

**A HANDBOOK AND GAZETTEER  
OF  
THE ISLAND OF ST HELENA  
INCLUDING A SHORT HISTORY  
OF THE ISLAND UNDER THE CROWN  
1834-1902**

**By  
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## NOTE

When I arrived on St Helena in 1932, I found that the Government Secretary was under a crippling handicap. There was nobody to tell me, nor was there any book in which one might read, what had really happened during the past 100 years. I had to find out everything for myself, so I read every despatch, in or out, since 1824, and the results are embodied in this volume. I have continued these studies since leaving the Island, and the book now requires re-casting in different form, and much revision in light of later knowledge which I hope to undertake when I retire from the Service. It has never been proof read.

In 1933 I sent it to the Colonial Office for permission to publish, but it ruled, and I think quite rightly, that criticism of a Public Department could not be allowed. They asked me if they might have the spare copy for the Colonial Office library, but I replied that I preferred to give it to St Helena, an obligation that I now discharge in the hope that the Island Government may find some of the information it gives to be useful to it. I ask that it be kept as a Government document because there is much that I want to change in it.

The broad picture it gives is true enough. It was not the Suez Canal that killed St Helena, although it was inevitable that it should hasten its dying moments. From 1836 to about 1860, St Helena was never more prosperous. Towards the end of 1860, the Crown suddenly removed all its establishments, and then came the opening of the Suez Canal. From 1873 onwards Governors were powerless. They had no money and no staff. In 1932 the poverty, distress and the housing were painful to see.

It is to Sir Arthur Dawe, who has just retired from the Colonial Office, that we owe the rehabilitation of St Helena now in progress, and to him its people should be deeply grateful. Perhaps in the future when someone is rummaging about the records of St Helena they will find this volume, and record these views as the one outstanding fact in the history of "this ill-fated rock" between the years 1932 and 1940.

23 June 1947

## FOREWORD

This handbook has been compiled for the use of those who visit St Helena, either to enjoy a holiday or to spend a few hours on it as one of the many of hundreds of passengers who land from steamers travelling from London to the Cape or vice versa. If personal experience is any guide, it is always very difficult to obtain information about the Island; and when one is asked, as the author has been by educated people, if it is true that it belongs to the French, there seems to be sufficient justification for adding one more volume to the enormous library that already exists.

It is hoped that the handbook will prove useful to students of history; and particularly to those to whom the tragic story of Napoleon in exile makes a special appeal.

The principal sources of compilation have been the Public Records of the local Government and the personal knowledge gained from three years on the Island. The India Office Records, those in the Public Record Office, the Lowe Papers, and the Bathurst Manuscripts in possession of Lord Bathurst at Cirencester Park have also been consulted. The bibliography that is printed as an appendix shows the sources to which the author is indebted; but special acknowledgments are due to the following:-

Sir William Foster,	for information on the date of St Helena's discovery.
Mr W.T. Ottewill,	for assistance with the maps in the India Office.
Sir Edward Poulton,	for information from the unpublished Burchell Journal.
The Editors of the South African Year Book: Union Castle Mail Steamship Co.	for information of the history of the Dutch in the Island.
Dr Arnold Chaplin and Mrs Chaplin	various.
Lord Bathurst,	for searches for a contemporary map of Napoleon's limits.
Colonial Office,	for access to correspondence relating to the date of the Island's discovery.
Mrs Brook Jackson,	for information from her husband's remarkable collection. His untimely death has removed one of the principal authorities on the Island's history.
Sir Arthur Mill,	for information from the Burchell sketch book now preserved in the Kew Herbarium.
Dr E.F. MacPike,	for information on the site of Halley's observatory.

"The Court Minutes of the East India Company" edited by Miss Sainsbury, with their valuable introductions by Sir William Foster and Mr Ottewill, must always remain as the foundation of any history of St Helena. A great deal of the information in this book comes from them. The accounts by Mr C.R. Boxer and Mr Wilson, of Cape Town, on the loss and recapture of the Island in 1673 are other authorities to whom the author is indebted. To many friends in St Helena he can only express his thanks for their courtesy, forbearance and generous help.

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Knoll House  
Island of St Helena

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## CONTENTS

### Preface

- Chapter 1      Description, geology, climate, people etc.
- Chapter 2      A synopsis of the history of the Island under the East India Company.
- Chapter 3      The St Helena motor route: a short guide for the use of passengers landing from ships.
- Chapter 4      A St Helena Gazetteer.
- Chapter 5      A survey of the history of the Island of St Helena under the Crown: 1836-1897.
1. The last years of the East India Company
  2. The transfer to the Crown
  3. Prosperity 1850-1860
  4. The collapse
  5. Adversity

### Appendices

1. The population of St Helena by classes 1814-1821.
2. St Helena Returns 1834-1934.

## PREFACE

The Island of St Helena is a Crown Colony, without a Legislative Council, in which the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Government is administered by a Governor aided by an Executive Council. The Governor alone makes ordinances, but power is reserved to legislate by Order of His Majesty in Council.

The local Government maintains all the usual public activities in miniature. There are two doctors, a dental surgeon and a hospital with a staff of two European and four local nurses. Primary education is compulsory and there are eight schools maintained wither by the Government or by private endowment.

The Island together with the islands of Ascension and Tristan da Cunha, constitutes the Diocese of St Helena, of the Church of South Africa, under a resident Bishop who is assisted by two clergy. There are four churches, two of which are in Jamestown, and three parishes. The Baptist community and the Salvation Army are represented by a resident minister and officer, but the small Roman Catholic community has no resident priest.

Motor cars were first introduced into the Island in 1928 and there are now over 80. Excellent, but somewhat precipitous, roads are maintained by the small Public Works Department which is also responsible for those works and buildings which are the property of the Government.

There are no banking facilities but visitors will have no difficulty in encashing cheques on a London or Cape Town reference. Facilities are also provided at the Treasury to enable funds to be sent to, or received from, London on payment of a small commission.

Communications are maintained with the outer world by cable and the calls, twice monthly, of the Union Castle intermediate mail steamers from London and the Cape. There is no internal postal service but communication throughout the island is kept up by an efficient telephone service. The Empire Broadcasting service is well received.

Litigation is uncommon and there are no resident professional men of business. The highest court is the Supreme Court which is a Court of Record, and in the absence of a Chief Justice, is presided over by the Governor who may be assisted by two Assessors. There are also Police and Summary Courts under a magistrate who is assisted by a small police force.

The population amounts to about 4,300 including a number of European residents as well as those engaged in agriculture, the fibre industry and local business. The principal, and perhaps only, industry of the Island is the production of phormium fibre from the plant phormium tenax that grows abundantly over wide areas. There are eight mills employing about three hundred persons in all and the annual output averages about 800 tons of fibre and 300 tons of tow. The remainder of the population have to seek their living as best they may. A few are engaged in agriculture, trade and obtaining a living from the steamers that call and in serving passengers, but there is much unemployment and privation.

Local supplies of fresh meat, vegetables, fish and dairy produce are sufficient for all normal needs. Jamestown, the capital of the Island, is the shopping centre for all imported supplies and here all the usual commodities can be obtained. The domestic water supplies throughout the Island are good.

St Helena offers many attractions to those who enjoy quiet, an excellent climate and delightful scenery. Visitors can obtain good accommodation and those who contemplate making a visit should state their needs to:

The Secretary,  
Chamber of Commerce,  
Island of St Helena.

## CHAPTER 1

### GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, CLIMATE, PEOPLE ETC.

#### Description

"The way is such as a man may choose whether he will break his heart going up or his neck coming down." (Sailors Proverb "Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa etc., Thomas Herbert, 1626)

"Little would any one, arriving for the first time imagine, that so rude and forbidding a shell contained so choice and valuable a kernel." (From "A Tour through the Island of St Helena, John Barnes, 1817)

"As we approach nearer, the land grows more ragged and uneven, and seems now only an irregular heap of broken rocks and hills, which rising abrupt and perpendicular from the water's edge, spire up to a great height, and form, in several places, stupendous cliffs: they are divided from each other by deep irregular chasms. Nothing in nature can be imagined more barren and dismal, than the aspect of these hills and their declivities, as viewed from the sea. They are black, ragged and mouldering, without any tree, shrub, or trace of verdure." (From "A Description of the Island of St Helena", Anonymous, 1805)

"At the trifling elevation of 1,500 feet it is surprising to behold a vegetation possessing a character decidedly British. The hills are crowned with irregular plantations of scotch firs; and the sloping banks are thickly scattered over with thickets of gorse, covered with its bright yellow flowers. Weeping-willows are common on the banks of the rivulets, and the hedges are made of the blackberry, producing its well known fruit..... The English, or rather Welsh character of the scenery, is kept up by the numerous cottages and small white houses; some buried at the bottom of the deepest valleys and others mounted on the crests of the lofty hills. Some of the views are striking, for instance that from (Sandy Bay Ridge) where the bold Peak called Lot is seen over a dark wood of firs, the whole being backed by the red water-worn mountains of the Southern Coast." (From "The Voyage of the Beagle, by Charles Darwin, 1836)

"It is melancholy to contemplate the present condition of an Island which was once so flourishing, and still has so many points to recommend it. There are still the wonderfully healthy climate, neither too hot nor too cold; the beautiful scenery; the mixture of tropical and temperate vegetation, the rare indigenous plants, the clearly marked geological structure, and the historical associations derived from the rule of the East India Company, the imprisonment and death of the great Emperor Napoleon, and visits of Halley and Darwin and other distinguished men of science. But the ruins of the well built country houses which are to be seen in every direction afford evidence of the change which has taken place in all that constitutes material prosperity." (Sir Reginald Antrobus, Annual Report, No 118, 1889)

## GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

### Ladder Hill Observatory

Lat. 15° 55'. 33.3" S.  
Long. 5° 43'. 18.8" W.

### Distances

Southampton	4,606 miles
Capetown	1,697 miles
Ascension	703 miles
West Coast of Africa	1,200 miles
South America	1,800 miles
Tristan da Cunha	1,200 miles
The Equator	955 miles

### Area

Length	10.5 miles
Width	6.5 miles
Area	47 sq. miles or 30,000 acres.

### Geology

The Island, which was old before it appeared above sea-level, has been built up from great depths of the ocean in two or more elevations by a succession of volcanic eruptions, extending over a considerable period of geological time. It consists wholly of volcanic material and rises 13,860 ft. from the bed of the ocean to sea-level, and at its highest point, Diana's Peak 2,700 ft above sea-level, it reaches a total height of 16,750 ft. A short distance away to the east is the great Buchanan Deep about 18,400 ft. in depth. The base of the Island is supposed to be more than 10 times the area of the base of Etna, - the largest volcano in Europe.

On account of erosion and marine denudation St Helena is now surrounded by a graded under water shelf. If the whole Island were raised 450 ft. the present coast line, according to one authority, would become dry land for a distance of about 2 miles, when the new sea coast would consist of low cliffs with very deep water at their base. At one place on the edge of these now submerged cliffs soundings drop from 528 ft. to no bottom at 1,500 ft.

Authorities are not yet decided as to where the principal eruption took place. According to some, including Charles Darwin, this was at Sandy Bay; but modern geologists hold the view that this was the centre of fissure eruptions only, the crater like appearance being due to erosion, and that the principal eruptions are to be found elsewhere. Be this as it may the Sandy Bay "crater" presents a magnificent view that no visitor should miss seeing.

(Authority: Geological Notes on St Helena By Sir Albert Kitson, Colonial Report No. 66, April 1931.)

Gold, Copper, etc A small quantity of marcasite which resembles pyrites, was found in Breakneck Valley in 1709. A reward of £250 for discovery of a gold mine, and £150 for one of copper was offered. The search was continued in 1715 by two Spaniards, and then abandoned. Beatson inaugurated further researches at Turk's Cap in 1810 with no success. The 30 feet pit dug by Captain Pritchard on this occasion is probably the modern "Cornelian Hole".



Manganese The presence of this material is obvious to the eyes of laymen in the Prosperous Bay and Turk's Cap district. The mineral has been the subject of commercial investigation and report in recent times - unfortunately with no successful results.

Plaster of Paris The use of local Plaster of Paris is historic. When it was desired to make a death mask of the Emperor Napoleon, to preserve for ever the beauty of those features that had aroused the astonishment of all who had beheld them, the necessary commodity could not be purchased in Jamestown. Boats were therefore sent to Prosperous Bay, and a small supply of inferior quality was made for Dr Burton. His handiwork was stolen by Mme Bertrand (except the "craniological part") and his fame by Dr Antommarchi - his incompetent colleague. This is the only recorded use of local plaster of paris and it is sufficiently distinguished.

Alumine or China Clays These were investigated in 1868 with no success; but there had been earlier research in 1814 when Colonel Wilks made his geological collection of which Specimen No. 1 was "Alumine" with a query "It is pure?". In 1817, after his return to England, he wrote a learned letter on the subject of this clay, and persuaded the Company to have a shipment sent to England for trial. Four tons, collected by Major Pritchard and Dr Baxter, were sent in two consignments, but were reported as being worthless.

Earthquakes These have been recorded as follows:

1756, June 7th, 7 am, "two small shocks".

1782, June 26th, 1.40pm, "a rumbling noise for four seconds".

1817, 21st September, 10pm, "two slight shocks within one minute".

1864, July 15th, 4.10am, "two pulsations within five seconds". The French frigate "Isis", 9 miles to eastward, felt no shock.

Pigments Every visitor to the Island is struck with the brilliant tints of the soil in various localities. A bushel of these coloured earths was sent by Mr Burchell to England in 1808, and a further collection in recent times. Both consignments proved to be of no commercial value.

Bricks, clays, etc Whilst the advantages resulting from the discovery of minerals of value are obvious, it is with the humbler materials that the Island must turn to the geologist for assistance in removing one of its principal economic disadvantages. There is an abundance of building stone, road metal and surfacing material, for the proof of which the casual observer has only to see the extensive fortifications and mile after mile of stone wall; but whilst there is lime, there is nothing to burn it with, and there are no bricks. Limestone was first burnt in the Island in about 1708, but so fast was the consumption of wood - the native Ebony and Redwood forests were destroyed - that the process could only continue by the importation of coal from England. Building stone requires to be cut and faced, and the cost of skilled labour together with the high transport charges, makes the cost of all construction abnormally expensive. The use of bricks, therefore, would be a great economic boon to the people. The clay of the Island, however, has no quartz sand in its composition, and the lack of this binding material makes the bricks crack during burning. Should it be possible to overcome this handicap, the problem of fuel still awaits solution. Bricks and tiles have, however, been burnt in the past, and in many cottages today there can be seen tiles painted by Dr James Arnott, Medical Superintendent, and burnt under his supervision.

Bricks The problem was first investigated in 1826, with the assistance of an apprentice brick maker who had found his way into the local regiment, and an Indian potter, imported from Bombay, to teach pottery making to the inhabitants. Dr Arnott reported that from bricks found in a clay bed, he was of the opinion that their manufacture had been successful in the past. He conducted a series of

experiments, and found that bricks made of the Island clay were full of flaws. He therefore mixed the clay with one fifth part of pulverised lava and one twelfth of lime and obtained very good bricks. The use of lime, however, made the process expensive, and by a series of experiments he produced what he described as excellent bricks of one quarter sand from the lava quarry and three quarters Island clay.

Dr Arnott's research was taken a stage further by Mr R.A. Sterndale in 1899. After experimenting with the Island blue clay, with much the same results, he found a light brown clay, a sample of which he despatched to Messrs John Whitehead and Company of Preston, for trial. The firm reported that it would be good for the purpose if it could be mixed with in a proportion of one part of sharp gritty sand to six of clay, recommending that if possible river sand should be used. Since this date there have been no further experiments.

Water supplies The abundance of its pure water is the Island's *raison d'être*. Without it St Helena would never have achieved the position it did, and when there was added the virtues of a salubrious climate and an ideal anchorage for sailing vessels proceeding to England, it is not surprising that the Island achieved an importance which today is difficult to realise. There are 212 springs in the Island, and a statement showing the discharge of the more important, as recorded between the years 1825 and 1835, on Mellis' survey of the Island, is preserved in the Castle, Jamestown. It is a misfortune that with the transfer to the Crown, the collection of these and similar statistics became impossible. Had they been continued even at five yearly intervals, it would now be possible to speak with some certainty on the probable uses of water for hydro electric power and irrigation. Domestic water supplies are limited, and the formation of the Island as a whole does not lend itself to irrigation, except at a heavy expenditure, probably disproportionate to any results that might be obtained.

Geological Collections Beatson formed an Island Geological Collection in 1810 which was added to by Wilks in 1814. Both were forwarded to the East India Company, and for convenience of reference, Wilks arranged for a duplicate collection to be kept in St Helena. In 1817 the Company's specimens were kept in the Oriental Library of India House, and they are now with the duplicates and other collections in the British Museum. There is also another geological collection in the Sedgwick Museum, Cambridge. Like so much else, the work of the past in times of a large establishment, that would now be so valuable, has been lost.

Climate The verdict of history has been awarded in favour of the Island's climate. It is mild, equable, and healthy; and as the Emperor Napoleon remarked "The Rock of St Helena is wild and sterile, no doubt, the climate monotonous and unhealthy, but the temperature, it must be admitted, is mild and agreeable".

An excellent description of the climate will be found in Mr Norwood Young's "Napoleon in Exile" Vol. 1. But due allowance should be made for the author's able advocacy of his case by a tendency to exaggerate the Island's charms, and to omit references to its disadvantages.

It is true that the summer temperature in the country districts rarely exceeds 72.8°, but an absolute maximum of 87° was recorded at Woodlands in 1893. Similarly, the minimum temperature in the same districts is about 52°, but from 1892 to 1902, the absolute minimum never rose above 49.6°, and in 1898, fell to 46°. The climate of Jamestown is exceptional, and quite different from that obtaining in the rest of the Island on account of the deep valley in which the town lies. As explained by Mr Mellis, a chance visitor suffering from an oppressive night would be surprised to be told the temperature was below 80°(1). Similarly, one standing shivering on the Longwood Golf Links (where the Emperor used to drive) on a drizzling winter's afternoon, exposed to the full force of the south East Trade, would be annoyed to be told the temperature was not below 55°(2). The South East Trade

blows for the greater part of the year, and it is unquestionable that in certain cases, it has a depressing influence unless adequate protection is obtained.

Rainfall. The rainfall shows remarkable variations. Within the shortest distances there may be as much as 10 inches difference in the annual fall. The following table shows the average rainfall of various places:-

Place	Height	Average rainfall
Jamestown	Sea level	8.22"
Hutts Gate	1,900'	38.22"
Plantation	1,780'	30.74"
Oakbank	1,700'	46.60"
Mount Pleasant	1,900'	40.90"
Woodlands	2,050'	31.35"
Longwood	1,780'	24.50"

The absolute maximum rainfall at Hutts Gate, recorded to date is 49.77" in 1906. The absolute maximum temperature so far recorded for Jamestown is 91° on 9th March 1891. It is recorded that on 17th June 1716 that the wind had blown from the west for 3 weeks continuously and that 3 vessels that had sailed for the UK on 30th May were still in sight.

The Longwood rainfall is a matter of some importance in view of the historical importance attaching to the district. The figures usually published are those recorded between the years 1888 and 1901, by private individuals residing within a few yards of Napoleon's residence. Other figures are in existence which throw quite a new light on any conclusions that may be drawn from those of 1888. In 1841 a Magnetic Observatory was established at Longwood, and the following is the yearly rainfall recorded there. The statement is to be found in the St Helena Almanacks and J.C. Mellis' St Helena:-

1841	.....68.925"
1842	.....90.458"
1843	.....37.189"
1844	.....20.026"
1845	.....19.500"
1846	.....62.280"
1847	.....42.411"
1848	.....45.630"

In spite of a generous rainfall, the Island is visited periodically with severe droughts causing serious losses in stock and produce. Since the recapture of the Island in 1673, very severe droughts have been recorded on 24 occasions, the last being in 1933.

Storms It is true that the Island has never experienced a violent storm, or any extremes of temperature, and it is a commonplace that there are no thunder storms. Thunder and lightning are occasionally seen and heard, and in only one case has a thunder storm broken over the Island, namely on 21st October 1897, when hail fell at Woodlands.

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(1) The absolute maximum temperature so far recorded of Jamestown is 91° on 9th March 1891.

(2) It is recorded on 17th June 1716 that the wind had blown from the West for 3 weeks and that 3 vessels which had sailed for England on 30th May were still in sight.

It is of meteorological interest that cyclonic storms are unknown in St Helena, and the type of rainfall is either orographic or showery depending upon the strength of the trade wind.

Rollers The heavy surfs on the leeward coast, famous as the local "rollers" are a meteorological phenomenon of the greatest interest. An admirable account appears in Mr Mellis' St Helena, and it is of interest that the data he there records are now available for a period of 71 years, from 1850-1921. Since 1697 the violence of the surf has caused serious damage to property on 18 occasions; the most noteworthy being March 1821, 29th November 1835 and 16th February 1846. In 1753 the rollers appeared to windward and wrecked the Sandy Bay defences. The early records of the Island make frequent reference to the severe damage caused by the surf, but in the past century the record of damage is slight in comparison. This should not be taken as evidence of any diminution in the force of the waves, but as a tribute to the sound construction of the modern Wharf and Quay. In 1892 the rollers and their causes were investigated by the Meteorological Council. It is reported that the theory that they were caused by gales in other parts was "all but prove". The council did not attach much importance to the complete investigation that would be necessary to establish the theory, but stated that a daily record of a state of the sea was of importance.

Meteorological Observations A solitary Island in the South Atlantic has particular interests for meteorologists, and the following statement of the statistics for various parts of the Island, may be of use to scientists and others:-

<u>Jamestown</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Where recorded</u>
Rainfall	1848 1900	St Helena Almanack Government Gazette
Temperature and Barometer	1850-1921	Harbour Master, St Helena
(This record also shows the wind direction and daily state of the sea)		

Certain data are also available for 1861-1865 and 1885-1890 on application to the Castle.

#### Country Districts

<u>Longwood</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Where recorded</u>
Rainfall	1841-1845 1843 1888-1900	Mellis' St Helena, and St Helena Almanacks St Helena Almanack Norwood Young, Vol. 1, p.150, St Helena Blue Books
Temperature and Barometer	1841-1845	As for Rainfall

#### Hutt's Gate

1892 to date St Helena Blue Books, Government Gazettes

#### Plantation House

Rainfall	Feb 1811-Feb 1812 1910-date	Beatson's Tracts Government Gazettes
Temperature (max & min)		Consultations 1806, 1st Sept

## Vegetation, Flora, etc.

The Island may be divided into three distinct Zones. These are:-

### I. The Coast Zone

This extends to a mile and a half around the Island. It is absolutely devoid of vegetation except Prickly Pear and other allied plants.

### II. The Middle Zone

This extends about three quarters of a mile from the boundary of the coast zone at an elevation from 400 to 1800 feet. The chief features of this zone are grassy slopes, indigenous gum woods and larger ferns. English brooms, brambles, willows and poplars, Scotch Pines as well as bushes, trees, and weeds from all over the world may be observed here.

### III. The Central Zone

This occupies an area of land about 3 miles long by two miles broad at the summit of the central ridge. The soil here is generally rich although not very deep and on the extreme crest of the ridge there may still be found the indigenous flora which is the natural glory of the Island. The tendency in recent years has been to increase the area of land under Phormium tenax, the raw product of the fibre industry, and this crop now pervades the whole of the Island. Trees have diminished greatly in modern times and the subject of re- afforestation is receiving active consideration.

The following is an estimate of the cultivable area and its distribution:

Forest	400 acres
Vegetables and Crops	400 acres
Pasture	3,800 acres
Phormium tenax	3,500 acres
Unavailable	500 acres
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Total	8,600 acres
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About 22,000 acres of the Island must be regarded as waste land, but of this a large proportion might possibly be planted with certain species of trees.

## Flora

The indigenous flora of the Island has a world-wide technical interest. In 1885 the flora was classified as follows:

Certainly indigenous	65 species
Probably indigenous	24 species
Doubtfully indigenous	5 species

These numbers have been greatly reduced in recent years and it is much to be feared that only about 14 indigenous species will be found today. Many papers have been written on the zoology and entomology and the indigenous "wire-bird", Aegialitis S.Helenae, is a species of general interest.

