoes 4s. bushel, Fowls 1s. 4d. each, Turkeys 5s., Geese 5s., Goat 8s., Roasting Pig 3s., Milk 6d. gallon, Sheep 20s. each, Beans 9s. bushel, Running Hogs 2d. lb.

December 19—List of those dined at the General table and the order of their place, viz.—The Governor—The Council—The Minister—The Engineer—The Ensign—The Clerk of the Council—The Storekeepers Assistant—The Surgeon—The Sergeant of the Guard—The Writer—The Armourer—The Overseer of workmen—The two Masons—The Assistant to the Armourer—besides the Governor's family.

December 30.—The Company have a large stock of Cattle, therefore no one is to presume to sell Beef to ships except by special permission of the Governor.

Feb. 22, 1708.—Capt. Mashberne in digging lime stone in Breakneck Valley sent some mixt with other stones and dirt which tried in the fire was found mixt with several specks of gold.

Mr. Griffith hath since sent the Govt two sorts of minerals found by a soldier. The one is gold the other we take to be copper.

Rewards offered of £250 for discovery of a gold mine, £150 for copper being assured there are such mines upon this Island.

Feb. 24.—Mr. Mashborne states that being at Mr. Green-tree's House with Mr. Hoskison, Hoskison told him that the Governor and Council had not acted as they ought to have done in forbidding the freemen to sell their Cattle to ships. That in gaining £100 for the Company we had lost them £300,000 it being against their charter. For this Hoskison was fined four dollars and admonished.

Feb. 24.—Gabriel Powell although bound over to good behaviour on a previous complaint from Daniel Griffiths hath in a most infamous degrading manner sett up a pair of Beasts Horns with some part of the forehead nayled to a Pole upon a hill facing Griffiths house. Powell prays with great submission that his bond £100 may not be forfeited not thinking that his foolish act would be a breach of the peace. Fined £20 and the forfeiture of the remaining £80 left to the Company's decision.

March 9.—Newman fined for abusing the Engineer Vogel saying the Engineer knows no more than a cat—he was a foole and would go off the Island with disgrace.

March 22.—Crowns and Spanish pieces of eight (Dollars) ordered to pass at 5s. instead of 6s., as heretofore. All other coins in proportion. Those who have coin by them may pay them into the stores for old debts at 6s each dollar.

April 1.—The Engineer Vogel tried for profligate conduct and acquitted. But the Governor (Goodwin) on hearing from John Alexander Clerk of the Council that Vogel had asked a slave girl at the Castle who were the sweet hearts of Mary and Martha Goodwin, was very angry and said if this declaration had been given in before he did not think Vogel would have got off so well.

May 25.—Two years head money due to the Church from the inhabitants being computed after the rate of sixpence per head for all whites and blacks over 16 years of age. List shows 180 whites and 177 blacks—men and women—soldiers of Garrison and Company's slaves excepted.

August 24.—Governor John Roberts arrived.

An advertisement published of a reward of \$100 to any person who can get any Quarry of Stone to be burnt into lime for the use of the fortifications.

And for the sooner descrying of any ship that may approach nigh the Island from any part by any person as well free planter as soldier a reward of one dollar to any person who shall give first intelligence which we hope all persons will have due respect to for the security of the Island that we may be in readiness of Defence the sooner.

Goodwin, Mashburne, Marsden, and Griffiths to form the Council.

August 26.—Resolved that a new Fort of 180 feet square be immediately gone about according to the Governor's scheme in order of a better and stronger defence of the Island and convenience of Lodgings within the Fort.

Sept. 28.—For the speedy taking and apprehending of Runaway negroes who have been absent for several months *through their cruel usage beyond measure* and have done damage in stealing from several persons it is ordered that every owner of a runaway Black shall be obliged to give notice to the Governor in six days—if not—the negroes so runaway shall work for the Company six months and for the informer three months and upon the taking of such negroes the owners shall bring him to the Fort to receive condign punishment.

[*Note.*—Nothing is said about protecting the negroes "from cruel usage beyond measure," which was the admitted reason of their running away.]

Oct. 12.—Aaron Johnston soldier the first that found a Lime Stone on the Island rewarded with twenty dollars, the quantity being small about two tun which burns and sements as well as any chalk.

The Governor has been informed that our late Consultations has been revealed and buz'd up and down among the people. Is a hindrance to those in Council from giving their opinions as they would lest they should be rendered obnoxious to the people. Resolved that whoever reveals the secrets of the Consultations is a Traitor to the Company, a Betrayer of this Govt and to be dismissed.

The Governor reports to the Council that he observes the Engineer to be useless, running headlong, rather a Pioneer than an Engineer and no gentleman—Idle ignorant and lazy—to be dismissed.

Mr. Vogel the Engineer prays he might be allowed time till next ship arrives from England expecting to be employed in India. That his salary be continued to enable him to pay his debts and to carry him off like a gentleman. He is answered:—It was the opinion of the Council that if he carried nothing off with him he would in that point go off as much like a gentleman as he came on.

Dec. 7.—The House in the Fort ruinous and decayed and ready to drop down. Ordered—The Old house to be out of hand pulled down and a new one built. The inner part of the Rampart will serve for the back part of the House.

Dec. 14.—Tea in the stores—two dollars a pound a good medium price.

Letters to Court of Directors, 1707—As to Fortifications we say that Ruperts is almost finished. There's only the East Hill to cutt down 50 yards and a breach that the water hath made: as for the Grand Fort there 110 yards are done and 110 to do to secure the mouth of the valley which two valleys are the most considerable; when done the other small valleys would be soon done.

Nov. 1708.—The Cash is all gone from the Island as you may judge by the sale of the last stores in selling above £800 we have received but seven dollars (ready money) altho we gave out before the sale that we would reduce the dollars from 6 to 5 shillings.

In answer to your 27 para. about Wood we do apprehend there can be no want this fifty year, but we shall be encouraging the people to plant for their necessary uses about their plantations. If the great wood was fenced in it would be wood enough for the whole island. But it will be a great work it being about five miles round and stone very scarce in that place, and could not be done for less than £1000. But shall when the necessary fortifications are done take in some of it and take necessary measures for the next generations. The Blast has prejudiced the Island in general that there is not the thousandth part of the Lemmons there was.

As to Liquors. We can say nothing since Govr Poirier is dead but believe it was most spent in your Fort house [i.e. the Castle] for there was not any allowed to the Council at your Plantation but one or two bottles, when the Minister preached in the Country or when the Governor was there for his own use, and to give an account of the family then does not lye within our reach. The family now at the Fort Table is 27 and at the lower Table 18 besides Blacks and Boats crew that goe for lime and several others.

The storehouse, Plantation, Fort house, Hutts, Luffkins and the Barracks are tumbling down. Those that are standing are supported by Shoars that we are in danger of their falling about our Ears, and so are most of the Planters houses in the Island and thats the occasion we make such a large demand for Timber.

The *Blenheim* Capt. John Barnes arrived from Batavia 3rd Nov. 1708—we obtained from him 34 leagers of arrack, several of them we found partly emptied and in some we found hollow canes used generally by seamen to suck out of. We took no notice of this to the Captain nor of his

leaving the Cape when the *Stringer* galley would have sailed with him if he had stayed two days but came to this place when the sun was near the Zenith which put the hitting of this place to chance for that very day they made the Island the sun was but 2° 21' from the Island, and had they mist it and put up for this place again she is so bare of sails and rigging she must have been obliged to have layn up here. This is the only Arrack proper for this place for what comes from Bengal or Suratt gives our people the belly ache and Fluxes of which several have dyed.

The *Stringer* galley Captain Isaac Pyke [subsequently Governor] arrived here 14th Nov. We had no Sugar or Sugar candy for one week and applied ourselves to the Super cargoes. We have taken but 12 small chests 33 cwt. We cannot express our wants to you as matter of fact will—that is the *Stringer* galley people bought very brown sugar at the Cape at 8 dutch dollars a peccull which was disposed of here to our inhabitants in a moment at 18d a pound.

From Court of Directors 11th Jany. 1709.—The *Despatch* was in the beginning of May last by a French Privateer sunck on the North of Scotland. The Privateer running her down and all the men except the Doctor perished in her. We suppose Mr. Vogel the Engineer shared in the calamity with the rest of that ship's company as we hear only the Doctor escaped alone.

You say you have 27 persons at your upper table and 18 at your lower table besides Blacks and Boats crew for lime so that your expense cant be less than from 3 to 4 gallons of arrack a day which we think a very extravagant and unnecessary expense—you should have sent us the names of those 45 persons which is as you say the number of your constant daily family. We cant apprehend how there should be so many. We approve of Governor Roberts management for finding out lime by publishing a reward of 100 dollars, yet we cannot admit of his taking any of our Cash out of any of our outward bound ships.

The account is very surprizing to us to suffer the letters Consultation books, Register of Wills, &c. to be so much destroyed and damaged by Ratts, Moths, and Wett or any of them to be missing. That paragraph by intent of the Penman points particularly at Governor Poirier but this is a miscarriage that casts a disreputation upon the whole Council.

1709.—The Laws ordinances &c. lye so intricate and the old books by time and age so much injured that it is diffi-

to find anything out or to make anything of them—ordered that Capt. Mashborne and Mr. Griffith collect them in a Book to be titled “The Book of Laws and Constitutions.”

The Extract of all Laws being prepared it was found that some of them were proper for the Gov^r and Council only and some not in force being since repealed. A Digest was therefore prepared and resolved to summon 36 of the principal inhabitants to the Church by Plantation to read and receive them [The List shows who were the principal inhabitants in 1709 and is therefore given] viz:—Thomas Cason, Thomas Southen, Joshua Johnson, Gabriel Powell, Robert Addis, Hugh Bodley, James Draper, Richard Gurling, Charles Steward, Richard Alexander, Richard Swallow, Thomas Perkins, Benjamin Sich, John Twaits, Stephen Lufkins, John Robinson, William Seale, William Marsh, Thomas Harper, Henry Coales, Sutton Isaac, John Nichols, Thomas Swallow, Ripon Wills, Matthew Bazett, Thomas Gargen, Henry Francis, James Greentree, Jonathan Dove-ton, John Coles, Orlando Bagley, James Vesey, Robert Leach, Robert Bell, Thomas Burnham, and Francis Wrangham.

April 17, 1709.—The Assembly seemed well satisfied and chose twelve of their number to consider the same.

April 27.—Capt. Mashborne impounds five head of cattle off the Common—found to be Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson's widow of the late Governor—The Marshall to summon her next Council day.

May 3.—The Cattle adjudged to be forfeited but Mrs. Johnson allowed to buy them for £12. All Cattle ranging on the Common to pay 1s a year.

May 19.—Considering the vast charge our Hon. Masters are at in fortifying the outside of this Island, at the same the inside is going to ruine and has been decaying for fifteen years past especially in that article of Wood. Resolved the inhabitants shall enclose and plant one acre in ten within two years. The Company have ordered the enclosure of the Great Wood [i.e. Longwood and Deadwood] but the Inhabitants having represented to us what a damage to them the enclosing it would be. We will interceed that they may have liberty of the Great Wood provided they enclose their own land one acre in ten—ordered that no person do presume to cut any live wood until such time the vast quantity of Deadwood that lays in the Company's woods be first used.

Our Masters “Plantation” is quite destitute of wood so that one day in the week it employed all the Blacks to fetch

wood from Horse Pasture and the Great Wood; ordered that fifteen acres be enclosed at Plantation Valley and planted with Gum Wood. The Lemon trees in the Fort Valley are all blasted and won't take again therefore 500 Lemon trees to be planted at Plantation. The Yams in the Company's Plantations to be increased from 600,000 to 1200,000, one thousand yams being used daily for the Company's Blacks, Hogs, and Fowls.

May 31.—Trees in the new plantations not to exceed seven feet from each other (888 per acre) and if not planted in two years the lands to be seized to the Company.

June 14.—The twelve Inhabitants submit their views about the laws. [A detailed account is already published in Brook's History.]

July 5.—Barracks to be built from the Castle along the Garden—[i.e. the site of the present Supreme Court and Police Office].

July 12.—The Inhabitants complain of distress caused by the discharge of their blacks from pay and work at the fortifications in order to fence and plant their lands and represent that ships do not come here as formerly they did to take of their provisions.

July 19.—The Redwood and Ebony trees are most of them destroyed by the Tanners that for laziness never took the pains to bark the whole tree but only the bodies. We find that Ebony wood will burne Lime and being informed that there is huge quantities of that wood which lies dead on the hills near Sandy Bay the Gov. and Capt. Mashborne went there to view it and found the report true for that there is abundance indeed and just by that place where the wood lies is mountains of extraordinary Lime stone.

Ordered that an Alphabetical Abstract be made to all the Books that we may turn to anything we are minded to know unless it be law suits quarrels and other misdemeanors which one would have buried in oblivion (except the life and behaviour of George Hoskinson).

July 26.—The Gov^r has information that Mrs. Carne has several books and papers in her possession relating to the Lords Proprietors affaires that was lodged with her by her father Mr. Anthony Bealle and her former husband Governor Keeling. She owns it to be true but remembers some have been destroyed and used for waste paper.

The Governor says by the Lime Kiln in Sandy Bay there is a fine curious plaine which he believes will be proper to plant sugar canes. We find in 1689 Mr. Cox formerly overseer of Colonel Coddington's plantation in Barbadoes

skilled in raising and boyling sugar was sent out to raise Sugar here. We cant find that ever he made an experiment and by his discharge he was an idle drunken fellow therefore not sufficient to discourage us since every body says the Canes grew very well when they were planted formerly in this country.

Sept. 6.—The storekeeper reports short allowance of Arrack in store—whereupon ordered that two Legars of Arrack be reserved *to support the spirits of the people in case of an attack.*

Sept. 20.—A room taken for the Governor at Thomas Gargen's house in Sandy Bay to lodge in when he goes to view the Sugar Cane plantation.

The Governor finds that the building of Munden's Castle will take 8 or 10,000 bushels of Lime and burn up all the Wood. The thoughts of building Munden's Castle laid aside until we have coales from England.

The Sugar Canes grow in Sandy Bay plaine extraordinary well and the Deadwood will be very useful and serviceable in making Sugar and Rum.

Nov. 17.—Several idle and evil disposed persons do kill and eat more flesh than they can reasonably be supposed to do. To prevent such Pilfrages ordered that no beast or cattle be killed without being witnessed by some person warranted by the Gov^r to keep armes.

The Governor says that "*Ass negroes*" are now brought to be very serviceable in carrying Sand, Lime, Yams &c., there were 19 on the Island of which Capt. Mashborne has one and a foal, Capt. Goodwin one and Mr. Francis two—the rest are the Company's—ordered that they remain so and that all pretensions may be cutt off the others were all bought so that there will be none else upon the Island.

[*Note.*—The above name for the Donkeys is suggestive—and shows that in those days of Slavery Asses and Negroes stood nearly on one level.]

The Governor says we have a great many lees left of the Country Wine and some sower. He believes if a still house were built we could draw off the Wine into a Spirit and if no winter shipping arrive we must be obliged to still the most part of the next vintage.

John Alexander Clerk of the Council dismissed by Gov. Roberts and his brother Richard Alexander sent for and taxt with his scandalous way of running about the countrey saying the Governor would ruin them all. He denyed but we

are satisfied to the contrary—ordered to go off next outward bound ship.

[*Note.*—This harsh proceeding with his treatment of Edward and Hoskison occasioned subsequent trouble.]

Dec. 28.—Captain Goodwin's death on 21st Dec. 1709 after a lingering illness.

Dec. 29.—Humphrey Edwards for beating a soldier and "bid him go to the Governor and acquaint him with it for he did not care", also, sending for Jonathan Doveton in an impudent deriding way to come to see him Kill a Pigg with all speed or otherwise he would kill it without—Ordered to receive 39 lashes on his naked body at the whipping post, to be sent off in the first outward bound ship under the title of a Drone, and to be no longer esteemed a Planter.

Council Proceedings 7th Jany. 1710.—George Hoskison on 6th July 1708 [i. e. two months before Gov. Robert's arrival] clandestinely left the Island. It was ordered that his Estates seven in number containing 268 acres be forfeited to the Company for breach of the law requiring that two English persons should be maintained on every 20 acres for the defence of the Island.

17th Jany. 1710.—Mrs. Hoskison petitions for indulgence until the return of her husband. She is answered that the Council could not interceed for her to the Lords Proprietors of the Island for her husband had been such an ill liver that except murder we believe it will be no hard matter to prove that he has broak through all the laws of God and man.

7th March.—The Island is brought to that pass that should the Law of planting wood prove abortive the Island in 20 years time will be utterly ruined for want of wood, for no man upon St. Helena can say that there is one tree in the Great Wood, or other wood less than 20 years old consequently it will die with age. There is no wood on Bowman's land and the yam ground is worn out [i. e. 50 acres of the land seized from Hoskison and forming part of the land now called Oak Bank.] The Governor says this is a plain demonstration of the decay of this Island as on this land there formerly lived three families that now wont maintain one although it is in the very heart of the country.

[*Note.*—This shows how easy it is to blame Nature when the laziness of man alone deserves the blame. The land said to have been decayed and worn out is at the present time full of fine forest trees and is one of the prettiest Estates in the Island].

May 20.—Received "the General letter" by the *Mead*

from England. The ship still lyes becalmed to the windward of the Island.

[*Note*—The dead calm of which we still have such frequent experience in the month of May annually].

May 30.—The people are very sickly sending down every day to the Governor for Brandy—i.e. for leave to purchase it from the Company's Stores. The demands at the stores for Brandy on 6th June amounted to 20 Hogsheads.

August 15th.—The Governor exhibited to the Council a sample of St. Helena Sugar—9 or 10lbs. Resolved—That a pound or two be sent to our Honourable Masters and that they may be acquainted that we have found the following articles since Governor Roberts came here viz: Lime, Tyles, Bricks, Cut stones for building, Sugar, Rum, Minerals of several sorts, upon which we are now resolved to fire nine guns to drink our Honourable Masters good health and success to the Island.

October 10.—A return of lands showing that the quantity in the hands of the Inhabitants was 2250 acres of Lott land, i.e. lands assigned in lots of 10 or 20 acres to the first settlers and 786 acres lease lands.

Dec. 19.—The Castle at Munden's point finished all but one battery and the angle that joins to the hill to be left so till the Guns are mounted that being the properest place to purchase them up. A path to be cut between Managers Castle on Munden's point and the United Castle that a File of Musqueteers may go in abreast.

Governor Roberts remarks upon a lease granted to Mary Easthorpe near Longwood by the late Governor Poirier that he is informed this lease was given in a very capricious humour by the old Frenchman against the petition of most of the Inhabitants of that side of the Island, but the old gentleman was resolved upon it.

The Council believe that if all Freeholders were or could be bought out and the lands let out to lease it may prove for the benefit of our Masters.

Letter to Court of Directors, 1st Dec. 1710—We pray your Honours to believe we have no wish to point at any of our fellow servants that have gone before when so much labour and paines falls to our share, we say that the Antient Old Company has been very ill served for if any of their orders had ever been put in execution the Island would not have been in this ruined state and condition and if they had kept one half of the Island as by the 38 para. in 1683, we should not have been landlockt all round now nor have needed such large fences. The like order there was in the 88 para. of

the same letter to Fence in the Great Wood but there never was a stone laid or had Governor Poirier when he first took possession of Plantation fenced in the wood round about him which was so thick that they could hardly find their way to the place and now we can hardly find a tree. Or had he fenced in the ground that nearly costs as much money to keep the Cows out as the value of the grapes amounted to, or indeed had he done anything to prevent the Island going to Rack and Ruine we should have the less need of hands and our labour and time been employed to much better service. Whatever service that gentleman had done is a Secret to every soul upon the Island.

We advised your Honours by the *Tavistock* and *Somers* of those two Capt. Gordon and Trotter. First those gentlemen advised that they were not well received here according to the antient custom: they said it was for the Governor and Council to meet them at the Landing Rocks which the Council did, but the Governor did not budge out of the Fortifications but met them there. They also informed it was usual to welcome the Commodore with so many Guns which the Governor refused to do. But what was most in Capt. Gordon at his taking leave of the Governor like one of the false brethren Hugged and kissed and immediately after went up the valley and declared he would carry any body off. Missing of two soldiers we do believe he had them, for we are since informed that our people did see a Man of Warr's pinnace go privately to the West Rocks just before they went under saile which they supposed to be His. Thus your Honours may see the zealous intention of these gentlemen for your service that tramples upon your honour and had not the Commodore been an old intimate acquaintance of the Governor's which old Friendship those gentlemen could not break otherwise we must have been Hobby Horst by those gentlemen or ill blood must have arisen and we should have been very loth to have gone too farr, knowing the great charge they have of your Estate and the chief reason is because they could not Cork and Hosier us although we thought we did them a kindness in taking the goods off their hands as we did, and as the Scotchman was the chiefest merchant, so he made the most stirr.

Governor Roberts petitions to go home.

March 7, 1711—In relation to settling of the people in their property's they seem to scruple whether the sealing of the Old Company's Seale is authentic because the beginning of all leases run thus "The Lords Proprietors of this Island,

"The Honble United English East India Company of Merchants trading to East Indies" and conclude "have hereunto set our common seale" which seale being the Old Company's Seale seems to these People a contradiction.

Heavy seas fell here in January last. A hundred foot of the middle angle washed away and several other parts much damaged and also the line of guns at Bankses as by the Governors draught of that place is entirely washt away, we had much adoe to save the guns. It sunk the Punt and tore her all to pieces.

We sent you by the *Abingdon* some sugar but as we say there, we having not the right way of curing it therefore if you will send a man experienced in making sugar with mills and all things necessary you may in 5 or 6 years have a ship load of sugar for a ship load of coals, and therefore we do affirm that we have put the making of Rum and Sugar beyond all doubt.

We have been in a very bad condition for want of Liquor upon the Island. We have not had a drop of strong Liquor in your store this month. There is no living in this hilly country and drink nothing but water. We have made about one hundred weight of sugar out of the canes in this lower garden, but believe we have not the right way of curing it, and are possessed with an opinion that the canes in the country will make much better. We have sent by Capt. Lesly about half a dozen pound. We have not sufficient ground to maintain above 50 blacks more than we have—the ground wears away strangely for notwithstanding we have made several new Plantations within this three years and planted at least 120,000 yams yet by the decay of the old plantations we cant say we are increast.

A vast quantity of Fencing is required, nor can we tell how long we shall be about it, yet when it is done there will be hardly a stick of wood in them all, nor can we give you any Estimate as yet what your charge will be to fence in the Wood at Horse Pasture as also the Great Wood because the digging for stones is so uncertain, for the charge will be so much the more or less according to the distance the stones must be brought for Fencing.

If your Honours should give George Hoskison his Estate at the Horse Pasture again we must bid farewell to most part of the Island and expect no wood from thence. We shall not have wood to boile your yam in a very few years and it will render your Island useless after all your great charge. The young trees we have planted does not answer our expectation as we could wish. We pray your

honours to harken to what we say for we regret to tell you your Island is almost ruined. Without your encouragement in general we can have no hopes for if we are not plentifully supplied with stores so we may be able to put your Laws in execution those two most articles of Fencing and Planting should they prove abortive there is an end of it, for a great many Planters which are very poor and much indebted to your care not which end goes foremost, and even challenge us to send them where we will for it cannot be say they to a worse place for here they neither get Clothes to their back nor a Dram to drink.

Jan'y. 9, 1711.—The Governor offers a project which in few years will yield twice the Revenues of the whole Island and that is to take the whole Run of Water out of Plantation Valley and carry it upon a hill which leads to a plane—[i.e. since called New Ground] being an extreme hot place nothing but water is wanting to make it fruitful. We then command at least 200 acres and all the plain between Plantation Valley and Breakneck Valley about 150 acres. There will be at least 50 acres of yam ground which at 30,000 to an acre is 150,000. We shall be certain of our grain for there it wont be subject to those intolerable worms that as soon as corn and beans are planted eats them up. The whole plain will bear Sugar Canes. I am of opinion that 20 or 30 acres of Sugar Canes will maintain this Island in Sugar. They will yield as well here as in the West Indies having as good and as large growing as I have seen there. I have heard the planters say in the West Indies that it was an ordinary acre of Cane that did not yield 6 hogsheads of Sugar. We also may plant 50 60 or 70 acres of Indian Corn which is a very material article and a much more wholesome food than yams—and as for Vineyards we may have as much as we please on the sides of the hills clear of Foggs so that we may be sure of a Vintage besides Plantain trees, &c. All this within view of our own Plantation house where one Black under Eye does more work than four out of sight and because in the dry season the Run will not be sufficient to maintain so vast a piece of ground tis necessary during the Rains to over flow it and to preserve it in the dry season I propose at the top of the Hill to make a Pond or Tank that shall hold 1000 tunns of Water and so in convenient places to make several of the same sort bigger or less as we see occasion.

Capt. Mashborne is of opinion—It is the greatest improvement that ever was proposed at St. Helena and all this Council is of opinion it will be such an improvement that

ever was proposed at St. Helena and all this Council is of opinion it will be such an improvement that never was thought of nor heard before.

Jan. 16.—The Governor reports that the high seas which began the 13th of this Instant and continued the 14th and 15th has done a great deal of damage. It has entirely washt away the lower fort of two guns at Bankses and had like to wash the guns away for we had enough to do to save them. The same high seas has also broke the middle angle of the Trench in James Valley for a matter of 110 foot and has damaged the angle there where the round Tower is of one gun insomuch that it was like to tumble down. We were forced to remove all the powder into the great magazine for it filled that place full of water and has damaged the Trench in several other places and has thrown up a vast quantity of beech stones into the Breech of the Trench. Those high seas sunk the punt and broke her loose also the yawl and he offered Ten pounds to five soldiers that could swim well if they would swim off to save them. They threw themselves into the Sea and recovered the yawl but could not bring in the punt for they say she was tore all to pieces by the seas—however for the hazarding of their lives and bringing in the yawl the Governor gave them some punch and victual and ten dollars after they came ashore the next day for they could not get ashore that day by reason of the high seas. The seas had like to wash down the crane the place where shipping waters [i.e. now the Upper Crane].

March 29.—William Coales prays that his title may be established to 20 acres of free land that did formerly belong to Black Oliver and afterwards to John Worrall from whom Henry Coales bought it for his son William 14 years ago. Mrs. Grace Coulson being examined declares that Black Oliver was her slave and also his wife and when the Dutch took the Island in 1672 they went to Brazil and there sold the said Oliver to an English merchant one Mr. Abram by name. Capt. Anthony Beale and Capt. Metford commander of the *Humphrey and Elizabeth* hired a sloop at Brazil to come and cruise to the windward of this Island to give notice to all merchantmen that the Island was taken by the Dutch and they persuaded Mr. Abram to let the said Oliver go in the aforesaid sloop because he knew the Island. Being upon her cruise to the windward of the Island they met with Sir Richard Munden to whom they gave notice as aforesaid and Black Oliver being well acquainted with the Island took him out of the sloop and ordered him to con-

duct his men into the country to retake the Island which he performed—for that good service Sir Richard Munden gave him his freedom and sent the money to his master to Brazil and five pound more than he paid for him. Mr. Coulson and his wife arriving in England with the said Black Oliver's wife the antient old Company bought her of them and sent her here to her husband and repaid Sir Richard Munden for Black Oliver who was made a free planter and bestowed this 20 acres of land upon him and all other encouragements that free planters then had as appears by the 33 para. of a letter from the antient old Company dated 19th Sept. 1673 as may appear.

Afterwards in the unhappy Rebellion 21st October 1684 the said Black Oliver in coming down to attempt the Fort was shot. After these unhappy commotions was over the antient old company did say that Estates of such as shall be convicted of the late rebellion will return to the Company's use. We find that seizure was made of several and only one that we can find refused which was John Luffkin as by Consultation 12th July 1690 "He wholly refused to make any agreement with us alledging his said Estate was not forfeited he being condemned by "*Court Martial*" to which consultation we can find no answer only an order in 1699 to repay Grace Coulson back the money she had paid her husband being one of the sufferers. Now since this poor planter William Coales has quietly possess the said Lott land of Black Oliver this 14 years and the money was paid to the son of the said Black Oliver William Coales is declared to be the lawful owner.

April 6.—This Island ever since it was retaken from the Dutch has layn unsettled and the inhabitants have not been establishd in their estates. The lands lye unfenced, no land marks or plans.

April 7.—The Churchwardens petition that whereas our Churchyard at the Fort is very small and hardly room to dig a grave for rocks and graves already digged also our yard wall is very bad and irregular we pray that we may enlarge our yard backwards by cutting the water in a new course near the hill and have liberty of ranging the front wall with the street.

The Petitioners are answered that its commendable in them to promote the putting that piece of rubbish called a church yard in order; its for the credit of the island, and we advise you to repair the Church or it will tumble down in a little time. People will be apt to say that at this island the old proverb is true about settlements, that where the

English settle they first build a Punch House, the Dutch a fort and the Portuguese a Church.

April 7.—William Coales applies for a loan of £30 to buy a slave and is lectured for it and told "If you can't live here go where you can live better." Coales pleaded that it was very hard to go with his family from his native country. He was answered to be industrious and there would be no occasion, for no planter is fitt to live upon this island that cant keep himself out of debt, supply his family, and provide something of refreshment for the shipping.

April 9, 1711.—Governor Roberts proposes to turn a stream of water from the valley on to Prosperous Bay Plain. "It will command a great many acres of good land before you come to Prosperous Bay Plain, and after you brought it to that glorious Plain the finest that ever I saw in my life anywhere, I believe it is a matter of 200 acres of good ground better situated than this last we made, being more out of the wind and I can turn the water upon it in about two months time with a hundred blacks."

Gov. Roberts proposes to enclose an acre of ground with large styes to hold 150 or 200 hoggs to be fattened "then the pork will be extraordinary good and sweet and not as it is now fishy and nasty the worst that ever I tasted in my life, for it is a burning shame that for these seven or eight and thirty years the Company's Hog styes and Dary are hardly as good as the Planters, and not so much as a Wash House built."

May 29.—Capt. Mashborne reports that the hard winds on Sunday night blew down the Old Blacks house in the Country, but neither killed nor hurt any of the Blacks, they running out so soon as it began to crack.

July 3.—The Company's Stock consisted of 14 bulls, 30 bullocks, 113 cows, 41 heifers, 33 steers, 33 yearlings, 71 calves, total 335—sheep 52, goats 107, hogs 64.

Ensign Thomas Cason's land lyes between Plantation House and High Peak—by obtaining it we should have all clear to the High Peak and his pastures being extraordinary good is exchanged for a grant of ground in Sandy Bay.

Letter to Court of Directors 17th July, 1711.—We shall take leave to say something in relation to George Hoskison since if we are rightly informed, we shall give your Honors the common report, that the Governor and Council of St. Helena are turned out for seizing of his lands and by a letter from him to his wife here which advises that Capt. Boucher is coming out Governor and himself Deputy and that

the Company has made him satisfaction for his lands. We have hardly faith to believe that by making such an example of the highest importance for the strengthening of this your Island where a man possesses near 1 10th part of it and without any regard to the Laws and Constitutions of it goes off without a Licence and in the heat of Warr and leaves not so much as one man to defend it; however we shall show your Honours what fair play we gave him although examples of this nature are requisite to be made, yet to show how tender we are of ruining that man and his family we shall not trouble you with a Dialogue between the Governor and the Captains of the men of Warr and Merchantmen that solicited in his behalf, only their saying that he was an honest Fellow &c., and it was a pity he should be ruined, and repeating of his honesty so often the Governor's answer was, Gentlemen you talk so much of an honest Fellow meaning George Hoskison, there he is let him prove that ever he complied with one obligation even from under his hand and seale and I will give him his land again and stand in the Gap between the Lords Proprietors and him. Upon a second application by the Captains the same answer was returned George Hoskison to his face, for the truth and testimony of this the Governor refers himself to the Captains of the Men of Warr as well as ourselves. This together with your Honours character of him in 20 para. by the Fleet Frigot where you are pleased to say, "There is one Hoskison a Vicious Fellow, &c., we leave upon record for him to read at his leisure hours, that whilst he is in being it may serve for a memento mori, that he may hereafter live a more Godly and righteous and sober life."

But after all when the Captains would not leave soliciting in his behalf and a tenderness we had for his family the Governor bid him go and take possession of his lands again, sitt down and mind his plantations and be accountable as other people were that hire land at 4s. per acre and petition the Lords Proprietors and we would intercede for him, this seemed to be pleasing on all sides, but the reason why he changed his mind afterwards and went off to England we must only guess at.

It has been our misfortune not to receive any instructions or directions in all those we think important affairs for the good of this your Island since Governor Roberts came, we can say no more this being the last letter we expect to signe to you.

Postscript. We come now to acquaint your Honours that about 6 in the morning allarm was made on 22nd May last.

About 11 in the forenoon the shipp appeared on this side the Barn close to the shoar with Portugeeze Collours and a large Broad Pennant at the main topmast head. Immediately after the ship stood right off to sea with all her sailes set, only the larboard clugarnet of the main sail was hauled up which we suppose was done the better to view the Island and to see what ships were in the Road after she had run about 3 leagues out then clapt close upon a wind again and stemmed directly with Mundens point Castle, made a waife with his Jack and a little time after fired three guns by way of salute as we suppose and was answered with one from the Castle on Mundens point. Thus he kept on his way towards the Road but always inclining to keep out of Gun shott and immediately fired one of his Guns from his lower Tire which by the Report we are assured it could not be less than a Demi cannon. He was answered with a Demi cannon from this Line and afterwards came abreast of the Castle but at least six or seven miles out. We perceived him to be a Man of War built ship with three decks (such another ship as the *Cumberland* both the Head and Stem and the shear of the ship was altogether beautiful with very large sailes). As he lay off he made a waife with his Ensign and fired another gun, a signal to send a boat off to him, we made a waife with our Flag of the Castle and fired a Demi cannon from the Line for him to send his Boat ashoar. Thus the time was spent till between 4 and 5 when he hoisted out his boat and sent her ashoar with 12 rowers 2 setters and a coxswain and landed at the Crane just as it was dark. Immediately an officer with six file of musqueteers secured the 13 seamen and brought the two officers to the Sessions House who declared themselves one to be Capt. Lieut. the other 2nd Lieut.—being separated were asked several questions but they not agreeing in their account as to the number of men or guns or burden of ship or indeed in anything but the name of the ship *Nostra Seignora de Concepcion* from Goa. One said she was a ship of 3000 tuns 120 guns the other 2000 tuns and 110 guns. It was between 8 and 9 at night before we had done the examination and concluded to send their Boat with a letter from the Lieut. to the Captain to send the commission ashoar—but when they came to the water side it blowed very fresh and it was very dark and the ship having no light out they could not tell where to find her. The next morning the ship was almost out of sight making the best of her way. The officers nor people would not venture to follow her

and seeing their ship gone they were obliged to remain here.

July 17, 1711.—The Governor has had the offer of the Captains of the Men of Warr to assist him with their men and what else they could spare to take fourteen Demi cannon off this line and place upon Munden's Point Castle but when we come to examine into Timber, Topmasts, &c., to make such purchases as are requisite we found the Men of Warr had both sprung their topmasts and so they became useless. We are very sorry that such an important Castle as that is for the preservation of your shipping should be built and lye without guns ever since the latter end of December last and so must remain until the arrival of the Store ships. Had the Indent come in time which we expected in the year 1709 your Island would have been made impregnable, your Shipping been safe against the attempts of an Enemy and no ship could have rode to leeward but we should have had a shot to throw at him, your Island would have been defended by a handful of people and all these fortifications had been at an end long agoe.

Letter from Court of Directors 17th April 1711.—Appointment of Capt Benjamin Boucher as Governor Mr. George Hoskison 2nd Mr. John Pack 3rd Mr. Daniel Griffiths 4th and Mr. Matthew Bazett 5th of Council.

The style of the Company changed from that of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies" to that of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

"Fourteen ships had been taken up for all parts of India this season" from 180 to 500 tons each. When any of these vessels outward bound take stores to St. Helena we pay six weeks demorrage for their deviation to St. Helena and also for all the time they stay there above the working days.

We have been informed by Mr. Hoskison and assured by petition of several inhabitants that Mr. Mashborne and Mr. Marsden have been guilty of engrossing commodities on board. We do dismiss them our service from the arrival of this letter.

Our accounts have been kept little better than a Shop Book. Mr. Pack has been elected he being one of our accountants office. Mr. Hoskison being well skilled in Plantation affairs he shall have the care of Plantation House, &c.

The late Governor Roberts having desired to come home

by the summer ships order the Captains to receive him and use him civilly.

We have read over the case of Mr. George Hoskison. There is a vein of resentment seems to run through the whole proceeding—proof of the ill offices some or other had done him with Capt. Roberts who carryed the matter too far—being now determined to make a new settlement of the Island we hope to the liking of all the industrious and honest inhabitants we are willing to set aside all the seizures of Mr. Hoskison's lands.

We are pleased with the account Gov. Roberts gives us that he effectually checked that lazy disposition of too many of the Planters to let all run to ruin and by removing some of the Drones and speaking well of the industrious has mended the temper of the rest that they are as busy bees.

Gov. Roberts says we may be sure of Wine, Brandy, Oil, from the Physick Nut Sugar or Molasses and Rum, all which are noble additions to the improvements of the Island.

The two samples of Minerals one which he thought gold the other copper have been tryed here and are only Marchasites as the Artists here call them, that is to say if there is any metal in them it cant be separated but flies away in the Fire in Fumes.

Augt. 7th 1711.—Governor Benjamin Boucher arrived with Mr. George Hoskison as deputy Governor.

Sept. 24.—Governor Roberts letter to Governor Boucher and Council offering to assist with advice as to fortifications and reccomends the mounting of the biggest guns at Munden. I am further to acquaint you that I have a long time waited with patience and avoided all manner of conversation being informed that George Hoskison was to sue me for damages about the seizure of his land. And likewise that the cause of John Alexander should have a rehearing and also the cause of the widow Alexander now the wife of Thomas Gargen as also the case of Humphrey Edwardes and a serjeant that was dismist. * * The sooner I say these matters are decided the better. * * For my part Gentlemen I am very desirous if you think it convenient that an order be published by beat of drum for any person that can prove I have wronged 'em to the vullue of a groat. I will make 'em a round satisfaction: the same I'll do to any person that can prove I have got a groat by 'em.

The Councils answer. Tis doubtful to us whether it was the opinion of all the Commanders of last and this summers shipping that demi-cannon be mounted at Munden's fort since we can no where find any minutes taken by you and

Councill of such opinions—and it appearing to us (upon very good reasons we shall shortly have the honour to transmit to our Masters) that less guns will answer the same end shall mount but few if any demi-cannon at that fort—and as to the manner of mounting them shall take the quickest and cheapest method we are capable of which though it may be different from any projected scheme of your's we hope will not (for that reason) be displeasing to our Masters. That work being in good forwardness hope by the time you may be going off they may be most of them mounted. By the way beg you to take notice that fort is not in a condition to receive guns.

We shall upon all occasions readily accept your assistance and advice for the interest of the Honourable Company but beg you will never offer either but with sincerity. * * As to the several cases mentioned in your's to be yet undecided as Hoskinsons Alexanders Edwards &c., we have and shall strictly follow the directions of the Honourable Court of Directors—but must take notice by the bye that it was not possible for you to know we had any instructions relating to the above mentioned but by some of our Council which remark we must transmit to our Masters. * * * You conclude with your offer of restitution and reparation for all injuries done in your Government and we are willing to have the whole Island know it by beat of drum.

'Tis the opinion of the Honorabel Court of Directors that in the seizure of Hoskisons lands you went too far and we are sure that you went yet further than they ever knew—and if seizure of land be deemed lawful in his case which was the extent of the penalty you could have no just excuse for destroying all his cattle and permitting his wife to be insulted—and further had he incurred the forfeiture of land (which according to proof in England and he is much better able to prove it here he did not) how comes orphans lands to be equally liable which he had but in trust. This we humbly presume is against the laws of England—but we hope since you have offered it you'll make ample satisfaction to both—and this being done we shall have reason to believe you'll do the same wherever any further complaints may be made.

December 1st.—Governor Roberts and Mr. Marsden sailed for England in the *Mead* frigott

Dec. 20th.—Half way Tree common about three miles in circumference to be reserved for Company's Cattle Hogs and Goats—there being no plantations or houses between the Great Plantation and the Fort Valley.

Extravagant prices having been given for Blacks as £45

a head ordered that no slave from ships shall be purchased at a higher rate than £20 for a man and £15 for a woman. Island Blacks being more docile and useful may be sold at £24 a man and £18 a woman—any breach of this to involve the forfeiture of the Slave sold and one years labor of the the slave will be allowed to any informer.

Jan. 9th 1712.—The Governor proposed a pathway from Peak Gutt to Sandy Bay for conveying cut stone, but finding a better stone in Sandy Bay had abandoned the idea. A Lime Kiln built at Sandy Bay close to the Beach which will burn near 1000 bushels at once: the Gov^r recommends a 20 tun vessel should be obtained for water conveyance to save labor of Blacks.

Feby. 5th.—The Governor having ordered the colours to be half-masted on 30th January being King Charles Martyrdom, Capt. Hoskison further caused eight guns to be fired, for doing which the Gov^r requires an explanation in writing.

March 7th.—Capt. Hoskison died at Plantation last night about 12 o'clock.

April 8th.—Lycence for retailing strong Liquors to be put up to Auction at an upset price of four hundred dollars.

July 25th.—Severer prohibitions against the unlicensed destruction of Game, Partridges, Guiney Hens, Pigeons, Turtle Doves, &c. except within enclosed lands.

Sept. 26th.—Governor Boucher being in a declining state of health Capt. John Pack ill at Plantation, Capt. Hoskison and Griffith dead, the Company's affairs without additional help will certainly suffer—resolved to appoint Thomas Cason a sober honest and industrious man and John French overseer of Fortifications and indefatigable in that troublesome business to assist in Council.

Oct. 2nd.—Antony a Maccausa man had been on the Island for some years sent here from Madras for some fault which he denies—he is a poor quiet fellow now old, and having been civilly used by all Governors is allowed to return to see his brother (who he says is Sultan, he being too old to do the Company any service here, or harm to 'em at Bencoolen.)

Lime to be sold at the Lime Kiln at 1s. 6d. a bushel and at the Castle at 2s 6d.

Letter from the Directors 30th March, 1712.—We were desirous to quiett the minds of the people by receding from our just demands and passing a kind of general amnesty. We were in great hopes the same temper would have prevailed on you all to second our intentions but instead thereof

it appears to us that the people of St. Helena have been spirited up to greater heats and animositys. By the whole of your carriage towards the late Governor and Council and the reflections made on their management we would have thought you would have far exceeded them in yours. * * * This we must say, we expect these things be mended as we hope they will when your heads grow cool and that passion and heat which seems to run through all your proceedings is evaporated now he that furnished you with so much Fewel is removed. Mr. Hoskison is dead who by all accounts did not deserve the favour we showed him in advancing him to be second of the Council. We are sorry the Council complain to us one against the other in their private letters—such animositys and heart burnings portend no good to us * * * * Is this the surpassing your Predecessors or the way to recommend you to us. If these things are not mended we shall be necessitated to shift hands. We have been informed whilst Mr. Hoskison lived he affected so much pomp that he had always three or four of our blacks to wait upon him. We are extremely concerned Mr. Pack should have been almost twelve months on the Island and yet has sent home no books although he is an accomptant, whereas we have never wanted our books before. As to Mrs. Hoskison's letter of complaint we cant see any reason to take notice of it because having examined Captain Roberts on every the articles she complains against him for, he referred us to the letter he wrote you the 30th October wherein he denied the then charge on this score, which was much of the same nature with her letter, and challenged you to disprove him in any one article; and by what appears to us you never did though Mr. Hoskison was then living himself and sat as judge as well as accuser and Capt. Roberts stayed on the Island above a month after; so that it appears to us to be an artful calumny with plausible colours put upon it—this we say for the sake of the penman who wrote her letter, and who also sent us what he called an answer to that letter wherein is no want of hard reflections but not a word of accusation of Mr. Hoskison which if true would have afforded sufficient matter for him to have harangued upon with his pen dipt in vinegar and gall.

Governor and Council to the Directors 19th July 1712.—Our first to your Honours was near four months after our arrival but its too hard to accuse of idleness till that time. If your Honours will please to consider the nature of the work we hope you'll allow that making a causeway over the Rocks and out of the Rocks for above half a mile, broad enough for

a file of muskets to march abreast; to finish Munden's battery; to mount the guns and build a house for the guard was tolerable well employing four months. The Middle Bastion of the line of Guns washed down the inside of the Trench and the Bastion made good. The curtain of the Front of the Castle paved, a Quarry of stone found in Sandy Bay, a Lime Kiln built which will draw 600 bushels of Lime, &c., so that though your Honours are pleased to say nothing appears to be done by the Consultation book yet there was business done and more than had been done in many months before besides the recriminating letters which past between the two Governors and Council, we hope and we are sure that the world that sees it will allow something has been mended, and if Consultations are not so frequent as formerly tis that there are less animosities among the people and more business done than talked of.

On Friday 8th early in the morning an allarm was made for three ships—about 11 they came too with English and one with Dutch collours within a league of land to leeward of Bankses and brought too—their boats wee could see rowing aboard each other, but none towards the shoar. We sent a fishing boat on board to know what ships they were, who returned with the account that they were two French men of warr and the third a Dutch Prize—*La Paix* and *Le Diligence*. They were in expectation of a peace, but being told we knew of none on shoar about one they hoisted their French collours and bore away with this remark to our People that we lookt very Snapish.

Letter to Directors 9th April, 1713.—Our last was by the *Lenox* on 20th July last. The 2nd instant arrived the *Abingdon* with stores and a very angry letter from your Honours. We are concerned extreemly that you could so much as think we deserved so harsh a style, however as Employers have a privilege to find fault, servants have a just right to make their defence which we shall endeavour with truth and sincerity. We are sensible that you were desirous to quiet the minds of the people by receding from your own just demands and passing a kind of general amnesty for all former Transgressions and we assure your Honours we came here with the very same temper, but hard it is indeed if we must be charged with stirring up the people of St. Helena to greater heats and animosities who when we arrived were as high as could be.

We know not what account might be given by the *Mead*, but it had been just and kind to have charged us with some particular persons whom we had spirited that we might know

with whom to use the Exorcism having that remedy in such cases always ready.

Whoever has informed you that the dissent of two of the Council was ever denyed to be entered in Consultation or the general letter is an utter Enemy to truth.

We were not of opinion nor are we now that Demy-cannon are improper guns for Mundens battery but to draw all of those cannon from the Line where they are, to mount them at Mundens that we were against and are still and we dare affirm it never was any one Captains opinion.

That there has been great heart burnings and animositys amongst our Council is too true. God Almighty has in part cured them by removing the most violent.

We think one great means for cool debate is for the Council to keep their heads so.

We cant by no means omit informing your Honours that this Island is now in a very deplorable condition for want of Rain these ten months past which hath occasioned the death of abundance of Cattle besides Hoggs and Goats and reduced most of the Inhabitants stock very low. Your Honours since 25th March last having lost nigh 60 head of Cattle and likely to lose a great many more which out of 292 head (your whole stock in December last) is a great loss.

As to what Governor Roberts says in his letter that the Goats destroy all the Trees and the Island speedily ruined if they were not killed we dont think this feasible or beneficial either for that goats ranges generally in the out parts of the Island next the sea where nothing else can, or few Trees grow except Shrubs which is of no use, and they live with lesser care than anything else and is very ready meat and saves the killing of Cattle.

Its impossible to fence the Great Wood and had we never so many hands the charge of doing it would be more than the advantage and as to those Trees being barked for tanning leather they never grew in or near the Great Wood but under the Main Ridge called Redwood Trees the best and most proper for building houses of which there's but very few now the nature of those Trees seldom producing young ones although enclosed whereas Gumwood doth.

Please to supply us with a few drinking glasses, there being not so much as one belong to the Company. As also a few handsome Looking Glasses. We have not a Clock for the Workmen or do we know the hour of the day but by Glasses a very uncertain instrument if not tended. Your Honours request draughts of the works begun or completed.

The Governor sends a small draught and prospect of the whole when finished and which he drew for his own amusement. It has occasion for many excuses from the difficulty of taking Prospects in a little poppling boat and tumbling sea.

10000 deals very much wanted for the people are about fitting their houses very handsomely in the Fort Valley.

April 3, 1713.—Capt. John Pack deputy Governor died.

May 12.—No rain for ten months—meat very scarce. As a relief the inhabitants allowed the use of the Company's yawl to catch fish under regulations.

June 4.—This Island to our great grief being at present in a very bad and deplorable condition for want of rain these ten months. Most or all Plantations being meerly burnt and scorcht up and little of any sort to be seen above ground, besides the great death and consumption of Cattle which has reduced most of the Inhabitants stocks very low.

July 8.—Yesterday the Governor received information at the Plantation House by a letter from Mr. Bazett that he was informed by Robt. Wallington soldier that several of the Garrison did design to rise under pretence of wanting victuals. The Govr immediately wrote a note to Mr. Bazett then in James Valley to take great care of the Castle—to place honest centinels—and to order all flints to be taken out of all the small arms except those at centry. In the night he would send privately to Prosperous Bay to order an alarm to be made at break of day and upon hearing it to give out that the ship was supposed to be a man of Warr or advice boat from England to bring news of Peace and as the freeman came down to draw them all into the Castle and deliver 'em arms which will keep the soldiers in awe and when he came down he would examine them—on examination Serj. Southen states—He was at the Castle Gate and heard Gore say twas better to be hanged than to starve to death. Griffiths answered 'twas better to die like men than dogs.

Brogden one of the accused states. That most of the soldiers were very dissatisfied and ready to starve for want of victuals and that rather than that they would die for want they designed to seize the Governor and Council without spilling any blood.

Wilson the Gunner states—On the alarm being given he repaired to his post at Munden's point. After priming the guns Brogden said what makes you prime the guns, which way do you look for the ship. Surely says deponent to windward, she is not to leeward. No replied Brogden you

must look for her this way, and pointed towards the Fort Valley. Why so says this deponent I hope the Blacks are not rising. No answered Brogden, they took our flints out of our pieces last night upon suspetion of a Mutiny but what we do we will do by daylight and not by night and if you was the first man we come to and would not condescend to us you would be a dead man.

Other evidence was taken and eight soldiers were imprisoned and were kept in confinement but not otherwise punished.

Governor Boucher to the Directors 31st March 1714.—In answer to your letter by the *Susannah* your complaint in the 1st paragraph is general and you express your disappointment that you had from a new Governor and Council. We say that there was a new Governor but we hope yourselves confess that was two old Council and two new and your affairs here have suffered by your patch work. You charge some of us with promises made and if you had said by whom we could give you a particular answer. Capt. Boucher being the only one surviving that came from England answers for himself that he has done more since he has been upon this island than ever he promised and (if Capt. Pennells information be true) more than he has been paid for, and he supposes a breach of contract a greater piece of injustice than a breach of verbal promise, had there been any such.

We despatched this ship in ten working days and since you are pleased to twitt us so often with our predecessors performances we cant find he did ever unliver one ship in the time we did two. As to your trying other hands Capt. Boucher desires for his part you'll send a pair of hands in exchange for his as soon as possible and he offers it as his humble advice that when you are about changing you'll change all for he has seen the ill consequences of patching an old coat with a new piece of cloth.

You are pleased to remark that your mercantile business is much worse managed now than formerly. Capt. Boucher thinks it his very great unhappiness that most of the charges brought against him by his employers have risen from the mismanagements and neglects of others their servants under him.

As to our surpassing our Predecessors and meriting the gratuity mentioned, Capt. Boucher takes it as directed to himself since he knows nobody else stands upon the footing of gratuity, and he is resolved with himself never to make such precarious bargains with any part of mankind here-

after—he is well assured you have not proceeded with him according to the merits of the cause but upon the information of Villanes here and in London. But he hopes to find that Justice if ever he lives to see England that he has much better deserved a gratuity than any of his Predecessors both on account of doing and suffering. As to secret ill designs or underhand dealings he wishes to God all mankind were as free of them as he is, and in this case he takes suspicion itself to be an act of high injustice. You are pleased in your 16th paragraph to carry your censures of Capt. Boucher joyned with the then Storekeeper a great length—the words suggest to any man on earth at first sight a contrivance in both to defraud you in your Stores. As to your Storekeeper Mr. Pack he has answered at a much greater tribunal if he ever did defraud you, though the Governor does not know or believe that he willingly ever did. You are pleased to say you are informed that neither the Governor or Mr. Pack did care Mr. Bazett should have any thing to do in the Store and you are pleased to suppose you had found the evil of that viz. that they might with greater security carry on their before mentioned Plott of defrauding you there. Whoever gave you that information tis much more likely wants honesty than either of the other two. If those villanous suggestions were the product of St. Helena one would have imagined for the discretion of an Honourable Court of Directors they could not be authentic enough of themselves for a charge of Robbing them, for the falsity and villany of these kind of informations have been so often detected that tis a great surprize to Captain Boucher they are in any manner encouraged in England. He does not mean that he would not have the Court informed of any injustice he committed in their service—the least fraud he wishes from his soul they may always know, but there is something previous to a charge which in natural justice seems necessary to be considered—as the character of the Informer, his motives to the information—his grounds for such information. Then the character of the person informed against and many more of such kinds. He has much more and better reason to suspect none of these have been considered and rightly weighed. Your 23rd paragraph charges the Governor that he overawes Mr. Bazett by threatening to turn him out. Mr. Bazett should as justly have told you what he was to be turned out for, and have left you to be judge whether it was right or wrong—or Mr. Bazett should have been as fair with the Governor as the Governor was with him who never wrote anything against him to the

Court of Directors but what he told him of before, and after what he has wrote or shall write concerning me let him look to the truth of his information when that shall be tryed, else wherefore I shall away to put him upon a chargeable voyage, let who will bare the cost—my reputation shall not be used like a Shuttle Cock and Battledore with Inuendoes from St. Helena to London and back from thence to St. Helena whilst I live.

[The above Extracts are given at some length because Govr Boucher has been severely handled in Brooke's history, but the Records fairly sifted and weighed would leave a better impression of his character, which if it had nothing great had certainly nothing bad about it. The completion of Munden's battery and road, the erection of the Castle Terrace and the Limekilns of Sandy Bay were some of his works. There is an absence of any of those acts of harshness too common in the Governments of those days. No open complaints were ever made against him and in his letter above he forcibly shows how unjust and impolitic it is to listen to secret slanderers

He was unhappy in having a very ill selected Council, but the selection had been made by the Directors, not by himself, and it was his misfortune that during his Government the Island was visited by the severest drought which had ever been experienced here attended with great losses to the planters—aggravated by a delay in sending the usual necessary supplies from England. Suspecting who the writer of the secret slander was he questioned Mr. Bazett in open Council on 1st April 1714, and the latter declared that he did not know of any underhand dealings between the Governor and the late storekeeper Mr. Pack, and denied that the Company had received any information of that sort from him; but unfortunately for Mr. Bazett's veracity he has left behind him a copy of one of his private letters to his friend in the directory at Leadenhall Street alluding to Capt. Boucher's threats to dismiss him and ending "Capt. Pack died five days agoe and has left the store in confusion. The store has been an inaccessible place to me during all Mr. Pack's time and I am certain I should have found abundance of intrigues acted there had I had access, but I could not obtain it, and they countenanced by the Governor."]

Council, 24th June, 1714.—Governor Boucher says "I have stayed till this time with hopes that a ship might arrive from England which might well have been expected considering our employers must have been long since acquainted with the necessitous state of this Island for want of provisions to subsist the people, and also the want of proper persons to supply the loss of their more immediate servants who have left office vacant by death—my very ill state of health making it unreasonable I should put myself on a

winter passage to England I now acquaint you that I purpose God willing to take my passage for England in one of the two ships now in the road. If you have any exceptions to make that can be a just cause to stop my going I desire they may be now mentioned since I think this will be the last consultation I shall make use of during my stay here. The Council doth unanimously say they have no objections or exceptions to make.

Governor Boucher sailed 28th June in the *Recovery*.

[Mr. Bazett was then the senior officer, but there is no minute that he had assumed the administration of the Government nor any further meeting of Council called till 8th July, on which day Governor Pyke arrived.]

Letter from Directors, 5th March, 1713.—Appointing Capt. Isaac Pyke Governor. We cant find that our late Gov^r Boucher and Council gave any tollerable heed to our instructions or so much as read them with attention which has necessitated us to shift hands in hope of better management.

The Consultations are extremely jejune and contain a very slight and trifling account of the management; Governor Boucher did whatever his own passion or spleen prompted.

Salaries fixed.—Governor £200, Council 2nd £95, 3rd £95, 4th £70, 5th £50 being much larger than ever was formerly allowed.

Excessive drinking of Arrack has grown upon all the people strangely of late and shews that their oppression or some other discontent made them careless how matters went for such Excess necessarily tends to beggary.

Fowls, &c. diminished by Gov. Boucher buying up so many fowls chickens and Eggs. He kills many of the calves because Beef is not delicate eno. We are told there never was such confusion at the Plantation house where the Gov^r keeps a magnificent table for Captains and our Servants are not admitted to his Table. He has built a shed 400 feet long for no other use than that he may ride therein on his asses and be covered from the weather.

We have a complaint that since the Guns have been mounted at Mundens Point the Battery at Ruperts Valley hath been demolisht—they say an Enemy if resolute might land at that valley the Beach being commodious and that Mundens Point cannot sufficiently command it and if the Enemy comes ashore they have liberty to range and nothing to oppose them.

Gov^r Boucher has desired leave to come home but he must first settle with you. When this is done order the

Captain of any ship in the Road to receive him on board and treat him with civility.

July 8, 1714.—The *Rochester* arrived from England in 104 days and the new Governor Isaac Pyke Esq. with Council went on shoar and being received by Mr. Matthew Bazett in the United Castle the Governor shewed his Commission and being informed the late Governor Boucher had bin gone off the Island ten days past in the *Recovery*, the then Governor and Council were received with a general satisfaction of the Inhabitants who all unanimously profest their joy for the change declaring in what a desolate condition the late Governor had left this country. Clouds of complaints were made of the late ill management and the Council were publicly told if the other Governor had stayed longer the whole Island had been in a famishing condition. Mr. Bazett whom we found as chief, Mr. Cason and Mr. French that were his Assistants in Council declared he had destroyed all the Company's live Stock except about 60 head of Cattle for he had left behind him neither deers nor goats nor sheep nor hoggs turkeys nor geese nor any other kind of poultry. The House we found stript of all that was portable even the Locks and Keys taken from many of the doors and every thing else that might be serviceable to him in his voyage home. We are also informed that Plantation House is very much out of repair and nothing in the garden but plantain trees and pasturedge for his Asses. In short the complaints of matter of fact alledged by the People in general are so many and so great we scarce think it possible though it may be very bad, it should all be true and hope to find things much better than they have been represented to us.

[*Note.*—Governor Pyke probably remembered the shrewd proverb "*The Absent are always wrong.*"]

The new Council consisted of Capt. George Haswell deputy Governor—Edward Mashborne, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey.

There is added to the Castle two wings being a large broad wall on each side on which there are planted thirty one guns. This is a very great weakening to the Castle because it makes a bridge to enter the top of it by any inland Enemy. These walls certainly make the Castle look very beautiful towards the Sea and are ornamental enough—[i.e. alluding to what is now called the Terrace.]

July 20.—Ordered that until the Stock is encreased we have two days a week salt provision and two days fish. Stock now in all 60 cattle 24 swine 3 sheep 26 fowls.

Augt. 10.—The Governor observed a very great neglect

of devotion in this Island by several persons absenting the public worship of the Church on the Lord's Day few or none appearing there but the Governor and Council—ordered, That all persons in the Company's service that are in the valley do come to Church on the Lord's Day.

August 17.—Martin Norman a planter in the late calamitous drought had been visited with the entire loss of his whole stock being 20 head of Cattle besides goats and hogs.

Several persons for their own pleasure and to catch fish have gone on shore on the Egg Islands and made fires and caused the Egg fowls to settle and lay on the Main Land in dangerous places.

Nov. 20.—Three men flogged and sent to do duty at Bankses for riotous conduct in the Castle last night and saying There is a new Governor who dont understand the laws and they would give him instruction to do as Governor Boucher did.

December 2.—Mr. Tovey excuses his arrears of work for the want of ink. The Govr says, This is only his pretence and friendly advises him to be more careful.

Jan. 4, 1715.—Three soldiers drowned by the upsetting of a Boat going to Egg Island—two others saved. Richard Beale and John Crosby were upon Horse Pasture mountain going after their goats and by accident they espied the boat under sail and looking steadily on it saw it overset. Then they went forthwith a very dangerous way a mile and a half and took Mr Carnes boat at Lemon Valley and went off to them who had by that time drove out two leagues to sea and took them into the boat after they had been five hours in the water.

Jan. 18.—In the great dearth lately there dyed above 2500 cattle.

Jan. 29.—A French ship arrived and allowed supplies but no beef for the above reason. Her people not admitted to the country and ordered that "any foreigners patrolling into the country are to be apprehended as Spyes."

Feb. 7.—Governor Pyke in his charge to the Jury at Sessions notices the intention of the Company to discontinue their buildings at the Fortifications for a time, having a settled peace, so that you the planters may have time to improve your plantations. Desires the people to lay aside their animosities and differences for which you have been too remarkable. Thieves and Sloths, the Riotous and Slanderer which are the weeds of this place must be rooted out.

Thomas Beviau tried for stealing a silver headed cane—

being a *white man* the Gov. directs the Jury to a lenient verdict—found guilty to the value of ten pence and whipped with 39 lashes.

The Jury present the bad condition of "Cow path" which leads to the West and "Slaunt path" which goes directly to the Eastern parts of the Island.

Feb. 8.—A French ship the *Jason* arrived—did not send her boat to Bankses when hailed to do so. Complained that their salute of seven guns had been answered with only five. That they were a royal ship 700 tons, 250 men, 40 guns, and took it ill that one of the King of France's men of warr should not be answered gun for gun. When questioned said they were hyred by merchants to goe for India but had the King's lycence. Gov. told them if they had sent a boat as was ordered and customary and certified she was a man of warr we should have answered gun for gun. On applying for provisions Gov. said "Since our Gracious Queen has thought fit to grant Peace to France you shall be treated as friends, &c." Provisions allowed excepting fresh Beef. Mr. Carne fined £10 for sending off two Bullocks privately. Another French ship arrived 19th February. A Kings ship and traded by His Lycence which was given as an honourable reward to several of the Captains who had behaved themselves well in the Warrs. Expected the salute to be returned gun for gun without which they would not salute, but would fill his water casks according to the Treaty of Peace. Upon which the Governor sent a couple of nimble men up the side of the mountain and turned off the water. So next morning they sent word they would salute according to the English method and he fired seven guns and was answered with five. Then he fired one for thanks. Upon which the Governor invited him and his Lieutenant on shore and they dined at the Fort and they went off well satisfied.

Account of Families for 1714—Whites 405, officers and soldiers 125, total 530 of which 81 women and 247 children—Blacks 302 exclusive of Companies slaves—Cattle total 964—owned by 74 planters. The largest proprietors Powell, Carne, Coales and Doveton—89—46—43 and 40 head respectively—26 families had no cattle. The Blacks owned by 65 persons, the largest proprietors Powell and Carne 17 each.

Plantations and pastures private, 3089 acres. The greatest landowners Powell, Carne and Doveton—owning 255—111—and 151 acres respectively.

31st March 1715.—Capt. Mashborne 3rd in Council died.

5th April.—A ship of 200 tons arriving here about Christmas cannot possibly be dispatched in less than a month because of the very great surfs about that time of the year. The latter end of March and beginning of April also a time when abundance of high seas do usually happen. The Company's Long Boat which brought Outt stone from Sandy Bay is still unladen 5th April after nine days at a grappling in this Road but the surf is so high and violent that we dare not discharge her. Also in the month of July tis tempestuous wheather.

[*Note*.—The Lower Wharf was not erected till many years subsequently. (The landing of the same amount of cargo now requires only a few hours even during the night time when Mail Steamers arrive after Sunset).]

12th April.—The Long Boat discharged with great difficulty, the high seas having held for nineteen days.

Lycences for a victualling house to Latour to provide a dinner every day in time of shipping at the hour of 12 for at least six men who shall pay no more than 12d. Every bowl of Punch three pints to contain one pint of arrack and no more than two shillings for it.

19th April.—John Batavia and Murdoe two runaway Blacks to be worked in Irons chained together with a six foot chain as is the custom of the Dutch at Batavia.

26th April.—A petition delivered against the building of "Blinds" in the Main Street to hinder the dust from being blown into the windows which would be better prevented by glazing the windows.

[*Note*.—These were walls 7ft. high and 6 wide projecting into the street at the upper or windward end of the house. Two or three of them still remain in the upper street.]

26th April.—John Gibb a freeman who had served as a soldier and had been discharged prayed for leave to depart in the first homeward ship. Resolved—it had been a sickly time and many men dying, tis best to keep what good men we have upon the island—cannot give leave for Gibb's departure till more are sent out.

10th May.—Deputy Gov^r. Capt. Haswell on 28th April brought down to the Fort a black slave named Toby with his hands tied behind him and a rope round his neck charging him with having broken open his house in Sandy Bay and taken several goods. The Governor finding it a trifling case and little evidence urged Capt. Haswell to be content with having the slave whipt by the Slave laws, but he in great passion prest he should be tryed and hung. The Prosecution was conducted with a great deal of eagerness

and ill will, but the Jury seemed to take it ill that a man though a Black should be tried for his life by so vexatious and malicious a prosecution and found a verdict of not guilty. Upon which Capt. Haswell inveighed very much against the Court and Jury and said it was a packt Jury and chose on purpose to vindicate a Rogue. Since they were such fellows he would go out of the Court and have nothing to do with it now but he would remember it.

May 17.—Mr. Edward Byfield chosen 5th in Council he being a sober young man of great industry and diligence.

June 11.—Having certain news from England of the Queen's death we sumond down the country to proclaim King George on this 11th June being resolved to do it in the most solemn manner—they went first to Church with all the gentlemen of the two shippes in the road—then with the Company of soldiers and all the Engineers or Gunners crew they walked from the Castle to mile end where the Company's Tent and Pavilion were sett up and the King was proclaimed there and at Clapadore and the Castle gate. Then the Governor made a treat in the garden for all the Company and in the evening they drank the Kings health at a Bond fire.

June 29.—Arrival of the *Eagle* galley and complaint by four of her crew to the Governor of their want of Arrack and provisions. On a hearing of the case they are remanded to Prison as dangerous men.

[*Note.*—The *Eagle's* visit to St. Helena is found in the interesting account published last century of Captain Beckman's voyage. The punishment of the seamen was however subsequently censured by the Court of Directors as being illegal.]

August 13.—Jepthah Fowler complained of his wife that she and Andrew Berg the cooper had beaten him. The Cooper was ordered to pay 20s. and to ride the wooden horse for two hours and Mary Fowler to ride the wooden horse one hour before the Cooper and then to be duct.

Sept. 12.—The Inhabitants are consulted about the continuance of the Company's Public Stores. The Governor says I know twill be presently answered we desire the Hon. Company may keep their Store House but to that I say the Hon. Company have been such great losers by their Storehouse and the way of making transfers that it is not for their interest to continue it any longer unless we put down several exacting and indeed unreasonable under storehouses that are kept up among us.

Oct. 5.—On trial of Simon a slave for stealing a Turkey Gabriel Powell one of the Jury stood up in vindication of

the prisoner and said no man ought to be indicted for anything he did not confess. At the end of the trial a note is made "that neither the Governor nor any of us believe that Mr. Powell had any design to favour the thief notwithstanding all his objections he being a man above all others more severe than ordinary in the case of stealing and that disposition bordering upon cruelty for tis currently reported here by every body that he hath destroyed two slaves by his cruel manner of punishing them—one of them a female slave he whipt to death—and at another time when he whipt a boy very immoderately he caused him to be rolled naked in nettles upon which he presently died—we believe he has been too busy in taking a cup too much.

Oct. 4.—"Hoggs Pant."—Capt. Bazett is informed the Pant is a swelling of the Lights which are spotted and corrupted—remedy—Brine and milk or chamber lye and milk.

Oct. 5.—The Company has expended above £26000 in three years upon this place—not the poorest of their ships that come here but the Island is more than £100 the better.

Oct. 17.—The Hill above the landing place is full of loose stones and very dangerous—many people have been hurt and three men formerly killed. The best place for the New Crane we all agree is Downings Cove on this side Mundens point because goods may be landed there at any time but the way to it is bad being full of large Rocks and it is a great distance viz. 650 yards from the Castle and 270 yards further than the old Crane—and to make a good way to it and set up the Crane will cost at least £1000 so that we cannot think of that place.

[*Note.*—This extension of the wharf was not undertaken until June 1787.]

Oct. 18.—Gabriel Powell having married the widow of the late Deputy Governor Hoskison prays that satisfaction may be allowed for injury done to his wife's property by Governor Roberts' seizure of it. In reply he is referred to Governor Roberts wish "that an order be published by beat of drum for any person that can prove that I have wronged them to the value of a groat" and his petition is rejected because we are further of opinion that if the said Hoskison did suffer any detriment by his land being in the Hon. Company's possession they made him a great amends by appointing him a Deputy Governor though he made them but a bad return in his management of their affairs.

Nov. 1.—The Governor has been to see the Fort at

Bankses. The Fort is not large containing but four guns but we think it sufficient with ten men to keep off 500 or more from landing and that being the first Fort any shipp makes and lying so in the tract that all shipp must come within hearing of the centrey who usually calls to them, and also the place appointed for ships to send their boats ashore to, the Governor thinks it is very necessary it should be put into tolerable order.

The Company's Stock 145 Cattle 242 Hogs 291 Goats 69 Sheep 12 Asses.

The Hutt's Plantation is the chief and best plantation the Company have and producing the greatest quantity there being now above 300,000 yams planted. The ground is very bleak but it would be mightily improved by planting trees round by the Fences to windward. It is the chief place for feeding Hogs because of conveniency of a good outlet.

60 Jackets and Breeches to be made for the Company's Blacks and ordered that 8 of the principal Blacks be allowed Coats according to the antient customs of this place.

Nov. 15.—Wm. Bates coxswain Flurcus, Shoales, and Poulter have run away in the night time with the Long boat and one month's provisions.

[*Note.*—It was afterwards ascertained that they reached the West Indies in safety.]

Soldiers pouches often destroyed by Ratts who have sometimes eat great holes in them while the soldiers who wore them were asleep.

The Union Flag eight indented for to be used at the following stations. The Fort—Bankses—Ruperts—Munden's point—Prosperous Bay—Two gun ridge and Flagstaff Hill.

Nov 15.—One whole ton of Chinese money called Peteese would be of great advantage here. They may pass very well here for farthings, or if six for a penny there would be 100 per cent profit. If not we should be glad to have copper farthings every farthing pass for a half penny and every half penny for a penny as in some parts of the West Indies. The pice you have been pleased to order from Madras are not so acceptable to our people because of their bad shape and yet three of them are worth a penny which makes them too weighty to be commonly carried in the slight pockets here.

List of Persons dyetted at the Company's Table in Governor Poiriers time 64. Governor Roberts time 51 Governor Bouchiers time 77. Sometimes the Governor dined in his

chamber and then only the women or whom he called in dined with him and the rest dined in the Hall. All the Councils wives and some of the planters and their wives, (if any at the Church). Then the Governor with whom he thought fitt dined in the Parlour. These had always Punch as they thought fitt there being never any allowance at the Upper table. In the present Governor's time 40 persons.

From Directors 4th Feb., 1714.—We send you a copy of the *Susannah's* letter which you say cannot be found and hear was carried away by the late Governor.

Gov^r Bouchers answer to that letter by the *Susannah* contains in it so much insolence as deserves no answer nor is it fit to be taken notice of but with the utmost indignation and that the Penman may possibly be informed of in due time though we have never seen him but once since he came to England for he left the ship in the Channell and did not come to London till months after.

We are positively assured that Gov. Boucher traded very much and sold the goods as if they had been ours that is to say out of our store rooms, and till his were gone ours must not be disposed of—that Mr. Alexander sold Palm Wines brought out in our ships for him at 2/6 the pint—this explains how Alexander came to be so much in favour.

We find Mr. Cason and Mr. French were the late Governors Assist. Councillors to give some countenance to his actions. We hear but a mean charrecter of them. If you find neither of them did us any injury while they were so and that Mr. Cason is a good officer let him continue Lieutenant. If Mr. French is fitt to be Gunner continue him so.

The late Governor said he thought it below him to have any mechanick dyett at our table when we ordered Cleve the carpenter that favour to encourage his care of our timber.

Mr. Thomlison sent us a subscription of £150 to be paid towards erection of a New Church. Wee are very willing to contribute handsomely—let him continue his subscriptions as ships come in.

From Directors 14th March 1715.—Your care to prevent the French sounding about the Island and to hinder their attempting it on pretence of Fishing or rambling too far about the countrey was commendable.

The punishment of the *Eagle's* men was very shocking to our English ears and too grievous. They are about seeking their remedy at Law.

A Long Boat may be bought to fetch Lime and Stone from Sandy Bay.

We are surprized at the large demand of Arrack. The people are grown sottish. The place is less healthfull than formerly and diseases more rife.

Mr. Bazett has made an ill return for our kindness to him in first approving his being put into Council and afterwards continuing him therein a stranger.

We dont understand your reason for making Mr. Byfeld of Council—you had no authority from us for it, nor doth it appear necessary—however because we have no complaint against him we have paid his mother here his £5 gratuity.

We have told you what sticks upon Mr. Alexander. We observe he is of a litigious ungovernable temper. But we don't absolutely forbid your employing him when you have urgent occasion.

We observe Gov. Boucher's riding shed cost us £181—that he converted to his own use of our live Provision £156. That he made an utter destruction of most of our live stock—Stript the house and let Plantation run to ruin. Strange that Mr. Bazett, Mr. Cason, Mr. French, Mr. Alexander and Mr. Free, will not give you the account of other particulars of all other Mr. Boucher's extraordinary proceedings to our prejudice.

We have some complaints of our Governor's arbitrary temper. We expect he give no cause for it. We have heard as if one or other of you have even promoted quarrels for the sake of the Fees or some other private advantage which is so base we would not willingly believe it.

Gabriel Powell's being bound over in £200 was too severe.

Serjeant Southens' wife is daily troubling us for some allowance and hath brought people of credit to evidence the falsity of his allegations.

We have a letter from Mr. Cleve advising that the Gov^rs. ill treatment of him made him quit our service.

The Inhabitants of St. Helena have greatly decreased of late years some alleging the hardships of the Governor's drove them away.

We understand a sloop from Antigua last August came to your Island to trade and did get goods but you never told us one word of it. If we find any do get goods, for we shall know it one way or another we will not continue any of you in our service.

Letter to Directors 1714.—The Blacks that came by Mr. Sitwells vessel came from Calabar—four of the Men and

three of the Women are of the people called Cannibals who eat one another, three of them have died and we have had much to do to hinder those we call Cannibals from eating them who died and as for Dead Carrion of any kind or Guts of Beasts or Fishes if they find them on a Dunghill they eat them with greediness.

The seeds of Trees came well out. The furr to all appearance will be of extraordinary service, that being come up in several places.

[*Note.*—First introduction of the Pineaster and Governor Pyke's quick perception of its suitability for St. Helena.]

Ruperts Valley is the largest valley here and contains more than 200 acres of good land which has never been occupied but the whole valley wants water. From the *Eastermost* Waterfall at the head of James Valley there may be carried without much charge a water course or channel by which a sufficient quantity of water may be conveyed into Ruperts Valley over the Ridge of that Hill whereon the Road called the Slaunt Path [i.e. Side Path now] lies which is the high land that parts James Valley from Ruperts Valley.

[*Note.*—Another instance of Governor Pyke's shrewd judgment. Governor Colonel Gore Browne in 1852 carried out this useful work, but it was not then known that buried in the Records might be found an exact anticipation of the idea.]

Letter to Directors, 19th Feb. 1715.—We have had a sickly season lately here but we hear that a general sickness has ranged both at the Cape of Good Hope and all these Coasts.

We hear that the fruitful Island called Mauritius that was lately left by the Dutch is yett uninhabited and has not had any dearth upon it but abounds plentifully. There is Deer and other Cattle both of the Indian and European kinds with fruit of every sort and plenty of many sorts of Timber with commodious harbours for ships and a fine temperate air which usually preserved the former inhabitants to a very great age. But now tis wild, the land unoccupied and almost overgrown with wood as well as overstocked with cattle—be pleased to pardon us for this freedom who had not troubled your Honours with such accounts as this but Capt. Litten making this report and our Governor having formerly been in several parts of this Island from the flatts about the North and N. W. down to Black River which is above sixty miles and being able of his own knowledge to confirm all that Capt. Litten has said about the Mauritos

was desirous of writing to your Honours concerning this place for the following reasons :

First that we have several young people here more than we can supply with plantations that because of their way of living here would be very proper Inhabitants to settle in that place, and because that place is naturally so well supplied that it would maintain a very great Colony without any charge to their Patrons more than sending them out and the place lies in the Root or Tract of all the homeward bound shipping. But our great and principal reason is the Government and people of Don Mascarenas say they have sent to France for libertie to transplant themselves to this neighbouring Island which is not only more commodious than Mascarenas in regard to shipping but it exceeds it so much in fertility that it is a Paradise to the other. The consideration of keeping out the French or the Indian Pyrates from an Island of such consequence as the Isle Mauritos may be to us will we hope excuse us to your Hon^{rs} for making this digression because we believe ourselves bound by the Tyes of gratitude and duty to acquaint your Hon^{rs} with whatsoever has an appearance of yours and our countrey's interest.