### Fisheries

The coasts of St Helena abound with edible fish. Hudson Janisch devoted much study to the subject of the fisheries, of which he had an intimate practical experience, and to him the Island is indebted for the most authoritative exposition of the true nature of its fish supplies. He held the opinion that the fisheries formed the main support of the Island, but whilst there were only 20 boats, with a crew of 4 men each, there was hardly a family that did not have one or two of its members fishing off the rocks all around the Island, for supplies of food. To this he attributed the fact that many of the labouring classes of the Island lacked "that industry and hard work, which are enforced whenever the necessities of life are to be obtained only under more rigorous conditions." Janisch spent a great deal of time exploring the coastal waters. He divided the fishing into three kinds: "Ground fishing, Deep Water Fishing and Float Fishing." The main source of the Island food supply was obtained by ground fishing, particularly on the leeward side where supplies were much depleted. Owing to conditions of wind and weather it was seldom possible to fish on the windward coasts, and to develop the deep sea fishing on that side of the Island, it was essential there should be properly equipped craft. He was apprehensive that if any large drain were made upon the windward grounds, in the same manner as the leeward coasts were exploited, exhaustion of the ground fishing on the latter would soon follow, with serious results to the Island's food supply. If new banks could be found on the leeward coast, then the situation would be changed, but he held out no hopes that such new banks would be discovered. Present day enquiries fully confirm Mr Janisch's observations of 60 years ago and it may be regarded as certain that proposals for the industrial development of St Helena fisheries, bearing as they do such a profound influence on the Island's economic life, will always receive the anxious consideration of its Government.

### People

The people of St Helena are English by race, environment and upbringing. English is the only language spoken; and although they are now of mixed origin, they are by virtue of the Royal Charter of 1673 "free denizens of England and enjoy all liberties, franchises, immunities, capacities and abilities of franchises and natural subjects within any of our dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and borne within this realme of England."

When the Island was occupied by the East India Company in 1659 every effort was made to induce persons in England to settle there. Advertisements were posted in the City of London; shiploads of young women were sent out to remain a year "unless otherwise disposed of"; large numbers of slaves were imported between that year and 1792; substantial garrisons were maintained; and it is this mixture which makes up the people of St Helena today. English traditions and customs are universally observed, and the people are remarkable for their excellent manners and courtesy. The women make good domestic servants and the men clerks, chauffeurs, gardeners and skilled tradesmen in the lighter trades. The people, as a whole, are remarkably shrewd with a high degree of natural intelligence.

## CHAPTER 2

### A SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF ST HELENA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

#### **1502**

Discovered by Joao da Nova, the Portugese navigator, on his return journey from the East. He arrived at Lisbon on the 11th of September and it is assumed that he called at the Island either on the 3rd of May (the feast of the finding of the Cross) or on the 22nd (the feast of St Helena). The 21st (the Vigil of St Helena) is also possible. The pronunciation of the name is accordance with Portugese usage. On its discovery the Island is said to have been "wooded to the water's edge and inhabited by a few sea-fowl only".

#### **1515**

Arrival of Fernado Lopez, a Portuguese officer who, when captured in India, had saved his life by apostasy. In subsequent operations he was recaptured by the great Portuguese commander, Alphonso D'Albuquerque, but as punishment for his denial of the true faith he was horribly mutilated and embarked for Europe. He seems to have been permitted to escape at St Helena where he landed with very meagre supplies. For four years he was the Island's only inhabitant when he found much comfort in the society of his pet cock. Later he was joined by a Javanese slave who later betrayed him to a passing ship. His condition excited much sympathy, all sorts of supplies being landed for him including partridges, perhaps pheasants, hogs and goats. He returned to Portugal in about 1527 when, after doing penance to the Pope, he returned to the Island dying there in 1546.

#### **1546-1588**

The discovery and location of the Island is said to have been kept a secret and with trade to the East increasing it became a recognised place of refreshment for Portuguese vessels. By a Royal Order attempts at colonisation were forbidden and it was to be used solely as a temporary settlement for sick sailors and travellers. Early inhabitants were four slaves of different sexes said to have had later multiplied to twenty when they were with difficulty captured and removed. A Franciscan friar was another early resident. According to one account he is said to have officiated at a chapel on the present site of St James's church and to have led an austere life before dying on board a Portuguese vessel. Other accounts state that he derived so much profit from killing goats and selling their hides to ships that he was deported; but according to a local legend he became so enamoured of a lady of youth and beauty that he was turned to stone, in which condition he may still be observed at the summit of "Friars Ridge". During this period all sorts of animals, fruits and vegetables were introduced, particularly hogs, when the slating of pork became a recognised trade. A small township was in existence together with a chapel and in 1571 a large cross was erected with a wooden belfry. In 1584 two Japanese ambassadors en route to Venice landed and in 1588 Cavendish the great English navigator arrived.

#### **1588-1633**

Cavendish was followed by other travellers in rapid succession; and with the decline in Portuguese power and the advance of the British and the Dutch, the Island was used by the vessels of all nations trading to the East. Disorder and quarrels were frequent. Cavendish's men destroyed the altar and cross leaving behind them a kettle and sword in their place; the Dutch destroyed the small township, but although both were rebuilt the Portuguese lost any control they may have exercised. The Dutch

came to the Island more and more frequently until, in 1633, it was annexed on behalf of the States General by Jacques Specz the retiring Governor General of Dutch Indies on his journey to Europe. No attempt at occupation was made so the annexation became invalid.

### **1633-1673**

On account of the number of dogs loose in the Island which destroyed the pigs and so added to the difficulty of revictualling ships, the Dutch became discontented with St Helena and in 1649 turned to the Cape as a more suitable place for refreshing their ships. With the outbreak of continental wars it became necessary for the English to convoy their fleets, and for this purpose men-of-war were sent to St Helena to await the arrival of the ships from India. Its annexation by the East India Company had been urged in 1644, but it was not until 1649 that it began to be used regularly for convoys. Ten years later the Company decided to occupy it permanently and on the 5th of May 1659 John Dutton landed with a small force and began the construction of a fort in Chapel Valley. The English occupation lasted without interference until New Year's Day 1673 when the Island was captured by a Dutch expedition from the Cape. It was recaptured on the 5th of May the same year by Captain (later Sir Richard) Munden and on the 16th December it was granted to the East India Company by Royal Charter.

### **1673-1788**

The outbreak of the French revolutionary wars emphasised the importance of St Helena as the only safe port in the South Atlantic. The fortifications were improved and the garrison heavily reinforced. The appointment of an energetic Governor in 1787 led to many local improvements such as the construction of the present wharf and Plantation house. The period is notable for the despatch of troops from the Island to assist in the capture of the Cape in 1795 and for their part in the unsuccessful operations at Buenos Aires in 1807. The same year saw the Island ravaged by measles with a very high death rate. The social welfare of the people was greatly improved and much was done to ameliorate the condition of the slaves. Education of the poor was also taken in hand. Attempts to improve the production of foodstuffs met with little response, and the activities of Governor Beatson in this regard led to the outbreak of a grave mutiny in 1811.

### **1815-1821 The Period of Napoleon's Captivity**

Sunday 15th October, 1815	HMS Northumberland anchored at 12 noon.
Tuesday 17th October 1815	Napoleon landed at 7.30 pm at the Upper Steps and spent the night at Mr Porteous' house in Jamestown
Wednesday 18th October 1815	Napoleon left Jamestown at 6.30 am to visit Longwood and on the return journey decided to stay at the Briars and not return to Town.
Sunday 10th December 1815	Napoleon moved to Longwood.
Saturday 5th May 1821	Napoleon died at Longwood at 5.49 pm.
Wednesday 9th May 1821	Funeral at Sane Valley at 3 pm.



The ground in which the tomb is situated was dedicated by the Reverend Bowater Vernon before the procession arrived with the following prayer:-

"O Lord may it please thee to consecrate this ground for the reception of Napoleon Bonaparte."

The French staff wished to place an inscription on the tomb in the following terms:

NAPOLEON  
NE A AJACIO LE 15 AOUT 1769  
MORT A STE HELENE LE 5 MAI 1821

To this Sir Hudson Lowe insisted that "Bonaparte" should be added after "Napoleon", but the French were unable to agree so the tomb remains without a name. The remains were exhumed and removed to France on the 15th of October 1840.

### **1821-1836**

This period is specially noticeable for developments in the social welfare of the people and for the progressive emancipation of slaves. With the disappearance of its monopolies in the East, the East India Company began to lose interest in the Island and with the renewal of the regulating Acts of Parliament an opportunity arose to transfer it to the Crown. This was accordingly provided for in the Government of India Act of 1833, to take effect in the following year.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE ST HELENA MOTOR ROUTE

#### **A Short Guide for the use of Passengers landing from ships**

##### The Anchorage

Vessels anchor in the Jamestown roadstead in not less than 17 fathoms and at this depth they are beyond the effect of the local rollers. The two wrecks to be seen partially submerged below Ladder Hill are those of two ships that beached themselves in recent times having come in on fire. Only three accidents are believed to have occurred to vessels in port in the past three hundred years; and when it is remembered that in the days of sails over 1,400 vessels used to anchor yearly, it will be realised that the reputation of the anchorage for safety and ease of departure is well founded. Two actions have been fought in front of Jamestown, - that of Sir Richard Munden at the recapture of the Island on the 5th of May 1673, and the successful cutting out of the ships Queen and Dover by the French on the 1st June, 1706.

In the centre of the town can be seen the Castle - built on the site of Dutton's fort of 1659 - and to the right of it St James' Church - the oldest church in the Province of South Africa. To the right are the high cliffs of Ladder Hill named after a rope ladder by which the people ascended before the road was built, and to the left is Munden's Point, named after Sir Richard Munden. The defences in both places are in charge of the Royal Marines. The high ridge at the back of the town is known as Alarm Ridge and the house at its summit as Alarm House; so called because it was from here that guns were fired to alarm the population when vessels were sighted approaching the Island. The collection of houses seen between Jamestown and Alarm House is the Briars, the Island's cable station and more famous as the first residence of the Emperor Napoleon.

##### Landing

The Jamestown Wharf is the only organised landing place in the Island, the coasts of which are as inhospitable as any in the world. It is believed there are 43 places at which it is possible to land and reach the interior, but of these only 24 are regarded as "practicable".

Landing is by small boats at either the Upper or Lower Steps, the latter being used almost exclusively. There is no danger in landing. The boatmen are men who have spent their lives in landing passengers and have acquired a remarkable skill in their calling. Visitors may entrust themselves to their hands with every confidence; and if they will sit quietly in their boats and carry out the instructions given them they may be sure of landing with dry feet and no inconvenience to their fellow passengers.

##### The Upper and lower Steps

Both sets of steps are modern. In 1846 the Wharf was wrecked by heavy rollers when the landing place was entirely rebuilt and it was again reconstructed in 1914. On the evidence, such as is available, Napoleon landed at the old Upper Steps - some of the masonry work still being visible.

### The Wharf

The present Wharf was built in 1787 and enlarged in 1821 - the original landing place, used when the Island was first occupied being slightly to the west of the Upper Steps. The road into the town now passes outside the moat (dug in 1706) but this is again quite modern, the entry in Napoleon's time having been over the moat by a drawbridge at its eastern end and along behind the defences and so into the town. These defences formed the Jamestown lines that were always heavily defended with 32 pounder guns. The last occasion when these guns were fired was at the removal of Napoleon's remains in 1840 when a salute of 17 guns only was fired from the western bastion, when the repair of broken windows in the neighbouring houses and buildings formed a considerable item in the expense of the proceedings. Visitors who are interested in such matters should not miss the six inscribed stones built into the rampart or terrace (constructed in 1701) at the back of the defences. These stones will be found about 100 yards to the left of the entrance to the town and are of great historical value and interest.

### The Main Parade

The large square at the entrance to the town, or the old Main Parade, is a relic of the days of large garrisons. On the left is the Castle, the headquarters of the Government - known originally as the "Castle of St John" and "Union Castle" to mark the amalgamation of the two rival East India Companies. The inscribed stones, and the coat of arms of the East India Company, at the entrance are also of historical interest. The public rooms of the Castle are open to visitors, and those wishing to see the archives dating from 1673 should apply to the Secretariat.

The present building was constructed between 1708 and 1766 and reconstructed in 1867 after being wrecked by white ants. The story that a stain caused by the blood of a Governor who was shot by mutineers in 1693 may still be seen on one of the floors is a modern fiction. Above the Castle are the Law Offices and Courts built by Sir Hudson Lowe in 1817 on the site of the main guard room. The garden above the Law Offices was originally the Governor's garden when he resided at the Castle, but is now a public garden and contains a monument to the seamen of the sloop "Waterwitch", commanded by the father of the victor of the battle of the Falklands, who lost their lives in the suppression of the slave trade on the West coast of Africa. On the right of the main square are the old military guard rooms and store rooms, the large building above the path to the Ladder having once been a hotel. The public offices, between this building and the church, were originally a shop, the Jamestown Theatre, and the East India company's Military Offices.

### St James' Church

A Church or Chapel has existed on the present site, or very close to it, since about 1540. The original Portuguese building, that was destroyed by both the Dutch and the English, was hung around with some sort of paintings and it also was the custom to hang boards on it with the names of ships that had visited the Island and to leave letters on the altar. A large stone cross was erected outside the Chapel in 1571. The present Church was built about 1765 with a square tower that was taken down in 1846 when the present spire was built in its place. The clock was imported into the Island in 1787. There are many interesting monuments in the Church and the parish records, which may be inspected on application to the vicar, are of unusual value and interest. The Church has no endowments and is maintained entirely by voluntary contributions.

### Main Street

Main Street, which stretches from the Church to the Post Office, is the oldest part of Jamestown and until about 1860 was the principal residential area. Before this date the houses were occupied by the notables of the Island and there were no shops. The house immediately above the garden was occupied by Napoleon for the night of 17/18th October when he was much inconvenienced by the crowds gazing at him. The three houses opposite were the official residences the two Members of Council and the Senior Civil Servant and in 1815 were occupied by Sir William Doveton, T H Brooke and Mr Greentree. Next door to them was implanted the perpetual thorn in their flesh - the Rev. Richard Boys. The Post Office was then the official residence of the Lieut. Governor Skelton whose conduct with the Emperor gave rise to suspicion, and on his leaving the Island it was occupied later by the Admirals and then became the Officers Mess of the St Helena Regiment serving the same purpose for many of their successors. The house that was occupied by Napoleon was later converted into "Andrew Eyre's Boarding House" and it was here the Marquis de Montchenu and Captain Gors lived when they were not imposing themselves on someone else; but almost every house in the street has the story of some person celebrated in the history of the Island enshrined in its stones.

### Jamestown - Longwood

Visitors proceeding to Longwood by motor car pass the Briars on the right soon after leaving the town. The village is almost entirely modern but Napoleon's house can be seen standing by itself on the right and much altered since his time. Next to it, and hidden by the trees, is Balcombe's house, in ruins, and it was here that he used to play with Betsy, his host's younger daughter to whom we are indebted for a valuable account of his stay. The next place of interest is Alarm House and opposite the house, on the left of the road, can be seen the gun that was last used for firing alarms about 130 years ago and a few yards further along the road is the track leading to Napoleon's Tomb. the land in which it is situated, together with Longwood House and about 2 acres, has been the property of the French Government since 1858. By instructions of the British Government Napoleon was to be buried in St Helena should he die whilst a captive there and after his death the Governor communicated these orders to his followers informing them that it was immaterial to him what place of internment was selected. Napoleon visited the site of his future tomb on one occasion only and that was during the early days of his exile when he drank water from the famous spring with his cupped hands. On his way back up the hill he remarked to Bertrand that if he died whilst in the hands of his enemies he would like to be buried at this spot. This was the only occasion on which he visited the spring; but every day a Chinese servant was detailed to bring water from it in two silver flasks for him to mix with his wine.

The original path to the valley was down the hill on the side opposite the modern track, but as this was too steep for the coffin to be carried down in safety, the present approach was opened up specially for the funeral procession, and the track that was used can still be seen a few feet below the present road. The funeral took place on Wednesday the 9th May on a beautiful sunny day, the procession reaching the junction of the two roads at about 2 p.m. Here it was halted and the coffin removed from the hearse for the last stage of its journey. Everyone dismounted and 24 bearers, selected from all the Corps stationed in the Island, carried the coffin down the hill in turns of eight. The main body of the garrison remained on the road above and a battery of 11 guns was posted at Hutt's Gate.

In the words of one of the most eminent historians "all who were present were conscious of the imposing and awful effect of the whole ceremony from beginning to end"; and as the crash of the batteries' last salute reverberated down the valley and rolled around the hills none could doubt that they were assisting at the "last rites of the greatest Captain of theirs or any other age." The famous

willows that overhung the grave were the special objective of thousands of visitors and by 1824 one had collapsed no longer able to withstand their assaults. They have been propagated all over the world and leaves from the original trees are now highly prized. The tomb itself was a gigantic affair and the coffin rested within a stone sarcophagus being completely enclosed with great flag stones taken from one of the batteries, the whole being sealed with cement and bound with iron bands. The last few feet of the grave were filled with earth on which were placed three flag stones from the kitchen floor of Longwood New House. These now rest in the Invalides in Paris. The iron railing came from Longwood New House being part of the one that was the subject of so much controversy with the Governor, but later a wooden fence was erected around the area, which was replaced by the present privet hedge. It will be observed that the tomb bears no inscription. The French entourage wished to use the name "Napoleon" only with the details of his birth and death, but the Governor insisted that he must be described as Napoleon Buonaparte. It was, of course, the British Government's fixed determination that in no circumstances would they recognise Napoleon as Emperor; the entourage refused to agree with the Governor's demand, and so the tomb remained without a name.

For nineteen years it remained undisturbed, the shrine of thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the world. A visitors book, that may still be seen in London, was kept, and many recorded not only their names but their sentiments on the scene around them.

In 1840 the remains were removed. Work began at midnight on the night of the 14/15th October, the anniversary of the Emperor's arrival, and by 9.30 am the coffins were exposed to view. The Prince de Joinville had brought with him a lead coffin, an ebony casket to enclose it and a beautiful pall emblazoned with the Imperial bees. Napoleon was buried in four coffins in the following order: tin, mahogany, lead and mahogany. At the exhumation the outer mahogany coffin was broken up when the remaining three were placed in the lead one brought from France and then deposited in the ebony casket. Not until then were they opened for the purposes of identification. On his death the mahogany required for the coffins could not be obtained on the Island so Captain Bennett, an officer of the St Helena Regiment, who then lived a Chubb's Spring, presented his dining table for the purpose. According to the evidence of a witness, who was present both at the funeral and the exhumation, the inner and outer wooden coffins were both made of mahogany; so this officer's family have the satisfaction of knowing that part of their ancestor's generous gift now rest beneath the dome of the Invalides.

The attitude of the British in selecting the words "Moscow" and "Egypt" as the pass word and countersign for the day, and in refusing to fire a Royal Salute gives some idea of the bitterness aroused by the Napoleonic campaigns that seems to have persisted for upwards of 25 years after their close.

### Napoleon's Tomb, Longwood

Hutts Gate is the name of the hamlet at the junction of the roads where St Matthew's Church (built in 1862) is situated. At this point the road to Longwood branches sharp to the left along the summit of the famous "Devil's Punch Bowl". On the left hand side is situated St Matthew's vicarage that was occupied by Marshall Bertrand for the first few months of the captivity and later by Assistant Commissary General Ibbetson whilst the building on the right, now a shop, was the office and residence of the Brigade-Major Captain Harrison. The valley on the right is Fishers Valley where Napoleon used to ride and visit the cottages. The large house, half way up the opposite side of the valley is Mason's where Miss Mason used to reside and which was offered to Napoleon as a summer residence but was refused. The smaller house below the road at the head of the valley (now Walbro) was Balcombe's country cottage where Las Cases was detained. To the left of, and below, Mason's is Leggs (now Willow Bank) also visited by Napoleon and the small cottage to the left, and rather

below, is built on the site of Robinson's, the home of the "Nymph" - the handsome girl who was so attractive to the Emperor and his entourage. The steep hill in the centre of the opposite side of the valley is Alarm Hill and slightly below it is the site of Mason's Stock Yard - the scene of the nightly prayer meeting for the salvation of the Emperor's soul. It is, perhaps, right to remark here that Napoleon was permitted to ride as far as Alarm House and to Alarm Hill and Woody Ridge, to the left of it, unattended by any escort. These points mark the boundaries of the celebrated limits that were later extended to include places as far away as Merriman's Hill situated in the grounds of Plantation House.

The entrance to Longwood is reached about a mile from Hutt's Gate. Visitor's to the scene of Napoleon's exile and death are likely to derive their impressions from the state of the weather at the time of their visit. If the day is sunny and fine they will enjoy the remarkable scenery and beautiful lighting and colouring, but should it be wet and cold, they may well be surprised at the severity of a Government which confined so great a personage in such miserable surroundings. They will do well to remember that Longwood was selected as a residence solely because it was the place where the Emperor might be most securely guarded; and assertions that every effort was made to find the most suitable and comfortable residence have no foundation in fact. With the exception of the Lieutenant Governor, who used the house for a few months in the year as a retreat from the great heat in Jamestown, no one thought of living at Longwood until Napoleon was sent there. The Governor, Colonel Mark Wilks, who was morally responsible for this decision but not, of course, technically, has for long been held up by all the historians as the pattern of all virtues, whilst Sir Hudson Lowe, who had nothing to do with the selection of Longwood and urged that another residence should be found, has been almost universally condemned. The hedge around the house marks the boundary of the French Government lands and not the extent of Napoleon's gardens, which covered nearly the whole of the open space surrounding the buildings. The plain away to the north is the Deadwood plateau where the troops were encamped and where race meetings were occasionally held, and the great mass of rock to the north east is the Barn.

Longwood house has now been restored to the condition it was in when Napoleon died there, and by the efforts of the French Society of Friends of St Helena the interior is gradually being equipped with replicas of the furniture that was in use during the captivity. In 1824 the house was converted into a farm and in later years it became the fashion severely to criticise the East India Company for this act of vandalism; but when the Government of the Island was transferred to the Crown in 1836 it was suggested that the house should be pulled down and the bricks and timber sold. Fortunately the house and the farm were let out to tenants and in 1858 it was transferred to the French Government, when it was restored to its original condition by Captain Masselin, an officer of the French Engineers. Some idea of the loneliness experienced by Napoleon will be derived from the knowledge that between October 1817 and October 1820 he received only 8 visitors. At night a line of sentries was drawn around the house and by day all his movements were under constant supervision.

#### Hutt's Gate via Sandy Bay Ridge to Plantation House

The hill immediately above St Matthew's Church is named "Halley's Mount" after Edmund Halley who set up an observatory on it in 1677 for the purpose of observing the Transit of Mercury. The site was not well selected and the great scientist was unable to achieve his objects owing to mist and fog; but he was able to complete his researches on the stars of the Southern hemisphere and it was here he formulated his Theory of Springs based on the condensation of dew on the glass of his lenses.

Various attempts have been made to discover the site of observatory and much has been written on the subject; but it was established in the open air and moved about all over the hill. (Ed note: this is

inaccurate - the site has been found.)

The next point of interest to visitors is the Sandy Bay Ridge, or to give its correct name "Sich's Ridge", where the road passes over the central ridge of the Island when a magnificent view is disclosed of the Sandy Bay Crater. One school of geological thought holds the view that this crater was that of the volcano that gave birth to the Island, but later opinion inclines to the view that it is not a crater at all but is the result of the weathering of the fissures from the various volcanic eruptions.

The small semi-circular beach some 2,400 feet below was always strongly defended, but the windward coast of the Island is dangerous and it is highly improbable that any invader would attempt to land there. Mount Pleasant - the house to the right - is one of the historical houses of the Island twice visited by Napoleon, the last occasion being a few months before his death when he took luncheon on the lawn. Still further below is a small house by name Lemon Grove that was once lived in by Robert Jenkins, the loss of whose ear caused England to declare war.

### St Paul's Cathedral

This Church is the third to have stood on or about the present site. Until 1852 it does not appear to have been the practice to dedicate the Island churches to patron saints and before this date it was known as "The Country Church". The present building was curious in that all the material including the stone was imported from England from the contractors who designed the building. The Church contains some interesting monuments including the colours of the St Helena Militia that were lowered in salute to the remains of Napoleon in 1821.

## CHAPTER 4

### A ST HELENA GAZETTEER

If contemporary accounts, prints and maps are to be believed, St Helena has altered little, except for the worse, since the days of Napoleon. Topographically the changes have been few. The route of the principal roads has been diverted in one or two cases; the number of large houses still in occupation has decreased very considerably, but the ruins of those abandoned, and once the scenes of such generous hospitality, still stand as silent witnesses to vanished glories.

The changes in the roads are of some importance. Until Sir Hudson Lowe improved the "W" road, the main road from Plantation House to Longwood was via Barren Hill, Gordon's Post and Alarm House; so the Island today should be grateful to its most maligned Governor. The alterations in Side Path are not of the same importance as the old track is still used by pedestrians. The present road to the Emperor's tomb is slightly above that used for his funeral and the road to his house passed outside the boundary of Longwood, along the top of Fisher's Valley.

The appearance of the still habitable houses in the country districts has been much changed by the addition of new rooms, verandahs and, in some cases, second storeys. Plantation House, with the exception of the portico, and its two sentry boxes, retains its former aspect; but the old Country Church, directly behind and above it, no longer exists, having been replaced in 1849 by the modern St Pauls Cathedral.