[*Note.*—This is another good instance of Governor Pyke's shrewd forecast. Mauritius was abandoned by the Dutch in 1710 and not colonized by the French East India Company until 1721. Governor Pyke's suggestion was therefore a timely one and could easily have been carried out. The subsequent history of that century proved how important would have been its early occupation by England and many disasters have been avoided. During subsequent wars it became increasingly such a source of great mischief to our Merchant vessels and Indiamen from the facility with which sorties were made from it by French Men of War and privateers that its capture became a necessity and was effected in 1810 by an expedition specially sent out by the British Government. How much would have been gained if Governor Pyke's hint had only reached the right Ear at that time.]

July 7.—If your Honours would please to send English farthings and halfe pence they would certainly doe much better than Pice and have been more agreeable to the English people, for all the St. Helenians account themselves so, though three quarters of them never saw England.

The ship *Cardonnell* arrived with stores from England. Two of the passengers Willy and Aylmer with others had been drinking Sacheverell's health. Aylmer said let us drink the Kings health to which Willy replied I'll drink to health but my own King and that is King James the

third, which he did drink with such other scandalous reflections as came uppermost little less than treason.

The Reports of people in this place, who always bestow on each other the worst of characters are not always to be depended on, especially their accounts of an old Governor that is absent to a new one that is present for we found many of them so very ignorant as to think they recommended themselves by railing against the last Governor and yett many of those people who reproached Gov. Boucher most, had been greatly obliged and not injured by him, [meaning the Planters in general] for he lett the Company's land lye neglected and not only bought all things of them but also advanced the prices to near double of what they used to sell for—and to some of the Planters who did not want land he sold good plantations and not only trusted them for the payment but took it out in Yams at 4s. per 100 that were used to be sold for 2s. 6d.—and the soldiers were permitted to run into the Storehouse Debt for what they desired wch they repaid with curses and some of them with contriving to sett the Store House on fire and thereby to end all your Accounts at once. Their character now of Govr Roberts is just contrary for they say he would have been an honest man and a good Governor if he had not lowered the prices of their Blacks labour from 2s. to 18d. per day which was such an injury to the place as they who suffered by it could not forgive.

The St. George wintered at Don Mascarine where a French ship called the *St. Francis* was broke up that could swim no longer by reason of damage she received in a storm beating about the Cape in company with another French ship called the *Grand Peace*. We wish since that misfortune happened she had reached hither and been broke up here having great occasion for such sort of Timber.

The Long Boat will not contain more than three Tons and we always look on it as good work if three long boats land in a day, that is between Sun and Sun for tis dangerous landing goods here in the Dark.

The high surfe at the Crane [i.e. Upper Crane] is also another frequent occasion of delay and that can be no ways prevented for at the New and Full of the Moon we have always about three days of surfe which runs so high that a Long Boat cannot lye at the Crane to unload nor can at no time lye off at the Crane because there are two very large Rocks that lye about a boats length from the Crane which reach above low Water mark whereon a great many boats have been stoved. [Note—The *Boadicea* pulverized the last

remains of one with a Torpedo in 1882.] Whenever it has blown hard to windward of the Island if that stormy weather is followed by a sudden calme and alsoe even in the fairest weather at any time of the Moon there are vast great surfes so that no boat can come near the Crane and sometimes not to the landing Rocks neither and then there is no going on board nor a shoar but by a very small Yawl that we keep on purpose that may carry people from their Pinnace which must lye out beyond the Surfe into a place we call the Cove.

The Governor lends the Company's boat to Planters to fish receiving a sixth part—i.e. they have the entire benefit for five times and for the sixth or boats share they shall bring one boat load for the Company from Sandy Bay of such things as the Governor shall send for to the Fort. To this time no person has come to be a partaker of this great Benefit and we can imagine no other reason than their too great inclination to sloth and strong liquor.

As to Governor Boucher We have since been informed of several commendable things that he designed but left off all at once when he had built the East and West curtains to the Fort after his receipt of some letters from your Honours with which he was so dissatisfied that he swore he would never doe you any further service. This we had from Mr. Carne who was at that time intimate with him. He built two curtains—the East 190 long 18 feet high and 18 feet wide which fronts the garden to the Sea and contains 16 small Faulknett Guns to be employed in answering Salutes. The West curtain is 215 feet long 18 broad 18 high which contains a line of 15 guns in number but many of them very old and honey combed. This curtain fronts the street of the valley next the Sea. Each of them has a gateway through about the middle and do make a very good prospect to Ships lying in the road, but tis sometimes laughed at for want of the two half Bastions before mentioned and ridiculed by saying that it has got no ears.

He built a riding House in the Country of about 300 feet long with stables at the end for his Asses. He made alsoe a levell riding place of about 400 feet long and 12 foot wide in the garden at the Fort by raising it five foot with stone work at one end and by digging five foot into the ground at the other end that His Horses (for his Asses were ordered to be called so) might not tire by carrying him up and down the Hill. The rest of the garden at the Fort we found made into a field for these Horses to graze in, only some Plantain trees growing therein. He believed himself to be

in a bad state of health and used the exercise of riding on plain ground to preserve his constitution in which exercise he spent most commonly six hours in every twenty-four—three in the forenoon then always dined at twelve and rode three more in the afternoon, which if any accident caused him to omitt he often if 'twas moonlight made up his stated hours of riding in the night time.

26th Dec.—The Mutineers your Hon^r are pleased to mention we gave account in our letter by the *Susanna* of sending those we found in prison from hence to Bencoolen. Their debts were so great in your Stores that they were never likely to get rid of but by such enterprize as might cause general confusion and therefore they resolved first to plunder your Store House and then sett it on fire, and we are now more fully convinced of the villaney of their designe because of a letter sent from one of them at Bencoolen named Mallard to one of your Slaves here called Welchee who was to have been carried off.

With more labour we could carry a good run of water into Ruperts Valley which is almost a plain and though not very wide is above two miles long and with a good run of water might be turned into garden ground and as great improvements might be made of that large plain at Prosperous Bay; the Great Wood might then be fenced in &c.

Those who are brought up here are much better slaves than those we buy. Some of them, particularly the whole family of the man called Old Will have behaved themselves well—any of his children or grand children is valued here to be worth £10 more than one of the rest they being so remarkable for their honesty. Old Will being above seventy is now past his labour as to working, but yet very useful among the Blacks by deciding differences and quarrels among them and keeping them in good order so that he has obtained a general respect among them all and we therefore allow him Shoes Stockings a Hat & Coat more than to the common sort who has no more than a shirt a jacket and Breeches or if Women a wastcoat petticoat and Shift.

There was between the Crane and the Drawbridge a great cove where the sea came in over where was built a bridge 40 foot long. We have hove down great quantities of large Rocks into the Sea to break the force of the water off and then built a Wall 23 feet high and 16 foot thick at the foundation of very large stones laid with lime mortar. This cove is filled up with earth and makes a very good passage and then to keep off the Sea that wall is continued and built in the same manner to the angle of the Trench before

the first Bastion—[i.e. the present roadway between the Upper Crane and Glacis].

We have great need of a Church tho we have after an indifferent manner repaired this; yet it is a very scandalous place to look upon being worse in appearance than a poor man's Barn. There is one part of it ready to fall and the whole is too little being but 40 foot long and 21 feet wide. The Minister who is a very honest good man has been industrious in getting Subscriptions. He is a useful man and since our best Doctor dyed he has offered to prescribe in Physick for any of the Garrison gratis being always ready to do any good he can.

Consultations 17th Jan. 1716.—Dr. Price summoned Lenden the Drummer for debt for a piece of cloth. It appearing on the examination that Price used to dispose of goods for Gabriel Powell who keeps an Under or Private Store House in opposition to the Hon. Company. The Govr. says he came here to serve the Hon. Company and would not concern himself on Powell's behalf to his Hon. Masters prejudice and that as the goods and abundance more had privately been sold Powell might privately get his money.

John Batavia a Slave of the Company aged 30 works in the Plantation in irons for thieving and pretending he is acquainted with y^e Devil and that he can bewitch any body—which terrifies all the Blacks so that two of them formerly have died by being affrighted with him. His method is to go amongst any Slaves but especially the Company's in the night time and with hard words screamed out aloud when he had put them in a consternation he stole away their victuals. The two that died he only layd his hand on their faces and repeated his hocus pocus words but they never recovered their fright. He is otherwise a good slave.

Jan. 31.—List of Debts due to the Comp. Stores by the Inhabitants and Soldiers amounting to £4725.

Jan. 31.—The Govr. reports that on Sunday morning last one Joseph Bayley a soldier hanged himself but one Knight going to get a light to light his fire saw him hanging and did acquaint the Serjeant who broke open the door and saved his life, but brought him to the Govr. before he had well recovered his speech. He ordered him to be carried to the Flagstaff and whipt with fifty lashes which seemed to bring him to himself, but afterwards he had the impudence to say (laughing)—It should not serve turn for he had promised his soul to the Devil and if he did not go to him by the head he would go to him by the heels by w^{ch} wee

guess he meant he would leap from some precipice and break his neck if he could not hang himself.

Council proceedings 13th March 1716.—The Governor on Wednesday 7th inst. went up into the country to show General Aislabey some of the best parts of the Island. Mr. Tovey for reasons to himself best known being in a violent rage drew out his Sword and stabbed Mr. Francis Wrangham one of the planters. Tovey begs forgiveness on score of his drunkenness at the time and says he intended the sword for John French. Mr. Tovey suspended from Council and imprisoned.

27th March.—Ordered that Arrack may be sold at the Stores at 1½ dollar per gallon when beef is sold by the inhabitants at 25s. per 100 lbs and not before.

On an examination of Debts due the Stores “the Governor says I have just heard that Thomas Leach his wife is brought to bed with two Boys, therefore though he deserves his Black to be seized on for his debt, it will be too rigorous to do so now.”

William Beale Punchman owes £115 he said he had enough in Bills but could not get them entered in the Store House because he could not afford to let them gain so much by his bills as they did by others who sold Arrack, but he told me (the Governor) he would give me £10 in silver if I would order his Bills to be transferred to his credit. Ordered—that for proffering a bribe to the Governor he be arrested for his debt—and all transfers in future to be made in Council.

[*Note.*—Coin being scarce in the Island it was for many years the custom to allow the accounts at the Stores to be settled by transfers of credit. An Inhabitant who owed a Bill at the Stores would settle it by having it transferred by consent to some other Inhabitant who owed him money. But the result was that frequently a good debt was transferred into a bad one either through negligence or dishonest collusion on the part of the Storekeeper.]

Employment of Slaves on the Company's works. Mr. Bazett is of opinion that nobody can afford to send a Black to work for less than 18d a day and that Governor Roberts repented many times that he had lowered them to 18d. The Governor says he will buy what Blacks he can and as soon as he has ten will begin the precedent himself and let them to the Company at 1s. a day each. But he is answered that if he does so he will find nobody else to do so too.

5th April 1716.—It has pleased the Providence of Almighty God to lay a very great affliction on the Governor

which has disabled him from holding a Sessions at the intended time, [i.e. the death of his wife Mrs. Ann Pyke, whose mausoleum is in the Lower Churchyard].

Account of Families for 1716—*Whites*—55 men, 70 women, 23 youths, 23 maidens, 140 officers and soldiers, 234 children under 12, total 545. *Blacks*—186 men, 54 women, 117 children, total 310—exclusive of about 70 Company's Blacks. Cattle 1368 exclusive of Company's stock. The principal inhabitants were Matthew Bazett, Lieut. Cason, John Alexander, Orlando Bagley, John Coales, Mrs. Carne, Jonathan Doveton, Henry Francis, Gurling, James Greentree, Joshua Johnson, Gabriel Powell, Margaret Sich.

May 5th.—Mr. Tovey complains that being under Bond of £300 to keep the peace John French had provoked him &c. The Governor thinks tis best to rid the country of both of them unless they behave themselves better. If I cant protect Tovey from French insulting him I am not fitt to be Governor here any longer. I think Bencoolen is the properest place for them and hope when they come there they'll provide for their latter end which is a meditation very necessary for John French.

May 11th.—A ship with Ostend colours coming in was summoned from Munden's Battery to bring to by firing a gun and then a second, but she pursued her course and came directly into the road wherefore the Governor ordered to fire from the Line, she still standing in the Governor fired from the Castle. There was several shott placed in her (as they informed us) at last she seeing the Fort firing so hott at her she struck her collours and let goe anchor. Then the chief and 2nd Captain came on shore, she was of 260 tons, 20 guns and 60 men and had a pass from Ostend signed by the Count de Claremont Governor of Brussels.

The Governor is of opinion that this trade tends directly to the ruine of the English East India Company and to the dishonour of our Government at home when any little Governor such as the Count de Claremont shall give licence to English subjects to carry on trade to India in contempt and defiance of the English nation. He thinks therefore the ship ought to be seized. The Council think that as the ship is lying at some distance she will endeavour to escape and will not surrender without hazard of shedding blood which may draw our Masters and others concerned into a *premunire*. So—They were told they must thank themselves for all the damage they had sustained by our shott and to goe on board immediately and make the best of their way without more to doe.

The No. of guns fired at the above Ostender were 1 Demi-Cannon, 5 whole culverin, 5 demi-culverin, 6 sacers.

May 15th.—The Governor demanded Capt. Haswell why he had suffered the Ostend ship to come into the road when he had given him strict orders to the contrary, viz. "Capt. Haswell. Be sure to bring her too for old Negus lies so far out that if it be a rogue they may do him, damage."

"Signed ISSAC PYKE"

Also I expected that after I had fired into her that they would have seconded me and was amazed that they did not and tho if they had not struck their collours I could have sunk them with the Fort Guns yet I think that no reason at all for them to be so remiss.

Capt. Haswell replies—That after he had fired the first gun she lowered her Topsails &c. I then fired a second gun and he sent his boat on shore the ship driving off being then at least a mile and by reason of such an offing they saw her from the line, but after I had fired the second shott they were confused and did not tend their sailes otherwise I had fired into her, but still driving off he was well assured that she could not fetch into the road.

The Gov. says he finds Capt. Haswell to be a very weak man or else he would never have made such an answer. As for lowering her Topsails 'tis a trick that all rogues do use. The two French ships that took the Queen and Dover did the same. I must do some justice to Mr. Cason to whom I had given the charge of half the guns upon the line—he behaved himself with a great deal of prudence and courage and placed several shott in the ship.

May 18th.—Mr. Tovey indicted for felony for stabbing Mr. Wrangham. Tovey sayed I answer to the name of Antipas Tovey gentleman but not as a Felon and therefore shall not hold up my hand. I have committed a rash unworthy action and deserve no favour but justice is my due. The Governor says he is assured the case is not felony and wonders who put Mr. Wrangham upon this indictment. He ought to have been sued for an affray. Tovey owning himself guilty of assaulting and wounding is fined £40 to the Company and on Wrangham's suit for damages the Jury awarded £25.

May 29.—Mr. Tovey prays to be restored to office and calls Wrangham's prosecution malicious. He was a man who was ringleader of the malecontents in Gov. Roberts his time as appears by his false and scandalous petition against that Governor and is become a tool to others who who keep under Storehouses. Mr. Tovey is answered that

if he behaved himself well to 8th June next he should be readmitted.

June 12th.—One of the Bullocks killed for Capt. Tolson's vessel was refused by the Captain who said it was Carrion—on enquiry Jessy says "It was a little bloody being obliged to dress it without hanging it up being no trees within half mile of the place." Being askt why they killed the beast at such a place where there was no trees says—They shott the beast in the body but not falling with that shott it run some miles from the place and then they were obliged to run after him and sett dogs on him.

On Friday 6th July there being very little wind we had a vaste great surfe so high that it filled the Trench or Ditch before the Line with Salt water which is a thing very unusual. A ship which left on Thursday was seen on Sunday by several persons on the hills, but when a gale sprung up the High Surfe abated.

July 17.—The *Charles* a galley of Ostend arrived. The Captain desired to stay three days which we would not allow. He gave the following account—We at Ostend cant live at home now tis peace but I hear there is likely to be warr between the Emperor of Germany and the Turks and if the Emperor will grant commissions for Privateers we had rather go up the streights than these long voyages. We left Europe Sept. 1714 and were well received at Mozambique and went in behind the Island where we found a good harbour and lay there three months. We bought Gold, Ivory, and Ambergreese—paid for gold 350 pardoes a mark weight which is 8 oz Troy at near £3 6s. 0d. per ounce—bought Ivory of which there is plenty at 35 crusadoes a maund 28lb English the teeth weighing between 55 and 70lb. Those above 70lb were from 40 to 50 crusadoes a maund and sold it at good profit at Goa by turning every Pardoe into rupees. There's plenty of Slaves to be bought from 10 to 25 crusadoes a piece. Near this Island St. Helena met with great calmes.

Aug. 28th.—Capt. Martin of the ship *Queen* sailed running away with Mrs. Snow wife of R. Snow. The Governor wishes four other women those are Jephtha Fowler's wife Thomas Swallow's wife and his two daughters had gone too and then we should be all very honest. Capt. Martin is son of Sir Joseph Martin who is often one of the Court of Directors but he left without saluting or paying his bill.

August 28th.—Parson Thomlinson having sold Arrack to a soldier the Governor says the Parson has engaged himself to him never to sell any more Arrack and the Governor is

resolved he never will look upon him nor his wife neither if ever he does.

Aug. 28th.—400lb weight of Ambergrise found in Man-nattee Bay.

Sept. 17th.—Parson Thomlinson demands that a petition sent in against him should be torn. The Governor answers that his own petition ought rather to be torn because he hauls in all his sacred Function to the Scrape and to help out with his clamour; but so it has been too much of late, when a churchman cant justify his actions then he cryes out and makes his church in danger, and for lugging in his Church into the brawl or contest it ought to be disregarded.

Aug. 28th.—Martin Norman being cast in a groundless action against Mr. Tovey we think it proper to set down why we suffered Mr. Tovey one of the Council to be sued for such an unreasonable matter which was that the old man being a little enthusiastically had gave out about the Island that the Governor and Council were all rogues and had cheated him of near £400 by getting credit for his bills and not placing it to his account and that he had complained to the Governor of it but he would not do him justice because he came in with Tovey and Bazett and the rest for a Snack, and therefore tho we knew nobody in the country believed the old fellow yet because he told it sometimes amongst the strangers that came ashore we gave him liberty to make the suit before the country for almost every body was downe at this Tryal. The man deserved punishment but being near 70 we thought that whipping would not mend him and so let him go free. The old man seeing himself cast sayed he would pay nothing and he being a troublesome old fellow we were glad to be rid of him so.

Letter to Court of Directors 20th Jany. 1716.—200 or 300 Blacks more are wanted by the Government. The planters knowing we have not hands sufficient and must come to them they'll not let them under 18d. per day which makes all your work come out very dear. This is not the worst for by letting their Blacks many of their own Plantations are neglected. A small vessel from Madagascar would effectually do our business and they are the best blacks for our purpose. The next best to them are the Gold Coast Slaves of Guinea and the Slaves that are sometimes in great plenty in Bengal. The expense for hiring Blacks is about £2250 per annum. Then we would fence in the Great Wood which unless it be fenced in will not have a tree upon it in 20 years more, because the old Trees are now of long standing and some

always falling down and dying and the small trees which arise are all destroyed by the Cattle which goe there as if a common.

We propose also to carry the water over the saddle of the mountain that parts this place from Rupert's Valley which will improve that whole valley and make it fit for garden ground. The place only wants water to make it the fruit-fullest place on the Island being two miles long and very near a plain.

We would not trouble your Honours with any of these notions, which perhaps to your greater judgements may seem like projects, but that we seeing the Island in a declining state and in some parts constantly decaying being every year in a worser state, in some gutts or narrow valleys the grounds worn out so as to be no longer fit for Plantation land and wants a general recruit being too properly to be compared to an old ship that must have a thorough repair to hold out long, or else will never be in order tho a continual charge.

But with a good number of useful hands the whole country would have a new face. The wayes made good and easy. The water duly dispersed so that little or none would run to waste. The grounds duly fenced would increase the growth of wood, and the valleys occupied and improved.

Some of our Bank Bills begin to wear out—we pray you send us over another parcell and about twelve months hence we should be glad of a little money if you permit a dollar to goe here again at six shillings—for if they goe for no more than five twill do us no good because we shant be able to keep it on the Island being now worth more by 20 per cent at Madras. We propose to have a small mark to punch upon it and then pay all money so punched at that price and if you will send us copper farthings we will do the same which will prevent their being brought in by any body else in quantities. The St. Helena Bank Bills we hope will be more useful to us than money especially those of the largest sort and some also of 10s. each.

Feb. 24.—When we first arrived here there was a great mortality among the Garrison imputed to drinking bad water which come down very fowl in the rainy season. Wherefore the Governor ordered Tea to be made for the ordinary drink of the Garrison in the same manner as the Dutch Soldiers at Batavia have, and since then they have much better health, which perhaps may be owing to the boiling of the water, or correcting it by Tea.

March 14th.—We hear the Dutch are now in a fair way

to overrun the remaining part of the Indian Sea Coast and that the present year they have a design on Calicut

There has been a great sickness about two years agoe at the Cape of Good Hope and since then such a dearth of Cattle that their vast plenty is very much decreased, which has caused those wild natives to rise and they have seized on great quantities of Cattle from the Dutch who live in remote Plantations and there has been so great mortality among their black people that they cannot recover, tho they keep two ships trading to Madagascar for slaves who are still so scarce that at this time one Black Slave that used to be sold for 60 Rix dollars is worth at present 200.

20th March 1716.—*Letter to Directors.*—In the case of the men landed from the *Eagle* galley the Governor had information of a conspiracy. They confessed they intended to attempt a ship on any day when most of the people were on shoar. That four of them should ask leave to go a fishing and should go to Lemon Valley and take four or five more and goe on board to sell their fish. The rest to repair immediately to Lemon Valley and there take Mr. Gurling or Mr. Cason's boat and also catch fish and carry on board just after dark to sell and when all were on board to seize on the people and cut the cables. We having this account punished all the chief Ringleaders.

Two French ships have been provisioned with 24 Bullocks about 12,000 lbs. at 4½ per lb., 26 hogs alive at 4d. per lb., 150 Turkeys 6s each, 300 Fowls 1s. 6d. each. The ships were desirous to ride at Ruperts Valley and anchored there out of reach of all our guns but we refused any water or refreshment till they came into this Bay. This shows how necessary it would be to have a good platform to command that place.

Doctor Du Nay is well qualified, is a sober man and has we think a good judgment in his business yet he will not live long with us on account of some indisposition. He takes at least a gallon of blood a week from himself so that he is brought so low we cant expect he can continue long in this world.

The Governor has employed most of his time since the arrival of the *Heathcote* with Mons: Olivero a Spaniard who has dwelt a considerable time in Mexico and Peru amongst Spanish mines and has set some of the Slaves to work on the N.E. part of the Island near a place called Turks Cap where we have found a sort of mineral earth that the same Spaniard tells us is a sure sign of a mine of metal.

On 22nd May last a parcell of Rocks which we esteem

about 150 or 200 Tons fell down near the Draw Bridge and has demolisht that end of the Fortifications and covered three guns.

July 4th.—A request made for Margossa Trees and Banyan Trees from Fort St George.

August 12.—Dr. Du May has been a long time sick. We allow him dyett money because he cant eat at the Fort where the half part of the provisions is usually Pork, and if he sees any pork he faints away let it be where it will, and is very ill with it, so that we are forced when he comes down to the Fort to have every thing of that nature taken out of sight. He is in other respects an honest and we think a skilful man. This Dr. Du May is the man we mentioned to be lett blood so often so that in five weeks we computed he took from himself between five and six gallons of Blood, a thing so strange that we did not expect his life, but now he is well recovered and we think it did him good.

As to the people of the *Eagle* galley tho we perceive they have been very bold and clamorous at home, yet we think they had no hardship here, for it has been the constant custom in this place for the Governor to punish all men who should mutiny and desert their ships in the same manner and to keep them in prison for three months. Governor Harrison the voyage before did cause one of these very men (Hannay) to be whipt at the Sea Gate and out of Madras for only proposing to go upon the account. The word account being understood among sailors to goe a pyrating. We think we know the formenting of this complaint comes from Bartholemew Swartze a German who is none of the best nor wisest of men, tho he had once the honor to be appointed your Supra Cargoe on board the *Borneo*. He is a vain man who pretends to be intimately acquainted with King George, and was used when here to carry a bundle of papers in his pocket wherein he told were 20 letters from the Princess Sophia and some from her son (our present King whom God preserve) that they had sent to the Cape and left some of these letters for him there. But the misfortune was that the Princess Sophia dyed about six months before she sent him the last letters. A man who would tell us such gross absurdities without any colour ground or reason will never stick to frame a storey for your Honours.

If the people complain now what will they doe when we fall the labour of Blacks wages to 12d. a day. Then your Honours will be sure to hear of all our faults and a great deal more than ever we did or said, and we have been told ourselves that if Governor Roberts had not fallen the Blacks

work from 2s. to 1s. 6d. he had never had the general complaint signed against him.

The people tell us that since the time of Governor Poirier they have not known such rainy seasons to hold so long so that we have a great prospect of a good year.

Consultations 16th Oct. 1716.—The Great Wood in a flourishing condition and full of young trees. But miserably lessened and destroyed within our memories and is not near the circuit and length it was, but we believe it does not contain less now than 1500 acres of Fine Wood land and good ground. But no springs of water but what is brackish which is the reason why that part was not inhabited when the people first chose out settlements. But if wells could be sunk we should think it the most pleasant and healthiest part of the Island. The "Wood's End" was formerly at the Hutts but the Wood is so destroyed that the beginning of the Great Wood is now a whole mile beyond that place.

Alarm House.—It was formerly built lower and nearer to the Fort but when that house decayed Capt. Goodwin while he was provisional Governor built it here which is a better place. The Governor proposes to plant it and is of opinion 'twould tend greatly to make the Valley as healthy and fruitful as formerly—we are confirmed in this opinion by a sort of experience. Those who best remember this place say that the fine Lymon and other fruit Trees that used to grow in such abundance in this valley throve till after the cutting away the wood on this ridge and it is a sort of demonstration that Mr. Powell whose house stood on a ridge exposed to bleak winds and rain, people used by way of derision to call it the stark naked house, yet Mr. Powell being obliged by a most useful law made in Governor Roberts his time to plant part of that land with wood since that wood has grown up every things under the shelter of that wood has flourished and he has now plenty of Lymons.

Consultations, Nov. 6th.—Sentence against Huff a soldier for having a child by one of the Company's slave women That he be sett this Evening as soon as the heat of the day is over, publicly on the Wooden horse *with his face blacked over* and that henceforth he be looked upon as no other than as a Black.

Nov. 15th.—Peter and Moll two runaway slaves belonging to Sergt. Slaughter accused by Capt. Haswell of robbing him, sentenced "That they have forty lashes a piece which is less by seventeen than the law made by the inhabitants—and the reason of that punishment is because that *no witness appeared against them.*"

Letter to Directors 12th Jan. 1717.—The people here are peevish and vexatious and some of them turbulent and to satisfy every body is in some cases impossible, but the Governor goes by a few short rules as he would be done by and persuading peace among the contending parties. They are all Lawyers here, Mr. Powell and Parson Thomlinson and Richard Swallow sen^r. are usually the Directors of the people on one side or other of every contention.

As to the Bills you were pleased to send, we have circulated about one half. The people begin to like them, though we have had some difficulty to establish them in their good opinion. We have computed all our stock which is £400 in Bills, £100 in Bits, £100 Fanams, and £100 in Copper pice, in the whole £700. But the pay of the Garrison in one year is about £2400. The usual expense of labouring hards and workmen is about the same sum.

The number of the families are indeed too much diminished we wish we had 20 or 30 families more—10 or 12 husbandmen, 10 or 12 Tradesmen—the residue we wish to be gardeners and we could give to each of them in the valleys near the Fort four acres of good land fitt to be employed in gardening.

The miserable devastation formerly made by distilling Arrack from Potatoes is too senciibly felt now by every one in the place. Their waste and destruction of wood was so great that if they had not been hindered from distilling, the Island would have been entirely barren before this time for the mountaineey parts of this Island being subject to hard gusts and squalls of Wind and Rain wherever wood is cut off the weather breaks and washes away the soil till the naked Rocks appear and all those things that used to flourish under the lee of such a shade are blasted and destroyed by the high winds so that not the mountains only but the plains and valleys too have been destroyed by cutting up the wood from the upper ground. For instance when the mountains at the Upper end of this valley were the Fort stands were covered with Trees the valley itself abounded with most kinds of fruit usual in such latitudes so that your garden in the valley which for six years past has been entirely barren was then lookt upon by most people to be as fruitful a spot of ground as any in the whole world. Large groves of orange Lemon Trees &c, grew so close and thick as to yield a shade from the Sun on the hottest days and all the branches bending down with fruit, but since the wood was suffered to be cut down and that Fogs have not been defended from the gardens and the winds which rage impetuously from the hollows of breakings of the mountain topps

have not been restrained from those trees which used to be a shelter to this valley all the Fruits have been blighted and destroyed, or if any few have grown they have been encrusted over with a black and unwholesome Scurfe as if covered with soot which is occasioned by the fogs that fall down the valley but which used to be kept off by the shade of Trees above the Hills.

As to the healthiness of the place we believe the same thing we have alledged for the decay of the Trees has in a great measure attributed [sic] towards diseasing the body too. For we have sometimes a pestilent sulphurious air comes down the valleys by which divers have got sudden sicknesses and particularly one Ripon Wills and Mrs. Coles have each lost an eye by such a sudden Blast.

Mr. Powell is at present the most wealthy of all the planters and reputed to be worth £5000. He possesses about 300 acres in his own and other names and has a great stock of cattle all of his own getting or by marrying several wives as he has lately done Hoskison's widow, but so miserable is his living that few even of the poorest here live meaner. Whenever he sees on your waste land a patch of good grass he immediately turns in so many cattle as he thinks can live a week upon it and so keeps always a large drove from place to place,—for instance he went to a place called Tomstone Wood and seeing that to be green and fresh he immediately put in 50 head of cattle. But though he'll complain of the least injury from others he has no regard to the wrong he does other people in thus engrossing the Commonage to himself he being a man of a large but not a good conscience: as for his blacks though seven are young yett all are usefull. He has no fortifications to make nor no repairs, and but little fencing work in comparison to what your Honours have. He has no Lyme Kiln nor store works and noe officers and people to maintain as your Honours have and consequently in proportion must get more.

He always of late years goes out in fair weather to gett salt or fish in such dangerous places that most other people decline going to, and where he is so much exposed that about a month ago being in great danger he was forced to comply with one Wrangham to give him a boat load of Rock salt computed to be 2200 lb. weight to help him off.

In short for labour and industry, for enduring hardships and living meanly, and for cruelty in exacting hard labour both Sundays and working days from all his slaves under penalty of the severest kinds of punishment there is none like Gabriel Powell on this Island.

The Line at Ruperts is so much decayed and out of repair a ship may go into Ruperts Bay and lye out of reach of every one of our guns and land her men and send to any part of the Island at pleasure without interruption. The last French ships that were here named the *Two Crowns* and *Brilliard* lay there and would scarce be prevailed with to come into the Road to lye under the power of the Fort guns. When the Governor sent them word he would fire at them if they did not come into the Road they did weigh and came in, but sayd they came in more for respect than fear for they knew that in that place there was but one gun that would reach them—and indeed if they had warped a little farther in they would have been out of the reach of that gun too.

The Fort at Lemon Valley is now decayed and ruined the Platform broke down these six years and that being a common watering place for ships all the sailors know our weakness in that ruined fort.

The small platform at Sandy Bay must also be finished which is just to windward of the Island. It was begun by one of the Men of Warr, Capt. Tollat commander of the *Kingfisher* who planted two guns there. It ought to have two more and to be made a breast work.

Munden's Point is a very good fort but there is no house for the men to live in nor to dress their victuals.

The Plantation House new built by Governor Roberts is so greatly out of repair that we fear the roof will fall in.

Capt. William Mackett ship *Drake* 40 days from Madagascar delivered 12 slaves for the Company and sold 55 at an outcry to the Planters who averaged £21 6 0.

The Yams we have here were all produced from some brought by accident from the Coast of Guinea. A slave wench named Maria when she was sent on board put up some yams amongst her clothes to eat by the way and some she brought on shore to this place with her and planted them here in that part of the Island which in the Mapp is called John Proud's Lemon Garden and they grew well and there being a spring that rises out of the ground in the same place by way of memorial it has ever since been called Maria's Spring.—[i.e. at Plantation House].

Letter from the Directors 22nd May 1717.—The Governor is to be commended for his zeal in firing upon the *Victoria*. Mr. Haswell and Mr. Bazett did not do their duty at Munden's point.

The answer about the trading of the *Antigua* sloop is eva-

sive. It is strongly reported that some of you are in great expectation of her.

Leave could not be obtained to send out English half-pence and farthings and we will not do anything clandestinely.

Your Indent by the *St. George* was so great that the Committee were shockt at the very sight of it.

We find that Mr. Bazett is against the Governor's proposal to charge the Store Debtors interest. This is a very ill return for our kindness to him for so many years when a Refugee helpless and unable to provide for himself. To tell Mr. Matthew Bazett our minds plainly, if we don't find him serve us much better he should eat no more of our bread.

We are willing on his good behaviour to forgive Mr. Tovey, stabbing Mr. Wrangham. French Mr. Bazetts son in law deserves to be cashiered for insulting him.

At first sight it would appear you were too arbitrary in the case of Flurcus and the other three men who ran away with the Long Boat, because nothing but death was likely to be the reward of that attempt. They all got to Nevis and Antigua from whence Flurcus and Spooles came to England and were here last July to justify themselves and to complain of the severities which forced them upon that desperate adventure. By the journal they gave in which contained a voyage of 1428 leagues run, it appears Flurcus who kept it is an able mariner.

Dont let a parcel of our Blacks be applied as we have heard to carry persons only up and down the hills for visits and diversions. We cant afford to pay 18d. a day at least not often for that. We are told the neglect of our plantations is occasioned by taking the Blacks from them to make Paths up the Hills the better to carry the Ladies in their Sedans.

The forfeiture of Riders money for his usury was a rigorous proceeding. We are sorry to see this plain instance of what many people too often charge our Governor with of following his own positive temper.

Mr. Free complains our Governor gave him very scurrilous and abusive language in Consultation because he had wrote us of him—calling him Rogue, Villain. Such behaviour renders any man's authority contemptible.

We had received a letter from Mr. Bazett and Capt Haswell accusing the Governor Pyke of his new projects mending paths for the sake of carrying Sedans: some write us the Governor drives a great private trade and that he was principally concerned in the *Antigua* sloop. That a banquetting house is to be built and a place for nine pins. That he em-

ployed Stone cutters and Blacks for eight months past to build a tomb of ten feet high and seven foot broad of cut stone first designed for his son but now for his wife and charges the whole as spent on Fortifications. As to the Tomb we will not be at any charge therein, and so far as it hath been at our cost we expect it to be made us good. We cant like the two accusers management as well as we should if we had found their complaints in Consultation yet not redrest.

Jan. 12th 1717—Mr. Byfield goes off on leave to England.

The Governor says that he sent to Mr. Byfield when he went off six turkies and two geese which if His Honourable Masters think not fitt to allow it he will himself pay for them.

Nicholas Shreeve did last week in one of his drunken fitts call after the Governor as he was walking with the Captain of the *Katherine* and sayed You Governor Pyke, old Pyke, you are an honest old fellow with other foolish expressions—fined 40s.

Feb 19th—A very great Surfe—a boat with Cargo staved to pieces. March 7—There has been for this four or five days the greatest surfe that has been known here in our time which has broke the Crane and entirely ruined the new Wharf.

April 3rd—The Governor says there is a Report run about the Island like wild fire that there is a new Governor coming and says he has taken a great deal of pains full as much as any of his predecessors. If this be his reward the Company are unworthy of his service. He thinks twill be very hard when another Governor comes to lye in the streets, for he has not been so diligent as some that were here before him and therefore has no place of his own to live in—ordered that Mr. Francis' back rooms be fitted up, white-washed and glazed for the Governor's use.

April 9th—John Long expecting a new Governor and Council and rejoicing at the news walks immediately seven miles to Town to defy Capt Haswell and to tell him a little while agoe you threatened to cane me, now strike me if you dare. I dont care a turd for you. On which he was committed, to prison and begged pardon—it is added, Tis very strange the Directors for the Company should have such mistaken notions of these people who never did nor could live peaceable there being too many of them of John Long's temper. Tis pittty we have not some of the Committee to live among them for that would certainly make them judge of these peoples tempers better.

April 17th.—There is a ship the *Stringer* galley from China come in from whom the Governor has received the following letter which he is very much surprised at viz. Sr. "According to the Hon Company's instructions have sent her boat to know how things are and hope shall find you in health and all things in peace and quietness" The Governor says that surely they must have some strange notions at the Cape concerning this Island for this letter looks as if they took every thing here to be in the utmost confusion. We had indeed a parcell of Rogues about two years since out of the *Eagle* which gave us a great deal of trouble. The Island is now in a flourishing condition, vastly different from what we found it. To which if the People's stories here be true of a new Governor coming out we are very ill rewarded and we must say if they give to their other Governors hereafter no more encouragement than we have it will never be worth their while to study the good of the place.

April 30th.—John Knipe and Isaac Leach appointed overseers of Highways for the East side of the Island, the ways and roads all that way being very bad—and another reason why we appoint two persons to act is because the last Parish officers made choice of two persons for t'other side that are not much better than beggars whereas they ought to have chosen good and substantial men to have some respect to their credit and reputation.

May 7th.—The Company's Yawl staved by a great Surf at the Crane. The Parson recommends the employment of Thomas Hopkins physitian from the *Borneo*. The Governor replies he may stay if he likes. We dont think it proper to entertayne any body to trye practices on people.

Divers Blacks do frequently run away about the outparts of the Island for several months and do steal and destroy provisions of all sorts. Any who are willing to undertake the charge of catching Renegado Blacks to make their proposals to the Governor.

Returns for 1716—whites 58 men, 140 officers and soldiers, 71 women, 287 children, Total 556 Whites—Blacks 143 men, 58 women, 126 children, Total 327 Blacks. Cattle 1689 exclusive of Company's stock.

[*Note*.—The large proportion of white children exceeding an average of 4 for each woman.]