Excellent sketches of many of the houses, as they were during the period 1815-1821, will be found in a series of lithographs by James Graham now in possession of Dr Arnold Chaplin; views of the second Plantation House as it was in 1787 and of the present building in 1795 are in the British Museum; and in W.J. Burchell's sketch book, preserved in the Kew Herbarium, there are sketches of Longwood Old House, then known as Wood Lodge, and of the site of Napoleon's tomb as both were in 1809.

The general scenery of the Island does not appear to have undergone any very substantial change. There are, of course, many more cottages, and the forests that were once such a feature of the countryside are steadily disappearing. Heavy inroads have been made upon them; but the extensive plantations of *Phormium tenax* seem, if not to have taken the place of trees to give that impression from a distance, many holding the view that the introduction of this plant has greatly improved the appearance of the Island.

The extent of the forests is a subject of much interest as two reputable historians have asserted that it has greatly increased since the Emperor's time, inferring that as trees have a beneficial effect upon climate, the Island cannot have been so healthy during the captivity as today. St Helena, on the contrary is becoming treeless. The depredations of goats, the demand for fuel, the abolition of the practice of importing coal for the use of the inhabitants and the absence, in the face of these assaults, of an organised plan for re-afforestation, are the chief causes of the serious decline in the number of trees that has taken place during the past hundred years.

Historians of Napoleon's captivity experience some difficulty with the topography of the Island which is such that it can only be studied with accuracy on the largest scale maps, and of these there are many available. The first "general survey" was ordered as long ago as 1787 but was not completed until 1811. In 1804 Lieut. Col. Cocks, an officer with a curious history of his own, produced an excellent small scale survey, apparently as a private venture, and in 1811 Major Barnes completed his beautiful



map on a scale of 400 yards to one inch. Both these maps are preserved in the India Office where they rest as testimony to the skill and industry of the officers of the East India Company and devotion with which it was served. The next survey to be undertaken was that of G.W. Melliss, begun in 1836, that is, in effect, a one sheet cadastral survey of the whole Island showing the boundaries and areas etc., of about two hundred separate properties. This map hangs in the Castle at Jamestown and as far as is known, no other copy exists. R.F. Seale's map of 1835 in the Public Record Office, Palmer's survey of 1852, of which the enlargement made in 1874 was never published and the modern War Office map with the Admiralty Chart No. 1771 complete the series.

Notwithstanding many obvious advantages, the task of attempting to trace the residences of persons connected with the Napoleonic period is one of some difficulty. The community of the time was a large family with the principal members owning more than one property or house; many had town and country houses; and there is no record of who was in occupation of the, so to speak, spare houses - and their temporary lodgers had the annoying habit of heading their letters "St Helena" only. Many of the houses were in a lamentable state of dilapidation, but the shortage caused by the influx of the troops and their followers was so acute that it may be taken as certain that all of them were occupied.

A list of the principal houses and their occupants during the Captivity, will be found as an appendix to the Gazetteer.

St Helena is still an Island where one may choose whether to "break ones heart going up or ones neck coming down"; the fact is quite frequently forgotten, and those who attempt to walk down the valleys and scale the hills, will do well to remember that in an Island in the tropics expeditions on foot to places of interest are very exhausting.

The remark has been made of St Helena that the history of hardly any other island "has such great and such abiding interest". Few will quarrel with this observation; and it is much to be hoped that in the times of great economic difficulty and stress through which it is now passing, its historical associations will always remain the treasured possession of its people.

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### **ALARM COTTAGE**

Near the Alarm Gun, and under the East India Company the quarters of the Military Medical Officer, W. McRitchie, Surgeon and nephew to T. McRitchie, the merchant, occupied the house in June, 1821. Leased after her husband's death to Mrs Janisch, the wife of Lowe's clerk, and mother of Hudson Janisch. Sold to E. S. Fowler in 1852.

### **ALARM HOUSE, ALARM FOREST**

These names are derived from the "alarms" that used to be given from the ridge on which the present house stands and in 1692 guns were placed on it to be fired as the signal that a vessel was sighted. The first house was situated very much nearer to Two Gun Saddle, but in 1716, a new house was built on the present site to form quarters for the crews of the guns. Alarms continued to be fired until 1803 when they were replaced by Patton's system of telegraphs. A telegraph station was in operation until 1836, when it was abandoned on the transfer of the Island to the Crown. Brooke owned the house in 1809 and his sons after him. During the captivity it was occupied by Sir Thomas Reade, when it was an important centre for collection of information and observation of the road to Longwood. Reade is said by his enemies to have chosen the site so that he might better spy on the Emperor, and by his friends that he might more easily unravel the plots for Buonaparte's escape. When Marchand

left the Island in 1821 he placed £500 in trust for his son by Esther Vesey and with it the Trustees bought a mortgage on Alarm House. It was then in possession of Brooke's eldest son, his father being one of the trustees. It is of interest that the present Alarm Forest below the house was planted by Sir Hudson Lowe.

### **ALARM HILL**

Not to be confused with the above. This is the hill overlooking Mason's Stockyard where a picquet was placed and where Lowe cut a road through to Pledgers for the greater convenience of Napoleon on his way to Woody Ridge.

### **ARNO'S VALE**

Originally owned by the Doveton family who leased it in 1810 to Thomas Aylesworth, a small merchant, brewer and inn keeper and an ex-noncommissioned officer of the Company. In 1815 it had become the property of Richard Barker who secured a contract for the supply of meat and fodder to Longwood and who also leased much farm land all over the Island. After Breame had been dismissed from his post as Company's farmer Barker secured this appointment. In 1821 he was granted a loan of £1,500 on security of the house and in 1832, being unable to repay, he was declared bankrupt. The mortgage was eventually paid off by T.B. Knipe, a pensioner of the Infantry who was Barker's son-in-law, and one time Auditor. The transaction was considered to be irregular and the Government, as heirs of the Company, assumed possession, and sold the property at public auction, when it was acquired for a short time by William Janisch. There has been some speculation as to the origin of the name, some asserting that it is derived from Bristol. During the captivity a picquet was stationed at Arno's Vale.

### **BANKS**

The fort at the most northerly valley of the Island and named after the builder of the first fort. Banks' Valley gives easy access to Deadwood and the place in the days of sail was always strongly fortified. A battery of 32 pounders was mounted in the fort during Napoleon's time and some of the dismounted guns can still be seen on the parapet.

### **THE BARN**

The best known and most prominent landmark on St Helena. Situated on the north east coast, there are many legends concerned with this great mass of rock which fills the horizon of Longwood. The edge is now alleged to resemble the profile of the Emperor on his death bed; the similarity having been noticed when the French returned for the exhumation in 1840. The wild goats found on the Barn are probably the descendants of the domesticated goats introduced by the Portuguese that have run wild.

### **BAMBOO GROVE**

In Sandy Bay. It carries a stone on which is inscribed I.A. 1808. The I is probably a J, for John Alexander who leased the property and who died in 1811. An Alexander was in residence 1815-1821.

### **BAMBOO HEDGE**

Or more properly "Purlings". Purling was a Member of Council in 1745. During the captivity Mrs Lambe, the mother of George Votour Lambe, Assistant Store Keeper, lived here.

## **BATES**

A plot of land next to Wills' and owned by John Robinson. See Robinsons.

## **BEVAN'S**

Or more correctly "Bevian's" after an early settler of that name and in 1816 the property of John Doveton. G.W. Janisch, who married Anne Seale, the daughter of Francis Seale of the Infantry whose wife was a Greentree, resided here for part of the captivity. There is a deed in his name and it would be conveniently situated on account of his work at Plantation. The present cottage is modern.

## **BEARCROFTS**

Situated on the western side of Plantation Valley and now known, wrongly, as Rock Cottage. So called after Rev. William Bearcroft who was appointed Chaplain in 1766 and who leased the ground in 1761. Lieut. Colonel Wynyard resided here in 1817 and it was afterwards passed into the possession of the Government when it was leased by Lieut. Den Taaffe of the Artillery, who was also the Company's civil surveyor and who made many of the plans, etc. during Napoleon's time. The house later became the residence of the Governor's ADC, then a vicarage and is now in ruins.

## **BLISSES**

The pasture leased by Robert Brooke, second son of T.H. Brooke. Only the older generation on the Island can now place Blisses. It is situated on the left of the road leading from David Simon's Gate to Bates Branch. A condition of the lease was the supply of produce to the Governor's Table.

## **BOTANICAL GARDEN, JAMESTOWN**

In 1792 this ground was waste and was converted into a garden by the labour of soldiers as a substitute for corporal punishment. There were also public subscriptions. In 1829 it was proposed to do away with the garden, when Brooke minuted that to some extent it had been replaced by "Sisters Walk". This is the derelict garden above the Castle; named after the two daughters of Governor Patton.

## **BRIARS**

A small unproductive Government estate known in 1678 as Parsley Bed Hill. In 1739 "The Bryers" was valued at £94, and abandoned as a Government estate, when it passed into private ownership. In 1811 it became the property of Balcombe and his associates who established the Union Brewery there. Balcombe originally came to the Island on a private venture in 1805. For a short time he was associated with Burchell, the famous naturalist. In the latter's journal he states that Balcombe was arrested for debt at Ryde in 1808. When Balcombe left the Island in 1818 he was in serious financial difficulties and he mortgaged the Briars to Messrs Burnie & Company of London, for the sum of £9,000, including the brewery. When Walker (1823-1828) established the silk industry in St Helena in 1827, he purchased the Briars for the same sum as a suitable mulberry estate, but on the transfer to the Crown in 1836 the industry was abandoned. The house served a short time as the residence of the Officer Commanding Troops until it was sold in 1847 for £400. The land then became the property of Mr Saul Solomon and afterwards of Mr George Moss, when it was acquired by the Eastern Telegraph Company as the headquarters of their cable station in St Helena. The pavilion occupied by Napoleon has been kept in admirable repair by the Company, and it is now the residence of the local manager, but Balcombe's house next to it is in ruins.

## **BUTTERMILK POINT**

See Banks. As the guns from the fort could not reach the ships when they came close in rounding the Point, "the ships that came in King William's War" built a fort at the top of the hill and named it "King William's Fort". The name has not persisted and it is now known as Buttermilk, for what reason is not known. To take advantage of the wind so as to make the harbour and not be blown out to leeward, ships had to pass extraordinarily close to the land, and unless they sent a boat announcing their identity, they were fired on. A runner was used to bring the name of the vessel to Jamestown. After 1801 a telegraph station was established on the hill.

## **CABBAGE TREE WALK**

The modern bridle path, or Lowe's "New Military Road", running through the Cabbage Tree lands situated at the summit of the central ridges in the vicinity of Diana's Peak. Wilks planned the track as an alternative route to Longwood before the days of the "W" road. The work was executed by Lowe who took the path out on to the main road by Alarm Hill and Pledgers. It is doubtful if Napoleon ever used this track, but Gourgaud certainly did. An old gun has recently been discovered lying in the flax below which leads to the belief that a post may have been stationed in this area.

## **CASON'S**

An important telegraph station and Government estate named after Thomas Cason, the original owner of the land who commanded the troop under seven Governors. He drilled them so well after the methods of Colonel Bland of the King's Guards "that no soldiers in India exercised so well". The Government secured possession in 1711, when Cason exchanged his farm for another in Sandy Bay. The signal station at Cason's Gate was one of the most important tactical points in the Island, with the communication both to High Knoll and to Prosperous Bay via Long Range. Situated at 2,400 feet, the post commands Sandy Bay, and it was reoccupied by the St Helena Volunteers in 1914. Lowe leased the estate in 1817 as additional pasturage for the stock required for the large establishment at Plantation, and on his departure transferred his lease to Hodson.

Napoleon saw Cason's on the 3rd January 1816 after his visit to Mount Pleasant, when he returned to Longwood via the White Gate entrance to Plantation House without, however, seeing the house. On this excursion he must have seen a great deal of the Island from the high ground of the ridges, as well as many of the principal houses and the Country Church, but not Rosemary.

## **THE CASTLE, OR THE CASTLE OF ST JOHN, OR UNION CASTLE**

For 250 years the offices of the Government of St Helena. As far as can be ascertained there are no dungeons, cellars, underground passages or any other mysteries. The original building was a fort constructed for Governor Dutton in 1659 by Thomas Coleman, "who came in the Marmaduke". It was reconstructed by Roberts in 1708, by Lowe in 1816, by Dallas in 1832 and by Elliott in 1867 after it had been ravaged by white ants. Elliott, according to his own statements, had been in St Helena as a midshipman during the Captivity, and had noted that Napoleon had said that the only good thing about St Helena was the coffee. The terrace was built in 1701, the two wings in 1714 and the upper storey in 1766. The Governor had accommodation in the fort from the earliest days, and after the defences were constructed at Ladder Hill, the building became more of a residence than a fort. After the improvements to Plantation House the Governor still retained rooms in the Castle as a winter residence, and although one wing is now kept as residential quarters, the building has long ceased to be a Governor's House, the remainder of the rooms being occupied as offices. In 1840, at the time of the exhumation, the whole place was so dilapidated that it was unfit to be used for the reception

of Prince de Joinville. The coat of the Company's Arms to be seen at the gate, as also those on other buildings, was cut by Corporal Galway of the Artillery who first brought his art to notice in 1824, by cutting the Company's arms on the new Head School (now the Government Girls School).

### **CHUBB'S SPRING**

Situated at Chubb's Spring close to the Briars, and the house, when the Emperor was at the Briars, of Captain James Bennet who joined the St Helena Infantry in 1813 from the Royal East India Militia. The house is famous for the fact of Captain Bennet having given his dining table to make Napoleon's coffin and it also has a stone let into one wall marked:-

### **18 CONQUEROR'S 19 CORNER**

It is possible that Napoleon rested here on his outings from the Briars. Bennet acquired the property from David Kinnaird of the Artillery. The house is named after Edmund Chubb who came to the Island in the "Joanna" in 1678 and who was killed by falling from Chubb's Rock in 1683.

### **CLEUGH'S PLAIN**

First noticed in the official records in 1730 as "Dr Moore's Plain". According to Janisch the name should be "Clues", and according to Mrs Abell, Ibbetson lived at Clues Plain probably before moving to Hutt's Gate to take up the Purveyorship. The house was almost certainly occupied during the Captivity.

### **DEADWOOD HOUSE**

A "bungalow" on the site of two cottages to the right of the track leading to Flagstaff. It was occupied by Colonel Dodgin of the 66th and presumably by other Colonels. Later R.F. Seale had it and built his model here. One G. Bannister also had a shop at Deadwood during the Captivity.

### **DEEP VALLEY**

The precipitous ravine between Stone Top Ridge and Rock Rose. Napoleon saw Deep Valley when he escaped from Poppleton and galloped round to Rock Rose. If, as some writers suppose, with very little justification, that he was looking for a way of escape, nothing could have depressed him more than a sight of this deep and forbidding ravine which even Lowe agreed need not be defended. There is said to be a grave, below Simons Waterfall, of "John Orchard", an early settler on the Island.

### **DEVIL'S PUNCH BOWL, OR THE GREAT HOLLOW**

The semi-circular head of the ravine on the left of the Longwood - Hutt's Gate road, that is neither so steep or so dangerous as the historians would have us believe. Half way up the slope there is a bridle track running from Alarm Forest to Longwood passing through Dr. Kay's where a picquet was placed. The old maps are of interest as they show an exercise ground for the troops in the vicinity of St. Matthew's vicarage. To pretend, as one historian does, that Longwood was jointed to Hutt's Gate by an "isthmus twenty feet wide" is ridiculous.

## **DOLLY'S CHOP HOUSE**

At Longwood Gate, and now the property of Mr J Clingham. In 1830 it was owned by Thomas Mittens the husband of Sophia of Ross Cottage. He had an eating house here for tourists about 1830.

## **EAST LODGE**

Dr "Coulston's" after one of the mutineers of 1684 who was executed. Charles Blake of the Secretariat, and one of the Sheriffs during the Captivity lived here. He was succeeded by J.G.Doveton.

## **ELDER COTTAGE**

See Perkins.

## **ENFIELD LODGE**

See Knoll House. So called because Lieutenant Banier, who joined the St Helena Regiment in 1853 lived here and being devoted to the use of the Enfield rifle, changed the name to that of his favourite weapon.

## **EYRE'S**

Mr Porteous' house in town where Napoleon slept his first night ashore, and which was leased by Eyre in 1818 as a boarding house. The house is now in ruins having been destroyed by fire in 1865, when it was the property of Mr George Moss, the first Unofficial Member of the St Helena Executive Council. George Moss was a notable personality of the Island for the greater part of Victoria's reign.

## **FAIRY LAND**

The residence of Mr Thomas Greentree, a highly respected Member of Council whose wife had not seen him "drunk for some years." Greentree served on the Council until 1836, and like Brooke was a Member of the Legislative Council under the Crown for a few months. He was a generous contributor to the rebuilding of the Country Church c. 1848. Greentree took over the stores after the Des Fountain defalcations. He also kept a close eye on Mr Breame's methods of farming at Lufkins on his way down to town. Des Fountain not only had trouble with his stores (he sold Montholon some epaulettes at a gigantic price) but when Brooke was Acting Governor in 1822, he was also in difficulty with his cash to the extent of about £13,000. He and Britannicus Wright, the paymaster, were held responsible for the deficit, and their estates were sequestrated and sold up, but in the end both were placed on a small pension and their property, or part of it, restored to them. In trying to circumvent the sequestration, Des Fountain produced bonds to show the properties were mortgaged to his friends; unfortunately they were dated 1817 on paper watermarked as that of 1823.

## **FARM LODGE**

The house and estate of Colonel Smith who commanded the Artillery, and who died in 1819. The Colonel had had one foot in the grave for many years. Farm Lodge occupies one of the most attractive positions in the Island and according to O'Meara "Colonel Smith's House" was one of the houses in which Napoleon said he would liked to have lived. The Rev. Helps, Chaplain to the Troops 1840, resided here. It was a one storey house at the time of the Captivity.

## FLAGG STAFF OR MATT'S MOUNT

2,200 feet, forming the north west spur of Deadwood Plain. Its use as a signal station was never successful owing to the clouds and mist, and in 1692 the station was moved to Prosperous Bay. The bay at the foot of the mountain was considered by the sailors of the Napoleonic period as a very suitable anchorage for a hostile fleet, and on this account the cliff was examined by Lowe's engineer Emmet, with a view to ascertaining whether the fishermen's path required defending. Emmet reported that it would first be necessary to drive a road down the cliff. Flagstaff Point was the signal station during Napoleonic times, but the actual site is lost; it may, perhaps, have been at the point overlooking the modern pipe line. In Burchell's unpublished journal, there is more than one reference to the signal station and guard house at Flagstaff. In 1814 there was a signal station near Longwood Gate and in that year it is said to have been moved to Deadwood. This site may have been the same as Flagstaff Point.

## FRANCIS PLAIN

Named after Henry Francis who owned the land in 1692. In his memorandum on the Island written for the information of the British Government, Beatson recommended Francis Plain as a suitable place of residence for Napoleon. The Plain was one of the principal camping grounds during the Captivity, the lease having been signed by Wynward. The Government acquired the property in 1823, and in 1825 there was an armoury, officer mess, convalescent hospital, and a dwelling house leased to Lorimer. Francis Plain was the headquarters of the St Helena Militia. For the past hundred years every lease of the property has contained a reservation of its use as a public recreation ground and as a place for "exercising the troops". These were the Militia who were inspected annually, when the occasion was also celebrated by a large lunch. Doveton was a prominent personality of the Militia, and the Colours that hang over his memorial in St. Paul's Cathedral were placed there as a permanent tribute to his services to the Corps. There is much confusion concerning the St. Helena Forces, and the following is a list of the Regiments maintained in the Island since its discovery:-

1. The St Helena Regiment of Infantry.  
The St Helena Artillery.

Both were permanent regular troops of the East India Company's service and saw service at the Cape in 1795 and at Buenos Aires in 1807. Detachments attended the funeral of the Emperor, and shared in carrying the coffin on the last part of its journey. Both Regiments were disbanded in 1836.

2. The St Helena Militia which was first raised in 1673.

In 1802 its designation was changed to that of "Volunteers" to "gratify the feelings of the Members", but a compulsory obligation to serve still existed under the laws of the Colony. The Force was reconstituted under the Crown, and was present at the Exhumation when its band played "solemn dirges". It was finally disbanded in 1874.

3. The St Helena Regiment.

A Regiment of the regular British Army raised exclusively for service in St Helena in 1842, five companies strong. As an inducement to recruits grants of land were made to the men. The experiment was not a success and the regiment was disbanded in 1863.

#### 4. The St Helena Volunteers. See Militia.

Volunteers were first raised under the local Ordinance of 1854. The St Helena Volunteer Sharpshooters were embodied in the Boer War, and in the Great War, the St Helena Volunteer Rifles were raised.

### **FRIARS LODGE**

Below Southens. A stone is built into the house with the following inscription:-

R.D. 1901 (FATHER DAINE) (?)  
A.D. 1808.

It was the property of Gabriel Doveton, son of Sir William who died in 1816. It then passed to his son Lieut. W.K. Doveton of the Artillery, and was later occupied by Den Taafe.

### **GERANIUM VALLEY**

Seyne or 'SAYNE' Valley since 1689, and later as Napoleon's Vale. The name "Geranium Valley" is nowhere to be found in the official land records of St Helena as ever having been used for this estate.

### **GREGORY'S**

The battery which overlooks Turks Cap, commanding the fishermen's paths and the bay. It is situated on a narrow tongue of land with a steep ravine on either side. A soldier is said to have committed suicide here by throwing himself over a precipice, and the imprint of his hand is still pointed out. There is no foundation for this legend and the hand is surrounded by a wreath of laurel leaves, and underneath are the Roman numerals XX and below them the initials H.D. These probably stand for 20th Regiment Harold Dodgin, who had some artistic talent.

### **HALLEY'S MOUNT**

So called after the famous astronomer, Edmund Halley, who visited St Helena in 1677, at 20, and made his observatory here to complete his catalogue of the stars of the Southern Hemisphere. He also made observations of the transit of Mercury. He was much hampered by mist and fog, causes which made a similar mission on the part of Maskelyne and Waddington unsuccessful in 1762. In 1682 alarm guns were placed on Halley's Mount as the settlers in Sandy Bay could not hear those at Alarm House. Halley moved his instruments about all over the mountain and had no permanent observatory.

### **HALF MOON**

The residence of William Knipe whose relatives occupied most of the nearby farms. The land was first granted to Martin Harper in 1748.

### **HERMITAGE**

See Physdale's Hermitage.



## **HIGH KNOLL**

The present fortress was constructed c. 1869-1874, but since 1799 a fort, and before that date a magazine, had been established under the Company. It was here the ringleaders of the mutiny of 1811 had been confined and some of them executed. Guns were trained on them from High Knoll as they advanced up Side Path, which gives some idea of the range of the guns. The fort was the centre of the internal telegraph system with communication to Ladder Hill and Plantation. Lowe was the first to stress the importance of defending High Knoll on the grounds that Ladder Hill could not be held, once an enemy secured the high ground in the rear, and that it was essential that there should be some "keep" in the Island which could be held should a landing be successful. Lowe's views were accepted in entirety fifty years later when the present fort was built. The sun setting behind High Knoll forms part of more than one description of the dying Emperor's last moments, but the fort of those days was a different one from what is seen today. The tower was 25 feet high with a base of a circumference of 207 feet. There were two barrack rooms of 30 feet each and two store rooms of 26 feet. There was also a 10,000 gallon cistern and a well. The garrison was 240 strong.

## **HIGH PEAK**

The name of the hill, 2,600 feet, and of the estate below it, on the road to the west of the Island. The naval sanatorium was established at High Peak but no trace of it remains today, unless the old school house was built on the ruins. The only reference to the Sanatorium in the local records relates to the damage caused to the fencing of the land by the sailors. The present private holding in the middle of the Government land was alienated in exchange for Newfoundland which was required as a Cinchona plantation. Des Fountain had farm lands here during the Captivity.

## **HOLD FAST TOM**

The name given to the ledge at the summit of the very steep track that lends up the cliffs from Prosperous Bay. At the recapture of the Island on the 5th of May, 1673, a force of about 400 men under Richard Kedgwin, with Black Oliver as a guide, landed at Prosperous Bay at about 12 noon, whilst Captain (later Sir Richard) Munden, with the rest of the fleet bombarded Jamestown from the sea. To reach the interior of the Island Kedgwin's force had to climb this track, but as they neared the ledge the last few yards were so steep as to prevent further progress so one Tom climbed up alone with a rope, and as he pulled his comrades up those below shouted out to him "Hold Fast, Tom!" The ledge has been known by this name ever since.

Jamestown surrendered at about 5pm on the 5th, and the landing party cannot have reached the top of the cliff by this time. It marched into The Castle at 11am the next day. Prosperous Bay and the ledge were heavily fortified during Napoleon's captivity and on more than one occasion manoeuvres were held here when the defenders hurled down rocks on to the beach below.

Kedgwin's landing and climb must have been a remarkable feat of arms in amphibious operations.

## **HORSE POINT**

The westerly spur of the Longwood Plateau overlooking Prosperous Bay and the sea. In Napoleon's time the spur was covered with gum trees, and it was here Lowe saw the stumps hidden with leaves, Mr Breame having sold the trunks to Longwood. Horse Point was outside Napoleon's limits. The area was said to be cultivated in 1745.

## **HORSE RIDGE**

Occupied by E Hayward the merchant of Jamestown.

## **HUTT'S GATE OR WOOD'S END**

St. Matthew's Church, the site of an Islander's cottage during the Captivity. Later it was occupied by a Company's Medical Officer, then by John Griffin, and then by a school, until in 1862, it was presented by the Government as the site for the modern Church.

## **THE SCHOOL OR BURNHAM'S FIELD**

Unoccupied.

## **ST. MATTHEW'S VICARAGE**

The house occupied by Bertrand, the proper name of which is "Little Pasture". Later it was occupied by Denzil Ibbetson when he undertook the Purveyorship to Napoleon. Charles Darwin also stayed here on his visit to the Island. When advertised for sale the property was described as the "Grand Marshall's Retreat". The ceilings are said to be made of packing cases that once contained Napoleon's stores.

## **THE FLAX MILL**

The property of Mrs E Pritchard who is mentioned by Gorgaud.

## **HUTT'S GATE SHOP**

Occupied firstly by Dr Papps, Medical Officer of the 53rd, and then leased by Charles Harrison, the Brigade Major, for a period of seven years. There were also offices and guard rooms. Later there was an Inn at the side of the present shop, but this is now demolished.

## **JAMESTOWN**

There has recently been found in what was Barnes' field note book, a sketch plan of the main square and two principal streets of Jamestown in the latter part of 1814. The various sketches are of value in showing what Jamestown looked like shortly before Napoleon's arrival. The square presented a very different appearance from what it does today, but the old buildings can still be seen behind the military offices and warehouses which are of a latter date. Dr Dunn retired in 1814, and Dr Ballidon died in April in 1815. Sir Hudson Lowe built the present Session House, Police Office and Library (not shown in the plan), moving the Main Guard to the west of the entrance from the sea. In his minute on the subject he makes it clear that the place was very dilapidated on his arrival.

## **KENT COTTAGE OR SMITH'S GATE HOUSE**

Leased to the Rev. Richard Boys in 1814 and named, according to his son Archdeacon Boys, after his native country. He raised a mortgage of £250 on it in 1825. Boys had other land at Lufkin's Point (David Simon's Gate) probably as pasturage for his animals. Kent Cottage is famous for having been Cronje's residence in the Boer War. Boys had still another plot at Brooke's Village, part of the modern Half Tree Hollow which he transferred to Armstrong of the St Helena Troops. Curiously enough it was called Stone Top Cottage. Armstrong is the officer who used to repair nightly to

Mason's Stock Yard to pray for the soul of Napoleon.

### **KNOLL COTTAGE**

The modern Prince's Lodge, and named after Richard Prince. The land was leased originally in 1814 to W Brabazon, Master Attendant (Harbour Master). It then passed to Shortis, Superintendent of Works, then Barker the farmer, and finally to Richard Prince, a member of the firm of W & J Prince, of London, who came to the Island to attach properties in settlement of debts due from Solomon, Dickson, Taylor & Company. Prince was ordered off the Island in August, 1815, and again in June 1816 for acting as an intermediary between Welle, the botanist, and Marchand in the matter of a lock of hair of the King of Rome. Eventually he acquired a number of properties including Farm Lodge and died in 1838. Shortis, who was then a Lieutenant of the St Helena Artillery, superintended the reconstruction of Longwood for Napoleon.

### **KNOLL HOUSE**

The modern "Enfield". Leased by Robert Leech in 1813 and constructed by George Lott Phillips in 1814. Phillips had been a Master of an East Indiaman, but got into trouble. He then joined the Artillery as a Lieutenant Fireworker, became Superintendent of Telegraphs, and so arrived at High Knoll. He was specially commended for his service in the mutiny of 1811; but he again got into trouble for embezzling the Company's coal and selling it to his washerwoman. He was dismissed from the service, and later sentenced to imprisonment for forgery. He was set to serve his sentence at Man and Horse, where he was employed on making a farm, but very soon afterwards he was pardoned on account of his services in the mutiny of 1811 and given an assisted passage to America. Dr J Mellis, senior, occupied the house for a short time, and Shortt, P.M.O., was in residence in 1821. Baxter may have been there before him. The house eventually passed to S.F. Pritchard.

### **KNOLL COMBES**

Bingham's and after him, Pine Coffin's residence. It was the property of Helena Pierie the relict (see St.Paul's Cathedral) of the "lively and eccentric genius", the Colonel of Engineers who gave his name to "Pierie's Revenge". McRitchie, the merchant, was the last owner connected with the Company, having inherited the property from Helena Pierie who was attended by O'Meara.

### **LADDER HILL**

600 feet. The "Ladder" of today is named after the hill, and not the hill after the ladder. The name Ladder Hill occurs first in the Island Records in 1693 and the present ladder was not constructed until 1830, when it was known as the "inclined plane". Beeckman states the name owes its origin to a rope ladder that served as a means of ascent until the first road was cut. Ladder Hill is the Tower Hill of St Helena and here all the more barbarous executions took place; slaves being hanged in chains, disembowelled, and drawn and quartered, etc. The first fortifications were constructed in 1776, Brooke added to them in 1779, and Walker undertook extensive repairs in 1824-1827. The modern buildings were constructed in 1873. During the Captivity the barracks were occupied by the Imperial troops, probably for the reason that the Company's regiments were regarded as unreliable. The first road between the Castle and the top of the hill was cut by Pyke in 1717, and the trace of its steep zig zag path can still be seen. The road to Shy road and Armstrong's Corner was cut in 1770, and from Long Turning to St.John's in 1882 - more properly it should be called "Phillips' Road" after the name of the officer who constructed it. "Alexander's Short Cut" is the name of another road on the hill, named after Alexander, the Engineer who was in charge of the Exhumation.

High Rock, from above which a heavy fall occurred in 1890 is a well known land mark, but the proper name (which should be preserved) is "Pierie's Revenge". Colonel Pierie was the Engineer officer of the Company who was so nervous of the rock that he always galloped his horse past it. He died a natural death in 1812, and after a fall in 1824 the rock acquired his name. "Emery's Jump" is another land mark, which takes its name from the fact that Sergeant John Emery of the Company was riding his horse down the hill, when it took fright and threw him over the cliff.

The East India Company's observatory, which can still be seen, was established in 1824, and was a very well known institution. The Officer in charge, Lieutenant Johnson, afterwards became the Radcliffe Astronomer. The observatory was abandoned on transfer to the Crown and the instruments sent to Canada.

The Military Institution was another valuable scientific establishment given up at the same time. It existed for the technical education of the young officers, and in addition to producing valuable surveys of the Island, also kept the proper time for communication to the shipping. The time office was later transferred to a building on the terrace above the old Debtors Jail, where the time was given daily until the refusal of the Government to replace the only chronometer in the Island made the practice no longer possible. The clocks and some of the instruments used may be seen at the Castle and at Plantation House.

The "inclined plane" or modern ladder was designed and built by Dallas (1828-1836) in 1830, in order to save time and labour in the transport of ammunition and stores. The money was raised locally as a private venture from 353 shareholders; but in 1832 The Company purchased the concern for the sum of £882. The "inclined plane" was really a tramway, and in 1832 a Mr Hoar, the local organist, designed a safety truck which would not run backwards, should the rope break. His device received notice in the English technical press and a working model is in existence. On transfer to the Crown the tramway fell into disuse and disrepair, until in 1871 it was repaired and reconstructed by the Royal Engineers for the sum of £846. The following are its statistics:-

Length	933 feet
Rise of Steps	11 ins
Height	602 feet
No. of Steps	700
Average slope	39°
Steepest slope	44°

## LEMON GROVE

The house in Sandy Bay below the modern Baptist Chapel near Four Gun Battery Hill. The property of William Seale of Wranghams and then of his son William Seale Junior, who later became Colonial Secretary under the Crown. The house is well known for Jenkin's stone let into the side which reads:-

Robert Jenkin  
Esqr. Decem  
16. A.D. 1741.

Robert Jenkins is famous for the "War of Jenkins Ear" declared in 1739. He arrived as Governor on the 9th of May, 1741, and left on 4th June, 1742. The Governor had quarters at Sandy Bay during this period on account of the sugar plantation maintained by the Company in the valley there. Another stone from Sandy Bay is that describing the murder of his master, John Coles, by a slave named Sultan on the 9th April, 1721, at Cole's Rock. This stone is let into the floor of the porch of St. Paul's

Cathedral and has already been worn away by the feet of worshippers entering the Church. Jenkins wrote a valuable report on the Fortifications in 1741.

### **LEMON VALLEY OR SPRAGUES**

An important fortification occupied by Major St. Ledger in 1816. Presumably he was in command of the post, but his name and duty in St Helena cannot be traced. Captain R Statham in command of the Invalids, occupied the cottage in 1815. The Invalids corresponded to what would be called "light duty men" today. Magnetic observations were taken at Lemon Valley in 1828.

### **LEVELWOOD**

The farm of George Alexander who died in 1806. It was occupied by Henry Alexander during the Captivity.

### **LONG RANGE**

An important signal station near Rock Rose communicating both with Prosperous and Cason's.

### **LONGWOOD**

An extract from a report made in October, 1716, by the Governor and Council after their inspection of the "Great Wood" of St Helena is reproduced in Janisch's "Extracts from Records", and it is also quoted by Mr Norwood Young in "Napoleon in Exile, etc." at p.143 Vol. 1. A reference to the original document shows that the report was accompanied by the first survey of Longwood, and that it also contains the following sentence, which was omitted by Janisch, but which is included in Beatson's Tracts:-

"But as to healthiness we don't think it will hold if the wood which keeps the land warm were destroyed, for then the rains which are violent here would carry away the upper soil, it being a clay marl underneath would produce but little....."

There is no reason to suppose that, a hundred years later, the rains were any less violent, and it seems important that if the report is to be quoted as a historical document, the above sentence should not be omitted.

Much has been made of the fact, notably by Bathurst, that Longwood House being the residence of the Lieutenant Governor, it must in the natural order of things, have been the next best house to that of the Governor. This argument overlooks the supposition that this officer might have been required to live there for particular reasons. The East India Company, as early as 1678, had many interests in the place. In 1743 Governor Dunbar built a barn there, and in 1752 Lieutenant Governor Adamson, Vice Hunter transferred to India, was authorised to occupy "the rooms in the Longwood" in addition to his house in Jamestown. Detachments of troops were kept at Deadwood and "the Hutt's", and there was an artillery park at Hutt's Gate. At a time when any sail sighted might have meant a sudden invasion, the area had some tactical importance, and it was via Hutt's Gate that Kedgwin had marched on Rupert's in 1673, whilst the artillery had been the objective of the mutineers advancing from Jamestown in the outbreak during Beatson's governorship. Access to the plateau may be had from Bank's, Ruperts, Turks Cap, and Prosperous, and it was appropriate when St Helena was a very different place from what it is now, that a responsible officer should have been stationed in the area. There were also perquisites such as farm produce, wood for fuel,

and bullocks for transport.

The claim that Longwood was the best of all the houses available on grounds of size, and general suitability, is also difficult to sustain. There is in possession of Mr F.R. Thorpe of St Helena a print of Rosemary dated 1797, from which it is apparent that this house had quite as good claims if not better, and there were also Woodland, Oaklands, Oakbank and Farm Lodge.

Like everywhere else in the country districts of the Island, Longwood enjoys an equable and healthy climate, but by no means did its amenities exceed other and more favoured places. The views in some aspects are very attractive, but the great mass of the Barn can hardly have failed to remind a prisoner, whenever he put his head outside his front door, of what was generally called "his situation". The golf course of today with a gentle trade wind blowing and a mild sun, is one of the most charming places on the Island, but here again there is another side to the Longwood medal. The whole plateau is open to the full blast of the wind sweeping in from the sea with no intervening obstacle, and on wet days in winter it can be very miserable and cold. Moreover the house itself stands in one of the most exposed spots, and even Napoleon had to have walls built in the garden to protect himself from the blast. The advantages and disadvantages of the district are now obscured in controversy, but the fact remains that few residents in St Helena would of choice live at Longwood. O'Meara makes a good point when he asserts that until Napoleon was sent to Longwood, nobody thought of living there.

The alleged superiority of the plain for riding and driving has been exaggerated by others since Cockburn, who is said to have first visited the Island in 1805 in HMS Lowe(1). The process of hacking round the Emperor's limits, which takes 3/4 of an hour, soon becomes uncommonly boring. St Helena is not a good riding and driving Island, but the Western district is equally as well favoured in this respect as Longwood. The privet hedge which has grown around the French Government property is apt to give a wrong impression of the spaciousness of the Emperor's grounds, and the whole area was far more wooded(2) than it is today. There was game to be shot, and a curious relic preserved in the Castle, is a Proclamation dated 20th February, 1816, by which the game within the boundary was reserved for General Bonaparte, and which also provided that anyone shooting "without the General's permission" was liable to a penalty of £5 in case of a partridge and £20 in case of a pheasant.

The house itself must have been a veritable rabbit warren, and with the constant alterations and the activities of the workmen, and the noise of the servants overhead in their purgatorial garrets, there can have been little peace or quiet for Napoleon. The wage bill of the Chinese, which amounted to over £2,000 between October, 1815, and December 1816, gives some idea of the constant turmoil there must always have been going on. The historians are discreetly silent as to the sanitary arrangements, and imagination shudders at the contemplation of what these must have been in what was a grossly overcrowded tenement. After Napoleon's death the house remained the property of the Military until 1822, when it passed to the Company, and in 1824-25 it was converted to a farm at a cost of £804. It remained as a Company's farm until 1829, when it was leased to a private partnership.

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(1) See Consultations Book 102, Nov 25th 1805. Pulteny Malcom in Command of the Victorious visited the Island in 1805. See Book 99 Jan 17th 1803.

(2) During Lowe's regime no less than 253,128 trees were planted in the Island, of which number 5,000 were planted at Longwood. Book 121 pg 265.

Visitors to Longwood today would do well to recognise the fact that the place was selected for Napoleon, because it was the one in which he could be most easily secured, and for no other reason. Beatson, who was consulted before Napoleon was sent to the Island, made it quite clear that unless a house was built, there was no suitable accommodation in the country districts.

Amends were certainly made by the construction of the New House. The stone came from the boundary fence (which was later repaired at the cost of the British Government) and from Colonel Wright's quarry at Rock Rose for which Brooke was instrumental in getting his father-in-law £200 by way of compensation. The house remained as the Island's White Elephant.

For some years one of the rooms was used as a Church, and quarters were provided for the Chaplain; it was also used as a place of recuperation for invalids from India; but a proposal to use it as a "Young Ladies Boarding Seminary" came to nothing. Dallas took refuge there in 1832 when the "smell of the drain under the lower floors at Plantation became unendurable" and his family contracted what was probably typhoid. The principal attraction of the New House is the wonderful view over the Deadwood Plain.

### **LOT'S WIFE WOOD**

The modern "Distant Cottage". Richard Barker was the first to place the land under cultivation in 1820.

### **LOWE'S GARDEN OR MULBERRY GUT**

The name has nothing to do with Sir Hudson Lowe. Thomas Lowe was a carpenter who was brought to the Island by Walker to train apprentices. His wife was also a silk spinner.

### **LUFKIN'S**

There are two Lufkins in the Island; at Horse Ridge and near Plantation, both being named after an early settler of this name who was accused of taking part in the rebellion of 1684, but was later pardoned. The estate near Plantation was purchased by the Government in 1707. It was one of the Company's farms in the Captivity and Breame junior lived here. Lowe thought the place was very badly kept, and asserted that Breame had built a pond for his own ducks at the Company's expense. He was later dismissed like his father.

### **MALDIVIA**

Originally known as Concord House and situated at the upper end of Chapel Valley, the gardens have long been known, and still are, for their fruit and vegetables. During the Captivity the house was occupied by Hodson, and Napoleon visited it when he was at the Briars. The name is derived from the employment in the gardens of 10 slaves from the Maldivé Islands in 1735.

### **MAN AND HORSE**

The high plateau at the extreme south western point of the Island; so called because a rider and his horse are alleged to have fallen over the cliff. It was the site of an important telegraph station during the Captivity as well as in the Great War. Two of the few indigenous gum trees left on the Island are still growing here. The estate was at one time leased to Shortis, Superintendent of Works.

## **MASON'S**

The present Teutonic Hall. It was mortgaged by Miss Mason's brother to Thomas Lester in 1815. Lester had been a Captain in the Artillery, and was then a pensioner, and in 1822, G.W. Janisch purchased the house from the Masons and took over the mortgage from the "late Captain T Lysters estate". The error in the deed, if it is one, is curious, as Lyster was the well known officer on Lowe's staff who challenged Bertrand to a duel. Mason's Stock Yard which should not be confused with the Masons of Arno's Vale, was above the house on the slope between Sunberry Hill and Alarm Hill known as the Lawn, and there was a picquet there. Janisch renamed the house Teutonic. To this day it is said that Polly Mason had a window at the back of the house, which looked straight into Longwood, and that she used to signal from it to Napoleon.

## **MOUNT PLEASANT**

One of the best known houses in St Helena. Sir William Doveton acquired the house from Matthew Bazett in 1786. Students are indebted to Mr Watson for the information that Sir William did not take off his hat at the famous dejeuner. The present house was reconstructed by the late Mr W.A. Thorpe. It is only fair to Sir William to state that the official instructions were that persons were not to uncover to the Emperor as if he were royalty. See Capt Travers' account in the life of Raffles published by his widow. The fact is omitted in one very well known work.

## **MYRTLE GROVE**

During the Captivity the residence of David Leech, who held the office of Assistant Accountant, and who died in 1820. After his death the property passed to John Sampson of West Lodge.

## **NAPOLEON'S VALE**

See Geranium and Sane Valley.

## **NEW GROUND HOUSE**

The residence of the late Hon. H.J.Bovell, Acting Governor of St Helena in 1910. Mr Bovell's mother was one of the ladies who made the flag used at the Exhumation. In 1710 there was a plan to irrigate the land behind the house by means of a channel running along the high ground from Plantation House, but it came to nothing. The present house was built by Boer Prisoners in 1901. The old cottage was almost certainly occupied by an unknown celebrity during the Captivity. In 1814 it was the property of Taylor of Dickson & Taylor. This firm handed it over to Prince in part settlement of a debt, who in turn sold it to Barker. The latter sold it to Statham of the Invalids in September, 1821, and he, in turn, sold it to one of the Seales. It eventually passed into the hands of the Mellis family, of whom the last descendant in St Helena was the author of the well known history of the Island.

## **OAKBANK**

Or Bowman's and seized from Huskinson, one of the mutineers of 1684. The residence of Major Hodson who also owned Maldivia, and which he probably used as a winter residence. When Cockburn was at the Castle, meetings of Council were held at Maldivia. With the exception of Beatson who dismissed him from the appointment of A.D.C. because he signed a petition protesting against his reforms, Hodson was a persona grata to all the Governors under whom he served. He was a Member of the Legislative Council and for a very short time Colonial Secretary under the



Crown. Later Oakbank, after passing through the hands of G.W.Mellis, became the official residence of the Bishops of St Helena, after the erection of the See in 1859. When the Bishop moved to the present Bishopholme, the property remained in the care of the Diocesan Trustees, one of whom purchased it. A special Ordinance had to be passed invalidating the transaction.

## **OAKLANDS**

One of the best known houses in the Island, and during the Captivity the property and residence of Mr Robert Leech, who was a Member of Council and who died in 1818. David Kinnaird commanding the St Helena Artillery lived here after Leech's death. Robert Leech was a man of independent mind, and he and Doveton opposed Beatson. A note of asperity was not infrequent in his correspondence, and Janisch more than once refers to his ill tempered letters. In the Asiatic Journal for August, 1818, Oaklands is said to have been considered as a residence for Napoleon, probably when the proposal to rent Masons as a summer residence was first adumbrated. Today all the oaks have been destroyed, but early photographs show it to have been a most attractive residence.

## **OTRANTO, CASTLE OF**

This name is to be found in Read's Map as the name of the present Wranghams. A close search of all documents fails to reveal any authority for its use, which is unknown to the oldest inhabitants. The place is described as "Wranghams" in the earliest deeds.

## **OLIVE COTTAGE**

More properly "Unity Cottage" which was leased to a "Society of Gentlemen" in 1823, after Francis Plain has been purchased by the Government. The house was then described as a Club House, so it seems that the Society may have been some form of social club.

## **PEAK DALE**

Part of the farm of John Des Fountain who was the largest land owner of the Napoleonic period. The present house was occupied by his wife after his death.

## **PHYSDALES HERMITAGE OR FISDALES**

Now known as the "Hermitage". The Rev. Bowater Vernon resided here from 1818 onwards. The name Physdale cannot be traced. There is said to be a rock of this name at Sandy Bay. Vernon was the junior Chaplain, and for part of his time resided with Lowe at Plantation. He is said to have dedicated the Emperor's tomb in the following words:-

"O Lord may it please thee to consecrate this ground for the reception of the mortal remains of Napoleon Buonaparte."

## **PERKIN'S**

Or "Elder Cottage" in the Sandy Bay district, and the farm of James Lowden who kept a tavern and billiard saloon in Jamestown throughout the Captivity.

## **PLANTATION HOUSE (Government House)**

So called after the farm or Plantation, to use the language of the period, established by the Company in this locality since the very early days of its occupation, and before the capture by the Dutch in 1673. The first Government House was Anthony Beale's erected in 1674, and sold to the Company in 1679. Meetings of Council were held in this house. By 1711 Roberts had erected a more suitable building, which was allowed to fall into disrepair by Boucher, who when he left the Island, is said to have taken with him "all that was portable which might have been of service to him including the locks and keys". (Boucher rode asses for his amusement, and had a shed built 400 feet long in which he might exercise himself in wet weather). The present house was completed by Brooke in 1792, and it was added to and considerably improved by Wilks in 1814. Beatson did much to the gardens; (but he is best known in connection with the house for sentencing a soldier, who stole six bottles of his beer from one of the cellars, to be hanged. The criminal was pardoned). Lowe built extensions adding the present library, Billiard Room, Nursery (Chaos), Kitchen, Offices, Coach house and Stables. His plans are on view in the Castle. In 1832 Dallas moved to Longwood New House, and Plantation was not reoccupied until the transfer to the Crown in 1836. Trelawney effected considerable repairs in 1843, and also purchased a quantity of new furniture. When Patey took over in 1870 the house was so dilapidated that he protested at having to occupy it in such a condition. For a long period, beginning in 1873, the house was leased to the Military Commander in the Island, Janisch living in Jamestown in the modern Palm Villa. Plantation was re-occupied by Grey Wilson in 1889. The white ants attacked it in 1898, and the next twenty years saw it gradually fall into a state of decay from which it was rescued by reconstruction in 1931. (A curious feature of the house is the series of rooms with brass plates affixed to the doors showing their use i.e., "Governor's Room, Admiral's Room, Baron's Room, General's Room". These plates have excited much speculation, but bear no historical associations, as they were placed on the doors by Grey Wilson, Governor 1887-1897. The rooms were originally described as the Blue Room, the Pink Room, etc and the "Prince of Orange's Bedroom", after the visit of the Prince of Orange in 1838. The dining room will seat 25 guests, but Lowe dined no less than 60. The grounds have several features of interest. The Ladies Bath, near the spring below the Ladies Garden, was built by the Company for the use of the ladies of the house. The stone pillars of the dressing room were still in situ in 1886, when they were removed to make new pillars at the White Gate Lodge. There are also a Chinese Joss House and a slaves cemetery. The Plantation tortoises are famous. Originally there were three, but one only survives today. One, a female, is supposed by tradition to have been imported from Mauritius in 1776, and another was taken off an East Indiaman, en route from China, and presented to Governor Walker by his A.D.C., Captain J Pritchard, in 1826, whilst the third, a male is said to have been imported in 1858. The shell of one was presented to the British Museum by the late Mr W.A. Thorpe in 1897 and the late Mr Rostchild offered to buy the female for £150 in the same year, but his offer was refused and the animal died in 1918. The male still survives but its age at the date of importation is unknown. English birds such as thrushes, linnets, and gold-finches, were let loose in the grounds in 1824, then by J.C.Mellis, and again by Sterndale, but there are no survivors today. The house has a quantity of fine furniture and East India Plate and a fine old Library. The Napoleonic relics were presented to the Longwood Museum in 1934. The present area of the estate is about 120 acres but in 1800 it was about 350, taking in Church Ground, Kingshurst, Kaunjee (Cronjje) Hill, the Hermitage, New Ground and Prince's Lodge.

## **PLEDGERS**

Praise Pledgers land near Mason's through which Lowe cut the "New Military Road" to Woody Ridge, for the convenience of Napoleon. Pledger is known to history for stealing salt from slaves.