May 21st.—Ripon Wills summoned for wilfully destroying 40 Lemon Trees: about 15 days since two of his neighbours walking by his upper grove of Lemon trees plucked off some of the fruit and eat them which the old man seeing fell into a passion and sayed they robbed him and would be

damned for it and in his rage fetched an axe and cut those trees down 40 in number and very large with fruit on them and then sayed he did it to save the peoples souls that would be damned for stealing. Wills in defence says the Trees grew in a very windy cold place $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from his house and produced no profit to him. He was in terrorem fined 20s. each tree £40 but if he plant double the number in some other place his fine to be lessened.

May 28th.—Path between Ruperts valley and this valley very dangerous and fearful of Blacks breaking their necks when loaded with wood that being the way that all fire wood is brought for the Castle use—[i.e. from Deadwood through Ruperts.]

June 18th.—Small pox has broken out amongst the last Slaves from Madagascar and they are sent to Lemon Valley for Quarantine.

July 2nd.—The Letter to Bencoolen is addressed to the Governor and not to the Council because our last letter from them was so very uncivil or rather rude.

July 9th.—The Governor proposes to consider the necessity of making a good path of an Easy ascent to the East side of all the Country—[i.e. Sidepath road.]

July 23rd.—The Company in their last letter have taken notice of the people that runaway with the Longboat their running so great a risque to obtain their liberty from this place—to which the best answer we can make is that we are sorry we should be obliged to detain any body longer than they are willing to stay, we are forced to do it for want of hands. There came but 8 men over with the Governor of whom six are dead and gone—and since we came here there has been 21 died of the Garrison in all.

Sept. 10th.—The birds called Egg birds beginning now to come to the Island to lay Eggs “at Shepherds hole notice is given to all persons not to go to the Egg Islands untill the end of this present month. After October they may go on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays as usual.”

The Governor says for as much as it has been reported of him as if he was a revengeful person and would never forgive an injury he appeals to Capt. Haswell and Capt. Bazett if they of themselves think so. They say they have not found the Governor to be so in his three years time that he has been here and do not think he is so—[i.e. they were probably the secret authors of the report to the Directors and the Governor knew it].

Oct. 8th.—The Governor says that for as much as there happens great controversies and disputes where many

people eat together we think in case of the Governors absence that for every four of the under officers they shall have one good dish of meat, and for every two in Council (besides sallating) one. That likewise in the Governors absence there shall stand a salt upon the Table which shall be placed below the Council and Chaplain. Those who sett above that salt shall always drink as they think proper, either Wine or Punch, but those who setts below the salt shall have to two persons one common bowle of Punch (which contains about three pints) or in case of wine instead thereof one bottle for each bowl of Punch. We shall for the future kill every month one Beef for the table. The last we killed we had very ill success with—some body in the night time having untitled [i.e. untied] the Shed in the garden where we kept the meat and stole it all away so that on Sunday for the losses thereof we had likely to have kept fast day.

Oct. 15th.—The Governor mentions what may serve for a memorandum though it dont so much relate to the Hon. Company's affaires that Mr. Vesey one of the Churchwardens brought the following account viz. That coming with their boat into Sandy Bay from fishing there was a prodigious Scoul of Fish gott into the cove and though at that Cove tis always deep water the Fish filled it chock up in so much that they tyed fish hooks to Sticks and Poles in the nature of Forks and gaffs and hauled out a very great number of them immediately more than they could well tell what to do with. We guess the occasion of it to be upon account of their being pursued by some Fish of prey.

Oct. 8th.—“Of late our parson has been more troublesome than usual and has several new notions. Last Sunday there was a great omission of several parts of the Liturgy, the Nicene Creed, prayer for the Company and Shipping and there was only a Collect and the Lord's prayer before sermon.” Mr. Thomlinson being sent for and questioned is told “The Governor and Council are resolved to have no more of these Fopperies nor alterations in the established forms of the Church prayers and if you go on in these whimsical methods of altering the established prayers of halving them you will render yourself incapable of acting as a minister of the Church of England here and must expect to be sent home.”

Letter to England 28th April 1717.—The people of this place are not the easiest under Government as their continual complaints under all former Governors will shew, but I have made shift to keep them in some tollerable order

and now I think they are all very quiett and as well contented as they ever will be.

May 8th 1717.—We have received thirty Blacks out of the *Mercury*: If your Honors think fitt to lycence any more ships from Madagascar we pray that one article of the agreement may be that we may have liberty to choose out the best. We know the voyage is very profitable and even better termes than those we desire may be very well afforded.

We recommend that Tyles be sent for the roofs. Thatched houses are so much exposed to such accidents (fire) that we think it a great mercy the Town which is all thatched has stood so long as it has.

We believe your Honours sometimes have been tired with the too great length of our letters which we would remedy if we knew how, but find it requires more ingenuity than we are master of. Your Honrs are at London where all your directions are penned by men of the brightest parts. We have nobody but ourselves and though we take your Hon^{rs} letters to us for Copys to write ours by yet when we have answered them the best we can we have judgment eno to find we are vastly short.

As an alteration of weather often happens here in less than an hour's space from sultry heat to very cold, and the mountainy parts of the country is not only windy but always exposed to great damps and fogs even in the times we call the dry seasons we are apt to think it easier to drink water for a constancy in England than in this place. The physical people we sometimes converse with (that is the ship Surgeons) tell us that strong liquor is necessary to all people who have no other bread but these watery roots [for a yam is called the water parsnip] and we also find it so—wherefore though we shall encourage temperance and sobriety as well by our example as precept yet it is in vain to dissuade the use of arrack among these people, who prefer it before the choicest wines."

We have no carriage but by blacks. We use indeed two carts in the Fort valley to bring stones, but up in the mountains every thing though never so heavy is carried by the negroes. The ground is full of rocks in most places and where 'tis not stoney we have a clay within few inches of the surface which sort of ground requires a great deal of labour. We are told by all the planters, and partly know it ourselves that formerly the country before the Wood was destroyed was much fruitfuller than it is now. Not a stick of wood is burnt at the Plantation House but is fetched

above four miles from it. We have begun and planted wood about your Plantation house to prevent that loss of time and labor for futurity.

Sometimes (about once a week) the Blacks carry a chair and sometimes in shipping two or three chairs into the country and can be no great loss of time. The chairs were never carried here till Governor Roberts time, yet before then there were on such occasions as many Blacks employed to carry Hammocks as now to carry a chair.

There are but 12 out of 42 Guinea Blacks now living yet more dyed from want of care or victuals. They eat carryon and any kind of nastiness. All who by ill keeping on board have been reduced to a low state of health for want of necessary provisions do when they come on shore devour any carryon or unwholesome thing they find, and their appetites are a long time before they can be regulated to use a moderate way of eating.

Some Blacks we have taught to lay stones, but joynery or carpentry we cannot have them taught, the Europeans will not show them, they talk among themselves that teaching a Black is a hindrance to their trades and that they shall be less depended on if they show the Blacks their art.

As to the men that stole away the long boat we can say but little. When they were here we thought them honest though they have not proved so. Fleureus the chief manager when he came here was a tailor but he became acquainted with the stone cutters who could not write, and being expert with his pen and Ingenious drew out and marked their work and learned their trade; after that he became acquainted with one Welch who had made some proficiency in numbers and practised some parts of the mathematics and so to navigation which when he had gained some knowledge in he put in practise with your Honour's Long Boat. None of them were concerned so much as with the management of a boat before unless Bates who was your Coxwain.

We are sensible it is a hardship when a man has served his contracted time that he is not permitted to goe off but your Hon^r. since we have been here have not been pleased to send out men to supply the mortality of the place. We take leave to represent how many men are necessary at each Fort or place of easy access for landing and shall begin with Sandy Bay where there is two guns and for that guard there should be one officer and two men constantly. The next is Prosperous Bay where there ought to be four men and one officer constantly and below at Kegwins landing

place one man—at Matts mount or Flagstaff one man always—at King Williams Fort and Bankses platform and the Sugar Loaf two officers and five men. At Ruperts there ought to be always one officer and three men. At Mundens point one officer and four men. At the Main Fort one officer and thirty men, at Lemon Valley two men. At South West point one man and at the Peak one man which makes sixty men always on duty and three guards or reliefs trebles that number which makes 180 men in all.

Beale arrogantly assumed or pretended to great skill in Physick but is indeed very ignorant. He was a taylor but when he could not live on that trade he had Lycence to keep a Punch House. One Dr. Porteous who was Surgeon here, among other Medicines gave one particular Pill with good success. Beale learnt the method of making that Pill. About a year agoe his success obtained him a great deal of credit here but his vanity lost it again, for he bought three sick Blacks for £27 which he vaunted he could cure but they all three dyed and he lost his fame and his money together.

Jan. 1718.—The Island has recovered itself into a flourishing condition greatly beyond what we found it, unless it be beans. Mr. Powell tells the Governor that about the beginning of this season he thought he should have had 300 bushels but the coldness of this last season, a thing scarcely to be believed in London has killed them all.

St. Helena has usually been noted to produce the best sort of kidney beans or callavances, but the last year the earth did not produce seed enough to plant the same ground again and this year is too likely to be the same.

We have in the garden began to improve that ground with Sea Sand which we find succeeds very well being mingled with the clayey soil. Now nobody doubts of improving any sort of ground that is sheltered from the winds and can be supplied with water.

It being the custom for every one when they kill a beast to tann the hide, such a great quantity of bark was wasted that it was shameful it should be suffered any longer—but now we think there is no need of our order, it will be at an end of itself for there are very few cedar trees [or Redwood] so few that the last rainy season the Governor could not get seeds or seedlings of that sort of wood to plant.

As to the Governor driving a great private Trade we assure your Honours we know of none and the Governor says he never sold any thing to the Garrison at all unless when three of his servants dyed their goods and cloaths

were put up and sold by public outcry. As to the Path, the banqueting House upon it, and the Nine Pin place there is no such thing. Nine Pinns is what the Governor never plays at, so tis not so likely he should bestow charge on that. The vallue of the Tomb has been referred to Capt. Haswell and Bazett who have not yett brought in their report, but as soon as it is done the Governor shall be made debtor for it.

Jan. 14th, 1718.—Mr. Tovey complains to Governor of Capt. Haswell for abstracting fourteen sheets of the Consultations and hiding them to prevent their being forwarded to England—these very Consultations containing the proofs of his negligence in not making up the accounts. He the said Haswell amuseth and terrifies a great many of his companions with his arrogant and treasonable expressions by pretending he has and will have more power here than King George has in England. When a false obscene or Filthy tale is reported the people ask if it did not come from Capt. Haswell, but if it be what they call a stretcher, i.e. a great lye, they did not enquire who it came from but presently reply this is one of Haswell's lyes. I never knew a greater reprobate or common swearer for a Bailiff or Boatswain are but fools to him. * * * He had a little black boy and girl of the Hon. Company whom he cruelly punished on every occasion. The girl one time he in his mad drunken humours swore he would crucify her and stript her stark naked hung her up by her leggs on the doorecase and then also stretching out her hands in the form of S. Andrews Cross whipt her most cruelly and burnt her with hot irons inso-much it was feared the girl would die and for that and many such like cruel actions your worship took the girl from him. * * * I hope you'll not take it amiss if I use a fitt occasion to make George Haswell eat some of his foolish papers that shall do him no more hurt than to show the world that lyes wont choak him.

I only say if Mr. Haswell is willing to proceed I shall be more particular with an account of his Freeks and Vagaries that were they all written would look as romantic as Don Quixot's history and be as voluminous.

June 10th—Four blacks missing and widow Carne's boat which was a small yawl—one of them said for some time before he knew how to find his countrey out for it was a great way off upon the waters where the Sun rose for he had often observed the Sun to rise over a great mountain which is on Madagascar.

June 17th—The Governor says that the weather being so

different from what is usual here that we think it proper to mention it in this Consultation. The usual winds of this place is the South-East Trade inclining a point or sometimes two more Southerly or Easterly according as the Sun is to the Northward or Southward of our zenith. But for about three weeks past we have had great calms and on Saturday last we had a Northerly wind which inclined to the Westward all Sunday; and yesterday it blew hard at N. West with small rain. Such a wind has not been known here these sixteen years and then not so strong as now. We have a very sickly time of it. At no season in our memory has there been so many people sick and dyed as in this. The last three ships sailed on Tuesday night 27th May 1718 yet we saw them the Saturday following at Sunset.

June 22nd 1718—Capt. George Haswell depy Governor died of apoplexy.

July 15th—Fidler William Huff having run away “We are very sorry Capt. Glegg should be so ungrateful to us to carry away any of our men but especially that fellow who was our Fidler, and he has thereby put us to a great disappointment for want of a Fidler, though otherwise that fellow can be of no other use to him for he is fitt for nothing else but fidling and making mischief. Besides we think by this means Capt. Glegg will have William Huff's life to answer for, because in England he cannot be long unhanged for one Villainy or other, he having been a Foot Padd about London before he came away, and did not come thence until there was strict search made after him so that by coming here he saved his neck as he used to say himself. Had it not been that he was our Fidler we had got rid of him ourselves by sending him away long agoe.

Aug. 5th.—The back yards in James Town were formerly unenclosed but the Governor having to enlarge the Hon. Company's Garden built a high wall at the foot of the mountain which high wall is an enclosure to every one of them and also carryed a Run of water through all their yards. They seeing as good Lemons grow in the Company's Garden as ever grew there formerly the trees being in some measure protected from the blasts and bites by the building of that high wall and they have been induced to make gardens for themselves at the back of their houses and have dug up the ground and taken out the Rocks and Stones in the same manner as is done in the Hon. Company's ground. With these stones so dug up they make their party fences and are planting fruit trees behind every one of those houses.

November 18th.—On Sunday morning last 16th Nov. four Black men run away with a fishing yawl from Prosperous Bay Beach and though the Governor upon notice hereof sent two boats after them could not recover the Boat with the Runaway Blacks again.

April 7th.—Capt. Bazett dyed 5th April 1719.—The Governor sick—Mr. Tovey hopes to be Governor soon and will goe no more to the Fort till he went to take possession of it.

The Governor desires Mr. Jno Alexander the Secretary to lay his hand on his brest and to speak his conscience whether he thinks Mr. Tovey to be so fitt a man for Store-keeper as Mr. Goodwin. The Governor says that Capt. Bazett's sudden death, for he lay but a week sick and his own sickness happening at the same time had been so great a damp upon the spirits of the people—one of them spoke Sr. for God's sake you take care and leave a honest man to govern us for if Mr. Tovey be the man, and you do not make some rules to bind his hands we shall all rise together and serve him worse than Govr. Kegwin was served formerly. The Governor says he did not enquire what it was they had done to Govr. Kegwin and therefore desires the books may be examined to see what that difference between him and the people was. Governor issues a Public notice "that he will appoint such a Governor and Councill to succeed him at his death as shall be both acceptable to them and agreeable to the Company."

May 5th, 1719.—Tuesday. On Saturday last there was such vast floods of water descended from the middle of the Island as did abundance of damage and we think it was a Water Spout that broke about the Main Ridge because the Waters did not fall in shores [showers] after the usual manner but descended from the top of that Hill with mighty floods and torrents. It carried away the soile in an incredible manner with both grass, trees, yams, and stone walls before it. It brought down Rocks of a mighty bulk and covered abundance of Fruitful land with stones, the fine earth being washed away in such great quantity that the sea for a great way round about the Island lookt like Black mudd.

May 12th.—A large piece of Alabaster stone the same sort as that at Turks Cap Hill supposed to be brought down by the late great flood found in the Water Course above the houses in the valley—a reward of £5 offered for discovery of the quarry.

May 26th.—The Governor orders that no gratuity be paid

without his particular order because he thinks where persons have done less than their duty instead of more, the salary itself is scarce due. For instance the Parson who never of late goes up to bury any of the garrison but leaves the Dead to bury the Dead. And whereas before it used by all chaplains that has been here to insert immediately after the petition for those in the Company's service abroad these words "more especially the Governor and Council of this place" and since he constantly omits that sentence and has given out by his brother that he don't think them worth praying for, the Governor says there is an old proverb "No Penny, no Pater Noster" so we say no Pater Noster no Penny and are very well contented because we think the prayers of such a fellow can do us but little good.

Mortality—We usually decrease here among the white people five in a hundred per annum—but in each of the two last years not lesser than 10 per 100 !!

[*Note*—The mortality in modern years seldom exceeds $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and there seems to be no other explanation of the difference than the enormous quantity of Rum Punch consumed in former days.]

June 3rd—Doctor Hicks for being drunk and breaking the peace in the Street with his sword drawn fined and his sword ordered to be sold to the use of the soldiers of the guard.

From England March 21st, 1718—We are sorry to find there is no unanimity among you. Mr. Haswell and Mr. Bazett on one side seem to thwart the Governor who is joined by Mr. Tovey.

Bye Laws of the Island.—All the Rules given by the then Company on the re-delivery of the Island to them should be entered as you have in the very words—but as to some of them such as making treble or fourfold restitution for anything stole and other matters, we dont confirm them though we believe they might be intended in terrorem.

Wherein we have not given particular directions touching punishments of body or purse keep yourselves as near as may be to the Laws of England, for whatsoever exceeds will be accounted arbitrary and give a handle to designing people to raise clamour or to tyrannical people in the Island to vent their spleen.

List of ships for the Company's East India Trade for this season sent (viz. 13 ships from 330 to 460 tons). We find you are resolved to justify yourselves in your severity to the *Eagle's* men—however dont give no occasion to censure

such unjustifiable management. Let the Captains punish their own men.

We cannot get liberty to send out Copper farthings and half-pence and we will not allow dollars going in our stores at six shillings a piece yet you write these would be best.

Can you think we ought to like this. We order that the Bank notes shall be currant and equal to the Fannams and Spanish Bits and Pice.

Such as want to send their money to England shall have bills payable here. Surely if the People were acquainted with this they would not any longer grumble except perhaps Powel and two or three more who keep private Storehouses, and these if reason will not convince them authority must control them.

We are pleased to find the Island so well recovered from drought that great token of Divine displeasure. The planting of trees is to be enforced, sheltering the very ground as well as the fruit trees from the hurtful winds and blasts. Endeavor to persuade the people to it by argument for Englishmen are to be led, not forced.

We have repeated complaints that you the Governor threaten the inhabitants to ruin them if they complain. The planters pray that two of them may have leave to come to England to present their grievances. They assert that the Governor is a very great trader.

We are sensible they are a quarrelsome litigious dissatisfied kind of people and some few spirit up the rest. That they are never long pleased with any Governor unless they can ride him.

Give any one or two of them leave to come to England. If we can judge by the nature of their complaints when they are publicly told that you allow any of them to come to us they will think twice before they accept the leave once.

Mr. Powell appears to be an industrious painstaking man—you would load him with reproach. It is very plain from your own showing that he with his seventeen blacks and 300 acres of land raises more stock of Cattle and has a greater produce from his dairy than you do from all ours and that you are forced to buy of him—doth not this show the difference of management.

Letter to England, July 10th, 1718.—We are very sorry to give you so ill an account for in this place we have not had a good season this last year and too little rain and whether that or whatever else Almighty God has been pleased to ordain be the cause we cannot tell but we sadly feel the

effects of his displeasure by his taking away so many of us since Christmas last. There has dyed here the several persons undernamed (30 whites) besides whom we have several others now sick and the Blacks have not fared much better. The present sickness rages among us.

The Council have always the benefit of the General Table. In the case of smoking Tobacco which the Governor finds great incommodity to himself and therefore does expect the Council not to smoak at Table when he is present nor no man to come there when he is drunk. Formerly the Serjeants and the Marshal and Smith used to dine with the Governor, but by being complained of by many of the Commanders Governor Poirier did alter it. And this Governor is of opinion that nobody ought to sit at Table with him that is not cleanly drest or that has an infectious distemper on him or that is drunk and never did forbid anybodies coming but for one of these above mentioned reasons, unless Capt. Haswell once.

On all Public occasions, General Musters, or Sessions usually 30 sometimes 35 of the Inhabitants dine with the Governor.

Slaves diet.—All have milk, fish, eggs every other day for one quarter of the year from the Egg Islands.

There has been two of your Honours Blacks being strong mutinous fellows had by some means gott some weapons and tryed to get some more blacks to join them and betook themselves to a kind of fastness which was at the foot of a spirall rock called Lott and on the top of a high mountain almost inaccessible and there in a large cave they took up their residence and withstood every body they could see who come towards them from a great distance and by rowling down stones kept every body off so that they were besieged for three or four days. The souldiers sent after them desired leave to fire at them. The Governor said in case they could not be otherwise taken in one day more they should be fired at. The next day one William Worrall a brisk young man with two or three more did get up behind them and above them and then they hove down Rocks in their turn and beat down the chief of them so much bruised that he dyed—at which the people in Sandy Bay had great satisfaction for they suffered much by them.

As to the "Castle Path" as we now call it which formerly went by the name of Ladder Hill Path we have mentioned the usefulness thereof. The origin of it was as folows—In building the Barracks [i.e. some small Hutts which, until 1800, stood near the present Main Guard House,]

several stones fell from the hill and some of the people at the work were wounded, upon which the Governor caused all the people to leave the work and clear the Hill of all loose stones that were likely to fall by the Goats above it. In doing this and finding that the old Ladder Hill Path might be improved and made good and finding that the Blacks from the Plantation used an improper traffic among the Punch Houses from up the valley we concluded to cause all to come down the path in sight of the Castle. As to weakening the Fort if an enemy must come down the hill upon us we should rather choose to have them come all the way in sight of the Castle were every sould in the hill must be in our power, for that path is a perfect traverse consisting of three Z^{ds} and all the lower parts within musket shott of the grand fort.

We had hard gales of unusual winds June 1718. We had a mortality of 30 dead besides Blacks, since then we have lost divers others which has tended to make our people melancholy and apprehensive so that we have had but one wedding these fourteen months.

We have gathered several Lemons from Trees planted but three years since that are 12, 13, and 14 Inches each lemon about and question not that your Fort yards will be as remarkable here for fine fruit as ever.

As to Doctor Thomlinson the Governor knows too well the trouble that attends disputing with any that have the privilege of wearing a Parson's gowne and therefore he always endeavours to avoid it for if any of them think they meet with the least slight or disappointment they cry out presently for the help of their tribe and their Church must be in danger from every thing which crosses their covetous or ambitious humours and for that reason the Governor sayes he never cares to have too much to do with the Parsons. Some of them are good men while in a Pulpit who are but indifferent out of it.

June 9th.—Coales a free planter petitions to goe to Ben-coolen. Resolved—that no person shall be permitted to goe hence but those who shall be rather a credit than a discredit to St. Helena and therefore his petition rejected.

The Governor says the Butler fetching some paper out of one of the offices to sett out the candles with, he found half a sheet of paper with his name counterfeited in several places wherefore desires enquiry may be made who did it because such practises may happen to prove of ill consequence and by such means he may be hereafter made to signe such papers as he never saw.

The Governor notes the improvements in the plantations, &c., and for what other works I have done they are visible to all who knew St. Helena six years agoe and I hope to find it much altered yet for the better if it should please God to let me live to return.

List of Families exclusive of Garrison—390 Whites, 411 Blacks, Cattle 1765 exclusive of the Company's.

Letter from England, 13th March, 1719.—Mr. Edward Johnson appointed Governor, Matthew Bazett 2nd, Antipas Tovey 3rd, John Alexander 4th.

We have appointed Mr. Pyke to be our 2nd of Council at Fort Marlborough—our new Governor hath acted many years here as a justice of the Peace and must well understand what is proper to be done.

Govern yourself by our English Laws and especially remember and practise English lenity and not to mingle your passions and resentments with the sentence.

We inclose the declaration of War against Spain. The French have also proclaimed war against them in pursuance of the quadruple alliance and the Dutch will do in like manner speedily.

You tell us Governor Pyke's slaves were the best in the Island. How they should come to be better than ours is very strange. The Consultation Entry seems to pave the way for putting them upon us in case he should have leave to go to the West Coast. We observe the plausible pretext used by Mr. Pyke for his getting so many blacks was to reduce the wages of slaves from 18d. to 12d. a day. If the people here are to be credited they were to be fed with our yams and had larger allowances of flesh and fish than our own, which seems to us a reason why they might be the best on the Island, if indeed they were so.

Council Proceedings 13th June, 1719.—On Saturday 13th June 1719, about 7 o'clock this evening arrived the good ship *Craggs* Frigot, on board whom came Edward Johnson, Esq. whose commission as Governor was read and ordered to be published on Sunday morning next as usual by beat of Drums.

Rev. Mr. Jones came over as Chaplain and Joseph Ormston to assist the Accomptant.

June 15th.—Proclamation of Warr against Spain published.

June 26th.—Mr. Tovey informed the Governor that Governor Pyke has had for three years past a great many Blacks maintained at the Company's cost. Whether Governor Pyke ought not to pay for their dyett he having had the

usual prices paid for their work which in one year has come to £740. Upon examination we find that Gov^r Pyke charged us no more than what every planter hath for the hire of his blacks and his victuals and that Mr. Tovey's information is malicious frivolous and groundless. Mr. Tovey is ordered to withdraw and to come no more into the Consultation of this day.

June 29th *Letter to Bencoolen*.—Governor Pyke at his desire is removed hence to Bencoolen where we doubt not he will soon make great improvements as he has done on St. Helena.

June 30th.—Mr. Tovey complains of Parson Jones who pulled off his gown and struck him the said Tovey with his fist in one of his eyes which is now swollen. Mr. Jones answers that Tovey told him he was a scoundrell with other abusive words and he told Tovey "flesh and blood was not able to bear it" and does now own he did strike Mr. Tovey for which he is very sorry, upon which they shook hands.

Nov. 24th.—Parson Jones refuses to attend Council when summoned and is brought up by a warrant for neglecting to use the prayer for the Company on 22nd November. He behaved very insolently and his gratuity was ordered to be stopped.

Letter to England 21st December 1719.—A true state of the case of Mr. John Jones Chaplain. To draw him off from associating himself with those of too mean a rank for him now as a Clergyman tho his equals when he was in the Island before a private soldier the Gov. attributed his too familiar phrases and expressions he used to let fall at the Table before Him in some measure from his not conversing with a better sort therefore invited him to be his companion and allotted him an apartment at the Plantation House to be there when the Gov. was there. On the 22nd. of Sept. at the Plantation House, a *wedding* happened, one of the gentlemen of the Council to a young gentlewoman. The acct of what fish the fishing boat had taken was brought to the Gov. as usual. The account was 12 fishes called Jacks and 12 fishes called Old Wives which occasioned the Gov. to jocke with Mr. Jones by saying Parson you nor I need not despair for the old English proverb a Jack for every Gill is verified even by the fish you see here 12 Jacks to 12 Old Wives—which expression put Mr. Jones in mind of the old woman he married when he went off from hence to England before and raised his Passion which the Gov. took no notice of at first but endeavoured to overlook it. But

when he grew noisy the Gov. asked him what was the matter who had angered him. He in a surly loud way replied why you have, if I had the misfortune to marry an old woman must I always be twitted in the teeth of it. When the Gov. told him he did not design any reflection on him it was the Proverb agreeing with the Fish was the occasion, but that answer not assuaging his fury, the Gov. told him since he could not be easy he should quit the house to-morrow, to which he replied Aye that I'll do now I wont be beholden to you and so went his way. The pulpit he hath several times made the stage to reflect on the Gov. administration and arraigne the People, which might have proved of ill consequence had not the whole Island been better satisfied. On the 27th Nov. the Gov. sent by Ensigne Slaughter to Mr. Jones to let him know and not be surprised if his neglect of attending on the curtain as belonging to the Garrison should be punished when the Gov. from the country entered the Garrison as the rest of the gentlemen of the Garrison did. He sent word he knew no obligation neither would he. The 28th an alarm being made he took his post on the mount when the Gov. told him that by his answer to Mr. Slaughter he refused to doe the duty belonging to the Garrison in paying the respect to the Gov. thereof and therefore he ordered him out of the Garrison. On the Sunday following in his reading Divine Service he mistook the Collect for the day, when the Gov. said to Mr. Jones you are wrong this is the 2nd Sunday in Advent, which he soon recollected. Before the Litany he read the forme appointed for the Hon. Company and then the Collect for the first Sunday which never was done in that place before, nor enjoined by our Church. When he came to the Communion service he began to read the wrong Collect notwithstanding the Gov. again reminded him and persisted and read the Epistle and Gospel in open defiance of the Gov. Whereupon for his insolent behaviour as well before the Gov. and Council as before, he was confined to his chamber until the departure of the *King George* or the *Addison* then in the Road and to be put on board for England. The scandalous Libel fixt up in the valley reflecting on the Gov. the same night, y^e concourse of the people to visit the Parson, the false reports of what the Gov^r. should say. Another Libel two nights after mentioning the Gov^r. name both writ in a hand unknown began to make some people so uneasy that the Gov. was forced to send for several people to trace the Authour and which was found to be the Sacheveralties of this Island, The thoughts of the unhappy

state this Island may be reduced to by this unstable ill designing ignorant but haughty Priest, by his insinuating himself into the tender minds of a weak and undiscerning people by that fallacious mistaken pretence of the Church is in danger. His Holy order is affronted, when indeed the vile practises of the man is punished will justify our proceeding herein to your Honours.

Jan. 5th. 1720.—Mrs. Southen, Doctors Leigh and Civil and three others taken into custody for writing and sending home the following paper—"Whereas on the 29th Nov. 1719 that the Rev. Mr. Jones the Rt. Hon. Company's Chaplain on the said Island was celebrating of Divine Service according to his office the Collect of the day was interrupted by Governor Johnson saying very outrageously 'You are out to-day as you was last Sunday, for this is the 2nd Sunday in Advent'; the which the Rev. Mr. Jones read to prevent any further indeacency, but informing himself while a Psalm was sung and finding he had committed no error proceeded on his duty till he came a 2nd time to read the Collect for the first Sunday in Advent was instantly interrupted by Governor Johnson saying why do you make these mistakes. To which the Rev. Mr. Jones made no reply but went on scarcely to the end of the Communion Service and published the holy day viz. St. Andrews being the next day adding that prayers will be at Church,—then the Rev. Mr. Jones had no sooner exprest himself thus but Gov. Johnson said not by you Sr calling out very furiously officer take him prisoner, bring him before me. I'll see who is Governor Mr. Jones or I. The order was immediately executed.'

Six other persons summoned viz. Messrs. Gurling, Johnson, Rider, Powell, Greentree and Long for taking upon themselves the usurpt authority to contradict the public administration of the Government relating to Mr. Jones and signing the following paper—"These are to certifie whom it may concern that the Rev. Mr. Jones did formerly reside here for some years and behaved himself soberly and civilly and did much good in his station as Schoolmaster and being since sent as the Hon. Company's Chaplain has in that function carried himself to the satisfaction of us the inhabitants." They were then all bound to appear at Sessions under bonds of £100 each.

Jan. 28th.—Trial of Mrs. Southen and others. Mr. John Alexander Secretary as evidence for the prosecution states the facts (which agree exactly with those contained in Mrs. Southens paper) except only that the Governor called out to Mr. Jones in a very mild manner and that Mr. Jones

persisted to read in open defiance of the Governor which gave him cause to order Mr. Jones to be seized by the officer of the Guard and to bring him to the Castle where he appeared with an haughty countenance and vindicated himself in a very rude manner. Who for his disobedient and insolent behaviour then as well as several other times before the Governor and Council he was confined.

Dr. Civil and Sarah Southen found guilty.

John Worrall indicted for saying the Governor was a Papist. Mr. Free indicted for asserting the Governor had said: "That he would seize any planters estate, without giving any reason for his so doing, that did continue with the parson Mr Jones. Mr. Johnson one of the evidence says that he being at the Parsons not thinking it would be ill taken and the Governor being then coming by he called to him and told him he did not take it well of any person of the Garrison to visset the parson then under confinement and sayde you may remember Dr. Secheverell's time and they that did so could expect to find no favour from him. But did not hear the Governor say anything as seiz-ing any man's Estate.

Mrs. Southen and Civil sentenced to be set in the Pillory for one hour, the Pillory to be set in the middle of the valley over against the Store House, they to stand with their faces up the valley. Worrall and Free fined £5 each.

March 15th.—*Mercury* arrived from Madagascar with Slaves. The Captain reported that while at the Cape 11th Feb. 1719 came in a Dutch ship who did inform us she had been engaged by a Pyrate who had killed her nine men and wounded her 49 (some of which our Capt. see come ashore). She did suppose her to be Bristoll built having 40 guns 8 Patteroes and full of men. But the Pyrate being a weak ship not able to carry sail the Dutchman got clear of her.

March 22nd.—A Petition from 19 Planters that Swanley Valley the Head of Old Woman's Valley, Tomstones Hill and Manatee Bay be not let but remain waste for the benefit of the Public.

A "Europe Portuguese man" sent to the Island as a Prisoner from Bombay for betraying his trust in an action against Cannojee Angria an Enemy to the English at Bombay. Govr refuses to receive him and sent him back. He is called "the one legged Portuguese villain."

Gunnery returns of Stores—shows the firing of 141 Guns for King George's Birthday—121 Guns for King Charles 2nd restored—84 Guns for King George proclaimed.

1721.—Return of Company's Cattle shows 849 head of which 18 are wild and cannot be pounded.

17th Jan.—Governor Johnson and Council resolve to go to Thomas Swallows house on Monday next in order to the examining of Margaret Swallow single woman on the complaint of the Churchwardens of her supposed pregnancy.

4th Feb.—Great Surfs which have lasted a fortnight. Fishing boats have not been able to go out fishing.

April.—John Coles of Sandy Bay [owner of the estate now called Fairy Land] murdered on 9th April 1721 between 6 and 7 in the evening in a hollow place under the side of one part of the Main Ridge near to a place called or known by the name of Feather Bed Hill by his slave Sultaun by throatling him with pieces of Rope yarn several times doubled and tying him by the throat to the root of a Tree—[i.e. near the spot now called "Coales' Rock."] Sultaun hung and afterwards hung in chains on a Gibbet on the Top of Fort Hill—[i.e. Ladder Hill].

Census Returns 1720.—Whites 58 men, 77 women, 6 youths, 41 maidens, 92 boys, 117 girls; Total 391 exclusive of Garrison.

Blacks.—Free 8, Slaves men 194, women 65, boys 110, girls 58; Total 443.

June 13th.—Notification. Many inconveniences occasioned by Runaway Blacks the number of them daily increasing. Hereafter the Master to punish their own Blacks at their own discretion for that offence. To pay for damages done by such Blacks and a fee of 40s. to any person retaking them. On Sunday night next about 6 o'clock the Planters and their Blacks to meet the Overseers of Highways in order to make diligent search for runaway Blacks.

Aug. 8th.—Joseph Bedloe a soldier and Widow Mary Swallow were married by Dr. Middleton of the ship *Hartfort Francis*. Bedloe and Widow Swallow being sent for by the Marshal Bedloe led her down the valley and introduced her into the Hall of the Castle by the hand as his wife. They both owned the fact before the Governor and Bedloe offered to show his certificate. The Governor ordered Bedloe to be whipt and to receive fifty lashes on his bare back at the flagg staff and to be confined in prison till the departure of the next storeship and the said Widow Swallow was ordered to receive twenty lashes on her naked back, but when she was affixed to the flaggstaff the Governor ordered the whipping to be remitted hoping the shame of being so publicly exposed would have the same effect on her as the smart had on some.

Doctor Middleton having returned on board the ship *Hartford Francis* was again brought on shore by order of the Governor and whipt at the Flagstaff with twenty lashes for disorderly behaviour.

Aug 8th.—The Governor reported that on the 6th Augt. Peter the Negro man slave of the Widow Shreve a notorious runaway villainous fellow who has this last time been run-away about eight months was brought to him who he ordered to be put into the Dungeon and chained to Ring bolts. But on Sunday night last made his escape by working the Ring bolt out of the Wall and making a hole big enough for him to creep out at. Ordered that an advertisement be this day issued with the promise of £5 for the retaking of Him *Dead or Alive*.

Aug 22nd.—Peter retaken by four of the Company's Blacks.

Aug 29th.—Peter made his escape on Saturday night last out of the Dungeon notwithstanding he was chained to a Ring Bolt fast in the Wall with a half hundred weight to his shackles, his hands fastened between his legs with handcuffs. He was retaken on Sunday Evening by John Bagley junior in Powells valley and is again confined and loaded with Iron, viz. with an Iron collar about his neck with a chain from it to his handcuffs, from thence the chain was fastened to a ring bolt in the wall and his shackles rivetted with an Iron band and swivells fastened to an Andvill of about two hundred weight.

Sept. 5th.—Peter brought to trial and pleaded guilty to three charges for Burglary on which the Jury presented a petition to have him hung. Sentenced to be hung—that you be from hence retaken to the Dungeon from whence you was brought and from thence to-morrow morning to be put on a Cart to be drawn by all those Blacks who though in a less degree have been formerly guilty thereby to strike an immediate horror and terror into them by the part they are to act at your execution.

Sept 19th.—Sarah Southen for reporting that there was a new Governor and several new faces coming and that for those two doggs Cason and Slaughter she had rather see the Devil than see either of them. But their reign was not long neither—ordered to be whipt.

Oct. 3rd.—Mr. Van Oosten and Mercy (wife of Jacob one of the Company's slaves) ordered to be whipt at the Flagstaff with twenty-one lashes each to be given alternately. The Governor had several times before admonished and severely reproved the said Van Oosten for keeping

her company, warning him of Smitherman's fate whose throat Jacob is suspected to have cutt for his being too familiar with his wife the said Mercy.

Oct. 3rd.—Mr. Free whose estate had been seized for debt to the Company was ordered to be whipt with 21 lashes on his bare back at the Flaggstaff for alleging that he had been robbed of his Estate.

Oct. 8th.—Arrived the ship *Drake* from England. Mr. Ormston restored to his office and to Council. Mr. Benjamin Hawkes appointed Clerk of the Council. Advertisement issued that Mr. Free having made divers complaints to the Directors against the Governor they have ordered in their general letter received by the *Drake* para : 44 that the said Free should be allowed to make good his allegations if he can. Wherefore on Tuesday next we intend to set publicly in the Hall within Union Castle where and when all persons whatsoever are at free liberty to come and be witnesses of the whole affaire.

Oct. 27th.—Mr. Ormston applied for and is granted leave to proceed to India.

Nov. 4th.—Mr. Ormston being absent on the day appointed for the shipp's sailing a warrant is issued to apprehend him and all who concealed him. The frequent cabaling of the refractory people early and late at his own house and other places more than usual since his being restored by the Company give us just reason to suspect the consequences that might attend his stay here.

Martin applies for two acres waste land lying between Chubbs Spring and the foot of Cow path part of it being called Robert's plantation. Refused he being an idle fellow.

Proceedings in Mr. Free's case put for perusal in the public room of Mr. Carne and Mr. Powell those being the chief houses of entertainment, that everybody may judge how far the Governor or Mr. Free are culpable.

Governor notes that he had respect for Mr. James Greentree on his first arrival but after Mr. Greentree was concerned about the parsons affairs he had shunned the Governor on all occasions and when invited on Public days.