## **POST OFFICE, THE**

The first Post Office was established by Brabazon and his men on the Wharf in 1814. J.Cole, the Postmaster of Napoleon's time, was appointed by the Postmaster General and not by the Company. The use of the present building as a Post Office is modern. It was the Lieutenant Governor's town house at the beginning of the Captivity, and after Skelton left, it was repaired by the artificers of the Navy and furnished at Government expense as an official house for Malcolm, who also had private quarters at the Briars. It became the Officers Mess of the St Helena Regiments in 1820, to which the civil servants were admitted in 1824, and it has served the same purpose for almost every Garrison of St Helena.

## **POWELLS VALLEY**

Named after Gabriel Powell, an early settler who landed with Kedgwin, and had 10 acres at the head of the valley, near Green Hill. The Emperor saw the valley when he rode to Rock Rose without his escort. Lowe, as usual, is laughed at for thinking of defending Powell's Valley, but Patton inspected it in 1804, and thought it an inviting landing place for an enemy in fair weather. He reported that it was very desirable to "close up this back door to the Island".

## **PROSPECT**

The residence of Thomas Brooke which was completed in 1821, according to the stone in the house. He lived at Brooke Hill prior to this date. The land on which Prospect stands was at one time in the occupation of Coulston, one of the mutineers of 1684.

## **PROSPEROUS BAY**

So named after the landing by Kedgwin, and heavily defended by Lowe. The early officials thought a great many men could land very easily at the Bay, but it is difficult to see today where they could, as there is only one landing ledge or rock and that a small one. The signal station was an important one.

## **RED HILL COTTAGE**

The present Bishopholme. Leased during the Captivity by David Kay Pritchard of the Artillery, the Company's A.D.C. to Lowe who, according to O'Meara, escorted Las Casas from Longwood Avenue to Hutt's Gate. Pritchard was in command of the Corps when it was disbanded in 1836, and then emigrated to the Cape. Below the cottage was the Red Hill Depot which was a military store and a Depot for a light field artillery "brigade". The present cottage was built in 1895. There was another Depot for Artillery at West Lodge, and the name is preserved today by the hill called after it to the west of High Peak.

## **ROBINSON'S**

Now merged into Willow Bank or Legg's. The ruins of the old cottage are marked on the 1904 survey of the Island close to the boundary of Willow Bank. John Robinson was a small farmer who cultivated land in Fisher's Valley. His father was appointed as the Company's carpenter in 1764, and died in 1789. He was granted 28 acres of land in Fisher's Valley and was succeeded by his son the father of "The Nymph". His sister was married to Cole of the St Helena Regiment. "The Nymph", Mary Anne Jane Robinson, married James Ives Edwards on the 19th July, 1817. In 1813 her father mortgaged "Bates" to the Widows Fund for £250. It was paid off by Edwards

in 1823 and the land registered in his name. Edwards died in 1826, possibly at sea, when "The Nymph" was left with four small children. Her address at this date was Leicester Palace, Camberwell, and her men of business were Messrs Fletcher and Anderson of 10, Kings Arms Yard, London.

### **ROCK MOUNT**

The residence of John Bagley who was one of the principal farmers during Napoleon's Captivity. He and John Legg appeared on almost every Committee that dealt with land and agriculture. The Bagleys are one of the best known Island families, and are said to trace their descent from refugees to the Island from the great fire in the City of London in 1666.

### **ROCK ROSE**

A very well known estate in St Helena at Deep Valley which was at one time owned by the Seales. The stones bear the following inscription:-

R.B. Esq.  
GOVERNOR 1789.

These stone were probably cut for Plantation House by Robert Brooke, Governor. The St Helena Records have practically nothing to say about Rock Rose, but the house was clearly one of the most important and biggest in the Island, and is said to have been fitted with a magnificent ebony stair case.

### **ROSE BOWER**

The property in 1815 of Richard Young, Planter, let to J. Cole, Postmaster. It then passed to Andrew Darling, the Upholsterer (later Clerk of Works) who managed Napoleon's funeral.

### **ROSE COTTAGE**

Next to Mount Pleasant. It appears to have been a sort of dower house for the Dovetons and Greentrees who were closely related, but was actually owned by the Greentrees, having been given to Eleanor Greentree by Sir William Doveton in 1824. In 1839 it was in occupation of the first Chief Justice of St Helena, Wilde, who is best known for his "unreserved" opinion that the method of transferring the present French lands was illegal. He once toasted the Empress Eugenie in the following words "the most virtuous, the most beautiful, the most amiable, the most religious, and the most charming lady who exists on the earth."

### **ROSEMARY HALL**

After Plantation probably the best known house in St Helena. The house was built by Wrangham who was a Member of Council, and a descendant of one of the early settlers of the Island. Rosemary was bought by Des Fountain on the death of Wranghams in 1819, and it was seized by the Company after the defalcations, but later released. Des Fountain settled the property on his daughter Anne, who married Ensign Haymes on the 66th, Adjutant of the Volunteers, and who dies in 1822. His wife died in Brussels in 1830. During the Captivity Rosemary was the residence of Sturmer and Balmain. Lowe's proposal and offer of Rosemary in place of Longwood came to nothing, and historians of repute would do better if they accepted Lowe's high opinion of the place, which is shared by everyone else with experience of St Helena, rather than attempt to argue that

Longwood was better suited on grounds of climate and general amenities. There was ample space for exercise, and the locality, by common consent, is one of the most favoured in the Island. The question of custody offered no insuperable difficulties.

### **ROSE COTTAGE**

This cottage, which is situated at the very bottom of Fisher's Valley, was built by Captain Ross of the Northumberland, and Las Cases and his son are supposed to have been detained here after their deportation from Longwood. If this is correct, no more unsuitable place could have been chosen for the detention of distinguished persons. Some accounts state that Las Cases had a view of Longwood from his window, but it is doubtful if such could be obtained from this site. The descent to the cottage is so steep that some reference to it would be expected in the numerous descriptions of the incident; but there is none. "Ross" may have become confused with "Rose", the house called "Walbro" having been known by this name during the Captivity, and the latter would certainly have provided far superior accommodation. See WALBRO.

### **ROSE HILL**

The pasture land leased by R.F.Seale next to Alarm Hill above Mason's. There was no residence here.

### **RURAL RETREAT**

The residence of Colonel Wright commanding the St Helena Infantry and the father-in-law of Brooke.

### **RUPERTS**

The name of the Bay and Valley immediately to the east of Jamestown. According to an entry in the St Helena Records for 1734, Prince Rupert, the famous cavalry leader in the Civil War, anchored here on his return from India. Another version states he was waiting in the Bay in 1651 to attack either the Dutch or British Indiamen en route to Europe. No reference to this visit can be found in the standard works on the subject, but Rupert is known to have visited Cape Verde and the Gambia and may have also reached St Helena. Many suggestions have been put forward for the development of Ruperts as a second Jamestown, including a tunnel through Mundens to connect the two, but nothing has come of them.

### **SALT SPRING**

During the Captivity the residence of Captain Thorn, Adjutant to the Artillery who replaced Pritchard as Superintendent of Telegraphs when the latter was suspended.

### **SANE VALLEY**

The valley in which Napoleon was buried and so called from the earliest times; the name "Napoleon's Vale" being used later to describe that part of the Valley in which the Tomb was situated. The earliest, and only, map of the Tomb area to be found in St Helena is dated 1831, and it shows a garden to the south as well as to the north, but the latter only exists today. The first willow fell down in 1824 and was removed to Plantation in 1829. The road down which the procession passed is slightly below the track used now. Parts of the wooden fence erected by Lowe are still in existence as well as the original sentry box. John Goater was the first Custodian.

He was followed by John King and John Young who both received a gratuity from the French Government for duties as custodian. Even the country policeman, who was in charge after the exhumation, was suitably rewarded when the land was transferred. An account of the doggerel written in the Visitor's Book kept at the Tomb will be found in Lockwood's Guide to St Helena, the book itself being preserved in the R.U.S.I. museum. Joseph Lockwood was the local Clerk of Works. In his private capacity he had much to do with the building of St. Paul's cathedral; but as a public officer he was always in trouble with the authorities for criticising them in the local press which he also appears to have owned and edited. Hudson Janisch, by his marriage to the Pritchards, had a financial interest in the disposal of the Tomb, and the deeds for the transfer to the French were prepared by him.

### **SHARKS VALLEY**

Near Longwood. William Julio had a small farm here.

### **SOUTHEN'S**

During the Captivity the free property of Francis Seale, of the St Helena Infantry. The actual occupier cannot be traced.

### **SUNNY SIDE**

The property of Captain Onesiphorous Beale, of the St. Helena Artillery, and occupied by Vernon before he moved to the Hermitage.

### **SWANLEY VALLEY**

A small farm at the head of the Valley of this name occupied by John Knipe.

### **TERRACE KNOLL, SYDENHAM, SCOTLAND, GUINEA GRASS**

The lands and properties of the Beale family, whose ancestor was the Governor of the Island when it was captured by the Dutch in 1673. During the Captivity they were the property of Anthony Beale whose brother owned the adjoining estate of Sunny Side. Since 1815 the land has undergone much fragmentation, and it is now split up into numerous small holdings. Beale was the Deputy Secretary, and was in trouble with Brooke for tampering with the Council minutes in the case of the Governor and Council versus Henry Huff Pritchard. His residence, Terrace Knoll, was hired for Gorgaud when the latter left Longwood accompanied by Jackson who may have stayed on here. Jackson seems to have moved much about the Island. At one time he shared a cottage with Northam, and for some months he lived in a house at Longwood, probably one of the temporary buildings, not far removed from the modern flax mill. There is a beautiful view of Terrace Knoll in Burchell's sketch book. Scotland is a modern building, the land having been purchased by one John Scott in 1834. Sydenham is also modern; but there was a house at Guinea Grass in 1811, the name being taken from the species of grass which was introduced in 1789. Terrace Knoll had one distinguished occupant in the person of the Rev. Samuel Jones, who in one of his denunciations from the pulpit compared the people of St Helena to those of Sodom and Gomorrhah. The sermons of Boys are mild in comparison with those of his unfortunate predecessor who enjoyed the Emperor's sympathy.

## **TRAP COT**

So named after John Trapp, an early settler who came to the Island in the Joanna with Blackmore in 1678. It was owned by Kennedy of the Artillery in Napoleon's time. He commanded the Militia Artillery for many years, and died in 1867. His descendants are still in the Island.

## **VARNEY'S OR GORDON'S POST**

Originally part of the lands owned by T.H. Brooke and his sons and sold by one of the latter, Robert, to Edward Varney, a painter in private business of his own.

## **VAUGHAN'S**

Part of the free land of W.H. Seale and part leased by Des Fountain during the Captivity. Vaughan was an early settler and in residence here in 1734.

## **VIRGIN HALL**

Situated in Sandy Bay, and acquired by Captain Daniel Hamilton from William Seale in 1810, and then by Samuel Knipe of Horse Pasture Farm. Hamilton belonged to the St Helena Infantry and died of leprosy in 1812. He left two natural sons, Daniel and George Patrick. At the time of his death the former had not reached the age of 19 and was being educated in England. Daniel, junior, married Charlotte Knipe, "the Rosebud", on 8th June, 1820, and must have been below the age of 27. He returned to St Helena in 1817 and in 1818 his name appears in the rolls as paying rent for "Virgin Hall" as well as in the schedules of householders. He was in residence at Virgin Hall for many years after the Captivity. Charlotte Knipe was the daughter, according to the St Helena Records, of Samuel Knipe of Horse Pasture Farm, now Woodlands, who died in 1819. Mr Watson's "Knipe" who sailed in the "Duniro" for London on 8th July, 1819, was his widow. Daniel was in residence in 1839, as in that year he mortgaged a luggage boat. He is described in an official list as being a farmer. "The Rosebud" found an appropriately named residence, but before her marriage she lived a long way away from Longwood and her charms may have been slightly exaggerated by Gorgaud who was notoriously susceptible. Her son, Daniel Hamilton, born in 1823, died in 1867, when his two daughters emigrated to South Africa.

## **WALBRO**

The house, with a few acres of land belonging to it, is situated between Hutt's Gate and Teutonic Hall (Masons), close to Wills'. The first recorded use of the name, the origin of which is unknown, will be found in the Parish Rate Register for 1839, when the house was in occupation of George Votour Lambe. For some reason the site of a house is not shown on Mellis' plan of 1825; but it is marked on that of Barnes of 1811, and a view lithographed by James Graham in 1822 is in possession of Dr Arnold Chaplin.

Theodore Hook gives a description of a house which might apply to the Walbro of today, and called it Rose Cottage. The name may have been changed in later years and, if Hook is correct, it is possible that Las Cases was detained here and not at the very unsuitable Ross Cottage. See Ross Cottage.

During the early part of the Captivity, the land belonging to the house was leased by Balcombe & Company, for the supply of produce to the French at Longwood; but it has other and more important historic associations, having been granted to Black Oliver as a reward for his services

when acting as a guide to Kedgwin's force.

## **WHARF, THE**

Properly the part of the Quay between the Upper Stairs and the Lower Steps. In 1772 the landing place having been reported as extremely dangerous, a "flight of stairs of Purbeck Stone cramped with iron and a 10 feet stone wall" was ordered to be constructed. In 1787 it was resolved to make a road to "Downing's Cove" and to carry the wall on from the Upper stairs to keep the surf off and thus form a wharf. Water was to be laid on in pipes, and a crane was to be erected, the whole to be paid for by a charge on foreign shipping; estimated cost £500. The Wharf is always liable to damage by heavy rollers and extensive repairs for this reason were necessary in 1822 and 1846. A modern reconstruction was undertaken in 1914. The Quay from the Draw Bridge to the Upper Stairs is always known as the Glacis, and herein lies the answer to the question; at which steps did Napoleon land? According to Chaplin, Mrs James Bennet states that she was the first lady Napoleon bowed to "as he walked up the steps of the Glacis". He, therefore, landed at the Upper Stairs, and not at the usual and most frequently used "Lower Steps".

William Brabazon, the Harbour Master, had charge of the Wharf during the Captivity. He was one of the characters of the period. Frequently in trouble because the Company's ships would foul those of the Royal Navy when coming in to anchor, he was always being called upon to submit his explanation in writing for his neglect in mooring them. On at least two occasions both Plampin and Lambert fired upon them. Brabazon was quite well able to take care of himself. The truth was that he was very busily occupied in private trade, which the Company permitted him to carry on as a condition of his appointment. When Lowe embarked on the *Dunira*, he was pursued by a handful of angry merchants who thrust a petition into his hands complaining of Brabazon's depredations. The truculent Harbour Master replied in a scathing letter pointing out the legality of his actions, and exposing the real motives of his traducers, as well as their questionable antecedents and characters.

## **WILLOW BANK**

More properly "The Hutts", and a house with some historical associations. In 1804, John Legg was given the house and land as a free grant, and it was described in the deed as "The Hutts". He resided here during the Captivity. It is reasonable to suppose that "Hutt's Gate" derives its name from this estate. The Legg family is one of the oldest in the Island, and John Legg, then a planter, was well in with Lowe, being employed on various committees in regard to agriculture and land.

A descendant of the family is now the custodian of the Tomb, and resides in Torbett's Cottage. In 1824 John Legg mortgaged the property to the Widows Fund, and by 1839 it had become merged with Robinson's land next to it to make up one estate of 110 acres. After passing through the hands of William Heathorn, a contractor concerned with the Cape and brother of Henry Heathorn, the house became the property of James Metcalfe, a carpenter, who was one of the few Englishmen to see Napoleon as late as the month before his death. He also enjoyed the distinction of making the coffins, and died in St Helena in 1854. Napoleon visited Willow Bank on 5th January, 1816 when he discussed agriculture with Mr Legg.

## **WILLS**

The farm of Richard Wills at the bottom of Diana's Peak, above the Hutt's Gate Road. Richard wills waged a perpetual war with the Government over the reservoirs and channels of the Longwood water supply, which were situated on his land. Lowe replaced these channels with lead pipes, for part of the cost of which he used the profits of the farms. On the whole Wills seems to



have been badly treated. A great deal of stress has been laid on the piped water supply to Longwood. It was, however, insufficient for the troops at Deadwood who were supplied by barrels rolled along the road from Hutt's Gate. An account will be found in Henry's "Events of a Military Life".

## **WOODLANDS**

There are two houses of this name, that of George Blenkins near Browns Hill which, in the Captivity, was the residence of Des Fountain, and that of Richard Knipe's in the western district. The latter in Napoleonic times was called Horse Pasture Farm. This "Woodland's" has a stone in the corner of the house as follows:-

"This stone was laid by Henry Porteous 1789." (Remainder illegible).

Porteous' occupation however, cannot be traced. If the historians have quoted the "Rosebud's" parentage correctly, it was in this house that she lived.

## **WEST LODGE**

The property of Charles Sampson, Captain and Quartermaster, St Helena Infantry. His son, Charles John, succeeded to the family estates and the Sampsons were in residence for many years.

## **WOODCOT**

The house of Mr Richard Leech who died on the 4th October, 1817. He was the son of Robert Leech, and Storekeeper to the Company.

**A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL HOUSES OF THE ISLAND OF ST.HELENA AND THEIR  
OCCUPANTS DURING THE CAPTIVITY OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON**

ALARM COTTAGE	Mr T McRitchie, Merchant
ALARM HOUSE	Mr T H Brooke, Col. Wynyard, Sir T Reade
ARMSTRONG'S CORNER	Mr Saul Solomon
ARNO'S VALE	Mr R Barker, Contractor
BARGOE'S (Half Tree Hollow)	Lieut. R Armstrong
BAMBOO HEDGE	Mrs Lambe (?)
BEVIAN'S	Mr W Janisch (partly)
BEARCROFT'S (Rock cottage)	Col. E B Wynyard
BRIARS, THE	Mr Balcombe and all the Commanders in Chief
CASTLE, THE	Sir Geo. Cockburn
CHUBB'S SPRING	Capt. J Bennet
CHUBB'S SPRING COTTAGE	Mr T S Rainsford, Inspector of Police (?)
CLEUGH'S PLAIN	Mr D Ibbetson, A.CG until 1818
DEADWOOD	Mr T Breame, Farmer
EAST LODGE	Mr C Blake, Asst. Secy. Sheriff
ENFIELD (see Knoll House)	Dr Melliss, Dr Thomas Shortt, and perhaps Dr Baxter
FAIRY LAND	Mr T Greentree, Member of Council
FARM LODGE	Lieut. Col. Smith, Cmdg. St Helena Artillery
FRIAR'S LODGE	Mr G Doveton
HERMITAGE, THE	Built by the Rev. B J Vernon, Jnr. Chaplain
HORSE PASTURE FARM	See Woodlands, West
HUTT'S GATE	Dr Papps, Major C Harrison, Brigade Major
HUTT'S GATE COTTAGE	St. Matthew's Vicarage
KENT COTTAGE	Rev. Richard Boys. Snr. Chaplain
KNOLLCOMBE'S	Sir. Geo. Bingham, Brig. Genl. Pine Coffin
KNOLL HOUSE	See Enfield
KNOLL COTTAGE	Lieut. J Shortis
LEMON GROVE	Mr W H Seale, Asst. Accountant
LUFKIN'S	Mr T Breame, Jnr.
MALDIVIA	Major Hodson (in the winter)
MASON'S	Miss Mason
MOSQUITO COTTAGE	Mr B A Wright, Accountant
MOUNT PLEASANT	Sir William Doveton
MYRTLE GROVE	Mr D Leech, Asst. Accountant
NEWFOUNDLAND	Mr C Weston, Goaler (farm)
OAKLANDS	Mr Robert Leech, Member of Council, Major D Kinnaird
OAK BANK	Major C R G Hodson
PERKIN'S (Elder Cottage)	Mr J Lowden (farm)
PINK GROVE	Mr W Julio
PLANTATION HOUSE	Sir H Lowe
POST OFFICE	Sir P Malcolm. Officers Mess
PRINCE'S LODGE	See Knoll Cottage.
PROSPECT	Mr T H Brooke, Secy. to Govt.
RED HILL COTTAGE	Lieut. D K Pritchard
ROBINSON'S	Mr J Robinson, Farmer

ROCK MOUNT  
ROSE COTTAGE  
ROSEMARY HALL  
ROSS COTTAGE  
RURAL RETREAT  
ST.MATTHEW'S VICARAGE  
SANE VALLEY  
STONE TOP COTTAGE  
SUNNY SIDE  
SWANLEY VALLEY  
TERRACE KNOLL  
THOMPSON'S WOOD  
TRAP COT  
VIRGIN HALL

WALBRO'  
WEST LODGE  
WILLOW BANK  
WOODLANDS EAST  
WOODLANDS WEST  
WOOD COT

N.B.

Dr Baxter  
Mr Brabazon  
Major A Emmet  
Lieut. Basil Jackson

Lieut. Col. Lyster  
Major Power  
Capt. H H Pritchard  
Major Gideon Gorrequer

Mr J Bagley, Farmer  
Mrs Greentree  
Count Balmain and Baron Sturmer  
Messrs Balcombe & Coy.  
Lieut. Col. J A Wright, cmdg St Helena Infantry  
Marshal Bertrand and later D Ibbetson  
Dr Kay, Medical Supt.  
Lieut. R Armstrong  
Rev. B J Vernon. partly  
Mr J Knipe, Farmer  
Mr A Beale, Dpty. Secy., and Baron Gorgaud  
Capt. & Qrmaster Mr C Sampson  
Lieut. N Kennedy  
Mr Daniel Hamilton Farmer and husband of "The Rosebud"  
Balcombe & Co., Count Las Cases  
as Thompson's Wood  
Mr Legg, Farmer  
Mr J Des Fountain, Storekeeper  
Mr S and later Mr R Knipe  
Mr Richard Leech, son of Mr Robt. Leech, Storekeeper

untraced, possibly at Plantation  
Master Attendant, Jamestown  
untraced, possibly Jamestown  
1. Shared a cottage with Lieut. H W Wortham.  
Possibly Rose Cottage  
2. Partly at Mr Clinghams cottage at Longwood Gate  
3. Terrace Knoll  
untraced, possibly at Plantation  
untraced  
Supt. of Telegraphs, Ladder Hill  
lived at Plantation House with Sir Hudson Lowe.  
The Senior Officers of the Troops had houses provided for them at Francis Plain, Lemon Valley and Deadwood. There were also many temporary huts and cottages at the latter place for the officers and their wives and families.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **1. THE LAST YEARS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY**

"This singular Island"  
(Governor Walker 1824)

On three occasions, at least, has possession of the Island of St Helena proved to have been of value in the political and commercial development of the British Empire. Unless it has been held by the East India Company between the years 1673 and 1814, the gigantic expansion in the Indian trade that occurred during this period would have been greatly hindered; whatever views may be held on the treatment accorded to Napoleon it provided in the eyes of his captors, however prejudiced they may have been, a place of detention that was certainly secure; and the suppression of the slave trade on the coasts of Africa would not have been possible, except at great expense, had no depot, so conveniently placed as St Helena, been available for the slaves then freed. The interests of the people of the Island suffered from the introduction of large numbers of African slaves; but in the accounts of the remarkable part played by Great Britain in the cause of civilisation, the name of St Helena is conspicuous by its absence.

The history of the Island under the Crown is the story of a phenomenal rise to prosperity followed by a sudden and precipitous descent of its Government to bankruptcy, and its people to penury. Today the ruins of public buildings, of vast fortifications, and of large and beautifully situated country houses, are all, excepting its climate and scenery, that remain of its former glory.

#### **The Arrival of General Walker, 1823**

When Sir Hudson Lowe left unexpectedly in July, 1821, the Island was still littered with the debris of the Captivity. There were the military staffs and troops that remained, the stores and the accumulated property of His Majesty's Government, the miserable house in which the Great Soldier had died, and the "palace" of Longwood New House that has been the incubus of the Island for over a hundred years. The contingency of the Governor dying during the Captivity had been foreseen; but that of Napoleon's death was an event for which no provision had been made. Lowe, on his departure, did not feel inclined to commit the troops and property of His Majesty's Government to the sole charge of the East India Company, and after a sharp encounter with the civil authorities, a compromise was effected whereby General Pine Coffin, a caricature of a soldier, became Acting Commander-in-Chief, whilst T H Brooke assumed office as Acting President of a Commission of Members of Council to administer the Government. Until 1822, when Pine Coffin left the Island and Brooke became Acting Governor, this unusual condominium worked amusingly and well. The Island was busy with the reversion to normal. The death of Napoleon left a legacy of vice and speculation, and the claims for compensation, rental allowances, annulment of contracts, and the like, were numerous and substantial. A local event, of some interest, was the foundation in 1822 of a new village on the northwest of High Knoll, the forerunner of the modern Half Tree Hollow.