Letter from England 31st May 1721.—H.M.S. *Lion*, *Salisbury*, *Exeter* and *Shoreham* are to proceed for India to suppress the Pyrates. Whenever they arrive with you show the Commanders the best respects and civility during their stay as well by first salutes as otherwise. This we direct be also a standing order for the future to any His Majesty's shipp's at St. Helena.

It is not the getting any peddling profit by the sale of a little Beef that we mind, but the preserving mariners lives and in consequence the shipp and cargo. This was the only inducement of adding and continuing that clause in the Charter party. Mr. Powell did not dare sell any beef because the Governor had a pique against him for signing Parson Jones certificate. We were very sorry to hear the Governor's resentment against the Planters on account of Mr. Jones should arise so high, and at first were ready to doubt it till we found it confirmed in the Consultation Book account of the Sessions, and by other living Testimonies now here. Pray let us hear no more of this, or anything of the like nature if you value our service.

Mr. Ormston hath been very badly treated. Every one here cries out of the Governor keeping his wife at the Fort against his will, and notwithstanding the Governor's apology in his private letter to us we cant help saying he hath at best acted very imprudently. Caser made this argument for repudiating his wife that she ought not so much as to be suspected, and it holds stronger upon the Governor. Wherefore we say dont let her stay a day in the Fort from the receipt hereof.

The affair of Mr. Jones the Chaplain taking him out of the desk in the time of Divine Service in that outrageous and unprecedented manner shockt us at the first hearing of it, and more so when it was further explained and the causes of it particularised. We are surprised that Mr Johnson who knows so much better could be capable of doing it. We tell you we will never endure it. It seems he did while officiating in his office act unbecomingly and the language thereof might be interpreted "Thou art the Man." If there had been no secret guilt why such outrageous anger. We have reason to believe Mr. Jones is not a man of the best morals, but that ought not to warrant unlawful revenge. Be angry and sin not—and avoid all appearance of evil are two Rules as necessary to persons in authority as any their inferiors, if not more so. Can any of you think that bearing all down before you whether right or wrong will ever make an Englishman easy. The people's judgement of things may make them sometimes argue wrong, but they always feel right when hardly dealt with.

February 23rd 1722.—You were in the right to deny Bedloe the soldier marrying the Widow Swallow and censuring Mr. Middleton for presuming to marry them contrary to the settled custom of the Island. But the manner of the punishing Mr. Middleton is what can be no wayes

justified by any law of England or St. Helena nor can we imagine what should induce the Governor to take so large a step but an apprehension of his own despotick power as if he were above all law. As to the present case we are sorry for the occasion—let him take the consequence when he returns to England and find that our mild laws will suffer no man to stretch his authority at this rate.

The Governor's carriage towards Mr. Jones mentioned in our last letter has made such a general ill impression upon people's minds here that we cannot hitherto get a Chaplain to be sent you.

March 20th, 1722.—The Long Boat lost from the moorings in a very great storm.

May 29th.—Henry Johnson having sent a memorial to the Company the Governor sent a warrant to search his house and seize his papers. The marshal brought his desk locked to the Governor at Plantation on Sunday after Church. The Governor called Johnson and bid him unlock the desk. Johnson behaved himself insolently before him and was committed to prison and the following day ordered to be whipt at the Flagstaff.

[*Note.*—He was restored to office 23rd July, 1723. The case is an instance of the caprice of justice in those days. In his memorial to the Company, Johnson accused J. Bates of attempting to bribe Johnson to make fraudulent transfers in the accounts and also of his assisting two deserters to escape. His accusations were adjudged by Governor Johnson to be groundless and he was ordered to be whipt. Nevertheless in August 1724 when Bates was under the displeasure of Governor Smith for insolence these same charges were revived against Bates, Johnson being the sole evidence, and at that date Bates got the whipping for it].

July 14th.—The Inhabitants cautioned against receiving the Red Coats of the Garrison on any exchanges.

Sept. 18th.—Mrs. Southen refuses to receive any papers from the Marshal and told him if he left them there she would make Bumpapers of them.

Oct.—Capt. Goodwin acquainted us that he had discovered a small island called Sphæree on which he believed there was a considerable quantity of salt now much wanted.

Feby. 16th, 1723.—After three weeks illness, Gov^r. Johnson died on 16th Feby. of Bloody Flux—and was succeeded by Mr. Edward Byfield.

Feb. 16th.—Mr. Edward Byfield succeeds as acting Governor on the death of Mr. Johnson. The two members of Council being Mr. John Alexander and Mr. John Goodwin.

March 5th.—We have no kindly seasons for these four

years past nor any at this time tho expected above two months since. Wood at this time very scarce on the Island and the Inhabitants enjoined to plant.

April 6th.—The late Governor Pyke on his return passage from Bencoolen to England calls at the Island and is consulted on several points, particularly as to the fencing of the Great Wood. In his reply he remarks Though the enclosing of the Great Wood be extremely necessary yet I doubt whoever does it will occasion a great deal of clamour from the people who live near it and used to put their cattle there, because they look on that as their own as appears by the use they make of it and the wood that is daily destroyed there. You will find also in the Consultations of my time that I bought a small piece of land above Luffkins of Messrs. Johnson and Powell, and the reason was to convey a large spring and run of water from a place called Blisses to the Church Ground which being above all the gardens will fully furnish them with water.

April 17th.—Indent for Stores includes 200 *lbs.* *Hair Powder.*

Census Returns.—Whites—50 men, 79 women, 251 children, 120 officers and soldiers—total 500 Whites.

Blacks—18 free men—186 men slaves, 67 women, 153 children, Company's slaves 137 males, 49 women—total Blacks 610.

May 28th.—This day arrived the ship *Essex* from England on whom came the Worshipful John Smith Esq. Governor. His commission published by beat of Drum as usual.

June 10th.—*Letter to India.*—If you have any Bomb Shells the Governor desires you would please to send us three or four for the blowing up a large Rock that is near the surface of the water at our Crane [i.e. the Upper Crane] and very often damages and stoves our Boat. We are informed by Governor Feake who was here in April last that the Banyan tree, Burr tree, and Pipple tree are procurable in Bengal and would grow well here.

August 19th.—Mingo a man slave belonging to Jessey and overseer of his master's plantation beat a Woman Slave named Abigail for running away with such severity that she dyed, and then buried her by his masters orders. On trial the Jury find him not guilty of murder but of unmerciful beating and bruising her. Sentenced to be branded in the left cheek with a hot Iron and his master Jessy for ordering her burial without examination fined 40s.

Sept 13th.—Petition from the Major part of the Inhabi-

tants for themselves and rest of the Inhabitants complaining of the inconveniences of having free blacks, there being now about 20 Free Blacks. They pray that noe person may be allowed to give freedom to their blacks, and that noe person noe inhabiting the island be permitted or allowed to send off the island any of their blacks young or old under pretence of being free. And as John Coulson had lately sold a black wench of his named Abigail to one Town Collier a free black they pray that the sale should be made void.

[The inhuman cruelty in the above petition will be more apparent when it is considered that in the preceeding month a fine of 40s. was judged to be a sufficient punishment for a master who had allowed a woman slave to be flogged to death, and further that it not only was to debar a slave from freedom in the island, but was to prevent kindly disposed masters from giving freedom under any circumstances even when the emancipated slave was to be sent off the Island, and yet this petition was granted, and Abigail whose freedom had already been purchased by Collier was put up to auction again as a slave and was bought by John Long.]

Nov. 28th.—Parson Giles brought up for numerous cases of drunken and disorderly conduct drinking daily two or three quarts of arrack. The Council "willing to shew our lenity towards him and the cloth he wears will try him one month longer."

Jan. 7th, 1724.—The Island being now in a very miserable starving condition through the want of the rainy seasons for four or five years past the Captain of H.M.S. *Salisbury* is begged to spare a supply of Rice or any other such sorts of Provisions for the speedy relief of the poor Inhabitants without which we fear some of them will inevitably starve.

Feb. 11th.—Several small fishing boats lately built here of which one belonging to Richard Mason being at her fishing moorings on Monday night the 4th instant some large Fish supposed to be what is called the Sun Fish got foul of the boats moorings and pulled her under water and two of our Garrison out of three that were in her were drowned—ordered that no boat be hereafter built less than 14 feet long and 4 ft. 9 in. broad.

July 16th.—The Governor writes to India for timber to make Cattamarans being informed they would be of great service here for fishery and also for four fishermen experts and used to the said Cattamarans.

Complains that several Blacks guilty of notorious crimes had been sent here from India and requests the President

at Fort George that no more should be sent. We send some of them in this ship to Bencoolen according to our Honourable Masters orders.

Aug. 31st.—The Governor congratulates the Inhabitants assembled at Sessions upon the happy change of weather at a time when this place was at the brink of ruin—for in a year or two more the Island would have been little better than a desert

Totty a slave tried for repeatedly running away and leading a free booters life. The Gentlemen of the Jury *several of whom have already been great sufferers by the said Totty* petition to have him executed—[i.e. constituting themselves plaintiff, jury and judge]. Totty sentenced to be drawn on a cart by other runaway Slaves and hung. Afterwards to be carried to the top of the hill above Castle path and hanged upon a Gibbet.

Sept. 8th.—A Powder Magazine to be built on the East side of the square where the ware house is—[i.e. in the Commissariat store where it now stands].

March 9th, 1725.—A fine beneficial rainy season which hath put the Island once more into a flourishing condition. There hath sprung up abundance of young Gumwood Plants from seeds in many parts of the Island.

May 19th.—Furze wood to be planted round the Fences by the Planters.

Oct. 19th.—Mr. Hawkes papers having been seized by order of the Governor amongst them was found a letter from Mrs. Tovey to him in which she speaks of Gov^r Smith as an old Rogue Partiall doating old Foole—Monster Brute, Beast, Serpent. She is committed to prison for it.

[She had been cohabiting with Mr. Hawkes, who in consequence had been prohibited by Gov. Smith from all further intercourse with her on pain of dismissal].

Oct. 20th.—Mr. Hawkes having at the last Sessions on 12th Oct. behaved himself with impudence affirming that his character and reputation was as free from stain and blemish as the Governor or any present it was thought proper to have his papers seized, among which there is found a copy book of letters directed to the Hon. Company in which he has with monstrous ingratitude, barbarity and impudence clandestinely attacked the Governor's fortune and reputation in sending them several false, scandalous, malicious, groundless complaints, and lying accounts both with relation to the number and pay of his Blacks and Goods pretended to be lodged in the Company's Store. Mr. Benjamin Hawkes was immediately committed and or-

dered that he be degraded and rendered infamous and incapable ever to serve the Honourable Company. That his Sword be broke over his head at the front of the Garrison as unworthy to wear a Sword or bear a Commission. That he afterward stand in the Pillory from the hour of 11 till 12 at noon and that Margaret Tovey widow be placed upon the Pillory by him, there to continue during the time aforesaid.

Letter from England 12th Feb. 1725.—Free Blacks are not to be allowed to have any Slaves and if any master enfranchise a Black for good conduct then such Black must be obliged to leave the Island by the first shipping.

Jan. 4th, 1726.—Hodgkinson Doctor's Mate and French gunner have industriously spread a rumour that Gov. Smith was discharged the Comp^s. Service and that Mr. Tovey was appointed to succeed him. Ordered that Hodgkinson stand in the Pillory one hour and a half as an example to other people and that John French gunner do stand at the outward gate next the Parade with a match round him without fire to it and cartridge cases with their mouth downwards.

March 1st.—Mr. Free placed in the pillory because three or four days before Mr. Hawkes departure from the Island he had allowed Mrs. Tovey to stay at his house where she had interviews with Mr. Hawkes.

Feb. 26th, 1727.—This morning arrived the *Princess Anne* from England Capt. Gough who brought the Hon. Compy packet on shoar but Mr. Smith being in the country the Govr. to shew his respect deferred to open it until he came down and it appearing that our Hon. Masters has been pleased to appoint Mr. Byfield to succeed as Governor and to the end that all persons might have due notice thereof his commission was published by Beat of Drum in the usual manner.

Feb. 27.—Governor Byfield reports that by the accounts large quantities of Beef and Pork had been used for the Company's Blacks amounting from 1723 to 1726 to £3,202 and that he intended to save this charge by employing the Blacks constantly to catch fish.

May 9th.—Packet from England giving advice of apprehension of a speedy war between England and France and Holland on one part and the Emperor of Spain on the other arising in great measure from the Emperor's seeming resolution to support the Ostend Trade.

July 26th.—Sessions. Inhabitants address Mr. Byfield on change of Government, Tis to this happy and agreeable

change that we owe the preservation of the small remains of our Liberty and Property which in many instances by the late violent and arbitrary proceedings was destroyed by Force and in others rendered uncertain and precarious.

Sept. 12th.—Inhabitants complain of incompetency of Dr. Gibson Flux, the distemper which is most dangerous to us, and with which the Island is chiefly afflicted. Instead of applying proper medicines to cheque the Flux at its first appearance, he declared he wanted to bring it to a head and to that purpose in a most preposterous manner laid Plaisters to their bellies by which gross stupidity the distemper was soon brought to a head and his patients to their graves—the Inhabitants therefore at their own request allowed to employ Mr. Hodgkinson.

Sept. 19th.—Sessions. There being a very good harmony and agreement among the inhabitants and no person having entered any action against his neighbour Sessions adjourned.

List of guns in the Batteries—(viz. on the line and before the Castle 79, Mundens 14, Banks 7, Ruperts 9, Lemon Valley 4, Crane 2, Prosperous Bay 4, Two Gun Hill 5, Total 124).

An extraordinary fine season 1727.

Oct. 7th.—There being several birds of a different species from those that frequent the Island lately come hither the bodies of which are as large as a Pheasant their legs long and black but their claws open and not webbed like Sea Fowl with long bills resembling those of a Snipe but thicker and longer in proportion to the bulk of their bodies.

Oct. 31st.—2nd survey of Plantations of wood showing 583 acres planted. 23 persons summoned for neglect, several fined and the rest excused upon promises to plant.

Nov. 14th.—Several fine trees cut at Flagstaff and Deadwood by trespassers who are fined and ordered that all persons going for wood should pass by the Great Gate and no other way.

Letters to England 29th May 1727.—We have had good luck with our Fish usually catching about 1400 lbs. a week Soldiers, Jacks or Bevis, Conger Eels, Cavally, Albicore and other fish.

If the fish in cold weather go a great way out into deep waters, we get coarse salt off the mountains and fit out our Long Boat and go after them and catch what we want and salt them up on the spot, and it often happens that she returns with a very great quantity of neat fish after their gutts are out and their heads off.

Wee believe Coffee would grow well here and in time produce great quantities. Wee therefore desire to send us yearly a number of young plants. Wee remember there was once a Coffee Tree which grew very well in the worst part of the country, but by the carelessness of those times it was lost.

Red Wood trees excellent Timber of a good colour and fine scent and much resembles a Red Cedar. Yet it was nearly lost to the Island, but about five years ago the Govr got a couple of young plants neither of them above an inch high set them in his garden, took great care of them and they now produce seed in great abundance.

1728.—Expenses of Island under Mr. Byfeld £5,218 less than it was during the time Mr. Smith was Governor. The Inhabitants have lived amicably together for the last quarter. Plantation House and Garden enclosed by a stone wall.

Seven slaves in a fit of despair one day last week seized a boat belonging to Capt. Goodwin and put off to sea, and not having being heard of since we suppose are drowned. X

Death of George I. and Proclamation of George II. (Long Boat upset and five Blacks drowned. About 7 in the Evening the boat was going to Sandy Bay for lime with a gentle gale in smooth water near the shore a sudden gale of wind descended perpendicularly with so much speed and violence the sight of which was intercepted by the height of the mountains that before they could have time to say let go the Boat overset. Boatswain and 1 man swam ashore to Manatee Bay Beach—5 men clung to the bottom of the boat but next morning on search neither boat nor men could be seen.) X

April 1st.—Report on Chubbs Spring. We find several Springs of Water each of them very sweet wholesome and well tasted and very near as good as any upon the Island, all which springs may very easily be brought into one stream and will afford a sufficient quantity of water to be carried in spouts to the Crane for the supply of all the Hon. Company shipping at all times of the year in all seasons wet or dry. Several of us having taken particular notice of these springs in the dry time of the year and never perceived the stream to be lessened not even in the dryest weather wee ever remember to have happened which was in the year 1713. Mr. Jessey at that time having occasion almost daily to pass by these springs at which he then frequently drank and always found the water sweet and good

and remembers very well that the water flowed in the same great quantity then as it does now.

Nov. 9th.—Ensign Slaughter accused of slandering the Governor saying he had spoken treason and said—that King George was a scrubb fellow.

Pleaded guilty. The Governor desired the jury to allot the punishment who sentenced him to receive very severe corporal punishment by whipping, to stand in the pillory on the next muster day and continue till then close prisoner moderately ironed.

Nov. 29th.—Expenses of the Island under Governor Byfeld's administration had been reduced £5,000 a year. He is granted therefore £100 year additional, £100 in plate and £400 in cash for his services. Mocha Coffee Plants sent for propagation in the Island.

Jan. 30th 1780.—Goats. At a Vestry meeting 40 out of 50 inhabitants present a petition for the destruction of goats for ten years in order that the Island might in that time return to its primitive covering of wood. Two years allowed for the destruction of goats and after ten years the Ranges to be resumed.

April 11th.—A slave named Peter of Charles Stewards having most impudently given the name of the Governor and Mr. Crispe to a fellow of Mr. Powells named Jack and to other fellow slaves and they having impudently called one another by these names and nick named other Blacks with the names of other people Peter ordered to be Whipt and imprisoned six weeks and again Whipped every fortnight and the rest to be each Whipped. And this being done by the privity and connivance of the said Steward he too ought to suffer but his purse and his head being both empty we spared him, he having promised to behave better for the future.

Dec. 15th.—Agnes a free black who had bound herself to Francis Funge for a certain time, in which she had two children, is on Funge's request compulsorily bound to serve Funge till her youngest child be 21.

Council Proceedings March 15th, 1781.—Governor Isaac Pyke reappointed to succeed Governor Byfeld, and arrived in the *Endfield* from England on 15th March but did not assume the Government until 24th March, on which day Gov. Byfeld embarked for England.

Feb. 10th, 1782.—Coffee. The *Houghton* arrived from Mocha and sailed for England on the 11th, the Supar Car-goes told us that they could not get us any Coffee plants but brought us a good quantity of the berries for seed

which wee will plant as fast as the season will permit us.

July 26th.—A late slip of 7 or 8 acres of land had fallen in Lemon Valley and altered the taste and colour of the water there. The slip was 600 yards long by 91 deep.

Sept. 30th.—Churches. Churchwardens letter to Governor. Vestry meeting concerning ruinous condition both of the Chapple in the Country and the Chapple at the Fort the former of which has laid level with the ground for two or three years past, and the latter is so much out of repair that its shameful a place set apart for the celebration of divine service and in the open view of all strangers especially of foreign nations.

Nov. 7th.—Mr. Goodwin acquainted us that he observed several of the top branches of the Trees in the little grove of Gumwood Trees behind the Plantation House were barked and killed by the Ratts which are now grown very numerous in most parts of the country, Mr. Crispe also acquainted us that at the Great Wood he hath frequently seen nests like Birds nests built by the Ratts at the topps of the trees, each nest near two feet long and that it is common to find 6 or 7 young Ratts in each nest and that the country thereabouts is overrun with them.

We have also heard that in the year 1700 the Ratts were grown so exceedingly numerous that after they had destroyed everything else they at last fell upon one another and devoured themselves and the Island at that time was quite clear of them.

One of the Company's blacks for breaking into a Storehouse to be ironed and set to work and exchanged when any Black ship arrives, "It being very much better than severe corporal punishment as we find by experience among the Planters who are most of them very severe to their slaves but we cant perceive that it does them any good, it rather makes them worse, always sullen, often desperate and in their despair they sometimes hang, drown or run away."

Cesar for stealing Surplice, &c. out of the Church to be led by George Beard (who was concerned in concealing the two rings) in a haltar from the Church Gate to the White Stone and back again with the stolen goods in a wheelbarrow—and Cesar being stript from the middle shall be whipt by the Marshall all the way. That Meg a black wench whom Cesar had falsely accused with stealing the said rings should give him six stripes with the whip before the Marshall begins with him.

Dec. 24th.—Heavy Rollers on 24th Dec.—destroyed the crane at Lemon Valley, many great Rocks 4 or 5 feet in

diameter and others 13 and 14 feet long and 5 or 6 feet thick not less than 27 tons were forced into the sea by the prodigious violence of the waves.

Jan. 17th, 1733.—Wood wantonly destroyed. Within the two last years 10000 young trees have been cut down and carried off one single spot of your own land, and in our late travels through the country the Governor and we observed that the same fatal destruction has spread itself everywhere. Propose to let all the Commons for cultivation of Wood.

June 17.—The Powells have now in their possession the habitations of above 25 families and have let the houses thereon fall to ruin. Some hold above 200 or 300 acres and by this means lay aside their usual industry and only graze cattle thereon.

Jan. 25th, 1734.—The Rains of the season usually set in at the end of December or beginning of January.

June 11th.—Water in tubs breeds such swarms of Musketoes that the Castle and every house in the valley are filled with them.

June 30th.—Cocoa Nutts are likely to thrive well here, 4 Casks full of Nutts received from Bombay to be planted.

From a Report on the detences of the Island, May 1st, 1734.—The old Battery in *Sandy Bay* was built so near the water that in bad weather it was washed away and the four guns and their carriages. Some of the guns in calm weather are still to be seen under water but we think that as they have lain in the sea 25 years among rocks it is not worth the charge of getting them up.

Prosperous Bay.—There hath never been any guns here and the ascent of the hills is so difficult that Jonathan Highan who is now living among us who was one of the men that formerly retook this country from the Dutch and was then a soldier has often affirmed that though they landed 200 men there yet if 20 men with fire arms had opposed them they should not have been able to have got up the Hills and there are many people of this country that cannot go up or down in that place now.

King William's Fort.—But in the draft of the Island called *Bankses Platform* the Platform was first built there and retained the Builders name. But at Bankses Platform they could not call to any ship and the Men of War that came here in King William's war contrived the Fort upon the Hill above Bankses which they called King Williams Fort and it is this place that all ships that intend for the Island go as near as they can so that we usually hale them

from this Place and they hear well what is said to them, but the wind there coming always off the shore we can not so well hear what they answer—but if they are heard a messenger is always despatched thence to the Governor and they run along the side of the Hill in a dangerous path which all strangers usually admire to see.

Ruperts Bay.—Here Prince Rupert son of the King of Bohemia and nephew to King Charles the First on his return from India came to an anchor and stayed here to refresh his ships company which gave to this place the name of Ruperts Valley. X

Chubb's Rock.—called because a man of that name fell from the mountain above it and broke his neck here.

Main Fort.—Within the Line the Main Fort is defended by two large curtains and two half Bastions. On the East half Bastion there are 23 small guns called Falcons, Falconets, and Rabinets, which guns being small are kept only for salutes to save expense of powder.

"On the Mount" or front of the Main Fort are six very good demi Culverins.

Break Neck Valley—difficult of access—for instance. This summer one of Capt. Lyalls sailors in the ship *Wyndham* having been in the country and lost his companions thought to go down to the seaside a nearer way than he came up. He straggled down in the night time to some of these Rocks next the sea and when daylight came on could get no further neither dared he by Daylight go back where he had wandered in the Dark. In the forenoon he called to a Shipping Boat and begged of them to shew him the way down. None of our people knew how to get at him but at length being directed by a Boat they lowered down a Rope which the man made himself fast to and he was hauled up to the top of the mountain by it. He lost a china bowl there and a catty of tea which none of our people not even the Blacks have ventured to go there and fetch it.

Lemon Valley.—Some of the Dutch landed here formerly but by throwing large stones down the Hill they were beat off again. The guns much flamed and honey-combed—wee have taken them away thence as useless and placed them on the West Rocks as shoar fasts for any ship that has occasion to warp in there. Wee have placed an anchor and several guns there for that purpose yet nobody has made any use of them. X

Old Woman's Valley.—Here the Dutch did land, and the party from hence found their way into the country and did take the Island.

1734.—Capt. Cason exercises all the people according to Colonel Blunt's method who is Colonel of the King's Guards and we are told by all people that go home that no soldiers in India exercise so well as our men here and they are most of them so much our Superiors that there is no room to think they flatter us.

The people on the Line are the Planters which is always the Governor's own Post.

Captain Cason was in the army all King William's war and great part of Queen Anne's. He has been chief Military Officer here with the seven last Governors and was esteemed by all the Governors and is beloved by the people.

Corydon—Company's Chief Fisherman going to Ruperts and carrying a small bag of fish for his wife who lives there, it is thought the bag hit against an overhanging Rock in a narrow part so that he fell 150 feet into a place called Downings Cove. Capt. Alexander says that he remembers that one Rowley carrying a small keg in the same path it hit against one of the Rocks and hove him down and smashed him to pieces.

Memo 31st January, 1734. Strength of Garrison.

No. of Officers and effective men	134	} white.
Planters	31	
Blacks belonging to Garrison	75	} blacks.
“ “ to Planters	102	
		342 men.

Aug. 6th.—Turk's Cap Valley—fortification commenced by inhabitants.

Oct. 1st.—Wind and seas very stormy last month, palisades blown down, Castle Long Boat lost at Sandy Bay, and three men washed from the rocks of whom one was drowned.

1735.—Nathaniel Cressener's punishment for expressing his sympathy with Eleanor Isaac saying “to save her being whipt he would be willing to lye two hours neck and heels to save her each lash.” Since he is so desirous to bear some punishment in favour of his wench he was ordered to be tied neck and heels in the usual manner an hour and if he likes it and continues in the same mind the Governor will make a bargain with him and to excuse the wench one lash for every two he will be tied neck and heels if she shall hereafter deserve punishment.

April 8th.—Governor reports that the *Poultry* in all parts

of the Island has been lately seized with a strange distemper that kills multitudes—their head first begins to swell, soon after they become blind and they are presently taken with a giddiness of which they die.

1735.—“Old Will aged 100 years and hath faithfully served the Company ever since the English had this Island under the command of 21 Governors and when he came to this Island he brought 3 Yams, 9 head of Cattle and 2 Turtle Doves from Madagascar.”

(Note.—Mr. Brooke in his history supposes from this that Old Will had come to the Island a free man. If he did so he must have fallen among thieves who not only robbed him of his Yams, Cattle and Doves but of his freedom as well, for in all of the Old Returns he is numbered amongst the Company's Slaves.)

March 17.—Capt. Pelly of the *Drake* at the distance of 150 leagues from land took up a Boat with ten Blacks of the Maldiv Islands who were drove out to Sea and near perishing—three died on board, 5 men, 1 woman and 1 boy landed here.

[Note.—The Maldivia Gardens, then a Government Plantation, derived their name from the employment of these men therein.]

July 24.—Mons. Gausherie the Engineer we look upon as a useless person. Even tho he had as much skill as he pretends to in Fortifications his way of designing them will do the place no good for he does not care to go by land and when we supplied him with a good boat he did not venture to go nearer than within half a mile of the place as he did at Turk's Cap Valley and Prosperous Bay which will not do here. The Battery for 8 guns; Guard House and Powder Room are near finished at Turk's Cap Valley. If attacked it must be by boats for being directly to Windward no ship durst venture near enough to throw their shot on shore for besides the danger of a Lee shore there is a Ledge of Rocks about half a mile off hardly 15 foot under water and the ground all over this Bay is very foul. In a box we have sent several parcels of Earth upon which the foundations of the Battery at Turk's Cap Valley is built and its as firm as rock.

On 25th June part of the Mountain near the Sea Gate fell down in such a prodigious quantity that it has filled up the path and will take up all the hands that we are able to muster for 18 or 20 days to clear it.

July 29th.—Bates complains of his Black for poisoning him by charms by burying a Phial under his chair and produced Capt. Hamilton's book of Voyages in which there are many fabulous stories of charms spells Talismans and

frighted out of his wits about it. If he troubles us or his neighbours with any more of these idle fancies we will dose him with hellebore and furnish him with a dark room and some clean straw.

In the appraisement of Widow Powell's Estate, The Executors desired to be informed whether the children of a free Wench begotten by a Slave Man should be accounted as free children. To this they were answered that as it was Law in His Majesty's Colonies in the West Indies and confirmed by the King that all children begotten of a free woman should be deemed and taken as Slaves the Executors were directed to have the children valued, viz. three Girls and two Boys amounting to £33.

March 16th 1738.—The Governor reports in the last two weeks we had such great cataracts of water fallen from the Skies that it hath drove away great part of "Cow Path." On Ladder Hill there was such breaches as was never observed before. In some places great heaps of Rubbish drove down. In other places many large Rocks removed—large pieces of the Wall thrown down so that it is very difficult to go up or down by those who carried loads.

John Long—(prisoner) complains of having Flux and prays to be excused work at the fortifications till he is better. Alexander and Goodwin think he ought to be allowed time to get better. Mr. Crispe is of opinion that the most effectual way to cure him is to hang him.

April 16.—The Island has suffered much for want of Rain altho it began well and set in early it soon broke up and we had the hottest summer that has happened for many years. What chiefly distresses the Inhabitants is the state of their Yam Plantations especially on the East side of the Country as it is naturally the most barren so it is unfortunately the most populous. But your own Plantations being watered lands are all in good condition.

June 24th.—Francis Everest Governor of Bencoolen died at St. Helena on his homeward passage.

August.—Bates accused of coining counterfeit Pagodas. Bates asserts he had found a gold mine. Governor Pyke notes that some of the Ore from this mine he had sent to the Company in 1715 to be assayed and were only Marchas-ites—that is to say if there is any metal in them it cant be separated but flies away in Fire in fumes.

Bates accused of saying that he believed it was no sin to shoot the Governor. He is ordered to be whipped with 30 stripes at the common whipping post.

Pledger for stealing some salt on the highway from

Blacks ordered according to Moses law to pay fourfold for the salt taken.

Aug. 31st.—Fourteen Blacks conspire to run away with the Long Boat. After examination all those Blacks who readily confessed were pardoned—the rest severely whipt and after they were all made sensible of the certainty of being drowned if they had proceeded they were returned to their masters and this wee hope will be an effectual cheque to all future attempts.

Nov. 16th.—Elizabeth Edwards mother of a child born 16th March is examined and states that Beale the late husband of her deceased sister is father and had promised her marriage—being told that such marriage would be illegal she referred to Deut. xxv., 5.

This fault seeming to us to be in some sort the effect of ignorance wee are willing to be as favourable as we can—ordered ten lashes at the Common Whipping post.

This young woman being very ignorant and having grossly misapplied the 5th verse of 25 Deut. the Governor sent for Mr. Fordyce the Chaplain to explain this matter to her, but after he had heard the examination and the 5th verse aforesaid read, he said there were some places of Scripture that seemed to favour that opinion and as to the Crime of it he could say nothing. This answer surprised us expecting to hear something more decent from him, but indeed he himself seems as ignorant of these matters as any body who is permitted to wear such a gown. After this the Governor cleared up the matter and told them that this was an extraordinary case and in King Henry the 8th time the Reformation of Religion from Popery depended on it and our Laws made this offence Incest. Beale was also ordered to be whipt, but on his request a fine of £10 was imposed instead.

Thomas Swindle a soldier for having a child by a free black wench ordered to ride the wooden horse two hours with his face blacked all over. The wench, as soon as she is out of the straw, is to be publicly whipped and herself and child made slaves to the Company.

Feb. 1st, 1737.—Old Will died last week aged about 104 and as he has been a very good servant, the Blacks paid their last devoirs to him in the best manner they could attending him to the grave in a body amounting to above 200.

March 24.—Governor Pyke unable to sign his name from a severe fit of Gout in the right hand.

May 3.—The Governor Pyke first formed the design for the Battery at Turk's Cap.

Since your Honours do not like the correction given to some lewd women of this place (i.e. flogging them) other methods shall be taken to keep them honest.

The Wench and child herein mentioned have been restored to freedom.

[*Notes.*—Referring to the case of a free woman consigned to slavery in the preceding year for having a child by Swindle, a soldier.]

Great numbers of Cattle have died especially hogs which is the chief food of the Inhabitants. If the drought continues it will be much worse with us than it was in the severe time of Governor Boucher. Many Springs some of which were as big as a man's thigh and run plentifully in the time of Gov Boucher are now quite dry and even the Main Watercourse in Sandy Bay as well as the Springs just mentioned neither of which were ever known to fail within the memory of man have become so totally dry and hardly yield any water now.

August.—54 head of cattle died in July for want of rain and pasture.

Nov. 12th.—A violent surf—a gun a large piece of Iron ordnance, a demi Culverin weighing 43 cwt. was washed off from the top of Chubb's Rock. Afterwards recovered in three fathoms.

Jan. 17th, 1738.—A failure of the springs. Water more scarce now than it was at the time of the Great Drought.

Mr. John Bazett son of Capt. Matthew Bazett who was formerly many years of Council appointed to Council in place of Capt. John Alexander deceased in July last.

April 14th.—Return of Rains but the young grass so much scours the Cattle that many of them die daily.

Governor Pyke died 28th July in violent convulsions which we imagine was occasioned by the morbid matter of the Gout lodging upon his Brain. Nature being much worn and decayed and not strong enough to throw it off.

On 29th September we had the misfortune also to lose our Chaplain Mr. Barlow. The most acceptable of his profession of any we have had among us for a great number of years past.

Wee have supplied his place with Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. South, Bishop Fleetwood, Dr. Calamy, and other eminent English Divines from whose discourses wee are sure we shall be much more improved than by the crude uncouth compositions wee have commonly met with for several years past, and such as were so far from edifying that often times they were not intelligible.

July 28th.—On Saturday last the late Governor Pyke complained that he was out of order. On Sunday he grew worse and kept his bed and continued to do so on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday without any visible alteration for better or worse. On Thursday he became very feeble. This morning a little after 8 he got up without help and set upon his bed and eat four small pieces of Toast and Butter and drank three dishes of tea for breakfast and then went into bed—but about 9 he fell into a most violent convulsion fit till near two, at which time he died.

July 29th.—Mr. Goodwin proclaimed as Governor.

Oct.—44 Planters offer their services with their Blacks at the Fortifications being greatly encouraged thereto by the good conduct and example of our present Governor. *Turk's Cap Battery* was erected by them about four years ago at their own charge.

[*Notes.*—The remains of this battery are still visible at the base of "Turk's Cap." The battery has a very antiquated look and this may have given rise to the idea that it had been built prior to the occupation of the Island by the E. I. Company and hence the name it now bears of 'Portuguese Battery'. Even on Palmer's Map it is called Ruins of an old Dutch Battery, whereas it is certain that there were no fortifications except in James' Valley until after 1673.]

The Planters petition the Company to appoint Mr. Goodwin Governor who has served for near thirty years and is the son of that gentleman our Countryman who formerly filled the chair and whose memory is dear to us. That after enduring many years of bitterness and heavy oppressions we shall now have the happiness to see an end to our afflictions—several of our brethren having been often abused in their persons and injured in their fortunes by long and frequent imprisonment under false and frivolous pretences and many times without any at all, and savage cruelties have been practised among us. One of our Inhabitants having been tortured in an unheard of manner with wired whips and after his flesh was thus inhumanely torn and mangled was further prosecuted with a long and close imprisonment. [In allusion to the punishment of Slaughter for offending Governor Byfeld.]

But however careful the Planters were to protect their own persons and property from cruelty and injustice, the condition of Slaves and Free Blacks was in no way improved as shown by the following passage in the first letter written by Gov. Goodwin to the Governor of Bencoolen:—

Wee have sent you some wenches who reckon themselves

free born, and according to the custom of the place they have pretensions to freedom, but as this was a growing evil and its consequences likely to become mischievous and fatal to the Island we have been obliged to check its progress and nip it in the bud.

Feb. 26th, 1739.—George Gabriel Powell appointed 4th of Council. Rainy Seasons have failed for the last four or five years. Last year no less than 687 head of Cattle died for want of food.

Sept. 11th.—Nine of the Company's slaves men, women and children who we received this year from Bombay were enticed by a fellow named Drake to make their escape in the Long Boat which they effected by cutting her from her moorings in the dead of the night. 'Tis remarkable of this fellow Drake that he has before made several attempts to run away but has always been detected.

A Sea Cow killed upon Old Woman's Valley Beach as it was lying asleep by Worrall and Greentree.

An Inventory of the Company's batteries, plantations, Stock, &c., valued at a total of £28,489.

In this Inventory the Great Wood [i. e. now called Longwood and Deadwood] stands at £4,500, Plantation House £1000, "Bryers" £94. The last is abandoned as a Plantation.

July 9, 1740.—Our Guards are so divided they muster very thin at each place. We hold the Spaniards in such light as to be persuaded that the complement we now have is sufficient force to withstand any attempt that may be made from that quarter. But in case there should be a rupture with France be pleased to send us a reinforcement.

[*Note.*—From this date till May 9th 1741, there is a gap in the Consultations.

In Consultation July 1740, the cash in Treasury is said to have been counted and the various coins specified amounting to £4303. No further Consultations are entered nor any entry made of Governor Goodwin's death which occurred in August 1740, nor of Mr. Crispe having assumed the Government, but from a petition sent to the Company in 1741 by Widow Goodwin it would appear that Governor Goodwin's death was a sudden one and that Mr. Crispe and the Council then made a claim on her for a large debt due by her husband to the Company].

May 9th 1741.—Governor Robert Jenkins arrived with Powell as deputy Governor—and Mr. Godfrey 3rd in Council. Agreeable to our Hon. Master's orders we immediately demanded of Messrs. Duke Crispe and Bazett the keys of the Castle. We found Cash in notes £94 7 6 and the Cash

Book brought up to 31st March by which there appears to be due to the Company only £6 19 0.

Mr. Crispe and Bazett being told they were not to go hence until they have satisfied our just demands they answer the late Mr. Goodwin was cashere they therefore consider him to be wholly culpable with respect to the deficiency. Resolved, as they have refused to give the security asked that there be a guard upon their persons until the *Dane* ship now riding in the road was sailed.

May 14.—Mr. S. Doveton makes a return of the Company's Stock remarking I must in vindication of myself acquaint you that Mr. Crispe keeping two such grand tables over and above what ever was before has been a great occasion of the present scarcity.

The return being considered in Council they find that Mr. Crispe has indeed verified the old Proverb of making hay whilst the Sun shines, but for our parts we are very little obliged to him for leaving us so entirely destitute of every kind of provision.

June 8rd.—Agnes the free black having been bound by Governor Byfeld on 15 Dec 1730 to serve Funge until her infant daughter Agnes was 21 we look upon this as a grand breach of the liberty of the subject clandestinely to bind to servitude any free man or woman against the will of the party and therefore judge it altogether an illegal and arbitrary proceeding.

Letter from Gov. Jenkins to Directors, 11th May 1741.—Your Honours Estate here is in a worse condition than we expected. The Frauds are so errant and so open that Mr. Crispe and Mr. Bazett have confessed them only they scruple being made accountable. Mr. Goodwin we find (unhappily for him) was concerned with Mr. Crispe.

We would if we could point out who has been the chief actor therein but all that we are able to say is that it is evident that Mr. Crispe has been the wheel by which the other two have blindly moved—the total deficiency is £6284. The Estates of the late Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Bazett are more than sufficient to make good their proportions. Mr. Crispe gave an Inventory 1st of £1427, afterwards one of £2461—now we assure your Honours we know not what to say of this gentleman.

Council Proceedings 10th June.—Mr. Crispe owns to having burnt papers and letters which were taken by him from a file of Mr. Goodwin's a few hours after he died. Council agreed that Mr. Crispe appears to us in such colours as is not possible for us to paint.

26th August—Commodore Sir William Hewitt at St. Helena.

22nd March 1742—Major Thomas Lambert arrived and proclaimed Governor.

6th April—The property called "The Maldives" turned into a Hospital.

Governor Lambert reports the inconveniency arising from most of the non-Commissioned Officers now in the Troops being made from amongst the Planters likewise because several of the Soldiers being natives reside in the country.

Quarter Sessions to be held regularly hereafter.

June 1st—Mr. Crispe in a letter to Gov. Lambert speaks of Governor Jenkins friendly feeling to him until 6th January. But on the next day 7th January there was a wedding (Ensign Scott to Miss Martha Doveton) to which he (Mr. Jenkins) and Mr. Johnson's two daughters were invited. Everybody was very cheerful all the morning but after dinner somebody took it in their heads to lead up a kissing dance, so my ill fortune would have it, which although very common upon these occasions and at other times, gave Gov. Jenkins so much offence and disturbed him to so great a degree that he immediately called for his horse, broke up the company, took the young ladies with him and went away in great displeasure, and from that moment for several weeks after could not endure the sight of Mr. Bazett and Capt. Clarke, though before they both stood very high in his favour, yet one of them beside the misfortune of losing his favour was otherwise in danger and had like to have paid dear for his share of the kisses for he was very near being put under arrest for his presumption, and as these gentlemen were my friends I too (though not there) had my share of his anger for he never spoke kindly to me afterwards. We think Mr. Crispe's long letter seems calculated rather to fling dirt at Mr. Jenkins than to clear himself.

June 4th.—Mr. Crispe finds Bonds for £1145 and is allowed to leave by next ship.

July 20th.—Governor Lambert died. Ever since the departure of the last fleet Gov. Lambert's indisposition confined him to his chambers and at 9 o'clock in the evening of Tuesday last the 20th inst. he expired. George Gabriel Powell proclaimed Governor. Council, John Godfrey 2nd. Christopher Dixon 3rd.

Letter 6th April, 1743.—We have had abundance of mortality in this Island. The inhabitants has been seized with a violent distemper very little inferior to the Plague that hath carried off abundance of them. The Slaves have

been alike subject to the disorder with their masters inso-much that with great difficulty we have got people to work at the Fortifications. Nor hath your Honours Slaves escaped although there has been the greatest care taken to prevent their going to the Planters houses where this distemper raged.

Council Proceedings.—They are seized with a violent oppression at their stomach and pain in the small of the back and bowells attended with a strong Fever and generally die in four or five days. Result of Postmortem on a couple of Slaves.—1st Harry. Pericardium much extended with a greater quantity of water in it than usual. The right ventricle very large. On opening it extracted three distinct pieces of flesh about an inch and a quarter in length not adhering to any part of the ventricle with a large quantity of coagulated blood. Right lobe of Lungs adhering closely to Pleura a little imposthumated. 2nd. on Dick. The thorax full of extravasated water—the Heart larger than I ever saw—right ventricle I extracted a large brown viscous substance which almost filled the ventricle—those substances I take to be Polipuses. Right lobe of Lung entirely imposthumated. The disease chiefly amongst the Company's Slaves. What's worse of all they prove to be our very best working fellows that drop off.

Governor Powels orders that all foals the property of the Company which cannot be sold shall be shot as one Horse eats as much as two Bullocks.

The Goat Pound Ranges confirmed to the Proprietors by order of the Company and the Proprietors allowed to sell their Ranges. Eleven Ranges as follows 1 Fryer Ridge to Horse Pasture, 2 Gurling's Fort to Old Woman's Valley, 3 Horse Pasture to Bennet's Point, 4 Shepherd's Hole plain to Castle Rock plain, 5 Castle Rock plain to Lot, 6 Sandy Bay Water to Powell's Valley Boxwood, 7 Deep Valley Boxwood to Horse Point, 8 Bay Plain to Turk's Cap Valley, 9 Turk's Cap Valley to Bank's Ridge, 10 Bank's Ridge to Rupert's Valley, 11 Cow Path to Mr. Powel's land on Peak Hill.

1743.—Frequent quarrels between Governor Powell and Mr. Dixon 3rd in Council who is suspended from office.

June 27th.—Governor Powell complains that Mr. Dixon insults him wherever he happens to meet him. That last Sunday in the Church Mr. Dixon who sat in the Pew took the liberty when the Governor's eyes and attention were otherwise employed than to mind his motions, to point at him sundry times, to sneer at him and then wink and

smile to one of his acquaintances who sat at another part of the Church. That whenever he has passed Mr. Dixon in the street instead of paying the compliment of the hatt Mr. Dixon cocks his hatt upon his head staring him in the face, struts by in a more bullying insulting and rude manner that can possibly be expressed.

Letter April 7th, 1743.—Woolen manufactory established which will afford your slaves Blankets and cloathes without one farthing of expense. Heretofore the Wool was generally set aside as a thing of no sort of value but now the Planters are very careful of it. We send five yards of the first piece of cloth that was ever made on the Island.

April 26th.—The ship *Crown Prince* of Denmark arrived, she brings advice that His Majesty's Ship *Saint Turian* (*Centurion*) Commodore Anson had been at Macao and designed to refit at Batavia and would not be expected home this year. That H. M. Ship *Gloster* had foundered near the Ladrone Islands and the *Tryal* sloop was lost in the South Sea.

June 20th.—The Widow of the late Governor Goodwin allowed a pension of £60 per annum.

Our poor Inhabitants are we believe the poorest Housekeepers in the World, for their living is almost wholly upon Fish which the Masters of the family go to catch in little open Boats generally two nights and one day in each week. This they husband and spin out as near as possible and eat it with yam. The care of this Yam plantation takes up the Master and perhaps a Slave all the rest of their time.

March 10th 1744.—Ten men slaves run away with the Long Boat.

March 11th, 1744.—This Evening a little after 5 of clock the ship *Jesar* arrived with Colonel David Dunbar Governor. Captain Charles Hutchinson 2nd. Mr. John Goodwin, Dixon and Purling appointed of Council.

The Planters resolve to establish a Market.

Mr. Powell accused of having sent Brandy, Wine, Beef, Pork, &c., from the Company's stores to his own house and also of using a large quantity of Lime and sending the Company's Blacks to fetch it to his own house.

Mr. Powell challenges enquiry—said he would give no reply for he did not apprehend we had power to call him to account. He would answer everything to the Company.

Orchell.—The Directors have had samples of the Orchell sent from this Island. They offer 15s. a hundred for any quantity. Mr. John Goodwin will show the sort that is re-

quired which if clean gathered and picked is worth £40 or £50 a ton in England.

June 6.—Thomas Alcocks a soldier complained "that some time ago the late Governor Mr. Powell gave him some hair in order to make a wigg and being unfit for the purpose he Alcock made Mr. Powell a wigg of some hair which he had by him and when he carried it to Mr. Powell he fell into a passion and ordered Wm. Oakman a sergeant to take Alcock upon his back and ordered a Black boy called Grewer to give him 50 lashes upon his bare breech with Rushes which he accordingly did and Mr. Powell sat in the room and looked on.

Mr. Powell acknowledged he gave orders to the black boy Grewer to whip Alcock with Rushes, that he had not above 6 or 7 lashes in order to shame him.

Gov. reports that Peak Gutt hath heretofore produced great quantities of Ebony and would still produce the same but the goats bark the growing trees.

Oct. 23.—Messrs. Thomas and James Greentree refuse to impound the goats at Peak Gutt when ordered to do so for Mr. Dixon's inspection. To deter others from daring to offer the least contempt for the future ordered that each of the Greentrees should be fined £10. Thomas and James Greentree attend and pay their fines £10 each. We told them they ought to look upon this fine as a very mild punishment for soe great a Crime. That disobeying lawful authority was much the same as resisting it and resisting authority was the beginning of Rebellion which was a Capital crime

Jan 29, 1745.—Tailors charges for making clothes fixed by Govt. Tailors refusing to work to be fined 10s. each refusal. Ordered that no more than 3s. per day be paid to any Carpenter or other Artificer and 12d. labourers. All such artificers to be obliged to work on the penalty of 10s.

Feb 19.—On Sunday night last nine of the Planters Slaves run away with the Company's Boat though the Rudder, Sails and Oars were on shore.

Lease of 4 acres to Francis Wrangham in Sandy Bay adjoining Perkins.

Market hath been for some time on the decline—the Planters have withheld their Yams and the Garrison so distressed that above 30 had to be fed with the Company's Yams intended for their Slaves.

July 16th.—Gov. Dunbar read a report of censure on the Planters for not complying with his orders for the distribution of Cattle to the Shipping. I hear a complaint is gone

home of the same order with some menaces, and to convince you that nobody does anything they are afraid to be complained of I will add this to the cause you already pretend to be agrieved at, that everyone of you shall be fined to the Company 20s. I came here with a desire to live well among you but I find it impossible except I do as most of your Governors have done abuse their Masters and suffer you to do what you pleased.

Dec. 31.—Governor having quarrelled with Mr. Dixon and confined him, the Council agree that a Gov. although chief in the administration has but a single vote and cannot consequently have power in himself to confine any Gentleman of the Council.

Mr. Hutchinson Lieut. Governor wants his Parlour ceiled. Gov. does not think it reasonable. Dixon Goodwin and Purling think it reasonable and grant it.

Gov. objects to above because lime cannot be made fast enough for the fortifications "and if the Gentleman who so readily voted to make a ceiling for the Lieut. Governor meant that vote to be respected as an order I do tell them I shall shew no regard to it and that no ceiling shall be made: even in the Castle the Hall and our common eating room have never been ceiled to this day." The Council sign excepting to the Governor's remarks and objections to the Lieut. Governor's request, remarking "As you have in this case taken upon you to declare the majority of Council's determination void, you may consequently do the like in any other when you please which is directly contrary to the Company's orders."

Governor Dunbar complains of Mr. Dixon—that Mr. Dixon a year before had told him that Goodman and Purling had purposed that they should be united and out-vote the Governor.

The Council will give no opinion on Mr. Dixon till he has furnished his answer which he promised when time would permit.

The Governor therefore "as far as in him lies" suspended Mr. Dixon absolutely and fined Mr. Hutchinson, Goodwin and Purling each a quarter's salary. Governor thinks the refusal of the Council to give their opinion when demanded is a forfeiture of their office. Council answer that deferring to give an opinion is not a refusal to give it.

Goodwin and Purling make voluntary oath that they never proposed to Dixon to unite and out-vote the Governor.

Robert Wright appointed 6th of Council.

July 22, 1746.—Thomas Greentree charged with selling Arrack without licence.

Sample declares Governor gave him leave to purchase it and on Governor's denial by consent of Council swears it.

Governor protests against receiving Samples oath and the proceedings of Council and on his own authority fines Greentree £10.

Mr. Hutchinson answers Governor's protest and attributes his charges against him to resentment rather than reason. Gov. resents the above answer by fining the Lt. Governor Captain Charles Hutchinson by name in one month's salary "and I now caution the Lt. Governor to be on his guard that he forbears his illtreatment of me and he may be assured that if he perseveres I will make myself easy by suspending him and perhaps by sending him home."

Letter from England—We do not approve of the expensive proposal to bring water from Chubb's Spring by leaden pipes. Lemon Valley is as good or rather better for watering.

Dec 23.—We direct that immediately on receipt hereof David Dunbar, Esq. do resign our service, and deliver over the Government to Charles Hutchinson, Esq.

Feb. 22, 1747.—Four Blacks of the Company, one of Powells, went off from Sandy Bay in the night in a small fishing yawl with a very small quantity of provisions so that in all probability they are perished.

Letters to England, Nov. 28, 1744.—By the ship *Port Bello* arrived here 22nd Sept. we received your letter with His Majesty's declaration of War against the French King.

A Well sunk in Ruperts near the Works where there is water sufficient to Wash and freshen the sand for Mortar.

July 9, 1745.—19 Soldiers petitioned to be discharged having served their contracted time. The Governor told them they must do their duty till the Storeship came—upon which some of them in a mutinous manner threw down their arms, and absolutely refused doing any duty.—Upon which the Governor ordered two of them to be punished.

We have repaid the two Messrs Greentrees their fines according to your orders, as you are of opinion that the Goats are of more use here than Ebony they shall not be destroyed for the future.

April 25, 1747.—The *Swift* arrived 13th March with a commission for the appointment of Mr. Hutchinson as Governor.

June 16.—Two of the Bencoolen slaves enticed several others and went away with a boat from Sandy Bay.

Mr. Dunbar hath together with his Niece and servants been entertained at your Hon. Table. He has had the whole Castle to himself and during his stay was treated with all possible respect; goes home in the *Pelham*.

The late Council return you thanks for the disapprobation you have been pleased to show to Mr. Dunbar's fining them.

A Distemper among the Poultry which has swept away so many of them that few are left upon the Island. Deaths on a moderate computation 1000 Turkeys, 2000 Fowls.

The Lemon Trees have been decaying for some time past and great numbers of them are now dead especially in the lower parts of the valley where they formerly thrived best and there hath not been for some time a lemon fit for use in the Island.

The winter rains have failed us and the pastures everywhere bare. Several Springs are now dry which were never known to have been so within the memory of the oldest man living here.

Mr. Robert Wright died 19th February last.

The Cattle are lean and small—there is but little poultry in the Island and scarce any Yams fit to be eaten. We are reduced to three pound bread per week for each man at which small allowance there is not Flour and Bisket enough in the Stores for a month.

June 9, 1748.—Plantation House very bad and part likely to fall. If another be built the whole expence will not exceed £400.

Sept. 26, 1748.—A Slave woman killed from inhuman usage, blows and stripes inflicted on her two days before by Hawkins, Smith, Davis and her master Meacocks. The four were fined £6 10 0 in all.

Feb. 11, 1749.—Sunday arrived Admiral Boscawen and H. M. Squadron, *Exeter*, *York*, *Chester*, *Deal Castle*, *Basiliak*, *Harwich* and *Young Eagle*.

March.—A Flood by which various Military Stores are washed away in Sandy Bay and Lemon Valley.

July 27.—Failure of rain and Cattle dying.

Dec. 4.—Fifteen Slaves of Company run away with Long Boat.

Feb. 22, 1753.—Some very heavy showers of Rain which fell Tuesday last upon the Hills near Banks' brought such great and impetuous Torrents of water down that valley as did much damage to the lower Platform there.

Sept. 3.—By a very heavy Sea such as never was known in the memory of any man upon the Island some damage was lately done to the old Battery at Sandy Bay. It like-

wise washed away the Crane and had begun to penetrate the Magazine having spoilt a few cartridges.

Oct. 22.—The Guard House at Lemon Valley washed away by an unusual torrent of Water occasioned by some heavy Rains—likewise a Breast-work at Break Neck Valley.

Jan. 20, 1755.—Damages by very high Surfs done in several places to Fortifications.

July 17.—Burial Ground.—The Governor reports he is informed that the Burial Ground in Jamestown was so filled with Bodies that it is almost impossible to lay a Corpse in it at a proper depth and proposed to have another piece enclosed.

July 21.—The Inhabitants having a Burial Place in the Country where most of their Families are interred and the Burial Place in this valley being mostly filled with the dead bodies of Soldiers and Sailors, are willing to be at half expense for a New Burial Place.

Sept. 8.—Some very High Surfs have lately washed away the Earth and undermined parts of the Works at Ruperts and done damage to those at the Main Fort.

Dec. 8.—Partridges.—Whereas it being found that it is too early in the Season to begin to shoot Partridges on 1st January they being then in general very young, forbid all persons to kill until 1st February.

June 29, 1756.—Our not meeting yesterday was caused by a large Torrent of water coming down this valley which ran with such rapidity out of its common course that it was not possible to turn it until the Runs abated and therefore it has done great damage to the Fortifications and Plantations as well as to many of the possessions of the Inhabitants. It made two large breaches in the wall of the Maldivie Gardens, covered up several thousands of Yams with large stones and rubbish—broke down part of the Fence of the New Burial Ground, overflowing that which was prepared for erecting Barracks upon, making its way towards the Bridge with several large Rocks which not having width to vent them fast enough, part of the torrent run over one side of it which came down the public street which nearly destroyed several people carrying with it everything that was in its way gullyng the street, rushing into houses, tearing one of the gates that leads to the line off the hinges and damaged the other very much, forcing a vast deal of mudd and rubbish along with it filled the work up to the embrasures and run over into the Ditch which was almost two-thirds full. That part of the torrent that

went behind the houses next to Ladder Hill has almost destroyed every person's yard walls on that side and has thrown down some buildings and carried many things out of the people's houses greatly hurting one and destroying another of the Portcullies through which it was to pass. The torrents which were in some other parts of the Island have almost ruined many Yam Plantations, the damage done to some being irreparable.

Letter to England, August 21, 1756.—Your servants at Bencoolen have transported to this place a Mallay man named Noqueda Pokallum whom they say is of some distinction. They thought it necessary as they inform us to remove him from the Coast as he was a troublesome man and likely to be prejudicial to your interests.

Nov 3.—There was a Black man lost out of a fishing boat and we have reason to believe that he was murdered by those that were with him. We desire you will be pleased to give us some directions under this head that we may know how they are to be tried and if found guilty whether they are to suffer Death or not. Your Military here seem to think it hard that slaves should receive only corporal punishment, when they by the Articles of War are liable to be put to Death for crimes that are not so heinous

June 27, 1757.—Mr. Scott your Hon^{rs}. resident at Anjengo transported to this Island in the *Clinton* and *Hector* ten Malabar men who it seems were officers to the King of Travancore to serve you as slaves here, one of which died on the passage. The other nine were landed and clothed. A few days after they were sent into the Country five of them hanged themselves, and one of the remaining four has since died; the other three threaten to destroy themselves if they were put to any kind of work.

Letter from England, Dec. 23, 1757.—The suspicion intimated in your letter 3rd Nov. 1756, on the loss of a Black man out of a fishing boat that he was murdered by those that were with him and the directions requested on that head make our injunctions requisite that you diligently examine the Records of the Island for precedents in the like cases, with the usual methods of proceeding that we may give more particular orders for the effectual punishment of such malefactors. In the mean time order the most severe punishment of malefactors convicted of so heinous a crime.

Dec. 12, 1757.—Inconveniences attending so many sheep and horses being kept Planters agree and resolve the sheep to be limited to no more than one for every 3 acres of land owned by proprietors whether kept on their own or on the

Waste lands which will reduce the present number by about 400.

Horses one for 10 to 70 acres—2 to 140 acres and above that 3 and no more let them possess ever so large a quantity of land which will reduce the present number by about 22.

No horses at any time to graze on waste lands as they eat up and destroy the Herbage from the Black Cattle.

Horses are of infinite value and contribute much to the ease of the Inhabitants in this hilly place as well as for the convenience of the gentlemen that call here in shipping.

No person to turn out any manner of Cattle at Man and Horse, Manatee Bay, Horse Pasture. From Red Hill to Southens Water, and the Woody Ridge that is from Prosperous Bay to Stone Top after the 1st of January in every year until public notice be given by Governor.

March 7, 1758—On Monday 5th a double alarm was made for three ships which continued to the Windward of the Island until about noon and then lost sight of them—but on Tuesday they appeared again and stood away to Windward as before.

March 16—The ships still cruising to windward propose to deck the long boat and send her a few leagues to windward of the ships to give notice to any approaching ship.

Instructions to Mr. Bendy midshipman in charge of Long Boat to cruise 25 leagues to Windward of the Island keeping the latitude of it.

Letter from England, Dec. 7, 1759.—The French ships which cruized to the Windward of the Island from 5th March to 23rd May following were the *Achilles* 64, *Syren* 32, *Zephyr* 30. They arrived from Brest at the Cape of Good Hope 17th January and sailed for their station 19th February. Our four early China ships *Prince Henry*, *Hawke*, *Osterly* and *Tavistock* were chased by them from the 4th to 6th May when by bearing away in the night they happily escaped. The *Boscawen* and *Fox* on the 15th of the same month also fell in with them and the next day as fortunately got clear. These ships put in for the Bay of All Saints where the former arrived 24th May and the two latter 6th June and on the 9th following to our misfortune came in there also the Enemy's above three ships who seem intent in not quitting their views on our six ships in the Bay. Under this unfavourable situation Mr. G. Best 4th Mate of the *Prince Henry* with five hands was dispatched in that ship's Long Boat on 5th July to give us an account.

The Long Boat under Mr. Richard Bendy fell into

the Enemy's hands 10th April. The French Commodore had exchanged the Prisoners except Mr. Bendy and a private man against others received on board the *Fbz* at Bengal. The French ships at the time of leaving the station were very sickly in great want of salt provisions and reduced to an allowance of one quart of water daily. These difficulties with the miscarriage of their Enterprize will we hope discourage the repetition of it. They visited all ships Dutch, Danes and Swedes and obliged them on their word of honour under pretence of the Island being blocked up not to touch at it, or give you any information or assistance. H.M.S. *Falkland*, Capt. Drake, who made the Island 13th May last, fell in with the three French cruisers about 15 leagues distant from it and was chased by them from thence after exchanging some shot with the largest. And Capt. Drake apprehensive for the safety of the King's ship against such superior force, as well as doubtful whether the Island might not be in the Enemy's possession, bore away from thence the 16th May and arrived at Portsmouth 2nd August last. The French ships continued to blockade All Saints Bay till 4th Sept. and then abandoned it.

Letters to England, Dec 18, 1760.—Two of your slaves Grewer and Joe and a slave belonging to Torbett the cooper got away in the last ships. Grewer is a stonelayner and a very useful man but an artful notorious villain. He was the person who broke open a chest in the Castle and stole from thence near £50. As in Consultations 24th March,—this with many instances of Burglarys, Felonys committed by the Blacks so frequently noticed in our Consultations makes it necessary to represent that unless we have a power to execute some of them it will be impossible to stop the growth of the mischief perpetrated by them in all parts of the Island which daily increase and from experience we are convinced that severe corporal punishments are quite ineffectual. Your former Governors have been invested with the power as will appear from the following taken from the old Laws and Constitutions as follows—For the first offence to be whipped at three different times and to be branded with the letter R on the forehead. For a second to wear a chain and a clog for a year—and for the third to suffer death at the discretion of the Government, &c.

[*Note*.—It appears by the Records here that many have formerly been put to death. Giving them three chances for their lives amidst the excessive enormities which are now so often committed by them would be too much lenity. They should at least suffer on being convicted the second time.]

Letters from England, Dec. 31, 1760.—His Majesty having been graciously pleased to encourage the making observations on the transit of the planet Venus over the Sun's disk on the 6th June next and proper persons being engaged by the Royal Society for the purpose two of them, Mr. Charles Mason and Mr. Jeremiah Dixon proceed to Fort Marlborough on H. M. Ship *Seahorse* and the other two Revd. Mr. Nevil Maskelyne and Mr. Robert Waddington take passage on the *Prince Henry* to St. Helena. As this is done to make some improvements in Astronomy which will be of general utility the two last named gentlemen are upon their arrival and during their stay to be accommodated by you in a suitable manner with diet and apartments at the Company's expense and you are to give them all the assistance as to materials, workmen, and whatsoever else the service they are employed upon may require.

Slaves Essex and Grewer returned—the latter not to be punished. A soldier of the Garrison and another Coffree who had secreted themselves on board H.M.S. *Yarmouth* were sent on board H.M.S. *Princess Royal* and were detained as we suppose for the King's service, our claim for them being ineffectual.

Letter to England, May 26, 1761.—We are obliged to you for returning Grewer to us. Although he is a serviceable man he is very artful and designing and as you thought proper to forgive him he has not been punished, we were in great hopes he would have been sent hither in irons and to be punished in order to deter others from the like villanys. This fellow boasts of the indulgence he received from you and industriously spreads among his brethren a notion of the great liberty allowed in England. Says it was in his option whether to have returned to the Island or not, withal having the assurance to appear upon his first landing in a dress very unbecoming to a slave and which no gentleman would have thought beneath him to wear. All precautions are adopted. Port liberty is stopped. Centinels placed at the waterside—Guard boats row about the Bay to suffer neither soldier or Black to pass—Rolls are called thrice a day—Yet many, both Soldiers and Blacks do get away. Rev. Nevil Maskelyne and Mr. Robt. Waddington shall be accommodated in a suitable manner with diet and apartments at the Company's expense. We have already erected an observatory for them in the country and shall furnish whatever else the service may require.

King George III proclaimed at St. Helena 7th April.

Letter from England, Feb. 3, 1762.—We have considered the representations you have from time to time made to be satisfied whether you are invested with ample powers to punish Criminals. We have consulted our Council and transmit our directions in a separate letter for the greater conveniency in case it may as probable be necessary to be produced before the Courts that shall be held on criminal cases. The lenity extended here to Grewer a deserting slave returned last season appears from your representations to have been misapplied and may be productive of bad consequences. No future reliance will be had on the gratitude of these people. They shall be returned if they come within our power to receive the punishment due to their offence. You prescribe the sending them on ship board in irons, we do not know there is such a power to be exercised here, or to imprison them.

Lieut.-General Lally's draught for £100 advanced at St. Helena—refused by the French East India Company. No more advances to be made to French prisoners returning.

President and Council of the Royal Society have thanked us for the civilities and services that Messrs. Maskelyne and Waddington received at St. Helena. The former still remaining there you are to continue to fulfil the directions given by making their residence with you as agreeable to them as may be.

Many of our Blacks being quite worn out, your intentions of employing the *Mercury* and *Fly* on an adventure to Madagascar on our account for recruitments meets with our entire approbation. You will receive the articles wanting to compleat the proper assortment of a cargo for that Island.

The friends of our Governor having intimated that his health and constitution are much impaired we on due considerations of the great merit and the long and faithful services of Mr. Hutchinson having resolved that whenever he shall quit his Government which he is hereby at full liberty to do when he himself shall think most proper and convenient, to settle upon him £300 a year for his life as a particular mark of that favour which such a valuable and distinguished servant is so perfectly entitled to.

Approve of the scheme for establishing the Civil and Military Fund—[i.e. the present Widows' and Orphans' Fund.]

Letters to England, January 25, 1762.—The distemper among the Black Cattle still continues. 50 have died since January 1761 of the breeding Cattle among which it has chiefly prevailed. The milk upon opening is quite decayed.

The Body and Bladder full of Blood and they stale Blood immediately upon being disordered. Some are carried off in a few hours. Threatens fatal consequences to the Island.

June 17.—We have received your orders investing us with power to hold Courts Civil and Criminal and that of Oyer and Terminer. In the mean time we are searching your Records and will transmit you a copy of the Laws and Constitutions of the Island as you direct. The Lt-Gov. requests the "Black Thorn" may be sent as he thinks it will suit both climate and soil.

June 23, 1763.—On the 21st last month about 5 o'clock in the morning was felt a violent shock of an earthquake. The agitation was so strong in the South part of the Island as to shake the china, &c. off the shelves in the houses, but thank God no damage ensued.

We have lately had some very strong Floods which have done considerable damage to the Fortifications at Lemon Valley, the Garden wall at Plantation and several of your Plantations—Some of those belonging to the Inhabitants have been almost destroyed by them.

Council proceedings May 14, 1764.—Charles Hutchinson left for England on 13th May in ship *Egmont*, John Skot-towe Lt-Gov. succeeds.

June 5.—Commission from Gov. in Council for the *Snow Mercury*, 140 tons, 8 guns, 32 men, and *Fly* cutter to proceed to Madagascar and obtain Slaves, Rice and Paddy for the use of the Island, Slaves to be men able bodied under 25 and boys well grown. To keep a diary of all information which may tend to the better carrying on the slaving trade in future.

Invoice of cargo—chiefly cutlery, gunpowder and small arms.

July 23—Shopkeeping prohibited except by licensed persons. Six allowed and they to sell no more than 30 per cent on perishable things and 20 per cent on all other goods.

Jan. 25, 1765.—*Mercury* and *Fly* returned from Madagascar with 16 men slaves and 2 boys, 107 cwt. rice, 32 cwt. paddy. An insurrection occurred among the slaves 29th Nov. 1764 8 days after leaving Madagascar on board the *Mercury* at two in the morning—Captain mortally wounded with five stabs and mate's skull fractured. The slaves were fired upon killing two and wounding three. Cupidore a slave sent from St. Helena as interpreter speaking the language of the natives of Madagascar alleged to have excited the revolt "by filling their heads with shocking notions of their wretched fate as slaves." Cupidore and Winches-

ter one of the slaves were tried after arrival at St. Helena for the above, and executed for murder.

Sept. 1, 1766.—Governor's Fishing Boat overset off Barn Point—one man drowned and one recovered after two days on the Rocks.

Nov. 30, 1767.—Capt. Mitchell reports he had planned Mundens for a higher position than he first intended to avoid having perpendicular rocks at the back of the Battery.

Mundens is now 80 feet above the sea, the proposed change will make 150.

April 18, 1768.—Four Madagascar slaves attempt to run off in Sam Alexander's Fishing Boat in Sandy Bay—not knowing how to manage a boat the sea drove them on shore on the beach. Their excuse they did not like to be under a *Black* overseer.

May 30.—Patna a slave of Mrs. Mary Doveton who had deserted three years before in H.M.S. *Medway* is recognized on board the *Earl of Elgin* under the name of Francis Neptune and is ordered to be restored.

Governor Skottowe married Mary Greentree on 30th Sept. 1766.

Nov. 28.—Rats and mice increase considerably. Reward for destruction a halfpenny each Rat, a farthing each Mouse.

May 29, 1769.—A monopoly of Spirituous Liquors granted to 3rd of Council, the four senior Civil Servants and the eldest Military Captain under Regulations as "Society for vending Arrack and other Spirituous Liquors."

June 19.—Mr. William Webber Doveton appointed as Writer.

1769.—The Country Church shut up full seven months in the year and in the other five only service on alternate Sundays.

Oct.—Munden's Magazine.—Daniel Armin killed by fall of ledge of Rocks caused by excavating the Rocks for the Magazine.

July 30, 1770.—Serjeant of Artillery and six soldiers and a man slave deserted in the Long Boat with 7 muskets and provision (supposed to steer for Brazils).

[*Note.*—These men arrived safely in England, and one of the deserters returned to St. Helena in 1778.]

Oct. 7, 1771.—On 30th Sept. Serjt. Moon from Lemon Valley with four others intended to seize Long Boat and desert. Information reaching the Govr. the Long Boat was secured but the deserters went off in a small jolly boat.

Road to Ladder Hill to be altered, Inhabitants paying half. Ladder Hill Road is the only Road kept in repair by the Company.

Oct. 5 1772.—The landing place upper steps being very dangerous and many accidents happening to Boats and people, gave orders to lay a flight of steps with Purbeck stone into the Rock, to erect a strong wall of ten feet thick laid with Lime Mortar to the North-ward to protect the steps from being injured by the violence of the surf.

Letters to England, Aug. 9, 1770.—We have had a very dry Summer Season and have already lost upwards of 500 head of Black Cattle and continuing to die.

Jan. 6, 1771.—Our Winter rains have again failed and the country is at present in a terrible situation. You have lost in the course of last year 150 and the Planters 550 Cattle. If the Summer rain do not speedily set in a great many more must inevitably perish from want of food.

Nov. 10, 1771.—Six men of the Garrison deserted on 30th Sept. in a small boat. The wind and sea very high that night and men supposed to have perished. The desertions ascribed to the influence of a report made by a black woman who returned from London and who said she saw and conversed in London with some of the men who deserted the 28th July 1770.

[*Note*.—This report was well founded—one of the deserters having been recovered afterwards on 24th Aug. 1778. Note also the recovery of John Fortune as per letter 3rd May 1772.]

March 19, 1772.—Sheep desired from the Cape in preference to Cattle. Cattle are a great expence from the numbers dying in the passage as well as after their landing and even what does live are in such bad condition that they cannot be slaughtered for 18 months or 2 years afterwards. Further we have reason to suppose that the disorder on the Island has been introduced by the Cattle from the Cape as that disorder was not known here before.

Letters from England, Nov. 23, 1770.—After the desertion of two soldiers in one of our Long Boats in April last we are astonished you should not have thought it necessary to inform us in your general letter of a like desertion of seven others the 28th July. Until we shall be fully satisfied there has been no neglect in Garrison duty we shall impute the blame to our Governor and Lt.-Gov. as they are more immediately entrusted with the Military affairs of our settlement.

Jan. 4, 1772.—John Fortune a slave voluntarily surrendered himself representing to us that as he was in a fishing

boat off St. Helena some soldiers and others who had absconded with one of our Long Boats forcibly carried him with them to Brazil.

Jan. 6, 1773.—We are building a vessel of about 200 tons which we intend to send you to be employed as an Advice vessel.

Judgements of death against Tetherick and Swartsing not warranted by law. Not Burglary to break into a Warehouse except as part of a Dwelling House.

[*Note.*—Tetherick a soldier had already been hung for breaking into the Stores.]

Feb. 2, 1774.—On 31st Jan. six soldiers deserted in the night taking two Boats a yawl of Mr. Britt Wright, and jolly boat of John Wright, were seen at daylight next morning but at too great a distance to pursue and soon after were out of sight. The deserters were illiterate men of bad character and only a few days provisions and must inevitably perish at sea.

Minute by Lt-Governor on licentious riotous conduct of the Garrison, particularly the Artillery company—attributes it to misconduct of Lieut. Leech in charge, for the nine years he has been here the Garrison were never under arms for a field day or exercised together. The Governor thinks the Irregularities are not of so serious a nature and attributable only to Liquor. The men are compleated in the new Prussian exercise and better disciplined than ever.

Three Houses built upon the ground where the Old Church stood for the use of the Comp. Servants (*i.e.* the three Govt. Houses next above St. James and which therefore mark the site of the Old Church.)

June 24, 1776.—Captain of the *Mercury* authorized to purchase at the Cape for St. Helena various fruit trees, animals and birds including canaries.

May 18, 1778.—A Corporal and three privates took a cutter the property of Capt. Harper and deserted the Island and we judge they must have perished.

June 29.—A Cruizer seen off Prosperous Bay 9 leagues off for several days in succession. A Long Boat under a Serjeant prepared to be sent to windward to alarm approaching vessels but no quadrant could be procured which renders the scheme impracticable.

Oct. 5.—Capt. Pierie suggests a road from Banks' to Buttermilk Point and a battery at the point.

Nov. 6.—Very high wind. Pinnace broke adrift from her moorings and was lost on 8th November.

March 22, 1779.—Four suspicious ships cruising to Southward.

May 2.—Mr. Robertson 3rd officer of the *Valentine* shoots a pheasant, and refuses to come when sent for by the Govr. on the ground that it was a Military order by a Sergeant with a halberd. This said to be the immemorial usage of the Governor's of this Island never before called in question by any person.

July 5.—Coroner to be chosen by the inhabitants.

Oct. 4.—Planters complain of the late excessive Drought, numbers of Cattle have died and some have lost their whole breed.

Oct. 25.—A Corporal and another soldier desert from Lemon Valley in a fishing boat. Ship *Glatton* sent in pursuit of a boat two leagues from Lemon Valley found to contain two men slaves attempting to make their escape but no tidings of the deserters.

Oct. 25.—Winter Benis tried by a general Court Martial for writing a letter to Court of Directors tending to promote Mutiny, and for accusing the Garrison of Mutinous intentions: ordered to receive corporal punishment and to be drummed out of the Garrison with a halter about his neck. [The result proved that the warning was not without foundation. A serious mutiny did break out in 1783.]

Dec. 13.—Woodberry a slave complains of inhuman punishment from his master who ran fish hooks through his ears and burnt his hands by putting greased wick between his fingers so as to destroy the nerves of one of the hands. The Council consider that the oath of a slave cannot be taken against his master and that therefore a statement of the case should be referred to the Company.

Jan. 24, 1780.—Slaves have no form of worship among them, their numbers amount to 1161 exclusive of free Blacks 80 or 90; Whites to 930, Garrison included. Those Blacks live chiefly in the country where there are very few white men not above 40 in number.

July 24.—On Saturday last at night six soldiers took the cutter and deserted, one of them being sentry on the line.

Sept. 18.—Major Henry Bazett having objected to the heavy expence for making so wide a road from Banks' to Butter-milk Point, Major Pierie urges the necessity of a road twelve feet wide for traversing cannon for annoyance of passing Shipping to cost £300.

March 5, 1781.—Sandy Bay Fortifications much damaged by a large torrent of water which happened last week.

Sept. 6.—Commodore Johnstone brings in six Dutch ships

prizes and prays a Commission be granted for their adjudication. After examining Charter the Commission is granted.

Nov 12.—French Frigate *La Necker* and a French Merchant vessel brought in as prizes and a Commission issued for adjudication; captured by H.M.S. *Hannibal* off Cape of Good Hope.

Jan 7, 1782.—A French prize to H.M.S. *Diana* arrived and adjudicated.

Jan 28.—Earthquake.—On Saturday 26th inst. at forty minutes after one o'clock in the afternoon a shock of an Earthquake was felt throughout the Island attended with a rumbling noise which lasted about four seconds.

July 25.—Appointment of Mr. Corneille as Governor, Major Henry Grame Lieut-Gov. Governor Skottowe allowed to retire on same pension as his predecessor.

May 19, 1783.—French prize *Anna Maria* captured near the Island by Company's ship *Locke* brought in for adjudication, captured under a neutral Flag. A commission had been issued by Gov. Skottowe for adjudication of three prizes captured by Commodore Johnstone and the opinion of Court of Directors had been specially requested as to the legality of their condemnation, to which no answer had been given. Being doubtful of their jurisdiction the Council decline to issue any Commission in this case.

Dec. 29.—Mutinous outbreak in the Garrison. The ill-humour of the men was shown first on Christmas day arising from some alterations in the regulations for Punch Houses. On Friday 26 a riotous body assembled who were for a time appeased by the Governor's promises. On 27th they again became clamorous and finding they could obtain no more supplies of spirits from the Captain of the week they armed themselves and marched out of barracks with drums beating and fixed bayonets about 200 in number commanded by Sergeant Tooley. The Governor went among them and remonstrated and succeeded in inducing them to return. On Monday 29th the Council removed the grievance about the Canteen and directed the Punch Houses to be open as before. In the afternoon the men again became riotous and the Governor secured Sergeant Tooley and marched towards the barracks with the Main Guard. Before he could reach the Barracks a party of the Mutineers marched off to the Alarm House firing at Major Grame, who went in pursuit of them. After 10 p.m. Major Bazett with three officers and 70 men attacked the Mutineers at the Alarm House. They were under command of Sergeant Burney and fired on

Major Bazett's party with field pieces but without effect. Musketry was used on both sides for 10 or 12 minutes when the Mutineers gave way three being wounded and 103 taken prisoners. Major Bazett losing two killed. The Mutineers were all sentenced death but were decimated, Sergt. Burley and nine others being shot on 2nd Jany. Sergt. Tooley was sent prisoner to England but perished with all on board by the wreck of the vessel off the Scilly Islands.