Within a few days of its receiving news of the Emperors' death, the Company announced its intention of appointing one of its own officers as Governor. The arrival of the person selected, however, was greatly delayed. Mark Wilks, who had been displaced by Lowe in 1816, was given the first refusal and he seems to have toyed with the idea of returning; but he was enjoying a handsome pension and the choice fell, eventually, on Brigadier General Alexander Walker, a retired officer who had seen much service in India. Walker arrived early in 1823 and began his administration in inauspicious

circumstances. The day before his arrival a deficiency of over £9,000 was discovered in the Treasury cash, which subsequent investigations proved to be no less than £13,900, and the sinister feature of the defalcations was the fact that they could not have occurred without the collusion of one of the acting Members of Council, the Accountant, John des Fountain.

Walker was an officer of liberal views who had held the appointment of Resident to the Gaekwar of Baroda. It is a misfortune that his service in St Helena should be best known for the stupid outrage of converting the house in which Napoleon lived into farm offices; but whatever his responsibility may have been in the matter, the British Government cannot be said to have set any better example, when it came to their turn to dispose of the famous buildings. General Walker did much for St Helena. He breathed a new life into the administration of the Government; abuses were remedied; the system of accounts was overhauled; estimates of proposed, and accounts of actual, expenditure were demanded for all public works, that profitable field in which for so many years speculation had been rampant; corporal punishment was abolished for all except the gravest crimes; and a public example was made of those responsible for the Treasury deficit by dismissing them from the service, a course of action, at the time, unprecedented in St Helena.

### **A Free Port 1826**

During Walker's Governorship the first signs of the impending change in the status of the Island over which the East India Company had maintained a close monopoly, became evident. The cessation of the European War had given rise to a boom in shipping, and with the removal of the local restrictions of the Captivity and the opening up of the China trade, there was a striking increase in the number of vessels calling at the port. There now began the long struggle between the Jamestown shipping interests and the Island Government, that was to last until construction of the Suez Canal put an end to shipping. Complaints began to be frequent of the Company's preserve at St Helena, and the first monopoly to be destroyed was the ban on the sale of local cattle to ships. Then the half dozen or so private traders, into whose hands the profits from the supply of non Company ships would naturally fall, began to demand a policy of the "open door" and the abolition of all port dues, so as to make Jamestown a free port. A memorial on the subject was duly submitted to the Governor and Council, but before it could be transmitted to London, orders were received in 1826 for Jamestown to be declared free to all vessels. Thus the monopoly of Government passed to a handful of traders, whose exactions and extortionate charges soon gained the Island a most unenviable reputation. A hundred years ago ships stayed days, and sometimes weeks, at Jamestown; they were there to refresh, to land the sick, and to give the passengers a chance of recuperation after months at sea. The exploitation of passengers, in particular those who had the misfortune to be landed in a seriously ill condition became a public scandal. A nefarious practice sprung up whereby dying travellers received their last consolations from benevolent tavern keepers, who in due course notified the surprised relatives that the returning exile, prior to his death in St Helena, had drawn up a Will appointing Mr So and So of Jamestown to be his executor. The receipt of a will, for probate and letters of administration, was often the first intimation the Government had of the existence of a stranger in the Island, and to put a stop to the scandal a law was passed whereby the death of every non-resident in a hotel had to be immediately reported to the Governor - a procedure that is still in force today.

Walker's tenure of office came to an end in 1828, after five years of unparalleled energy and efficiency. The Savings Bank, the Agricultural Society, the Military Institution, and the Observatory, that was later to achieve fame under Manuel Johnson, were all his creations, and many of the public buildings in use today are due to his forethought and initiative. In agriculture he persevered with all the zeal of a Beatson, but with no more success, and the great silk industry was one of his conceptions; but the lavish expenditure of £20,000 on lands, mulberry, and staff, only produced a return of £300 in the seven years in which the experiment was in operation. In land administration

he also proved himself the benefactor of the people by converting the Crown Leases into Permanent Tenure, a proposal first put forward by Wilks in 1813.

### **The Last Years of The Company**

Walker was succeeded by Brigadier General Charles Dallas, an elderly Indian Officer, whose arrival coincided with impending changes in the scope of the Company's activities in China. For many years its monopolies there had aroused the bitter opposition of rivals anxious to participate in the tea trade, and in 1829 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was set up to investigate the subject. Should the Company lose its hold on China there would no longer be any reason for it to retain St Helena which was already costing it about £100,000 a year. Coming events cast their shadows before; and under Dallas the Company began to lose interest in the Island.

The Longwood Farm was broken up and let to a private tenant for the first time in 1829; the port facilities on the Wharf were let to private traders in the same year; and a year later, Ascension was looming large as a Naval Station for the squadron of the Royal Navy, then active on the West Coast of Africa, at a proposed expenditure of £300,000. As if to mark the termination of a long chapter in the history of the Island, the "St Helena", the Company's schooner in the service of the local Government, was captured by pirates in 1830, when the Captain and Doctor were brutally murdered by being lashed back to back and thrown into the sea.

Dallas was the last Governor of St Helena under the East India Company. He was 65 when he was appointed and 73 when he left still hopeful of another office. His period of office is noteworthy for the final arrangements for the emancipation of slaves and the construction of the celebrated Ladder. The latter is his permanent memorial. He designed it, and with the assistance of a few shareholders, financed its construction himself; and after it was completed and in operation as a tramway, he sold the whole concern to the Company at a moderate and reasonable figure.

### **The Transfer of the Crown 1834**

It is not possible to read the official record of the concluding years of the East India Company's Government of St Helena without a sense of deep regret. The people of the Island were the Company's children; and it is true it had been an indulgent parent. For 175 years, except for a few months, it had ruled over the Island, and the voluminous and well kept records, the accurate and beautifully drawn maps, the roads, buildings, and fortifications, and the names of the lands and houses are the relics today of its rule. There were no tender farewells. A pathetic appeal from Dallas to be continued in his administration, Brooke's apprehension "of a disruption of all establishments", and the memorials from the military and public officers asking for fair treatment all fell on deaf ears, and on the 23rd of April 1834 the hoisting of the Royal Standard at Ladder Hill, saluted by the battery at Munden's announced the transfer of the Island to the Crown with effect from the previous day, a Sunday, that is the appointed day under the Government of India Act of 1833. His Majesty's Government, for a variety of reasons, found it inconvenient to take over the Island immediately, and it was therefore arranged with the Company that it should administer the Island, at the cost of Great Britain, until such time as the Crown could assume occupation. In the meantime a Commission of Captain Brandreth of the Royal Engineers and Mr Walpole of the Treasury, arrived in October 1834 to draw up a report on the Island for the information of its new masters.

## 2. THE TRANSFER TO THE CROWN

"This famous Island"  
(The Africa Pilot)

### The Commissioners 1834

The problems confronting the Crown in St Helena were neither small nor easy of solution and the task to which the Commissioners had to address themselves was how to make a remote Colony pay for itself, when such a process had never been attempted before. On this subject they had much to say. To find a satisfactory answer to the riddle was the principal object of their mission, and in their report to the Secretary of State they used the following words:-

"The Island, the Inhabitants and their children seem to have been considered as forming a little State or a little Community of itself; dependent indeed upon the Company for means of support (which it was never contemplated would be diverted from it). We apprehend this to be both a political and social condition unknown in any other Colony or Settlement and the evil of the system is now apparent. In reference to this subject we allude to the fallacy that this Island could ever yield from its own resources the means of subsistence for the Inhabitants. For the last 130 years every experiment has been tried to draw forth the latent riches of the Island. Gold, Copper, Rum and Sugar, and lately Silk have been objects of hope and speculation; while in the experiments in Agriculture each new Governor has brought out with him new theories, and established new laws and regulations to force forward this important branch of the Island's resources."

The Commissioners were referring to what was called the "Indent System", a method by which the East India Company, with a close monopoly of all trade, imported large quantities of staple foodstuffs and other necessities on its own account, and then supplied them to the inhabitants at prices from 10% to 19% over and above first cost. Whatever may have been the advantages or disadvantages of this system, the Crown, clearly, was not in a position to continue it; but the Commissioners, who were much influenced by the views of the few private traders, were wrong in attributing to it all the evils they found in the Island.

Abuses under the Company, where the officials and people were all united by blood and marriage, were inevitable and common. In the early part of the nineteenth century mal-administration had become particularly marked, and in 1810 Beatson, the author of the well known Tracts, determined to effect reforms and economies. He reorganised the "Indent System", and as an alternative seized on the idea of the Island growing its own foodstuffs for local consumption. He raised the price of all necessities issued from the Company's stores, and by a series of experiments proved conclusively that lands at the right elevation and in the right climate would grow all sorts of produce in great profusion. Wheat was the only crop he was unable to bring to a satisfactory maturity. His efforts were the cause of much discontent in the community, and they ended in 1812 with the outbreak of a serious mutiny. There was, in fact, no need for anyone, during the last years of the Company's reign, to turn to the hard toil of agriculture in order to sustain themselves. It would have been remarkable had they done so, for at their doorstep lay a mass of shipping where a great deal of money might very easily be made. The number of ships anchoring was increasing every year, and the people, under the new conditions to be imposed upon them were to become more than ever the parasites only of a great seaport.

The East India Company, with its vast experience of St Helena, was, perhaps, wise in its generation, and 40 years after had given up possession, the "Indent System" was described as having been a "great boon" to the people. The Company had never regarded its Island as a self-supporting settlement, but solely as a depot for the supply and refreshment of its great commercial fleets. This conception was now to undergo a profound and striking change. The report of the Commissioners was what might have been expected. They turned to first principles for a solution to the problem, and recommended a heavy reduction in establishment, salaries very much smaller than they had been for the new Civil Establishment, the abolition of many services, a large decrease in the Garrison, and a substantial increase in taxation by way of Customs duties and tonnage dues.

### **Military Government**

The Commissioners recommendations were accepted and adopted with very few exceptions; but severe as these were, the worst result of the change over was the military character given to the new Government. It had been intended, originally, to appoint a civilian, Sir R Plasket, as Governor but this proposal was dropped for some reason and instead the Island was treated as a military fortress. The decision had the most unfortunate results and the civil population came to be regarded as nothing better than a military inconvenience. Their problems were varied and complicated and they had enjoyed civil government for close upon two hundred years.

No one could have been expected to foresee the disaster that was to fall thirty years later; but St Helena had a long history. The local conditions, the distribution of lands, the rapidly increasing population, and the entire lack of an industry, were all fully known. Much hardship and poverty might have been avoided in later years, had the form of the original government been more conscious of the administrative needs of the Island, rather than those of Imperial Defence at a time when the Royal Navy had no serious rival. Moreover, the policy of regarding St Helena as a military post only, was one which underwent no substantial change for a period of very nearly forty years.

### **The Arrival of Middlemore 1836**

The requisite Order-in-Council providing for the future Government of the Island was enacted in 1835, and on 24th February, 1836, Major General Middlemore, an elderly officer who had been Lieutenant Governor of Grenada, arrived in the Maitland accompanied by the Atholl, carrying strong Detachments of the 91st Foot and Royal Artillery. Notwithstanding that the people of the Island and their ancestors had been subjects of the Crown since 1673, (they even held lands conditional on allegiance to His Majesty), and that the flag of his country had flown over the Castle since 1678 and at seven other stations since 1715, the gallant General approached Jamestown as if he was invading some hostile shore. Taking due military precautions lest he should be resisted by the Company's troops, he landed as instructed, and proclaimed His Majesty's possession of St Helena, very much as if he was annexing some South Sea Island. Almost his first act was to lay hands on the public buildings that he considered suitable for the troops - irrespective of whether they had previously been used for military purposes or not - and these he expropriated for the use of the Board of Ordnance, without payment of compensation - a financial loss to the Government which handicapped it for many years. The Observatory, for some unexplained reason, seems to have excited the new Governor's contempt to an exceptional degree. The Commissioners had recommended its abolition, and the General's first official act was to issue a peremptory order for the valuable instruments to be dismantled, packed up, and sent away. Lieutenant Johnson, whose work has proved more enduring than that of General Middlemore's received a small pension on termination of his service; six years later it was found necessary to incur expenditure in the setting



up of a Magnetic Observatory near Longwood. The next trouble was the removal of the disbanded troops, some of whom had elected to join the King's Service at the Cape. The General was outraged that he could not persuade any of the officers to accompany the party and there does not seem to be any particular reason why they should have done so. Their careers had been abruptly terminated. No pensions had been granted to them. They were without pay; and it seems as if they would have to pay the cost of their own passages back to England. Jealousy, no doubt, had a good deal to do with the Governor's strange behaviour. He was constantly sneering at the high salaries paid by the Company, and his own inability to extract a substantial travelling allowance from the Colonial Office, may have led him to retaliate on its servants. Angered at finding Plantation House dismantled, he instructed the Accountant, Blenkins, to charge the cost of returning the furniture and repairing the house to the Company. Blenkins, who had 30 years service, demanded authority in writing for the charge, and for this remonstrance he was deprived of the grant of a free passage to the United Kingdom. Middlemore's barrack square methods were an unhappy augury for the future administration of the Colony. Finding the Council intractable he tried to abolish it; but when he marched all the prostitutes he could lay hands on to the Hospital, he was sharply reprimanded by the Colonial Office, which refused to advise confirmation of an indemnifying Ordinance.

### Criticisms of the Crown

It is a common belief, and one in which the Crown has incurred much adverse criticism, that the transfer of the Island was accompanied by a spectacular retrenchment in expenditure of the harshest description and the infliction of much unnecessary hardship on the officials and population. Except for the complaints of the displaced military officers there does not appear to be any ground for these assertions. Under the Company, St Helena was a self contained unit, and when it is affirmed that the governmental expenditure suddenly dropped from £100,000 per annum to £20,000 it should be remembered that the former figure included the cost of every service on the Island, and the latter that of the Civil Government only. In addition to the local Government expenditure, only partially covered by local revenue, the Crown in 1839 was also bearing the cost of a substantial garrison about 460 strong, as well as that of a large organisation known as "The African Establishment", formed for the reception of liberated slaves from the West Coast of Africa. The Squadron of the Royal Navy engaged in the suppression of this trade was also stationed at St Helena, and the official expenditure, in the Island, was in the neighbourhood of £88,000.

The greatest measure of hardship arising from the transfer fell upon the local troops and their officers. The two regiments had given long and faithful service; but it was true, that with the exception of the Detachments sent to the Cape and Buenos Aires, they had in the main led an easy monotonous life in a mild and temperate climate, with none of the hardships and dangers of the great campaigns in India or Europe. The men were well-drilled material, and in one branch quite exceptional coast artillerists, and they might all have been sent to India for incorporation in the Company's Armies. Some of the officers had held quasi-civil appointments, and with one or two exceptions, such as C.R.G. Hodson and Den Taafe, all now lost their civil employment, whilst many of the men had formed associations in the Island, and they and their dependents being left without occupation, were compelled to emigrate to the Cape.

The new Civil Establishment, by order of the Colonial Office, was to be made up exclusively of those who had been previously in the Company's service. As its strength was about 80 compared with the 60 under the old, the new civil officers had no particular grievance, except that of heavy reduction in salaries, which they were permitted to supplement by drawing proportionate pensions. A few only of the more senior officers were re-employed, and on account of the enmity that existed between Dallas and Brooke, neither of the latter's sons received any appointment. The pensions

awarded to the civil officers were at the maximum rate of two thirds of their emoluments - a well known standard provision. Brooke received £1,000 per annum, Greentree £900, and the senior officers proportionately. These officers cannot be said to have had any grievance. In the case of the junior officers, some of whom were left in the prime of life on a small pension, with no profession open to them, the hardship was more substantial. The military officers received much less generous treatment. Their pensions, for some reason, were assessed at a 2/5th rate and there were many grievously hard cases. An outcry arose in the Press and Parliament, and ultimately the East India Company made an ex-gratia grant of about £750 per annum to be added proportionately to the pensions of the retired officers.

The story of the old servants of the Company, working in the field with their labourers, is a well known one, that has been repeated by more than one historian. But the trouble in St Helena was due, not to the lack of provision made for retired officers, but to the standard of life to which they had been accustomed. Many of them had inherited or acquired large family estates that their handsome emoluments made more of a pleasure than a burden, and the change in their circumstances necessarily fell heavily upon them.

The people of the Island, apart from the arbitrary methods of their new Governor, suffered no hardship or inconvenience. On the contrary, the rapidly increasing number of ships resulted in many new private ventures that were a source of additional wealth to the labouring classes, some of whom had lost their employment owing to the reduced circumstances of their new masters. A regrettable change was the lack of interest shown by the new regime in the moral welfare of the Island. Jamestown, the resort of emancipated slaves, free men of colour, seamen of all nations, and the local soldiery, was rapidly acquiring all the vices of the most notorious seaports, nor was it improved by the addition of a new and unwelcome population.

### **Liberated Africans 1839**

The emancipation of slaves in 1833 had been followed by an Act for the suppression of the Slave Trade which ordained that freed slaves were to be taken to the nearest British Port for disposal. For the West Coast of Africa, St Helena occupied this position, and in 1840 an organisation, paid for by the Imperial Government, was formed in the Island and known as "The Liberated African Establishment". The advances in civilisation, and the great scientific discoveries of the past 100 years have, in general, struck heavy blows at the prosperity of St Helena; but of all the benefits conferred on humanity, none imposed greater sacrifices on the Island than the decision of the Imperial Government to use it as a reception station for emancipated slaves. Formed at Rupert's Bay under the charge of the Collector of Customs, this Establishment received practically all the slaves liberated by the operations of the Royal Navy off the Coast of Africa, the vessels themselves being sent to the local Vice Admiralty Court for condemnation. The policy, in general, was to use Rupert's Bay as a depot for convalescence and recuperation, from whence the slaves were despatched to other settlements, principally the West Indies, but nearly a thousand remained behind as settlers. A handful of merchants made large profits out of the sale of stores and the breaking up of condemned slavers, and the town population an easy living out of the squadron stationed in the roadstead; but there was introduced into an already overcrowded Island, with a climate where it is notoriously easy to live, a coloured population, the entry of which had been prohibited since 1792. The importation of the African slaves by the East India Company had been condemned by the British Commissioners in the strongest terms, but in the face of these recommendations, tropical races were again brought to a climate which far from being beneficial, was actually injurious to their further moral regeneration. The effects of this influx on the original St Helena stock are obvious. Another disaster more easily observed was the ravages of the termites, introduced in the wood of Brazilian Slavers in 1846, that had destroyed almost every building of importance in

Jamestown by 1860. When the Island was bankrupt in 1870, and the Government in debt and unable to pay its bills, the principal cause of the breakdown in its finance was assigned to the heavy expenditure that had been incurred in repairing the destruction caused by white ants.

### **Arrival of Trelawney 1842**

General Middlemore's administration of the Government lasted until 1842. His behaviour at the Exhumation, his quarrels with the Chief Justice whose Court and office had been inaugurated by an Order-in-Council of 1839, his treatment of his officers, and a few repairs to the buildings he had expropriated, are all that he is likely to be remembered for. One measure stands in his name, but not to his credit, namely that regulating the Friendly Societies, the first of the many that have been so helpful to the Island having been founded by Mr Robert Ramage, the instrument keeper of the despised Observatory, in 1839. To constitutional experts his Government has certain points of interest, numerous Orders-in-Council being enacted for the trivialities of Colonial administration. These were repealed later by local Ordinance, itself confirmed by a confirmatory Order-in-Council. Middlemore was relieved by Hamelin Trelawney, who arrived in the Island in January 1842. This change was not without humour of its own, Trelawney being the officer whom Middlemore had ordered "to desist from writing to him, under pain of being placed under close arrest".

The Colonel who had been in command of the Artillery on its arrival in 1836, was well known to and popular with the inhabitants. He had taken a leading part in the ceremonies connected with the Exhumation, and as a mark of appreciation the Prince de Joinville had presented him with "an elegant fowling piece richly inlaid with gold". After Middlemore, Trelawney's appointment was greeted with general expressions of relief, and a few days after his arrival he thought it proper to inform the Secretary of State of the acclamations with which he had been received.

### **The St Helena Regiment 1842**

Concurrently with the arrival of a new Governor, a change of some importance took place in the method of garrisoning the Island. The detachment of a Company from one of the Battalions at the Cape, for duty in St Helena, proved to be inconvenient. The Imperial Government, therefore, adopted the plan of raising a special regiment of Infantry in Great Britain, to be known as the St Helena Regiment, solely for the service in St Helena. As an additional inducement for recruits, promises were made for the use of Government land for cultivation, and the estate known as Broad Bottom was allotted for this purpose. The experiment which began in 1842, and lasted 22 years, was unsuccessful. The farm was taken away by Trelawney within a year almost of the Regiment's arrival on the slender pretext that its productions were competing with those of private traders. Thus, in the very earliest stages of its career, the men began to labour under a substantial grievance. The monotony of life in such a remote station, the lack of any opportunity of sharing in the Empire's petty wars, service in a regiment with no traditions (exposed to the taunts of troops continually passing on their way to and from remote parts of the Empire), and the enervating climate of Jamestown, all constituted easily intelligible reasons for the failure of a policy which had been attempted by the East India Company with not too successful results. Further, the men at the end of their five years service were only too glad to volunteer to get away, with the result that those of good character left to join other corps, so that the ranks gradually began to be filled up with bad soldiers. In the last years of its service, the Regiment was in a condition bordering upon open mutiny, and in 1857 it was disbanded. The St Helena Regiment, however, has left its permanent mark on the Island by adding materially to the English stock, and many families today can trace their descent to a member of "The Old Saints", the nickname the soldiers gave to their corps.

This unusual military policy had an important bearing on general economic conditions. It ensured a substantial expenditure, whilst the association of the men with the Islanders gave employment to large numbers of the labouring classes. Indeed, military expenditure throughout Trelawney's administration was on a substantial scale. The Slave Depot at Rupert's was costing some £24,000 per annum in salaries and maintenance of the inmates, whilst the condemnation sale, and breaking up of slavers, constituted the principal administrative work of the Government. The Imperial Government was not the only source from which a large amount of employment was obtained. The number of ships which called in 1845 reached the astonishing total of 1,458, and this influx of vessels was to be the principal cause of important changes in fiscal legislation.

### **Tonnage Dues**

In all matters of taxation the Commissioners Report was the Imperial Government's Bible. To enable the Island to pay for itself, Brandreth and Walpole had recommended an *ad valorem* Customs duty, and a charge upon vessels calling at the Port of 2d per ton. The Customs tariff, which was clumsy in its design and inequitable in its imposts, had been duly introduced, but not the tonnage dues, and the great influx of shipping now compelled the Government to undertake improvements in its administrative and social services. Jamestown was ill-equipped to deal with all the complicated needs of a great sea port and the pressing need of the moment was a hospital for sick seamen. To raise funds for the construction of this Institution, it was necessary to resort to additional taxation. The East India Company had maintained a hospital at the head of Jamestown that was primarily a civil institution, to which the military had access. The building had not escaped the observation of General Middlemore in his campaign of grab, and by a strange metamorphosis it had become, in 1844, one reserved for the military, to which civilians were admitted. The number of seamen dropped at the Island for admission as patients was certainly large, and it was therefore decided to construct a new Civil Hospital for their reception. To provide for the gratuitous treatment of sick seamen in the future, and also to obtain funds for the building, it was resolved to impose a duty of 1/2d. per ton on all vessels calling at the Port for supplies. The proposal was ill conceived, and for upwards of 40 years it aroused bitter hostility against the Government that was only abated by the abolition of the dues in 1882. Even the Imperial Government regarded the dues as objectionable, but they were prepared, in view of the special circumstances of the moment, reluctantly to acquiesce. The controversy on the subject was acrimonious for many years. The local Government maintained that the objections of the people were those of an influential and vocal class only, who were making exorbitant profits out of the ships, a proportion of which should be diverted to the local Treasury. The inhabitants, or those who spoke for them, contended that the new tax would keep ships away. On both sides, the argument contained some measure of truth. The exactions of the traders were in many cases unconscionable, so much so that some Companies forbade their ships to purchase supplies at the Island. On the other hand a few ships doing a bumboat trade were probably kept away. It was certainly true, however, that no ship genuinely requiring stores or supplies were deterred from visiting the port on account of a duty of 1/4d. per ton, to which amount the dues had later been reduced. But the appropriation of public revenue to a specific object, so easily riddled by justifiable argument, was unwise. The public truth was that under the East India Company, the Island had never been exposed to taxation, and a natural and intelligible reluctance to submit to it, should have been recognised by a straightforward imposition. Nevertheless, the Chief Justice was expressing a deep seated grievance when he remarked upon the proceedings "that if the military wished for a hospital he saw no reason why they should not build one".

### **Land Tenures 1843**

Trelawney, in his other administrative measures, was more successful. A keen practical agriculturist, he at once detected the complexities that had grown out of the East India Company's system of land tenure, - a tangle that had even baffled the industrious and inquisitorial Commissioners who had taken refuge in a cadastral survey and registration by a Board of Commissioners whose labours had been completed in 1839. The Company had held the Island as Lords of the Manor by Charter since 1673, and in exercise of their rights had made free grants of land to settlers conditional upon military service. The services were later commuted to a quit rent of 1s. per acre, and in 1794 free grants were discontinued altogether. Lands were then leased on a variety of conditions, and finally in 1828, these leases were converted to "permanent tenure", to be held subject to faith and allegiance to His Majesty and payment of a small rent, to be assessed by a visiting Committee according to the varying grades of land occupied. By a Proclamation of 1843, Trelawney offered commutation to freehold at a varying number of years purchase of the annual rental value. The offer was taken advantage of freely, and the Proclamation constitutes the origin of nearly all freehold property so held in the Island today.