June 15.—Ship *Fox* coming into the road struck upon the Rocks off Mundens Point and received considerable damage—leaked so considerably that ship was in danger of sinking. Her cargo landed and stowed in the Church.

May 2nd 1785.—On 26th April the laboratory leading to the Stores and near the Castle was blown up by a Rocket taking firing whilst driving—which ignited several pounds of powder and a cask of musket cartridges. Two men killed, three badly wounded and the house entirely destroyed.

Feb. 27, 1787.—Violent Surf destroyed the *Houghton's* Long Boat at the Crane, four lives lost, Officer and three Seamen.

March 4.—Gov. reports that the very high surf of the last ten or twelve days had made a large gap in the counterscarp of the Ditch of the East Bastion and undermined the wall between the Draw Bridge and Exterior Gate.

March 31.—Heavy floods on the 28th March, Rupert's lines a wreck—the flood flowing over the platforms to the whole extent of the line. At Banks' a new Beach formed by the wash of rubbish from the Flagstaff hill gullies.

May 28.—Mr. Corneille resigns the Govt. and returns to England in the *Carnatic*. New Commission opened appointing Robert Brook Esqre. Governor, Major Francis Robson Lieut.-Governor. M. Bazett, William Wrangham and Henry Bazett of Council.

June 11.—Mr. Worrall claims his slave Yon who had been condemned to death and received a free pardon. Decided that he receive £15 the sum payable when a slave is executed and that Yon be ordered to the Company's works. In this case both Yon and his master William Worrall were detected in sheep stealing, the only witnesses being slaves whose evidence could not be taken against a white man. Yon alone was convicted.

This event led to an alteration in the law and thereafter slaves who understood the nature of an oath were admitted as competent witnesses in all cases.

Extension of Wharf from the upper stairs to the present landing place resolved upon.

Ships to be stopped at Butter-milk Point. A Board to be provided—"Send your Boat."

[*Note.*—This old Board is still visible at Butter-milk Point.]

July 9.—On Tuesday 5th instant Isaac Hicksled private while swimming near the landing place was unfortunately killed by a Shark.

Letters to England, March 22, 1787.—A most heavy fall of rain happened yesterday. Considerable damage done to Fortifications at Ruperts, Bankses and Butter-milk Point. Individuals have greatly suffered in this Valley where the rain seems to have fallen with most violence. Many of the houses are much damaged by the torrents which came down the sides of the hill and one house near the Water Course was entirely thrown down and all the materials carried away by the Flood. Plantations have suffered greatly in the country, Longwood Tank entirely washed away with great part of the new Fence enclosing the said Wood.

March 31.—From the late flood Ruperts and Banks' have suffered most. The former is in a state of ruin, the repairs will be equal to building a new fortification.

At a moderate computation the damages to your property alone must amount to some thousands of pounds exclusive of the injury done individuals in many parts of the Island. Several Yam plantations are washed away from the ground slipping. We mentioned that the rain seemed to have fallen with most violence in this valley, but on a more particular examination find that before the works gave way the whole of Rupert's Valley was one entire sheet of water. We have all the reason to suppose that it was occasioned by a Water Spout that begun to the Eastward near great Stone Top and took its direction across to the Westward, but had very little effect in the South and West parts of the Island.

Sept. 16th 1790.—Rev. Mr. Wilson's turbulent conduct—his Brother in law Lieut. Thomas Greentree his coadjutor. The following details may serve to give you a just idea of the language and proceedings of two or three people here of late. If ships were despatched with expedition the Island suffered. If the Government tried experiments for night signals, there was an attempt to burn the town. If the system of Fortifications was altered remonstrances were supposed necessary. If the uninterested Magistrate ruled in serious cases instead of the passions of individuals the Inhabitants were divested of their right and property.

If the Governor enforced discipline he was cruel in the extreme. If soldiers were allowed to work instead of being

flogged for trifling offences there was no safety in the place. If the Governor attempted the improvement of the Waste Lands the poorer inhabitants were going to be deprived of their best dependence.

If Divine Service was wished for in the Country as well as Town the Assistant was interdicted from doing duty. If a Sunday School was established a Special Vestry was got together for its destruction. If the recruits intended for India were sent into the Country it was to disturb and endanger the lonely and unprotected Farmers. At length the Inhabitants were accused in the face of the Main Guard for wanting a similar spirit of dangerous opposition with which Mr. Wilson himself was inflamed.

We observed lately that several abusive and threatening papers against the Governor were scattered about the street—but as the Officers, Inhabitant Militia, and Non-Commissioned Officers of the Garrison offered large rewards for finding out the Author of these Nonsensical Epistles the Governor requested no further notice might be taken of them particularly as he supposed the papers were circulated merely for the purpose of enabling the fabricators to write home that we were in great trouble here on account of regulations the effect of which they had already perhaps misrepresented. The probability of this conjecture was quickly rendered evident for a few nights after a person it was said was heard on the side of the Hill call to another "There they are fire" and a shot was directed as it were towards the Castle—and the next morning a letter was found stating that the Ball had missed the Governor. Now the shot was fired at a time that he and everyone else almost were going safely and quietly to bed.

However in this as in the former part of the scheme the Incendiaries only rendered themselves ridiculous and the excellent intention of the Inhabitants were rendered more conspicuous, for several of them patrolled the streets for nights after merely from their own good will.

June 2, 1791.—Cutter Yawl and Jolly Boat cut from their Moorings. Yawl recovered. Two soldiers missing supposed to have deserted in the Yawl.

June 13.—An uncommon Gale of Wind sprung up in the night of the 23rd of last month and all of the ships were blown out from their moorings. They were seen the next day endeavouring to get to Windward but as we understood one of the Dutch ships had her Rudder alongside it being damaged and the wind continuing all that day and the next with much violence and no prospect of getting

into the Harbour again being at a great distance off the Bay they have not since been seen.

Feb. 25, 1792.—Mr. Richard Mason's son found some stones on a part of the Island near Turk's Cap which he showed to a Mr. Thompson who went to the place and brought some specimens to the Governor on which a further search was directed to be made. An Englishman who was bred to the Lapidary business and attended says the deeper the workmen sink the better and larger the stones grow. Major Robson observes that they are a species of *Calcidonia*.

June 25.—Unhealthy Season—Acute Dysenteries—Fever and Catarrhal affections—120 patients in the last ten weeks ill with dysentery, six have died. We cannot tell precisely what may have been the cause of so much general disorder on the Island but think it may have probably been occasioned by a particular constitution of the Air arising from the long continuance of *Dry Weather*.

Dec. 24.—Captain Bligh at St. Helena in H.M.S. *Providence* with Bread fruit trees, Mango and various other plants enumerated.

Dec. 29.—Capt. Bligh sent on shore to us a variety of Trees and Plants the productions of the South Seas and the Island of Timor.

Feb. 6, 1792.—A Soldier going to Turk's Cap having been missing after two days search he was found unhurt in a Ledge into which he had fallen.

March 31, 1795.—A French officer walking the streets here wearing a Cockade the present insignia of Rebellion—ordered that no French men (prisoners) be allowed to come on shore for the present.

July 7.—Henry Powell publican unfortunately killed in bed by the falling of a rock from the height of Ladder Hill yesterday morning at 4 o'clock.

April 27, 1795.—An Arabian Horse bought for £400 by Gov. Brooke to improve the breed on the Island.

May 28.—Detail of proceedings relative to an Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Pringle the Agent from the Secret Committee lately come down from the Cape gives information that the Garrison of the Cape consisted of about 1000 regular troops, that Colonel Gordon the Commr. in Chief was well disposed. That if the Dutch at the Cape had received information of the French having overrun Holland they would turn out Gordon and put in Democrats in command. But if Col. Gordon was supported in time the Garrison might be got to join us and so save

the place and get possession of the Dutch Indianmen at the Cape (14 in number). Arranged that H.M.S. *Sceptre* and some of the Indianmen here with a reinforcement from the Garrison should proceed at once to the Cape, viz. 300 men from Garrison, 2 field pieces and 2 chests of Treasure about £10000. On 1st June the expedition embarked and ready to sail for the Cape when the *Swallow* arrived from the Cape and gave information of the despatch of a fleet of Dutch Indianmen from the Cape for Europe. Capt Easington H.M.S. *Sceptre* proposed to delay the departure for the Cape and to cruize to windward for a few days for the Dutch fleet, which was agreed to. At the close of the Consultation a signal was made for the arrival of the storeship and the Govr. by her received intelligence from Admiral Elphinstone who with Commodore Blankett were gone on an expedition to the Cape.

Orders were then given for disembarking the Treasure, the two Field pieces and the Regimental band of Music. On 10th June the Dutch ship *Hughley* was brought in as a prize by the *Swallow*. On 16th and 17th June the *Sceptre* and the other ships returned, viz. *General*, *Goddard*, *Asia*, *Busbridge* and *Swallow* with seven large Dutch ships seized to windward which were all that had yet been seen of the Dutch fleet.

July 6.—Arrived H.M.S. *Sphynx* from Cape with letters from Admiral Elphinstone requesting as many men and artillery as Gov. Brooke could spare with a supply of silver also one from General Craig to same effect, observing that as I have no more Troops with me that could be brought on board H.M. Ships in addition to their complement the number is so small that no augmentation of it can be so inconsiderable as not to be acceptable. I have not a single gun or Artilleryman with me, I shall be very much obliged if you can spare me a couple six pounders and a howitzer with the necessary ammunition and artillerymen.

July 11.—Troops sent to Cape in the *Armiston* 11 officers, 400 men, two 12 prs., two 6 prs., four 3 prs., one howitzer and two chests of Treasure £10000. Captain Francis Seale senior.

July 13th.—*Orpheus* returned to the Cape with a further sum £5006.

July 20th.—The Malays taken in the Dutch prizes formed into two companies of Artillery to do duty on the Line.

Sept. 12th.—Admiral Elphinstone to Gov. Brooks.—Had received the reinforcements by *Orpheus* 5th Aug. and *Armiston* 9th Aug. On the 7th we attacked the Dutch Camp at

Myseberg, the Enemy fled immediately. General Craig will proceed to Cape Town as soon as may be prudent.

Oct. 12th.—From Admiral Elphinstone.—Cape had surrendered on 16th Sept. Thanks to Gov. Brooke, Capt. Seale and officers and men of the St. Helena corps.

From General Craig.—Your St. Helena friends have had their share of our fatigues and hardships and have acquitted themselves as you would have wished. Capt. Den Taafe has been wounded.

Nov. 2.—Cape detachment returned in the *Earl Howe* on 29th Oct., Capt. Greentree in command.

March 28.—*Java Sparrows*.—Prohibition against catching any for one year. Penalty—If a child to be whipped, if a grown person, fined.

July 31, 1797.—Planters appeal "In consequence of the very heavy and uncommon fall of rain which happened on 25th April last which occasioned the most dreadful Floods ever remembered."

Aug. 7.—Mr. Porteau's report on the damages to the Planters.

Reports destruction of Fences, washing away of plantations, mentions that in Mr. Seale's plantations in Sandy Bay the Flood had torn up a Gully 10 feet deep, 25 feet broad, had removed a large rock from the red stone quarry in length 16 feet and 10 feet deep from the depth of the Water Course.

In Peak Gutt (Mary Bagley's) 57 landslips, two had buried part of the Plantation—one measuring 40 feet deep, 32 yards wide, the other 30 yards wide 25 feet wide.

Aug. 4, 1798.—A Danish Frigate 64 guns from Copenhagen to convey Danish ships to Denmark.

Governor's explanation to the Danish Captain for the detention of three ships under Danish flag. The Dutch commerce to the East being so overthrown by their alliance with France had resorted to expedients. One of them being to obtain Danish papers for ships carrying their property and navigated chiefly by Englishmen and Americans.

Oct. 22, 1798.—An attack on the place being expected ordered that in such an event all the Sheep and Cattle are to be driven between High Knoll and Ladder Hill.

Nov. 4, 1799.—The Governor was this day publicly presented with a Sword from the hands of the Hon'ble Mr. Wellesley sent by Earl Mornington the Gov. General as a favourable testimony of approbation of his conduct as a Company's servant

Varieties of Spices from the Moluccas tried in every soil and situation but have not succeeded

Letters from England, Feb. 29, 1792.—Instead of the hats for the Infantry and Artillery being cocked as usual and distinguished by being bound and looped with different colours we had ordered them all to be round hats. This alteration we have been induced to make from a conviction that they must be much cooler and more convenient to the men. These are precisely the same as the hats worn by H.M. Regts. in India.

Ships not to be allowed to leave Port after Sunset. Surprised to find that the Slaves belonging to the Inhabitants had increased while those belonging to the Company had decreased. We commence in 1765 because there has been no importation since that period for the Company and as to the Planters, we understand there has not been above 3 or 4 a year left as domestic servants.

In 1765 the Compy. had 161 men.	In 1791 94 men.
46 women.	" 44 women.
52 boys.	" 38 boys.
25 girls.	" 52 girls.

Total 284

Total 228

In 1765 Inhabitants had 248 men.	In 1791 439 men.
154 women.	" 230 women
156 boys.	" 230 boys.
91 girls.	" 200 girls.

649

1099

There also appears in 1791 190 Free Blacks which may be added to those of the Inhabitants and considered as part of the increase since 1765 as the practice of emancipating has prevailed since that period.

Jan. 5, 1796—Commendations of Gov. Brooke for his zealous efforts for the intended expedition to the Cape. Your Records do not furnish to our recollection since the Island has been in the Company's possession an instance where this little Island has been so eminently useful.

May 17, 1797.—Direct Ladder Hill should be fortified on the land side by a line capable of sustaining a seige (in case of an enemy carrying of any of the Sea Defences) so as to form an Inland post.

Letters to England, May 23, 1797.—A most uncommon and extraordinary fall of Rain happened in the early part

of the morning of 25th last month which occasioned the largest and most awful Flood ever remembered. Many Farms seriously damaged particularly in Sandy Bay. Several of the Fortifications injured.

August 21.—A great quantity of Lime Stone has been discovered near Banks' battery of a better quality than at Sandy Bay.

June 1, 1798.—Thanks to the Company for remitting the Rents for one year of the Sufferers by the Flood which happened last season. We are sorry to observe that we were again on the 22nd and 23rd of last month visited with similar inundations to that of the preceding season particularly in James and Sandy Bay Vallies.

The damages done we have not yet ascertained, but are concerned to inform you that an unfortunate soldier on the 22nd foolishly thinking he could pass the main water course in James Valley was washed by the rapid torrent amidst immense Rocks the distance of 800 yards into the Sea from whence he was miraculously taken up alive but died the day following.

Subscription £982 17s. from Civil, Military and Planters anxious to show the ardent zeal of faithful determined and loyal subjects of the English East India Company their King and Country on hearing of France threatening an Invasion.

Sept. 1, 1800.—The Island is in a most flourishing condition and the resort of shipping is so great that land is become exceedingly valuable.

March 23.—Gov. Brook's departure 16th March in *Highland Chief*, Colonel Francis Robson assumes the Government, and Major Cocks sworn into Council.

March 10, 1802.—Gov. Patton landed this morning under a salute of 19 guns, was introduced into the Council Room where the new Commission was read by the Secretary. Then adjourned to the Grand Parade the Commission was again read in presence of the Garrison by the Town Major, after which a salute of 19 guns was fired. The troops fired a feu de joie and Gov. Patton entered the Castle under the usual complement of a general salute.

March 29.—Census—Military 892, Civil Servants and Families 122, Planters and others 241, Free Blacks 227, Slaves 1029. Total 2511.

Sept. 23.—Return of Property lost during last six months from authenticated returns—supposed to be stolen—Cattle 2, Sheep 186, Goats 279, Hogs 22, Turkeys 7, Geese 1, Ducks 2, Fowls 129, Potatoes 34 bushels, Yam 3792 lbs,

Plantains 25 bunches, Brandy 5½ doz, Cordials 4 doz, Soap 12 cwt, Apples 200 (from 22 Proprietors).

Police Fund established and weekly sitting of Magistrates.

Dogs to be diminished. Dog Tax increased from 5s. to 10s., of which 5s to Police Fund. Collars to be worn or Dogs to be destroyed. For distinction, Collars of Dogs of Govt. servants Brass, others Tin.

A register to be kept at Police Office of number and names of free Blacks and Slaves. The Govt. intends to appoint occasional weekly patrols from the Volunteer corps. A file from the Rifle Company accompanied by a file of selected Black freemen to visit different quarters of the Island between 8 p.m. and 5 a.m., to report absentees, &c.

Aug. 23, 1803.—Dutch prize captured by H.M.S *Caroline* under Admiralty orders 19th May 1803. Brings the first intelligence that war has been renewed between France and England.

Feb. 23.—Arrived the *Mary* (Whaler) on 21st Feb. The *Mary* ignorant of the war put into the Cape for refreshment and was seized according to the customs of war. The two officers who brought her to St. Helena and the Captain were permitted liberty on parole and the rest of the crew though confined were treated well. While there the *Matilda* (Cartel) arrived from Pondicherry with French prisoners and the crew of the *Mary* were permitted to ship in the *Matilda*. They took advantage of the opportunity in the night to proceed on board the *Mary*, recaptured her, overpowering the 7 men in charge, cut the cables, sent back the Dutch guard in the *Matilda's* boat and escaped to sea. Gov. Patton adds:—The whole of this transaction as narrated by the Perpetrators themselves appears to me highly reprehensible if not atrociously criminal, being derogatory to the character and honour of the nation. Proposes that the command of the *Mary* be taken from the two mates—that she be sent under charge to His Majesty's Ministers at Home and that a person be sent to the Cape with despatches detailing what had been done.

March 2.—Arrived on 29th February Dutch schooner *Hope* (Cartel) from Cape with Gov. Jansen's representation to Gov. Patton of the seizure of the *Mary* and demanding restitution. The English Cartel *Matilda* has been provisionally seized. Gov. Patton had already written to Gov. Jansen, and his aide-de-camp Lieut. Hansen was on the point of sailing for the Cape when the *Hope* arrived. Lieut.

Gambier the officer from the Cape returned in the same vessel with Lieut. Hansen bearing Gov. Patton's despatch.

July 2.—Colonel Lane proposes that decked Fishing Bots of 30 feet keel should be used—enabled to explore in all directions to the distance of 10 leagues round the Island—supposed that there are banks running out from the Island to a much greater distance and it is on that description of ground out of the reach of open boats that an ample supply of fish is to be expected, and of a different kind and superior quality ever yet experienced. Six boats with 3 men and 2 boys to each would be more than sufficient to supply the whole Island.

July 6.—Triumphal arrival of the China fleet on the 9th June after beating off Admiral Linois squadron consisting of a large 74, two heavy frigates, a corvette and a brig in an action fought near Pilo Auro where we had long known the French meant to way-lay them.

June 24, 1805.—Two boats arrived bringing Mr. Dunn, Master and crew of Whaler *Coldstream* which vessel had been captured by a French Privateer *Bellona*, which had been cruising to the Windward of the Island for more than a month.

May 5, 1806.—Sir Home Popham arrived at St. Helena on his way from the Cape of Good Hope with the expedition to Buenos Ayres, having only a very small force he applied to the Gov. to aid him from the Garrison. This Gov. Patton readily did being in possession of orders from the Secret Committee at the Indian House which encouraged him to do so and he made up a select detachment from the Garrison Light Infantry and Artillery amounting to 282 men and placed them under the orders of Sir Home Popham. The expedition turned out to be an unfortunate one and either on this account, or from disagreement among the Directors Gov. Patton instead of being commended for his exertions was strongly censured.

In answer to the censure the Gov. quoted the orders which he had received from the Secret Department, viz:—
“We the Secret Committee hereby direct you to afford every aid in your power consistently with the due protection and security of your own Island to H. M. Land and Naval forces under the command of Major General Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham in any operation in which you may be required by them to assist.” The Directors nevertheless decided the expedition was a rash and illadvised measure and deserving of our most serious reprehension; they said that no inclination on the part of

the Government to assist H. M. forces nor any recommendation to this effect from the Secret Committee ought to have induced the Governor thus to sacrifice his own paramount duty and they concluded that the whole of the details in this and of the former transactions and the frequent representations made to us of the want of energy in every department and the lax discipline of the Garrison call upon us without loss of time to take into our serious consideration the state of your Island with a view to make such alterations in the Government as appear to us to be required, and with this view we shall without any delay sit down to this inquiry and shall direct our attention to the whole of an establishment which we are of an opinion requires radical amendment.

Oct. 11.—A brig the *Jolly Tar* purchased for the service of the Island Government whilst being prepared and fitted out she was cut out of the harbour at night by some foreigners who were serving in the Garrison assisted by three officers Spanish or French passengers on board a vessel from the Cape and who were regarded as on parole. She was carried to Rio. Mr. Lees was one of her officers gave the following particulars of the seizure of the vessel after his return to St. Helena, viz:—On Saturday 11th Oct. Mr. Sweete, Chief Officer in command, myself, and 8 others were on board the *Jolly Tar*. At 8 p.m. the watch set as usual. At about 11 o'clock Wood the seaman on the watch called out that a boat was alongside. I immediately jumped up and before I got to the gangway I was surrounded by numbers of men with Bayonets. Some rushed down the cabin and some down forward to secure the seamen. I was by this time wounded in three different places—Head, left arm and neck. Mr. Sweete was most cruelly massacred and was thrown overboard. The cables were cut. Next morning we were out of sight of the Island. The pirates 17 in number were almost all soldiers of the Garrison except three Spanish officers who I had seen on shore as I supposed on their Parole of Honour. Eleven days after we fell in with a Portuguese brig and we were put on board and carried to Rio Janeiro. The soldiers were 10 of them foreigners enlisted in and belonging to the Garrison. The three officers were Spanish or French passengers from the Cape and were regarded as on parole.

March 9, 1807.—The Measles introduced here from the last Fleet from the Cape are now so completely epidemic that not a single family in the Island have escaped their influence.

Feb. 16.—About 11 o'clock last night a ledge of Rocks gave way over the Wharf by which one of the Lascars was killed on the spot and six others severely wounded.

April 20.—Total 150 Deaths in March and April from Measles.

July 20.—Governor Patton embarked yesterday for England in H.M.S *Sir Edward Hughes*. Colonel Lane sworn in as Governor and Robert Leach 4th in Council.

July 4, 1808.—Governor Beatson arrived with H.M.S *Thetis* and H.C. Ships *Europe*, *Lord Castlereagh*, and *Lord Keith*. Council—Gov. Beatson, Colonel Broughton, Mr. W. Doveton and Mr. Leach.

July 8.—Mr. Burchill directed to collect a bushel of the most brilliant coloured earths and some of the dung of the Sea Fowl on Egg Island to be sent to England.

Oct. 7.—Granary [now the Custom House] on West side of Parade to be built at £1500 cost. This part of the Parade in 1808 was disfigured by a cluster of miserable huts.

Oct. 23, 1809.—Burial Grounds.—Mr. Leach reports:—Many of the Lanes directed to be kept open for the purpose of carrying off water falling from the side of Ladder Hill are stopped. Deep channels had been cut on the side of the Hill to carry off all the water into the Burial Ground by the Barracks. The ground is in a shameful neglected state having more the appearance of a common for Dogs than a burial place for deceased Christians.

Oct. 23.—Notification issued that on arrival of a vessel with cargo for sale, the Government may first purchase. Afterwards Govt. Servants and Landholders and after three days Shopkeepers.

Nov. 17.—Specimens of Aloe Fibre submitted.

Sept. 21, 1810.—Within the last 50 years many Gum-wood trees grew on the hills between Rupert's and Dead-wood and there is a tradition that a thick wood occupied Half-Tree Hollow and that some persons who had advanced therein lost their way and perished.

May 24, 1811.—President of Bencoolen writes that a small Island of great importance to the accommodation of that port had been so encroached on by the sea that for aid to its security they desire 200 tons of stone ballast from St. Helena.

Letters to England, May 3, 1807.—Measles introduced by a Fleet on 24th January. The information of the existence of the disease in the fleet reaching the Gov. too late to avert the most direful calamity that has ever befallen your Island and we cannot but lament that Capt. Leigh of the

Georgiana who knew the disorder raged at the Cape when he left it and who arrived here some days before the fleet, had not made us acquainted with the circumstance.

The Register of Burials from 1st March to 1st May exhibited a list of 102 Blacks and 58 Whites, but many more blacks have been carried off the exact number of whom has not yet been ascertained as they had not been Christened and their burials of course not registered in the Church Books.

May 3.—The extent of distress which for a time pervaded all ranks is beyond description as in many Families including servants every person was at the same moment incapable of the least exertion.

Most of the Garrison Officers are now so far recovered as to render it no longer necessary for a Non-commissioned Officer to command the Main Guard at night a measure the Governor was obliged to adopt for some weeks.

Experience from recent sufferings has occasioned great anxiety respecting the introduction of the Small Pox which would probably prove still more fatal. Endeavours therefore have been made to obtain the Vaccine infection from the Cape of Good Hope.

On 21st April arrived a Fleet under the orders of Admiral Murray, viz: H.M.S. *Polyphemus*, *Africa*, *Nereida*, *Haughty*, and *Saracen*. *Flying Fish* Camel storeship with 32 sail of Transports having on board a body of land forces under Brigadier-General Cranford. The destination kept secret. Sailed from the Cape on 6th April and came hither apparently for the purpose of completing their water.

June 26.—Box containing Specimens of Colours collected on the Island by Mr. Burchill who is of opinion that they may be approved of by artists in England.

July 16, 1808.—Specimens of Guano from Egg Island sent to England.

Nov. 19, 1809.—Fibres of Aloe sent to England with 18 casks of Kelp and 10 casks of Lichens.

May 12, 1810.—On the morning of the 3rd instant, a fleet appeared to Windward which proved to be 22 East Indiamen (named) under the convoy of H.M.S. *Dedaigneuse*. They came to anchor the same evening but from the confusion which arose from so many ships pushing at once for the anchorage and the Wind being high several came in Contact—considerable damage was done and the *Europe* and *Walhamstow* were blown out of the Roads. After the Commanders came on shore it was ascertained three of the Ships had Measles on board. It is impossible at present to

ascertain whether the infection has been communicated on shore or not, but all events we cannot apprehend a repetition of the serious calamity which befel the Island in 1806 as almost every one of the Inhabitants has had the disorder except some of the officers of the detachment which was sent to Buenos Ayres.

[*Note.*—The Measles did not show themselves in the Island again until 1843 when they were brought from the Cape and produced much distress. It deserves remark that in no case in 1843 did any of the survivors of 1806 have a recurrence of Measles, but Captain Robert Wright, the only one of the surviving officers of the Garrison who was absent in South America in 1806, died from the disease immediately on its introduction in 1843.

Previously to the arrival of Governor Beatson a system had prevailed of allowing Government servants, civil and military, to draw provisions from the Company's stores at fixed prices, which in 1811 proved to be much under prime cost.

On discovering that this was the case Governor Beatson made an alteration in the prices which created much dissatisfaction amongst the servants of the Company.

The use of spirituous liquors in the garrison was also carried to great excess, a large percentage of the troops being constantly in the hospital on this account. Governor Beatson to remedy this evil prohibited the importations of Indian Spirits under any pretence whatever and the landing of higher priced spirits from Europe was sanctioned only in limited quantities and on payment of a duty of 12s. a gallon. This with some other causes of complaint led to a highly mutinous feeling in the Garrison.

On 23rd Dec. 1811, the Governor received an anonymous letter demanding on the part of the troops full rations of spirits and threatening serious consequences if refused.

The intention of the regiment of infantry was to seize the Governor and send him away in the *Camperdown*, a cutter in the harbour belonging to the Island.

The details of the mutiny which broke out on the 24th Dec. are fully related in Beatson's Tracts; it need only be said now that 250 men sallied at night from Jamestown Barracks upon this mad and desperate enterprize, they made their way to Longwood and seized the Lieut.-Gov. Broughton and then proceeded for Plantation. The regiment of artillery, a large number of the infantry, and the regiment of volunteers kept faithful guard and when the mutineers reached Plantation at daylight in the morning only 75 of the original number of mutineers remained together. They were completely surrounded, and compelled to surrender; being brought to immediate trial six of the most guilty were forthwith hung at High Knoll. Another principal ringleader was tried and hung on the 26th in Jamestown. Subordination was thus thoroughly restored; the Governor's thanks

were then expressed to the officers of St. Helena; to the corps of artillery, who almost to a man escaped the contagion; to the St. Helena Volunteers for their loyalty and eagerness to do their duty and to the portion of the infantry who remained firm to the Government.

It deserves notice that when the retail spirit houses were abolished the garrison numbered 1250 men, of whom 132 were sick in hospital; four months after that abolition the patients were reduced to 48.]

April 10, 1812.—Rev. Mr. Jones complains of a public Insult to him at the Easter Vestry where he was elected "*Inspector of the Common Sheep and Goats.*" Suggests as Inspector that the Sheep be taken to their respective owners farms and the goats be destroyed which would prevent his appointment from interfering with more important duties. Otherwise he had already a very wild herd of goats under his charge, viz., those whose conduct is here reprobated.

April 3, 1813.—Large exports of Specie—£10000 in the last two ships—to prevent it currency raised. Rupee 2s. 6d. Dollar 5s. 9d., Ducatoon 6s. 8d., Doubloon £3 19s. Since Proclamation was issued application made for Bills on the Directors for a considerable amount and Specie was being landed to traffic in such Bills.

June 22.—Governor Wilks and Lieut.-Gov. Skelton arrived 21st June in the *Sir Wm. Pulteney*, Col. Greentree retired.

Aug. 21st.—Mark Wilks Governor—New Commission opened this day. (Colonel Beatson kept the chair after Col. Wilks arrival from 21st June until now.)

Oct. 11.—St. Helena Library established with patronage of Governor.

Jan. 24, 1814.—Dr. Roxburgh recommends *Cinchona officinalis* to be obtained from South America and prepared at St. Helena for transmission to India when the plants are strong enough for removal.

Aug. 15.—30 Slaves of the Government of Isle of France had in 1811 secreted themselves on board the prize Frigate and were landed at St. Helena. Lord Bathurst desired they should be returned to Isle of France and the slaves themselves wished it. The Governor doubted whether he might not infringe the Act of Parliament by doing so and consults the Hon: George Smith Chief Justice of the Isle of France (and now at St. Helena) who advises they may be returned under the special circumstances.

Jan. 16, 1815.—The schooner *St. Helena* arrived from England 12th January and placed at the disposal of the St. Helena Government.

Sept. 15.—G. O.—A Royal Salute ordered to be fired immediately in honor of the decisive victory obtained by the Duke of Wellington over Buonaparte in person with the capture of 214 pieces of cannon. A festival for the Garrison with the usual allowance of Wine to be prepared and issued on Thursday. All prisoners Civil and Military are ordered to be released with the exception of a prisoner committed to take his trial for Burglary.

Oct. 11.—Wednesday arrived H.M. brig *Icarus* from England. Thursday 12th H.M. Frigate *Havannah* ditto.

Oct. 15.—Sunday 15th October arrived H.M. ship *Northumberland* from England bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn and having on board General Napoleon Buonaparte and certain State Prisoners, viz:—Marshal and Countess Bertrand, Count and Countess Monthelon, General Gourgurd, Count Las Cases and Son and eight servants.

Also arrived H.M. brigs of war *Peruvian*, *Zenobia*, and *Red Pole*.

Oct. 19.—H.M.S. *Bucephalus* and a part of 53rd Regt. H.M.S. *Ceylon* and ditto.

April 15.—H.M.S. *Phæton* arrived Sunday 14th April with Governor Sir Hudson Lowe. Commission read and proclaimed on 15th April.

Letters from England, Aug. 1, 1815.—Napoleon Buonaparte having surrendered himself to the Govt. of this country His Majesty's Ministers deeply sensible of the high importance of effectually securing the person of a man whose conduct has proved so fatal to the happiness of the world, and judging that the Island of St. Helena is conveniently fitted to answer that purpose have proposed to us that he shall be placed there under a system of Government adapted to serve the end in view, but innovating no further and no longer upon the present constitution of Government and the conduct of its affairs than that end shall require. We have not failed to express our opinion of Colonel Wilks' merits to H.M. Government who have also a just sense of his character and talents, and it is from no objection personal to him, or any want of personal consideration for him that they propose another Governor, but because they think the peculiar nature of the service and the confidential communications and details personal as well as written into which they will have to enter with the gentleman who shall fill that office require he should be of the class of General officers who served in the scene of the late continental events and be sent from this country. As however the Crown is to defray all the expenses consequent of this new

arrangement in the Government of St. Helena so His Majesty's Ministers have declared their intention of granting Colonel Wilks a fair compensation for the loss and dis-appointment to which he will be subjected.

As the officer destined to be the new Governor of St. Helena is not yet arrived from the Continent and it is judged expedient to convey Buonaparte to that Island without delay Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn who commands the Squadron appointed to guard him thither is invested by H.M. Govt. with the temporary care and custody of him until the new Governor shall arrive.

Aug. 2.—The Prince Regent has been pleased to approve of all the Military officers of the Comp. Service on your establishment receiving corresponding Commissions from H.R.H. with local rank in the Island of St. Helena of the same date which they now hold from the E.I.C. * * in order that no inconvenience may be felt by the officers of your Establishment on the arrival of the 2nd Battalion of H.M. 53rd Regiment which it is intended to embark for the service of the Island.

Jan. 19, 1816.—Copy of Company's instructions to Sir Hudson Lowe as Governor. The Prince Regent's Ministers having proposed that the Island of St. Helena should be the place of Residence for Buonaparte and that the Comp. would for the sake of the important objects connected with the safe custody of that extraordinary person put the Govt. of the Island during his stay here in the hands of an officer possessing their confidence, the Court of Directors always disposed to make the means of the Comp. available to the public interest acquiesced in these proposals and the same ministers having further selected and recommended you for the trust we have appointed you to be Governor.

The population by the latest return taken 30th Sept. 1814 may be classed as follows: European Inhabitants 736, Garrison 891, Free Blacks 420, Slaves 1293, Chinese 247, total 3587. The administration is invested in the Governor and Council. St. Helena may be considered in the same light as Gibraltar merely a Garrison and it would thence apparently require only a Governor and Lieut.-Governor. But from the description given of the population and the laws to be enforced it has been thought expedient to associate one or more of the oldest inhabitants in the Govt. whose knowledge and experience of the local regulations and customs might render them of great assistance to the Governors who have been generally strangers thereto upon their first appointment.

The laws are assimilated nearly to those in force in this country in conformity with orders of very ancient date, but there are some local ordinances chiefly applicable to the tenure of lands the conditions of which are dictated by the Company in the right of the grant of the Island. The conduct to be observed by masters to their slaves and slaves to their masters is also prescribed in a separate code of laws, copies of which will be forwarded for general circulation. The military are of course subject to Martial Law.

April 15, 1815.—Mr. Amoret Young's slave Samuel shot in the head by a centinel from the shore who fired at another boat. Compensation allowed £120.

Nov. 25.—Improvements by Gov. Wilks. 3226 yards drain and lead pipe from Wells' to Longwood £1231 10s. 6d.

Repairs and additions to Plantations £3485 10s.

Fencing and planting ditto £650.

27000 Pineasters planted by Gov. Wilks many above 4 feet high at 2s. 6d. each, valued at £3375.

Dec. 2.—Imported Cattle from the Cape cost about 1s. 4½d. per lb. and are inferior to Benguela Cattle which cost 9½d.

April 15, 1816.—Mr. Boys having refused to take to church the corpse of a deceased person alleging it to be a privilege for the upper classes only; is called upon for explanation.

May 19.—Mr. Boys in explanations. Complaints of the superstitious habits of the place, the large concourse at every funeral to parade through the streets. Their passage up the aisle of the church round by the altar. Their anxiety to throw every piece of myrtle into the grave.

Oct. 8, 1817.—Census on 30th Sept. 1817. White Inhabitants exclusive of Civil and Military 821, Slaves 1540, Free Blacks 500, Civil and Military, Company's Establishment 820, King's Troops 1475, Families of ditto 352, Chinese 618, Lascars 24. Total 6150.

Aug. 24, 1818.—Public Meeting of Inhabitants resolved that from the 25th December 1818 all children born of Slaves be considered free.

March 25, 1819.—Inhabitants apply for permission to have a special Vestry in consequence of a paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle* stating that a flagitious traffic in slaves had long been carried on in St. Helena and that the merit of the late abolition was due to Mr. Boys. They state it was due to Sir Hudson Lowe and Mr. Boys had no concern in it except that he like all humane men may have been favourable to it.

Aug. 2.—Two Chinese shot on 1st August by a party of

soldiers quelling a tumult. Coroner's verdict—Wilful Murder against 15 persons Soldiers of the Guard.

Aug. 23 —Special Sessions.—After a patient hearing of 14 hours the soldiers were acquitted.

The Chinese had assembled in large numbers with knives and other weapons and first attacked the soldiers (who were sent to quell the tumult) with stones and glass bottles.

April 24, 1820.—The officers of the St. Helena Regt. and St. Helena Artillery and Medical Staff resolve to form a Mess similar to Regimental Messes of H.M. Service, being the first institution of the Mess.

May 4.—Death of George III. Proclamation George IV.

Sept. 18.—The New Road opened and the old one between Barren Hill and Brown's Hill through Woodlands is shut up by presentment of Grand Jury.

April 12, 1821.—Mr. Brabazon suspended for having disobeyed the order that he should go alongside each vessel approaching anchorage and direct her to her berth, resulting in one of the Company's ships having run into the Flagship H. M. *St. Vigo*. In consequence of which the Admiral had notified he "would fire upon any of the Company's vessels which should not be conducted to their moorings by the Master Attendant."

Letters to England, June 5, 1816.—Mr. Brook's eldest son recommended for an appointment in Bombay. Mr. Brook has given the only full account and History of an Island so interesting in general to your East India possessions and the information contained in which is so useful to every successful administration here.

Aug. 6, 1819.—A very painful occurrence which has occasioned the death of two Chinese who were fired upon by a non-com^d. officers party of chiefly St. Helena Artillery. On 31st July their contentions began to threaten serious consequences. Upon the interpositions of Capt. Shortis who assembled a party of soldiers, orderlies, stablemen and workmen employed about Plantation with some military workmen from High Knoll, tranquillity was assumed. The soldiers were scarcely withdrawn when a shout from one of the Chinese was followed by a number of others rushing out in a tumultuous manner. The soldiers returned and the Chinese again became tranquil.

On the following morning Capt Shortis proceeded to town for the purpose of reporting to the Governor, ordering his Sergeant to keep his party on the alert. Soon after the Chinese upwards of 100 on one side and between 200

and 300 on the other commenced fighting on which the soldiers marched down the hill. One of the Chinese parties immediately united with the soldiers. The other party dispersed in various directions and whilst several of them were scrambling up the opposite hill some stones were either thrown or rolled down, one of which it is said struck a Corporal. He immediately fired his musquet—his example was followed by the rest when two Chinese were killed. The Coroner's Jury returned a verdict of murder.

March 8, 1821.—H.M.S. *Redwing* prevented from sailing in consequence of a surf that has precluded and still precludes all communication except by telegraph between the Shore and the Shipping. We are concerned to state that besides several persons hurt two lives it is supposed are lost. The one a woman washed off the Wharf and the other a Lascar who in the attempt to save her was so bruised that he is not expected to survive.

The Wharf has been cleared of everything moveable including a Wooden House and a Sentry Box; and even the Stone Buildings there have been and still are exposed to such danger that the Governor has withdrawn the Sea-Gate Guard, one of the Sentries belonging to which narrowly escaped drowning with the loss of his firelock. Several very serious breaches are made upon the quay and nothing but the substantial and workman-like manner in which the new part of the Wharf and the new Crane have been completed could have saved them. The sea beat over the counterscarp in Jamestown and filled the Ditch. It rushed through the Portcullis at Ruperts. The lower battery at Banks is much damaged and in short neither the remembrance of any person here nor tradition can furnish an instance of the Sea having run so high at any former time.

It is impossible at the present moment to ascertain the value or extent of the injury sustained but the destruction that has taken place in the quay which connects the two Crane Wharfs and the complete demolition in several places are likely to present great impediments to the discharge of the cargoes of the expected Store Ships.

Letter from England, Aug. 12, 1818.—The shock of an Earthquake throughout the Island for about half a minute. We are happy that no injury attended the event.

May 5, 1821.—Napoleon Buonaparte died at Longwood 5th May, aged 52; was buried on 8th May and on 21st May all of the household of the late Emperor sailed for England in the store ship *Camel*.

July 21.—Sir Hudson Lowe departed for England, pro-

visional Government appointed Brigadier-General Coffin to be Commander-in-Chief and to manage all military affairs. Mr. Brooke President of Council and to manage all Civil affairs—each drawing £150 monthly for table expenses in addition to salary.

Sept. 24.—The new Iron Railing to Government Garden completed at considerable expense. Drivers of Carts are therefore prohibited from leaving their Carts opposite the Garden and the Public Sales are prohibited from being held under the "Almond Tree."

£200 allowed Colonel Wright for the quarrying of stones on his land for the building at Longwood. Building of new village on N.W. of High Knoll authorized—General Coffin deciding there could be no objection to the site in a military point of view as regards defence.

July 15, 1822.—A number of Oak Trees at Plantation dying from the white worm under the bark.

Aug. 19.—Colonel Hodson as lessee of Casons and Hardings has planted the trees above the road and in 8 acres of steep hangings on the South of Casons telegraph. On 16th Sept. is allowed £369 for his improvements on surrendering the land.

Dec. 2, 1822.—Colonel Hodson while drilling the Regiment on Parade with blank cartridge, one of the cartridges fired proved to be a ball cartridge which nearly shot him. Private Justin McCarthy confessed to Serjeant Irwin that he and Vaughan had drawn lots which of the two should shoot Colonel Hodson on parade that morning. Sentenced 1000 lashes and to be drummed out of the Corps. (On this occasion Col. Hodson was fired at in a volley.)

Book Judicial Consultations, 1815-1821.—Numerous cases of slaves claiming freedom on the ground that they had been kidnapped, &c. Toby, Mr. Balcombe's slave, one of the cases. He was brought to the Island by Capt. Frazer and sold or given to Mr. Wrangham.

His claim to freedom not entertained on the ground that he had been brought to the Island prior to the date when the Importation of Slaves was prohibited.

This is the Slave Toby who interested Napoleon at the Briars. Napoleon on leaving the Briars presented 20 Napoleons to Toby. [See Mrs. Abel's "Recollections of Napoleon," page 27]. Several of the Slaves claimed freedom on the ground of their having been in England, and their claim was referred to decision of the Company.

Oct 15, 1835.—Chinese Acho sentenced death for Burglary.

Messrs Greentree and Brooke protest against any reprieve by Gov. Dallas. (Finally reprieved).

Law Letter, April 16, 1816.—This letter is specially intended to report to yr Hon. Court our proceedings in the cases of a considerable number of Slaves who have claimed their freedom in consequence of a Notification from the Bench at the last Sessions which was induced by the following circumstance :—General Buonaparte in a conversation at his own table had adverted to a tale of distress related to him by an aged individual stating his having been entrapped and carried off in his youth from his native country (Sumatra) and consigned to Slavery in this Island—and Admiral Sir George Cockburn who was present and understood from the part taken in the conversation by a gentleman, a native of the Island, that many cases of that nature really remained without redress, had the kindness to communicate to the Governor as a fit subject for further notice, the substance of the conversation above adverted to. This occurred on the day preceding the Quarterly Sessions which afforded the Governor an opportunity in a short charge to the Grand Jury to notice the subject as a prevailing rumour in a certain circle, to specify the case in question for their particular investigation and to draw their attention to all similar violations of the Law. After retiring for some time the foreman returned that the presence of the particular Individual could not be obtained on account of illness. It will be seen that this case was afterwards investigated and the claim unanimously rejected. Other cases referred to in this letter, in some of which the claim to freedom was allowed.

June 5, 1823.—Governor Walker minutes that the Farm buildings at Longwood are in a ruinous condition and their reconstruction would be attended with great expense. Proposes therefore to appropriate “the Old dwelling House at Longwood as Farm Offices.” Cannot be consigned to a more useful and necessary purpose.

Oct. 2.—Mr. R. F. Seale reports his Model of the Island on the scale of one foot to a mile 10 ft. 6 in. in length from East to West and 6 ft. 8 in. North to South. Had been offered £400 for it.

Oct. 6.—Governor considers the Model a work of very great merit. But objects to its being seen by a foreigner.

Oct. 16.—Gov. Walker suggests establishment of an Observatory at Ladder Hill in connection with the Military Institution and to give time to shipping for correcting their chronometers.

Dec. 11.—Water from Chubb's Spring 380 tons in a day.

May 27, 1824.—Model of Island by R. F. Seale. £500 awarded. Mr. Seale requires another year to complete it and considers £500 an inadequate remuneration.

June 7.—Lieut.-Governor's House Furniture:—Dining Table and 12 China arm chairs with cushions to be given the Library. [N. B.—Still in use].

June 21.—General Walker's Minute on Introduction of Silk Worms. The Island without Commerce, Arts, or Manufactures and something of that sort needed for the increasing population. The Worms shipped from India had died, but a Chinaman had undertaken to proceed to China and obtain a supply of Worms.

June 24.—Saturday night 19th June a heavy fall of Rocks from top of Ladder Hill above the Mess House killing one man. General Walker's Minute and Report of Committee. Buttresses built under other impending cliffs.

Aug. 26.—The Vestry having recommended a Tax on Free Blacks the Governor points out that they cannot recognise any distinction of Colour in legislation and that in the case of hundreds of individuals it would not be an easy matter to determine whether they ought to be classed as Whites or Blacks.

The Law recognise three classes only: The Military governed by Articles of War, Slaves by a special Code, and the rest of the Inhabitants who do not come within these two descriptions.

Sept. 13.—Governor Walker's Minute on the progress of Population:—In 1769, Total Blacks 976; in 1785, 1030; in 1803, 1208, also 331 Free Blacks. Last imported Slaves in 1789. Last 20 years Slave population nearly stationary. Free Blacks in 1810, 404; in 1820, 613; in 1824, 1066.

Population in 1823, about 4700; deaths 47.

July 21, 1824.—Napoleon's Tomb.—Board of Arbitrators award to Mr. Torbett £650 for past damage and £50 a year so long as the body may remain.

April 10, 1826.—Napoleon's Tomb.—Mr. Torbett's receipt for £1200 in full of all demands for use of Tomb so long as required.

Sept. 9, 1821, *Letters to England*.—General Coffin has complied with our request for a party to renew the Longwood fence. A large quantity of the stone from the old fence having been taken to build the house for General Buonaparte.

Nov 20.—“Lower Stairs.”—The cavity more serious than

we at first imagined. A solid mass of masonry literally overhung its base 10 feet, so that the next violent surf would probably have affected the lower stairs total destruction. Cost of work £60. Governor Brook's original intention was prevented by the breaking in of the surf upon the work before it was completed, leaving a kind of funnel in which the sea rushes in. This can be completed for £350.

April 29, 1822.—The embarkation of the last division of the XX Regt. in the ship *Orwell* took place this morning.

Oct. 24, 1823.—Observatory.—It had been intended by the Governor that the studies of the Military Institution should embrace the knowledge of the Celestial bodies and that advantage should be taken of the favourable situation of the Island for Astronomical Observations. Capt. Hamilton of the ship *Susan* suggested that the establishment of an Observatory on a small scale at Ladder Hill is very desirable, as it would afford an opportunity of correcting Chronometers, which there is frequently great difficulty in doing. The instruments he recommends are a good transit telescope and a watch or clock that have been well tried and proved. A mural sextant might be included though he does not think it to be absolutely necessary. There can scarcely be a better situation than Ladder Hill for an Observatory and there is a building there (a tower) which at no great expence can be fitted up for the purpose.

April 24, 1827.—A long standing practice to fire upon any ship that attempted to enter the road without permission. The many years which have elapsed since the commencement of the late War may have obliterated from the memory of strangers and the present generation of Inhabitants that the above order was adhered to in Peace as well as in War and the removal of the restrictions incident to the residence of Napoleon Buonaparte may have given rise to an idea that the order in question have ceased to be in force. That the true state of the case is not universally known amongst the shipping is proved by vessels sometimes holding their course towards the anchorage until a shot from the Easternmost Battery is fired upon them. We suggest that the existence of the old standing Regulation should be advertized in the different Gazettes in Europe.

July 6, 1827.—The Briars purchased in England by the Company had been handed over by Mr. Baker for a Silkworm Establishment and for Mulberry Trees.

Jan. 1, 1828.—Emancipation Report on the value of slaves. All to be liberated in five years by loans from the Company.

Feb. 15.—Bye Laws.—Mr. Brooke has made a compilation from the Old Records.

April 14.—Governor Walker and his family take their passage in the *Atlas*. Brooke, Greentree and Blenkins the provisional Government and Command of Troops devolving on Lt.-Colonel Wright as Senior Officer until the arrival of Governor Dallas.

Sept. 1.—With the view of saving the heavy labour and expense of carriage along the zigzag between Jamestown and Ladder Hill the Governor (Dallas) proposed the construction of an Inclined Plane upon the principle of several which have been beneficially adopted at Bridgenorth and Monmouth of 45° of Elevation, 3° more than Ladder Hill and many other parts of England and Wales.

Jan 3, 1827.—*Letters from England*.—Model of the Island placed at Addiscombe. Mr. Seale allowed another £500 (£1000 in all).

June 13.—The Briars purchased from Messrs. Burnie for £6000 and the Brewery for £3000.

Dec. 5.—Brigadier General Dallas retired from Madras Army appointed Governor.

Jan. 14, 1829.—Inclined Plane—(Ladder to Ladder Hill.) £200 allowed in aid of the work.

Aug. 26, 1827—Very heavy surf higher than ever known in Sandy Bay and all around the Island except between Banks' and Lemon Valley from 24th to 26th Aug. Wind changed on 24th at 8 a.m. from S.E. to S.W. until 26th at 6 p.m. Lightning to South on 10th Aug. 3 to 4 a.m., also on 26th 3 to 5 a.m., attended with heavy rain.

Librarian allowed 6d. a day, having books of the E. I. Company to a considerable value under his charge.

Feb. 13, 1828.—Mr. Prince applies to cover over the Run by the Bazaar. Mr. R. Torbett objects. States that Water Spouts frequently break over the Island, that one about sixty years ago did happen which did choke the Water Course at the Bridge and the Flood broke over with great violence into the Main Street which did much injury.

March 31.—Large fall of Rocks opposite the Botanical Garden. A woman killed by a stone 91 lbs. weight in the street opposite Serjt. Bell's house on 25th March.

May 1.—General Dallas considers the position of the Grand Magazine in Town quite unsuitable and orders its removal to Ladder Hill.

June 23.—Mr. Charlton drowned on Friday 20th June.

Mr. James Boys from Madras appointed to act provisionally during Mr. R. Boys absence.

July 13, 1829.—Spar Shed or Crane on the Wharf granted to Messrs. Solomon and others.

July 29.—The Agricultural Society wish to hold their meetings for business *after* dinner. Govt. have no objection to after dinner discussions but insist that no subject should be decided on except *before* dinner.

July 23.—Spar Shed may be resumed for public purposes paying the occupants the expense incurred by them for excavation.

March 29, 1830.—H.M. *Sybil* Commodore Collier, arrived and detained in quarantine for Coast fever and refused pratique. Commodore Collier wishing to proceed to South for benefit of his sick request the *St. Helena* schooner may go into Sierra Leone and deliver his despatches for the Coast Squadron.

Letters to England—March 29, 1830.—H.M. *Sybil* Commodore Collier arrived on the 12th inst. with fever on board and kept in strict quarantine. Commodore wanted Longwood, which was refused and we offered Lemon Valley which he refused. The Commodore had appointed his Squadron to meet him at Sierra Leone by the first week in April, but from fresh cases of fever the Surgeon recommended the *Sybil* should proceed Southward to a colder climate.

To avoid the detention and exposure of other vessels waiting at Sierra Leone he requested that the *St. Helena* schooner under orders for home should make a deviation in her passage to convey a letter to Sierra Leone ordering the Squadron to join him at Ascension which was complied with.

Mr. Charlett acting 2nd Mate *St. Helena* schooner quits the vessel upon her departure.

Assistant Surgeon Waddell from increasing disease in his eyes allowed to go for England in the schooner.

June 28, 1830.—*St. Helena* schooner taken by Pirates and her Commander, Mate, and Dr. Waddell and several of her crew murdered. It must however be lamented that Captain Harrison was so highly imprudent as to quit the schooner at the desire of the commander of so suspicious a looking vessel as the Pirate is represented, thus also weakening his own crew by abstracting from it the four men who rowed him on board—but still it appears extraordinary that the 16 remaining persons should have tamely suffered nine men from the Pirate to proceed unresisted in their murderous acts. Mr. Charlett, late acting 2nd Mate, having been examined by us regarding the disposition of the crew stated that discontent had at times prevailed amongst them in consequence of the watch being relieved at 7 bells a.m. instead of 8 and

the forenoon watch being extended to $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12. He also stated that some of the men murmured at the vessel being hurried away from St. Helena sooner than was expected and that he overheard one man say "he wished they might fall in with a Pirate, that Pirates would not hurt them (meaning the Seamen), that the vessel indeed might be plundered but that it was the officers only who had danger to apprehend." Mr. Charlett however observed that he considered the words merely as grumbling and uttered without any serious intentions. This man went by the name of Martin and had not long joined the schooner and it is understood that he had formerly been taken by a Pirate. A seaman and also Lieut. Toby of the Marines appeared to recognize him on arrival at Sierra Leone as a man they had somewhere seen previously, but he affected not to know them. Now although these circumstances are in themselves insufficient to contradict the account given by the Carpenter (Gillies) who is well spoken of, yet they are enough to excite suspicion that the real truth of the case has not yet come to light.

June 21.—*St. Helena* schooner captured by Pirates and her crew massacred. On 17th June H.M.S. *Ariadne* arrived from Sierra Leone bringing following intelligence:—

Capt. Gordon H.M.S. *Athol* at Sierra Leone, reports the *St. Helena* schooner arrived at Sierra Leone 2nd May 1830. Had left St. Helena on 31st March, was boarded on 6th April at 10 a.m. in lat. 1 South, Long. 9 West by a Felucca under French colours with a crew of 40 to 50 men of all nations. Sent for Capt. Harrison and his papers and detained him sometime on board the Felucca leaving six of their men on board of the schooner with arms concealed in the boat. The stranger then proceeded to violence with drawn knives, forcing the crew below for the purpose of plundering the vessel of her cargo, demanding with threats to know where the money was concealed. Capt. Harrison and Dr. Waddell were the first to suffer being lashed back to back and thrown overboard. Seven more men and four Africans shared the same fate. The carpenter and steward escaped by surrendering their money and concealing themselves in the hold. They then parted company and in one hour returned and cut away the masts and attempted to scuttle the vessel, but not succeeding kept sailing round the vessel and firing shots at her for some time and at 6 o'clock left her entirely. The remainder of the crew, viz. the carpenter and five men who had been concealed below, saved the vessel and took her into Sierra Leone,

The Felucca from the description given of her, was well known to the ships of the squadron and as she had no idea the *St. Helena* would escape it was hoped the Felucca would proceed to the Coast and be captured by the ships which were sent in search of her. The Felucca had been boarded on 5th Dec. 1829 by Commodore Collier and was then described in the *Sybil's* Boarding Book as the *Daspegado*, Don Antonio Constanti master, Spanish colours, from Barcelona and belonging to Barcelona bound to St. Thomas, 50 tons, 1 gun, 34 crew. Has been 12 months out and no cargo.

The *Primrose* sent immediately in search of the Felucca. The Felucca's shots picked out of the schooner's side were 9 pounders. Pirate afterwards captured.

Jan. 3, 1831.—The Inclined Plane in use by all the Public more than a year without a single charge.

Sept. 22.—Churchwardens informed that Insane persons could not be permanently retained in Hospital. As a temporary measure they could be accommodated in the prison at Sandy Bay until provision could be made for them by the Parish.

Nov. 3.—Proposals for a new line of road to the Country from Castle path passing under High Knoll, coming out somewhere near the Country School—length 4100 yards, perpendicular rise 1685 feet, rise in 100 feet 13 feet 8 inches. Plan and section of the road given.

Nov. 10.—Guinea grass seed sent originally by Court of Directors 14th January 1789, said then to be a very rare plant and the only one in England. Mr. Beale urges its superiority and recommends its use for public forage. Govt. are not aware of its superiority to forage and allude to a withdrawal of Mr. Beale's tender. Mr. Beale comments upon the allusion—which he says he shall content himself "*with being obliged to brook.*"

Nov. 17.—Mr. Blakes comments upon a denial that he had been *ordered* to give up a Bond—sends copy of the order remarking if that be not an order I can only lament my ignorance and the loss of that valuable time I have so unprofitably spent in learning the rudiments of the English language.

Jan. 24, 1832.—Plantation House.—General Dallas represents it as unhealthy from its overgrowth of trees.

April 23.—Proposal to devote £300 Parish Funds to a Chapel at Hutt's Gate. Negatived in Vestry by 12 to 7.

July 9.—Slaves 645 valued at £28062 to be emancipated in 5 years, one-fifth annually.

Aug. 6.—Govt. object to receive Mrs. Watson as a luna-

tic at the Hospital, but offer the Parish the ground of the Union Brewery for a Poor House.

Nov. 1.—Inclined Plane bought from Proprietors for £882 10/, 353 shares.

Feb. 11, 1883.—Order to detain all Dutch merchant ships—question as to intention, to detain all vessels of War.

June 6.—Whale Fishery. £1000 subscribed for establishing.

Aug. 5.—Church Tower in Town, dangerous cracks in it and repairs ordered.

Oct. 10.—Mrs. Harper allowed £150 for a public road and Water Course through her land to Francis Plain.

April 21, 1834.—Memorial from the Civil Servants relating to the expected loss of office on the transfer of the Island.

April 23.—Yesterday a Proclamation was published respecting the transfer of the Island to the Crown which is posted in the Proclamation Book. This morning at daylight the Royal Standard was hoisted at Ladder Hill and at 12 o'clock a Royal Salute was fired from Munden's Battery.

May 29.—Wine Licences—four allowed. Duty of 10d. a gallon on imports of Cape Wine.

July 22, 1835.—Church Steeple in danger of falling and ordered to be taken down.

Nov. 30.—Unusually high surf on 29th Nov. which knocked in the Coal Yard gate and destroyed 40 feet of the Glacis Wall.

Letters from England, January 14, 1829.—Silk.—52 lbs. received and sold at prices from 9s. 9d to 18s. 6d. per lb. Silk much admired and the Cocoons must have been of an excellent description.

Dec. 31.—Articles used at Plantation have amounted to no less than 10512 in 13 years. Inventory ordered annually.

Jan. 19.—The Quarantine of H.M.S. *Sybil* an indispensable precaution. Approve of sending *St. Helena* schooner to Sierra Leone. Regret the murder of the Captain and others by Pirates. £1176 of Copper money was on board. The schooner had been detained and taken to Lisbon by a Portuguese Frigate. We have claimed to be reimbursed for the detention by the Govt. of Portugal.

Jan. 25, 1832.—Lieut. Johnson's Astronomical Observations highly creditable to him.

Pump sent out for the Well sunk 80 feet deep in Ruperts.

Slavery to be abolished as soon as possible. 869 Slaves valued £37639. Since 19th December 1826 124 Slaves had been freed for £5550, of which upwards of £1300 had been repaid. Number of Slaves by return to 30th Sept. 1830—272 men, 160 women, 107 boys, 88 girls; Total 627. Slaves to be divided into classes and one-fifth to be liberated every year. Purchase money to be considered as a Loan to the Slave.

Inclined Plane commenced. £300 already paid, and Plane to be taken on the Company's account on further payment of £850.

Feb. 15, 1833.—New Road round the East face of High Knoll cannot be sanctioned in the present state of Indian finances.

Sept. 4.—Act of Parliament providing Clause III. That the Island and all property will be vested in His Majesty from 22nd April 1834.

Jan. 23.—Lieut. Johnson during absence to enable him to pursue the study of Astronomy allowed £300 in addition to Furlough pay.

April 29.—The Court have determined not to interfere with the private shippers of Stores by sending any further supplies to the Island.

Letters to England, July 8, 1830.—Mutinous conduct on board the *Farguharson* and *Inglis*. Military party sent off. Ladder Hill and Mundens manned, Governor proceeds on board and ten men are flogged.

July 22, 1831.—The Theatre destroyed by fire on Friday morning last 15th July.

Oct. 13.—Mrs. Harper recommended for £130 for damage to her property by the Water Course and thoroughfare to Francis Plain. A cart road may be cut to the Plain without further remuneration.

June 7, 1832.—General distress among the landed Proprietors dating chiefly from the sudden change of affairs consequent on the demise of Buonaparte. Estates encumbered by loans from the Company and Public Institutions.

July 14.—Slave Committee report on Valuation:—

75 Slaves	55 years and upwards	£ 165	10
34	" 50 " to 55	824 8
35	" 45 " 50	1285 0
500	" under 45	25788 4
1	Convict		
<hr/> 645 Slaves			<hr/> 28062 17

The following are published as an Addenda to the foregoing, having been selected from Records lately placed in our hands:—

Aug. 12, 1684.—John Sinsenis for using blasphemous words during his pains and sufferings to do penance in the Church by recommendation of the New Minister.

Benjamin Seale for saying Godfathers lied in the baptismal vow for the infant to do the same penance—form of confession drawn up by the New Minister Mr. Harwood.

Aug. 25.—Benjamin Seale keeps out of the way on the Sunday appointed for his penance—excuses himself being "*troubled with Grips in ye Gutts.*"

Jan. 7, 1689.—John Knipe complains of Bridget Coales refusing to marry him as promised, that she sat in the lap of the Butcher of the *Modena* and let him kiss her, that he asked her if he were not as good as the Butcher. Wherefore she called him downe look dog and compared him to an old dog of her father's. Bridget to pay £15 damages.

May 30, 1711.—Thomas Burnum prays he "may have about 80 feet of ground joyning to Mr. Wood's Backside to build a house upon."

Jan. 6, 1723.—Gov. complains of Mr. Giles "preaching a very seditious Sermon yesterday highly reflecting upon the Gov. and Council." Mr. Giles being sent for asked Pardon heartily.

Sept. 7, 1723.—Dr. Wignall complains of Parson Giles calling him Rouge, Rascall and Villain and threatening as soon as he was well to lead him up and down the valley by the nose.

Jan. 4, 1725.—Gov. has been dangerously ill and owed his life under God to medicines supplied upon the accidental arrival of the *Fork* galley bound to Coast of Guinea.

Dr. Wignall always drunk and nearly killed the Gov. by giving unsuitable medicines, his excuse being he had nothing else to give.

Dr. Wignall for drunken disorderly conduct placed in the Stocks for one hour and he sung and swore the whole time.

July 26, 1732.—Mr. White our Chaplain and his wife have for a long time led very scandalous and immoral lives, the woman having been drunk almost every day since she has been upon the Island and Mr. White himself often in the same condition and always Rude and troublesome. * * One thing relating to him is very remarkable and for the singularity of it ought everywhere to be known—he has

been here 16 months and yet in all this space of time he has never dined or supped with his wife but once which is a Precedent very ill-taken and highly resented by all the good Dames of this Place and we believe and the woman says that this cold unkind usage is the cause of her giving herself up to Liquor and ill company.

Aug. 3, 1736.—Mary Gurlings child examined by Council and two midwives who pronounced it a black man's child. Mary Gurling to be severely punished for her false swearing and imprisoned till she tells who is the real father.

James Powell fined 40/ for cruel whipping of a slave girl twelve days after her delivery of a child.

Sept. 14.—Mary Gurling's confession and that of Andrew the Black—she ordered to receive 39 lashes and he to be deprived of his virility.

Sept. 13, 1737.—James Powell's inhuman usage of a slave, besides beating cutting him in the face with a knife and worrying him with dogs which tore his arm—promising not to give further illusage the slave was restored.

Mrs. Greentree's inhuman usage of her slaves—a girl of ten so illused by being tied up she died. Her mother unable to bear the sight of the illusage of her daughter ran away and was found dead partly eaten by dogs and pigs—her body remaining exposed till her fellow slaves obtained leave to bury it. Promising better usage slaves restored to her.

March 25, 1738.—The widow of Jack the carpenter has a white child with red hair by John Cummings the garden-er. John Cummings impudently justifying it is committed to prison. Begs pardon and is fined £10.

1739—Samuel Plant a soldier killed by falling from the Hill between Mundens point and Ruperts valley.

Feb. 25, 1745.—Gov. complains that some Melons sown in the Maldivie Garden and Mr. Dixon had appropriated them. I could enumerate many instances of his little insults and slights shewn to me which are not worth notice, but one I cannot omit because it is an act of injustice as well as an affront. A superannuated Negro Gardener belonging to the Company had sown some Melon seeds in the Maldivie Gardens where they produced in much greater perfection than any I have seen upon this Island. The Melons Mr. Dixon has taken on him to dispose of at his pleasure as his own without even ever mentioning them to me except that he was pleased in his generosity twice to send me one. At the first I could not help laughing and at the second to countenance the farce gave his servant one of

Comps. blacks a piece of money. Those Melons of right belonged to the Table.

Sept. 29, 1755.—Henry Baker tailor ordered to leave the Island for saying Lieut George Hay was a Scrubb.

April 26, 1756.—Leving carpenter abuses Thomas Harper the Marshall as a Black flogging Son of a B—— and a *Yam Stock Dog* Jack ketching eyes.

April 18, 1757.—Moll a slave woman of Mrs. Gurling sentenced to three whippings, 100 lashes each, and to be branded in her cheek for breaking into a house in the Country and stealing a rupee.

Jan. 31, 1757.—Soldiers employed killing wild cats.

Jan. 29, 1776.—George Alexander for stripping his slave Abigail and cruelly beating her with raw hide whip over her belly,—fined 40/. His defence—her misconduct and that in Gov. Byfield's time Slaughter was flogged with wire whips and fish hooks tied to a cord.

Nov. 28, 1785.—An advertisement ordered to be published of Villanous Schemes being in agitation amongst the Slaves against the Inhabitants to take place during the Christmas Holidays. The notice afterwards crossed out without any remark.

Dec. 15.—The advertisement published and Governor communicates the grounds of his information to the Council.

After examination of various blacks ordered that several of them should be flogged—one 1200 lashes, one 1000, one 800, one 600, one 200.

Aug. 10, 1789.—Mrs. Clarissa Leech's Will—writes her own epitaph:—

“Here lay the body of Clarissa Leech who lived in pain bnt died with pleasure. Now she's raised to the clouds on high and with the Angels ever cry Hallelujah, praised be God.”

April 23, 1792.—Amongst the drummers and fifers of this Garrison having several who play on the Clarionet and Bassoon and having no Instruments for them we this day purchased at a low price two p^r of Clarionets, a Bassoon, &c., a p^r of fifes. Some of these Instruments will be useful to assist the Singers in Church as well as pleasing upon the Parade.

Sept. 22, 1794.—The Maldivia Gardens to be let—the best watered and fenced in of any on the Island,—to be subject to quit rent 5/ per an. and ground rent equivalent to the value of the Yam, Fruit and vegetables supplied from time immemorial therefrom for the Lt.-Governor.

March 9.—Capt. Pierie represented that some Individuals had set up hand carts—that the Company used to have such carts to let and the practice of Individuals should be put a stop to.

The Board consider the more carts the better as a monopoly of them is an object not worthy the notice of the Company and the having many carts for expediting labor is a counter balance more than a thousand times one of greater utility than what Capt. Pierie recommends.

Aug. 1, 1796.—Port Regulations.—Precedency to use of Crane regulated.

Port Duties.—Ships with Comp. cargoes £10 15s. Whalers 25 3s. Foreign Merchant ships £11—because every thing is now found for them in respect to Watering, &c., which was not before the case.

Aug. 29, 1797.—Rev. Mr. Wilkinson reproved for litigious conduct and “ridiculous ideas of self-importance.”

Aug. 10, 1804.—Colonel Lanes minute on Stock. Slaughtered Bullocks formerly used to weigh 5 to 800 weight now does not average above 350. Degenerated Horses.—Not ten on the Island that would sell in England for £15 each yet prized at £70 to £130 here.

Suggests that Stallions, Ewes and young Bulls be sent from England.

March 9, 1807.—Mr. Brabazon informs Govr. that Rev. Mr. Wilkinson had spoken of the subscription for sufferers by Measles as ostentation and a mere boast of charity. Subscribers unanimously resolve to strike Mr. Wilkinson's name off the list and to return to him his £5 5s.

Nov., 1810.—Nancy May a free black for stealing fowls sentenced to receive 200 lashes—viz., 50 from different parts of the Town, tied to the cart's tail and wearing a paper with large letters “Fowl Stealer” on it. Her husband sentenced the same punishment on the “strongest presumption of his guilt.”

Nancy May's lease taken from her and sold, she being unworthy of being a tenant of the Company's.

Jan. 14, 1810.—Mr. Solomon proprietor of St. Helena Press is informed that objectionable remarks had appeared in the *Register* for the month of Dec., and is directed to print no more until the sheets have been first submitted to the Secretary.

Dr. Baildon considers this a severe reflection on him as he conducted the *Register* and forwards a letter for Directors.

June 28, 1811.—Govr. minutes a complaint against ex-

tortionate charges against the ships which sailed on 20th:—15s. to 20s. for a middle-sized Fowl, 25s. a Duck!

Aug. 23.—Mr. Boys having undertaken to superintend the printing of the *St. Helena Register* the regulation of 14th January is annulled in confidence in Mr. Boys judgment that personalities and inaccuracies shall not be admitted. Doubtful communications to be sent first to the Governor.

Dec. 30.—Mr. Jones reproved for his sermon reflecting on the Inhabitants and forbidden to make any more allusions to the late unhappy transactions from the Pulpit.

Jan. 27, 1812.—Rev. Mr. Jones complains to Directors of interference of Gov. with the spiritual part of his work

Feb. 21.—Gov. regrets to receive another 28 page letter from Mr. Jones defending himself from imaginary attacks.

April 12, 1813.—Rev. Mr. Jones complains of profanation of Sabbath on 4th April on board the *Armiston* where an elegant tiffin was given and a splendid dance in the evening. Exhibitions of Conjurors &c. attended by an alarming number of respectable Inhabitants.

Nov. 16.—Brig *Jane* not bringing to when signal guns were fired was struck in the foremast by a shot and compelled to return.

Jan. 23, 1815.—The controversy between the two Clergymen—Jones and Boys, productive of disgraceful effects—ordered to abstain from any further personal controversy or circulation of written or printed letters referring to it on pain of suspension.

May 22.—Appropriated Pews in Town Church—no Slaves or Free Blacks are to occupy any of the Pews.

April 10.—Rev. Mr. S. Jones to retire on an allowance of 5s. per diem.

April 13.—Mr. Jones acknowledges this “an extraordinary communication” although that however he will continue to officiate until the arrival of his successor unless forbidden—although “*Mr. Boys with great delicacy has taken upon himself to signify that I do no more duty.*” Told that his letter has so plain a tending to unnecessary trouble and indecorous discussions that his further services in the Churches will be dispensed with.

June 4, 1821.—Mr. Boys reprimanded for calling after Mr. Blenkins in the street when he passed him on his way to the Castle—“Blenkins when is the Green Bag to be given out.”

June 11.—Mr. Boys complains of ordinary violations of Lord's Day—his complaint thought to be unfounded. He

is said to be the author or dictator of many indecorous letters towards the Govt. reflecting in an insulting irritating manner on Individuals.

July 9.—Governor minutes on Mr. Boys' sermon preached from text Publicans and Harlots go into the Kingdom of Heaven before you—sermon reflecting rudely on all the upper classes of Society.

Mr. Boys is requested to send a copy of his sermon for perusal. Mr. Boys refuses to send it.

July 16.—Mr. Boys' sermon on 15th July—Mr. Brooke minutes his disgust at hearing Mr. Boys in an extempore address represent himself as persecuted for righteousness sake and implying that his persecutors were the Govt.

April 18, 1822.—Robert Seale carpenter fined £20 for shooting Pheasants.

Jan 8, 1824.—Gov. Walker proposes to reduce the Chinese to 300 saving £5000 a year to encourage training of Island Mechanics,—making of wicker work baskets, bathes, potteries, &c.

Sept. 5, 1825.—Head School completed—the entire labour executed by the Freeman of colour. This work may be called their first-fruits and pledge that the native population will be adequate for all the labours of the Island.

March 31, 1828.—Col. Kinnaird recommends Corporal Galway as a Stonecutter. The West window Head School—the Company's Arms over the door and also over the doors of the Military Offices cut by him.

Oct. 1.—Wm. Rookes and James Unsworth—selling Rum in which the dead body of Mrs. Grant had been preserved on board of ship. The spirits kept by Henry Seale carpenter to answer for Turpentine, but sold by prisoners to several persons who were made ill by it. 18 months in Irons at hard labor.

May 20, 1830.—Gov. Dallas proposes building lazaretto at Lemon Valley. Thinks St. Helena far preferable to Ascension where he understands the Govt. contemplate an outlay of £300,000 for Naval purposes.

April 23, 1832.—Capt. George Carew at St. Helena—alludes to his capture by pirates on 7th May 1828, and his danger from them on the present voyage.

June 6, 1833.—Whale Fishery—£1000 subscribed for establishing.

The following are published by way of comparison:—

July 11, 1781—James Youd Serjeant-Major in the Garrison tried for murder of Nanny his woman slave by cruelly beating her with a wooden staff, giving her one mortal

wound in the head one inch broad and one inch deep—and a mortal wound in the shoulder 3 inches broad $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. Sarah Cash an evidence heard prisoner beat Nanny twelve times on 28th Feby. Acquitted (!)

July 16.—Nelly—Burglary—found guilty—her youth &c. mentioned and Jury told to reconsider. Adhered to verdict guilty. Nelly sentenced death—pleaded quick with child. Jury of Matrons ordered. 17th July Nelly delivered of a dead male child. Nelly under respite from 15th July hung herself in prison 19th Nov.

July 13, 1785.—Elizabeth Renton wife of James Renton shopkeeper for murder of Slave girl Peg by stabbing her with a carving knife under the left shoulder giving a wound $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. Acquitted (!)

July 15, 1789.—William Whaley—highway robbery—(stealing a piece of cloth from a sailor in the street at 8 p.m. and running away with it.) Hung 24th July.

Jan 15, 1800.—Job Mr. Defountains slave for robbing James Warren soldr on Half-Tree-Hollow road. Warren drinking and Job having snatched the bottle &c. from him. Hung 24th Jany.

Letters from England :—

Jan. 23, 1778.—We direct an exact survey be made of every Plantation of the Company particularizing the quantity of Provisions now produced compared with the produce when Mr. Hutchinson quitted the Govt.

In your letter 20th July last you recommend a Fence for Longwood at a cost of about £3000. But from 1723-1727 we find a charge of £540l for fencing the above mentioned Wood and notwithstanding so large a sum expended a considerable part of the Fence remained unfinished and this part which was compleated is now in a ruinous state. We disapprove of so expensive an undertaking on the uncertainty of the Estimate but as we consider this an object of consequence we desire you will obtain another Estimate taken by men of experience.

We direct that part of Longwood called Horse Point be planted with Gum Wood trees. That furze be planted upon all waste lands in the vicinity of James Valley—viz:—the upper part of Ruperts Valley round to Foxes Folly and under the Alarm House on the barren Hill from Mr. Doveton's as far as the waste land reaches to Peak Hill—on the Red Hill leading to the Governor's House as far as Dr. Moore's plain. Such lands not to be let out but reserved entirely for Fuel for the general use of the Inhabitants.

May 27, 1779.—Mr. Wrangham offers to fence Longwood for £5000 refused—the extent 6008 yards will be nearly 17s. per yard, in England it would be £600 or in the dearest counties £100). But sensible of the great utility of the work we order you consult the most economical measures.

March 7, 1794.—We are of opinion that encouraging the growth of wood is of the utmost consequence to this Island not only from the advantages to be derived from it as fuel but because it is well known that trees have an attractive power on the clouds especially when they pass over Hills so high as those on your Island and we are inclined to believe that the misfortunes the Island has been subject to from Drought might in some measure have been averted had the growth of wood been properly attended to. We have been uniform in our directions for keeping Longwood securely fenced. * * * Should there be any parts of this enclosure that are not at present planted we direct that you immediately order the Gardener to plant as many young trees there as possible.

March 25, 1795.—On perusing the minute of the Lt.-Govr. and the Gardener's report on the Estate of Longwood we lamented the want of attention not to say total neglect that has prevailed for more than 70 years past with respect to an object of the highest importance to the welfare of the Island, namely the cultivation of wood, and if a steady perseverance is not observed to promote it in the future the present Inhabitants will afford their posterity as just a reason for condemning their conduct as they have now to deplore that of their ancestors.

OR
JL