### **Death of Trelawney 1845**

Trelawney died at Plantation House in 1846, a few months after the great rollers had wrecked the Wharf and eleven captured slavers. The repair of the damage was the last charge St Helena was to make upon the Crown for nearly 20 years.

### **3. PROSPERITY 1850 - 1860**

"Sad vices have brought and will bring again on this poor Island the judgment of God Almighty." (Governor Poirier, 26th August, 1700)

#### **Self Supporting 1849**

Trelawney was succeeded, after a short interim period by Major General Sir Patrick Ross. Late in 1849 the Imperial Government announced that with the local revenue averaging over £15,000 per annum, St Helena must henceforth pay for itself, and that after the repairs to the Wharf had been paid for, no further grants-in-aid from Imperial Funds need be expected. On account of this decision, that was not unexpected, it became imperatively necessary to increase the local revenue. The tonnage duty, to the tune of loud protests, was increased to 1d. per ton in 1849, and at the same time additional charges were imposed under the Customs tariff in the nature of wharfage. As a result of these measures, the local revenue exceeded the expenditure for the first time since the Crown assumed the Government fifteen years before. In this short space of time the economic conditions of the Island had undergone striking changes. In 1836 the population had been about 5,151 and in 1850 it was 6,194. Ships anchoring showed an increase to close upon one thousand yearly. The garrison, since 1842, had been over 400 strong, and in 1850 Imperial expenditure amounted to £42,000, to which had to be added the local civil expenditure of £17,057. With the commercial disbursements incurred on about 1,000 ships, there was far more money being spent in the Island than ever before in its history, and probably exceeding even the Napoleonic period. Prosperous as the Island was, there was much that was evil. The Government, as has been shown, was without means of coping with the administrative needs arising from the changed conditions and instead of the respectable little village of Jamestown, there was now a roaring little township bent on exploiting the passengers and seamen.

#### **Jamestown 1840 - 1850**

Contemporary official reports portray the most terrible scenes of squalor and filth. The Police, in the absence of any code regulating their conduct, seem to have been powerless to intervene. The sale of liquor had passed out of control, and the number of illicit wine shops was legion. Drunkenness was everywhere rife. Church services were interfered with on Sunday mornings, and in the words of an official report, "it was impossible to pass along the Main Street, without being molested by drunkards, half naked prostitutes, and stripped men fighting in the gutter". The town was crowded with seamen, soldiers, and freed Africans, to whom was added an enormous influx of passengers intent, as the Colonial Chaplain put it, "of spending hundreds of pounds on liquor in as short a time as possible". By some remarkable perversion of the practice of the Company, Sunday had become the general day for payment of wages, and to add to the already overcrowded streets, hundreds of labourers flocked into the town from the country to receive their wages, and to spend them in the shops, all of which remained open.

A few of the leading inhabitants, headed by the Magistrate, were intent upon preserving the respectability of the Island, and as a result of their efforts an Ordinance was enacted, "The Lord's Day Observance Ordinance", that made it an offence for work to be done or shops to be open on a Sunday. This legislation earned much ridicule in later years, but it is not, as is generally supposed, a relic of puritan England; it was passed to prevent the most terrible scenes prevalent less than ninety years ago.

## **Sanitation 1840 - 1850**

If the social development of Jamestown had been deplorable, the sanitary conditions were revolting. An official report described these in the following terms:-

"In most of the dwellings the door is the only inlet of air or light. Throughout the town heaps of filth and rubbish with pools of fetid and stagnant water. We could enumerate much more loathsome elements in these longstanding deposits, but it must suffice to mention decayed fish bones, stable manure, ordure, rotten bedding, and gunny bags, as the constant contributors of foul gases. The prevailing custom of keeping pigs throughout the town requires serious attention. We found most of the styes in a neglected and filthy state. The styes are kept close to the doors, and the stench is loathsome in the extreme. Privies are generally in a neglected and foul state. In very few cases could we find any system of removing the contents, or any cover to prevent the escape of sickening effluvia. In point of fact they were full and fetid. These repulsive places instead of being conveniences are the last to deserve the name. The slaughter houses we pronounce to be monstrous evils. In one we found a heap emitting an intolerable stench from the portions of a dead ox in an accumulation of manure. The banks of the Run are loaded, for nearly the whole length of the town, with filth of every sort. The combination of evils now mentioned, creates a wretchedness physical and moral among the poor which baffles description. The dwellings are not houses; in each case the occupant resorts for his evening hours and diversions to the wine shops, and he is driven there by the dirt of his home which he only enters to forget himself in sleep."

## **The Churches 1840 - 1850**

Knowledge of these conditions was not, of course, confined only to St Helena, and it is not a matter for surprise, therefore, that the Island should have come to be regarded as a fruitful field for spiritual endeavour. In 1845, Mr McGregor Bertram, a Baptist Minister, arrived and his work was very soon to shake the Established Church to its foundations. The labours of the Church of England for the social welfare of the community had always been regarded by the Company as of the greatest importance. From the earliest days it had maintained one Chaplain in the official establishment, and in later years two. The activities of these priests are described by Brooke in his History of St Helena, and in his account it is stated that occasionally their ministrations led to acute controversy. Brooke himself was a strong Churchman, and whatever may be the truth of his animadversions on the Company's clergy, there can be no doubt that in the latter years of its administration, they played a prominent part in the Island social life. The Company had regarded the introduction of dissent as likely to be disastrous, and in their letter of appointment to Sir Hudson Lowe, had addressed him in the following terms:-

"36. The observance and inculcation of religion, both by precept and example, at St Helena, has constantly been an object of the Court's unremitting anxiety. In furtherance of which they have for several years past, maintained the establishment of two Chaplains concerning whose religious principles and moral character they were well satisfied at the time of their appointment. Their ordinary duties are the regular performance of Divine Worship on Sundays in the Town and Country Churches, to visit the sick in the hospital, and the

inhabitants of the Island, as occasions may require, and otherwise to deport themselves in a manner becoming the clerical character.

"37. We are impressed with a belief that the moral and religious feelings of the inhabitants of the Island have been progressively improving, and that the principles of the established religion of Great Britain successfully inculcated upon the rising generation of St Helena, will be productive of the most solid and beneficial effects both present and in the future.

"38. Considering the subject to be of the highest importance to the well being of the society upon the Island, we cannot but contemplate the great change which is about to take place, both in the number of residents and varieties of religious persuasions, as fraught with the most serious consequence if not specially guarded against by the utmost vigilance and care. The subversion of the Established Church we should consider as an evil of incalculable magnitude, and we cannot too strongly recommend that the maintenance of our Established Religion be an object of your special attention and unceasing solicitude".

The Commissioners also shared these views, and in their report had recommended an ecclesiastical establishment of one Civil and one Military Chaplain. They also did not fail to observe that the clergy would find the people "in a comparative state of intellectual and religious ignorance."

#### **Arrival of a Bishop 1849**

With the aid of financial help from America Bertram made rapid headway in a field where, hitherto, there had been little competition. The people flocked to his services. Chapels were built in the country districts; and the number of conversions to his faith was the cause of much concern to the ecclesiastical and official authorities. He was confronted with much organised obstruction and hostility, and only Kempthorne, the Colonial Chaplain, adopted the liberal view that to attempt to repress the new belief would be a great error of judgment. The result of Bertram's activities were petitions for clerical aid and the rebuilding of the Country Church. No Bishop had ever visited the Island since its discovery, and no Church, or burial ground, had ever been consecrated. On account of these petitions, St Helena was included in the See of Capetown when the latter was erected in 1847. The first episcopal visitation, by Bishop Gray, occurred on the 7th March, 1849, when the presence of a Bishop spurred the Church on to fresh activities. A new Country Church was planned and built; provision was made for the moral regeneration of the liberated Africans; and the system of education, to which the Bishop attached much importance, was overhauled and improved.

#### **Gore Brown 1852**

Ross died in 1850 to the sorrow of the Island and was succeeded by Colonel Gore Brown who arrived in 1852. Emulating Brooke, Beatson, Wilks, and Walker, Gore Brown was to prove himself one of the ablest Governors of St Helena, and it was a misfortune that in 1854 his merits were judged to be worthier of greater responsibilities when he was transferred to New Zealand. One of his earliest acts was to lay bare the injustice of Middlemore's expropriation of buildings, and the effect it was having at a time when the Colony was being called upon to maintain itself without Imperial assistance, but he was unable to effect any change. He supported his predecessor's imposition of tonnage dues which he combined with a revised rate of wharfage and



the complete abolition of the Customs tariff. His efforts in these directions were, on the whole, well received by the population who had not forgotten Walker's words written when Jamestown was declared a free port in 1826:-

"If any wharfage duties are levied it is evident that they should be laid on with a very gentle hand. They should be demanded only from those who have a voluntary recourse to the Cranes. It should be made a compulsory regulation to depend upon bulk and weight, and it will be certain to be an indirect tax upon the inhabitants. We must remember that this though small at first, and may by its diffusion be little felt, that it is liable to increase, and we know not where it may stop."

By a judicious reorganisation and rearrangement of the Customs and Treasury, he was able to effect a substantial saving in expenditure, without any retrenchment of personnel or reduction in service, and his Budget showed a surplus for the three years of his administration.

### **Agriculture 1854**

The condition of agriculture caused him, as it did his predecessors, the gravest concern, but he was unable to effect any improvements, other than banning an ill conceived scheme for using St Helena as a place suitable for European settlement. Agriculture indeed was at its lowest ebb, and far from the people turning to the soil, the rural districts became depopulated by the labourers flocking to Jamestown to make a living out of the shipping.

Social conditions in Jamestown did not escape attention, and legislation was introduced for new water supplies, public health, the closing of insanitary burial grounds, public vaccination, the sale of bread, the establishment of a Savings Bank, the regulation of the Prison, the formation of the Volunteers, and the conduct of newspapers. Journalism began in 1852 with the "St Helena Advocate", edited by a public officer who conducted the paper more with a view to criticising his official superiors than to the dissemination of news. In the course of the next ten years papers failed and sprang up again under other names like mushrooms. The Government was generous and ingenious in its support of the new local endeavour. It closed publication of its own Gazette, and put out notifications and other business to whatever newspaper happened to be current. When the editorial criticism of its acts became too intemperate, it was a simple task to remove the advertisements and re-publish the Gazette, thus putting an end to the obnoxious journal. For many years local journalism was never able to avoid the pitfalls of personal abuse, and it was not until the Guardian was established in 1861, that the Island became possessed of a reasonable and well conducted newspaper filling a long felt public need.

Gore Brown's period of office terminated in 1854, and it was during his administration that the two forerunners of St Helena's doom made their presence felt in the Island. The demolition of Jamestown by white ants that had first been noticed in 1846 became serious in 1852; and in the same year steam communications were established. In 15 years only the former were to wreck Jamestown, and the latter the rest of St Helena and all its people.

### **Prosperity 1855**

For the two years following upon Gore Brown's departure, the Government was temporarily administered by Colonel Vigors who happened to be in command of the Troops, and in 1855 the Island may be said to have reached the peak of its prosperity. Large fortunes were made, and after the crash the removal of these gains was judged to be one of the prime causes of the Colony's

disaster. It was said, also after the event, that signs of the impending disaster were not wanting in 1852; but St Helena is not the only place in the world to have thought that a boom would last forever. On the contrary, all the signs seem to have pointed to a condition of permanent prosperity. The number of ships calling, and the imports for their supply, continued to be maintained, and Sir E Drummond Hay who succeeded Vigors in 1856, was perhaps the one Governor of St Helena who ever had the opportunity to carry out schemes for the improvement of the Island. It was easy to say in 1870 that Drummond Hay should have retrenched and piled up reserves; he chose instead to spend them, and at the present day numerous works of great utility are his memorial.

Drummond Hay's administration is noteworthy for three events of great local importance, namely the conveyance to Napoleon III of Longwood Old House and the Tomb in 1858, the erection of the See of St Helena in 1859, and a change in the constitution that did not, however, become operative until 1863 after he had left the Island.

The transaction whereby a foreign Government became possessed of a freehold property in a British Colony, is of interest to those acquainted with the Statutes prohibiting the alienation of land to foreign subjects. The land on which Longwood House stands was the property of the Government, whilst the land in which the Emperor was buried was "free" land commuted to freehold under the terms of a Proclamation and as a result of negotiations with this gentleman, the East India Company had acquired "the free use and access to and from the Tomb" for as long as the body remained. The consideration paid amounted in all to £1,200 and in later years Torbett mortgaged the property, with others belonging to him, to the brothers J.J. and S.F. Pritchard for the sum of £2,700. He died insolvent, and the administrators of the estate being unable to meet the mortgage, the mortgagees foreclosed and the Tomb thus became their property. After the Exhumation the Pritchard family had an eye to business. Advertisements for the sale of the Tomb and Bertrand's first house frequently appeared in the local newspapers, and on one occasion the officers of a French frigate made offers on their own behalf, and on that of the French Government, for the purchase of the property. Indeed at one time the two brothers were in negotiation with the notorious Mr Barnum. These offers were duly reported to the Colonial Office who informed the Governor that the conveyance of the land to a foreign subject, in freehold, was unlawful.

The situation at Longwood was not dissimilar. In 1850 the enterprising Mr Isaac Moss obtained a fourteen years' lease of the property, and there is material for supposing that in doing so he was successful in ousting the tenant in possession - Captain Mason. Mr Moss was frankly embarking upon a speculative proposition. In 1852, a propaganda was begun in the St Helena press on the condition of Longwood Old House, and in 1855 a pamphlet was published on the subject that was even circulated in France. With the advance to power of Napoleon III, the restoration of Longwood became only a matter of time, and in 1856 negotiations were opened. It was then proposed that the Government should first acquire the Tomb and then convey it, together with Longwood House, to the French Emperor. In due course the Law Officers of the Crown were consulted on the legal aspects of the matter. Cockburn and Westburg gave it as their opinion that as St Helena was "occupied" and not "ceded" territory, the original settlers carried with them the then existing laws of England as were applicable, in which the law prohibiting aliens to hold land might be deemed to have been included. Whether this was so or not, was immaterial, because if the law against aliens holding land, and also the statute of Mortmain were considered as having been introduced, it was competent for the local legislature to alter their laws in virtue of the Government of India Act, 1833. It would, therefore, be lawful for the legislature of St Helena, under the direction of His Majesty's Government, to pass an Ordinance conveying these lands to the Emperor of the French. With these views the Chief Justice of the Island dissented. He recorded his opinion that the conveyance was unlawful and contrary to the public law of England; but the only thanks he received for his pains were for his "unreserved" expression of his opinion.

The deeds of transfer were duly drawn up, and the necessary Ordinance enacted. In due course it was confirmed by an Order of the Queen-in-Council, signed strangely enough, by William Bathurst - the only Ordinance in the Statute Book of St Helena, excepting that repealing the Orders-in-Council already mentioned, to be so confirmed. Locally, the transfer was unpopular.

### **The See of St Helena 1858**

The attempt to conduct the ecclesiastical affairs of St Helena from Capetown, were judged to be beyond the powers of the Bishop of that Province, and in 1858 the inhabitants of the Island petitioned for the erection of a separate See of St Helena. After collecting £2,000 locally as the basis of the endowment, Letters Patent were duly granted on the 7th June, 1859, and in December of the same year, Bishop Claughton arrived as the first Bishop of St Helena, with a See including Ascension, Tristan da Cunha, and the Coasts of South America. A Diocese of ten miles by six, with a population of 4,000 souls, has frequently been criticised on financial and ecclesiastical grounds; but it is difficult to see what other arrangements could have been come to.

### **The Constitution 1858**

Since the transfer to the Crown the Island had been governed under the Order-in-Council of 1835 that provided for the appointment of a Governor, the enactment of local Ordinances, succession to the temporary administration of the Government by the Senior Officer in Command of the Troops, and the constitution of a Legislative Council composed by Royal Instructions of the Chief Justice and the Senior Military Officer. For many years there had been much local dissatisfaction at the military aspect of the Government that was not alleviated by the appointment of elderly Generals as Governors at the end of their service. Petitions on the subject were sympathetically received by the Governor who, on his own initiative, appointed the late Mr George Moss to be an unofficial Member of Council in 1858. Although he was over-ruled and Mr Moss had to retire, the views of the inhabitants ultimately prevailed, and a new Order-in-Council, providing for the succession to rest with the Colonial Secretary, was duly enacted in 1863. At the same time fresh Royal Instructions were issued providing for this officer, the Queen's Advocate, and the Senior Military Officer to be appointed to the newly formed Executive Council. Whether this order was the result of the expression of opinion from the Island; or was due to the abolition of the combined Colonial and War Department in 1854 is not clear. The fact remains that his Order-in-Council forms the basis of the Colony's administration today.

### **The Shadow of Adversity 1862**

The last years of Drummond Hay's administration, and those of the Island's prosperity, closed in a blaze of glory; and with Jamestown wrecked with white ants. A British Royal Visit (the first of its kind) by the Duke of Edinburgh in 1860, a thousand ships a year in the harbour, a garrison nearly 700 strong with an Imperial expenditure of £70,000, the liberated African establishment still operating, and much employment resulting from the reconstruction of the military works, all provided a solid basis for prosperity undisturbed by the ravages of termites, or the restrictions on trade caused by the opening of the American Civil War. Drummond Hay left in 1863. He had spent money freely on improvements, and the construction of the Square named after him, and St. John's and St. Matthew's Churches, are due to his efforts. But when it came to the turn of his successor, Admiral Elliot, to leave, the Island was moribund and misfortune and adversity were crowding in upon it from every direction.

#### **4. THE COLLAPSE**

"Render the Island more fruitful and its productions cheaper."  
(The Court of Directors, The East India Company, March 17th, 1717.)

#### **Termites and Finance 1863**

Admiral Sir Charles Elliot arrived in 1863. He had joined the Royal Navy in 1816; but for the eighteen years, prior to his appointment as Governor, he had seen much service under the Colonial Office, and had been Governor of Trinidad and Bermuda. He was appalled at the devastation of Jamestown, the severity of which he had seen or heard nothing to compare with in the course of his forty years' service. The menace was very real, for if the houses collapsed, as they very probably would, there was nowhere else for the poor to live. Fortunately, as he remarked, the white ants had not reached the country districts, where there was reason for supposing the trade-wind and the climate barred their future progress. His requirements were simple. All he wanted was the modest sum of £30,000 that he proposed to utilise in repairing the public buildings, and in making advances to those who had not the means to reconstruct their own property. As an alternative, he recommended a scheme of village settlements (originally proposed by Drummond Hay in 1861) to be built in the country, where, in addition to being immune from white ants, the houses would also be a means of relieving the overcrowding in Jamestown.

#### **A loan for St Helena 1863 - 1866**

Seventy years ago Parliament did not regard the Colonies of the Empire in the same light that later Joseph Chamberlain brought to bear upon them. The idea of grants for development purposes was foreign to British finance and the Colonial Development Fund had not been thought of. Governor after Governor had explained that the exorbitant prices, the high cost of living, and the derelict countryside, were the results of lack of capital. But Imperial policy was adamant, and Elliot's proposals were novel and heretical. Their consideration took many months before he was told that if St Helena required a loan, it must go to the public market in the ordinary way; and it was then learnt that the small amount required, the dislike of the investing public for the finances of small and remote Colonies, and the international situation caused by the American Civil War, would not permit of borrowing at less than 6% on stock issued at 96. The international situation continued to deteriorate, and the loan was never raised, in spite of the fact that in 1864, the wharfage rates had been considerably revised so as to sustain the extra charges that would fall upon the revenue. In the meantime the Admiral's capital and offices were falling about his ears, and he was driven to the desperate expedient of keeping a roof over his head by incurring a substantial yearly expenditure on repairs, over and above an amount that could be justified by the actual revenue. Driven to desperation by the collapse of his own office roof, when fortunately he was not in the building, Elliot raised a loan of his own, and in 1866 he borrowed £5,000 from Messrs Solomon, Moss, Gideon & Company at 7%. Although made in the name of the firm, the money actually came from Mr Gideon - the Emperor's horologist - who happened to have that amount available as salvage dues on a large vessel. To pay off this loan, and to meet further outstanding liabilities, it was necessary in the next seven years to contract further loans amounting to £24,500, of which £19,500 at 7% was obtained from the Bank of England, and £5,000 from Parliament without interest. The financing of the campaign against white ants is of importance in the history of the Colony as the inability to obtain Imperial assistance wrecked the Colony's budget and was one of the prime causes of the reductions of 1871 that led to so much hardship and distress.

Elliot has incurred much criticism for the financial aspects of his campaign; but to him the Government owes its present well built offices that have stood for nearly seventy years without requiring any substantial repair. The Admiral struggled hard for the Island. Bowed down with grief - he had lost his son in China and his daughter married to the Colonial Secretary's son had died in child-birth - he was still energetic, hardworking and resourceful. A prolific writer of reports, no pains were too great for him. Whether it was financing the war against termites, designing a tunnel to Rupert's, replanning the defences, establishing the Electric Telegraph "so that he might strike a blow for his flag", juggling with the Government lands to provide an endowment for the Church, planning small holdings in the country, constructing a sewer to remove the ordure from the latrines of 300 troops instead of emptying it direct into the Run, or busily planting Cinchona, wheat, and lemon trees, no Governor served St Helena so disinterestedly as Admiral Sir Charles Elliot. He left with £950 of his salary owing to him - a debt which could not be settled until three years later, and then only with the assistance of a Parliamentary loan.

### **Collapse 1869 - 1870**

The year of Elliot's departure was a fateful one for St Helena. In 1869, the same year that the Suez Canal was opened, imports stood at the respectable figure of £122,000; but in 1870 they had dropped to £84,000. The cause of this sudden fall was not the opening of the Canal but the reduction of the garrison by nearly 300 men, the complete withdrawal of the squadron of the Royal Navy, the abolition of the liberated African establishment, and the heavy decrease in Imperial expenditure from £67,000 to £20,000, all within the space of a few months. The resulting drop in the Island revenue was sudden and alarming; St Helena became bankrupt, and bills and emoluments could not be paid.

A grim determination that the Island should not become an annual charge on the Imperial Treasury led to retrenchment on a scale the extent to which it is difficult to realise today. Officers and services were retrenched whenever it was possible to lay hands on them, and the pension list was swollen to 55% of the cost of the permanent establishment, to become a mill stone that was to hang around the neck of the Colony for nearly 30 years. Burdened already with loans contracted to fight a pest that had been introduced in the execution of Imperial policy, the finances could only afford to pay the much reduced salaries of the Governor, a handful of clerks, the pension list, and the public diet. The consequence of this ruthless policy, the blame of which must be laid at the door of mid-Victorian Parliaments, was that by the time the effects of the Suez Canal began seriously to be felt, St Helena was left with no means whatsoever to counter them.

### **The Suez Canal 1870**

The Suez Canal ultimately killed St Helena; but the obsequies were long drawn out, and took ten years to complete. Had the Island not been crippled in 1869, by the causes within the control of the Imperial Government, when it was still in a position to fight, it might at least have struggled, and perhaps have survived. In the event, and in default of Imperial assistance which was not forthcoming, it could only die; and herein lies the real tragedy of its modern history. A nation which sneered at the Suez Canal as long as Great Britain, cannot be expected to have thought what effect its construction was likely to have on its own possessions. A decline in the local shipping trade, i.e. the supply of ships with provisions and water, had begun about 1855 and the improved construction of ships demanded by Imperial Legislation, the general introduction of steam, better water installations, new methods of preserving provisions and the opening of the Overland Route, had all contributed their quota. Symptoms of unemployment had appeared, and by 1868, Elliot judged the fact of twenty men asking him for work, to be of sufficient importance to report to superior authority. Ships still called in much the same numbers, but they did not take the same

amount of supplies, and the decline in trade and employment caused thereby was disguised by Imperial expenditure. When this was suddenly and heavily reduced, the true condition of the Island was laid bare.

With the true exception, perhaps, of Gore Brown, Elliot had been the first Governor to detect that the true solution to local economic problems, lay in state-aided agricultural or industrial development. He was confronted with the insuperable obstacle of there being no capital in the Island - in fact the fortunes made out of shipping had all been withdrawn to London. In 1867 and 1868 he began the cultivation of Cinchona, strongly supported by the authorities at Kew, and he was so successful in his efforts that he managed to obtain the services of an officer, the first Agricultural Officer of St Helena, from that Institution. No content with Cinchona, he aroused the interests of the community in the efforts of Mr Eden Baker - the father of the flax industry - and the commercial production of fibre first began under his administration. Cinchona failed from natural causes, and fibre from lack of capital; but if Elliot and his successors had received judicious financial support, it seems conclusive that perhaps ten more years of effort would have seen the Island established on a sounder economic basis than that which it had attained hitherto solely from its geographical position.

In 1877 it was officially stated that the collapse of the Island was due to changes in trade caused by the opening of the Suez Canal, but this statement did not disclose the whole story of antecedent events, or how the diversion of trade might have been compensated for by an active policy of development. The inauguration of such a policy was beyond the powers of the local Government and the austere principles of Victorian finance would not permit of a loan except in settlement of past deficits, and then only when current expenditure had been brought within current revenue. The economic value of the Colonies had not dawned on the mind of the British nation, and St Helena collapsed into adversity. Much of the responsibility for the disaster rests on Elliot's successor, Rear Admiral Patey, who arrived at the Island in 1870. The appointment was of the class that is called unfortunate, and at the most critical phase in the Island's history a Governor of exceptional powers and attainments should have been sent. The Admiral, if the contemporary press is to be believed, was blunt in his manner and more at home on the quarter deck than in Plantation House; and certainly his "apathy and hostility" outraged the officials at Kew. On his departure in 1873, pursued by a memorial protesting against a pension of £500 per annum allotted to him for nine years from the Colonial Funds, he was informed by the local Journal that rudeness and discourtesy could not be compensated by the offer of a tip to the poor, or a "glass of grog" to the rich. But true to the St Helenian tradition, it omitted to mention that he had voluntarily given up £500 of his salary to meet the Island's needs.

### **Mr Janisch 1873**

With Patey's departure it was first proposed to make the Island a dependency of West Africa, and to appoint Mr Janisch, the Colonial Secretary, as Administrator. Fortunately for St Helena, this proposal was transformed into one of Mr Janisch as Governor.

Hudson Ralph Janisch was the son of William Janisch, a well known minor figure of the Napoleonic Captivity, who came to St Helena in the "Phaeton" as Commissariat clerk. His father had served with Lowe during the latter's continental experience, and for the greater part of the Captivity he was employed as the Governor's confidential clerk. After the death of Napoleon he married Anne Seale, and settled in the Island. He acquired land, became a partner in the firm of Solomon & Company and made himself useful to successive Governors in various minor capacities, ultimately receiving a small pension in 1836 for his services as Secretary of the Agricultural Society. He died on the 19th June, 1843, at the age of 49. Hudson, named after his patron, was

the eldest son. He was born in the Island in 1825, and never left it. Apart from the education received at Government schools, he was an entirely self-educated man, and on his father's death, he received an appointment in the Magistrate's office at a salary of £50 per annum. Following the example of his father, he very soon became the private secretary, in all but name, of successive Governors, and for 25 years the confidential business of the Government was under his care. He was in many ways a remarkable man. His range of interests was wide and varied. A descendant of Encke, he was an enthusiastic astronomer, a keen rifle shot, and intensely interested in ballistics and chess. He was also an admirable and careful historian, and very early in his career set to work to compile an index of the great mass of East India Company's records lying in the archives of the Castle. His knowledge of St Helena and its people was profound. In his spare time he prepared a plan of every property in the Island, that has been attributed to a trained surveyor. Tactful, courteous, and discreet, he had inherited from his father the ability to write a lucid and polite letter, and his despatches on the Island's affairs are models of deferential and judiciously phrased correspondence. The Colonial Office found Janisch to be an agreeable personality and very soon after his assumption of office as Governor, expressions of approval and satisfaction became frequent in official correspondence. In one respect he was more fortunate than any of his predecessors. The change in local conditions coincided with a brisk demand from South Africa for Island labour, and between the years 1870 - 1880 more than 1,500 St. Helenians emigrated to the Cape to seek employment, thus relieving the Island of its congested population, and the Government of the necessity of finding work for the unemployed. Janisch had to meet one disaster when his Treasurer embezzled nearly £3,000 by three childish embezzlements. They were almost immediately detected; but they were the forerunners of many, and were the inevitable result of the severe retrenchments of officials, and the imposition of a plurality of appointments of the few that remained. A very severe flood was another land mark in his administration in 1878, and although the Colonel of the Engineers estimated the cost of repairs at £2,500, Janisch was able from his knowledge of the watercourses to prove that the Run could be made safe by an expenditure of under £1,000.

In another respect his knowledge of the Island history was to prove to be of Imperial value. Brooke, one of the great Governors of St Helena, had despatched its garrison to reinforce that of the Cape when that Colony was threatened by the Dutch in 1794, and in 1879 after the disaster at Isandlwana, Janisch repeated the action of his predecessor. On his own initiative he denuded the Island of troops and sent them to reinforce Lord Chelmsford. For this service he received the thanks of His Majesty's Government, and was awarded the C.M.G. in 1880.

### **St Helena of the Eighties 1890**

Compared with modern times, St Helena of the "eighties" must be judged to have been a flourishing and busy little Island. Although the official establishment had been reduced to the barest skeleton, the depression and poverty that was to be experienced in modern times was not to be seen in 1880. There were a few hundred ships, and a garrison of about 200, and it was still possible to make a handsome competence out of trade. The tonnage duty had remained as a chronic sore, and a source of intense irritation to the people who believed it to be one of the principal causes of the Island's decline. Janisch was tactful. Having persuaded his Council to accept other minor taxation in its place, he recommended the repeal of the obnoxious dues which were finally abolished in 1882. But the number of ships calling still continued to decline, and the other sources of revenue did not balance the loss.

In the absence of Imperial assistance, local development was at a standstill. A fibre company had begun operations in 1875 and continued producing until 1881, when it failed owing to the high cost of transport of the leaf to the mills in Jamestown. A whale fishery had been started in 1874, but

also failed almost immediately. The development of Cinchona was intermittent, but the controversy aroused over it led to the highly important visit of Mr Daniel Morris in 1883. He recorded the opinion that unless the Imperial Government was prepared to give financial assistance for the development of the Island, he saw little hope for its future. This Great Britain was not prepared to do, and Sir Daniel Morris' report on the agricultural possibilities of St Helena remains a permanent record of what might have been achieved.

Hudson Janisch died on the 19th March, 1884, working almost to the day of his death. His salary had been £900 compared with his predecessor's £2,000. As a measure of economy the use of Plantation House had been denied to him, and it was leased to the Colonel of Engineers who enjoyed a substantially higher salary. Janisch lived and died in a small house - his own property - in Jamestown. So reduced were the staffs that he had to register and copy his own despatches, and as no one else could use the instruments, he also managed the Time Office for giving the time to the shipping. He had had 41 years service, including eleven as Governor, and had received no pension on his retirement from the office of Colonial Secretary. On his death an appeal was made for official charity to his widow in recognition of her husband's great services to the Island. This lady was granted the sum of £300, being the amount of the passage allowance to the United Kingdom to which he would have been entitled on his retirement, had he not died in office. Janisch laboured devotedly for the people of St Helena, and his memory will long be cherished as one of the most honoured of her sons. A monument to his memory, erected by public subscription, stands much dilapidated in the Baptist Cemetery at Knollcombes.



## 5. ADVERSITY

"Upon which we are now resolved to fire nine guns; to drink our honourable Master's good health, and success to the Island; for we are well satisfied this Island will turn to account, and not be a dead charge, as it ever has been, if our honourable Masters will be pleased to encourage it, and supply these people with necessaries; and then there will be no aversion against improvements, but showers of blessings of these people will come to them."

(Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor and Council of St Helena, 15th of August, 1710)

### An Acting Governor 1884

The death of Hudson Janisch was made the occasion for a further outburst of retrenchment. The local Government was now informed that as it could not afford the emoluments paid the Governor, no new appointment would be made, and that the Government would be administered by the Military Officer in command of the Troops in addition to any other duties he might have. Colonel Grant Blunt, R.E., a popular officer well liked by the people, therefore assumed office as Acting Governor.

The Colonel had had no experience of civil administration, and within a few months he soon found himself in a sea of trouble, when Janisch's most trusted subordinate was found to be implicated in Treasury defalcations. Successive reductions had so reduced the civil establishment that with the disappearance of the Treasurer, it now became necessary to call upon two more military officers to assist the Government so as to permit of it being carried on. To relieve the situation an officer who had joined the Colonial Service after a chequered career in a subordinate position in Whitehall, was sent out to fill the post of Colonial Secretary. This gentleman instead of being the main prop of the administration, soon proved himself to be its principal enemy. He bullied the genial Colonel with unimportant grievances and insubordinate letters and minutes, and the effect upon the Island was deplorable. Anyone with a grievance, fancied or real, took their cue from the insubordinate Colonial Secretary, whilst public meetings became events of almost weekly occurrence. Memorials were showered upon the Secretary of State; and one individual addressed him by every mail. The experiment of doing without a Governor was clearly proving unsuccessful, and after an unseemly scene, the Colonial Secretary was removed to the Seychelles Islands, and replaced by Mr Grey Wilson.

Grant Blunt worked conscientiously for the welfare of St Helena. In an attempt to meet the demand for a share in the Government he made the experiment of allowing persons on the jury list to vote for an unofficial Member of Council. He had been present himself at the election which was by ballot; but the suspicions aroused, and the protests and mutual recriminations that followed, were such that it was judged inadvisable to repeat the experiment. In finance, he was successful in persuading the Treasury to adopt the new principle that the Imperial Government should pay for what were regarded as Imperial services, and in this definition he managed to include the rural roads by the ingenious argument that as half the civil population lived in Jamestown the other half had no interest in proceeding there. The mail services, and part cost of the telegraph system, were also included in the same arrangements. One important administrative measure stands to his credit. The decline in shipping had been the cause of the Colony's downfall, and Grey Wilson whilst Colonial Secretary, hit upon the idea of allowing bumboat men to trade with passing vessels,

subject to proper sanitary and quarantine precautions. This measure aroused almost as much hostility from the vocal section of the population as the famous penny a ton dues had done. It was argued that the effect of the measure was to drive ships away for the sake of a few vegetables and potatoes, whilst the people were also being exposed to a grave risk of infection. The revenue, it was alleged, would suffer severely from smuggling. The Government, however, persisted and the result, whilst the ships continue to sail, was that a few boatmen eked out a precarious living and no disease was introduced.

Grant Blunt was succeeded in 1887 by Mr Grey Wilson who had joined the Colonial Service in 1874. His appointment was of unusual constitutional interest as his Commission to administer the Government endowed him with the title of "Administrator", the first and only occasion on which such an office has been created in St Helena. The document was probably drawn in error, but its issue led to complicated constitutional discussions, as well as to the refusal of the Naval Commander-in-Chief, when visiting the Island, to make the first call of ceremony. Grey Wilson, strongly supported by his Council, claimed the title of Acting Governor under the Order-in-Council of 1835, and later seems to have been permitted to assume it.

### **Grey Wilson 1887 - 1897**

William Grey Wilson was one of the remarkable personalities who, from time to time, have been called upon to govern St Helena. In his early youth he had received some engineering training and therefore took upon himself the duties of Colonial Engineer in addition to his task as Governor. If supervision of the Time Office had provided congenial employment for Hudson Janisch that of the Public Works Department proved to be no less acceptable to Grey Wilson. It is said of him that not only was he capable of entering any room and estimating the quantity of timber required to refloor it, but also to state the number of pounds of nails that would be required as well. An admirable man of business, no detail was too small for him to master. The minutiae of public business were especially pleasurable, and no error, point of law, or mis-statement, ever escaped his acute observation. The complicated and tangled history of nearly every subject in St Helena was made clear under his pen, and his large handwriting is scattered over the wide expanse of the St Helena records serving as beacons to his successors of the laboured researches that he had so greatly enjoyed. The public expenditure was his particular foible and the expenditure of every penny was watched with the most jealous care. Moreover, he was a public officer of great energy and high moral courage, and no vested interest or monopoly was secure from his superiors, and his denunciations of the Imperial Treasury must have surprised even that hardened institution.

Grey Wilson took over the Government at a critical period when the administration was much disorganised. He had no superior staff to assist him, and for practical purposes, he was compelled to carry almost everything on his own shoulders. His appointment as Administrator was really a temporary measure, as in 1887 it had been anticipated that the Admiralty would take over the entire Island as a Naval base. No satisfactory arrangement, however, had been come to. The Royal Navy required full civil and military control, and what were admittedly temporary arrangements and now, by force of circumstances, became permanent. The result was that one department of the Government was maintaining a most expensive naval base in one Island, and only 700 miles away was another, with much superior advantages, becoming derelict. The outlook for St Helena was gloomy. The number of ships calling continued to decrease; the local revenue was the lowest ever collected; and unemployment had become chronic. These anxieties were intensified by a sudden announcement at the end of 1889 that the War Office intended to withdraw the garrison. So concerned, however, was the Cape Government with this proposal and so loud was the general outcry that the intention was dropped. A further burden on the Governor, but one of some assistance to the Island, was the arrival of Denizulu and the Zulu exiles of 1890.

## **Sir Reginald Antrobus**

At the close of 1889, Grey Wilson left the Island on vacation leave, and Mr R.L. Antrobus, of the Colonial Office, was appointed temporarily to succeed him. He was the first and only officer of the Colonial Office ever to have visited St Helena. He brought to his office all the high traditions of his Service, and proved himself to be a popular, able, and considerate Governor. He also enriched the archives of the Colony with the most comprehensive Annual Report that had been written since the Crown assumed its administration. But the results of personal contact between the Colonial Office and people of St Helena were disappointing. On his return to England a fresh and more genial note crept into the correspondence; but the interminable battle with the Treasury still continued to rage, - with the Colonial Office more adequately equipped. It was not until the dominating personality of Joseph Chamberlain assumed control of the Colonial Empire, that Mr (later Sir) Reginald Antrobus, who cherished a warm affection for the Island, was able to give practical effort to the local knowledge he had gained. But in the early nineties, the Secretary to the Treasury, Lord Welby, still officially regarded the Government of St Helena as a defaulting debtor, and continued to harp upon the necessity of it repaying the loan made by Parliament as long ago as 1873.

## **The Imperial Treasury**

Grey Wilson returned in 1890, and in 1893 the last of the many public struggles with the Treasury occurred over the Budget for the year. St Helena was admittedly not being administered in the way that was expected of a British Colony. A condition of affairs had arisen which could not be continued indefinitely, and which had only been intended as a temporary measure in the belief that the Admiralty would take over the Island. It had never been possible to maintain it out of local revenue, and to relieve the situation and allow of funds for local needs, a proposal was advanced that an adequate salary from Imperial funds should be paid to the Governor who was actually drawing less pay than some of his own officials. This proposal was strongly urged by Mr Antrobus. At the same time and as a further measure of relief, it was suggested that the Imperial Government should take over all the road services. It is difficult, at this distance, to gauge the true condition of the Island between the years 1890 and 1893. The Governor was quite without resources. The demands of the Imperial Treasury for the Island to repay, from its own funds, the petty loans contracted by Elliot, had imposed a gigantic pension list upon the local Government. It was paying salaries, its debts, and its pensions, and nothing more. The official finances allowed of the machine to turn over, and by the sacrifice of his health, Grey Wilson was acquiring the first of some tiny surpluses. The Island required a substantially higher revenue - and it was unable to obtain it. It is true that there seems to have been room for additional taxation and the scale existing was said to be inequitable; but the nature of the sacrifices already imposed upon the people made it impossible to apply an obvious remedy. All were agreed, however, that St Helena was moribund.

Ships had fallen to about 200; the garrison in 1890 was only 136 strong; Imperial expenditure was between £11,000 and £13,000; and imports were not much above £32,000. The documentary evidence of the period is conclusive that agriculture and the land were both derelict, and Sir Daniel Morris recorded the opinion that unless financial aid was forthcoming to develop the soil, the Island was doomed.

It is impossible to ignore such weighty testimony as to agricultural conditions. But St Helenians old enough to remember life in the Island forty years ago, recollect the period as one of prosperity and will point out, with regret, the large estates and lands in which they themselves worked when they were flourishing farms. The issue between the written and verbal testimony seem capable of

an easy explanation. St Helena has long been an Island of monopolies, and those landowners, so fortunate as to be able to supply the garrison in addition to the vessels that visited the port, were in possession of a local market sufficiently large to keep their lands cultivated. The inordinate amount of pasture had always been a subject for criticism; but the meat demands of the garrison and ships made it necessary to reserve large areas as grazing. No Governor, including Hudson Janisch, whose knowledge of the Island was profound in every respect, or any Secretary of State, ever denied the importance of agricultural development. All did what was in their power to stimulate and encourage it, and behind them was the sustained support of the highest expert opinion it was possible to obtain.

The battle of the Governor's salary was the last that was fought with the Treasury in public. Lord Welby and his assistants were the servants of the public - and they were paid to protect the pockets of the British tax payer. If the way in which the demands of a petty Colony were handled is any guide as to the manner in which they discharged their duty, their claim to fame rests on the surest foundations. No argument designed to extract money from the Treasury for St Helena ever made any impression upon Lord Welby. His defences stretched into illimitable regions, and when driven to the last ditch of argument it was always his privilege to terminate the war with an official negative. He would seek any refuge and on one occasion when requested for a grant of £100 to repair the roads, he enquired why the inhabitants could not repair them gratuitously! But Governor Grey Wilson in St Helena, measuring up the floors and weighing out the nails, must have been driven to desperation. No wonder that when he was asked for his personal fidelity bond to secure his financial responsibilities, his pent up indignation found expression in an angry despatch to which there was no reply. His troubles, however, were nearing their end. No Governor served St Helena, or His Majesty's Government, more loyally and faithfully. For the last seven years of his administration he managed to show a small annual surplus in his accounts to the unalloyed pleasure of Lord Welby and his assistants. But no other officer would have imposed upon himself such severe measures of self sacrifice - and we must hope no other Treasury would waste its time on such petty sums and trivial details.

### **Sterndale and New Methods 1898**

During Grey Wilson's absence on leave in 1896, the Government had been temporarily administered by a Mr R.A. Sterndale, then residing in England under retirement from the office of Assistant Accountant-General, Madras. Mr Sterndale was a mutiny veteran who had twice visited St Helena in his youth when he had been hospitably entertained by the late Mr George Moss Senior. He had been much impressed in 1861 by the Island and its potentialities, and was now much shocked at the decay into which it had fallen. He had experience as a Revenue Officer in India, and was familiar with all the questions of land development, as well as being keenly interested in the scientific side of agriculture and horticulture. In 1898, on Grey Wilson's transfer to the Falklands, he was appointed to the substantive post and here he was to be so fortunate as to escape the personal difficulties that had so embarrassed his predecessor. The changes effected by the vigorous personality of Joseph Chamberlain in British colonial administration were nowhere more welcomed than in St Helena. Finance did not present the same difficulties, and if there were battles with the Treasury it was not thought necessary to inform the public of them. The garrison was also about 100 ranks stronger than in the first half of the decade, with consequent benefits to the Island revenue. Moreover, Grey Wilson had acquired a tiny reserve, and this soon disappeared in the provision of urgently required water pipes and the supply of ant resisting timber.

## **The Boer Prisoners 1900**

Sterndale's administration is memorable for the influx of Boer prisoners in 1900. For the two years during which they were encamped in the Island the whole aspect of St Helena underwent the most striking changes, exceeding even those of Napoleonic times. There was a great boom in artificial prosperity. The Island has always prospered from war, and the Boers brought much wealth which few will grudge. But disease of all sorts was prevalent - and an unfortunate necessity was the destruction of trees, many of which it is feared have not been replaced.

Sterndale proceeded on leave in 1901, and returned in 1902. His health was never robust, and he left the Island again in 1902, to die a few months after reaching England. It is unfortunate that in its early days, his administration should have been marred by the unseemly dispute between the clergy and their aged and universally beloved Bishop, when the Supreme Court of the Island did not find it possible to avoid being involved in the litigation. He had acquired a great affection for the Island, and spent his own means on its adornment with a lavish hand. He laboured hard at developing its resources and he was the first to show practical interest in Island rural history by establishing the Museum.

Happily the history of St Helena, since the Boer war, is still within the memory of those who made it; but if the event narrated above made any foundation on which to draw conclusions, then it is certain that the conditions of the Island today presents a challenge to those who like to reflect on the achievements of British Colonial administration.

The poverty, the deprivation, the unemployment, the slums, the malnutrition, and the derelict and dilapidated houses and township, all provide a remarkable example of the results that follow upon the continuous and ruthless application of the elementary principles of financial administration. And if this short survey has brought to light how barren the policy successively adopted in 1836, 1873, 1884 and 1893, has been, it will have served its purpose.

The Island's peace and quiet are, perhaps, its worst enemies. There is no publicity and no one knows anything about it. "Depressed areas" are not only to be found in the United Kingdom, and St Helena is one that lies beyond its shores. It is much to be hoped that when the history of modern times comes to be written, it will record a persistent and continuous attempt to develop the resources of the Island.

**Appendix 1**

**Population of St Helena by Classes 1814 - 1821**

	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
White Inhabitants	694	738	746	821	611	664	708	712
Slaves	1200	1255	1218	1540	1165	1165	1095	1147
Free Blacks	420	447	489	500	482	619	613	626
Company's Civil Establishment	42	38	33	-	-	-	17	22
Company's Troops	891	850	745	820	702	745	698	868
King's Troops	-	-	1536	1475	1338	1536	1483	660
Families King's Troops	-	-	335	352	338	413	424	180
Families Company's Troops	-	-	-	-	185	203	204	300
Chinese	247	280	293	618	524	591	481	488
Lascars	-	15	19	24	24	36	33	29
Company's Slaves	93	98	97	-	86	85	61	44
Slaves to Company's Troops	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	8
Slaves to King's Troops	-	-	-	-	5	4	-	13
Totals	3587	3721	5511	6150	5468	6061	5817	5097



## Appendix 2

### St Helena 1834-1934

Year	Imports £	Census	Ships called	Local Revenue £	Local Expend- iture £	Imperial Expend- iture £	Strength of Garrison	Remarks
1834	57,867	5,151	475	6,709	29,192	60,174	751	Island transferred to the Crown 23rd April
1840	51,861	5,203	779	12,403	18,299	41,163	336	Parliamentary Grant £5,900
1845	94,658	-	1,458	16,596	19,116	24,709	427	Parliamentary Grant £2,500
1850	81,624	6,194	937	16,259	17,057	42,400	502	
1855	91,664	-	1,044	16,912	16,866	28,630	461	
1856	101,562	6,118	1,186	18,035	17,910	28,547	407	
1857	132,354	-	1,144	19,837	20,282	34,971	521	
1858	100,119	-	1,125	19,529	19,731	36,945	482	
1859	120,181	-	1,058	20,736	20,175	41,008	485	
1860	124,037	-	1,044	23,768	22,294	47,586	687	
1861	127,850	6,344	1,078	21,408	20,286	56,700	679	
1862	137,983	-	1,086	21,463	22,993	71,456	702	
1863	110,537	-	927	22,482	23,615	65,714	597	
1864	123,173	-	938	23,100	23,576	60,060	482	
1865	103,949	6,444	850	20,377	20,603	62,145	404	
1866	112,506	-	918	28,151	26,109	88,061	375	Loan £5,000, Solomon & Co 7.5%
1867	114,519	-	878	25,659	23,329	95,294	474	
1868	117,110	-	736	26,705	26,202	67,627	438	Parl. Grant £3,000. Loan £5,000 Crown Agents 7.5%
1869	122,757	-	853	25,789	27,505	22,814	448	Loan £5,000 Crown Agents 7.5%
1870	84,871	-	807	17,223	18,943	20,436	178	Loan £1,250 Crown Agents 7.5%
1871	85,291	6,241	756	16,507	18,438	16,287	195	
1872	83,220	-	667	26,385	27,375	20,584	209	Loans £13,408, £8,250 @ 7.5% & £5,158 from Parl w/o interest
1873	91,498	-	717	14,979	16,699	16,316	178	
1874	62,274	-	684	13,981	14,521	17,295	193	
1875	62,145	-	605	13,615	14,039	17,217	193	Parliamentary Grant £5,500, 1876
1880	54,272	6,264	564	11,950	11,870	14,115	211	
1885	41,761	5,059	450	9,019	13,099	12,992	136	Cost of mail & other services borne by Imp Gov
1890	31,958	-	211	8,729	9,632	11,780	142	do.
1895	33,744	4,110	203	9,762	8,063	15,951	232	do.
1900	62,985	-	207	15,392	12,604	44,589	1,467	Boer prisoners arrived
1905	75,987	3,781	99	10,287	14,969	24,928	210	Garrison withdrawn 1906
1910	37,570	3,441	51	9,306	9,596	-	-	Parliamentary Grant £2,500
1915				The Great War				Parliamentary Grant £500
1920	67,441	3,753	37	13,123	12,175	-	-	Parliamentary Grant £2,900
1925	51,421	-	40	21,731	14,555	-	-	Parliamentary Grant £7,000
1930	44,411	3,905	40	18,569	17,962	-	-	Parliamentary Grant £6,000
1934	33,476	3,995	43	24,473	23,792	-	-	Parliamentary Grant £2,500